

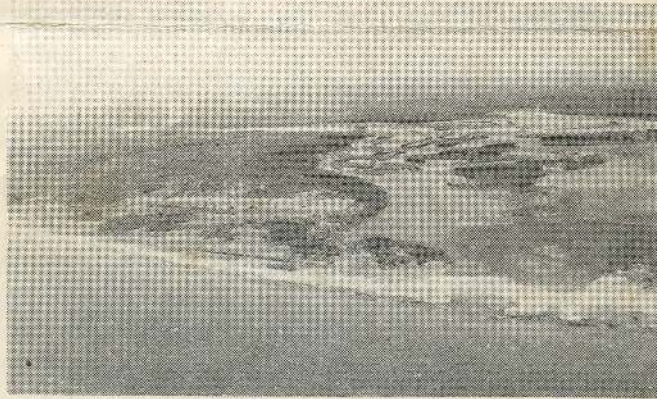
TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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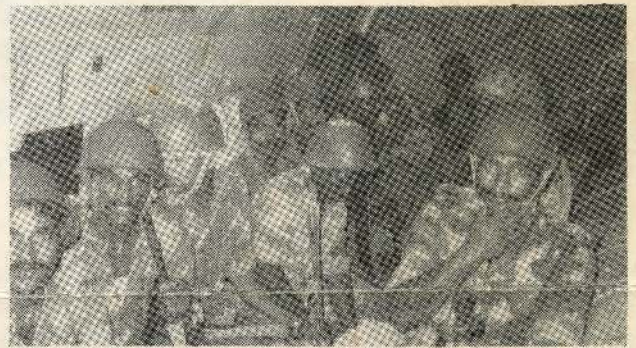
Mighty Bharat (800m) in cowardly combat with tiny Tamil Eelam (2m) using helicopter gunships, naval units, tanks and heavy armour



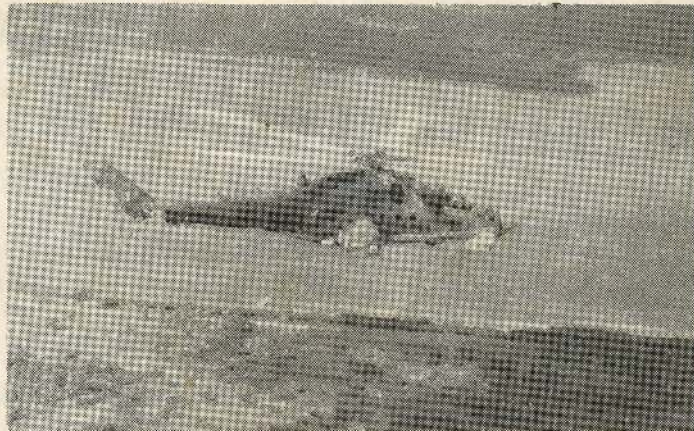
The Nayaaru lagoon area where most of the battle has raged



*Jawans, battle-ready,
boarding an Mi-8*



*Jawans of the Mahar regiment
inside an Mi-8*



An Mi-8 gunship over the coast of North-Eastern Sri Lanka

YOUR VOICE

INDO-SRI LANKAN PACT

P Varothayasingham, Surrey

I am writing to point out one of the major omissions in the current Indo-Sri Lankan Pact. It makes no mention of any provisions to guarantee safety and justice for the Tamils of Indian origin, who have been toiling in the tea and rubber plantations since the British took them to Sri Lanka over 150 years ago.

At the time of independence in 1948 the Tamils of Indian origin were the second largest group in Sri Lanka. The indigenous Tamils were, in fact, the third largest group, after the Sinhalese and the Indian Tamils.

The Gurkhas in Bengal, who arrived there during the last few decades, have been granted a Provincial Council to protect their rights. Instead of aiming for a similar set-up for the Indian Tamils in Sri Lankan tea plantations, the Indian government seems to have ignored these Indians!

Even now it is not too late to bring back all those Indian Tamils who have been deported to India under successive pacts between the Indian and Sri Lankan governments which never bothered to consult these victims before sealing their fate, and let those Indian Tamils live in dignity under a Provincial Council set up as granted to the Gurkhas in Bengal.

The Indian Government should realise by now that they cannot forever please the Sinhalese by selling out their own Indian Tamils. An independent homeland for the indigenous Tamils and a Provincial Council for the Indian Tamils will go a long way towards ensuring security for India in its soft underbelly.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE

R Kannan, Batticaloa

I wish you success in organising the Second International Tamil Conference, and I hope you will keep out all known anti-liberation activists. The Liberation Movement can do without the involvement of the self-centred vociferous minority who are interested in short-term personal gains, either political or material, at the expense of the vast majority of the Tamils.

EXCELLENT READING MATERIAL

C Visuvanathan, California

The TVI provides excellent reading material on news and views for the caring Tamils all over the world. Occasional comments from some readers who detect a 'tinge of Tigerism' in the paper and who criticise the 'Ask Rani' page for example must not be allowed to distract the paper from its main objective to support the Liberation Movement of the Tamils of Eelam, which is what the vast majority of the International Tamil Community wants of the paper. Incidentally, I find Rani's answers very enlightening. I save all my copies of TVI for reference.

find articles including the one about Cyprus and the more recent one which gave some information about the 'Manal Aru Scheme' very useful. How can the Sinhalese claim to be interested in long term peace with the Tamils if they embark on provocative projects like the Manal Aru Scheme? You will remember that when the late Egyptian president Mr Sadat struck a peace deal with Israel's former leader Mr Begin, Israel not only agreed to give back the Sinai peninsula which Israel captured from Egypt during the six-day war but also undertook to take back Israeli settlers from the Sinai.

NO VOICE RAISED AGAINST ATROCITIES

K R Nathan, West Germany

I appreciate the question asked from Rani by Mr N Vithuran, Enfield, regarding publicity of violations of human rights and atrocities committed against the Tamils in the North and East of Sri Lanka.

Again, on page 13 of the same issue (1.2.89) I observe that many ex-Tamil MPs and prominent figures are contesting in the North and East in the parliamentary elections. It would mean that they want to dedicate their service to the Tamil community.

But I did not find a single one of them who has raised his voice regarding the atrocities committed on the Tamils, even to the extent of addressing the UNO or the Commonwealth, at least writing to world news magazines such as *Time* or *Newsweek* or any other news media published outside Sri Lanka. May be that one or two of them have complained of these atrocities when pressed by foreign reporters, but they have not ventured to contact the world media on their own.

It is interesting to note that some ex-TULF MPs, after celebrating their silver jubilee of their service to the Tamil community, have sought asylum outside Eelam and settled in foreign parts with their families. I am ashamed of this type of betrayers who have only sought their own comfort and safety.

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EDITORIAL

THE INDIANS MUST GO

In our last editorial we posed the question whether the Indians will go. Sadly we have come by evidence that neither President Premadasa who wished them to leave speedily nor the Indians themselves have shown any readiness. President Premadasa is in dire need of soldiers and policemen. He has always had access to the United Nations which can provide him with a better trained and civilised force. There are many states which are grieved over the barbarities of the Indians and over the tragedy that has befallen a model third world welfare state with reasonably high standards of living unlike what takes place in the confines of their gigantic neighbour.

Sri Lanka is capable of attracting the support of these peace-loving states and not be the prey of a neighbour which reeks with corruption from top to bottom and whose intelligence agency RAW is known to be bribed and infiltrated by money, men and women from foreign security agencies. Evidently RAW men are flattered by the attention of women spies and there is no knowing what a case of whisky can do even to the extent of spiriting away cabinet information from New Delhi, vital information of what was being planned for Sri Lanka!

The conduct of IPKF men is similar to that of an army of occupation, not one that befits the role of peacekeepers. Indian soldiers are being tried in Jaffna by General Court Martial under section 69 of the Army Act (civil offence). Several Indian soldiers face trial on charges of rape, sodomy (the Indian soldiers are also known for their 'heinous' acts of pederasty) and looting. These acts are being tried by Summary Courts presided over by Commanding Officers. One Indian barber in the 93rd Field Regiment has been punished for raping an unmarried woman and is also being tried for stealing two wrist watches. Another faces dismissal for committing theft of gold ornaments. These are random examples. A more precise document is ready for presentation to world organisations overseeing the violation of human rights.

We draw attention to these subhuman acts of barbarism for two reasons. The innocent people of India themselves are at risk. Gandhi's fascist battalions were already let loose in Tamil Nadu during elections in that state. This is the shape of things to come at India's general election which will be any time before November 1989. The United Nations which readily calls on Indian Peacekeepers in various other parts of the world should be aware that they are an undisciplined rabble, multilingual, incapable therefore of taking orders from their officers. Their soldiers are drawn from the scum of Indian society and these men (jawans as they are called) are capable of the most sordid of crimes, from sodomy and raping to arson and looting.

Other Peacekeeping Forces have been exemplary in their behaviour wherever they have been posted. Sri Lanka would stand to gain (Sinhalese and Tamils) if another force was sent to the island. The Indian Peacekeepers are no longer keepers of the peace. They are an army of occupation, loathed by the Sinhalese and despised by the Tamils. What is worse, they are engaged in providing military training and weaponry to their Tamil clients in Sri Lanka so that when they are asked to withdraw by President Premadasa, the Trojan horse of armed Tamil puppets will creep out to give battle to Sri Lanka's modest army and to our patriotic Tamil militants.

There are two threads that an intelligent observer can draw from this tangled skein. Firstly as the hill-country Tamil leader, Mr S Thondaman, himself said, the IPKF should withdraw 'lock, stock and barrel'. Secondly, the best India can do is to 'Divide and Quit' Sri Lanka, bearing Turkish Cyprus always in mind. In addition, the statement of Bali Ram Bhagat, leader of the Indian Delegation to the 45th session of the UN Human Rights Commission, is evidence that India feels tremendous sense of guilt that TVI has in the past few months exposed violations by India of Human Rights in Sri Lanka.

TAMIL VOICE International

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Material sent for publication may be abridged and edited if found necessary.

CHRISTIANS OF JAFFNA AND THE IPKF

by Christophilos, Uduvil

The Christian community in Jaffna, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, had endeared itself to the larger community in Jaffna for over a century. The Christian missionaries of the early 19th century pioneered not only in the sphere of education and higher learning but also in the field of medicine, nursing and lexicography. Every Hindu in Jaffna, unlike many Buddhists in the south of the Island, deeply appreciates what the Christian community had contributed and is contributing to the people of Jaffna.

