

TAMIL TIMES

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ELECTIONS BEFORE OCTOBER?

The announcement of the latest round of amendments to the constitution of Sri Lanka indicates that President J.R. Jayewardene has decided to go to the country shortly seeking a return to power for a second term for himself and his United National Party. An early Presidential election in late September/October this year followed by a general election within three weeks from then are predicted by political observers.

There is nothing spectacular about the UNP record in power for the President or his party to go before the people in anticipation of a confident victory. But two things have persuaded the President to take the plunge.

Firstly, the predictions for the country's economy in the coming period are gloomy. A confidential report by a World Bank team entitled "Economic Adjustment in Sri Lanka: Issues and Prospects" issued on May 27 this year for consideration by the Tokyo meeting of the Sri Lanka Aid Club makes several gloomy predictions:

- The trade deficit will increase by 30 per cent, or \$250 million;
- Export volume will decrease, but the volume of imports will increase by a further 13 per cent;
- The current account deficit is likely to rise again from 15 per cent of Gross Domestic Product in 1981 to 18 per cent in 1982 and much more in 1983;
- Gross international reserves will be equal to only 4 weeks imports in 1983 and 'would be exhausted in 1984', unless Sri Lanka gets heavy assistance from the IMF;
- Internal savings have been 'more or less non-existent';
- Severe drought will involve the need for bigger outlays to import rice;
- Commercial borrowing, already 2 per cent of Gross

Domestic Product, will become more difficult and costly. It will be even more difficult to rely on this source for financing the budget deficit, which is already 70 per cent financed by commercial borrowings;

● Adjustment momentum achieved in 1982 will not be maintained in 1983 and deterioration in both budgetary and balance of payments performance expected;

* As a result, 'project aid' for 1982 (\$475 million) is to be reduced to \$205 million in 1983, while food and commodity aid (\$200 million in 1982) can only be increased by a further \$50 million in 1983.

To ensure this reduced rate of aid, the World Bank insists that the government should agree to (a) 'an appropriate real exchange rate' (i.e. further devaluation); (b) further tightening of the credit squeeze and the contraction of the money supply; (c) no new projects until the present ones are completed; and (d) still greater inroads into food subsidies and social service overheads.

The second important reason for the President's decision to go to the country at this time is the pathetic disarray in which the opposition parties find themselves. This is the main political strength of the UNP. The contradictions which surfaced in it in the not

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WORLD TAMIL EELAM CONVENTION LIBERATION COUNCIL APPOINTED

The First World Tamil Eelam Convention, attended by nearly 200 delegates from several countries, including India and Sri Lanka, held on July 3 and 4, 1982 at Nauet, New York, USA resolved to "set up a Tamil Eelam Liberation Council to lobby the International Community, to co-ordinate the activities of all groups committed to the idea of Tamil Eelam and to usher the birth of the new nation.

The Convention also elected a body known as the EELAM LIBERATION COUNCIL comprising five members: Dr. W.V. Panchacharam, Edward Benedict, K. Jegathesan, T. Sriharan and N. Vijayana-

CALL FOR EFFECTIVE INTERVENTION BY INDIAN GOVT. ON TAMIL ISSUE

The Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress leader, Mr. P. Nedumaran, has urged the effective intervention of the Union Government in the Sri Lanka Tamils issue to ensure the safe return of thousands who had fled the country seeking asylum in various countries.

Mr. Nedumaran told newsmen on his return from the World Tamils Conference held recently in New York, that the conference discussed the Sri Lanka Tamils Eelam demand and a new organisation styled "Tamils Eelam Liberation Council" was formed. A 12-point programme was drawn up and it was resolved to open branches of the new Liberation Council in various countries in Europe to mobilise the sympathy and support of their people.

In reply to a question, Mr. Nedumaran said the Sri Lanka Tamils wanted that the people and the Government of Tamil Nadu should mount pressure on the Centre. There could be talks between the officials of the External Affairs Ministries of the two countries, failing which the Foreign Ministers could meet.

Referring to the Liberation Tigers, Mr. Nedumaran demanded a probe by the Tamil Nadu Government into alleged leakage of information, during interrogation of the arrested persons.

This Council has subsequently co-opted three more members to assist in its work: Dr. S. Navaratnam, K. Vaikunthavasan and Mrs. P. Perinbanayagam.

The Convention which commenced at 9 a.m. and continued till 8 p.m. on each day was presided by Dr. V.M. Sethuraman (Perunkaviko), Mr. P. Nedumaran and Mr. Edward Benedict.

The delegates from Tamil Nadu, India, included: Mr. D.P. Radhakrishnan (D.M.K.); Mr. P. Nedumaran (Leader, Kamaraj Congress); Mr. Ira Janarthanam (AIDMK - Chief Whip, Upper House); Mr. Thangabalu (Leader - Indhira Yough Congress); Mr. Aru Gopalan (Gen. Secretary Tamil Eela Solidarity League); Perunkaviko. Dr. V.M. Sethuraman (Convenor - International Tamil Integration Society); Mr. K. Chittibabu (Organiser - Tamils Defence Front); and Mr. M. Jeylaani.

The delegates from Sri Lanka included: Mr. A. Amirthalingam, MP, (TULF General Secretary, Leader of the Opposition); Mr. M. Sivasi-thamparam MP (President, TULF); Mr. Kovai Mahesan (Editor, Suthanthiran); Mr. Eelaventhana (Organising Secretary - TELF); and Mr. S.C. Chandrasaran (Legal Secretary, TULF).

The Programme Committee, consisting of five members (all of whom were subsequently appointed to the Eelam Liberation Council), which was in charge of all the preparatory work of the Convention also had produced an impressive Convention Souvenir entitled "The Story of Tamil Eelam" for distribution among the delegates. The forward to this document clearly indicated

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HUMAN RIGHTS IN SRI LANKA PRECEPT & PRACTICE

"In Sri Lanka, the government has protected human rights by legislation. The new constitution included a chapter on Fundamental Rights according to the UN Charter. The violation of Fundamental Rights is now justiciable."

- President J.R. Jayewardene Speaking at the UN organised Seminar on Human Rights in Asia held at Colombo between June 21 to July 2, 1982.

- Between July 13 and 21, 1979, in the course of certain police operations, some Tamil youths were taken into custody under cover of darkness. The bullet ridden and mutilated bodies of three of the youths were later discovered on a disused site. The whereabouts of the other youths are still not known.

Following complaints from Mr. A. Amirthalingam MP, human rights organisations and the Amnesty International, the govt. appointed a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1979 to investigate. After three years of deliberations, the Select Committee has 'recommended that a team of special investigators be appointed to further investigate the death of the three persons.'

- T. Maheswaran (27), a final year civil engineering student of the Queen Mary's College, University of London, returned to Sri Lanka in connection with his father's illness and subsequent death.

He was taken into custody by army personnel on June 19, 1981. He was detained at Magazine Prison, Welikada, Colombo but was later taken away from there by army personnel. Since then nothing has been heard of him.

His mother, Mrs. S. Tambipillai of Jaffna has now filed a Habeas Corpus application in court.

- On 28th January, 1982 Ponnuthurai Kanagakulasingham of Pandaitheruppu, Jaffna was taken away by a joint police-army group. Nothing has been known about him since. Mr. A. Amirthalingam, the Leader of the Opposition, raised the question of his whereabouts in Parliament. Subsequently, the Deputy Minister of Internal Security wrote to Mr. Amirthalingam, on information supplied to him by the police and army, that Kanagakulasingham was released on the same evening of his arrest, on 28th January.

As no one has seen Kanagakulasingham since his arrest, Mr. Amirthalingam again raised in Parliament on May 22 the question of his disappearance as well as the disappearance of another youth from Vavuniya, Marimuthu Thevarajah, who also was taken into custody by the security forces in similar circumstances. Yet, there is no news of his whereabouts.

THESE ARE ONLY A FEW CASES WHICH DEMONSTRATE HOW MUCH VALUE IS PLACED ON FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS IN SRI LANKA TODAY.

SRI LANKAN CONSTITUTION - - PROPOSED AMMENDMENTS

The Sri Lankan Cabinet has approved many ammendments to the country's constitution on the recommendation of President J.R. Jayewardene. It is expected that the ammendments will be submitted to Parliament for approval some time in early August. The main features of the proposed ammendments are:

- The time between the proclamation of an election and nomination day to be one week and between nomination day and election day to be between 2 to 4 weeks.

