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on

Viewpoint

Bringing the constitution up to date

This is an old joke, but it has got new life now. A customer walked into a bookshop in London and asked for a copy of the Sri Lanka constitution. "Sorry Sir", said the courteous shop assistant, "we do not deal in periodicals".

Now that the President has initiated a series of amendments to the Constitution and the Ministers have placed their rubber stamp of approval on them, and the two-thirds steam-roller majority will see to the rest of it, the new "issue" of the Constitution should be out in August. Please book your copies early.

One noteworthy amendment will certainly be the one relating to the term of office of the President. Section 31 (3) which says: "The poll for the election of the President shall be taken not less than one month and not more than two months before the expiration of the term of office of the President in office" is in for a change enabling the President to call for a Presidential election after the expiry of four years instead of the six years prescribed in the Constitution. Allowing time for the President to make his first official or non-official visit to his subjects in Jaffna carrying with him several "goodies" in his bag like the K.K.S.Harbour, the 111rd Stage of the Cement Factory, the Radio Sub-station (not to mention the compensation under the Lionel Fernando award), the Presidential election could take place anytime between September and December.

Now that it has been found that the best way to deal with a constitution is to amend it according to the needs of the given moment like cutting the coat according to the cloth, (constitutional pundits call it the "instrumental" approach in constitution-making), we ourselves have a couple of bright ideas when it comes to amendments. For example, Section 11 in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights says: "No person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". This is not at all satisfactory. Since the advent of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, this tastes like yesterday's mutton. The section should be suitably amended to read (in addition)"....except when such person happens to be a son of a bitch from the North who has been rounded up from his sleep at 3 o'clock in the morning by Sri Lanka's heroic armed forces to be taken to Panagoda or Elephant Pass or to any other place where facilities for such torture or cruel. inhuman or degrading treatment are readily available". That we feel, would be a proper "instrumental" way of bringing the onstitution up to date.

Then there is Section 12 (2) which says: "No citizen shall be discriminated against on the grounds of race, religion, language, caste, sex, political opinion, place of birth or any of such grounds". This again sounds like grandma talking. Since any decent constitution should express the popular will and the will of the duly elected representatives, the amendment should incorporate the following additional words, ".... PROVIDED THAT THE CITIZEN DOES NOT BELONG TO THE TAMIL RACE, SPEAK THE LANGUAGE OF TAMIL OR ACKNOWLEDGE HIS PLACE OF BIRTH AS ANY OCCUPIED TERRITORY IN THE NORTH OR EAST."

Since it is not very likely that the next "issue" of the Constitution will incorporate these changes, London periodical sellers are requested to watch out for further issues in the years to come. Please order your copies early.

a damp

squib?

The World Thamil Eelam Convention nheld at Nanuet, New York on the 3rd and 4th July yielded no tangible results towards the advancement of the objective of achieving a separate state, according to reports from observers received at the SATURDAY REVIEW office. The question of Tamil Unity, became such a compulsive theme before, during and after the Convention that it overshadowed the prime objective of Eelam i tself, according to these reports.

Terming this as a "diplomatic triumph" for the Secretary General of the Tamil United Liberation Front Mr. A. Amirthalingam, our sources state that the organisers of the Convention in their anxiety to smooth the ruffled feathers of the T. U. L. F. leadership on the one hand and Mr. S. C. Chandrahasan, Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan and the T. U. L. F. on the other had only managed to paper the difference and divergent points of view for the sake of a consensus.

The resolution for the establishment of a Liberation Council to lobby the international community and co ordinate the activities of all groups committed to the idea of Thamil Eelam (see Page 12 for official communique of the Programme Committee) is itself considered a timebuying exercise to stall the proposal made by Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan to set up an interim Eelam government on foreign soil. The resolution to set up a Liberation Council was proposed by Mr. Edward Benedict, a Tamil expatriate in the U S. and seconded by Mr. S. C. Chandrahasan. 103 voted for the resolution and two opposed it on the grounds that the resolution did not go far enough.

Five names were proposed by Mr. Amirthalingam to constitute the Liberation Council – Dr. Vincent Panchadcharam, Mr. T. Sritharan, Mr. Edward Benedict, Dr. K. Jegatheesan and Dr. Vigneswaran, and this was seconded by Mr. M. K. Eelaventhan, the Organising Secretary of



M. K. Eelaventhan

He seconded



A. Amirthalingam

' A diplomatic triumph and a a major reverse'

which was empowered to co-opt other members to itself, is reported to have included Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Dr. S. Navaratnam and Mrs. Pathma Perinbanayakam into Council which according to the observers, was a major reverse to the T. U. L. F. in that it left the London lobby of the T. U. L. F. weakened.

Messrs. Amirthalingam and Sivasithamparam are believed to have had an unscheduled stop-over in London, followin: the New York Convention.

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(by our Colombo Correspondent)

The United Nations appears to have money to burn. How else could it sponsor seminars like the one held in Colombo recently on Human Rights which yielded little practical result?

Of course, as usual with such events, the special foreign invitees were well looked after, most of them virtually enjoying a free two-week holiday at five-star hotels. Each of them received a per diem of Rs. 1,500!

"The U.N.Seminar on National, Local and Regional Arrangements for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in the Asian Region", to give its full title, was held with the Sri Lanka's Government's blessings at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute from June 21 to July 2.

Thirtyfive nations were expected to send represent - atives, but only half this number responded. Among the notable absentees were Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines (so that out of the ASEAN region only Thailand attended), Burma, Bhutan, Japan, Laos, Fiji and Papua-New Guinea.

Though intended to be an Asian affair, partly due to the apparent disinterest of Asian countries themselves, countries outside the region played an outsize role in the deliberations. The United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand and the Soviet Union were all there.

Still more remarkable, there appeared to have been an understanding among the delegates not to refer to any human rights issues in any individual country! In consequence, delegates were able to speak of "perfect" human rights records in their countries—and get away unchallenged!

President Jayawardene and Mr. H. W. Jayewardene set the tone by waxing eloquent about the great strides taken by the United National Party Government to promote and protect human rights in Sri Lanka. The foreign delegates duly applauded them; but, halfway through the seminar, most of them had been made aware of the true situation in the country, for a number of documents and papers, including the much vaunted 1978 Constitution and copies of the "Saturday Review", had been placed in their hands by civil rights campaigners.

Kamuchea was represented by the Pol Pot regime but there was no reference to the brutal killings that took place under it.

The Pakistani delegate could speak of President Zia as a great champion of human rights and in the same breath say that flogging and the amputation of limbs were allowed in his country and that these punishments were both legal and justified.

So the mighty farce went

The main objective of the seminar, according to statements made by the organisers, was to recommend the establishment of an intergovernmental regional human rights commission. But there was no agreement on

Human Rights
Seminar in
Colombo: A U.N.
Sponsored

farce?

this, though the delegates conceded that such machinery was desirable. The fear appeared to be that such an arrangement could provide opportunities for member states for interference in the internal affairs of other members.

Perhaps, this fear was fuelled by the fact that the Western countries present, led by the U.S., pushed hard for agreement on an intergovernment body. Sri Lanka and Nepal were willing to go along, but not the Soviet Union, Vietnam, India and

a number of others.

The U.S. delegate cited the European Convention and the Organisation of American States as "models for the Asian grouping." But it was left to the leader of the Indian delegation, Prof. K. P. Saksena, from the Jawaharlal Nehru University to call the bluff.

He pointed out that the European Convention had not been able to do anything about the violation of human rights by the Greek military junta between 1967 and 1975 and the Turkish military rule of part of Cyprus since 1974, while the O.A.S. had become active on human rights only after Mr. Fidel Castro over-threw the pro-US regime!

He recalled that there was a "gentlemen's agreement" between the U.S. and other O.A.S. members "which simply meant not to talk about atrocities and violations of human rights in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Haiti and other states, of course with one exception, that of gross violations' by Cuba!"

To interruptions from the American delegation, Prof. Saksena waved a copy of a local newspaper which that day carried a report that the U.S.Government had opposed the creation of world food buffer stocks to meet emergencies while it spent billions of dollars as subsidies to farmers who cut down production. "So much for American concern for human rights!" he said, causing some embarrassment to the U.S. and its allies.

Professor Saksena who spoke immediately after the Soviet Representative spoke of the Human Rights record in his country and the need for non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, said, "I wish that nations practise what they preach. I have in mind the situation in Afghanistan."

This statement appeared to have nettled the Afghan-

istan Delegate who walked up to Prof. Saksena for clarificati n. He seemed satisfied when told the allegation was that a number of countries were interfering in Afghanistan. analysing systems in Cother regions for the promotion of Human Rights, Prof. Saksena said such institutions had arisen after inter-state political co-operation. But group efforts politically were nonexistent in Asia. Whatever institutional arrangements existed had been 'foisted' by outside powers. That applied to ESCAP, Colombo Plan, SEATO, CENTO and even ASEAN and in none of them were there any initiatives regarding the promotion of Human Rights."This is because the necessary political will did not exist. Hence, a regional or subregional framework at intergovernmental level is feasible."

He said that Asian countries comparatively had the "Most disappointing record in regard to the acceptance of legally-binding international obligations for that observance of Human Rights." For instance, only four countries, China, Sri Lanka, Mongolia and Japan in the ESCAP region had signed International Convention on Civil and Political Rights.