Jaffna was always proud of its educational institutions because one of the top priorities of the people of Jaffna was sound and good education. Chauvinistic politics in the south dealt a heavy blow to the educational institutions in the north and was bent to destroy the high standards, academic excellence and unique quality which these institutions maintained for long. The worst blow was received ironically from the IPKF operation in October 1987 when many of these institutions were bombed, shelled, and turned into army and refugee camps. Education from that time has not got back to its feet in Jaffna due to the scare and insecurity created by the Indian army occupation and its all-embracing and ever-frightening operations which still continue.

It is not meant here that only the Christians and Christian institutions have suffered. The Hindus have suffered even more. This article is just to high-light the bitterness and pain in the hearts and minds of the Christian people. The church is as sacred to the Christians as the temple is to the Hindus. Several churches were destroyed during the operation and desecrated, like for instance the lovely Anglican Church in Urumpirai. The Pallai and Uduppidy churches were looted, robbed, desecrated and occupied by the Indian army denying the right of worship to Christians in their places of worship. Haughty and illiterate Indian soldiers stop people from going to church when there is a search operation on Sundays and even prevent the church bell being

rung. Catholic and Protestant clergy are very often subjected to all kinds of torture, harassment and humiliation by the Indian forces. Many instances of such harassment and humiliation can be given.

The recent incident at St. Patrick's College, a foremost Catholic educational institution, where clergy and teachers were tortured and harassed, and many other such incidents have antagonised the Roman Catholic community in Jaffna. A week before the parliamentary elections, the Anglican priest of St. Mary's Church, Kopay, was tortured, beaten and humiliated on the road in front of his church and taken into custody, preventing his marriage taking place on the appointed day. All this was for no other reason than that a mortar shell came from the direction of the church compound.

A large number of individual Christians were killed, and women and girls raped during the operations. The Urumpirai parish itself suffered more than twelve deaths. Uduvil and Manipay parishes also suffered many deaths. The sister and nephew of the Archdeacon of Jaffna were killed in their house and the bodies were allowed to rot for over a week. In the parish of Thanniyootu, in Mullaitivu district, five elderly people were shot in their houses and their bodies allowed to rot. All this was done by the IPKF who had come to 'protect the people and keep peace'.

The recent operation by the IPKF, talked about by Christians and others in Jaffna and elsewhere, is the most brutal killing of the two sisters of the Christian clergyman of Udupiddy in the north of the peninsula. The most tragic aspect of this meaningless killing is that one of those sisters was an expectant mother and a bullet had gone through the body of the unborn baby. All these incidents have caused a deep sense of agony, bitterness and desperation in the minds of all Christians.

The IPKF went into action from October 1987 to disarm the LTTE and protect the people. If we are to

Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement signed on 29 July 1987 by the heads of both countries, where it was stated in unmistakable terms: "The governments of India and Sri Lanka will cooperate in ensuring the physical security and safety of all communities inhabiting the northern and eastern provinces", every operation should have ensured the guarantee given in this clause of the agreement. How much of Jaffna history, sociology, culture and language of the people, their aspirations and disappointments, did the Indian leaders and the IPKF know before venturing into the troubled waters of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and impulsively rushing into an agreement and subsequent operations? To what extent did the Sri Lankan government brief India in the interests of its own Tamil people?

The Agreement and the operations by the IPKF will always be part of the most tragic and darkest period in the history of our people. The blood of the innocents cries to God for justice to our people.

JVP STRIKE A SUCCESS

JVP exploded bombs, attacked buses and forced shops to close and offices to shut on March 21 in a strike against what they called "government murders." The strike was called after more than 70 people, including JVP and security men, were killed on Sunday, March 19. Among these were 17 men found shot dead in the north-central Anuradhapura district. A note near the bodies left by the shadowy Black Cats vigilante group claimed responsibility. There are reports that the 17 had been in police custody and the accusation is that the Black Cats is merely a front to cover clandestine executions by the security forces.

NEW SECURITY MEASURES

Two months after it lifted a six-year-old state of emergency, the Sri Lankan Government yesterday announced plans for new security laws to curb continuing violence in the island. Hundreds of people have been killed as anti-government extremists have continued a campaign of sabotage, strikes and murder of those helping to maintain the UNP administration.

FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

THE TRAPPINGS OF POWER

Annamalai Varadaraja Perumal is a frustrated man according to sources in Colombo. Despite being flown to New Delhi to meet with his political master, life as Chief Minister is not all that he expected it to be. For one, the Provincial Council is not working as he would like it to. His Citizens' Voluntary Force (CVF) has yet to receive a day's official pay or be issued with a single official weapon. For another, a new force in the shape of the Eelavar Democratic Front (EDF), the political wing of EROS, has begun to take shape. Then there has been the sudden and surprise resignation of Dayan Jayatillake, the only Sinhalese in the North-East Provincial Council, from his portfolio of Minister of Planning, Manpower Resources Mobilisation and Youth Affairs. One of the reasons cited for his departure is his fear of political alienation from the left movement in the south. In his letter of resignation, he suggested that a Non-Aligned Peace Keeping Force replace the IPKF: "That would also exclude those states that helped militarise the Sri Lankan state during the ethnic war. Given the rate of growth of the JVP, I do not agree that we should wait for the CVF, the Tamil police and the Tamil battalions of the Sri Lankan army to be set up to complete the withdrawal of the IPKF." Mr Jayatillake requested the Chief Minister to consider the Provincial Council a caretaker administration and to give thought to the possibility of a mid-term election.

BREAK-UP OF THE TAMIL MIS-ALLIANCE

While the Chief Minister broods over such imponderables, Mr Amirthalingam has announced that the EPRLF will henceforth function as a separate group in Parliament and will not accept the whip of the TULF under whose symbol it contested the general elections. Amir who realised his ambition to be an MP again when he entered Parliament on the Nat-

ional list of the TULF said that the other three parties of the Tamil Front would continue to function under him as part of the TULF. He said that though it was not legally possible for this arrangement to be worked out, "this had been resorted to for the sake of convenience." He added that he did not envisage this arrangement causing any problems in the future. He is after all a man of his word.

EROS in the interim has rejected the EPRLF's request to join the CVF. A Central Committee member said that though invitations to enlist members had been sent to EROS, they had not responded because "the CVF's unsavoury reputation could affect EROS and tarnish its image." EROS feels that the CVF should be dissolved by the IPKF and a fresh provincial police be formed from representatives of all communities. What the national government, under its new leader, has to say about all this remains to be seen.

ASK NOT AND YE SHALL RECEIVE

The main feature of the appointment of 67 year old Mr Dingiri Banda Wijetunga as Prime Minister of Sri Lanka seems to be that he never asked for the appointment. Unlike the two men who lobbied incessantly for the job, Gamini Dissanayake and Lalith Athulathmudali, the new Prime Minister had precisely the qualities that President Premadasa wanted - he was a senior party member having joined the UNP in 1946, he had no known enemies within the party and was uncontroversial. Most importantly, unlike the "gruesome twosome" who coveted the Presidency itself, Mr Wijetunge had no desire for higher office, and hence unlikely to use the Premiership to build himself up as a rival to the President.

When people talk about the new Prime Minister, "The Hindu" reports, the adjectives that crop up most frequently are "simple", "unassuming", "amiable" and "unambitious." He is not from the west-

ernised political elite but from a middle-class Kandyan background that gives him access to the Kandyan peasantry. Moreover, his involvement in organising the Buddha Jayanthi celebrations in 1956 gave him contacts among the Buddhist clergy; not a bad power-base for any politician. But he will need more than that to function effectively as Finance Minister which will probably prove a more difficult job than being Prime Minister. He has the responsibility of persuading aid donors to continue with the bucks, and also to find ways of funding the Premadasa Plan.

BLESSED ARE THE POOR

The Premadasa Plan for Alleviation of Poverty is underway with the Janasaviya Patha which is now being printed to replace the food stamps currently in use. A family unit with a minimum of five persons will be entitled to receive Rs.2,500. The 'patha' which is in book form is worth Rs.1,458, and the balance of Rs.1,042 will be banked in the family name until they are deemed fit to use it. The distribution of the Janasaviya Patha is to be undertaken by a special committee comprising government agents, local government officials and special appointees. It remains to be seen whether the last category will prove another vehicle for providing jobs for the boys (and girls). Mr Amirthalingam's pronouncement on the subject was that the Janasaviya Patha was "one of the main reasons that prompted the poor people to vote for Mr Premadasa and the UNP... I hope due to the inadequacy of the funds, it will not be restricted to a smaller percentage of the population." Mr Bala Tampoe, on the other hand, had a more pragmatic response: "We do not think that the alleviation of poverty will result in the ending of the prevailing war situation in the country, which has been due to the repressive policies implemented by the government and the gross abuse of human rights." The best response of all was brief: "Come back Ronnie, come back Ronnie!"

THIRUKKURAL

S.Sriskandarajah

பாகாவா ராயினும் நாகாக்க காவாக்கால்
சோகாப்பர் சொல்லிழுக்குப் பட்டு.

**Yaa Kaavaar Aayinum Naa Kaakka Kaavaakkaal
Soakaappar Sol Izhukku-p-Paddu**

"Whatever else you may not control, control your tongue lest you should repent your indiscreet words"

This is a couplet that occurs in the chapter on self control to which Thiruvalluvar attaches great importance. The importance he attaches is such that in the very opening Kural he says that self control places one among the Gods and that lack of it leads one to darkness of hell. If only one could control his five senses, he will experience bliss for ever. Thiruvalluvar cites the case of a tortoise in a troubled situation. When a tortoise is in trouble and wants to protect itself from harm it withdraws its five exposed parts (the head and four legs) and remains motionless like a rock. This instinctive act of the tortoise, which is also practised in a marvellous way by the hedgehog, enables it to ward off danger and to live peacefully.

Of the ten couplets in the chapter on self control, Thiruvalluvar has devoted three couplets for control of speech. It is significant to remember that Thiruvalluvar has a special chapter on "Power in speech" (Sol Vanmai - chapter 65). In the view of Thiruvalluvar, if knowledge is power, speech is super power or double power.