● A person who has been deprived of civic rights by a Special Presidential Commission to be subject to no further disqualification. Any person making use of a person who had lost civic rights during an election is to be deemed to have committed a corrupt practice. On an injunction being applied for in the Court of Appeal in this regard during the course of an election, votes for that party in respect of that district will not be counted in respect of that district.

On an election petition on this ground the candidates of the Party so elected will not be able to sit in Parliament pending a determination of that election petition. Election petitions should be determined within two months of filing.

● The present provisions regarding making available T.V. time and broadcasting time as between political parties which is mandatory to be determined by administrative means after consultation with the Opposition.

- Provision to be made for

Members of Parliament of all Parties to participate, in the formation of a Government for the purpose of assuring a stable Government.

● The present restriction on the President in dissolving Parliament in the first year be removed. Provision to be made for the President to dissolve Parliament in the first year or not more than two occasions.

● The present restriction on the President seeking a mandate before the expiry of the term of his office to be amended and provision to be made to enable the President to call for a Presidential election in time after four years of his assumption of office. The new President to assume office on the 4th of February after the election.

● Under the Proportional Representation system the ballot paper will only contain the names of the Parties and their symbols. Each Party will have the right to choose their Members of Parliament from the list made public before the election. Each Party will submit its list of candidates according to its own rules. In the list submitted to the Commissioner of Elections there will be no reserve candidates.

(Contd. From Page 1)

to distant past have been papered over and contained. On the contrary the contradiction within the opposition have become aggravated particularly within the Sri Lanka Freedom Party which only split itself into two, but the Srima faction finds itself riddled with personal infighting.

The TULF, with its announcement that it does not intend to contest the Presidential election and the on going 'amity talks' with the government has, for all intents and purposes, been neutralised.

The left parties are in no better shape for a united anti-UNP effort. The JVP is

the proverbial 'nigger in the woodpile' determined to go it alone.

In the absence of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, who cannot enter the race either as a participant or even a supporting spectator, there is not a single opposition candidate possessing the required national appeal to offer a serious challenge to the incumbent. To what extent the efforts of the LSSP and some other left groups to put up the well known, charismatic, veteran leader of the LSSP, Dr. Colvin R de Silva as a consensus opposition candidate will bear fruits, remains to be seen in the coming weeks.

MONKEYING WITH THE CONSTITUTION

A CRIMINAL ADVENTURE

"The Cabinet directives for radically restructuring the framework and process of the two people Islandwide elections which will determine the character and composition of the next Government of our country are ominous, retrograde and destructive of the parliamentary democratic process. They embody the legislative part of the UNP Government's last-minute effort to stave off defeat to which they now stand doomed at both the Parliamentary general election and the

ing such an application to determine before the conclusion of the election. In other words, any lying application will do to cut a party out of the count, that is to say the election. The proposal is monstrous! Not content with that, on an election petition on this ground the candidates of the party so elected will not be able to sit in Parliament pending a determination of the petition, which must be within two months of the filing. In those two months, the process of forming the

BY DR COLVIN R de SILVA

Presidential election, whatever be the order in which they are staged. Desperate situations demand desperate remedies. Accordingly, they have moved from monkeying with the Judiciary to monkeying with the elections process and framework. It is a criminal adventure they are engaged in. The proposed laws are directed at the two elections, the period between the two elections and the period after the elections. The provisions regarding those who have any traffic with those who have lost their civic rights under a Special Presidential Commission's decision, which means principally Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike may be considered separately.

"The manifest aim is to make Mrs. Bandaranaike an electoral leper. The means adopted is to monkey with the processes of the law to the point of holding traffic with her during elections is made a corrupt practice. On an injunction being applied for in the Court of Appeal in this regard during the course of an election, votes for that party in respect of that district will not be counted in respect of that district. Note you! On a mere application and not on determination of the truth or otherwise of the allegation in the application! An election which, under another provision, can be as short as only two weeks, no doubt, precludes the possibility of bring-

Government, which is not halted, can determine the future of the country. The provision is no less monstrous than the injunction provision. The provisions for monkeying with the TV and Radio time, under the present law, must be given to parties other than the UNP pale into lesser significance after the preceding provision.

"The hypocritically worded fourth directive is characteristic of this Government. Its true import is to enable crossing from the Opposition to the Government without the penalty of losing one's seat, as continues to be the case if one crosses from the Government to the Opposition. The first, you see, assures a stable Government, crossing the other way, of course destabilises! It is hard to think of a more openly partisan use of the legislative power which the Government today wields with its five-sixth majority. The provisions enabling precipitate elections (one week to nominations and possibly only two weeks from nomination day to election day) together with the provisions enabling the President to advance the Presidential election and to dissolve Parliament (not more than twice) in the first year, serve to show clearly the true goals of the proposed legislative game. First of all, is the gamble for the new/old President to get there before the new Parliament is elected. And, if the UNP loses the

EMERGENCY, CENSORSHIP AND CURFEW FOLLOWING SINHALA-MUSLIM RIOTS

At least five people died and more than 200 people were injured in the communal clashes between Sinhalese and Muslims during five days of violence which enveloped the Sri Lankan southern city of Galle and its surrounding areas. The violence that threatened to spread further and the mischievous machinations of extremist Sinhala racists to turn the disturbances into a familiar anti-Tamil riot led President J.R. Jayewardene to declare a national state of emergency on July 30, and impose a dusk-to-dawn curfew and a rigorous press

censorship.

Several arrests have been made under the emergency regulations. Government sources claimed that the disturbances were contained with a large scale patrolling of the area in the course of which potential troublemakers were taken into custody.

What began as a minor private dispute between some Muslims and Sinhalese soon took the form of a communal clash between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Muslim communities.

Record Review ARUL MALAR MALAI

- SULAMANGALAM SISTERS-

The melodious voices of Sulamangalam Sisters and their musical talents are well known to lovers of Carnatic Music. They once again have established their ability to enchant the listener through the ten lyrics forty five minutes of captivating musical treat. The songs are rendered in light classical mode, capturing the attention of all, including those who may not be conversant with the intricacies and nuances of Carnatic music. In the musical tradition of South India the art is dedicated to the service of the Lord and the songs are in praise of God in his various forms. Four of the lyrics were composed by one of the Sulamangalam Sisters, Rajalakshmi. The songs describe and praise the noble attributes of Pillaiyar, Umai, Thirumal, Iyappan and Murugan.

Appropriately composed and proficiently performed background music add to the emotions of the songs. While every single lyric has its own attractive point, with its enthralling rhythm the 'thaladdu' (lullaby) will rate as the best of this selection. If it had been the last one on the record, the melody will no doubt linger on and on in memory. The Arul Malar Malai of Sulamangalam Sisters, recorded on an EMI LP, definitely deserves a place among the collections of every Carnatic and Tamil music lover.

POLICE & ARMY TERROR

A wave of uncontrolled violence has been unleashed by the Lankan security forces in the north of the country, particularly in the Tamil city of Jaffna. True to their past record, they have gone berserk following the re-introduction of joint army-police patrols subsequent to the shooting incident at Nelliady, Jaffna in which unknown gunmen shot and killed four policemen on July 2.

During the days following, there was an influx of new army personnel into Jaffna and a reign of terror was unleashed. Evening cinema goers, long distance commuters, passing cyclists and pedestrians were beaten up indiscriminately. Buses and cars were attacked.

Such incidents of assaults on the public have taken place at Nelliady, Atchuvelli, Kilinochchi, Vavuniya, Chunnakam, Kankesanthurai and many other places.

At Nelliady, where the shooting occurred, the violence continues to this day and the

people are gripped with fear. Shops have been smashed up or set on fire resulting in severe damage to property. Several persons, particularly young men have been indiscriminately taken into custody and reported to have been subjected to violence and torture.

Armed thuggery from the security forces reigns supreme under cover of a "para-military operation" to apprehend the suspects. Transit passengers, school children, shoppers and shop-keepers and passers-by have been subjected to assaults. People - women and children are no exception - are forced to keel down and are subjected to humiliating treatment.

Mr. Sivasithamparam, MP and President of the TULF, and Mr. V. Yogeswaran, the Jaffna MP, have sent telegrams to the President, the Army Commander and the IGP pointing out the excesses committed by the security forces and requesting steps to be taken to control them.

