

TAMIL TIMES

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3 POLICEMEN KILLED 33 GUNS STOLEN

Three policemen on duty at the Chavakachcheri Police Station were shot dead in a lightning dawn attack by a party of armed youth on Wednesday, October 27th. About 12 hours later, the Police imposed an instant 12-hour curfew from 6p.m. to 6a.m. in the Jaffna district creating panic and confusion among the public. Guns and ammunition at the Police Station were also stolen along with some files. The weapons consisted of two sub machine guns, 9 rifles, one pistol, 19 repeater guns, and two shot guns. The dead men are P.C. Kandiah of Mirusuvil, P.C. Karunanandan of Uduvil and P.C. Tillekeratne of Kegalle.

A remand suspect in a murder case who happened to be under lock-up at the Police Station, Kandiah Selvam, also died in the cross fire.

P.C. Jayatilleke who had jumped down from the upper storey of the Police Station was injured by the fall. He has been admitted to the Jaffna General Hospital along with Sergeant Kandiah who suffered gunshot injuries. Two more remand prisoners, Karthigesu and Aiyathurai were also wounded.

It is believed that there was an exchange of fire for about 15 minutes.

The unknown youth attackers had come to the Police Station in a blue minibus at about 5.30a.m. and had blocked the Pallai Jaffna main road with trees to prevent traffic. P.C. Kandiah who was on duty seated in the verandah was fired at first. He is reported to have returned the fire but was soon shot dead. The other two policemen died in the ensuing shoot-out. Unconfirmed reports say that a second vehicle was also used in operation, but no trace of it has been established at the time of our going to press.

The Chavakachcheri Police Station is in close proximity to the residence of the M.P. for Chavakachcheri, Mr. V.N. Navaratnam.

The driver and cleaner of the minibus who were blindfolded and gagged and later dropped at Puttur have surrendered to the Police but the vehicle has not yet been traced.

It is reported that a youth had hired the minibus in advance on Tuesday night to travel to Thillaiyampalam Pillaiyar Kovil at Varany next morning. Making an advance payment he had

PARLIAMENT'S LIFE EXTENDED UNTIL '89

OPPOSITION PRESS SEALED

In the wake of his victory at the recently held presidential election, President J.R. Jayawardene, with his steamer-roller majority in Parliament, has effected another fundamental amendment to the country's constitution, prolonging the life of parliament for a further period of six years. This will enable the government, which was elected in July 1977, to continue until August 1989.

All opposition parties have condemned this move, describing it as an attack on parliamentary democracy.

J.R. Jayawardene, who is already invested with almost dictatorial executive powers, proposes to seek approval for the extension of the life of parliament through a referendum to be held on December 22, 1982 leaving hardly any time for the Opposition to regroup and to organise its campaign against the referendum.

The amendment to the constitution was challenged in the Supreme Court as unconstitutional, but the Court ruled by a majority verdict of four to three that it was not in conflict with constitution.

Parliamentary elections were due to be held before July 1983, and it was generally assumed that many of the sitting government Members of

Parliament would not have been returned if elections were held. In this context, they were only too gladly to assist the President in extending the life of parliament, thus ensuring their continuance as MPs without having to go before the people.

However, J.R. Jayawardene has requested all Ministers and MPs to submit undated resignation letters, which he will obviously use to eliminate those whom he does not like or whose loyalty he doubts. Prime Minister, R. Premadasa, who is reputed to have a group of 90 MPs behind him, is thought to be one of the targets in the President's mind. Under the Constitution, if an MP resigned, the party could nominate another in his place. J.R. is expected to appoint as MPs not only his loyal supporters from his own party, but also utilise the opportunity to buy over influential members from the opposition parties. Already, during the recent presidential election, some leading right-wing SLFP members openly canvassed for J.R. It is noteworthy that the long-standing former deputy leader of the SLFP, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, voted with the government in support of the extension of the life of parliament. The defeat of the SLFP presidential candidate, Hector Kobbekaduwa, has already accentuated the dissensions within the SLFP and Anura Bandaranaike's statement in parliament that he would resign from the party, which his father had founded, if the 'marxists' took control of it is considered to be a pointer to likely developments in the near future. Speculation is rife about the probability of a 'National Government'.

Only a few days before his election, speaking at a campaign meeting, J.R. said, "I have always loved elections because elections give us the opportunity to visit our towns and villages, to meet the people, sense their feelings and find out their ideas and their needs.

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TAMIL TIMES

OURSELVES

TAMIL TIMES begins its second year with the appearance of this issue. With the limited resources at our disposal, we are proud that the journal was able to make its appearance monthly for the last twelve months - twelve issues in twelve months. **TAMIL TIMES** is here to stay.

When a few individuals got together and embarked on this venture in October 1981, none of us realised the enormity of the task, both in terms of work as well as the required financial input. But our task was made easier by the generous support we received from our readers and well-wishers. Many responded with unsolicited donations of money, some large and some small. Without their invaluable support and assistance, our task would have been extremely difficult. To all of them, we are sincerely grateful.

During the last year, we have had our share of detractors. But fortunately they were few and far between. From the correspondence we have received from various parts of the world, we can without any fear of contradiction say that the journal has been accepted as performing a valuable service. Readers have written to us making various constructive suggestions, some of which we have attempted to implement.

A valid criticism has been made by some that a substantial part of the material concentrates on the problems relating to the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka. While we will try our best to publish news and views concerning Tamils in other parts of the world, it should be noted that the seriousness of the problems faced today by the Tamil Nation in Sri Lanka makes it our primary duty to concentrate our efforts in that direction. Moreover, we must confess that we do not have resident regular correspondents to keep us supplied with news and views of Tamils living in other parts of the world. Readers are requested to write to us with news and views about Tamils in any part of the world and we will endeavour to provide as much space as we reasonably can for such news and views.

It should be realised that an enormous amount of personal sacrifice on the part of some goes into the production and continued appearance of this journal. We consider that it is the duty of all those who feel for the 'TAMIL CAUSE' to make their share of contribution, however little it may be, to not only ensure its continued publication, but also its development as a true link journal of the worldwide Tamil diaspora.

ETHNIC QUOTAS FOR RECRUITMENT & ADMISSION

Just before the announcement of the recently held presidential election, the Sri Lankan Cabinet made decision 'in principle' that henceforth recruitment to the public service and other state sectors and admission to the Universities would be on the basis of 'ethnic quotas', and that a Committee would be appointed to work out a scheme as to how it could be applied in practice. This decision, in other words, means that in future each of the country's ethnic groups will be allocated a share of recruitment and of admissions equivalent to their proportion of the total population.

Little attention has been paid to this far-reaching but retrograde decision of the government presumably because of the pace at which President J.R.Jayawardene was getting on with his predetermined plans for his return to power - the several fundamental constitutional amendments which he introduced, the announcement of the presidential election and the subsequent campaign itself.

This decision not only abandons the fundamental principle that selection shall be on the basis of merit, but also, once and for all, buries the concept that all citizens of the country, whatever the race to which they belong, are equal and entitled

to equal access to higher education and public employment. The government seeks to justify this decision by claiming that it will help the national minorities who will now be 'ensured' of at least the minimum share to which they are entitled. But all indications are that the real reason for the decision was to take the wind out of the sails of the racist Sinhala Bala Mandalaya, which had made the demand for 'ethnic quotas' as one of the main planks of attack against the government.

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has so far not made its position clear in respect of this retrograde decision, which is designed to further diminish and inevitably erode the position of the Tamil speaking people. The proposal will completely leave out in the cold other small ethnic groups like the Malays and Burghers who do not even make one per cent of the total population.

This decision also has caused some consternation among the Sinhalese who follow the Christian faith, for they fear that the logical extension of this decision will be the introduction of 'religious quotas' in which event, they will, although they are Sinhalese, suffer the same fate as the other national minorities.

SUICIDE BY DISMISSED WORKER

Sugathapala Gunasekera, aged 32, of Yatigama in the South of Sri Lanka was one of over 40,000 workers who were summarily dismissed by the present UNP government for taking part in the strike of July 1980. At that time he was an employee in the Inland Revenue Department. Like many others, his repeated pleas for reinstatement had been rejected by the government.

In desperation, Sugathapala Gunasekera recently committed suicide by taking an insecticide. This is not the first case of its kind, nor will it be the last, said a trade union official.

DAVIDSON RELEASED

Mr.M Davidson, Secretary of the General Union of Eelam Students (GUES), who was taken into custody by the police and later turned over to army custody, was released a day before the Attorney General was directed by the Supreme Court to submit reasons for his detention.

Mr.Davidson, along with some others, was arrested in connection with the hartal organised in protest against President J.R.Jayawardene's visit to the North. Davidson's release was preceded by a widespread campaign by human rights and student organisations.

POINT OF VIEW

By

R. GANESHAN

During the last four decades, and more particularly since independence, the Sri Lankan Tamil political leadership has talked about the 'STRUGGLE' for equality with the Sinhala majority community, federal constitution, restoration of the lost rights of citizenship and franchise of Tamil plantation workers, parity of status for Sinhala and Tamil, end to state-aided colonisation of Tamil areas and eventually a separate state of Tamil Eelam. However, the outcome of this so-called STRUGGLE on the part of the Tamil leadership has been the gradual and ever worsening plight of the Tamil speaking people.

What is so apparent to any political observer is the complete failure on the part of the traditional Tamil leadership to comprehend the complexity of the 'Tamil Question' in the national context, and the woeful lack of a well thought-out, principled and consistent strategy. The conduct of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and of some other influential Tamil group during the recent presidential election is a typical manifestation of this basic inadequacy.

The two elementary basic aims in any political struggle, let alone a struggle for the liberation of an oppressed nation, are firstly to strengthen and unite all the forces that can be mobilised in support of the struggle, and secondly to devise policies and adopt tactics which will weaken and disorient the opposition with a view to creating political instability at the centre of government.

By advocating 'non-participation' or a 'boycott', did the Tamil leadership, whether it be of the TULF or of other groups, achieve these two basic aims? On the contrary, what happened was, in the first place, a display of the divisions within the Tamil speaking community as a whole—at least about 50 per cent of those living in the Northern province and a substantial majority of Tamils living

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION & TAMIL LEADERSHIP

in the other provinces participated and voted at the election. Secondly, it facilitated and ensured that the UNP's J.R. Jayawardene won the election on the first count itself, thus providing stability of political power at the centre.

To merely declare, as the TULF did, that the Tamils had nothing to do with the contest for the election of a Sinhala President, is a device of political opportunism bordering on bankruptcy. The post of President is the most important position of power in the country. He is invested with powers of decision-making which not only affect the Sinhalese but also the Tamils. For the first time, the ethnic minority vote was of crucial and decisive importance to the outcome of the contest. In that context, a declaration of 'non-participation' or 'boycott' was to have abandoned an invaluable and unprecedented opportunity.