Let us now return to the Kural taken for review. Whatever else people may fail to control, they should keep guard over their lips. Through the fault of their tongue they may shed bitter tears. There are many things which people should guard against but it may be difficult for them to guard against all dangers. Even if this be so, there is one thing which they should at all costs guard against - control of one's tongue. It is easier said than done. Nevertheless it is very important to restrain one's tongue.

Speech is a feature which distinguishes humans from animals. But

the very tongue by its twisting, turning, and twirling by which speech is made many a time pushes humans into the animal kingdom. This then is the reason why we should be careful in the use of the tongue as an instrument of speech. Though speech is the feature that helped the early primates to metamorphose into humans, yet speech has become so simple and easy to use that we find it difficult to control it. This precisely is the reason why Thiruvalluvar says that we have to be extremely cautious in the use of our tongue. History is replete with instances where a minor slip of the boneless tongue has cost the loss of millions of lives as well as the destruction of established empires.

Why speak of ancient empires and forgotten historians, when we have a classical example of a woman minis-



ter in the United Kingdom. Because she gave vent to her dogmatic views without ascertaining all the facts and statistics beforehand she had to forgo her ministerial position. No amount of prevarication, excuse, explanation or interpretation could put her original wrong right, nor convince the people.

It would be refreshing to note a Kural applicable to the episode referred to in the preceding paragraphs. "Aakkamum Kerdum Athanaal Varuthalaal Karththompal Sollinkan Sorvu" That is, as both prosperity and ruin are caused by words, one must guard against imperfections in one's speech.

Let us therefore think twice before we speak. The tongue is a good servant but a dreadfully dangerous master. Let us therefore be master of our tongue if we want to prosper in life.

LTTE AND PRABAHARAN OCCUPY LEADERSHIP ROLE

Federation of Tamil Associations, UK re-asserts

(Excerpts from a letter dated March 4, 1989, addressed to Mr Rajiv Gandhi)

We are receiving horrendous reports of civilian deaths due to current operations taking place in Sri Lanka. We beg your Excellency to halt this carnage, and engage in a dialogue with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. We have always informed your Excellency that we applauded your views held prior to October 1987 that a military solution to the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka is not viable.

As an intelligent group of people, in communication with our kith and kin, we are aware of what is going on, and we base our understanding on these communications. This Federation has no reason to alter our declaration of 12th July 1987, that the LTTE, and Velupillai Prabhakaran, occupy the

leadership role of the Tamil National Struggle. We would stand by this declaration, and do whatever we can to abate a military solution, and work towards a political settlement.

We still stand for our rights and will not be deviated by attempts of fictitious or empirical solutions. We beg your Excellency to create conditions for dialogue with our leadership, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Your Excellency gave the Tamil people an assurance of protection. We beg you to put into force that assurance of protection without delay, rather than engage in military operations to crush the Tamil National Struggle and to inflict heavy casualties of death and suffering on the Tamil people.

Ask Rani

THE FIGHT FOR TAMIL EELAM

Dear Rani,

I would like to know who Eelam Tamils are. I see that many of the articles in TVI are written by Tamils living all over the globe. These people may never return to Sri Lanka as they may be citizens of their country of abode. And if they do return will they be accepted as Eelam Tamils?

I would also like to know who is fighting for Tamil Eelam. As there are many Tamil groups fighting for Tamil Eelam, I don't think they will ever succeed. Even if they do succeed will there be a single Tamil Eelam or several Eelams, and which part of the country will comprise Tamil Eelam?

If the fighting goes on at this rate, all you will see are several Tamil Eelams and Tamil fighting Tamil for his Tamil Eelam. As I see it, the world is laughing at what is taking place amongst the Tamils of the north and east.

I hope that everything will work out for the good of the Tamil-speaking people. May the Tamils bear with each other and forgive whatever grievances they may have against one another. May they love each other so that there may be joy, peace, happiness and freedom to walk about free in Tamil Eelam. - Angelo Chrysostom, Lage-Lippe, West Germany.

A You raise several points in your letter, to some of which there are no simple, straightforward answers. Take the case of Tamil Eelam. To some it is a state of mind, to others it is a cultural, linguistic grouping, and for many a separate nation. I would say that Eelam Tamils are those who identify themselves as such regardless of where they may be living or hope to live in the future. One must bear in mind, after all, that there are Tamils living both in Sri Lanka and abroad who have no affinity with Eelam Tamils, and would even go so far as to deny the concept. As a geographical entity,

Tamil Eelam refers to the north and east of Sri Lanka, and if you turn to the page on Tamil Eelam News in TVI, you will see a map thereof.

I don't know if there are many groups fighting for Tamil Eelam as a geographical entity. Those political groups who participated in the General Election, by their very act repudiated any commitment they may have had to Tamil Eelam as candidates were required to dissociate themselves from calling for a separate state. Thus the LTTE is left as the sole group fighting for Tamil Eelam. And let us get one thing very clear. There is only one Tamil Eelam - a non-divisible, non-negotiable concept. I do not share your pessimism that Tamil Eelam will not succeed. On the contrary I believe that at the very least Tamil Eelam will be akin to Tamil Nadu in India. The views of people like yourself are very important for those of us involved in the Eelam struggle, and we hope that you continue to give us your much needed support.

FRIENDSHIP TREATIES

Dear Rani,

There is a talk of a Friendship Treaty being signed between Sri Lanka and India in the near future. Is there a precedent for this as far as India is concerned, or is this to be the first time? - Margie Alles, Canada.

A The UNP manifesto on which President Premadasa was elected stated the need for a Friendship Treaty with India supposedly to correct any imbalances in Sri Lanka's foreign policy relations with India. It seems that what is being proposed is a treaty on the lines of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of August 1971. By this treaty India and the Soviet Union agreed to come to the aid of each other if either was attacked by a third party. It was with the idea of keeping China out of the Bangladesh war that India sought this security guarantee from the Soviets.

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WORLD FEDERATION OF TAMILS CONFERENCE

Dear Rani,

I have just seen on the back page of TVI of 1 March the announcement that the second International Tamil Conference is to be held in London at the end of April. We Tamils are always good at talking, but I am not sure as to what purpose this conference is supposed to achieve. Can you enlighten me on this matter? I also would like to know how this conference is to be financed, and whether there are people coming from overseas - Ragurajan T, Hants.

A The conference, as you are probably aware, is being organised by the World Federation of Tamils which has its headquarters in London. I understand from the organisers that the main purpose of the gathering is to formulate an international agenda for the Tamil struggle. It is necessary to regain much of the international ground that has been lost, particularly since the Peace accord and the propaganda generated by the Indian Government. It is equally important to evaluate and assess the current situation in view of the provincial, presidential and general elections, and to suggest a political agenda to complement the military one. As far as financing is concerned - and there are several international speakers coming this year - it is hoped to defray costs by charging a nominal fee in the region of £25 per delegate. The conference last year left the World Federation over £10,000 in the red. Unfortunately our wealthier Tamil sisters and brothers have not been able to underwrite this cost.

ACCEPT TAMIL NATIONALISM

by S Kailasanathan, Middlesex, UK

It is a great relief to Tamils all over the world that Kalaignar Karunanidhi and the DMK are in power in Tamil Nadu now. The government of Tamil Nadu can henceforth have a significant influence on the Indian Government to the benefit of the Tamils of Eelam and to India as well.

We must be able to offer the Central Government of India, through the State Government of Tamil Nadu, something substantial without compromising our goal of re-establishing Tamil Eelam which would live in peace with its neighbours and the rest of the world, just as Singapore does with Malaysia and other countries. I have a particular admiration for Singapore and its successful economy and I see no reason why the Tamils of Eelam cannot hope to emulate Singapore's success. We must remember that Singapore started off with an economy based on cheap labour performing semi-skilled tasks such as assembling electronic goods for British, American and Japanese firms and has now progressed to an economy based mainly on high-technology and capital intensive industries.

Governments do not give away anything for nothing and India is no exception. The Indians know that until the time that Mr Gandhi let loose his army on the Tamils of Eelam, we, the Tamils of Eelam, referred to India as Mother India. We were their most loyal friends outside India. Mr Gandhi believed that by using brute force on the Tamils they could be subdued and India could then, with the co-operation of the Sinhalese majority in the island, have the regional political advantage that she was seeking. This gamble has not paid off, as consequences show, the last being defeat in the Tamil Nadu elections.

It is not to India's credit that the Tamils and even others in India and elsewhere now believe that India's involvement in the Tamil tragedy was almost entirely for the purpose of gaining a foothold on her island neighbour. It is also not to India's credit that her army has not behaved impeccably, in keeping with the widely held belief that hers was one of

the best disciplined armies in the world. This myth too has been shattered.

We all make mistakes. We can also correct our mistakes and make amends. It is not a mistake that Eelam Tamils took up arms to defend themselves after 36 years of tyranny. It is naive for anyone to seriously expect the Tamils to surrender their arms. The Tamils will continue to have a limited military capability, enhanced by the valour and ingenuity of Tamil youth, to liberate themselves and to safeguard their freedom and integrity. We are not prepared to dishonour the sacrifice of our dead, our martyrs, and to go back to where we were before the events of 1983. Those events mark a turning point in the history of the Tamils of Eelam and have set in motion an irreversible process of liberation for the Tamils which no outside force can now stop.

The Sinhalese have to come round to accept Tamil Nationalism as a reality, but there is no reason why they should not try to combine their nationalism with ours for dealing with matters of common interest. It would be useful for the Sinhalese to consider that the inhabitants of this island have the highest literacy rate, the highest standard of living, and,

even with all the murders taking place, the highest life expectancy for that region of the world. All this is being slowly diluted because of their continued confrontation with a new generation of Tamils who will settle for nothing less than liberation from Sinhalese domination. Co-operation by consent with the Sinhalese, Yes. Domination by the Sinhalese, No.

The Indian government too must stop pursuing their destructive policy of trying to subdue the Tamils in order to placate the Sinhalese. This policy of theirs has antagonised the Tamils all over the world including those of Tamil Nadu. They can do something constructive instead, like helping us to liberate ourselves and in return asking us to take back some of the unsettled, unwillingly repatriated plantation Tamils off their hands, thus relieving the social and financial burden on Tamil Nadu. India did this in the case of Bangladesh. There were ten million Bangladeshi refugees in India and Bangladesh took back all the refugees after liberation. Why not give us the same assistance that Bangladesh had? On balance this might be the best course of action for India for her own long term good and her unity.