MP AWARDED COMPENSATION

The Lionel Fernando Compensation Committee, which inquired into the damage caused during the May-June 1981 rampage by a section of the Lankan security forces, has recommended the payment of Rs.245,000 as compensation to Mr. V. Yogeswaran, the MP for Jaffna, whose house was burnt down in the course of the disturbances. But the payment is not to be made immediately as Mr. Yogeswaran has filed a damages action in the courts.

The other awards made by the Committee are Rs.10.2

million to Jaffna Municipal Council for the damage caused to the Jaffna Public Library; Rs.0.9 million in compensation for the damage done to the Grand Bazaar market and shops; Rs.650,000 to the 'Elanadu' newspaper; Rs.665,000 to the Trustees of the Narchimarkovil (a hindu temple); Rs. 1.5 million to an aerated water Company for the damage caused to its factory.

Although these amounts have been awarded by the Committee, it is not known when the actual payments will be made.

LANKA BIDS FOR U.N. SEAT

Sri Lanka has declared its candidature for the Asian seat on the 15-member United Nations Security Council. The seat to which Sri Lanka aspires becomes vacant in January 1983.

It is reported that Pakistan is also interested in winning the seat and has declared its intention of running for the election. However, it is pointed out that Pakistan has

already twice sat on the Security Council whereas Sri Lanka has never had a chance.

The Security Council consists of 15 members, five of whom have permanent seats. These are United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. The other ten are elected on a regional basis by the General Assembly comprising all the UN members and hold office for a period of two years.

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IN Tamil Literature, Silappadhikaram and Manimekhalai are considered a two-part serial composition written respectively by a Jain and a Buddhist on the basis of narration to each other. Only by reading the two works can one grasp the total import. As these stress the doctrine of Karma and incidents in the previous births of the characters, they are puranic and doctrinaire (sectarian) rather than purely literary in nature. This author has made an elaborate research on the two works together and severally.

The question has been raised about the alleged shortcoming in Kannagi which led Kovalan to seek the company of a courtesan and it is suggested that wealth and environment naturally make the mind of man waver. To raise this question itself is to denigrate the glory of Kannagi.

Thrukootasundaram Pillai has opined that Kannagi's

chastity was contrary to righteousness reason and tradition and that her act in burning the innocent citizens of Madurai was unjustified. The present author in referring to this has sought to answer only the latter point. Pillai's view is a challenge to research scholars.

Kamban has portrayed Sita in Asokavana as doubting Rama's love for her, but Kannagi follows Kovalan to Madurai without any such doubt. The author would on this account rate Kannagi as higher than Sita. This may not be appropriate.

T.P. Minakshisundaram has raised the query, how Kovalan who went to Madurai to sell Kannagi's anklet, but forgoed his duty, lost in admiration of the grandeur of the city - particularly in the courtesan's quarter - could be rated as steadfast in virtuous conduct. The present author has just referred to this charge, without attempting any answer, as he should have done. But he has refuted the view of T.P. Minakshisundaram and Mu. Varadarajanar that Madhavi was a paragon of chastity in her great love for Kovalan,

pointing out that this is contrary to Tamil tradition and that none of the persons - Kovalan, Kannagi, etc. have characterised Madhavi, the courtesan, as a chaste woman. This is commendable point to research.

The present author has also belittfully explored the question about who was to blame in the misunderstanding that arose in the "Kaanal-vari" scene, citing modern instances also. But it is strange that he has not tackled the pertinent query why Kannagi should not have forgiven the Pandyan ruler for hastily condemning Kovalan to death, blaming her fate alone for this mischance or at least contented herself with punishing only the guilty ruler, without ruining innocent citizens - certainly this would have redounded to Kannagi's greater glory.

The author has referred to Subha-Manickam's view that Saathanaar has made social reformation in making Manimekhalai, a courtesan's daughter, the heroine of his poem. But this reform was not accepted by contemporary society, and this is one reason why the work had not become popular.

Further, Madhavi, when committing her daughter to an ascetic life proclaims the latter as a great chaste woman's daughter. The present author says that this only discloses the great regard that Madhavi had for Kannagi. There should be a deeper implication for this. Why could she not

BOOK REVIEW

have held herself as that chaste woman, as T.P. Minakshisundaram and Mu. Varadarajanar would have us believe? Here is a field for further research.

Again, it is unseemly to dwell upon the physical charm of Manimekhalai, after she had become an ascetic, as Saathanaar had done. This point too has not been dealt with. Further, it is unreasonable for this author to consider Saathanaar who extols Buddhism above all other faiths as the protagonist of a universal faith.

However, the author has admirably compared and contrasted the qualities of Kannagi and Manimekhalai, with adequate citation. He attempts to pose chastity as a special virtue of the Tamils, holding that Silappadhikaram begins and ends with 'chastity'. In truth, this is common to all people in the world. Again his view that Ilango-adigal was beyond all caste distinctions is open to question, as Ilango-adigal portrays the separate duties of persons of different castes, their differing characteristics and adodes. The author has drawn attention to the opinion of Subha Manickam that the special glory of the work - Manickam that the special glory of the work - Manimekhalai - lies in the advocacy of appeasing the hunger of the people. It is meaningless to portray the supply of food to the hungry as the noble ideal.

S.N. Sriramadesikan

(COURTESY OF "HINDU")

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THE CASE FOR EELAM

The following are extracts of the speech made by Dr. S. Navaratnam at the World Tamil Eelam Convention held in July 3 and 4 at New York:-

"The scarred and bloodied landscape that disfigures so much of this once peaceful and beautiful land (Sri Lanka) is only the visible result of a well calculated and brilliantly organised campaign to undermine the morale of the civilian masses and the freedom fighters alike.

"Our political system is in turmoil. Our people are bewildered. Our youth is confused. The leaders who a few years ago were proclaiming from every available public platform that the Tamil speaking people have given them a mandate to establish a homeland for them are seen today parleying with the President and preaching the virtues of co-operation with a government whose catalogue of betrayals has yet to be erased from our memories. We are told of "Amity Talks" taking place between the leaders but not details of their character and nature is forthcoming. Eelam is rife with rumours that the Tamil leadership is now slowly sliding away their commitment to Eelam. These speculations are allowed to pass unchallenged. Consequently, new political groupings are springing up, naturally accusing the existing leaders of gross betrayals. The Tamils at home and abroad are perplexed and disillusioned, their hopes are shattered. Their youth once dedicated to bring peace and freedom to their people are today confused and spilling blood among themselves to the utter dismay and disappointment of the people. To some of us living abroad and committed to help our brethren achieve the same degree of peace and security as we are fortunate to enjoy in these alien lands, it is both sad and distressing to note the lack of purposeful leadership offered to those in Eelam.

"For approximately three decades since independence the Tamil speaking people sought to involve themselves in the political affairs of the island within the unitary con-

stitution bequeathed to them by the British. They believed that, within it were provisions which would give adequate protection to their life, liberty and property and they could transact their affairs in relative tranquility. The view of the Tamil elite was dealt a shattering blow by Bandaranayake's decisive victory at the general election of 1956 rejecting much of the things that had then come to be

colonisation at the behest of Sinhala Buddhist pressure groups.

● Tamils who live outside their borders are set upon by Sinhala goondas with the connivance of the forces of law and order, their lives put in jeopardy and their property appropriated.

● Armed with special legislation the Army and Police continually harass those Tamils who live in their traditional homeland causing untold damage to life and

BY DR. S: NAVARATNAM

accepted as the normal order of the day. This did not mean that the interests of the Tamils were intact prior to 1956, as is evident in the disenfranchisement of the plantation workers and the active policies pursued and implemented in the form of Sinhala colonisation of traditional Tamil speaking areas. Even though they affected the ordinary Tamil working classes very substantially, the erosion of their interest was at best tolerated and ignored or at worst conveniently accepted by the elitist leadership whose ethos and values were no different from those of Sinhala leaders, both natural offsprings of the colonial masters

● The Tamil plantation workers were disenfranchised by an Act of Parliament. The immediate effect was to distort the electoral balance whereby Kandyans who constitute 26% of the population of the island gained 44% of the seats, thereby consolidating the political ascendancy of the Sinhalese vis a vis the rest.

● By the crude use of "demeocratic process," the Tamils were effectively disenfranchised by the different Sinhala governments gripped in Sinhala Buddhist nationalism.

● Attempts at reconciliation by agreements negotiated between Sinhala governments and the Tamil parliamentary leaders were abruptly abrogated before they were implemented.