The TULF, which still enjoys the support of a substantial majority of the Tamil speaking people, could have made an effort to unite all other groups on the basis of a common transitional programme calling for

(a) The recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamil-speaking people;

(b) Immediate restoration of the rights of citizenship and franchise for the Tamil plantation workers;

(c) An end to state-aided colonisation of Tamil areas with non-Tamils from outside;

(d) Repeal of the Terrorism Act;

(e) An end to harassment by the security forces and arbitrary arrests and torture;

(f) Stopping the hanging of Kuttimani and Jegan and the release of all political prisoners;

(g) Establishment of regional assemblies for the Northern and Eastern Provinces with wide powers of local administration and land distribution.

On the basis of such a common programme, a widely acceptable 'unity' candidate should have been nominated to contest the presidential election.

followed by a widespread campaign throughout the country calling those sections among the majority Sinhala community who profess to stand for minority rights to support such a candidate. A well-organised campaign on that basis would have provided for the first time opportunities that had not existed before:

- The Television facilities provided for all presidential candidates could have been used to explain to ordinary Sinhalese people the justice of the Tamil cause, the atrocities that have been committed against them and the circumstances under which the Tamil speaking people have been forced to seek a separate state;

- The Tamil case could have been put on a national level, unlike in past general elections, when it was confined to the Northern and Eastern provinces;

- The Tamil speaking people living outside the North and East of the country for the first time would have had the opportunity to vote for a candidate standing up for their rights, unlike in the past when they had no choice other than to vote for the UNP or SLFP candidate;

- It would have provided an opportunity to address the Tamil plantation workers over the heads of people like Thondaman and his camp followers' and to call upon them to vote for a candidate who stood for the restoration of their rights as opposed to the C.W.C. who offered their support to the UNP, which was the Party that deprived them of their rights.

Not only all these opportunities were lost by the TULF's half-hearted call for 'non-participation' and the ineffective call for a 'boycott' by other Tamil groups, but they facilitated and helped J.R. Jayawardene to win an outright victory on the first count.

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SRI LANKA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS

MONERAGALA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 51,254 |
| J KOBBEKADUWA | 44,115 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 7,171 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 882 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 226 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 163 |

BADULLA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|----------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 1,41,062 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 88,462 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 7,713 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 2,115 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 625 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 463 |

GALLE DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 211,544 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 180,926 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 20,962 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 6,391 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 891 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 425 |

KALUTARA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 211,592 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 185,874 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 14,499 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 8,613 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 871 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 443 |

KURUNEGALA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 345,769 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 248,479 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 21,835 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 2,594 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 792 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 509 |

KEGALLE DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|----------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 1,95,444 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 1,26,538 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 13,706 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 6,184 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 514 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 376 |

KANDY DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 289,621 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 178,647 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 12,493 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 2,256 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 718 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 562 |

TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 45,522 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 31,700 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 10,068 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 5,395 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 635 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 276 |

ANURADHAPURA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 117,873 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 102,973 |
| FOHANA WIJEWEERA | 13,911 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 1,148 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 396 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 222 |

BATTICALOA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 48,094 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 47,095 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 21,688 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 1,294 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 1,287 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 618 |

COLOMBO DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|----------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 4,36,290 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 2,76,476 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 28,580 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 9,655 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 3,022 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 2,008 |

HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 90,545 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 76,402 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 28,835 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 877 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 344 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 275 |

NUWARA ELIYA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|----------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 1,09,017 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 57,093 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 4,569 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 1,201 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 558 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 331 |

GAMPAHA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 365,838 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 301,808 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 23,701 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 3,835 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 1,122 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 534 |

PUTTALAM DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 128,877 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 80,006 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 1,040 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 7,001 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 817 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 239 |

MATARA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|----------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 1,64,725 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 1,44,587 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 22,117 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 1,571 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 509 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 474 |

JAFFNA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 87,263 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 77,300 |
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 47,780 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 3,376 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 3,098 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 2,186 |

MATALE DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 94,031 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 59,299 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 7,169 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 866 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 253 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 196 |

WANNI DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 32,834 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 23,221 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 11,521 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 2,286 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 584 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 293 |

RATNAPURA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 175,903 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 152,506 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 11,283 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 3,494 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 1,996 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 422 |

POLONNARUWA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 59,414 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 37,243 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 8,138 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 451 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 228 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 141 |

DIGAMADULLA DISTRICT

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | 90,772 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | 53,096 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | 7,679 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | 8,079 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | 967 |
| VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA | 377 |

FINAL TALLY

| CANDIDATE | PARTY | VOTES | PERCENTAGE |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|------------|
| J R JAYEWARDENE | UNP | 3,450,811 | 52.91 |
| H KOBBEKADUWA | SLFP | 2,548,438 | 39.07 |
| ROHANA WIJEWEERA | JVP | 273,428 | 4.19 |
| KUMAR PONNAMBALAM | TC | 173,934 | 2.67 |
| COLVIN R DE SILVA | LSSP | 58,522 | 0.90 |
| V NANAYAKKARA | NSSP | 17,005 | 0.26 |

SRI LANKA

DEMOCRACY - J.R. STYLE

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) led coalition government elected in 1970 introduced the republican Constitution in 1972. Although elected for a period of five years, the 1972 Constitution extended the life of Parliament until the middle of 1977.

Besides the Civic and Human rights organisations, the party which protested most vehemently against this extension of the life of Parliament by two years was the United National Party (UNP), and Mr. J.R. Jayawardene's cogent and vigorous attack on the then government was devastating. He characterised the action of the government as an exercise in disfranchising the people. While accepting that the government's action might be 'legal and constitutional' in a technical sense, he attacked it as politically immoral and undemocratic.

In protesting against sitting in, what he described as 'an illegitimate parliament', he resigned his seat in 1975, forced

a by-election to give his constituents an opportunity to vote for him to be returned legitimately. One thought, that was J.R., the democrat par excellence!

The J.R. of 1982 is a completely different man. Besides the totalitarian regimes, he is the most powerful 'constitutional' head of state in the world possessing and exercising all the powers of a totalitarian head of state. Today, he has forgotten, or rather callously ignored and disregarded how a parliament achieves or loses its legitimacy. He has got his servile party steamroller majority in parliament to extend its own life, thereby that of his government for an additional period of six years-until 1989. That is, twelve years at a stretch from July 1977:

PEOPLE TAKEN FOR A RIDE

Before or during the recently held presidential election campaign, JR never disclosed to the people this diabolical plan he was hatching to

disfranchise the electors for a period of six years. Indeed, all the indications he gave were that, within weeks of the presidential election, he would call a general election. He has taken the people for a ride. JR is reported to have claimed that his victory at the presidential poll represented an acceptance of the "reforms" and economic policies his government had pursued since 1977. If he is that confident and if there is any truth or substance in that assertion, why doesn't he have the courage to present his government and his Members of Parliament before the people for re-election, instead of gerrymandering with the constitution and indulging in the subterfuge of a so-called referendum? When the debate on the motion for the 'extension of the life of Parliament' was being recently debated, one argument put forward by Prime Minister, R.Premadasa, was that the "leftists" had taken control of the SLFP, and that some time is required for the "democratic Bandaranaike faction" to regain control of the party and reassert itself, and therefore the general election was being postponed! What hypocrisy?

JR and his government virtually eliminated Mrs. Bandaranaike from the electoral arena depriving her civic rights and disqualifying her from taking part in the electoral process. He knew that, if Mrs. B was allowed to actively pursue her politics, she would have presented a formidable challenge to him at any election. By preventing her from entering the electoral ring, JR entertained the illusion that he could continue in power comfortably. But although he won just over 52 per cent of the votes polled, the voting pattern in the recent presidential election has shattered his apparently unshakeable confidence.

HECTOR WAS NO MATCH

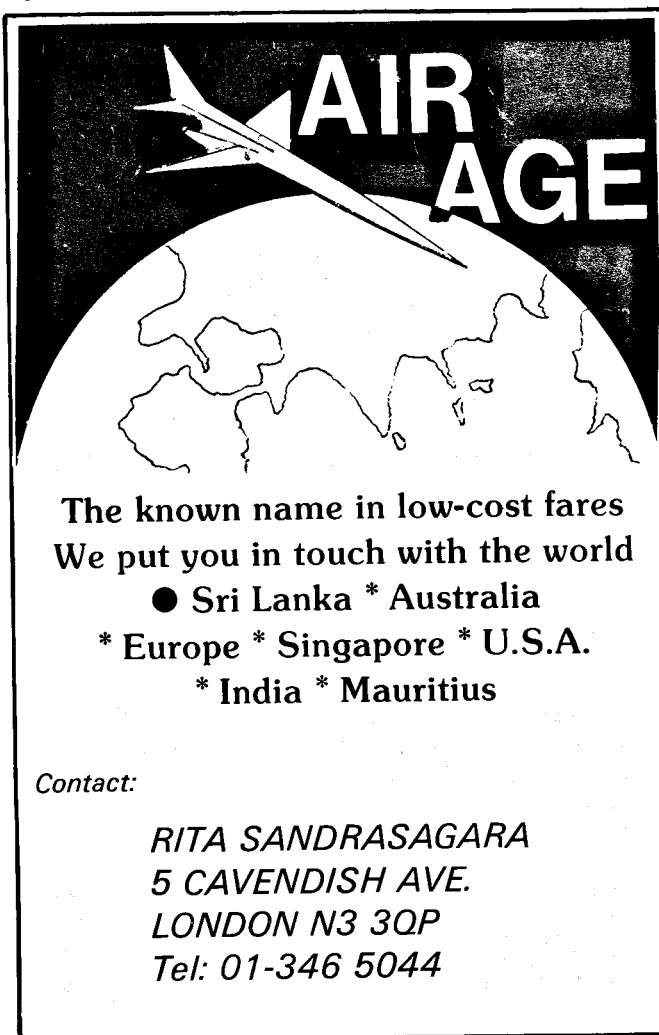
JR chose the most advantageous time for holding the election. Before that he had already eliminated his star challenger, Mrs. B, from the contest by disqualifying her. The opposition was in complete disarray.

By P.R. NAYAGAM

The SLFP was itself riven with splits, factions and infighting. The opposition parties had hardly any time between the day of the announcement and the election itself to regroup. Unlike in a general election, where a person against person and electorate by electorate contest gradually transforms itself into a contest between competing programmes and policies, in the presidential election, the personalities of the main contenders mattered more. By comparison, the SLFP's Hector Kobbekaduwa was no match to JR in personality terms. An unknown quantity without the benefit of any track record to speak of, Hector Kobbekaduwa was never even suspected to be a possible contender until a few days before nomination day. Despite all these disadvantageous factors, Kobbekaduwa, the unknown and politically puny David, came up with an unexpectedly impressive performance against the better known JR, the Goliath. In sixteen out of the twentytwo electoral districts, the SLFP's Kobbekaduwa obtained more percentage of the votes than in 1977. The UNP's JR got less percentage of the votes than in 1977 in fourteen of the twentytwo electoral districts.