"Also, in terms of the number of authoritarian states, Asia far surpasses continents. Thus, any organization set up is likely to contain an overwhelming majority of those representing authoritarian regimes, so the result could be counterproductive. It could lead to either of the developments: Member States 'ganging' up to suppress rather than promote Human Rights or indulging in 'mud slinging' to score political propaganda points against each other.' He added that the funda-

mental problems of human conditions and therefore, of human rights know no national, regional, political or ideological frontiers. Only a global approach to Human Rights was the correct course.*

As one observer told the 'Saturday Review', what was achieved "could have been achieved through correspondence!"

WORLD TAMIL EELAM

CONVENTION RESOLUTION

We the participants of the FIRST WORLD TAMIL EELAM CONVENTION: CONSIDERING that an independent Tamil State had been in existence for several centuries in the Traditional Homelands of the Tamils in the Island of Ceylon until it's conquest by the Portuguese in 1619.

TAKING ACCOUNT of the fact that the termination of British rule in the Island of Ceylon in 1948 and the imposition of a British-made constitution in that rejected by the majority of the Tamil people at the Parliamentary General Elections of 1947, British para-Tamil mountcy over the Nation lapsed thereby creating a constitutional vacuum in respect of the Tamil Nation.

BRINGING TO THE ATTEN-TION of the world that the illegally imposed constitutions of 1972 and 1978 by the Sinhalese Government of

the day were no more than unilateral declarations of self-proclaimed constitutions in respect of the Sinhalese Nation only, the majority of the Sinhalese People and their Governments, resulting in the Tamil United Liberation Front, the political party representing the Tamil

unilateral declarations of selfproclaimed constitutions in respect of the Sinhalese Nation only, the majority of Tamil Representatives in Parliament refusing to participate in constitution-making and rejecting both constitutions.

REGRETTING that since granting of independence to the Island of Ceylon in 1948 the Tamil Nation has been subject to discrimination, oppression and state-encouraged violence by successive Governments dominated by the Sinhalese people.

RECALLING that the just and legitimate demands of the Tamil People were not appreciated or recognised by

their Governments, resulting in the Tamil United Liberapolitical tion Front, party representing the Tamil People, at their First Convention on 14th May, 1976 unequivocally resolving that "the restoration and reconstitution of the Free Sovereign Secular Socialist State of TAMIL EELAM based on the right of self-determinto every ation inherent nation has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil Country". Nation in the

RECOGNISING that the Tamil United Liberation Front requested from the Tamil People at the Parliamentary Elections of 21st

(Continued overleaf)

On the 12th of July 1979 Emergency Rule was declared over the district of Jaffna and a pompous Presidential directive was given to Brigadier Weeratunge of the Army "To eliminate the menace of

terrorism in all its forms from the island and more specifically from the Jaffna District."

The 'menace of terrorism' is nowhere near elimination as could be seen from the series of killings of members of the armed forces culminating in the killing of four Policemen on the 3rd of July 1982 at Nelliady. The shots that were fired were at least eloquent of the fact that militancy in the North is still vigorously alive. Despite frequent outbursts in the English dailies of the 'Tigers' being 'tamed' and 'extinct' it has been glaringly and embarrassingly revealed that the militant youth are not a mushroom organization which springs and dies with the day but a deeply committed force that has an impact on the politics of Sri Lanka.

Powerful motives

indeed

But unfortunately, even Tamils are undecided as to how they should react to the 'Tigers'. While the T.U.L.F. has now abandoned its earlier compliant silence and is vociferously opposed to the activities of the militant youth the rest of the Tamil public has been vacillating in its attitude. The short history of the Tigers has yet to be sensitively analysed if we are to understand their role in Srı Lankan politics.

If youths who had been nurtured in the spirit of Gandhian non-violence and traditional hospitality could resort to the sub-machine gun then there must be powerful reasons indeed which motivated them to act against the grain of their

A bleak future

ahead of them

The climate and terrain of the North being uncongenial for cultivetion, the Tamils have been forced to avail themselves of the available educational. opportunities and vie for the desk jobs in the South. Though it was fult by the Sinhakse that the Tamils enjoyed educational and professional rights which exceeded their share and efforts were made since Independence to redress this imbalance, yet the blatant discriminations reached unburable levels when in the Republican Constitution of 1972 these discriminations received constitutional back-

It was then that the Tamil youth seeing only a bleak future ahead were forced to show their protest-yet only through non-violent demon-

How to approach

Tigers'

strations and fasts. But Srima's Government fresh from its slaughter of the JVP Youth, arrested the Tamil youth too, detained them without trial and tortured them.

To be precise, the State 'drove' Tamil youth to violence through its inhuman policies and repression. As a hunted animal which is cornered can do nothing but turn back and attack the hunters, our youth were forced to retaliate against the brutal

The mass media being owned by the State or partial Tigers can be subtly used

to voice the aspirations of his people, the 'Tigers' have served to express the problems of the Tamils loud and clear to many unconvinced Sinhalese, Indians and the other nations.

Inviting the repressive arm of the government the 'Tigers' have unwittingly exposed the dictatorial nature of the Jayawardene rule which is masked by its frequent solemn sermons on "Dharmishta". The inhuman Prevention of Terrorism Act which under the pretext of being used against the opportunity afforded by the 'Tigers'.

The question whether the 'Tigers' are merely "terrorists' or a "Liberation Army" is indeed controversial. But sadly there are many factors which show that they resemble more the "terrorists". Their personal quarrels which culminated in the shoot-out in South India was indeed embarrassing. The jealous rivalry and sentimental quarrel over a girl between Prabhakaran and Uma Maheswaran only show a lack of organization and a paucity of clear political principles and objectives. Their attacks on the security

they don't enjoy total sup-port from the Tamil public. Their senseless killings at times, especially those of Iraikumaran and Umaikumaran, have certainly alienated them from the public. The question whether they can grow from "terrorists" into a "revolutionary movement" depends on their ability to convince the public of their objectives and give proof of their maturity in political awareness.

The approach of the State towards the 'Tigers' has been so far pathetic. Their random arrests of any youth with the fervent prayer that at least one of them would be a 'Tiger,' their terrorizing of villages with the hope that at least a few 'Tigers' would turn panicky, have only served to breed more 'Tigers.' At a time when after the Nelliady incident Parliament is reported to be reverberating to bombastic speeches by M.P's that another state of Emergency should be declared in Jaffna to root out the terrorists as in 1979, it is good for them to remember that the easiest way to make the Tigers "extinct" is to solve the 'real problem' of which the Tigers are only inevitable symptoms—the basic rights of the Tamils including their right of self-determination.

Staff Writer

to it, the youth also lacked an avenue to express the discriminations and brutalities they suffered. But soon guns gave them a powerful means of expression. Violence also had a cathartic effect on them, enabling them to relieve themselves of the seething rage and despair.

It should be remembered that through its periodic random arrests and cruel torture the State had nearly dehumanised the youth. But it was the ability to respond, to retaliate against the tormentor in the name of Justice, that gave the youth a sense of dignity and a new image of themselves. Violence was a deeply necessary humanising force for these youths.

So it is necessary for the prejudiced Sri Lankan public to realise that the 'Tigers' are not out on a romantic adventure or on an idealistic political experiment, but are the inevitable products of the maligned socio-political history of Sri Lanka.

Since their inception the militant youth have made a powerful impact on the politics of Sri Lanka. The Tamils who were nearly forced to silence through the periodic violence by Sinhalese mobs and the terrorism of the Armed Forces, have now acquired a new dignity and the will to struggle for their legitime te richts, because of the indomitable agitation of the 'Tigers'.

The 'Tigers' have also now internationalised the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka which had hitherto been hidden from the view of the outer world by the successive governments of this country. Whereas Vaikunthavasan was forced to steal the megaphone from the podium of the ing protections available U.N.O. in a desparate attempt under normal laws and

against the Sinhalese opposition too, has been discovered by the Left Parties and workers of the South, and they have not been slow in intensifying their struggle for their rights—thanks to the

personnel which are sporadic and motivated by personal revenge on individuals who had earlier tortured them, too show a lack of longterm objectives.

SURESH

It cannot be hidden that

NEW YORK RESOLUTION (Contd.)

(Continued from

page 3)

July 1977 a mandate, for the re-establishment of the Sovereign State of Tamil Eelam and did in fact obtain the

NOTICING WITH CON-CERN the pogroms against the Tamil People by Sinhalese People and the Sinhalese Security Forces in the traditional Homelands of the Tamil People since 1956 and increasingly so in August 1977, thereby endangering the very existence of the Tamil people.

ALSO NOTICING WITH CONCERN the arbitrary arrests, prolonged detention, torture, killings and arrests of hostages of Tamils under the State of Emergency declared in 1979.

ALSO NOTICING WITH CONCERN the passage of the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act on 20th July 1979 (subsequently made part of the permanent and normal laws) containing provisions denydirected to be used mainly against Tamils.

ALSO NOTICING WITH CONCERN the burning of the Public Library in Jaffna the Independent Press and other institutions and buildings in Jaffna by the security forces of the State in June, 1981, manifesting the intention to destroy the cultural heritage of the Tamil People and to repress their knowledge and freedom of expression.