TELF SCOFFS AT VARATHARAJA PERUMAL

Tamil Eelam Liberation Front scoffs at the recent statement of Mr Varatharaja Perumal, the puppet leader born out of an unholy conspiracy to crush Tamil nationalism in Eelam. Mr Perumal, the willing mercenary who wanted to taste power and devolution promised in the Provincial Council Bill and in the 13th Amendment, cannot now pretend ignorance of the contents of the Provincial Council Bill and paint a picture to the world that he has been cheated. No one in his senses will accept his bluff.

The people of Tamil Eelam cannot be hoodwinked by his crocodile tears when he states that his experience of the last three months has been bitter due to the step-motherly treatment meted out to him by the Sinhala

Government and Ministers who are unwilling to share power with him.

Only 12% of the people gave their vote to the EPRLF-led Alliance in the stage-managed elections, with bayonet and bullet, for the Tamils' ballot in the Parliamentary Elections. Perhaps the undue prominence given to his statement in the Indian mass media leaves one to ponder seriously whether some more sinister traps are being laid to further Sinhalese neo-colonialism. Nevertheless, the people of Tamil Nadu will not be fooled any longer as the legitimate aspirations of the Eelam Tamil people are being taken up by a popular DMK government under the able veteran leadership of Dr Karunanidhi.

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OCCUPIED JAFFNA

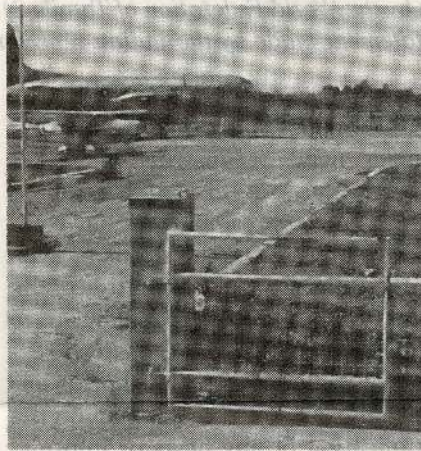
Victor Cherubim, Chairman, TRAG

I returned to my homeland in Jaffna after six years absence on 6 February 1989. As we drove cautiously towards Jaffna town I saw Indian army personnel almost everywhere, outnumbering the local population. The approach roads to Jaffna were strewn with coconut and palmyrah logs, and full of pot-holes presumably as a deterrent to fast-moving vehicles. Indian sentries in red-mud huts could be seen on the roadside. Heavy duty army trucks were on patrol round the clock while radio-equipped soldiers roamed the streets. I wondered whether what I was seeing was 'normal' as I had been told in London that the situation in the North-East was back to normal!

Early in the morning, when the town is fast asleep, Indian patrols stomp the Jaffna streets, followed by passing Indian military trucks in convoys of four or more driven at break-neck speed. By about 8-30 am, youth in civilian dress and slippers parade the streets in batches of two to four with bren-guns slung on their shoulders. I was told that they were from the ranks of the EPRLF. A team of ten-man strong armed Indian soldiers in full battle dress escort them on their rounds.

The people of Jaffna have got used to this situation. They go about their business indifferent to what is happening around them. The men and women - there are more women than men now - do their chores on foot, on bicycles and rarely by cars. The only other private, non-military vehicles on the roads are the buses and vans. The vans, generally overcrowded, are often stopped and searched for guns and other weapons, and for supporters of the 'Tigers'. People are not allowed to congregate in numbers of more than two. Hardly anyone talks on the streets or even in crowded places like hospitals and bazaars. The quiet atmosphere is in sharp contrast to the brash and highhanded behaviour of the Indian visitors.

The Indian forces speak in broken English, interspersed with mumblings in Hindi. I was told that many innocent civilians were beaten up or



Occupied Palaly Airport

killed by the troops due to communication difficulties. Undue threats by the forces and fear among the citizens are crippling all channels of communication. The Citizens' Committee members act as mediators, but not very successfully.

To the youth of Jaffna every passing moment is one of fear, torture or uncertainty as to what will happen next. They are afraid to talk even among themselves for fear of recrimination. Very often they are stopped, searched and manhandled or arrested for later treatment. Most of the attacks on the youth are conducted at interrogation centres or camps, the notorious one being that at Ashok Hotel, opposite the Jaffna Clock Tower. Jaffna is now more of a concentration camp than a meeting place. Anyone can be herded into the camps by the 'ruling' youth aided by Indian 'advisers', for alleged support for the Tigers, and put through days of interrogation under severe torture.

Every family in Jaffna on the average has lost either a breadwinner or a near relative. Their houses have either been bombed or taken at gunpoint and occupied by Indian troops or the local militia. Each residence has a five-foot deep pit dug out in the back yard for shelter at times of air raids. These remain as a reminder of the air-borne attacks of yester-year.

Even on days when there is no curfew, people do not venture on to the

roads after nightfall. They have no choice but to watch TV at home if the sets have escaped damage by the army. The Sri Lankan TV News is often jammed or distorted while Indian TV news always relays news of 'favourable' events in the North-East as a matter of priority. The standard form of mass punishment is recurrent electricity cuts and cutting off of telephone communication lines between Jaffna and the rest of Sri Lanka. Closure of shops and schools is a normal event in occupied Jaffna.

During the general elections, Indian soldiers went about distributing poll cards from house to house obtaining signatures of acknowledgement from heads of households. Some were forcibly taken in army vehicles to polling booths and 'made' to vote. One voter told me that he showed his apathy to the elections by marking the ballot with the words "kasippu."

Two shades of opinion can be observed in Jaffna. Some people view the Indian occupation of the North and East as a lesser evil compared with the atrocities of the Sinhalese. Others see it as betrayal of the trust of the freedom fighters. I am constrained to say that what the Indian occupation of the North-East has done is manifold: one, it has made the citizen reticent but resilient; two, it has opened up a lucrative market for goods imported from India; three, it has given vent to the pent-up emotions of the Sikhs over the ethnic problem in the Punjab; four, it has made the Tamils of Tamil Nadu a force to be reckoned with by the Indian political and military echelons.

One person confided in me that he was seeking asylum abroad as the only way forward to a life of dignity and self-respect. On hearing of the difficulties faced by refugees in prison cells in London, he still felt that a year in a British jail is equivalent to a day's life in Jaffna. He was furious and almost burst into tears when I told him that the opinion of the outside world is that 'life in Jaffna is returning to normal'.

AT THE FORTY FIFTH SESSION OF UNITED FEBRUARY -

We publish excerpts from 1) an appeal made by the World Federation of Tamils 2) a statement by Martin Ennals, Secretary-General of International Alert, and 3) the statement made by the Indian representative in which he made reference to the appeal and TVI

1. THE TAMIL APPEAL

In a small corner of the universe that is Sri Lanka, populated by nearly 16 million people, the hope of peace and harmony continues to elude the people. In any event it has not materialised for the ordinary Sri Lankan, particularly the battered and bruised Sri Lankan Tamil.

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY ENACTMENTS

The process of discrimination and suppression of the fundamental rights of the Tamil people has been manipulated by successive Sinhala governments by means of discriminatory and iniquitous legislation like the Citizenship Act, Official Language Act, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, emergency and administrative regulations, etc.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act, which has been likened to its South African counterpart and described as a blot on the statute book of Sri Lanka, originally enacted as a temporary measure, has been made a permanent enactment. What is worse, its corollary the Indemnity Act gives the security forces a blanket immunity from prosecution or other legal proceedings for any illegal act done by them under the PTA. Ever since its enactment in 1979, the Tamil homelands of the North and East of Sri Lanka have been devastated and become the hunting ground for the marauding security forces composed of cadres recruited mainly, if not wholly, from the majority Sinhalese population.

The dreadful acts of arbitrary arrests and detention without trial for indefinite periods, torture, involuntary disappearances after arrest, extra-judicial killings, looting and destruction of houses and properties of the Tamils by both Sri Lankan and Indian troops in the North and East of Sri Lanka are the norm rather than the exception. It was only recently that the World Bank and USAID have estimated that around 60% of the

161,000 houses in Jaffna in North Sri Lanka need reconstruction rather than repair. No foreign correspondents, no representatives of Non-Governmental Organisations or even of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) are allowed to enter the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka. The local press has been muzzled. There is a ban on the publication of any news or information prejudicial to the so-called Indian Peace Keeping Force or India's proteges. Thus the suppression of the basic right of freedom of expression goes on unabated.

In terms of the so-called Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, the Sri Lankan armed forces were to cease their operations in the North and East and return to barracks leaving the so-called peace-keeping duties to the Indians. But this covenant is being honoured only in the breach and Sri Lankan armed forces continue to terrorise the Tamil villagers in the North and East.

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY IPKF



Rev. Fr. Chandra Fernando

The IPKF, which ostensibly entered Sri Lanka on a peace-keeping mission, was soon to disturb whatever semblance of peace that prevailed in the North and East soon after its arrival. The euphoria of the Tamils of Sri Lanka was suddenly shaken when the Indian troops without warning went on rampage, killing, maiming, raping and torturing innocent Tamil non-combatants on a scale that has

been acknowledged as more barbarous and brutal than that of the Sri Lankan forces. Since the arrival of the IPKF on the soil of the Tamil homeland of Sri Lanka, several human rights activists like Rev Fr Chandra Fernando, Messrs Ahmed Lebbe, Rasasangari, V Paramanathan, K Kandasamy, K Sivanandasundaram and others have been gunned down.

SILENCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND INEFFECTIVE ACTIONS

One can only recount these grave human rights abuses against innocent people. The international community and forums merely pay lip-service to the sufferings of these unfortunate innocent folk. The six-year old emergency is said to have been lifted in January, 1989 leaving the PTA and the Indemnity Act untouched. Only the other day, soon after the declaration of the ending of emergency rule, **the Indian representative in Sri Lanka, Mr J N Dixit, told the press that the lifting of the emergency will make no difference to the role of the Indian troops in Sri Lanka.**

NEED FOR THE PRESENCE OF RED CROSS AND OTHERS

There is neither police enquiry nor investigation. There are neither legal institutions nor judges. We, therefore, appeal that the International Red Cross be permitted to visit the North-East of Sri Lanka.