● Predominantly Tamil speaking areas such as the Plantation areas in the Central Province, Eastern Province and the Southern periphery of the Northern Province are subject to state sponsored

property.

● Institutionalised discrimination in the field of employment and educational opportunities.

"These facts which I have just enumerated clearly constitute a violation of Article II of the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations Resolution 260A (iii) of the 9th December, 1948.

"A democratic state can only exist and effectively exercise sovereign power so long as it can command the loyalty of all its people, and to do so it

must be capable of representing the general will of the people. This general will must be a reflection of the consensus of opinion across the whole of its population, not the private opinion of any groups. But when this general will becomes identified with one of these groups because it is the largest and therefore able to dominate the rest, the result is one of inevitable divisive rancour. The characteristics of the general will which unites people together cannot be founded simply on the sole will of the majority. When simple majorities are used to disadvantage the minorities and put them in peril, then it becomes oppression.

"The Tamils have not seriously participated in Government since 1956. Their representatives are elected to Parliament but their voice is not heard. Of what use is democratic representation when there is not power to be shared? The two major parties among the Sinhalese compete with each other, as in a Dutch auction to further diminish and curtail the few rights left to the Tamils. As if this was not sufficient, the very forces

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**WE THE PARTICIPANTS OF
 THE FIRST WORLD THAMIL 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 its conquest by the Portuguese in 1619;

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

BRINGING TO THE ATTENTION 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 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 recognized by the Sinhalese People and their Governments resulting in the Tamil United Liberation Front, the political 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 THAMIL EELAM based on the right of self-determination inherent to every nation has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil Nation in the Country".

RECOGNIZING that the Tamil United Liberation Front requested from the Tamil People at the Parliamentary Elections of 21st of July 1977 a mandate, for the re-establishment of the Sovereign secular State of Tamil Eelam and did in fact obtain the mandate;

NOTICING WITH CONCERN the pogroms against the Tamil People by the Sinhalese People and the Sinhalese Security Forces throughout the Island since 1956 and increasingly so since August 1977, thereby endangering the very existence of the Tamil people including the plantation Tamils, calculated to coerce them to flee to India;

ALSO NOTICING WITH CONCERN the arbitrary arrests, prolonged detention, torture, killings and arrests as hostages of Tamils under the State of Emergency in 1979 and under the prevention of terrorism law of 1979 which contains provisions denying protections available under normal laws and designed to be used mainly against Tamils and which have been condemned in the report of the International Commission of Jurists of October 30, 1981.

ALSO NOTICING WITH CONCERN the burning of the Public Library in Jaffna with 97,000 volumes including rare first editions and manuscripts, the Independent Press, Eelanadu, headquarters of T.U.L.F. 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 of District Development Council of Jaffna in June 1981 by Ministers of State, Sinhalese Government officials and the security forces;

RECOGNIZING that the Sinhala security forces in the traditional homeland of Tamils are acting as an army of occupation;

BEING AWARE of the planned effort by the successive Sri Lanka Governments to colonize the Traditional Homelands of the Tamils with Sinhalese, using the aid and loans given for the purpose of development by foreign countries and international aid agencies;

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 constitution, while blatantly denying to the Tamil People fundamental human rights including the right of self-determination;

REALIZING 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 of genocide among the Tamil people;

REAFFIRM the necessity and urgency for the restoration of the sovereign State of Thamil Eelam so that the survival and security of the Tamil people will be ensured, the dignity and honour of the Tamil People will be preserved, and the ideal of enjoyment of civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want for the Tamil People will be achieved;

CALL UPON the Tamils of the World to join and unite in the struggle to secure justice, security and peace to the Eelam Tamil Nation;

WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING with gratitude the sympathy and support to the oppressed people by the people and Government of India, the people and all political parties of Tamil Nadu whose representatives are participating in this Convention as observers, the State Government of Tamil Nadu, the State Assembly of Massachusetts, the International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, International Human Rights Law Group and other human rights organizations-

APPEAL TO the nations of the World and the International Community to ensure that the Eelam Tamil Nation is not denied fundamental human rights including the right of self-determination -

AND RESOLVE TO SET UP A THAMIL EELAM LIBERATION COUNCIL TO LOBBY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, TO CO-ORDINATE THE ACTIVITIES OF ALL GROUPS COMMITTED TO THE IDEA OF THAMIL EELAM AND TO USHER THE BIRTH OF THE NEW NATION.

SELF RELIANCE - A POLITICAL IMPERATIVE

There is widespread acceptance that the struggle between the Sinhalese and the Tamils in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) dates back to nearly two thousand five hundred years. (2500 BC). It is widely claimed that the enmity and rivalry between these two communities is the single, oldest struggle between any two known groups of peoples in the world. Although, there have been periods of relative harmony between the groups involved, much of the history has been marked by a polemic climate, obviously generated by sharp differences in language, culture and religion. These differences have by and large remained irreconcilable for several centuries, and still remains a matter of not only domestic tranquility, but also have become a matter of international concern.

At the very outset without having to repeat statements that have been made by experts and scholars on the nature of the struggle provoked by Sinhala oppression all throughout the history of that nation, the one salient factor that stands out prominently, is the absence of 'homogeneity' in Ceylon. In the past many Sinhala historians have alluded to this dimension, and it appears that the hear of the matter of this rivalry is the presumption of 'homogeneity' in Ceylon. The essential ingredients so vital to the formation of a 'nation-state' does not exist in Ceylon. It is therefore, clear that the idea of "One Nation" is a political myth. As it has been pointed out with valid historical documentation - Ceylon is one country - but two nations. The Nation - Builders presumably working on the theory that unity was possible within diversity, but, a political philosophy that subscribed to the imposition of "Sinhala - Buddhist Uniqueness" resulted in the programmed exclusion of the minorities, especially the Tamil minority, from the mainstream of the social, economic and political life of Ceylon. All discriminatory

measures both by administrative and legislative measures taken by successive governments were counter-productive to national unity, national integrity, and nation building. In point of fact, a stable and cohesive society was dismantled in the post-independence era by serious political calculations. The principle of exclusion was operative, and it was visible.

BY EDWARD BENEDICT. M.A.

OPTIONS EXHAUSTED

The tamils have practically exhausted the many options, in an effort to vindicate their rights as a people-long settled in that country. The Tamils, through their elected representatives have placed their legitimate demands to the Sinhala leadership time and time after. The many pacts and deals made with the Sinhala political leadership in the post - independence era, were never honoured, it was honoured more in the breach than in its compliance.

The road the Tamils had travelled was torturous one. Communications between the Tamils and the Sinhalese have reached and impasse, and the only option that still remained open to the Tamils, was to think in terms of a political strategy that would mark the end of an era of wilful oppression. The political leadership in a landmark decision at Vaddukodai - unanimously decided to create a "Separate State for the Tamils." The Vaddukodai resolution is a major shift in the political philosophy and strategy, and one that has to be to honoured in terms of its mandate from the Tamils of Ceylon.

The Tamils in their struggle for freedom and liberation from the oppressors have had recourse to many arguments, whether it be constitutional, - legal, or matters of historical evidence, and a whole other range of valid contestations which challenge Sinhala rule over the Tamils. It is perhaps true that not one of these will satisfy the Sinhala power holders, not because it lacks

logic, but because once power has been passed on to the Sinhala - elite, they are unwilling to either share power to surrender their right to rule. In fact this transfer of power or surrender their right settlement was a tragedy of enormous dimensions, and a political error of great magnitude caused by the British, resulting in the current dilemma of the Tamils in Ceylon. It

was a horse deal between the British and the Sinhala leadership, and one that has caused untold havoc since that deal was made. Therefore, it is proper to claim, that we are being ruled illegally, but notwithstanding the rejection of these contestations, the one - "Right" that the Sinhalese cannot deny the Tamils - is the "RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION."

As Tamils, we have frequently alluded to the incontestable fact that the right of self-determination is an inalienable - fundamental right, and one that is not open for debate or discussion. It is a right widely accepted in the international community of nations, and one that has to be respected. The critical matter that is before the Tamil people is the nature of the political model that would best incorporate their native aspirations. The political model that has been proposed is that of "Thamil Eelam," and until a fresh mandate is obtained from the people, this model cannot be compromised.