ALSO NOTICING WITH CONCERN the killing of innocent persons, terrorising of people and the arrest of their leaders by the security forces and the rigging of the elections to District Development Council of Jeffne, in June 1981 by Ministers of State, Sinhalese Government officials and the security forces.

ALSO NOTICING WITH CONCERN the arbitrary arrest, prolonged detention, torture, and killings of Tamils since April 1981.

ALSO NOTICING WITH CONCERN the pogroms in August 1981 against the Tamil People, particularly

against the Plantation Tamils resulting in the forced flecing of some of them to India.

RECOGNISING that the Traditional Homelands of the Tamils are occupied by the Sri Lanka security forces which are almost one hundred per cent Sinhalese in racial composition.

BEING AWARE that there is a planned effort by the Sri Lanka Government to colonise the Traditional Homeands of the Tamils with Sinhalese, using the aids and loans given for the purpose of development by foreign countries and international aid agencies to disturb the ethnic composition of the Tamil People in their own Traditional Homelands.

CONSCIOUS of the fact that having adopted the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Sri Lanka. Government continues to carry on a false propaganda that there is protection of human rights in Sri Lanka as provided by the

(Continued on page 9)



The Punithavathy Tiruchelvam Memorial Lecture

delivered at the Sri Lanka Tamil Women's Union. Kalalayam, Colombo on 18th May '82

(Continued from last issue)

effect. And above all, the a Christian missionary. writings of Tamotaram Pillai show us in bold relief all the manifestations of a person subject to intense cultural conflicts-religious, social and emotional. Tamotaram Pillai was perhaps the best example of the advent of the modern the making of the modern movement has not been properly evaluated.

While the "Jaffna Scholars" were making their presence felt in South India-lecturing, teaching, debating, editing and publishing — they were also witnessing the nascent stirrings of the nadu Although Navalar seems to have missed the impact of the publication of landmark was of course the strate both the quantity and Bishop Caldwell's (1814-1891 publication of a verse play quality of the contributions Comparative Grammar of P. Sundaram P. RamanaP. RamanaP. Ramanarevised edition 1875) Tamo- 1897) who was Professor of than, S. W. Comaraswamy taram Pillai and others un- Philosophy at the Travancore (1875-1936), A. Muthutamby mistakably show the influ- University. In that celebrated Pillai (1858-1917), V. J. ence of that work. I have work he had described Tamil Tamby Pillai, T. Ponnambala elsewhere dealt with the sub- as "Goddess". The language Pillai, C. Brito, E. S. W. ject and need not dwelve into had been declared divine and Senathi Rajah and a few it here. Suffice to say that by thereby sacrosanct. theorising about the antiquity and independence of the of philology".

were other European Mis-journals clinches the point. sionaries who put forward the Dravidian case. But it was Caldwell's Comparative Grammar that summed it all up. Already in the lengthy and controversial prefaces to the critical editions of ancient Tamil classics brought out by Tamotaram

Pillai — Virasoliyam (1887) and Kalitokai (1887) we hear echoes of Caldwell's assertions about Dravidian and Tamil. The celebrated passage in the But in fairness to Tamotaram Preface to his edition of Pillai it must be pointed out Kalitokai (1887) in which he that he responded to Caldlaments over the utter in- well's hypothesis with condifference shown by Tamil siderable caution and circumtowards the palm leaf manus- spection. This is evidenced cripts is full of pathos and by his sober remarks about poignancy. In it he referred Sanskrit and Tamil in the to "Deshabhimanam"-love of Preface to his critical edition country, "Matabhimanam"- of Choolamani (1889). Not love of religion and 'Bhash- only the classical works abhimanam' 'love of language both literary and grammatical the fact that Tamil scholars, which became key phrases —but also the medium of of Sri Lanka actively partiin the writings of many after those creations had become cipated in the publication of an object of veneration. The these journals. The Sidmodern linguistic conscious- dhanta Deepika was edited by S. Suriyanarayana Sastriar ness of the Tamils can be J. M. Nallaswami Pillai (1870-1903) a protege of traced to this period. The (1864-1920) and the Tamilian Pillai used these phrases in patron saint of the move Antiquary was edited by Panhis essays with considerable effect. And above all, the a Christian missionary. (1854-1923). The former was

Cultural and Linguistic Consciousness of the Tamil Community Sri Lanka — 3

DV

Doctor K. Kailasapathy

guided by the flair and persuasive enthusiasm of the European scholars... These two journals have done yeoman service in creating in the minds of the Tamils an abiding interest in their Language and Literature, and in infusing a spirit of social confidence with regard to their literary and cultural herita.ge"

What is pertinent here is

(Earlier during Vivekananda's visit to Jaffna, it was Chel-lappah Pillai who received the Swami at the entrance to Jaffna Hindu College and conducted him to the raised dais and garlanded him. He also spoke.)

The case of Pandit Savariroyan brings us to another point. Although the cultural awakening began as a Hindu movement and was predominantly led by Saiva scholars its character changed over the years. The prestige accorded to Christian missionary scholars, (Caldwell, Percivel, Bower, Pope, Ellis) and the endeavours of scholars like Savariroyan brought the Christians into the main-Furthermore with stream. the shifting of focus from religion to language, the im-

nephew of Arumuga Navalar on whom had fallen the mantle of the great savant. He was supported in this by scholars like Kumaraswami Pulavar, A. Muthuthambi Pillai and S. Saravanamuthu

It is interesting to note that Pandit Thurai Thevar (1867-1911), the Zamindar of Ramnad Palavanantham, District, who founded the Madurai Tamil Sangam in 1901, was inspired by the Jaffna Tamil Academy. This trend gathered momentum during the next few decades and a number of associations were formed. Language oriented societies came into being: the North Ceylon Native Language Society (1921) and the North Ceylon Teachers Association

Tamil Cultural literary scene. The purpose of my digression was to say something of Tamotaram Pillai whose contribution to the making of the ma South India & Jaffna

These events were taking Dravidian language, vis-a-vis place in South India with Sanskrit and the Indo-Aryan the full participation and con-Languages, Robert Caldwell tribution of Sri Lankan "set in motion a train of Tamils. An indication of ideas and movements whose the growing awareness of repercussions and consequ-language and culture was the ences went beyond the field commencement of the publication of two journals: Siddhanta Deepika 'The Light Of course Caldwell was not of Truth' (1897-1913) and entirely alone in postulating the Tamilian Antiquary (1907a hoary and glorious history 1914). A recent researcher's for the Tamil language. There observation on the two

> "The two journals cover roughly two decades-the period of the flowering of Tamil Renaissance. This period represents an awakened interest of Tamil scholars in Tamil language and literature benig nly

By about 1880s the Tamil a District Magistrate and the elite both in South India and latter a lecturer at St. Joseph's Sri Lanka had become quite College, Trichy. A perusal others seem to have been regular contributors to these journals. Arunacha.la.m's translations appeared under the initials P. A. Nallaswami Pillai was an ardent admirer of Navalar and cherished the writings of Sri Lankan Tamil scholars. Pandit Savariroya. Pillai was encouraged by two well placed Tamils from Jaffna who held responsible posts: T. Ponnambala.m Pillai was Commissioner of Excise in Travancore: His brother T. Chellappah Pillai was a Justice at Travancore. T. P. Masilamani Pillai was the son of the former who also wrote articles in the Tamilian Antiquary. On his retirement and return to Sri Lanka T. Chellappah Pillai was elected President of Saiva Paripalana Sabhai.

Saivism became less significant. In fact, the active role played by local Christian scholars both in India and Sri Lanka, from the time of Savariroya Pillai-L. D. Swamikannu Pillai (1865-1925), Fr. S. Gnanapiragasar (1875-1947), Dr. T. Isaac Tambyaiah (1869-1941) and Rev. X. S. Thani Nayagam (1913-1980)—in the cause of Tamil has, at times, led to the allegation by some Hindus that the Christians have infiltrated the Tamil cultural movement. (As Professor Arasaratnam observed. "these minority groups, particularly Christians are most vociferous in identifying with Tamil Linguistic nationalism and have provided organizational leadership and vocal propagandist talents".)

The events mentioned above had without doubt their effect in Sri Lanka. The concern for the Tamil language manifested in various ways. A number of societies and associations were formed for its protection and development. As may be expected Jaffna led the way. As early as 1898 a Tamil Academy was established in Jaffna by the efforts of T. Kailasapillai (1852-1939),

portance hitherto attached to (1925) may be cited as instances of this trend. The Jaffna Oriental Studies Society was constituted in 1921 to foster the study of Sanskrit and Tamil. It had the patronage of officials in the Department of Education. Some of these societies started publishing magazines and journals for furthering their causes. The Oriental studies Society for instance launched a scholarly journal called Kalanithi which had a vogue among traditional scholars. The Kala Nilayam a Centre for literature and culture, founded in 1930 by the efforts of Kalaipulavar K. Navaratnam likewise published Gnayiru a quarterly journal of high quality. The Society did yeoman's service to the study and popularization of Tamil Classics. Regular lectures and discussions were conducted on cultural, literary and historical subjects.