No matter how bad, how cruel, how barbarous the acts committed by the IPKF are, the truth is not known by the international community. The truth remains buried and the human rights situation continues to degenerate. We, therefore, appeal that foreign correspondents and UN observers be permitted to report the correct situation in the North-East of Sri Lanka.

NEED FOR PEACE

Peace, progress and human rights are all interlinked as pointed out by

NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

MARCH 1989

the wife of the Nobel Prize winner for Peace, Andrei Sakrov, in Oslo in 1980. *If there are no human rights there will be resistance or violence. Resistance will result in absence of peace. Absence of peace will impede, retard or completely halt progress.*

The Indian and Sri Lankan Governments are not prepared to accept reality; not now, not in the future. Let us accept the fact that there is terrorism in the North-East of Sri Lanka under the cover of moderation and 'bringing LTTE into political mainstream'. Even recently IPKF soldiers dealt ruthlessly with a demonstration by the Jaffna University Students where the protest had been limited to slogans and placards. Two students were killed.

DUTY BESTOWED ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The International Community which, knowingly or unknowingly, supported the present situation in Sri Lanka has an obligation to rectify it. Some countries, at the inception, supplied weapons which resulted in escalation of violence. Some others sent their military personnel who carried out aerial bombings. All the Commonwealth Nations irresponsibly welcomed the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord at their summit meeting held in 1987, even though Tamils were not a party to the Accord and especially at a time when thousands of Tamil civilians were being ruthlessly killed by the Indian forces in Jaffna. Their support strengthened the hands of the persecutors. Some super-powers openly pronounced their support for India in her political adventure into North-East Sri Lanka.

REMEDY REQUIRED

The International Community has an obligation to rectify the situation and therefore must do its utmost to:

- a) bring peace and tranquillity in the North-East of Sri Lanka,
- b) bring about a situation which will enable the 250,000 refugees living all over the world to return to their country.
- c) reactivate the economy so that

millions of people in Sri Lanka may not die of starvation.

d) restore human rights and freedom to the Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka.

2. INTERNATIONAL ALERT

It is two years since this Commission approved a resolution regarding the situation in Sri Lanka and urged the Sri Lankan Government to facilitate the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross in fulfilling its normal conventional activities of protecting victims of conflict under internationally recognised standards of humanitarian law.

In the interim period there have been many developments in Sri Lanka, including an Indo-Sri Lankan Accord under which an Indian Peace Keeping Force has taken over many of the normal functions of the National Security Forces of Sri Lanka in the North and East of the country.

Despite these developments, which may be seen as positive, **the human rights violations have not ceased. On the contrary, they have increased to the point where they have encroached upon the democratic process in all parts of the country.**

The Indian Peace Keeping Forces have been responsible for violations of human rights and thousands of affidavits have been submitted by bona fide lawyers detailing the offences of the IPKF members. There has been disciplinary action taken but the complaints continue.

Prominent individuals, lawyers, politicians and other professionals have been individually targeted and killed and mass murders have become seemingly both unavoidable and a major contribution to the environment of violence and violations. The killings affect and are carried out by this wide variety of official and unofficial groups. In these circumstances, the rule of law and government through ballot becomes increasingly difficult.

The purpose of this account is to indicate that there is in Sri Lanka at

the violence which has plagued the country since the last meeting of this Commission. One real result of this violence is that the traditional role of the courts in terms of Habeas Corpus actions and other legal procedures is eroded to the point of disappearance. There is no effective procedure.

The Human Rights Commission has already expressed its concern about the Sri Lankan tragedy. The appointment of a rapporteur or a representative at this time would be welcomed by a cross section of opinion in Sri Lanka. It is this type of initiative which could show the way ahead in Sri Lanka and provide an example which might be applicable elsewhere, in other countries torn apart by their own conflicts.

3. INDIA COMPLAINS OF TERRORISM AGAINST IPKF

The Provincial Council of the North-East province is faced with many challenges particularly with regard to law and order, civil administration, resettlement of displaced persons, financial difficulties, reconstruction and the rehabilitation of heavily damaged infrastructure. We believe that the future of peace in the north and east will depend on the outcome of this unique experiment, and the ability of the North-Eastern Provincial Council to successfully battle against terrorist groups trying to undermine it. The North-Eastern Provincial Council and its battle against terrorism deserve the support of all well-wishers of Sri Lanka, who believe in the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka.

Turmoil in the neighbouring country will inevitably spill over into our own. We, therefore, have a vital stake in peace in Sri Lanka. The IPKF is waging a difficult campaign under trying circumstances. A propaganda war of nerves has been mounted against it aimed at blackening the reputation of the IPKF and at demoralising it. This is an integral part of the campaign of terrorism against the IPKF. But these groups stand exposed by the fact that while they

BRUTAL MURDER OF TWO WOMEN BY THE IPKF

(Report based on sworn affidavits)

On the day of the General Election, 15 February 1989, the following persons were staying in a house on Jaffna Road, Uduppiddy. The house is situated about 300 metres from Uduppiddy junction, where there is an IPKF camp. All the persons belonged to the same family: Mr V.G. Kanagasingam, a 49 year old shop proprietor, Rev V.N. Tharmakulasingham, a 47 year old priest, V.G. Balasingam, age 42, an employee of the Ceylon Electricity Board and his young son, Mrs E.J. Vijayathan, age 40 and her two young sons, and Mrs J.A. Thavarasa, 30 years with a 3 year old son, and nine months pregnant. None of them had ventured to go out to exercise their vote.

Voting ended at 4 pm, and at about 5-15 pm the IPKF stationed soldiers along the main road for the transport of the ballot boxes. At the same time some soldiers went through the compounds of houses, evidently looking for Tigers in hiding. One of the soldiers, while going through the compound where the above mentioned people were staying, suddenly started shooting at random. Other soldiers entered the house from both the front and the rear.

Mr Balasingam was near the door carrying his young son in his arms. One of the soldiers confronted him and shouted "You LTTE, I will shoot you." On hearing this his two sisters cried and begged the soldiers with folded hands: "He is our brother, don't do anything to us." The soldier, without paying them any heed, fired at Balasingam. Fortunately he was not hit, although out of shock he fainted and fell to the floor. The soldier then turned his attention to the two sisters. First he shot Mrs Thavarasa, who was carrying her son close to her chest. The bullets pierced her abdomen and hit her left hand. It also seriously injured her child whom she was carrying. She fell down. Then the soldier fired at Mrs Vijayathan. She too fell down after being hit in the abdomen. Mr Kanagasingam attempted to give water to his sisters, but found them both dead. Weeping, he went towards the soldiers saying: "You've done this injustice without any provocation.

You could have committed these murders if you'd recovered any weapons here or if you'd found any Tigers here or if the Tigers had done something to you from here." The soldiers then picked up the spent bullet-casings and left the place, after ordering Rev Tharmakulasingham to call over at their camp.

Rev Tharmakulasingham went to the camp with the child who was injured in the right thigh. The boy was treated at the hospital post attached to the IPKF camp. While at the camp, an officer asked the priest to give a signed statement to the effect that his two sisters were murdered by the Tigers. The Reverend refused and told him, "I'm not such a fool. Your IPKF only committed these murders. The Tigers never came to my house. I'll never give a distorted version," and walked out of the camp with his injured nephew.

A post-mortem was held on both bodies. It was revealed that a bullet had pierced the head of the 9-month old foetus, and that it was a female one. Kanagasingam owns a shop at Uduppiddy junction and the soldiers from the nearby camp used to patronise his shop and were friendly with him.

The letter written by the Bishop of Jaffna, the Rt Rev D.J. Ambalavanar, to the President of Sri Lanka on this subject is reproduced below. The Bishop substantiated his facts with records of inquest proceedings (not reproduced here) at the Magistrate's Court of Point Pedro, Jaffna:

"I am grieved and distressed to have to write to you this letter informing you of a case of brutal and wanton murder of two innocent women one of whom was in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The murder therefore cost three innocent lives. The incident took place on Wednesday, 15th February, the evening of the parliamentary general elections, around 5-15 p.m. I had to wait to receive the official inquest proceedings. I am also enclosing a photograph of the two women taken after they had been killed. The two women are sisters of a clergyman in our Diocese. He is the Minister in charge of our Church at Uduppiddy. What adds to the irony of

the event is that the IPKF is in occupation of the parsonage, the official residence of this clergyman at Uduppiddy. He was therefore that evening at the residence of his sisters, and this event took place in his very presence. We have no doubt whatever that this was carried out by the IPKF personnel. The Rev. Tharmakulasingham as he had stated at the inquest was not sure he could identify the soldier who had shot at his sisters. He is however sure that it was one of the group of IPKF who had walked into the compound.

We have from time to time heard of such senseless and meaningless killings of unarmed innocent civilians. This is a case the facts about which I am certain and I am therefore bringing this to your knowledge. I am sure you as the President of this country can do something to prevent repetitions of such events. We do understand that soldiers also can act irresponsibly under grave tension. This event however is an unprovoked act of murder which can never be condoned under any circumstance. I will be grateful for whatever steps you can take to ensure that the IPKF is restrained from such wanton killings."

PRESIDENT REPLIES

"His Excellency the President was deeply grieved and distressed to learn of this incident. He has ordered an immediate inquiry into the circumstances leading to these killings, with a view to ensuring that the offenders are dealt with according to the law. I shall be grateful if Your Lordship will furnish any further information on this matter which can help the investigators to complete their investigations. I am referring this matter to Gen. Sepala Attygalle for further report. Please convey His Excellency's deepest sympathies to the members of the bereaved family." (Sgd) K H J Wijayadasa, Secretary to the President.

[President Premadasa, unlike his predecessor, has shown some concern about Indian inhuman behaviour. This is only one among hundreds of similar atrocities! Hope he now knows what is happening in Tamil Eelam. Ed.]