The voting picture of an outright victory of JR on the first count with the required votes of over fifty per cent would have looked a different one, had the Tamil United Liberation Front not called for a boycott which made a sizable section of Tamils to abstain from voting at the election. Had all the Tamils voted, the percentage of the total votes polled would have been undoubtedly much higher, and as a direct consequence, the percentage votes received by JR would have been considerably reduced. Had Mrs. Bandaranaike been able to contest, or had the SLFP nominee not suffered from the many disadvantages enumerated above, could JR have won on the first count, or won at all? JR has seen the writing on the wall very clearly. If a general election is held, it is certain that not only

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JR DREAMS UP- 'MURDER PLOT'

President Jayawardene has claimed that a faction of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party had planned to assassinate him and set up a military government if their candidate, Mr. Kobbekaduwa won the recent presidential election.

He alleged that the 'anachist' faction of Mrs. Bandaranaike's party planned to imprison her and assassinate her son Anura. He claimed that, judging by the voting pattern in the presidential election, his ruling UNP would take 120 seats of the 196 seats and the SLFP 68 in the event of an election.

As if he had the absolute discretion to determine who shall become elected MPs, JR said that he could not allow what he termed 'political hooligans' to enter Parliament in large numbers and 'wreck' parliamentary procedures.

As if people had short memories to forget as to how he had persisted in hounding out the SLFP leader, Mrs. Bandaranaike from the political arena

KUTTIMANI NOMINATED AS MP

Having successfully resisted the pressure to nominate him as its presidential candidate, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has nominated Selvarajah Yogachandran (Kuttimani) as Member of Parliament to the vacancy created at the northern constituency of Vaddukoddai by the untimely death of its elected MP, Mr. T.

by depriving her of her civic rights, JR said that democrats in the SLFP should be given time to assert their authority and regain control of the party.

PASSPORTS IMPOUNDED

SLFP leader Mrs. S. Bandaranaike, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa and Mr. V. Kumaratunga (Mrs. B's son-in-law) have been questioned in connection with alleged distribution of forged rice ration books. All three had devied any knowledge about the alleged distribution.

However, the government has imposed a travel ban on Messrs. Kobbekaduwa and Kumaratunga and impounded their passports.

Thirunavukkarasu.

The appeal against the death sentences passed on Kuttimani and Jegan is pending.

In a statement issued explaining the reasons for nominating Kuttimani, the TULF has stated: "The TULF which firmly believes in the Gandhian credo of non-violence on strong convictions and not as a matter of convenience, dissociates itself from the alleged acts of violence which Kuttimani may or may not have committed. Our irrevocable commitment to this lofty ideal of Ahimsa notwithstanding, we are constrained to take this decision in exceptional circumstances owing to a variety of valid reasons.

● Kuttimani's nomination is a token protest against the state terrorism perpetrated from time to time through the agencies of the police and military personnel especially on the young Tamils of the country;

● It is a symbol of the TULF's protest against the iniquitous Prevention of Terrorism Act which has provided for an extraordinary procedure including

provisions denying trial by jury, admitting confessions obtained by the police from the accused by various processes of torture and defying all accepted principles of law;

● It is a protest against the death penalty imposed on Kuttimani and Jegan;

● It is a protest against the cruel and inhuman treatment and torture inflicted on Tamil young men in army camps at Panagoda, Elephant Pass and now at Gurunagar, whereby alleged confessions were extorted from them to be admitted in evidence at their trials;

To impress upon the government that characterising Tamil young men who are politically oriented and motivated as terrorists and directing repressive measures against them will not help to resolve the problem;

The death penalty imposed on Kuttimani and Jegan is in sharp contrast to the treatment meted out to the Sinhala youths who participated in the 1971 insurgency. Convictions and sentences imposed on them were annulled by law and they were released from jails.

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WORLD TAMIL CONFERENCE IN SINGAPORE

The Sixth International Conference and Seminar of Tamil Studies will be held in Singapore in June 1983, according to a four-page preliminary announcement issued by the Steering Committee in Singapore. The actual dates will be announced later.

Delegates who wish to attend the Conference have been requested to contact the JOINT SECRETARY, SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES, ANNA ILLAM, 35 NORRIS ROAD, SINGAPORE 0820.

The main academic area of emphasis at the Conference will be Tamil Studies related to the South East Asian Region. Papers on Language, Literature, Society and History, Culture and Arts will also be presented at the Conference.

The Steering Committee has Mr. S. M. Vasagar as President and Messrs. M. S. Veerappan and T. Sivananthan as Joint Secretaries.

MP SHOT AT

The Tamil United Liberation Front Member of Parliament, Mr. T. Rasalingam has made a complaint to the police that he was shot at by some unknown persons travelling in a jeep while he was waiting for a bus at a bus stop.

Although the MP was unhurt, he considered that the assailants intended to kill him.

YOUTH ESCAPES FROM ARMY CUSTODY

12 hours before the attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station occurred a Tamil youth who was under interrogation at the Gurunager Army Camp in Jaffna escaped from custody. This happened during the late hrs. of Tuesday afternoon. Two other youths who also attempted a get away were recaptured one with gun shot wounds and the other with a deep cut are now warded at the Jaffna General Hospital under armed custody. A soldier was also admitted to the hospital with injuries.

"FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS VIOLATED"

SAYS SUPREME COURT

The Supreme Court of Sri Lanka has held that, in the arrest and treatment of Mr. S.N. Kumarasinghe, Secretary of the Vavuniya Branch of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality, "there has been a violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed by Article 13(2) of the Constitution"; there has been "utter disregard, both by the Police Officers as well as by the Magistrate of the procedure prescribed by the Criminal

Procedure Code"; the suspect being refused bail and forced to linger in prison "deprived of his liberty" for a "trivial violation of a minor offence under the Vehicles' Ordinance"... "shocks one's sense of justice and fair-play"; and excuses "have been given in this case"

by Police Officers "to circumvent the salutary provisions" of the law regarding the production of suspects before the Magistrates.

Mr. S.N. Kumarasinghe of Madukanda, Vavuniya, filed an application before the Supreme Court alleging that Headquarters Inspector of Police, Vavuniya, Susila Gunawardena, Sub-Inspector Gunasingha, Sub-Inspector Joseph and Constable Perera all of the Vavuniya Police Station subjected him to torture, cruel and inhuman treatment and punishment and ill-

egal arrest and detention and prayed that the four respondents be dealt with by process of the law.

Petitioner Kumarasinghe told Court that he is the Secretary of the Vavuniya Branch of a movement known as "Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality", which has campaigned vigorously for inter-racial justice and equality and

has had occasion to criticise, condemn and even denounce the conduct of members of the Sri Lanka Police publicly and widely through the media which was reasonably and presumably within the knowledge of the respondent Police Officers.

The incident he complained of happened at about 9.30 p.m. on 3rd June, 1982 when he was on his way home on his bicycle along the road leading to his village Madukande. When he was passing these Police Officers he heard a shout "ado paraya come here". He stopped, dismounted from his bicycle went up to the 2nd respondent, who is the Headquarters Inspector of the Police Station and told him "mahatmaya, learn how to talk". To this the 2nd respondent replied, "ado paraya, do you know who I am"; and he retorted "whoever you are, you must learn how to talk". The Police Officers then surrounded him and assaulted him with fists and rifle butts until he fell down with the bicycle. Even thereafter they continued the assault, drove him to the Vavuniya Base Hospital, informing the Doctor that he was brought for drunkenness. He was removed to a ward where the D.M.O. examined him the next morning, when he also complained about the incident which was recorded by the D.M.O. He was handcuffed and kept in this Hospital until the evening of the 5th when he was taken to the prisons lock-up room and confined there. On the 6th evening he was taken to the Jaffna Prisons and admitted to the Jaffna Prisons Hospital. On the 17th he was produced before the Magistrate, Vavuniya and released on bail in a sum of Rs.250/-.

Magistrate's utter disregard

Justice Wimalaratne in concurrence with Justice Wanasundera and Justice Ratwatte giving judgment in the case said there was utter disregard, both by the Police Officers as well as by the Magistrate of the procedure prescribed by the Criminal Code"

"On the mere 'B' Report complaining of a trivial violation of a minor offence under the Vehicles' Ordinance, and of the failure to obey the Police signal to stop, the Magistrate has remanded a suspect who was not even produced before him for a period of 14 days! The suspect's name was known to the Police, and there was no allegation of the likelihood of his absconding.

"Even when an Attorney-at-Law filed a motion on 7th June and asked for bail, the Magistrate had not granted bail but had minuted that the case be called on 17th June. In the meantime, the suspect was, according to the 'B' Report only suffering from bodily pains, removed to the Vavuniya prison lock-up on the 5th June, and transferred to the Jaffna prison on the 7th June where he lingered deprived of his liberty until the 17th of June. This procedure shocks one's sense of justice and fairplay.

"Section 115 (1) of the Code requires the Police, if investigations cannot be completed within a period of 24 hours, and if there are grounds for believing that further investigation is necessary, to forthwith transmit to the Magistrate a report of the case, together with a summary of the statements made by the witnesses examined, and also to forward the suspect to such Magistrate. The reason given in their affidavit for the non-production of the suspect along with the 'B' Report is that since the petitioner was warded on the orders of the D.M.O. they were not in a position to actually produce the petitioner before the Magistrate at the time the report was filed.

"There may be occasions when suspects warded in Hospital cannot be produced before the Magistrate within the stipulated period but in that event the Police should produce a medical report to the effect that it would be hazardous to move the suspect from the hospital ward. Magistrates should be vigilant when 'B' reports are filed before them, without the production of the suspect and should probe the reason for the non production of the suspect. If they are not

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GANDHIYAM - AN APPEAL FOR SUPPORT

By S.A. DAVID, PRESIDENT GANDHIYAM SOCIETY

The GANDHIYAM SOCIETY, Vavuniya, Sri Lanka was founded in 1977 and in these five years Gandhiyam has progressed steadily and has established District Centres in Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Kilinochchi, Jaffna, Mannar and Mullaitivu. Over 10,000 children are taught the rudiments of the Gandhiyam way of life through song, dance, art and drama in 350 pre-schools staffed with 450 teachers.

In conjunction with the TRRO and SEDEC, Gandhiyam has settled 4500 refugee families in the Vavuniya District, 300 in Trincomalee and 200 more in Batticaloa districts. We have also set up five model one acre farms in Vavuniya, three in Trincomalee and two in Batticaloa. A programme to build 60 wells in Vavuniya, 10 in Trincomalee, 10 in Batticaloa and 20 in Amparai is in progress.

30 tons of milk powder and 50 tons of Tripasha are annually distributed in the above dist-

tricts using the 2 jeeps, 4 vans and 3 motor cycles at our disposal.