Conferences and meetings were held to celebrate different aspects of Tamil language and literature; one such meeting was held at the Ridgeway Hall in Jaffna in 1922, presided over by Hon. A. Kanagasabai. This was the first major literary conference in Jaffna and to befit the

(Continued on page 7)

Eelam has a coastal bel stretching 300 miles long and within its 200 miles wide exclusive maritime zone, it has vast fisheries resources which have not been utilized. Foreign vessels belonging to neighbouring far-eastern coun -tries find it profitable to fish not only in our deep sea fisheries but even within our territorial waters. If foreign trawlers find it worthwhile to poach fish in our waters, the widespread belief that the catch in this region has declined as a result of overfishing cannot be right. Only the fishing grounds near the coast in the populated areas have been over-exploited.

Vast areas within the 40-fathom limit remain unexplored for want of port facilities, mechanised boats and trained men to operate them. At present there is not a single all-weather equipped fishing port nor any motorised boat suitable for deep sea fishing.

TAIWAN'S FISHING

CAPABILITY

Taiwan, a relatively small island has a fleet of 7000 trawlers and Japan has over 15,000. India has just 7 trawlers (85 ft long) capable of deep sea fishing—that is fishing beyond 40 fathoms, and another 50 vessels (70 ft, long) suitable for fishing upto 40 fathoms. India's fish catch is an abysmally low—1.4 million tonnes a year and Eelam's catch is hardly worth mentioning.

Along the coast of Eelam. within the 30-100 fathoms region, large grounds for perches and groupers can be found, with an estimated potential at 2000 tonnes. As these fish have white meat, they have not only each per annum high domestic value but can be exported as well. There are large resources of horse mackerels, ribbon fish and carangids within the 20 to 60 fathom range. These can be harvested by parseseining and mid-water trawling.

THE MAJOR

CONCENTRATIONS

Large reserves of pomfret are confined to the depth of 40 to 90 fathoms. After 90 fathoms, the catch declines, though Pomfret has been found in areas up to 150 fathoms. In this region, there are also considerable quantities of squid and cuttle fish (The sepia and loligo species).

The major concentration of these fish is between the depth of 50 fathoms and 150 fathoms with a peak concentration at a depth of 50 to 80 fathoms. Squid and cuttle fish can be found up to a depth of 200 fathoms. Shrimps are found mostly within 40 fathom region and in India almost all the 16,000 mechanised vessels (32 ft. by 43 ft) concentrate only on shrimp (penacid prawns).

There are also vast resources of either quality fishes such as polynemids and eels

Eelam Economics

which can be exported; and the so called poor quality (demersal) fish such as shark, ray, catfish and dhoma (sciaenids) can also be profitably exploited.

The demersal fish potential within the 40 fathom limit (this varies from 40 km to 70 km from the share) in India is estimated at 1.7 million tonnes a year and for Eelam the corresponding figure would be 100,000 tonnes a year. The percapita availability of fish eaten by 70 per cent of the population in India is about 4 kg, for Ealam the figure for 100 per cent population would be around 6 kg which compare poorly with that of other Asian countries. It is 31.8 kg in Burma and 40.8 kg in Japan.

But even so, the consumption of fish in Eelam and India particularly in urban areas, has been steadily increasing. In fact, the demand for fish has outstripped supply, which calls for increase in the fish catch and improved marketing structure to satisfy local demand.

India and Eelam, we could produce this new generation of trawlers economically for deep-sea fishing. This would also create urgently needed jobs for our poor Tamilians. (Stern trawlers a promising innovation widely used all over the world, are yet to be introduced in Eelam & India)

fish farming, insulin, pearl essence, glue, gelatine, many biochemical and pharmaceutical products, and citin; also oils for use in paint, leather treatment, lubricants, and putty, caulking compounds, greases and water repellants.

As the fishermen have to

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME AND ORGANIZATION.

Civil Engineering Design Team

Hydraulics. Various hull shapes. Construction materials, safety equipment. An-

P. Varothayasingham

writes from London

whole Engineers and a spectrum of skilled personnel and unskilled workers would be needed to work on various hull shapes, construction materials, engines and gearboxes and their location, cooling and fuel systems, electrical and auxiliary systems including hydraulics, stern gear, deck machinery, steering systems, modern electtronic aids for fishermen, safety equipment, anchors and ropes, maintenance. There is also a need to improve existing fishing ports and build new ones. Improved harbours and landing facilities would mean providing quay length that enable

go further & further afield to find bigger and better catches they need to know the sophisticated techniques for handling and preservation. Knowledge on spoilage and refrigeration icing, the fish room, fish room insulation, mechanical refrigeration with ice, refrigerated sea water, refrigeration plant, freezers, cold stores, and freezing at sea etc., need to be imparted to all fishermen.

Those involved in the distribution and marketing of fish will need to have detailed knowledge on the factors affecting quality of fish, freezing media and super chilling,

chors, ropes etc. Improved Fishery Harbours with Quay; Length Slipway, Cold Storeage, Buildings. Landing and Bunkering Facilities. Workshops etc.

Mechanical Service Engineering Design Team

Engines and Gear Boxes and Their Location; Cooling and Fuel Systems; Stern Gear; Deck Machinery; Steering Systems.

Electrical Engineering Design

Electrical Services and Electronic Aids.

How to exploit the vast Fisheries

resources

Eelam with its scarce natural resources, needs to develop its deep sea fishing industry if it were to earn any foreign exchange by exporting its fisheries products (Fish farming is another aspect of the resource and demersal fish is used as a feed in fish farms)

According to research carried out by Indian Fishery authorities the ideal vessel required for deep-sea fishing would be a 500-horse-power combination trawler capable of bottom and Pelagic (midwater) fishing—between 25 and 28 metres long. Such a vessel will be able to withstand the rigours of the monsoon as well as oceanographic conditions of the offshore water. But such boats do not exist in India at present and the Indian shipyards have a poor record for delivery on schedule and the quality of their products leaves much to be desired.

Tamilians living overseas could pool some of their resources and set up a few shippards in Eelam and Tamil Nadu. By combining the advances of western technology (which is available for a price) with abundantly available cheap Labour in South

large fishing trawlers to enter the port, bunkering facilities to enable ships to refuel and take fresh water, facilities for rpairs like a slip-way and a workshop, cold storage as well as stocks of ice which the fishermen can take with them. The publication "Fishing ports and markets" by the Economics Division of the F.A.O., (U.N.) gives valuable advice on the matter.

Such construction work would generate employment for Engineers, particularly civil engineers, technicians, and construction workers. The public will invest money in this venture only if they can be convinced that they stand to gain by it. This means that the Government Local Authorities should take an active role in administering the fishing, distributing, marketing (export) aspects.

The fishermen have to be induced to improve their catch by demonstrating the demand for demersal and pelagic fish. Almost one third of the world catch of fish is utilized for purposes other than direct human food, such as fertilizers, animal food, protein concentrates for various food processes, pet food, feeds for

physical effects of freezing, specific problems and techniques, the effect of polyphosphate treatment, the thawing of frozen fish, economics of producing and marketing frozen fish products quality and assessment of frozen fish products, storage, packing and distribution., preservation by irradiation etc.

The planned development of deep sea fishing industry would entail setting up of navigation schools and fishermen training schools. Navigation is still an essential skill in spite of the increased use of electronic aids and navigation school would aim to impart knowledge on all aspects of navigation, chartwork, pilotage, ship stability, safety rules and survival at 4. Product sea etc. Fishermen's training school would aim to teach practical seamanship such as rigging and working trawl gez.r, fishing methods such as bottom otter trawling, bottom pair trawling, mid-water trawling, multi-rig-trawling, purse seining, dredging, seine netting, gill nets, traps longlines, pots, trolling, harpooning etc. FAO (UN) experts are available to servee as instructors in such training

- 1. Set of Design Group with Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Teams. One Project Manager to coordinate and arrange regular process meetings. Detail Design, Working Drawings, Bill of Quantities and specifications to be prepared and handed over to construction supervision group, based in South India.
- 2. Management Group to look into the finance, local by-laws regulations, land aquisition, legal aspects. This group should have overall control of the project and it would be made up of members from other groups plus at least one accountant and one lawyer.
- 3. An operations group to look into the distribution, marketing and export aspects. Liaise with Government and local authorities.
- 4. Product Development Group to be responsible for canning, freezing and utilizing the fishery catch for such purposes as producing fertilizers animal feed, chemicals etc.
- 5. A construction supervision team based in South India to oversee the boat building and other construction works also responsible for the training of locals in deep-sea fishing and navigation. laise

(Continued next page)

Eelam Economics

The water problem in the Jaffna Peninsula remains un solved. It is alarming to think that such an area which is essentially agricultural, should face such a bleak situation. Is it a question of Funds?

Ceylon and India were together till the Miocene era. It was about 20 million years ago that the sea encroached and turned Ceylon into an Island. The Jaffna Peninsula appeared above the sea during a later period by the accumulation of coral-reefs, lime stones, calcareous clays and sands. Thus, the Jaffna Peninsula is mainly underlain with cavernous Miccene limestone, has a thin layer of latosols, lagoonal deposits of brown loams and wind-swept sands.