MASS PARTICIPATION

A real - living progame for the liberation of a people, must necessarily include the "People", not some, but all of the people. The nature of the struggle is such that it must accept the principle of "MASS PARTICIPATION". The movement cannot be left in the hands of eighteen members of Paliament, or eighty one youths - whether they be radical or not, not even in the hands of a handful of members of the community of expatriate - wherever they

be. A dependent theory is contrary to the vitality and growth of a movement. Any genuine liberation struggle must place its stress with the people themselves. This is what is meant by SELF - RELIANT struggle, and this must therefore encompass all areas. The building of resources at all levels must commence immediately. Yet this does not contradict the principle of 'Self-Reliance.' It is an orchestration of efforts, but one that must be planned and programmed to meet all exigencies. A struggle that transfers the burden of winning the rights, to powers whether they be super - powers or not, will eventually fail, and become entrapped in slavery to a new master. It is imperative therefore to bear in mind, that a liberation group that does not understand "Self - Reliance" cannot understand liberation. Only where the people themselves have fought and died for their liberation, can they then become masters of the new society. The "elite revolution" is political suicide, without Mass Participation, the revolution will be short lived and limited in terms of its ultimate goal.

The Tamils must learn from similar struggles that are taking place in the world. The best examples around the world whether the Cuban revolution, the Eritreans struggle, the P.L.O. etc. are all worthy of our intense study, unless there is mass appeal, mass participation, the uprising of the people themselves, the movement is bound to fail. It must become a PEOPLE'S WAR. Our principal aim is our PRINCIPLES. There must be Determination. There must be WILL to succeed.

OUR STRUGGLE

In the final analysis, the idea of liberation must firmly be entrenched in our hearts and minds. We must positively take sides, the Tamils can no longer sit on the fence. We must be participants in this, our struggle, not spectators, - on the side of mankind attempting to liberate itself from all kinds of oppression. If we are a oppressed people -and we are -then we must fight for liberation.

(Contd. On. P. 9)

SRI LANKA NEWS IN BRIEF

- **SHORTAGE OF JUDGES:** Lawyers are reluctant to take up judicial appointments because of the poor salaries paid to judges and as a result there is a shortage of Magistrates and Judges. The Judicial Service Commission is endeavouring to overcome this shortage by recruiting young woman lawyers to the judiciary.
- **NEW EXAMINATIONS UNIT:** The cabinet has decided to establish a new Examinations Unit in the Ministry of Higher Education. A building of about 4000 square feet is to be constructed in Ratmalana at a cost initially estimated to be Rs.1.5 million.
- **LSSP SACKINGS:** Two veteran LSSPers, Mr. Cholomondeley Goonewardene, the former MP for Kalutara, and Mr. Lenin Fernando, a local Council member in Panadura have been expelled from the Lanka Sama Samaja Party for violating party discipline - they are reported to have aligned themselves with the Anil Moonesinghe break-away group.
- **CLAIM AGAINST FORMER MINISTER FOR WRONGFUL PROSECUTION:** The trial has begun in the case in which the present Deputy Minister of Highways is suing Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, the former Minister of Justice, and Mr. D.P. Wickremasinghe, the former Deputy Minister of Shipping and Tourism claiming Rs.300,000 as damages for wrongful prosecution.
- **NEW INSTITUTE:** The Ministry of Trade and Shipping is to consider a proposal to set up a Chartered Secretaries Institute to train qualified secretaries to undertake company work.
- **A NEW AIRLINE COMPANY:** A new company, Lanka Air Line Services (LAS) is to be set up to operate the British Airways general sales agency. This company will remain a subsidiary of the Ceylon Hotel Corporation and be headed by its Chairman designate, Mr. Douglas Liyanage, the Secretary to the Ministry of State.
- **US AID FOR NATIONAL PARKS:** Mr. Brian Johnson, a special envoy of the International Union for the conservation of Nature and Natural Resources stated at a recently held press conference that the United States Agency for International Development would give Rs.100 million spread over a period of five years to set up five national parks in the Mahaveli Project areas.
- **MEDICOS FOR ARMED SERVICES:** The Armed Services are offering commissions to medical students and doctors during the internship in an effort to ensure that the military's medical services are adequately manned.

(Contd. From Page 8)

The political model of Tamil - Eelam can be read in many different ways. There are some who consider it as, Quest for Tamil rights, others use it as an intimidating and threatening political instruments, and yet others see it as a goal to be achieved. The shaping of the future is in the hand of the people. Since the free world usually are not supporters of "Separatism",

then a strong federalism might be an answer. In any event, the decision is in the hands of the people, As the Axiom goes - VOX POPULI - VOX DEI. (The voice of the people is the voice of God) The rights of man come not from the state but from Almighty God. The fight for self - determination is a political imperative; and one that must be pursued with all its Vigor and Vitality.

● **TOURISM TO BE ENCOURAGED:** Minister of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis said that the government's policy with regard to tourism is to encourage its growth but it must be limited to those who go to the country to enjoy what the country has to offer in a healthy atmosphere provided the country's traditions are respected.

● **SAUDI RULE HITS AIR LANKA:** A new rule enforced by the Saudi Arabian embassy in Bangkok that passengers bound for Saudi Arabia to fly the Saudi Arabian national airline has hit Air Lanka, Pakistan International Airline and some other airlines.

● **11,600 HOUSES DESTROYED BY FLOOD:** A total of 11,600 houses were destroyed in the recent floods in Sri Lanka in the districts of Ratnapura, Kalutatal, Galle, Matara and Gampaha.

● **HOME GUARDS SECRETARIAT:** The Sri Lankan Cabinet has approved a recommendation by President Jayawardene for the establishment of a Secretariat for the administration of the Home Guards scheme. The secretariat will be within the Ministry of Internal Security and headed by Brigadier L.J.I. Fernando who is the Secretary to the Ministry of Internal Security.

TWO MILLION RUPEES FOR PERAHERA: President Jayawardene has allocated a sum of one million rupees for the Kandy Perahera. This sum is in addition to the one million rupees already voted for the perahera by the Ministry of Finance.

● **ARMY PERSONNEL ACCUSED OF ASSAULT & ROBBERY:** Two Tamil Members of Parliament, M. Sivasithamparam and V. Yogeswaran have complained to the President that a gang of armed personnel had attacked a Ceylon Transport Board Bus driver at the Jaffna bus stand and robbed him of Rs.450 which was in his possession.

● **DUTCH GOVERNMENT TO THE RESCUE:** The Dutch government under the Nuwara Eliya Integrated Rural Development Programme has come to the assistance of the pear-growers of Nuwara Eliya, whose crops were badly affected during the past four years by a deadly fungus known as 'scab'.

● **AWARDS FOR SRI LANKANS IN US:** Anne Ranasinghe and Alfrede de Silva have both won prizes in the First Annual Salute to the Arts Poetry contest sponsored by Triton College, Illinois, USA. Anne won in the Adventure Section to which she had submitted 'Journey to the Interior, Polonnaruwa', and Alfrede in the Alienation Section to which she had submitted 'The Changeling'.

● **RUPAVAHINI TO INCREASE LOCAL MATERIAL:** Rupavahini, the country's TV service, which is often criticised for not showing local programmes, will increase the local material in its programmes by about 50 per cent in the next 6 months and by about 80 per cent by next year.

● **CEMENT FROM PADDY HUSK:** On a suggestion made by Dr. S. Ratnam of the Regional Centre for Technology Transfer, ESCAP, and with the agreement of the Mahaveli Board, a project for the manufacture of cement from a component contained in paddy husks has been chosen for implementation.

THE CASE FOR EELAM

(Contd from page 6)

of law and order, ostensibly established to protect the person and property of the people, themselves carry out deliberates acts of violence against the people and their property. These men are not compelled to answer for their misdeeds.

"In these circumstances, I submit that the essence of the contract between the Tamil citizen and the State has ceased to exist. We are on our own and virtually thrown back into the State of nature...

That is why I say to this convention we have a right to join together with similarly placed people and organise within a defined geographical area to resist these acts of violence and genocide perpetrated on our people and adopt policies to increase their welfare. This is the case for Eelam which I commend to this Convention.

"In the past our leaders were negotiating with Sinhala Governments in order to extract various concessions from them. From judging those negotiations, agreements and pacts, no tangible benefits have

accrued to the vast majority of the Tamil speaking people, certainly not the plantation workers or the ordinary peasant who is now crowded out of his village in the Vanni and the Eastern Province.

"The fact that the bulk of the plantation workers are without a vote places them at a great disadvantage since no one outside the plantation leadership itself is interested in their cause.