In 5 years, Gandhiyam has successfully built up an efficient organisation working on modern methods of programming, monitoring, evaluating, recording and reporting on constructive projects. Our society has won the confidence and generous support of NOVIB (Holland), OXFAM (England), BREAD for the WORLD (Germany), NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, CHRISTIAN AID and many Tamil organisations in U.K., U.S.A. and Canada to the extent of nearly Rs. 3,000,000 a year to carry out its programmes.

We are proud to state that, in spite of threats and harassment by the army and police, the youth and village workers - both male and female - have continued to remain and work in their assigned areas.

In the North and East, there

are 2,000 villages to which the Gandhiyam way of life must be taken, but as yet we have only reached 350.

There are nearly 50,000 Tamils living overseas. It is my ardent wish that every one of them contributes ONE POUND A MONTH to aid Gandhiyam to enable us to reach these 2,000 villages in the next three years and to help people increase their awareness of freedom, self-reliance and simple living.

contd from page 1

I would not extend the term of my office or the life of Parliament..." (Daily News).

This and other protestations about democracy and sovereignty of the people ring hollow, fraudulent and hypocritical in the light of J.R.'s present proposals which constitute a virtual subversion of representative democracy and the right of the people to elect a government of their choice at periodic intervals as had been the case Sri Lanka hitherto. His statement that 'he would not allow thugs to be elected to parliament' is indicative of his desire to hold omnipotent power under which it would be he alone who will choose MPs for the people.

The announcement of the plans for the extension of the life of parliament has been accompanied by the muzzling of the

contd from page 7

satisfied with the reason adduced by the Police, they should insist on a medical report as to the suspect's fitness to be produced.

"Magistrates would be abdicating to the Police their judicial duty of deciding upon the period of remand if they do not bring their independent judgement to bear. In the present case a remand for a period of 14 days was quite unnecessary. No wonder overcrowding in prisons, especially in remand is causing much anxiety to Prison officials and considerable expense to the State. Likewise, Police

opposition press. 'Suthanthiran', a twice-weekly Tamil journal, was the first casualty and its press has already been sealed. Now the Sinhala papers, 'Aththa' and 'Dinakara', have been banned. The SLFP presidential candidate, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa and the film actor son-in-law of Mrs. Bandaranaike, Mr. V. Kumaratunga, have been banned from foreign travel and their passports impounded. Police have instituted investigations into an alleged plot to assassinate the President.

The man who came to power in 1977 to save democracy and restore the rights of the people, not being content with the enormous executive powers he wields with a devalued parliament, which acts more as a rubber stamp, is today set on a course to subvert and destroy even the remnants of representative democracy and instal in its place a dictatorial regime.

The attitude of the TULF to the question of referendum is watched by political observers with keen interest. Although the TULF has condemned the amendment to the constitution extending the life of parliament, its ambivalent half-hearted non-participatory attitude during the presidential election campaign, and the long drawn out negotiations it held with the government during the last 18 months, have given rise to speculation as to whether the TULF will again come to JR's aid by "non-participation" in the referendum campaign.

Officers ought not to be allowed to circumvent the salutary provisions of section 115 (1) regarding the production of suspects before the Magistrate by seeking to give such excuses as have been given in this case."

"I am of the view that there has been a violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed by Article 13 (2) of the Constitution, but this violation has been more a consequence of the wrongful exercise of judicial discretion as a result of a misleading Police Report. Although we are thus unable to grant the petitioner the relief prayed for, we award him costs in a sum of Rs.750/- payable by the respondents."

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SRI LANKA NATIONHOOD (PART II)

A MARXIST VIEW

Myth 14. The militant Tamil nationalists are opposed to the Left movement and therefore are reactionaries who should be combatted.

The militant Tamils are not opposed to socialism. They have been heavily influenced by the Marxist-Leninist position on the national question and acknowledge that it is only this approach that provides a coherent conceptual framework for the understanding of this vexed issue. Their charge is that almost the entire Left movement has taken positions counter to the Marxist one. Thus, it is not that the militant Tamils are hostile to Marxist one. Thus, it is not that the militant Tamils are hostile to Marxism, but rather that our Marxists have abandoned the fundamental Marxist principal of proletarian internationalism! However Tamil militants do point to certain important instances in which various sections of the Left took up internationalist positions-For instance, the

MYTHS AND REALITIES

C.P. recognised the Tamils right of self-determination in 1947 and proposed regional autonomy which was relatively correct position at the time. The LSSP's opposition to 'Sinhala only' in 1956 and the active defence of Tamils in 1958 by the Sinhala working class; the involvement of the Ceylon Communist party (Peking Wing) in the caste struggles of the 1960's, the position taken against standardization by various racial Left groups and the Ceylon Teachers Union in the recent past-all these are seen and spoken of as instances of solidarity extended by the Left movement to the Tamil people.

The policies and practices of the LSSP-CP after 1964 the adoption of the 'Masala vadai line'; the Jan 8th 1966 incident; Dr.Colvin R.de Silva's constitution of 1972, the LSSP-CP's complicity in the Keenikelle shooting of 1971; their role during the incarceration,

—By CHINTAKA—

Confronted by the disconcerting intricacies of the 'Tamil Question', the pressures of racial prejudice of both kinds, and the demands of parliamentary politics and electoral opinion, leftists and progressives, both Sinhala and Tamil, adopt different positions. But each position is justified as the correct 'socialist' view. CHINTAKA offers some answers to this vexed question from a marxist standpoint. Reproduced by kind courtesy of 'Lanka Guardian'. The first part of the article appeared in the August issue of Tamil Times.

torture and shooting of Tamil youth from 1972 onwards; the Left parties silence during the thuggery and police shooting on the estates in 76-77- all those are seen by the Tamil militants as stark betrayals of internationalism by the Left movement.

They realize that the chauvinistic deviations on the part of the Left movement correspond to an paralled the parliamentarist deviation of the old Left. Even the new Left however, is not immune from criticism. Rohana Wijeweera's racist attitude towards the plantation workers has still not been forgotten or forgive, while the persistent refusal of even the radical Left to solidarize fully with the Tamil cause and actively combat social-chauvinism is the cause of much disappointment.

It is the socialist orientation of the militant Tamil youth that has forced the TURF leadership to champion the cause of an independant sovereign, secular and **socialist** Tamil Ealam, however superficial its degree of commitment to this goal may prove to be. The TURF has also had to proclaim that its ideology is that of '**scientific** socialism,' and adopt anti-capitalist positions in the parliamentary debates of the UNP govt's economic policies. The TURF leaders also praise the internationalism of Cuba and Vietnam, while speaking warmly of the USSR's solution of the national question. All this is a far cry from the conservative Anglophie outlook of the traditional FP and TC leaders! The TURF'S progressive positions in the field of foreign policy and ideology are a manifestation of the influence of the scientific

socialist orientations of the militant youth. As the student and youth organisations play an increasingly important role in the national movement of the North, and as the path of parliamentary compromise proves sterile, thus impelling this movement to adopt forms of extraparliamentary direct action, this process of politico-ideological radicalization will doubtless intensify. (See "TULF Dilemma: After the Boycott" - Lanka Guardian March 1st and "Jaffna". The streets are quiet" -L.G.April 1st Page7).

15. The North is feudal and backward, its society is stratified on the basis of Caste (and therefore, politics are reactionary and conservative).

It is not feudal, but rather, capitalist relations of production that predominate in the socio economic formations of the North. Given the geographic differences between the North and South, there was no complex irrigation system in the former areas in the precolonial Ceylon. Owing to this reason and the consequent differences in the forces and means of production in the two parts of the island also differed. While an Asiatic mode of production based on the massive irrigation complexes predominated in the Sinhala areas, the Tamil areas were dominated by a feudal system with a rigid caste structure. The 'Asiatic' social relations in the Sinhala areas possessed a more collective character than those in the North. The North displayed a propensity towards consumption and the Tamil property system even prior to the colo-

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SINHALESE LIONS & TAMIL TIGERS OF SRI LANKA

—By DAVID SELBOURNE—

'Who would have dreamed, ten years ago that there would be such a movement, killing policemen?', he asks. He sits on the bed in the heat, the fan whirring. He is a Colombo Tamil, professional, 'bourgeois'. 'But we are being pushed to the wall. It is too late for any other solution'. To him, the discrimination, the colonization of Tamil areas by Sinhalese settlers, the injury, the insult, are plain old-fashioned racism. He is sweating, his forehead shining.

He talks as if he thinks a civil war is coming. 'My son is 17', he says; 'I don't know what he will do, but more of our boys will join these forces'. He believes that the Tigers 'lack leadership and discipline, but have courage'; 'I will not be able to stop him'. He says that the time is approaching 'when the government will only be able to rule us with the army'. There is more fear in his voice than bravado.

'Our so-called leaders', he says, 'have got lost in the parliamentary system. When we asked for our own state in 1976, they should have been prepared for a struggle. It is their failure which has brought the Tigers into being'. And with a new round of elections approaching, his brow furrows with anxiety ('it always ends up with attacks on us'), remembering the 1977 riots, in which his Colombo house was broken into, and ransacked. 'At the moment', he says, 'frightened Tamils are leaving it to the Tigers to react on their behalf, and keeping silent'.

Thirteen per cent of Colombo is Tamil. This is a mixed polity of Sinhalese and Tamils - and a mixed economy of bullock-carts and Peugeots - heading along the crown of the narrow road for a smash-up. You can see 'Fully Insured', and even 'Rs 50,000 per person', stencilled on the backs of trucks and buses; but there will only be payment in blood after the collision which is coming in Sri Lanka.

'We cannot control our next generation', he says, avoiding

my glances. 'In general, we are docile and selfish, but at last the young blood is fighting. There is not much of left or right in it. The issue is independence'. He looks down at his hands, turning them from side to side, perspiring.

TAMILS ARE ALWAYS "THEY"
It is a tinder-box of an island; fused for yet another explosion between the majority (70 per cent) Sinhalese and the minority (20 per cent) Tamils; of whom around two-thirds are indigenous 'Ceylon Tamils', and one-third, the 'Indian' or 'plantation' Tamils, are the descendants of the indentured labour brought from South India - from 1839 onwards - by the British.

It is an island of deities too, Christian and Moslem included; today, it seems god-forsaken. At the headquarters of the Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress, its Secretary, the Venerable Diriyagaha Yasassi, complains that the Buddhists are 'at a disadvantage'. 'They', he adds - the Tamils of Sri Lanka are always 'they' - have the support of outside powers'. 'Who?', I ask. He smiles broadly, but does not answer. He is referring to the dark mass (in his mind) of 50 million other Tamils, across the channel from Jaffna in Tamil Nadu. In the fevered imaginations of the Buddhists, these 'outside powers' are breathing down their necks, a majority with a minority complex, like the Protestants in Northern Ireland.