The only source of water in the Peninsula for agricultural and domestic purposes is the ground water in the underlain aquifers, supplemented by the one-season monsoon The re-charge is about 100,000 acre-feet when the rainfallis about 37 inches, which is the average for the north-east monsoon season and which is 80 percent of the total annual precipitation. In lean years the recharge is considerably less. Of this re-charge 30 to 50 percent (depending on the rainfall) is discharged into the sea. The average extraction rate for domestic and agricultural uses is about 50,000 acre-feet.

ground-water Thus, the available is the bare minimum and the extraction therefore should be done with the utmost care, particularly in areas subject to salinity. Large diameter wells are the only source for extraction and excessive draw-off practised for the intensive methods of cultivation. There are about 100,000 wells in the Peninsula, of which 25 percent are used purely for agricultural purposes and an equal percentage of others are used for dual purposes. The age-old well-sweeps have been completely replaced by fast operating mechanical pumps and so the extraction rate has alarmingly increased even with the consequent possibility of saline wa.ter intruding the ground-hyper water aquifers.

The salinity as measured by the chloride ion content shows an increase during dry How to

Solve Jaffna's

water

problem

weather in 25 percent of the land area. The area free from salinity, with less than 500 p.p.m., is only 50 percent. Foreign hydrologists have warned against the high rate of water extraction and the consequent increase in salinity. Econolists are reported to have said that it is frightening to think that with the intended doubling of cement production and the consequent increase of quarrying of limestone bed-rock and the resultant seepage of saline water, the K.K.S. area may turn arid.

bund at Elepnant Pass to block the entry of sea water and to convert the East lagoon into a fresh water lake which with the waters that enter it from the mainland through Kanagarayan aru and five others. This fresh water which flows into the East lagoon, nearly discharged out into the sea, un-used.

The plan was to construct an dast bund/causeway to prevent this out-flow and to lead the waster through a link channel into the Vadamarachchi island lagoon. This is the heart of the

by J. J. Niles

The main solution to the water problem in the Jaffna Peninsula is dependent on the lagoon Scheme. It is exactly 100 years ago that this Scheme was proposed. It was 72 years later that the first stage was completed, when the Thondamannar barrage was constructed. (This barrage was not in full operation till the recent repair. Now the Lagoon-bed encroachers are a barrier against reaching maximum operational level to store water to full capacity.) It was 5 years still later that the Ariyalai barrage was built. The next stage to be completed was the erection, another 5 years later, of a

Scheme. This when done would reclaim about 10,000 acres for cultivation, supplement irrigation to 20,000 acres, august storage in under bround aquifers, reduce the salinity in neighbouring wells and benefit a population of 700,000. Till the east bund/causeway and link channel are constructed all these will remain a vain hope. The scheme has come to a halt due to lack of funds.

SHORT-TERM

PLANS

Till such time the Lagoon Scheme is Funded and completed and as a supplementary measure, other short-term plans should be undertaken in the field of agronomy. Research should be undertaken on economical methods of irrigation (such as Sprinkler for small holdings, Drip system, etc), lincd-channels, reclamation of saline/alkaline soils (based on the Soil Survey of Jaffna-1969-by a Japanese expert), control on sinking wells, exploitation of the vast extent of rocky land, diversification of crops (the final summing-up of a highlevel Seminar on this subject was "what does the Jaffna farmer do next-has it to be Oil crops")

Punithavathy Tiruchelvam

Memorial Lecture

(Continued from page 5)

occasion leading personalities from Madras were invited. Among them were Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar (1871-1947) the historian, K. Subramania Pillai (1889-1945) a staunch Tamil revivalist, P. V. Manicka Naicker (1871-1931) a language enthusiast and A. Madaviah (1874-1925) the novelist. Vaithilinga.m Duraiswamy presided over the proceedings of the second day. T. A. Thuraiappa Pillai (1872-1929) who was the founder of Mahajana College and himself a poet and playwright took an active part in this conference.

It would be interesting at

this stage to say something of the Pure-Tamil Movement and the influence of the person associated with it. We will not go into the details of the origin of that Movement or the biography of Swami Vedachalam (1876-1950) who changed his name into Maraimalai Adigal after he started the pure-Tamil Movement in 1915. Maraimalai Adigal's basic idea was to "free" Tamil language and literature (and religion) from Sanskritic influences. It is pertinent to note the timing of the movement when we remember the fact that the Justice Party-officially called at the beginning the South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF)—came into being that year. One need not labour the point that "The Non-Brahmin Manifesto" of the Justice Party had striking resemblance to the "manifesto of pure-Tamil" which called for the "elimination" of Sanskrit-a language identified with Brahmins. The essence of Maraimalai Adigal's thesis was the purity and antiquity of Tamil. argued that language was the basis of civilizations and hence its preservation and vitality was absolutely essential for a race like the Tamils.

Maraimalai Adigal visited Ceylon on a number of occasions—first in 1914 and later in 1917 and 1922. Pandit Mailvaganam who later became Swami Vipulananda and the well-known Saiva scholar Proctor T.

There are many other similar aspects. The only Station for the Research agricultural problems of the Jaffna Peninsula is the small 2 acre-one at Tinnevelly. The writer, a retired regional Agricultural Officer, handled all papers leading to the finality of a plan to greatly increase the extent of this Research Station. It is unfortunate that this has taken a different turn and not only is the new land to be alienated for some other purpose but also the permanency of the present Station itself is in doubt.

Canagarayar were attracted. towards him in 1917. Changing of Sanskritic names to "pure" Tamil ones is perhaps one of the most tangible results of Maraimalai Adigal's movement. Because of the zeal with which he presented his case and the prevailing socio-cultural milieu his call had considerable attraction. Changing names became fashionable among certain Tamil scholars. Some others showed a penchant for old Tamil names. From Ilamuruganar to Elaventhan there has been a host of people who asumed new names. On the whole the pure-Tamil Movement did not flourish in Ceylon as it had in Tamilnadu owing to several reasons Even in India the number of people with total commitment to the cause was always small, but it had a vogue that was out of proportion to its actual strength. However both in Tamilnadu and Ceylon the movement did have a formative significance in quickening the linguistic consciousness and undoubtedly kindled the passions of cultural nationalism.

THE JAFFNA YOUTH CONGRESS

Something should be said about the Youth Congress, also known as the Students' Congress that was active in Jaffna for a decade from the mid 1920s to the mid 1930s. Among the many seminal ideas propagated by the Youth Congress was the importance of the Tamil language—as a national language—and the emphasis given to the concept of education through the medium of the mother tongue. At the first Con'g ress itself (1924) a discussion was held in Tamil on "the need for the revival of Tamil Literature". Among the participants were Navancetha Krishna Bharathi (1889-1952), Pandit V. R. Rajayanar (1899-1954) and S. Natesapillai (1895-1965). One of the resolutions passed at the first Congress was as follows: "That a prize, medall or some other form of inducement be offered by the Congress to anyone who does some original work for the revival of National literature, art or music". A practice was established to devote the second day of the Congresse to national literature and culture and the proceedings being conducted entirely in Tamil.

At the fourth annual sessions of the Congress held at Keerimalai in 1928, there were lectures on "Tamil our national heritage" and "The Tamil Renaissance". A noteworthy feature of these Congresses was the presence of eminent Indian personalities some of whom were also Tamil scholars: mention may be made of T. V. Kalyanasundaranar and S. Satyamurthy.

(To be continued)

How to exploit the ...

(Continued from page 6)
with F.A.O. (UN) and
Naval Academics for assistance. Health and
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8. TARGET: 10,000 Deep sea fishing boats in 5 years to ensure this goal. Critical path technique (First used for the development of Polaris Submarine) may be utilized with appropriate technology and mass production methods.

A crowd of 150 people gathered at the Trimmer Hall, Jaffna on the evening of 3rd of July, to honour the ceremonial releasing of K. Daniel's novel "PANCH-AMAR". At a time when even works of art have become commodities and writers pander to popular tastes K. Daniel daringly explores the evils of casteism among The novel's first part was released in 1972 and won the Sahithya Award; the meeting on the 3rd was to greet the completed novel with its second part. The first copy of this completed novel was ceremonially sold by Dr. A. Shanmugadas (Head of Cultural Studies University of Jaffna) to Mrs. Linga Thurairajah (Attorneyat-Law)

Mr. K. Krishnapillai who presided, opened the meeting, giving the sociological background of the novel. He stressed that caste prejudice is a subtle tool used by the capitalists for their exploitative purposes.

NO HERO OR

VILLAIN

Dr. A. Shanmugadas, the chief speaker, said that though casteism was now a 'dated' historical fact, yet 'Panchaperforms the useful function of preserving a past historical reality to future generations especially because the past determines the future. Yet this historical fact was not aridly documented but transmuted into Art.

Drawing attention to the lack of a "Hero" or "Villain" in the novel where many characters bear equal importance, Dr. Shanmugadas commented that this reflects the state of the society in this Age of the Common Man where there is increased mobility among the ranks. This

The Jaffna

literary scene

lack of a "Central Character" or categorized roles for characters was a common feature in all modern Tamil Novels.

Dr. Shanmugadas commended the novelist's good use of the colloquial language, realistic presentation of local characters and credible evocation of the Tamil life style. Anyhow he complained against the bad printing done in India with many errors, which made reading difficult.

Prof. Ramakrishna (Head of the Dept. of Philosophy) speaking next, pointed out that while it was necessary for the Tamils to stand united as they opposed their oppressors, yet it was necessary that the limitations and evils among the Tamils too should be criticized. While the Tamil middle classes had aped the Western lifestyle with the advent of colonialism it was these lower castes, exploited by the other Tamils, who had preserved the Tamil language and the indigenous

The novel revealed that the novelist had written out of the first hand experience he had with the "lower" castes and not out of plain imagination distanced from reality.