"The state of Eelam will be composed of all the disadvantaged groups, be they Tamils, Muslims, Christians, Hindus or Buddhists. It is their sufferings that will have to be alleviated. It is their welfare that will have to be promoted if Eelam is to be reality. It is these people who will have to create it. There is no Eelam unless they are convinced that the new state would usher in a new dawn, a new era where freedom from fear, freedom from basic wants, and equal opportunities to all without discrimination are guaranteed. That is why our founding fathers in their wisdom at their National Convention of the T.U.L.F. declared and I

quote "That Tamil Eelam shall be a socialist state wherein the exploitation of man by man shall be forbidden, the dignity of labour shall be recognised, the means of production and distribution shall be subject to public ownership and control, while permitting private enterprise in these branches within limits prescribed by law; economic development shall be on the basis of socialist planning and there shall be a ceiling on the total wealth that any individual or family may acquire".

"We must take this message to the people to make this a mass movement. Eelam can only be liberated by mass action. The expression of the desire of a people at an election does not necessarily mean that they are ready for mass action.

"The leadership having obtained the mandate have a positive duty to prepare the people for such action rather than fritter away their limited resources on other activities.

"Any agreement they negotiate with the government is of a temporary nature. They are maintained at the pleasure of the government and will be abrogated whenever it suits their convenience. We could petition and petition, march and march, and give money until we wear ourselves out; none of this endeavour would reach the core of this matter and it would change nobody's fate.

"No nation can be brought into being without experiencing the pangs of birth. Force is the midwife for an old society pregnant with the new. Therefore, if we are resolved to establish Eelam, then we must

also be prepared to withstand considerable suffering and hardship. It appears that my generation and its successors are just beginning to tread this well trodden path of oppressed people all over the world. Our youth are now on the march. There is dedication to the cause. Their harrowing tales of police persecution and their acts of heroism are already becoming part of our folklore. As is the case with these struggles, there are bound to be incidents which perhaps could be avoided by a proper appreciation of history. The recent events in Eelam and South India where our gallant youth, possibly misled, were involved in acts of adventurism against each other fill us with sadness. These are temporary setbacks and of not much significance and therefore let us not lose heart. For each one of them there are hundreds of others who are by their dedication and self sacrifice are working day and night to ensure that no Tamil speaking person will suffer again for accidentally being born a Tamil.

"The task before us, in enormous. The effort required is formidable. It is clear to some at least that all of us are standing in the same deep shadow, a shadow which can only be lifted by human courage and honour.

"And therefore friends for anyone thoughtless enough to be born a Tamil today is also burdened with a heavy responsibility. Now is not the time to be indulging in idle chatter or trivial talk or nourishing food. The party is over. There is a job to be done. Let us stand together and get on with it.



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PROVISIONAL GOVT. - PROPOSAL REFERRED TO LIBERATION COUNCIL

The following is the full text of the resolution moved at the World Tamil Eelam Convention held recently on the subject of the formation of a Provisional Government of Tamil Eelam. The resolution was referred to the Eelam Liberation Council for consideration.

WHEREAS since this is the first time that an International convention comprising leading representatives from several countries of the World including Tamil Eelam, is being held to decide and determine the destiny of the Eelam Tamils.

WHEREAS, it is in this great country that certain historic STEPS were recently taken to win world sympathy for the understanding of the Tamil cause, starting with the address in the United Nations General Assembly in 1978 on why the U.N. should recognise the right of self-determination already exercised by

the Eelam Tamils for a separate sovereign state.,

WHEREAS, this was followed in 1979 [May 22] by a unique and unprecedented demonstration of support by such an august assembly as that of the Massachusetts State which unanimously passed and adopted a resolution and proclamation amounting to an implied recognition of the sovereignty and freedom of the State of Tamil Eelam.

WHEREAS another important state much nearer Tamil Eelam namely Tamil Nadu has no more than one occasion demonstrated its support and solidarity for our case as shown by the State Assembly's unanimous resolution adopted in August 1981.,

WHEREAS, as a further step on Pongal Day 1982 [14th January], "Tamil representatives assembled at the United Nations solemnly and with historical perspective made and carried out the Declaration of Independence for the three and a half million Eelam

Tamils to live as a sovereign separate state.

WHEREAS, on this same Pongal Day similar Independence Declarations and demonstrations in support were made in other countries such as in India [Erode] and Malaysia [Kulalumpur] and of course in Tamil Eelam.

WHEREAS, this momentum is being kept up as clearly shown by the people backed re-adoption of the Independence Declaration on 26th April, 1982 in Jaffna led by the emerging new mass movement led by the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front [TELF].

WHEREAS, the number of arrests of militant Tamil youth, particularly last May, both in Tamil Nadu and Tamil Eelam, make it imperative that further practical steps be taken to achieve our goal of Tamil Eelam.

WHEREAS this very morning our Tamil Eelam Flag has been solemnly hoisted in the presence of the Convention delegates and representatives.

THIS WORLD CONVENTION
TAKING INTO FULL CON-
SIDERATION THE TOTALITY
OF ALL RELEVANT DEVELOP-
MENTS, RESOLVES AND
DECIDES TO FORM AN IN-
TERIM PROVISIONAL GOV-
ERNMENT OF THAMIL
EELAM. WITHIN ONE YEAR
FROM TODAY.

EX-MP FINED RS. 2 MILLION

Former UNP Member of Parliament, Anura Daniel, and a businessman named Mahindasiri Udumalagala were fined Rs.2 million each by the Sri Lankan Principal Collector of Customs in connection with a smuggling attempt by the former MP to bring into the country contraband valued at over Rs. 2 million with his baggage when he returned from an overseas trip in March this year.

Anura Daniel was forced to resign his seat in Parliament following the wide publicity that surrounded his smuggling attempt. Customs officers found gold bars, automatic wrist-watches, women's garments and other luxury items in his baggage. The contraband was ordered to be confiscated.

Anura Daniel and Udumalagala failed to pay the fines and as a result were produced before the Colombo Fort Magistrates Court on a charge of non-payment. Both were released on bail fixed at Rs.10,000.

LETTERS

THE SOVEREIGNTY ARGUMENT -A WEAK STRAND

Dear Editor,

I do not want to respond at any great length to Mr. R.T. Paran's rejoinder to my essay on the issue of Sovereignty and the Tamils of Ceylon. Indeed there is no reason to do so since Mr. Paran admits that it is a weak strand in the Tamil case and is being used to arouse the people emotionally. Whether unprincipled emotionalism and the consequent befuddlement of one's followers is the proper strategy and a morally defensible course of action, I will leave it to others to judge.

Mr. Paran does not however leave it there. He charges those who demand a more rigorous presentation of the Tamil case with attempting to demoralise the Tamil people. *Morale is a state of collective and steadfast dedication to a cause and a course of action that is created by emotional arousal but is maintained by presenting intellectually coherent and ethically persuasive arguments.* It is possible to argue, therefore, that in the long run flaccid arguments and unsupportable claims are more dangerous to the Tamil cause than attacking them when they occur.

Further, Mr. Paran's claim that those who question some of the arguments made on behalf of the Tamil people are somehow wanting in loyalty betrays an attitude that is quite incompatible with civilized political discourse. It is the sort of argument that Nazis and other similar groups make; those who are not totally unquestioningly, blindly with us are against us. If I question the sovereignty claim and say that the Tamil case is strong - perhaps even stronger, without it, how am I demoralising the Tamils? Are all disagreements and debates outlawed then? Are we, who are as concerned for the welfare of the Tamils of Ceylon as anyone else, forced to accept every argument and claim that gets aired on behalf of the Tamil people?

Finally, I may add that if my criticism of the Sovereignty argument is likely to demoralise the Tamils, I am sure the *Tamil Times* can be accused of participating in such an enterprise too by choosing to publish my comments and indeed in becoming a forum for discussion and controversy!

Artha Gnani



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'NATIYAANCHALI' BY VEL ANANTHAN DANCE TROUPE

A unique opportunity is being offered by the Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People [SCOT] when it presents 'NAATIYAANCHALI' by Vel Ananthan Dance Troupe from Sri Lanka, acknowledged to be one of the best troupes of its kind, on September 11, 1982 at Logan Hall, 20 Bedford Way, London WCI.

Artiste Vel Ananthan is the disciple of the World famous Exponent of Kathakali Dance, Dr. Guru Gopinath whose achievements were honoured by the award of the title "KALA NIKETAN" at his esteemed institution KERALA WISVA KALA KENDRA, INDIA.