EELAM thought

by S. Kurushetran

At the Colombo airport a half-bent 75-year old Tamil woman is waddling behind her son and family members, moving herself with great effort. She is mumbling incoherently to herself. In the late evening of her life she is about to go half way round the globe to Canada, to meet her death there. Hundreds of younger grandmothers are already in Britain, with much of the meaning gone out of their lives except the pleasure of baby-sitting for their grandchildren. Shift the Eelam Tamil phantasmagoria a little further and you will see in another part of the globe, Denmark, also fighting his loneliness, is a 22-year old Tamil youth. And this is Lesotho, a tiny kingdom deep in the heart of South Africa. A 50-year old woman is doing a teaching job, in order to keep her ailing husband and daughter in limited comfort in Madras. Five years ago she did not know that a country by that name existed. Look at this brawny young Tamil wearing weird-looking chains round his neck selling groceries in a Parisian suburb. In a hostelry at Leverkusen in Germany, an angry young man is tossing his working clothes into a washing machine. For some strange reason he thinks Germany owes him a living. Elsewhere in Germany, in Hindenburg, a young accountant and his pretty wife and daughter are trying to make the best of the five uncertain years they have spent in that country. Canada was their destination but an unscrupulous 'travel agent' had left them stranded in Germany. In Madras, a wide-eyed 20-year old girl is leaving her parents behind to marry a young man whom she had never seen, in distant Toronto. Young Tamil men have become very scarce. And go to Nigeria where an unhappy father is wondering how to overcome the country's exchange restrictions in order to send a remittance to his wife and children from whom he had been parted for four years. **The stories of Tamil trauma are endless. And yet, ten, fifteen, twenty years ago, they were all part of an orderly, peaceful society, with strong family bonds and a deep attachment to their soil. Multiply**

THE INEVITABILITY OF TAMIL EELAM

the case histories in this Eelam Tamil diaspora by hundreds and thousands, and even that won't give you the picture of the enormous tragedy in the lives of those left behind.

Shift the scene to to-day's IPKF-occupied Jaffna. In his rural habitat, a 70-year old man sits moping. He was lucky to survive a bombing raid by the Sri Lankan forces and a shelling attack by the Indian army. He proudly points his finger at a framed photograph on the wall to every visitor who calls. That is his eldest son and the white-skinned blonde girl, his wife, both on horseback. He has no hopes of seeing his son again, given up for lost ten years ago, nor his Swiss daughter-in-law. But he is proud nevertheless. He is the only man in the village who has a European daughter-in-law. What kind of freakish destiny had brought such abrupt, cathartic changes in the lives of all these people; changes which they neither desired nor anticipated. Dislodged from their moorings, both physical and mental, separated from families, you ask them why they are there where they ought not be, and they will give you the immediate reasons and confused answers because they are confused people. **But all answers will boil down to one fact - that they do not have a land which they can safely call their own.**

The argument for Tamil Eelam rests ultimately on the collective yearning of a people, as it happened to the Jews once, and to the Palestinians now, not on high-pitched political theorising. There are of course many Tamils who are professionals, doctors, engineers, accountants, businessmen who have carved a niche for themselves in their lands of adoption, achieved affluence, beaten the natives in their own rat race, and who would never feel the need to go back to their roots. Then there is a new generation now growing up in the West, which just cannot 'belong' in the land of their parents. Barring these, the rest will have to return some day. But to which kind of land that they will want to return, not that same country that oppressed them, not that kind of government that orphaned them and drove them out? Ask them whether they are happy, some will say Yes, some will say

'No', but there is one feeling that they all hide in the deep recesses of their hearts, that agonising wrench that compelled them to become runaways and wanderers, job and asylum seekers, and hunted humans - nearly 40,000 immigrants and refugees in the UK, 30,000 in West Germany, 25,000 in France, 25,000 in Australia, 20,000 in Canada, 15,000 in the US, 5,000 in Switzerland, 3,000 in the Netherlands, 2,000 in Denmark, and in Norway, Sweden, New Zealand, Belgium, and Italy. There are those in time-bound jobs in Nigeria and Zambia, in Saudi Arabia, and Oman and Kuwait and Sharjah and Singapore and Hong Kong. A mixed lot, with mixed skills, mixed motivations, but mostly all with uncertain futures, but there is no doubt there is a resourceful section among them who are working for, or yearning for, or at least dreaming about their own independent Tamil Eelam. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, once asked about the brain drain from India, felt confident enough to assert that it was not a brain drain but a 'brain reserve'. If that could be the position about India, that lumbering giant of a country with a poverty-stricken population of 800 million, the little future State of Tamil Eelam has a 'brain reserve' in twenty, thirty countries in the world far higher in proportion to Rajiv Gandhi's India. **The question today is not whether a future Tamil Eelam is feasible, or viable. We have reached a point in the historical process where it is both. The question is when, how soon, and at what cost!**

To many people, I am aware, this will sound like rhetoric. It will not make sense. But nothing makes sense in this world, unless you believe in it; it is so with Tamil Eelam too. Take belief in God for example. Some don't believe in God, but most people do. When rulers oppress the people, when evil goes unpunished, when good men suffer, when crime pays does any thing make sense? It can begin to make sense only if one believes that they can be corrected; either belief in oneself, or in one's own society, or in God, or most important of all belief in human endeavour. Had not Tenzing and Hillary believed that Everest

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PEOPLE AND EVENTS

MIRUDANGA ARANGETRAM



I had the privilege of witnessing a mirudanga arangetram at the High Gate Murugan Temple on 25th February, 1989. Master Yasaskara Sharma was the hero of that day and it was the occasion of his mirudanga debut.

The fact that the colourful audience with a sizeable sprinkling of musicians and musicologists remained seated relaxed and enjoying the performance for a solid three hours is ample proof that Yasaskara has a real talent for music. Hindu philosophy holds that what is there will never go and what is not there can never be brought in. The debut has confirmed that Yasaskara has it and his Guru Muthu Sivarajah (formerly of the Sivayoga Samajam, Trincomalee) has brought it out.

The performance commencing with a Varnam set in Kampothi Ragam kicked off with a fine start embellished by the fine vocal rendering of Sivasakthy Sivanesan. While the singing of Sivasakthy kept the audience spell bound and the music produced by Lakshmi Jayan kept the eyes of the listeners glued to her Violin bow, the percussional perfection of the budding Mirudangist thrilled every one. By bettering his performance from piece to piece playing his instrument as accompaniment to the successive renderings by Sivasakthy and set in all the various Talas, Yasaskara has shown without any doubt that he has a great future. His solo that followed and lasted for about ten minutes was the climax.

Before I conclude let me remind Yasaskara that this is his start and that he must always remember what our great Avvaiyar said "Kattathu kai mannalavu; kallaathathu ulagu alavu."

Muthu Sivarajah, the Guru, who has earned the reputation of being an amiable and accomplished exponent of Mirudangam deserves our congratulations. Dr Lakshmi Jayan, the Violinist, needs no praise or commendation for she is known for her skill far and wide. Mrs Sivasakthy has accomplished an arduous but extremely melodious stint as vocalist of the evening.

Mathini Sriskandarajah

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

April 22, 7.00 p m Music Academy of Dance Rhythm And Song presents Trio of Bharata Natya Dancers at Acton Town Hall, Uxbridge Road, London W3. Details from (01) 949 9111, (01) 845 7900, or (01) 560 6691

April 23, from 4-30 to 7-30 pm. Third Anniversary Celebration of Institute of Tamil Culture at Surbiton Assembly Rooms, Maple Road, Surbiton, Surrey. Details from (01) 949 3012 or (01) 399 7848

April 29 & 30 Second International Tamil Conference (for details see page 20 - TVI Vol 2 No 5 of 15th March or call (01) 904 0343)

May 5, 6.30 p m Grand Variety Entertainment at Central Hall, Storey's Gate, Westminster. (For details, see page 20)

June 10 17th Anniversary Celebrations of London Tamil Congregation - 6 p m Cultural Evening; 7.30 p m Dinner. Details from (01) 642 5598

DEATHS

KIRUBAIKUMARAN, son of V K Nalliah (former Director of Education, Mullaitivu Dt) and Mrs Nalliah of 19B Clifford Rd, Colombo 4, died on March 3 in a motor car accident in London. Besides his parents he leaves behind his young wife Celeste nee Whelan of Dublin and daughter Ambika.

Reginald Rajadurai RASALIAH, born 25.3.17, died 10.3.89. He was a son of the late Dan H5 and Mrs Rasiah noolaham.org laavanaham.org

& Mrs Emily Rasiah. He came to reside in England in 1946 after he was de-mobbed from the Royal Army Service Corps at the end of World War II. He leaves behind his wife Reena nee Duncan whom he married in 1951 and daughter, Shanti, who is a barrister. Reginald worked for the Export Credit Guarantee Dept until his retirement from the Civil Service in 1977.

32 Rodway Road, Bromley, Kent.



Mrs Balasaraswathy Sivapalan

born April 4, 1923

died March 13, 1989

Daughter of the late Mr & Mrs T C Mylvaganam of Kalmunai, she married in 1945, Kandaratanam Sivapalan who was then Company Fire Officer in the Auxiliary Fire Service in Trincomalee. She was the mother of nine children of whom Giridharan was killed in July 1983 by a Sinhalese mob in Dehiwala and Gangadharan shot dead in May 1985 outside his home in Trinco by the army. Of the surviving seven, four are in UK - Nirmala Armitt, Haridharan, Mayuradharan and Dhushiyadharan, and three in West Germany - Pramila Nandakumar, Yogadharan and Ravidharan. Mr Sivapalan is very well-known as an educationalist and human rights activist: he has been Principal of Trincomalee Hindu College and Ratmalana Hindu College, and Chairman of the Trincomalee Citizens' Committee. Mrs Sivapalan threw herself whole-heartedly into helping her husband in his social and humanitarian work.

77, Cannon Grove, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey, UK

BOTTLE FOUND IN STOMACH

An empty undamaged "Fanta" aerated water bottle was recovered from the large intestine of a boy, Srivasa Nadarajah (18) of Palaly Road, Tirunelvely, at the Jaffna hospital when a surgical operation was performed on Saturday 4th March. It is said that Srivasa was arrested on 1st March by the ENDLF when he was returning home after the GCE examinations. He was subjected to various forms of torture of which forcing an empty glass bottle through the anus was one. When the bottle could not be removed after trying all forms of local remedies, the boy was admitted to the hospital in a serious condition. Hospital authorities were told that the boy was found "at Kilinochi": the boy is yet in a serious condition and cannot speak.

EXTENSIVE SINHALESE COLONISATION

The Sri Lankan Government has initiated massive Sinhalese colonisation schemes in the Tamil areas with the support of the Indian Government. Over 10,000 Sinhalese families are to be brought from the South and settled under the pretext of resettlement of refugees. The recent joint military operations by the Indian and Sri Lankan forces are being used to implement this programme. Over 2,000 Tamils have been chased out of their villages during these operations. The IPKF and the Citizens Voluntary Force have assured the Sri Lankan Government of protection for the colonists. This diabolic plan has been set in motion to change permanently the demographic pattern in Tamil areas.