Prof. Ramakrishna. stated that being a serious novel which analysed socioeconomic issues giving weight to the 'content' of the novel, yet in the very process of writing, the 'style' too took on beauty and power.

Many other speakers gave in-depth literary criticism of this rare 'progressive' novel in the Tamil literary scene.

Release of 2 Books in Tamil The authors: K. Daniel and Dominic leeva

A public meeting was held in the Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna, on Monday the 5th of July to mark the release of "Eelathilirunthu ore Ilakiya Kural" (i.e., "A Literary voice from Eelam"), a book consisting of interviews, articles and reflections on

Tamil literature by Dominic

Prof. K. Kailasapathy in his address pointed out some shortcomings of modern Tamil literature. He stated that Tamil writers still hadn't developed the ability and the outlook to transmute the immediate daily experiences of the present society into Art. The themes and experiences they wrote about were somewhat distanced from the present day realities. The time consumed on arid discussions into academic problems such as the relation between "style" and "content" was gradually overstepping limits.

Lecturer in Tamil, N. Subramaniya Aiyar, said that the treatment of caste prejudices in Tamil fiction wanted in depth, objectivity and complexity. The Tamil writers were also not grappling with the politics of Tamils and had no answer for the confusing climate at present. He also pointed to the lack of universality in Tamil writings and appealed to the writers to transcend their immediate milieu.

Veteran writer Dominic Jeeva speaking last said that the book he was releasing was meant to meet the need of biographical and technical material of writers should be preserved for posterity. He also had some angry words for the Tamil reading public who never encourage writers materially or otherwise, and were partly to blame for the poverty and travails of writers like him

Christmas Walawu, Uduvil, 30th June, 1982.

The Editor, "Saturday Review",

"Parliament will stand dissolved by itself in July, 1983 and elections will be held within four months thereafter".

This categorical assurance given once again by no less a person than the President himself at a recent public meeting would certainly have had two different reactions; embarrassing to those who keep on saying otherwise and encouraging to those who refuse to doubt the bona fide of the President's adherence to Parliamentry democracy and periodical elections.

These two different reactions, one by those who oppose the ruling party and the other by its supporters are natural and obvious and require no deep political think-ing for one to understand. There is however, a third reaction which is little known to many and this requires a little insight.

There is a section in the community, a section which comprises sympathisers of all parties, that reacts differently from the other two. mere mention of the word election itself makes it shudder in its boots. Election to this section is something dreadful,. something to run away from.

Why this section is so scared of elections is a question that should attract the attention of not only the leaders of the ruling party but those of the other parties as well. This section fears that it will be the target of the vanquished accusing it as responsible for their defeat. This fear cannot be termed as hallucination and dismissed as base-

Lower middle class state officers (anybody below the status of Doctors, Engineers and their like now belongs to the lower middle class) and their counterparts in the mercantile and other sectors belonging to the Tamil community who compose this section are this pathetic lot.

Scattered all over the country and living in dungeons and garage converted dwellings and eating unwholesome food they live in the midst of Sinhalese not to exert their right of equality that is said to be enshrined in the constitution but to merely keep their homefires burning.

Hence, please spare them you politicians when you battle it out, is this open ap-

> Yours faithfully P. C. P. Gnanadurai

Sri Jayewardenepura University mars

proud tradition: Tamil medium Students shut out

The Universities of Sri But unhappily, the University Tamil students there have Lanka have hitherto boasted of Sri Jayawardenepura has been deprived of the B.Sc

a proud record of being able to rise above narrow racialism. recently proved that it is an Course in Management Students or rise above narrow racialism. The ies, state a group of Tamil medium students in a letter sent to the Saturday Review.

> Though they have qualified and have been admitted to the University with the right of choosing either the course of Commerce (B.Com) or Management Studies (B.Sc), since enrolment they provided only with the B.Com course. But because the Tamil students kept demanding the B.Sc., degree on Management Studies which the Sinhalese students were provided with, the authorities finally relented and offered the course on 14-5-82. But the Sinhalese students had been embittered by this and after representations to the authorities, had seen to it that the degree was scrapped, and the earlier B.Com. degree offered instead.

Since then—27-5-82— the Tamil students have boycotted lectures demanding the course on Management Studies. Though they were verbally threatened by Sinhalese Students and threatening slogans have appeared on the campus walls, yet the Tamil students haven't given up their demand.

Now that the situation has become grave, and the 4000 odd students of the campus supported by the Students Council have openly expressed their opposition, the Tamil students find themselves unable to enter the University premises. So they now plead that arrangements to follow the Management Studies course be made in the University of Colombo.

Though the plight of the boycotting students has been made known to the Higher Education authorities and the government, no action has been taken so far.

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and his eyesight weak. He is short, paunchy and bald. His Arabic syntax is terrible. He never married, does not own a house, has no hobbies. If you ask him a personal question, he will quickly change the conversation back to politics.

But for 13 years, this middle-class, middle-aged man has been one of the world's most enduring revolutions.ries a statesman to some, a terrorist to others—a man who in 1959, promised to build a "generation of revenge" and who since then has influenced every major consideration in the political affairs of the Middle East.

Abdul Rahman Arafat Al Qudwa 52, better known as Yasser Arafat is living these days in a time of not-so-quiet desperation, his redoubt surrounded by . Israeli troops while men who are not friends negotiate the future of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Symbol of 4:4

million Palestinians

Even now, in what could be the death throes of the PLO as a political movement Arafat—his eyes puffy from lack of sleep, his brown fatigues rumpled — remains the consummate politician and the visible symbol for the aspirations of 4.4 million Palestinians.

He roars through Beirut in the front passenger seat of his blue Peugeot, its headlights covered with blue paint. He dashes unan-nounced into ministers' offices, holds midnight meetings, tours the hospitals and refugee camps daily, and issues defiant statements.

DPL representation in 117 countries

"I am married to the Palestinians" Arafat, the son of a merchant with an aristocratic background, is fond of saying. And indeed, whatever his future may be in the days ahead, seldom has one man done so much in behalf of one people and done it without having a country, a government or any territory.

From a ragtag a band of guerillas armed by Syria and Algeria with a few submachine guns and grenades, Arafat transformed the PLO into a political movement that has some form of diplomatic representation in 117 countries and offices in 85. In Washington and Jerusalem, he is still referred to as a terrorist, but few other capitals-and not a single diplomat in the US embassy here—share that view any-

this transformation with a remarkable blend of political acumen and flexibility, all the -ly nurtured image as a the dignity and honour of The protest letter by the revolutionary: the stubble the Tamil People will be association calls for the with-

Yasser Arafat. the guerillastatesman with his back

beard that gives him an unkempt look, the black and white headdress known as a kaffiyeh, the pistol in his

To most observers he is irreplaceable as the leader of the PLO. He has managed to

In Sri Lanka the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has been granted full diplomatic recognition and its mission in Colombo raised to embassy status.

keep the widely disparate factions of his own organisation speaking with a single voice, to survive the constant pressure of Israel, which clearly believes the ultimate solution to its Palestinian problem is the annihilation of the PLO, to maintain good relations with virtually every Arab country from prowestern ones like Saudi Arabia to pro-eastern ones like Libya.

Between 1968 and 1978, Are fet made 14 announced trips to Moscow; but he appears to have no ideological persuasion. His life is completely political and his energy—he sleeps only four or five hours a night even in happier times—is endless. His singular direction is to reclaim a home for the Palestinians, who, in 1948, were driven from what is now Israel. To negotiate anything less, he says, would be to make the Palestinians "slaves of peace".

No drinks, no

smokes, no women

Arafat has held only one normal job in his life. In the late 1950s, he worked briefly as a civil engineer for the Kuwait public works department. He does not drink or smoke or keep company with women. His organisation has a budget of about one billion dollars annually, and he owns practically nothing. He

sleeps in the homes of different friends each night because no sensible company would insure his life. His only identity is that of guerillastatesman.

In 1974 Arafat addressed the UN General Assembly in New York as Chairman of the PLO, which he had taken over five years earlier. On the advice of aides, he discarded his dark glasses, battle dress, gun and stubble for the occasion. But as he entered the hall, his empty holster still peaked out from his open windbreaker.

"I am a Palestinian", he said, "and everyone must see that I have had to fight to get

In his speech he said, "Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. I repeat, do not let the olive branch fall from my



Yasser Arafat His dream seems even further away

Today, though, his dream of a Palestinian homeland seems even further away than it did then. He had pinned much of his hopes on reaching a resolution with the United States, but Washington has succeeded in freezing him out of all policy considerations, even managing to avoid direct contact with him now while US presidential envoy Phillip C. Habib is here in Beirut, negotiating the fate of the PLO.

'The world has not heard the last of him '

Whatever happens during the next few volatile days, the world undoubtedly has not heard the last of the Palestinians' spiritual Godfather. If he survives, the PLO eventually will be rebuilt. And if he is killed, a new generation of young men one day almost certainly will bear arms, and say they are doing it in the name of Yasser Arafat.