Constitution, laws, army, government - to say nothing of the Lord Buddha and the Prevention of Terrorism Act - are on their side. Theirs is the official language and state religion; even the national flag carries a Sinhalese Lion, and four leaves of the peepul tree, under which the Buddha gained enlightenment at Bodhi Gaya. Yet the Buddhists say of the Hindus, 'They can always go to India. But where can we Buddhists go to?' This is insularity, with a vengeance.

But then Ceylon did not have to fight for its independence from the British. And to make

"To the Sinhalese, the Tamils are aliens, whose culture and roots are Dravidian; their Tigers nothing more than terrorists, threatening the integrity of a 'Buddhist island'. To the Tamils, the Sinhalese have turned their chauvinism into state policy and their prejudices into police action... And in the deep tropic shade, which seems so tranquil, the

Sinhalese lion and the Tamil tiger are stalking each other".

David Selbourne visited Sri Lanka during September-October prior to the Presidential election. This is the first part of an article specially written by the author for the Illustrated Week of India, which we reproduce with their kind courtesy.

up for it, Sri Lanka now has two national movements, Sinhalese and Tamil. In the conflict between them, the Sinhalese Buddhist recovery from centuries of alien domination (Portuguese, Dutch, British) is taking the form of a jihad against the Tamils.

To the Sinhalese, the latter are seen as aliens, whose culture and roots are Dravidian; their Tigers nothing more than terrorists, threatening the integrity of a 'Buddhist island'. To the Tamils, the Sinhalese have turned their racial chauvinism into state policy, and their prejudices into police action. And between the Sinhalese and Tamil 'masses' - the poor, the landless, the jobless - their common class interests notwithstanding, there is a deadly silence.

The truth, and the trouble, is that the Tamils are the Jews of Sri Lanka. In numbers, in distinctiveness of culture, in visibility of effort, they are perfectly fitted for their classic historic role: as scapegoats for Sri Lanka's social and economic problems. Moreover, 'Tamil Eelam' is now their Zion. But, for better or worse, they have no Begin.

D.D.C. THE TAMIL BOOBY-PRIZE

It is not as if the Sinhalese have made no concessions at all to the Tamils. They have. They have conceded, under the 1978 Constitution, that

Tamil should be the language of administration in the Northern and Eastern provinces; have admitted that their own cabinet ministers contributed, by inflammatory racist speeches (which read like those of Enoch Powell), to the 1981 riots; acknowledge, as President Jayawardene did to me - 'there have been atrocities, burning, and now military occupation' - that the guardians of law and order took part in the attack on Jaffna; have increased the proportion of Tamil officers in the police forces of the Northern province; have been prepared to discuss a modest devolution of powers with Tamil politicians. And as elections approach, in which Tamil votes could be crucial, they have kept police and army violence on a tighter leash than normal.

But if all this is already too much for the Sinhalese chauvinists, who accuse Jayawardene of being a 'traitor', it is not enough for the Tamils; and against their demand for national self-determination, nothing. Moreover, the forces of Sinhalese extremism have advanced in step with the mounting sense of Tamil grievance, catching both the Sinhalese and Tamil moderates in their cross-fire.

In consequence, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), has just come a cropper in its effort to get provisions for real Tamil control in the Tamil heartlands. The crux of the matter, which the Sinhalese will not concede, is special constitutional arrangements in Tamil areas. 'They cannot separate', President Jayawardene told me

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flatly, 'and what we give them cannot be different from any other part of the country'. Powerless District Development Councils (DDCs), throughout Sri Lanka, are the Tamil booby-prize for months of talking.

The forces of Sinhalese compromise - shrinking as they are, yet relied on by drowning Tamil moderates as a last straw in a cleft stick. They themselves know, without being told by the Tamils, that their own inflexibility on Tamil demands for a greater degree of power-sharing is counter-productive. They know, too that increasing state violence (as in Northern Ireland) can bring no long-term solution.

But their problem is that in today's mood of inflamed communal suspicions, where a single spark can start a racial prairie fire, compromise with the Tamils would be seen by many of their own supporters as the thin end of a wedge which would split Sri Lanka. 'Every time we sign an agreement with the Tamils', President Jayawardene says, not wholly truthfully, but nervously glancing over his shoulder, 'they go and shoot a Sinhalese policeman'. The Tamils, however, are arguably in a much worse position.

For one thing, they do not even share power with the Sinhalese, let alone hold it; and the TULF is largely confined to the North, and not in any sense an all-Sri Lanka movement. For another, they know that the logic of their community's demands, if pursued without compromise, can only lead to civil war; and that their own Tigers block a Tamil retreat from this cul-de-sac. A few Sinhalese politicians, of whom Jayawardene might be one, may want to let them off the hook ('That is why we are giving them DDC's, Jayawardene told me). But far more on the Sinhalese side are enjoying watching them, roasting, on it. Moreover, the Sinhalese ruling class, with the Buddhist clergy at their elbows, have at last got the bit between their teeth, asserting 'majority rights' after years of what they see as subordination to disproportionate Tamil privilege and influence

in the state apparatus; pushing them back into minority status, in jobs and education, with a firm grip on state power which they are not now going to relinquish.

Worse still, the TULF is now deeply split and disorientated. Some are for continued dialogue, believing (without evidence) that they are making progress, and that the Sinhalese need an accommodation with them, rather than the other way round; some for 'mass struggle', some, secretly, for increasing recourse to violence, others against it. (Jayawardene protested: 'If the TULF have changed their position on the question of violence, they have not told us. I am trusting their leaders').

Of course, the Tigers too are factionally divided, to the point of mutual murder, on the correct handling of their national question. **In the meantime, as the Tamils argue with each other, the Sri Lankan state is chasing the 'terrorists' with extra-legal abandon; tiger-hunting with armoured cars and sub-machine guns, S-Lon plastic tubes - which leave no mark on a beaten victim - and chillies up the rectum.**

The economy is shored up by Western loans and dam building, bringing not only water but Sinhalese colonization into the dry zones. In some moods, Jayawardene is confident: his political and economic prospectus - essentially the 'Singaporeanization' of Sri Lanka - constitutes a 'peaceful and non-violent revolution'. In conversation, he is more cautious (and more candid) than the young Turks, like Gamini Dissanayake and Lalith Athulathmudali, who are close to him. 'We have been able to survive', he told me frankly, 'only because of the aid the World Bank is giving. I really don't know what to do about the economy. Nobody knows'.

His critics say that it is emigration as much as, or even more than, economic development, which has recently brought down the country's levels of unemployment, allegedly from 20 to 10 per cent since 1977; and that Sri Lanka has incurred debt burdens for his import-and-irrigation policies beyond repayment. The most recent World Bank forecast - of incre-

asing trade and budget deficits, and the exhaustion of its reserves by 1984 without further heavy IMF assistance - is as gloomy as Jayawardene's usual expression.

PRICE OF FOREIGN AID.

At the huge Victoria project - a double-curvature arch dam being built near Kandy by British contractors, and described as the 'lynchpin' of the Mahaveli Development Project - you can see development on one side of the coin, and dependency on the other; millions of tons of concrete on one side, billions of foreign debt on the other; tens of thousands (112,000) of acres to be irrigated, tens of thousands of people to be uprooted and transplanted.

And with the armies of foreign engineers, in their shorts and knee-socks, (many of them arrived from projects in Southern Africa), have returned the old racist manners. They wear tin, not pith, helmets; but the Sri Lankan workforce is once more on the receiving end of the old colonial business. There have been strikes over it. Gamini Dissanayake, the Minister in charge of the project, admits that racist Swedish experts, working on a neighbouring dam, have actually been expelled from Sri Lanka.

'We have to tell some of them this is not South Africa', I was told by a senior, and bitter, Sri Lankan official at the Victoria project. 'They think', he said, pointing to his own arm, 'that because I am this colour, they can treat me badly'. Evidently, the price of aid on this scale includes being turned into 'kafirs'; and the Sri Lankans are paying through the nose for it. This island has certainly already had a thorough colonial going-over. 'Virgin Most Pure, Pray For Us', it says at St. Mary's, Dehiwala. We are on the Galle Road, Colombo. 'Marmite Is Available' says the blackboard on the pavement a few doors away; the Dutch Reformed Church has a place just up the road at Wellawatta. There is even a Piccadilly Universal Cafe. And all the tailors 'dummies in the drapers' shops are white; but then so are the Christs in the stained glass windows.

It tell my hosts that I am an

agnostic. The lady of the house plays the organ in the church on Sundays. 'You' - well, not me personally - 'gave us the religion. Now it is only we who believe it', she said wryly.

The Buddhists, President Jayawardene included, often speak of their ideal as a dharmista society: a society both free and just. Yet it is very rare for any of the leading Buddhist clergy to take up an anti-communal position in public, or in private for that matter; while their concept of a 'righteous way of ruling the country' does not seem to extend to the rights of the Tamils.

Indeed the civil rights movement is predominantly Christian, both protestant and catholic. (But then where are the Hindu priests, or the Moslems?) They are brave, noble even, all of them: Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe, Father Tissa Balasuriya, the Jesuit Paul Caspersz, Colombo Lawyer Desmond Fernando, Amnesty International's Suriya Wickremasinghe and others. (President Jayawardene told me she was a 'card-carrying communist'; he was misinformed, or lying).

Pitting themselves hot only against the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism Act - which permits 18 months detention without trial, wide powers of entry, search, seizure and interrogation, including keeping the arrested incommunicado anywhere the police may want to take them - but against the degeneration of the rule of law throughout Sri Lanka, is an uphill struggle.

TORTURE IS A ROUTINE MATTER

The torture of Tamil detainees at Elephant Pass - 'if they groan and cry there ("Aiyoy, amma, amma!"), no one can hear them' - and Panagoda army camps, is now a routine matter. And with a high turnover of short-term detentions, in which young Tamils are taken in, often repeatedly, for interrogation and a beating, and then released, an estimate of numbers is difficult. There have been a few Argentinian-style 'disappearances' also.

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Perhaps there are one hundred Tamil youth in detention now; perhaps not.

Certainly the chief torturers - Inspectors Gadegama and Karunaratne, Assistant Superintendents Gunasinghe, Juranpathy and Pereira, for example - are now notorious; and the legal defence in court of alleged Tigers a dangerous and heroic duty, done under threats of assassination. 'I do it *pro* said one of the bravest; but no one seems to be doing it for the Lord Buddha.

On top of all this, there has been a continuous re-making of the Constitution since 1948 in the interests of party; to the point of having, since 1978, an executive president unaccountable to parliament, in which the prime minister is a cipher. (The Sri Lankans have actually done what Mrs. Gandhi has for so long toyed with).

Now, President Jayawardene, by amending the Constitution yet again, will be able to seek a new 6-year presidential mandate well before his term of office expires in February 1984; the election may take place this October. His critics say that it is to pre-empt the parliamentary polls due next summer, and secure a further concentration of personal power.