Vel Ananthan also learned Bharatanatyam under Sri Supparayapillai, who is sometimes described as the guardian of the Panthanainallur style of Bharatanatyam in India.

Dr. Guru Gopinath acknowledge the talents of his disciple by accomodating him in his own troupe, which staged several programmes in all parts of India.

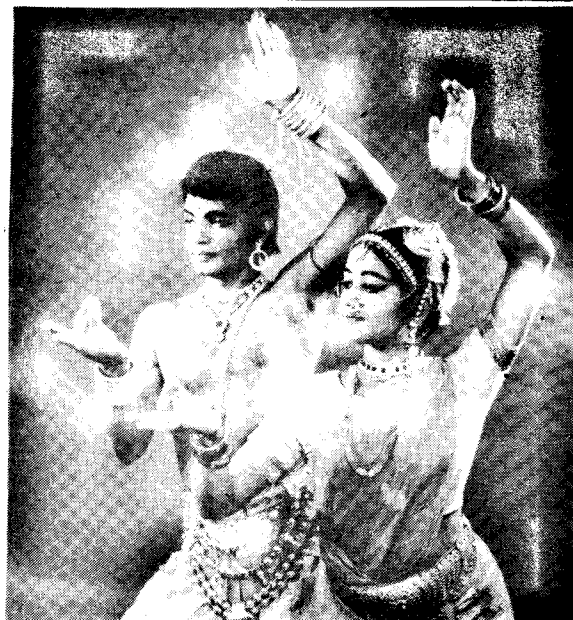
Having gained a name and fame and acquired skill and experience, Vel Ananthan returned to Sri Lanka to create his own establishment called

"KALAI KOVIL" at Thirunelvely of Jaffna. His students have proved that Vel Ananthan is not only a remarkable dancer but also an excellent instructor.

What singles him out of all the dancers of his class is his quality of transformation in the role he plays known as "Sathveega Abinaya" and his unique way of showing "NAVARASA" in its superlative form.

With his own students he formed a troupe which to date has staged more than three hundred and fifty performances in various part of the island.

He has produced seven ballets, which created, a new era in the history of dance - drama in Sri Lanka. With the aid of suitable background music and Choreography, which too are coming under his own direction, and his



extra-ordinary way of presenting a story with the techniques of body movements and facial expression, he has earned a unique place for these ballets.

In 1973 he was recognised as the International Artiste in the field of Indian Classical Dances, by the International Peoples' Theatre Association of India.

Now at the age of 35 years a Lecturer at the Govt. Teachers' Training College at

Colombagam, Jaffna, a member of Tamil Dancing Pannel of the Cultural Council of Sri Lanka Vel Ananthan leads a very simple life.

The Exposition of the talents of Miss. Pavalarani Pararajasingham, who commands grace and charm, Miss. Relangi Chelliah, Vijaya Sisters, Miss. Kalpana Vignéswaran, Miss. Thamarai Selvi Kanagaratham, Miss Angela Sebastianpillai earns merit and glory to the troupe.

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SILAMBOLI WOMEN'S LEAGUE [U.K.]

The Silamboli Women's League was established in 1979 to provide Tamil women here with an organization where they could make a lasting contribution towards the common good and to provide facilities for them to learn and to work together, to improve the quality of their lives and to enable them to develop their own skills and talent in order to benefit the community at large.

The Working Committee is headed by three secretaries, one for internal administration, the second for finance and the third for overseas projects. The Committee has organized various fund-raising programmes such as Autumn Fete, Charity Walk, Disco Night and Lunch, and raised over £1500 of which £450 was sent for the rehabilitation of refugees and £800 to the Gandhiyam Society for the building of a hostel in Vavuniya for underprivileged girls from the refugee settlements in that area, to enable them to obtain higher education in Vavuniya Town schools.

What they have sent to the Gandhiyam Society is just enough to cover the cost of

one of the three units required. They are now seeking more support for this worthy cause. Ladies who are in sympathy with their aims are invited to join the League. Donations may be sent to the credit of the Silamboli Women's League Account at Barclays Bank Ltd., 83 Borough Road, London SE1 1DP.

WEST LONDON TAMIL SCHOOL

The fourth year of this school ended on 10 July with an enjoyable concert of songs, dances and drama in which over 40 children took part, followed by a farewell to Mr. C.J.T. Thamotheram, founder and Head of the School. Tributes to Mr. Thamotheram were paid by Dr. R. Niththyananthan, the newly appointed Head, and by Dr. Soma Arunachalam.

The new year will commence at 10 a.m. Saturday, 11 September. Classes will continue to be held at Stanhope School, Mansell Road, Greenford. Instruction in Tamil, Carnatic Music, Bharata Natya and Folk Dancing, and Instrumental Music is provided by a staff of 15 volunteer teachers.

TAMIL OSAI

Mr. V. Sundharalingam, formerly of Radio Ceylon, has taken charge of the Tamil Section of the B.B.C. World Service during the absence of Mr. S. Shankaramurthi.

SRI LANKAN TAMILS COUNCIL

A meeting will be held at 5 p.m. on Sunday, 29th August, in the Methodist United Reform Church Hall, Askew Road, Shepherds Bush, London W12 for the purpose of setting up the above Council. For further particulars, please contact the Organiser, Mr. K. Sothinathan, 25 Brenthurst Road, London NW10 2DX.

NEW AMBASSADOR

Mr. D.P. Wijenarayana, a former Mayor of Galle, has been appointed Sri Lanka's new Ambassador in Burma. His political career began in 1960 when he was elected to the Galle Municipal Council as a UNP Councillor. Apart from politics, Mr. Wijenarayana has been practising at the Galle Bar for over 30 years and is Legal Advisor to several spare Corporations.

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FOUR POLICEMEN GUNNED DOWN

Three police constables and a police driver were shot dead by unknown gunmen who ambushed a police jeep at Neeliady junction, Jaffna at about 7.30 p.m. on July 2. In addition to the dead policemen, one Inspector of police and two constables were admitted to hospital with serious gunshot injuries.

The unidentified assailants are reported to have escaped in a passing car. Police sources said that the gunmen had used three different weapons in the course of their attack - a machine gun, a repeater rifle and a revolver. The jeep was riddled with 21 bullet holes.

Sources close to the police indicated that investigations had revealed that the gang had planned the ambush well ahead in a well calculated operation. The gunmen, estimated to be ten in number, had timed the patrol which called regularly at a temple close to the scene of the attack. They had lain in ambush with their weapons and when the police jeep was almost alongside them, they

sprang out of hiding and surrounded the vehicle and fired at the policemen at point blank range.

"TIGERS" CHARGED

Prabhakaran, Raghavan, Sivanewaran and Jothiswaran, all alleged to be members of the Liberation Tigers, a movement of Sri Lankan Tamil youth, have been charged with criminal conspiracy, and attempted murder by the Tamil Nadu police. These charges arise out of an incident that took place at Pondy Bazaar on May 19 in the course of which there was a shootout between rival factions of the Liberation Tigers.

Women's Varsity At Kodaikanal

A University for women, mainly concerned with women's problems in the social, economic fields is to be set up at Kodaikanal, in Tamil Nadu. This was announced by Mr. C. Aranganayagam, Tamil Nadu Minister of Education and Handlooms.

The medium of instruction at the University will be English

because the government of Tamil Nadu wants it to be an international institute carrying on research on problems relating to women. It is to be set up more or less on the same lines as the United Nations University in Tokyo.

The Minister said that Tamil Nadu was the only state in India to introduce vocational education on a large scale and he wanted to improve it further after studying the experience of other countries.

KARUNANIDHI WEIGHED IN SILVER

The Dravida Munetra Kazhagam (DMK) President, Mr. M. Karunanidhi was recently given thrice his weight in solid silver bars by the Madras district unit of the party. The gift was in commemoration of the DMK leader's completion of 25 years of continuous service in the State Legislature.

The 'thulabaram' in silver, which came to a weight of 203 kg and valued at Rs.5.71 lakhs, was carried out in the Seerani Arangam on the Marina amidst great fanfare. The DMK leader was weighed

on an ornamental balance. Accepting the gift, Mr. Karunanidhi said that all such gifts presented would go to the party's coffers.

LSE PROFESSOR

Mr. C. Suriyakumaran, a recently retired United Nations career official from Sri Lanka has been appointed a visiting Professor of the London School of Economics to lecture on Development Economics and Development Co-operation.