(Los Angeles Times)

on Eelam.... New York resolution

(Continued from page 4)

constitution, while blatantly denying to the Tamil People fundamental human rights including the right of selfdetermination.

REALISING that the chauvinistic policies of successive Governments since the granting of Independence to the Island of Ceylon are leading to repeated acts, of State terrorism resulting in increasing sense of insecurity and fear among the Tamil People of ultimate genocide.

REAFFIRM the necessity and urgency for the restora-Arafat has accomplished tion of the Free Sovereign is transformation with a re-parkable blend of political Tamil Eelam so that the survival and security of the while maintaining his careful Tamil People will be ensured,

from fear and want for the the Tamil People and Tamil People will be achieved

REQUEST the Nations of CALL UPON the Tamils of the World and the Interna-

preserved and the ideal of the World to join and unite tional Community to ensure enjoyment of civil and polit- in the struggle to secure that the Tamil Nation is not ical freedom and freedom justice, security and peace to denied fundamental human rights including the right of self-determination.

Assessment notices on every family: Protest to Jaffna Municipality

Jaffna District has protested to the Municipal Commissioner and the Mayor of Jaffna against the serving of assessment notices on each and every family dwelling together with the title holders of the houses at Gurunagar West and East.

The protest letter by the M.P. for Jaffna.

The Sri Lanka Maritime drawal or suspension of such Welfare Association of the notices until it is proved

> Copies of the letter have also been sent to the Minister of Local Government and the

DECLINE IN TAMIL MORALE' - DMK MAN

Mr. Anbil Dharmalingain a prominent member of the DMK and a former Minister. in Tamil Nadu who was on a private visit to Sri Lanka speaking at a function regretted that the enthusiasm and morale of the Tamils in Sri Lanka had declined since his previous visit to this country. He also deplored the absence of unity wherever the Tamils lived and said that this situation must change if they were to have a better future.

It will be Mr. Zail Singh versus Prof. Hiren Mukherh-jee in the July 12th presidential poll in India, and unless there is large scale cross-voting—which is what the opposition parties are predicting—Mrs. Indira Gandhi's nominee is like to score a comfortable victory.

Mr. Zail Singh, who was Minister of Home Affairs until two weeks ago, is the first member of the minority Sikh community to be sponsored by the Congress (I) for the post since independence.

The choice of the opposition parties, both right and left, fell on the veteran Communist Party leader of India, Prof. Mukherjee after they failed to persuade the Vice-President Mr. M. Hidayatullah to accept nomination.

VICE-PRESIDENT NOT CONSIDERED

Mr. Hidayatullah had indicated that he would come forward only if his name was agreed to by all the parties including the Congress (I). Obviously, the independent-minded ex-Chief Justice of India was not considered for the post by Mrs. Gandhi.

Earlier, the opposition had considered the names of several other candidates, including another ex-Chief Justice of India, Mr. K. C. Khanna and Mr. B. P. Shastri of the Congress (S), while the Government had considered the names of the Defence Minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Narasimha Rao.

The nomination papers of all the 34 other aspirants were rejected.

There has been some criticism by the opposition, The former Janata Prime Minister, Mr. Charan Singh in a letter to Mrs. Gandhi pointed out that Mr. Zail Singh had been indicted by the Gurudev Singh commission, which had upheld 35 of the 55 charges levelled against him during his tenure as Chief Minister of Punjab.

The matter had not still been finally disposed of.

A petition containing objections to Mr. Zail Singh's nomination on this and other grounds has been filed before the returning officer, but if he is elected then the petitioner's right to prosecute him would be extinguished as under the Constitution the President enjoyed special immunity from the courts.

Opposition parties as a final gambit have asked the "electoral college" members to vote according to their conscience.

The electoral college consists of members of the Lok Sabha (542) the Rajya Sabha (232) and the state assemblies (4,595) making a grand total of 4,595.

This will be the eighth presidential poll to be held in India since independence.

have a surfeit of talent to choose from, Secondly, she has been, and is, functioning within the context of a sharpening political conflict into which the largely titular office of head of state is sought to be dragged.

"The constitution, even after the 44th amendment sponsored by the Janata government, specifically obliges the President to act on the advice of the Prime Minister as the head of the council of ministers. And yet the opposition parties have been advocating an



Zail Singh

Zail Singh -India's eighth President (to be)

Commenting on the Congress (I) candidate, "The Times of India" said editorially:

"Far from being a surprise the ruling party's decision to adopt him as its candidate for the august office was not unforeseeable and had, in fact, been anticipated by some. This does not mean that the choice will be universally popular or widely welcomed outside the Congress (I) ranks. The ruling party's critics, and Giani Zail Singh's own, are bound to find fault with it on the ground that he perhaps lacks the stature of the previous tenants of Rashtrapati Bhavan. Their argument may not be wholly baseless, even if it is tinged with a measure of rancour. But it is largely irrelevant. This is so for two reasons. First, Mrs. Gandhi did not

activist presidential What is more, they have been trying to foist on Mrs. Gandhi a President who might be contentious inclined to be and thus troublesome in the difficult times the country is passing through. Alternatively, in the name of consensus, they have been seeking to embarrass her. Given these circumstances, Gandhi has acted in the only way she could. She has also picked on the best candidate available. For Giani Zail Singh can be expected to perform the functions of head of state with due dignity as well as in harmony with the head of government. It is in this spirit that his selection has been made and it is in this spirit that it ought to be received and welcomed by the country which can ill afford the

NEWS BRIEFS

NELLIADI SHOOTING: POLICE REWARD

Police Headquarters have announced a reward of Rs. 5 lakhs to anyone giving information leading to the arrest of the killers of the four constables at Nelliadi junction on Friday night. The Nelliady area was cordoned off on Friday night itself and a house to house search was made. About 20 persons were taken in for questioning, but no arrests have so far been made.

PAKISTAN GESTURE TO SRI LANKA

The President of Pakistan, Zia-ul-Huq has invited President Jayawardene to Pakistan to meet nearly 3000 Pakistanis who regained their sight following the grafting of 6000 corneas sent by Sri Lanka.

CAR HIJACKED ON KANDY-COLOMBO ROAD

Three men who hired a Datsun car on a trip to Colombo are reported to have brandished a revolver and a knife at the driver en route and driven off in the vehicle. Police believe that the car might have been used for a robbery and have requested the public with information to contact the nearest Police Station.

SON SUSPECTED OF CLUBBING FATHER

Sripala (38) a resident of Rambukkana in the Morawaka Police area was clubbed to death. The Police have taken his son into custody in this connection.

IN MEMORY OF A VANNI CHIEFTAIN

Celebrations have been organized in Vavuniya in memory of Pandara Vannian, the Vanni Chieftain, who defied foreign rule. A statue to Pandara Vannian will also be erected in Vavuniya.

VEL FESTIVAL
BEGINS ON AUG. 2

The Annual Vel Festival in Colombo will be held from 2nd of August to August 6th. The Vel Chariot will leave Sri Kathiravelayutha swami Kovil, Pettah, in procession to Sri Maniccavinayagar Kovil, Bambala pitiya, on August 2nd and do the return journey on August 6th.

SHOPS SMASHED UP AT NELLIADY

Joint Army and Police patrols in Jaffna which were originated after the attack on Anaicottai Police Station and subsequently discontinued have now been resumed after the Nelliady shooting.

Following the shooting at Nelliadi on Friday night two shops at Nelliady were smashed up on Sunday evening and members of the public attacked by a group of men in civils who came in a jeep. Some bicycles in the area were also damaged. Assaults on people were also reported from Vathiry.

MENTAL HOME PATIENT GOES FOR COP

Constable Pathmanathan of the Police Post at Trinco-malee Hospital was stabbed by a youth believed to be a former inmate of the Mental Asylum, Angoda. A knife and a broken piece of bottle were found in his possession.

DEAD BODY WASHED ASHORE

The nude body of a dead youth believed to be about 25 years old was washed ashore at a place called Oorikkadu at Karainagar, Jaffna.

DEATH OF PT. PEDRO MAGISTRATE

The Point Pedro Magistrate Mr. K. S. Mahesan died after a heart attack on Sunday, July 4th. Mr. Mahesan (50) was a former journalist.

luxury of friction or intrigue at the highest level of the constitutional structure.

"Another factor makes Giani Zail Singh's choice as the next President a particularly happy one. He is the first Sikh to be chosen for this honour. This ought to have a beneficial effect at a time when the Sikh minority has become an unfortunate target of extremists and irresponsible elements out to misguide it. The community must know now that its aspirations are uppermost in

the mind of the national leadership. As it happened, the opposition parties abandoned the pretence of consensus when, well before the Congress (I) parliamentary board's meeting, they chose the veteran communist leader Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, as their candidate for the presidential poll. But he can at best offer Giani Zail Singh a token contest. As the future head of state, the Giani deserves the support and goodwill of the entire nation, not merely of those who would vote for him's

10,000 NADSA estate hands

face starvation & ouster

being adopted to oust about 10,000 hill country workers of Indian origin from NADSA-managed estates in the Punuvillatenne, Gampola, Hindalgala, Galaha and Dolesbage areas? The National Union of Workers of No. 618-3/3, Galle Road, Colombo 3 has expressed this fear in a letter addressed to President Jayewardene signed by the Administrative Trustee of the Union, Mr. C. V. Velupillai.