In the villages of Nayaaru, Kokkilai and Kumulamunai over 100 Tamil civilians were killed. 150 houses were burnt or destroyed to clear the area for Sinhala settlement. In Valaivadi, a fishing village in Kalkuda electorate, hundreds of Sinhalese are to be settled. The IPKF has opened a new camp and started clearing up operations in this area to hunt down anyone who may oppose the colonisation. At Talaimannar in the Mannar district, over 200 Sinhalese families are to be settled.

EPRLF MEMBER OWNS UP MASSACRE

Maniyan Alagan who was arrested by the Horowupotana police, in his statement, has accepted that he was

a member of the EPRLF and had participated in the EPRLF operations where 34 unarmed Sinhalese peasants including 22 children were shot and hacked to death. The villagers have identified Maniyan Alagan as one of those who was responsible for the massacre. In his statement to the police, he said that some members of the IPKF were in the vicinity.

Maniyan Alagan was arrested on Wednesday, 22nd March, in a JOC operation led by OIC Ratnayake of the Horowupotana police. Maniyan Alagan comes from the village Peruketayawa in the district of Trincomalee.

The police also claimed that the EPRLF was responsible for the abduction of seven policemen from Akkaraipattu. A team of crack National Intelligence Bureau (NIB) officers has been dispatched to take charge of the investigations, defence sources inform.

These massacres were attributed by Sri Lankan government officials to the LTTE at that time, in spite of denials by the LTTE who emphatically stated that they do not attack civilian targets. By fixing the blame for this crime on the LTTE, through the powerful Indian media, the Government of India hopes for the alienation of the LTTE and its eventual liquidation. These massacres are planned by the IPKF to create opinion among the Sinhalese population that the IPKF should stay on to neutralise the LTTE and to raise these war crimes in the international forum to justify the non-withdrawal of Indian troops from the island.

CAN'T TAKE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS

General Cyril Ranatunge, President's security advisor said that the government would not allow the EPRLF to conduct itself in a manner contrary to the law of the country. He said so when asked about what action the government had taken in connection with the abduction of six police commandos at Akkaraipattu allegedly by EPRLF.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and who is also Minister of State for Defence said that the Government would even go to the extent of disarming the EPRLF if they had abducted soldiers. The government had already disarmed the Muslim Congress, he said. "We will not allow



anyone to fool around with our Security Forces or the Police" the Minister warned.

EROS CALLS A HALT

EROS requested President Premadasa, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and the Indian High Commissioner for an immediate halt to the IPKF operations in the Mullaitivu area. The newly elected Independent MPs from EROS also submitted a memorandum containing the following four demands to President Premadasa (1) The repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and release of all political prisoners (2) Protection to be afforded to all members of the Tamil groups including EROS in the North and East from attacks from IPKF and 'others' (3) the IPKF and Sri Lankan security forces be withdrawn from the North and East, and the maintenance of law and order be handed over to the civil authorities there, and (4) Full autonomy be granted to the North-East Province and equal rights with other communities be granted to all the Tamils living in the other regions of Sri Lanka.

Subsequently, the leaders of the group had talks with President Premadasa on these demands. According to EROS the talks have been constructive and useful. Following the meeting, four political prisoners from EROS have been released. It may be recalled that the MPs from the EROS group (Independents) had decided to boycott the sessions of Parliament until law and order are restored in the North-East.

WILL NOT GIVE IN TO TIGERS

Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, Foreign Minister and Minister of State for Defence, has stated that the Sri Lankan Government was not prepared to

give in to the demands of Tiger leader Prabakaran, that the IPKF must leave, and that the North-East Provincial Council Chief Minister, Varatharaja Perumal, should step down from office. He claimed that it was a matter of time before the Tigers are annihilated.

Referring to Mr Gopalsamy's visit to Jaffna, he has stated that it is for the Tamil Nadu government to take action against him or for the Indian Government to extradite him to Sri Lanka.

SLMC ASKS FOR MORE ARMS

Following the government's decision to withdraw the arms given to members of the SLMC as they were being misused by them, the SLMC leader, Mr M H M Ashraff, had met the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and asked for more arms for them as many of their members were getting killed. He has also indicated that if his request was not granted the SLMC may be compelled to support the merger of the north and east provinces.

SRI LANKA'S FUTURE NOT IN ITS HANDS

One of India's respected journals, the 'Deccan Herald', editorially states that "An unfortunate consequence of the developments of the past few years is that Sri Lanka's future is not entirely in the hands of its people and its leaders. It depends also on the Government of India which, unfortunately, has not always demonstrated the requisite degree of wisdom in dealing with the issues.... Although the devolution package evolved by the Jayewardene administration did not satisfy even the moderate sections of Tamil opinion, New Delhi did not initiate timely steps to improve its content. The Tamil groups, which have come to power with its help in the North-Eastern Province, are so dependent on it for survival that they do not want Indian troops to leave." The editorial concludes, "But how long can India sustain them?"

NEW INDIAN OFFENSIVE

Over 70 IPKF men, including a commander and two officers, have been killed and more than 50 wounded in the current offensive against

the Tamil Tigers in the Mullaitivu area. Helicopter gunships and heavy and sophisticated weapons are being used by them. LTTE admits having lost six of its cadres. Over 300 civilians have been killed and hundreds of them wounded.

Over 30,000 Indian troops are engaged in this operation besieging an area of 1,500 square miles, with heavy artillery, tanks and helicopter gunships. Hundreds of heavy vehicles, armoured personnel carriers and tanks are moving with troops towards Nithikaikulam in the Mullaitivu district from the Puliyankulam and Ottusuddan army camps in the Vanni area. The jungle areas surrounding Nithikaikulam have been heavily bombarded from helicopters and by artillery fire. Over 500 shells are being fired each day towards these areas. Thousands of panic-stricken villagers have fled the area and taken refuge in villages of Alampil and Thanneer Ootru. Hundreds of houses and huts have been destroyed by bombs and shells.

This offensive has been launched without any publicity in order to avoid international attention. The LTTE fighters are giving a gallant resistance to the rampaging Indian forces.

S L NAVY ATTACKS TAMIL NADU FISHERMEN

The Sri Lankan Navy had attacked Tamil Nadu fishermen and damaged 8 of their fishing boats while fishing in Indian territorial waters. Chief Minister Mr Karunanidhi has taken up the matter with the Central Government of India.

IPKF CASUALTIES

The Indian Defence Minister Pant has disclosed in the Indian Parliament that, up to 20.2.89, 784 IPKF personnel have been killed. But according to independent Press reports, over 3,000 IPKF men have lost their lives in their war against the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

C M NEEDS POLICE TO MAINTAIN ORDER

The Chief Minister of N-E P C has told the Indian Government that he needed 10,000 policemen and 7,000 volunteers to maintain law and order in the Province.

2 TAMILS OUT OF 127

It is reported that out of the 127 Tamil-medium students admitted to the University of Peradeniya this year, only two of them are Tamils and the rest are Muslims.

POLICE REPLACE IPKF

The Sri Lankan Police personnel have replaced the IPKF at the checkpoint at the Jaffna General Hospital. They will also be taking over shortly from the IPKF the security duties at the Banks in Jaffna.

SOLE SINHALA MINISTER RESIGNS

Mr Dayan Jayatileke, an EPRLF member in the N-E Provincial Council has submitted his resignation.

ALLIANCE LEADER APPOINTED

Mr K Premachandran has been appointed as leader of the TULF-EPRLF-TELO-ENDLF Alliance group in Parliament, overlooking the claims of the TULF leader Mr Amirthalingam. The EROS group has boycotted the sessions.

MANNAR MUSLIMS AFFIRM SUPPORT

The Muslims of Mannar, in a statement issued on March 18, condemn the EPRLF and IPKF for actions against the Muslims and affirm to unite against oppression and to support the forces of Tamil Liberation. The statement to the press further states: "The brutal assault and the murder of a Muslim student in public is condemned by the entire Muslim community. Mohammed Insal was travelling with many other passengers when the bus was stopped by the EPRLF with the help of the Indian army. He was brutally assaulted and killed, accused of being a traitor. This atrocious murder was committed in public, and was witnessed by many. In the past, several youths have been harassed, tortured and killed. The Indian army's hatred for the Muslim community is becoming increasingly evident day by day. We, the Muslim community, are verbally harassed, racially abused and physically maltreated on innumerable occasions by the Indian army. 'Go to Pakistan' is the common phraseology used to us..."

SRI LANKAN NEWS

FIRST BUDGET PRESENTED

The first budget of the Premadasa Government has been presented in Parliament by Finance and Prime Minister Mr D B Wijetunge. The Estimate of Revenue was Rs.52 billion while the Estimate of Expenditure went up to Rs.107 billion, leaving a deficit of Rs.55 billion.

TOTAL DEATHS BY VIOLENCE

According to Sri Lankan Defence Ministry sources, 1,066 persons have been killed in January by violence in Sri Lanka. In two weeks in February 754 people were killed, 114 of them in one day.

SPEAKER ELECTED

Mr M H Mohamed, has been elected Speaker of the Sri Lankan House of Representatives, Mr Gamini Fonseka, as Deputy-Speaker and Ariyawathie Lekawa, as Chairman of Committees. Those who contested, unsuccessfully, from the Opposition were Mr K B Ratnayake for Speaker, Mr S Abubucker for Deputy Speaker and Mr K Yogasangari for Chairman of Committees.

J V P - STATISTICS

1,200 Sinhalese youths suspected of being members of the JVP have been rounded up recently by the Sri Lankan security forces in a cordon and search operation at Matara and Akuressa. According to police reports, JVP-ers were responsible for 1,160 killings since they started their violent campaign. Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, Minister of State for Defence has blamed the JVP for the deaths of 1,072 UNP supporters.

PRESIDENT GIVES TWO REASONS

President Premadasa has spelled out two reasons for appointing two 'non-starters' as Prime Minister and Leader of the House. One, since there were several aspirants for the office of P M, he was appointing someone from outside the known contestants in order to avoid any division within the Party. The other reason, he said, by appointing a P M on rotation for a year the experience of other senior Ministers too would be available to Parliament and the country.