There is certainly enough evidence of it. He has other 'draft amendments' up his sleeves - which may require a referendum - allowing him to dissolve parliament twice in its first year if he doesn't like the electors' verdicts, and even to re-in office as president for a year (while the Constitution is further amended), if he is himself defeated. And, to cap it all, Chandrananda da Silva, widely accused of trying to rig last year's Jaffna District elections in order to deny victory to the TURF, has been promoted to Colombo as Chief Election Commissioner.

On the surface of things, and according to its own rule-books, Sri Lanka - like India - is, of course, a 'democracy': with an elected President, a parliament, separation of powers, and fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution. In prac-

tice, however, it has much less in common with the world of Erskine May than with that of President Marcos. And as Sri Lanka - the 'Buddhist way of life' notwithstanding - treads the same dark path as other banana republics, Amnesty International and the civil rights movement, lanterns in hand and many with crosses, will have to follow.

Jayawardene, custodian of the faith under the 1978 Constitution (which gives Buddhism 'foremost place', and imposes a duty on the state to 'protect and foster' it), has his own trouble with the Buddhists. The chauvinist Sinhala Bala Mandalaya, a strident cross-party Buddhist pressure group, talked about 'dying in battle to save the Sinhala race', and accuses Jayawardene of being a 'traitor to the Buddhist nation' for his dalliance (however half-hearted) with the Tamils.

Alleged by some - including Tamils - to be one of the few political figures able to contain Sinhalese extremism, he has stood out against them. 'Buddha did not preach to any one race', he has said, 'and Nirvana can be attained only by individuals, not by a nation'. He has even sent his own goonsquads in to rough up Bala Mandalaya meetings; a fundamentalist monk who denounced him had his temple-grounds occupied by the Army. Mrs. Bandranaikie was quick to exploit the conflict, openly defending the Buddhist extremists.

Yet this chavivist opposition is also useful to Jayawardene. It enables him to act as the champion of moderation - 'I am standing up to those among my own people who want to go to war with the Tamils', he told me - while denying the Tamils any real concessions, on the grounds that his own community would not accept them. Certainly he pleads for communal harmony often enough, but does precious little to promote it.

The truth is that he is a skilful strategist ('we must adopt Napoleonic tactics', he said to me sotto voce), and more on top of the complex balance of forces in Sri Lanka than his

opponents, who regularly accuse him of 'panic', are prepared to credit; wishful thinking always does wonders for an opposition. **Nevertheless, Jayawardene has to keep a wary eye on his own Tigers. There are 20,000 of them, against the Tamils' 400: and they have shaven scalps, carry umbrellas - instead of self-loaders - and are robed in saffron.**

ARMY RULE BY PROXY

In Jaffna, the army rules as proxy for the UNP and Colombo, as it may one day rule the whole nation. Yet the posters and the graffitti are not those of a powerful left movement - all hammers and sickles, and red exclamations, as in Calcutta - or of the resurgent Tamil nation calling the people to a mass satyagraha or demonstration. They are of 'O' level and 'A' level tutors.

Indeed, every middle-class Ceylon Tamil household with school-age children, anywhere in Sri Lanka, seems preoccupied with education. (No wonder that left trade union spokesman of the plantation Tamils -

whose problems are stateless-slavery and deportation, not 'A' levels - describe the Ceylon Tamil cause as 'bourgeois'). Superficially, it is as if the liberation movement and a seat in college were the same thing; as if the Tigers were shooting policemen because a Sinhalese youth with poor B and C grades can get into further education, but a Tamil with As cannot.

So when the Tamils say, as they all do, that 'in the Sinhalese nation we have little future in Sri Lanka', what they mean at one level - usually 'A' level - is that the going is getting rougher in education. But at another level, as the Sinhalese ruthlessly slice away at universal criteria of merit in favour of racial quotas and majority domination, the Tamils know that they have lost their once-free access to what, like the Jews, they perceive to be the only means to social and economic advancement.

Infact, they have suffered

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SUBASHINI PATHMANATHAN - AN ARTIST DISCOVERED

Subashini Pathmanathan, a Sri Lanka student reading for the final B.A. degree of the Punjab University of the Government College for Girls, Chandigarh, gave a Bharatha Natyam recital recently at the Women's Polytechnic Hall under the auspices of the Chandigarh Tamil Manram.

Subashini studied under the renowned teacher, Pathamashri Pillai and won a diploma in Baharatha Natyam. She was also awarded the title of "Natyam Kala Sinamani".

A novel feature of the concert was that music was recorded in Madras and the Nattuwangam was rendered by Pathamashri Vazhuvor Ramiahpillai and son, Vazhuvor R.Samraj. In a long review of the concert, the 'Indian Express' said "The Sri Lankan captured the spectators' hearts with her movements Abinaya and footwork". In a three column review titled "Discovery of an Artist", Sharma

of the Tribune' said Shubashini's assets were her capacity for appropriate expression and postures and deft footwork.

Shubashini is the younger daughter of Mr.N.Pathmanatha,

PROFESSOR LIONEL

An international medical symposium in Washington is to be dedicated to the memory of a Sri Lankan Professor, Dr.N.D. W.Lionel. This is the first time that a Sri Lankan doctor is being honoured in this way. The symposium on drug regulations in developing countries which will be a part of the 2nd World Conference on Clinical Pharmacology to be held in Washington in August 1983 is to be dedicated to Prof. Lionel's memory.

Prof.D.L.M.Lunde of the Institute of Pharmaco- Therapeutics, Oslo, in conveying this information to Prof.Lionel's family, has said that his death was a great loss to the world of phar-

macy where he held an outstanding position as a Third World professional.

KARATE CHAMPION

Rajadurai Ganeshamoorthy of Point Pedro Karate Dojo, became the new Karate champion of Sri Lanka at the 10th National Championships conducted by the Ceylon Karate Association at the Kathiresan Hall, Colombo.

In a keenly contended final, Ganeshamoorthy beat H.M.D. Ananda of Budo Karate Association of Gampaha to take the title.

B.E.M. FOR LANKAN ENGINEER



The British Empire Medal was recently presented to a Sri Lankan Engineer, Mr.Arulampalam Selvaratnam of Shifnal at the Shirehall, Shrewsbury.

Mr.Selvaratnam who is the Principal Resident Engineer with the Telford Development Corporation for the completion of the main road systems of Telford was presented with his award by the Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire.

Mr.Selvaratnam has worked and resided in England since 1960.

MARRIAGE

The wedding took place at Putney Methodist Church, London on November 13 of Sujata Chelvarajan (daughter of Mr. & Mrs.K.T.Chelvarajan, Araly North, Vaddukoddai) and Yogendran Sivaguru (son of the late Mr.R.D.Sivaguru, Proctor, and Mrs.P.Sivaguru, Station Road, Chavakachcheri. Mr.Chelvarajan is a teacher at Jaffna College.

OBITUARY

The death occurred on September 20 under tragic circumstances of Mr.K.E.Thambirajah (66), retired Senior Assistant Valuer.

The deceased leaves behind five sons - Sounderarajah (U.K.)

Mahendrarajah (Colombo), Manohararajah (Zambia), Karunaharajah (Singapore) and Mahirajah (Mannar).

Distinguished Achievement

Professor Freda M.Paul, M.D,F.R.C.P., won one of the four Research Awards granted at the Sixth International Congress for the Scientific Study of Mental Deficiency, held in Toronto on 25-8-82.

Professor Paul was invited to read a paper on the subject at the Congress in which 2400 delegates participated from 52 countries of the world.

Dr.Freda M.Paul is Associate Professor of Paediatrics at the University of Singapore. She is the daughter of the late Mr.C.B.Paul and Mrs.Paul of 162, Haig Road, Singapore and grand-daughter of the late Rev.Isaac Paul and Mrs.Paul of Uduvil. She is an old student of Chundikuli Girls' College.

MRS. VASANTHA BRITO BABAPULLE

Mrs.Vasantha Brito Babapulle has obtained a Ph.D. from the University of London while working as a Research Assistant in the Department of Cancer Research at Mount Vernon Hospital, Northwood, Middlesex, and the Gatton Laboratory University College.

The research was in the field of orstogenetics.

Vasantha is the eldest daughter of Mr.V.T.Thamotharam, retired Judge of the Supreme Court and Mrs.Thamotharam.

Honorary Doctorate for Malaysian Scholar.

At the Third Convocation of the Jaffna University held recently, the recipient of an Honorary Doctorate was Mr.S.Durai Rajasingham, the Ananda Coomarasamy Scholar of Malaysia.

Mr.Durai Rajasingham was a student at Jaffna College in the 20's. It was during his student days in Vaddukoddai that the Jaffna Youth Congress was formed. He and the late Mr.M.Balasundaram were the first Joint Secretaries, and the late Mr.J.V.Chelliah, Vice-Principal of Jaffna College at that time, the first President. Of the late Mr.Durai Rajasingham, Mr.

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nial period. Those tendencies were accentuated by the relationship established with Arab merchant capital. The early phase of colonization which was of mercantilist character accelerated this trend while the later phase of colonialism, capitalism, has resulted in capitalist private property relations establishing their hegemony over feudal and semi-feudal relations. The high degree of monetization of the Northern economy, the high degree of utilization of credit per capita, the remarkable responsiveness of the Northern farmer to capitalist incentives and his intensive usage of agrochemical inputs demonstrates the fallacy of the thesis that the North suffers from feudal backwardness. The caste system exists in the realm of consciousness and ideology (ie. in the superstructure), but not in the substructure except in residual form. The existence of caste prejudices is hardly surprising since pre-capitalist ideas persist in the superstructural realm in almost all capitalist societies

including the most advanced i.e. loyalty to the monarchy in Britain.

Just as many African peoples transcended tribalist loyalties and prejudices in the process of a protracted liberation struggle, the barriers of male chauvinism were overcome in Algeria and Vietnam in this very same process. (See Fanan and Cabral) Likewise, casteism and male chauvinism can be eradicated from the consciousness of the Tamil people only in the course of a struggle against national oppression. The fact that of the Tamil youth militants many are from the so-called 'lower' castes indicate that this process is already well underway.

One of Lenin's best known essays on the colonial question was captioned "Backward Europe, Advanced Asia", which flew in the face of Marxist orthodoxy that tradition-bound Asia was backward as opposed to capitalist and highly politicized Europe. Lenin pointed out that the awakened Asia, where the broad masses were in anticolonial ferment, was

politically more advanced than Europe. Lankan leftists, who have been accustomed to speak patronisingly that the people of conservative North, will have to be freed from caste-ism by the victorious Sinhala proletariat after the revolution in the South, must now regard Lenin's essay as mandatory reading.

Myth 16. The demand for a "separate state" is a threat to territorial integrity and for this reason it should be opposed.