The Union in its letter to the President states:

"These workers have lived and worked in these estates. for generations, Among them are Sri Lankan Citizens, Indian Citizens and persons who have applied for Sri Lanka and Indian Citizen-

During the last six months, according to reports, they have been given only eight to ten days work in the

Are surreptitious methods month. They have been denied rations on the estates. The Management has not given them cash advance for the purchase of their food requirements. These actions savour of harsh and cruel methods to starve them out of the estate.

> The E.P.F. contributions collected from workers since 1978 have not been remitted to the Central Bank and their statutary claims have not been paid. The area round the workers' quarters has grown into a jungle and is infested with reptiles and snake-bite victims have not been sent to hospital and there is no health facility whatsoever on these estates. It is no easy task for 10,000 people to find employment in the absence of planned shifting.

On previous occasions when village expansion took place resident workers were found employment and they were provided transport and paid ex-gratia payment to meet expenses incurred in the process of shifting.

In our view the future of the 10,000 souls are in jeopardy and we earnestly request you to cause steps to he teken-

- 1. To provide them rations and work until such time they are settled on other estates.
- The agencies of the Plantation Ministry and the Land Reform Commission to obtain them employment on estates to fill vacancies created by repatriates.
- 3. To provide them free transport to estates where vacancies are available and pay them exgratia

of their immediate require-

4. Indian repatriates to be given at least an year's employment to enable them to earn sufficient

money before they leave.

5. There should be no break in their services so that they will be entitled to the exgratia payment of Rs.500/-.

GOVT. NEWS CENTRE IN JAFFNA FROM 13 th

to be opened at the Jaffna Secretariat with the assistance of the Department of Information. It will be ceremonially declared open by the District Minister, Jaffna, Mr. U. B. Wijekoon on 13th July at 9. 15 a.m.

Government publications payment to meet the cost such as Government Gazette,

A "NEWS CENTRE" is New Law Reports, Sessional Papers, Hansard and other publications will be available for sale to the public at this Centre. Publications will be available in the Tamil, Sinhala, and English languages.

> The Centre will be open on working days only from 9 a.m. to 12 noon and 1 p. m., to

Bharata Natya Arangetram of Brother & Sister



The Bharatha Natya Arangetram of GOWRI KANDIAH and RAMA-NANKANDIAH daughter and son of Mr. & Mrs. P. Kandiah of Chundikuli and students of Mrs. Santhini Sivanesan of Kala Bhawaanam, Kokuvil, will be held at the Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna, on Friday, the 16th of July under the

patronage of Dr. K. SIVA-GNANARATNAM. Other distinguished guests will be Mr. Anandarajan, Principal St. John's College. Mrs. Chelliah, Principal, Chundikuli Girls' College, and Professor K. Indrapala, Head of the Department of Fine Arts, University of Jaffna.

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TELEX 1193

Saturday

48 hours in the life of a hijacker and the Sri Lanka Press

(By a Staff writer)

When 33 year old SEPALA EKANAYAKE hijacked an Italian Alitalia Jumbo Jet at Bangkok airport on the 30th June holding 242 passengers and a crew of 18 to ransom with imitation explosives demanding a meeting with his Italian wife and 4 year old son and 300,000 dollars in cash, it excited the Sri Lankan press. For 48 hours the headlines in the front pages were dominated by drug-addict Sepala who himself was surprised to find himself made a hero. The climax was reached on Thursday night (1st of July) when Sepala arrived in Colombo with his "booty". Temperature shot up, Colombo attained an air of festivity, and thousands chanted "Jayaweva" and "Veeraya" to welcome the air-

The Ceylon Daily News (Provincial Edition) of the 3rd July had no other news to occupy its first page except the "gossip" about Sepala it had painstakingly collected from Matara to Morawaka and Hakmana to Tissamaharama, regarding Sepala's past and other personal details. Four reporters and three photographers had the busiest days in their "Lake House" career when they interviewed Sepala's casual village friends and photographed his cousin sister for the front page of their esteemed journal.

But on Monday the 5th of July the Ceylon Daily News carried a funereal atmosphere as it solemnly announced in its headlines, "Hijacker Remanded: Charged with retention of stolen property". The pens of editors in Colombo set to work again and the dailies carried a blistering attack on air piracy before they entombed poor Sepala.

What made the Colombo papers and the Southern public glorify the "hijacker" in the first place? Their spontaneous rapture reveals certain unguarded deep psychological traits among the common mass of the Sinhalese people that are worth consideration. "Mahawansa" has inculcated the idea of Sinhalese as the glorious "BIG RACE", Ceylon as the proud guardian of Buddhism, and Dutugemunu as their great Hero.

Even after independence they found their "Sri Lanka" not rated very highly even in the third-world. But simple Sepala for once placed their race on the international map. The Sinhalese not only had a brief glimpse of their Dutugemunu, but enjoyed the vicarious pleasure of forming a glorious image of their nation.

But what made the papers contradict themselves a week later? The lame excuse given was that though the State was confused as to what should be done when Sepala landed, it was only when Italy called for his arrest and extradition that the State knew its responsibility. But 'The Island' which to its credit handled the news with more restraint said in its editorial of 7th July titled "Belated wisdom on the Hijack": "What the aftermath of the Ekanayake affair teaches us is to think ahead. What if the hijacker had been an "Eelam-wallah"? The Government just cannot afford to be caught flat-footed particularly in situations when the eyes of the world are on it. If it had been quickwitted, the spectacle of an international bandit becoming canonised as an authentic folk hero could have been avoided".

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No going back Review SRIANIA on the Eelam mandate - '77

Unanimous view Convention says the New York Programme Committee

AN OFFICIAL COM-MUNIQUE SENT BY THE PROGRAMME COMMIT-TEE OF THE NEW YORK WORLD THAMIL EELAM CONVENTION TO THE SATURDAY REVIEW STATES:

"The World Thamil Eelam Convention held at Nanuet, New York on July 3 and 4 concluded the two-day convention with an overwhelming majority decision to take active steps to usher the birth of the New Nation of Thamil Eelam. The Convention was attended by seven delegates representing the various political parties of Tamil Nadu, the Tamil United Liberation Front leaders Mr. A. Amirthalingam (Secretary General, T.U.L.F), Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, (President of T.U.L.F.), the Editor of Tamil Weekly "Suthanthiran" Mahesan, the Mr. Kovai Organizing Secretary of T.E.L.F., Mr. M. K. Eela-venthan, the Legal Secretary to the T.U.L.F. Mr. S. C. Chandrahasan and various representatives of Tamil Associations around the world and 197 Special Invitees.

The two day Conference devoted itself to the discussion of establishing procedures and methods to translate

Boycott threat from international pilots

The International Federation of Air Line Pilots Association (IFAPA) has threatened to ground all flights to Sri Lanka if the Sri Lankan Government decides to take a soft line on air piracy following Sepala Ekanayake's hijacking of the Alitalia Jumbo Jet in Bangkok. condemned Pilots have Sepala's hijacking operation as a "flagrant act of Air Piracy".

the will of the people expressed at the historic meeting of Vaddukoddai in May 1976. It was the unanimous view of the assembly that there can be no compromise on the mandate received at the General Election of 1977.

The Convention passed a resolution reiterating the aspiration of the Tamil speaking people and expanded on the earlier Eelam resolution to include further atrocities committed by the Sinhala

Buddhist Government against the Tamil minority during the present regime of the J. R. Jayawardene Government.

The significant provisions contained in the resolutions included the establishment of the Liberation Council to lobby the international community and to co-ordinate the activities of all groups committed to the idea of Thamil Eelam and to usher the birth of the new Nation Thamil Eelam".

Army and Police terrorism in Jaffna again

A sudden wave of terrorism unleashed by jeep loads of men in civils in Jaffna on Wednesday night resulted in injuries to several persons and a state of pandemonium in the bazaar area. This is believed to be the aftermath of an influx of new armed services personnel into Jaffna and part of the campaign of reprisals for the killing of four policemen at Nelliady the previous Friday.

Cinema goers who had gone for the 6 p.m. shows, long distance bus commuters passing cyclists and pedestrians were beaten up indiscriminately by these hoodjums in jeeps. Shop-keepers put up their shutters quickly and the last buses to several long distances drove away from the bus-stand leaving several commuters stranded.

Such incidents of assaults on the public *were also reported the same night from Nelliady, Atchuvely, Kilinochchi, Vavuniya and on several spots on the Kankesanthurai Road in Jaffna. Nelliady, where the killings occurred, is yet to return to normalcy after one week following the smashing up of three shops and assaults on members of the public. All 9 p.m., shows in cinemas both in Nelliady and Jaffna are now suspended.

American Human Rights for herself Worker sees

the Secretary of the Inter- Nelliady and got first hand national Human Rights information of the smash-Law Group, Washington D.C., who was on a twoday visit to Jaffna to study the effects of the Prevention of the Terrorism Law left Jaffna with the feeling of 'distrust' of the Police information she received about conditions in Jaffna. Top Police sources had denied incidents of reprisals at Nelliady. She has there- Report on page 3).

Ms. Amy Young-Anawaty upon motored down to ing of three shops and assaults on the public and photographed the damage done to shops!

> Ms. Amy Young-Anawaty was also present on the final day of the U.N. sponsored Human Rights Seminar in Colombo.(Full