DIXIT HAS 'SAFEGUARDED' HIS COUNTRY

Mr J N Dixit is said to have stated, before leaving Sri Lanka at the end of his term of office, that he was leaving with the satisfaction that he has 'safeguarded' his country.

IMPORTANT CABINET DECISIONS

Some of the important decisions taken by President Premadasa at a recent cabinet meeting were:

- (1) An inventory of all government buildings and vehicles be taken by the Ministry of Public Administration
- (2) Employment be found for 3,000 external graduates, some of them to be absorbed into the Poverty Alleviation Scheme
- (3) All MPs to declare their assets by 6 April 1989
- (4) Four Cabinet sub-committees be appointed to monitor the work of all the 24 Ministries.

IMF SUSPENDS GRANT

According to unconfirmed reports, the International Monetary Fund has suspended the grant of further aid pledged to Sri Lanka as the IMF was not satisfied that the money already granted to Sri Lanka had been properly utilised in development work.

COLOMBO UNIVERSITY EX-V C KILLED

Prof Stanley Wijesundara, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Colombo and a close relative of the former President Mr J R Jayewardene was shot dead in his office, believed to be by JVP militants.

THONDA BLAMES JAFFNA TAMILS

The CWC leader and Minister of Textile Industries and Rural Industrial Development, Mr S Thondaman, has accused the Jaffna Tamil school teachers and social workers in the upcountry plantation areas of having spirited away about 10,000 of his followers to the DPLF. He gave this factor as one of the reasons for the failure of any of the CWC candidates from getting elected to Parliament. Only Mr S Sellasamy got elected; he contested on the UNP ticket from Colombo. Foundation. noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

THE MOST TERRORISED REGION

Mr Paul Levanthal of the Nuclear Control Institute of New York and Dr Brama Chelleny of Harvard University Kennedy School, have stated, in an essay published by them, that "South Asia has emerged in the past two years as the world's most terrorism-battered region. Last year more than 3,500 civilians were slain in the terrorist violence. Combatting terrorism has become the biggest political challenge for the leaders of India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The introduction of billions of dollars of sophisticated weapons for the Afghan Mujahideen guerrillas has spurred criminal activity in the region. Large quantities of the arms have ended up outside Afghanistan's borders..."

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AT ITS LOWEST

In a report on Sri Lanka for 1988, the World Bank states that Sri Lanka's economic development declined to the lowest level in several years due to a severe drought the previous year and continuing political turmoil. The report estimates that the drought had caused a 6% drop in agricultural production while the internal conflict left more than half a million people displaced.

REHABILITATION FUND - ITS DISTRIBUTION

The World Bank-sponsored donor group has pledged 474 million US dollars for rehabilitation and reconstruction in Sri Lanka. About Rs.15 billion of this money is said to have been given to the Sri Lankan Government to meet the needs of 26,500 displaced persons and families. Over 400,000 requests for assistance have been received by the Ministry of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction. The Jaffna Peninsula has 160,000 claimants, Trincomalee 24,000, Batticaloa 22,400, Vavuniya 14,000 and Amparai, Mannar and Mullaitivu over 10,000 families each.

RANIL APPOINTED LEADER OF THE HOUSE

Mr Ranil Wickremasinghe MP and Minister of Industries has been appointed Leader of the House of Representatives. He is the youngest member of President Premadasa's Cabinet.

45th SESSION UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

continued from page 11

wax indignant against the IPKF, they do not have even a word of condemnation for the terrorist atrocities which are so appalling a feature of life in Sri Lanka.

A case in point is the appeal to the Commission issued by an organisation that calls itself the "World Federation of Tamils." The appeal is eloquently silent on terrorist atrocities. Such partisan-motivated appeals have been reproduced from a London Tamil paper whose role is to serve as a propaganda forum for the LTTE which is well-known.

The so-called effect on the civilians in the course of the IPKF operation has been a subject of extraordinarily motivated allegations. Such wild and unsubstantiated allegations are a deliberate attempt to divert attention from the fact that the LTTE has cynically used tactics and methods to maximise civilian sufferings and casualties to the utter disregard of their human rights.

[We regret to inform the Indian representative that what he seeks to defend is the indefensible. We challenge him to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, and the international media to verify the facts and to enlighten the world community at large. The TVI publishes only factual information. These facts, rightly, correct the misinformation emanating from certain media in India and Sri Lanka. Our motto on page 3 (in Tamil) speaks for itself - Ed.]

EELAM THOUGHTS

continued from page 13

could be conquered, it could not have happened. People who said that running a mile under four minutes was beyond human effort accepted it was possible after one man, Roger Bannister, did it. There was a time not long ago when it was thought the idea of man setting foot on the Moon was crazy. Had we not been taught to believe that the Earth was spherical, it could not have made sense; our eyes do not see it that way. Many of the commonplace objects like the Radio, the Telephone, Television are no longer felt as marvels of invention. But indeed they were, and the marvels came about not because of popular belief but because some one individual believed that it was possible.

The fact is that the popular human mind does not accept any change. It will continue to resist it until the change is forced on it, the reason being that most humans fear change, any kind of change. But the fact of history is that changes do not stop happening because most people fear them or resist them. They are taking place all the time, under our own eyes and against our own wishes, sometimes quietly over a long period of time, and sometimes with a bang! As a schoolboy in Jaffna, I was told that 'respectable' women do not travel in buses. I had to live for another 25 years to realise that 'respectable' women were quite comfortable even seated on bicycle cross-bars! Well, that was a gradual change. But look at the roaring kind of change that overtook Eelam Tamil society within the past ten years. That came with a bang - not excluding the bangs caused by Prabakaran's land mines! To understand the nature of that phenomenon, one has to have an

understanding of, and belief in, another living force - the historical process. (To be continued)

TELF SCOFFS

continued from page 8

The latest moves by Mr Premadasa after the parliamentary elections clearly indicate that he likes to rule Eelam with the help of the IPKF supported by the subservient EPRLF quisling groups. It appears crystal clear that the

* combined IPKF-Sri Lankan army patrolling in Tamil areas was in support of the Manal Aru (Velioya) Sinhalese colonisation;

* accelerated Mahaweli Development enhanced Sinhalese colonisation in the East;

* money obtained for Tamil areas development from the international community is not being spent on the rehabilitation of displaced and impoverished Tamils.

We genuinely pity the plight of Varatharaja Perumal and other quislings if they are pleading ignorance of the Sinhala Government's design and ulterior motives as these groups will meet the same fate at the hands of patriotic Tamils who have soundly punished the TULF for its treachery.

In is in this context, the TELF totally endorses the stand taken by the LTTE to fight for national liberation and the creation of the state of Eelam. We are also confident, like the LTTE, that we are on a victorious march to achieve our goal and we shall surmount all obstacles placed on our path. We reiterate that the Eelam Tamil problem can never be solved without the willing co-operation of the LTTE. Mr V Gopalsamy's daring meeting with Mr Prabakaran, the LTTE leader, to work out an honourable permanent solution should be welcomed by the Indian Government as we consider him an ideal choice who knows the mind of Mr Prabakaran and of the LTTE leadership.

In any freedom movement leaders have been moving from country to country in disguise. Mr Gopalsamy's visit to Sri Lanka need not be unduly overplayed or magnified. In the Indian freedom struggle innumerable instances could be cited of leaders leaving the shores of India in disguise - Subhas Chandra Bose reaching Singapore, Arabinda Ghosh and Bharathi seeking refuge in Pondicherry, then a French Colony, are clear cases. Mr P Nedumaran's two visits to Sri Lanka in the recent past on behalf of the Eelam Tamils are part of history. It is in this light that we view the mission of Mr Gopalsamy to Sri Lanka.

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பாலுக்குப் பூனையைக் காவல் வைத்தோம்
 பாலையே பூனேதான் குடிக்கக் கண்டோம்
 காலுக்குச் செருப்புதனை வாங்கி வந்தோம்
 காலையே கடிக்குதடா என்ன செய்ய?
 வேலியே பயிரைத்தான் மேயுதென்றால்
 வேதனையை யாரிடத்துச் சொல்போமோ!
 கூலிக்கு மாரடிக்கும் படையாய் இன்று
 குவலயத்தில் பேரெடுத்து பெருமை கண்டோம்

வாலிதனை எதிர்த்திட்ட ராமன் போல
 வரலாறு பின்னாளில் எழுதக் கூடும்
 போலியாய் வாக்குறுதி தந்துவிட்டு
 போராளி ஆயுதங்கள் பறித்ததேனோ!
 கேலியாய் ஒப்பந்தம் ஆக்கிவிட்டு
 கேள்விக்கே விடைகாண முயல்வதேனோ!
 மூளியாய் யாழ்ப்பாணம் ஆனதென்றால்
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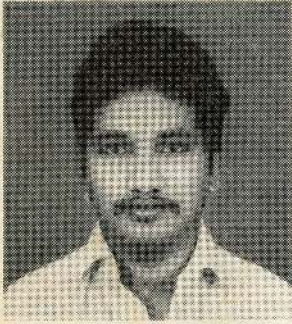
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 தீவுக்குள் தீவாக ஈழமண்ணில்
 தீரனவன் பிரபாகரன் வீரம் கண்டும்
 நாவுக்குள் கள்ளமதைப் புகுத்திடாமல்
 நலமான பேச்சுக்கே அழைத்தால் என்ன!
 பூவுலகில் தமிழினமே அழியக் கண்டால்
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Tel: 01-659 1185

**TAMIL REFUGEE (ACTION GROUP)
HOUSING ASSOCIATION LTD**

ADMINISTRATOR/ ACCOUNTANT

TR(AG)HA is a highly successful housing association in providing housing for large number of Tamil refugees and it offers a constant social support to its tenants and members.

We are looking for an experienced person to work full-time to be in charge of the association's administration and finance. He will be responsible to the co-ordinator. Candidates must have proven managerial ability, well developed communication skills, experience in accounting and dealing with issues relating to housing and welfare benefits.

Experience involving contact with the refugees and knowledge of Tamil is important. Job description is available and may be obtained from the Secretary. Please send letter of application and full CV to:-

The Secretary,
TR(AG) Housing Association
2nd floor, Mill Mead Business Centre
Mill Mead Road
London N17 9QU

Tel: (01) 365 0894/0892

TO REACH NOT LATER THAN 14th APRIL 1989

TR(AG)HA is an Equal Opportunities Employer