Though in the first instance, the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie is **national** in form, in the last instance 'the proletariat has no country', in Marx's famous phrase. Thus, the Left has no mandatory obligation to defend the unity and integrity of the bourgeois state nor to defend any boundaries imposed by colonialism. Proletarian internationalism is the standpoint of any genuine socialist.

Marxists who advance this 'Myth' may be asked whether national sovereignty and integrity are not threatened rather by the "open door" economic policies of the ruling class. In that sense, the Left movement should be more concerned with the "penetrated State" i.e. the new and sinister threat of the penetration of international capital via Dollars, D-Marks and Yen. Any genuinely 'nationalist' struggle should be waged against this 'separatism'. To attack a non-existent foe means objectively to assist the existing foe, as Fidel Castro said in Algiers 1973.

17. Any struggle for a separate state will invite involvement by the superpowers, and the Tamils will be a pawn in their contention.

This view, popular among a recognisable breed of Marxists, sees the struggle of the global powers as the near-exclusive motive force of world history. It is profoundly undialectical, and unscientific. It focusses **external** factors the determinants.

It is the king of view popularised

by Rosa Luxemburg who wrote in her "Theses on the Tasks of International Social Democracy" that "in the age of imperialism small nations are only the pawns on the imperialist chessboard of the major powers". This 'thesis' was mercilessly flayed by Lenin himself.

This erroneous Luxemburgist position has been adopted by the Chinese CP these days and is freely applied by local Maoists. They discern nothing but the manipulations of the superpowers, in world politics and thus fall into the most monstrous errors when they assess national liberation movements in this light (e.g. Angola), when this position led objectively to supporting the C.I.A. backed 'fronts' and South African intervention against the MPLA).

They ignore a fundamental thesis of Marxist dialectics, once accepted by Mao. i.e. "social development is due chiefly NOT to external but to internal causes, and the action of external forces is function of the internal conflict in which they intervene. The development of a phenomenon in movement whatever its external appearance depends mainly on its internal characteristics". Marxism holds therefore that national liberation struggles are the outcome of internal development "more or less influenced by external factors (be they favourable or unfavourable) but eventually determined and formed by the historical reality of each people" (Amlcar Cabral, 'Revolution in Guinea'). This was the position of Lenin and indeed Marx, when they evaluated national movements.

It is best to remind Leftists who talk about 'superpowers' and "external forces" etc, that it was Marx and Engels who wrote thus, on the Polish "It is not our job to hold back the Poles from efforts to win the conditions of their future development or to tell them that from the international standpoint their national independence is an entirely secondary matter".

TO BE CONCLUDED IN NEXT ISSUE.



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PROF. J. RAMACHANDRAN, MADURAI VARSITY V.C.

Prof. J. Ramachandran, retired Director of Collegiate Education, Tamil Nadu, has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Madurai Kumaraj University.

The appointment, announced by the Governor and Chancellor of the University, Mr. Sadiq Ali will be for three years from the date of his assuming charge. Mr. Ramachandran, who is 58 was Principal of the Presidency College, Madras, for 13 years from 1966 and later Director of Collegiate Education until his retirement on July 31 last. During 1980, he was Dean of the Madras University's College Development Council.

As a member of the team of Indian Universities Administrators Project, Mr. Ramachandran visited leading universities and centres of advanced learning in the United States in 1977.

A member of the Senate, Syndicate and Academic Council of the Madras University for several years, he heads the Indian Political Science Asso-

ciation since 1981. He is also Honorary Secretary of the Agri-Horticultural Society, Madras, from 1975.

P.M COMMENDS FREE MEAL SCHEME OF TAMIL NADU

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has commended the free meal scheme introduced by the Tamil Nadu Government as a "good project" and called for details about its working.

This was stated by Mr. K. Diraviyam, Chief Secretary to Tamil Nadu Government. He added that a report would be sent to the Prime Minister as soon as the scheme got stabilised.

CENTRE ABSOLVEST. NADU GOVT.

Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister, claimed that the Centre had cleared the AIADMK Government of some of the charges made against it by a group of DMK members of Parliament recently. The Chief Minister said that the allegations made against the AIADMK were corruption, nepotism,

grant of licences under Prohibition Act, etc. After going through the comments of the State Government the Centre had written that it was satisfied with the explanation and was closing the files.

The Chief Minister made these observations while addressing an election meeting at Periakulam

Social factor behind conversions

Drawing attention to the "lesson of Meenakshipuram" (mass conversion of Harijans into Muslims in the village in Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu) the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes stresses the need for remedying social discrimination that led to the conversion.

The Commissioner, Mr. Shishir Kumar, in his latest report, submitted to Parliament cited the contention of the converts that their action was flight from discrimination and social tyranny to which they were subjected to in the Hindu fold and makes a case for a deeper probe of the issues.

Forgoing benefits: "There Scheduled Caste people of Meenakshipuram are reportedly better off than many members of the Scheduled Castes elsewhere and even some non-Scheduled Caste people of Meenakshipuram itself. And yet, the fact that they were impelled to forgo all the benefits accruing to them as members of the Scheduled Castes is indicative of their impatience in seeking a more honourable quality of social life than they were enjoying as members of the Scheduled Castes among the Hindus," the report says.

Social disintegration:

Dealing with the problems posed in the task of integration in the social and the national context, the report says: "It is the accentuation of the social disintegration that sometimes raises apprehensions about the integration of the nation itself. In many minds, the present mass conversions are being equated as affecting national integrity, particularly in view of the reported confabulations at the Hyderabad meet of the Jamet-e-Islami Hind, attended

by delegates from some other Muslim countries where a plan to raise the Muslim population from 80 millions to 200 millions in the next decade was alleged to have been discussed.

Tamil Medium Course in Management Studies

Tamil medium students have been selected for the first time to follow a course in Business Management, at the Jaffna University this year. But there is, we learn, a snag. There is no Faculty of Management Studies and Commerce now in the University of Jaffna as there is at the Sri Jayawardenapura University.

The Students Assembly of the University of Jaffna has addressed a letter to the Minister of Higher Education to set up early a Faculty of Management Studies and Commerce in the Jaffna University without which there is no likelihood that Tamil medium students admitted to the course will be awarded a B.Sc degree.

CHINA BAY TO REPLACE TRINCO

It is reliably reported that the Sri Lankan government has drawn up a scheme to replace the Eastern Tamil city of Trincomalee with China Bay as the new capital of the Trincomalee District.

Trincomalee has a long history and heritage for the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka, with one of the main and ancient Hindu temples, Thirukoneswaram, located there. This traditional capital city is to be gradually downgraded with the progressive increase of industrial and commercial activity at China Bay. In the near future, a new Cement factory is to be set up at China Bay. This factory is a joint venture between the Japanese and the Lankan business tycoon, Anthony Gnanam.

The scheme also provides for the gradual relocation of government offices and other public institutions at China Bay where a vigorous and discriminatory plan for colonisation by non-Tamil speaking outsiders is expected to be implemented.

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WHY 'TAMIL TIMES' SHOULD BECOME INTERNATIONAL IN ITS NEWS COVERAGE AND WHY TAMIL CULTURE SHOULD BE THE FOCUS FOR WORLD TAMIL SOLIDARITY

As a wellwisher and subscriber to your esteemed Journal, I wish to make some comments.

A respected Tamilian from Mauritius, Mr.M.Thancanamootoo, after reading a copy of 'Tamil Times' I sent him, has written a letter regretting that it is confined only to Sri Lanka Tamil news and expressed the hope that, in due course, your esteemed Journal will endeavour to cover Tamil news on a wider international basis. This seems to be a fair comment and an earnest request that deserves consideration as his subscription is in the post.

All of us know only too well that the world is getting closer and indeed fast becoming a global village. Then, why not the world Tamils too? Even recent events surrounding our Tamil Eelam liberation struggle have underlined the fact that, in this present day and age, no vital issue concerning a people can remain confined to their regional boundaries only. The

P.L.O. has successfully internationalized their political plight and their recent dispersal in eight countries of the Middle East spotlights their solidarity with the historic ties of pan-Arab culture, which is the key fabric that sustains unity in spite of political and ideological differences.

In order to emphasize a similar role, may I take this opportunity to give some facts and figures (for further details see 'Introduction to Tamil Culture', published by Institute for International Tamil Renaissance, 72 King Edward Road, London E17) concerning World Tamils in terms of their international composition as well as facilities for Tamil Language learning in the world. For example, how many of your readers know that there are over 60,000 Tamils in Mauritius, and 25,000 in Fiji; that G.C.E. 'O' Level in the Tamil Language can be taken at the University of London. These figures are to be

By K.Gnanasooriyam

| Areas (Figures for 1979) | Population (to the nearest 1000) | % of Total Population of the Area |
|--|--|---|
| INDIA | | |
| Tamilnadu | 49,103,000 | 90.1 |
| Kerala | 1,064,000 | 5.0 |
| Pondicherry | 447,000 | 95.0 |
| Rest of India incl. Mysore & Andhra | 600,000 | 7.5 |
| CEYLON | 51,214,000 | 30.0 |
| MALAYSIA | 3,598,000 | 10.0 |
| Union of South Africa | 1,045,000 | 1.5 |
| BURMA | 250,000 | 0.8 |
| SINGAPORE | 200,000 | 7.0 |
| MAURITIUS | 145,000 | 7.2 |
| FIJI | 60,000 | 5.0 |
| GUADELOPE | 25,000 | 7.0 |
| U.K. | 21,000 | - |
| MARTINIQUE | 15,000 | - |
| GUYANA | 13,000 | 2.0 |
| U.S.A. | 10,000 | - |
| CANADA | 5,000 | - |
| TRINIDAD | 3,000 | - |
| FRANCE | 3,000 | - |
| New Caledonia & Tahiti | 1,000 | - |
| Total | 56,611,000 | |

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updated but are presented here only to stimulate an interest in the vital international aspect of Tamil culture and ideology. This is an asset indeed, even in our freedom struggle, taking a hint from the very successful parallel of Zionism and the international Jewish Community knit together by Jewish culture - the golden thread of affinity that has welded Jews the world over.

POPULATION OF TAMILS IN DIFFERENT AREAS OF THE WORLD

The traditional Homelands of Tamils from ancient times have been Southern India and Ceylon. Nevertheless, there are migrant Communities of Tamils settled in Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, South Africa, Mauritius, Fiji, etc. The largest migration of Tamils is to be found in Malaysia.

Tamil studies are carried out in the following countries outside

Tamil Nadu:

Ceylon- at all levels to University Research, Malaysia at all levels to University Research. Gt. Britain University of London (at all levels). France French Institute of Indology. Holland Indian Linguistics Department. Czechoslovakia Post-graduate studies at University level. U.S.A. Under-graduate and post-graduate studies at the Universities of Pennsylvania and Chicago. Germany As part of Dravidian studies in five Universities. Russia As part of Indological studies. Burma, Mauritius & Fiji- At school level only

I hope that this letter will inspire all those interested in Tamil welfare in our far-flung Tamil fraternity throughout the world, to write to 'Tamil Times' giving news and views concerning Tamils in their respective regions and help to make it truly an international forum for Tamil news exchange.