Mr. Suriyakumaran who retired recently as the UN Regional Director for Asia and Pacific of the UNEP has been hailed as the God-Father of the regional organisation to be set up in South Asia with its head-quarters in Colombo - the SACEP.

He joined the UN about 20 years ago where he was associated in many important projects in Asia like the Asian Development Bank, the Mekong Project, and the Asian Highway.

Apart from lecturing at the LSE, he will also serve as an advisor of the SACEP, Special advisor, UN Asia-Pacific Development Centre, and is tipped to head some special projects in Sri Lanka.

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(Contd from page 1)
what the organisers expected of the Convention:

"The convention envisions the proper prioritisation of the critical issues facing the Tamils, and in the very nature of the polemic climate under which the Tamils have lived for several decades, the matter of the 'right of self-determination' must receive immediate and prompt attention. This aspect of our demand placed before the power-holders cannot be postponed any further."

"It is the contention of the Convention that the path of freedom and liberty is best articulated in the reality of a separate state for the Tamils. This should be pursued vigorously."

While the Programme Committee was responsible for all the organisational arrangements, a special mention ought to be made of the contribution made by Dr. W.V. Panchacharam, who put in an enormous amount of pre-convention work and remained the live-wire behind the Programme Committee.

TULF TACTICAL SUCCESS
A pre-Convention get-together was held at Dr.

Panchacharam's residence on the evening of July 2, the day before the Convention began. The TULF leaders, M. Sivasiathamparam and A. Amirthalingam, who attended this function, spent several hours with the Programme Committee members to ensure that the Convention did not become a platform of embarrassing anti-TULF propaganda. From what transpired during the following two days, it was apparent that the TULF leaders achieved a remarkable tactical success in their discussions with the members of the Programme Committee, in that the latter did everything possible to ensure that nothing happened at the Convention which would have provoked a walkout by the TULF delegates.

It was apparent from the general tenor of the speeches and discussions at the Convention that there was almost unanimous acceptance of the fact that the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka were subjected to discrimination and oppression, and often the victims of racial violence.

There was also general agreement that the Tamils should strive for the creation of a

separate state.

STANDING OVATION FOR INDIAN DELEGATES

What was most significant and made more demonstrably clear was the total and unconditional support of all the delegates representing most of the political parties from Tamil Nadu, including the ruling Indira Congress, for the cause of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. For the first time, one could hear first hand, the increasing interest and involvement of the South Indian political parties in the problems facing the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Some Indian delegates had visited Sri Lanka, and particularly the Northern and Eastern Provinces and Central parts of the country where most of the Tamil plantation workers of Indian origin reside, prior to their arrival at the Convention, and they gave a graphic account of their impressions. One was left with a feeling that, if and when another bout of racial violence directed at the Tamils were to take place in the future, as is happened in August 1977 and May - June 1981, the reverberations in South India may not permit the Tamil Nadu government,

and for that matter the Indian central government to remain passive spectators. There was a clear indication that the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka hitherto followed may not be strictly adhered.

The Tamil Nadu delegates received a rapturous standing ovation which they richly deserved. All the Tamil Nadu delegates made excellent contributions, but the contribution of Aru Gopalan was simply brilliant.

As far as the delegates from Sri Lanka were concerned, there was a clear distinction between those of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and the breakaway Tamil Eelam Liberation Front (TELF). They appeared to be canvassing support for their respective positions among the expatriate delegates.

While the TULF delegates tended to justify its current line of negotiations with the government of Sri Lanka, and to reassert its long term commitment to a separate state of Tamil Eelam, the TELF delegates presented a much more militant line of no negotiations with the govern-

(Contd. on page 16)

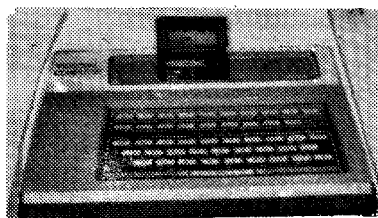
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TAMIL TIMES

THEY SHALL WIN

For centuries, the Jews have experienced the misfortune of having to face discrimination and oppression in many parts of the world. Even today, anti-semitism is a disturbing phenomenon in many countries, particularly in Western and Eastern Europe. They are often the targets for attacks by fascist gangs.

Having faced such oppression through history, the Jewish people ought to instinctively know what it means to be at the receiving end. It is tragic to see such a nation engaged in a cruel war of liquidation and genocide of another group of people, the Palestinian Arabs, who have been driven out of their homelands, and have been victimised and driven out of every land in which they sought refuge.

Driven out of Jordan and Syria, they found refuge in Lebanon, not out of their choice, but they had no other place to go. Today they are being forced, under threat of total annihilation, to leave Lebanon. What began as a limited punitive retaliatory Israeli action along the borders of Lebanon and Israel, has tragically escalated into a war of destruction and devastation of Lebanon. The besieged and battered city of Beirut and its people are today at the mercy of Begin's mighty military machine, with its missiles, tanks, planes and cluster bombs, and which moves menacingly forward taking an unimaginable toll of innocent human lives and leaving behind destroyed cities and villages. Begin's brutal barrage of bombardment has left Beirut with pulverised apartment blocks, government buildings, hospitals, universities etc. and heavy and horrifying casualties in human terms. The 'TIMES' correspondent from Beirut, in one of his many despatches, states: 'Nowhere was there more horrifying evidence of the level of civilian casualties than at the American University Hospital, itself bracketed by Israeli shellfireIn the mortuary, legs and arms had been stacked against a wall and bodies of several babies and were lying in plastic bags on the floor.' Piles of human entrails lay on the road outside. The hospital had already received 24 corpses, 20 of them civilians, and 115 wounded. The carnage continues unabated and with increasing ferocity. The inhumanity in this barbaric exercise is demonstrated by the deprivation of bare necessities for survival, like water and electricity.

The world watches the enactment of this cruel human tragedy, seemingly helpless and without any power of persuasion or force to prevent this almost unstoppable Israeli forward thrust of catastrophic destruction. The other Arab countries and their wretched and cowardly governments have disgracefully failed to respond positively in this hour of dire need on behalf of the Lebanese or the Palestinians. The Soviet Union, which promptly responds to any sign of dissident activity in Eastern Europe with its tanks and men, would seem to be voiceless and powerless except to plead with President Reagan to do something to stop further fighting. Reagan for his part, while obstructing the United Nations from taking any effective action, is pleading with Begin for restraint, but demands the Palestinians to get out of Beirut and Lebanon. Begin is in such a belligerent and militaristic mood that he contemptuously dismisses

(Contd. from page 15)

ment, boycott of elections and taking immediate steps to set up a separate state, including the formation of a provisional government of Tamil Eelam.

Mr. Eelaventhana was the chief speaker for the TELF and he handled his brief with extreme ease both in English and Tamil. Although lacking in flamboyance and charisma of an Amirthalingam, Eelaventhana made deep and wounding holes in the TULF case.

For the TULF, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, sometimes with tears in his eyes, made a highly emotional and an effective contribution in which he called upon the younger men, who had become critical of the TULF leadership, not to be impatient, to get back into the fold, and, if and when the rank and file accepted them, to be prepared to take over the leadership.

If some delegates entertained the illusion that the Convention could be turned into an anti-TULF forum, they had failed to take into account

the Amirthalingam factor. Mr. Amirthalingam skillfully deployed all the experience and eloquence at his command to put the TULF case with force and conviction. His contributions, both in Tamil and English, were weighty, forceful and authoritative. He proved that, however hopeless a case might be, an able and skillful lawyer could make something of it.

The contributions of Mr. S.C. Chandrasekaran, son of the Late S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, made a deep impression among the delegates. He was eloquent in both Tamil and English. He exuded a spirit of sincerity which was not apparent in others. His contributions were of a higher quality, less polemical, but more intellectual. There was all round praise for him as an individual and for his contributions. One was left with the impression that it would not take many years for the Chandrasekaran factor to have a significant impact in any leadership stakes within the TULF.

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Regan's pleas for restraint. The Frankenstein monster which the United States helped to create, has gone beyond the control of its creator.

Hitler thought that he could solve the problem of the Jews with his bestial policy of cold blooded extermination by putting 6 million of them into gas chambers. Hitler did not succeed. The Jews survived. History has condemned and despised Hitler. Today Begin thinks that he could solve the problem of the Palestinian Arabs by his military campaign of genocidal annihilation. Begin is bound to fail. The Palestinians will survive. They shall win.