JAFFNA PUBLIC LIBRARY PROJECT

The Appeal of the Mayor of Jaffna, Mr. Rajah Visuvanathan, for the restoration of the burnt Library has brought in Rs. 2,700,000 in cash and 35,000 books and some library equipment as well. (97,000 books and rare manuscripts were destroyed by the custodians of law and order in June 1981).

Building operations are in progress and the work is expected to be completed by May 1983, at an estimated cost of Rs.3,000,000. No sooner than the repairing and rewiring of the Northern Wing is completed the Reference Library will be reopened. At present the Reading Room and the Children's Library are housed at the Town Hall. The entire restoration is expected to be over by December 1983, to coincide with the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Library

To re-stock the Library at least another Rs.3,000,000 has to be raised within the next 12 months. Please send your con-

tributions direct to Jaffna Public Library Trust Fund, Account No.2893, Bank of Ceylon, Jaffna.

(contd from page 12)

lethal blows to their aspirations. And the Sinhalese know very well what they are doing as they strike - even with physical violence, as in Jaffna, where the police burned down the civic library - at the jugular vein of the Tamils: their cultural identity and achievement, past, present and future.

In reprisal, B-grade Sinhalese will be met increasingly with bullets, fired by Agrade Tamils armed with automatics.

Serene Buddhas in white plaster, eyes heavy-lidded, lips red and with long ear-lobes, pose beneath the banyans, presiding over racial violence without a of expression. My Sinhalese driver, a callow young man, declares, as we leave Colombo behind us in a Peugeot: 'When they do killing in Jaffna, we

ABOUT PEOPLE

Contd from page 13

Handy Perinbanayagam says "he was the finest product of Jaffna in our time", who lit within his students the flame of national pride.

A Pi Record!

Mr. Rajan Srinivasan Mahadevan of Madras has found his name going into the Guinness Book of Records in reciting 31,811 decimal places of

must hit their people here. We can't do anything there, so we hit them here', he says, laughing!

Unemployed youth in sarongs, idling by the roadside at 9 in the morning, are taking their time; killing it, too, with their bare hands. Poverty is screened by nature's plenty: the jak, the mango, the papaya, the plantain. Camouflaged in jungle-green, it is as hidden as a guerrilla. Gall even drips from the rubber-trees, into the bloodstream of Sri Lanka.

And in the deep tropic shade, which seems so tranquil, the Sinhalese lion and the Tamil tiger are stalking each other.

Pi (the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter) in three hours, 49 minutes, including 26 minutes in rest breaks, all from memory. The record was previously held by Mr. Creighton Carvello of Middlesborough, a 38 year-old psychiatric nurse. Two French mathematicians have written a 400-page book which gives the value of Pi to 1,000,000 decimal places. It begins with 3.141592653589793 and continues through a further 999,975 decimal places to end with the gripping denouement of 5779458151.

contd from page 5

the UNP would lose the steamroller majority with which JR monkeys with the Constitution according to his momentary whims and fancies, but also there is the probability of an outright defeat.

So this great democrat who did not want to sit in an 'illegitimate Parliament' in 1975 and resigned his seat, now has extended the life of Parliament by a mere six years! This is democracy, JR style.. JR RULES, OK?

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LICENCE TO KILL & GO SCOT FREE

Although the Sri Lankan government and particularly its President, J.R. Jayawardene, talk ad nauseam about the constitutional guarantee of equality before the law of all people, in practice some are in fact more equal than others, even to the extent of going scot free without having to face a charge when they kill.

Kandiah Navaratnam, a car driver by occupation, was shot dead by army personnel on the night of 20th February 1982 while he was returning home after work, on his bicycle. Following an inquest, the Magistrate Mr. C.V. Wigneswaran, returned a verdict of homicide and ordered that Army Lieutenant Mandukody be Saram and Privates K.T. Silva and R.C. Silva be remanded in fiscal custody pending charges being framed. Eight other army personnel suspected of involvement in the murder were allowed bail.

The remanded suspects were subsequently released on bail after State Counsel of the Atto-

ney General's department successfully applied for bail in the High Court.

Now the Attorney General, presumably under orders from above, has directed the Magistrate to release the three suspects and not take any further proceedings against them. In Sri Lanka, where justice and human lives are a negligible quantity, the so-called forces of law and order apparently have an open licence to kill anyone under the protection of the government and the Attorney General.

9½ MONTH OLD STRIKE ENDS

The strike begun by 379 workers of the Paranthan Chemical Corporation on 27th November 1981 officially ended on 10th September this year with the unconditional grant of two of the workers' main demands the reinstatement of 10 union leaders and 5 other workers who had been suspended from work, and the returning of the offices of the

TAMIL JOURNAL MUZZLED

The editorial and printing offices of the "Suthanthiran" the twice-weekly Tamil political journal was sealed by the Jaffna Police on Election night. Armed guard was posted outside. It is also reported that on the following morning. Army personnel had intercepted the postman and asked for the mail addressed to Editor Kovai Mahesan, and on his refusing to hand over had gone to Jaffna Post Office and seized the mail. Copies of the Election issue of the paper were also seized from shops in the Bazaar.

The order sealing the Press, signed by Mr. Douglas Liyanage, Secretary of the Ministry of State:

Trade Union which had been confiscated by the Corporation Management.

The question of the reinstatement of the 'locked out' casual workers has been agreed to be solved gradually depending on the availability of vacancies.

"By virtue of the powers vested in me under Regulation 14(3) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Power) Regulations No.2 of 1982, I, Don John Francis Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the MINISTRY OF STATE appointed as the Competent Authority for the purpose of Regulation 14 do hereby direct that no person shall print, publish or distribute or in any way be concerned in the printing, publication of distribution of the newspaper 'Suthanthiran' for a period of one month from the date of this order and that the printing press in which the said newspaper was printed shall for a period of one month from the date of this order not be used for any purpose whatsoever the and I hereby authorise the Inspector General of Police to take such steps (including the taking possession of the said printing press or of any premises) as appear to him to be necessary for securing compliance with this order."



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A severe threat to democracy

MR.J.R.JAYAWARDENE, it seems, is blooming into a potentate. His re-election as President of Sri Lanka has emboldened him to embark on an adventurist course of getting the tenure of the present Parliament extended for a further six years short circuiting the election procedure. With the commanding majority the ruling United National Party has in Parliament- 143 in a House of 168 - Mr. Jayewardene had no difficulty in amending the Constitution some weeks ago to enable him to seek a mandate for continuing as head of the State for a fresh term of six years. This action was endorsed by the Supreme Court as perfectly

in order, and when he went to the polls last week he secured nearly 53 per cent of the popular vote. However, this was no landslide victory of the kind he was expecting to record; and the considerable accretion to the electoral strength achieved by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party's candidate in relation to the total votes polled by it in the 1977 parliamentary elections seems to have given him something of a jolt. It is well known that Mr Jayewardene has been doing everything within his power during the last few years to curb the SLFP, which is the UNP's biggest rival. Mrs. Bandaranaike was deprived of her civic rights for six years by Parliament following certain

adverse findings by a presidential commission and yet if its candidate, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa (anominee of Mrs. Bandaranaike), obtained a sizeable number of votes constituting 39.07 per cent of the total polled, it only goes to show that the UNP's position is not what it was in 1977. Another striking feature of the poll was that Mr. Jayewardene did not make any headway in the Tamil district of Jaffna which proves that all the supposedly beneficial measures to uplift the status of the Tamil minority have had little impact. In the light of such facts which cast doubt on the claims to political dominance that Mr. Jayewardene makes for himself, his move to do away with elections to the new Parliament altogether is disconcerting. If his proposal is approved by the Supreme Court and Parliament- they well might if the past is any guide and a referendum gives a verdict in its favour, the term of the present Parliament gets automatically extended to another six years. The political parties will continue to be represented in the House in just the same proportion as they are today. In short, the changes in the

correlation of forces during the last five years will not be reflected in the composition of the new House. With a simple majority approval in the referendum, the UNP will be able to perpetuate its five sixths majority in the Parliament which it cannot hope to retain if separate elections are held to the parliamentary seats. Mr. Jayewardene as leader of the UNP will also have the right to nominate his candidates, who will not be required to face the electorate at all. The implications of all this are not hard to realise. Mr. Jayewardene will have a captive, made-to-order Parliament for six more years with an overwhelming majority for the UNP, and that is likely to weaken and perhaps even undermine democratic institutions in Sri Lanka. Prophetic are the words of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva (one of the presidential candidates) who observed as early as in 1978 that the "new style President becomes the supreme instrument of State power, pushing the Parliament down to a much diminished second place. The President has been steeply upvalued and the Parliament precipitously devalued." (By Courtesy of "THE HINDU")

PRESIDENTIAL POLL-NOTEWORTHY FACTS

● There were 8,145,015 registered voters. Of this, 1.8 million or 25 per cent would have voted for the first time.

● The total votes polled were 6,602,617 of which 80,470 were spoilt votes. The voter turn-out was 81.06 per cent.

● In 14 out of the 22 electoral districts, the UNP's J.R. Jayawardene obtained less percentage of votes than in 1977. The SLFP got more percentage of votes than in 1977 in 16 of the 22 districts.

● The UNP won in 21 of the 22 electoral districts; the SFLP in none and Kumar Ponnambalam of

the Tamil Congress in one -Jaffna.

● Kumar Ponnambalam polled 173,934 votes out of a total of approximately 1.25 million Tamil votes.

● Hector Kobbekaduwa was defeated in his own electorate, Yatinuwara, with 17,396 to JR's 20,848

● Hector Kobbekaduwa obtained more votes than Kumar Ponnambalam in five of the eleven electorates in the Jaffna District. In Kopay 13,761 to Kumar's 4984; Kankesanthurai 9,523 to Kumar's 6,065; Manipay 9008 to Kumar's 7,514; Udupidy 8155 to Kumar's 5,779; and Point Pedro 6,348 to Kumar's 5,367. JR did not win any of the Jaffna electorates.

INDIAN GOVT DEPORTS VAIKUNTHAVASAN

Mr K. Vaikunthavasan, Secretary of the Tamil Coordinating Committee, London, was deported by the Govt of India on November 5 1982.

Mr K.V. had visited India to gather support for his proposal for the setting up of a provisional government en exile of Tamil Eelam.

The deportation order made under section 3 of the Foreigners Act 1946 said that it had been made in the interests of the general public of India.

Upon serving him with the order, Mr Vaikunthavasan was taken direct to the airport and put on a plane bound for London.

We regret, due to printing difficulties and change of printers, we have had to skip the October issue of TAMIL TIMES. Vol. II No. 1 is, therefore, dated November 1982.

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