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GOPAL AMONG THE TIGERS

(On Mr Gopalsamy's return to Madras from a 24-day sojourn in Vavuniya we received a batch of photographs some of which are published below)



With Kittu



With other comrades



Food for thought!



On the look-out



Prabaharan and his mascot



Farewell address

YOUR VOICE

FROM THE FRYING PAN TO THE FIRE !

K Jayapalan, Mullaitivu

One wonders whether the Indian Army (IPKF), has learnt any lesson after the horrors it perpetrated in October 1987 in Jaffna. If so, it should display much more humane role in Tamil Eelam now, and not continue to make the same mistakes over and over again. The actions of the Indian forces have already alienated and hardened the hearts and minds of the people of Sri Lanka against them.

What baffles the minds of the people is the manner of the IPKF's recent engagements with the LTTE. Kokkuvil in Jaffna had suffered grievously in October 1987. Many innocent people were killed there, houses destroyed and the entire village was turned into a refugee camp. Now, in this same village of Kokkuvil, on 23rd February 1989, 41 houses were burnt and 25 looted by the Indian forces who came to 'keep the peace'. Residential properties were mercilessly destroyed and thousands were rendered homeless. The question that one wishes to ask the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments is the logic of employing more than 100,000 Indian soldiers, fully armed and equipped, to fight a small Tamil militant group in this tiny island, smaller than the smallest State in India.

The Mullaitivu district suffered from the attacks of the Sri Lankan army in December 1984 when many Tamils were rendered homeless in the villages of Kokkilai, Nayaaru, Thennamaravaady, etc. They found refuge in other villages of Mullaitivu such as Mulliyavalai and Thanniyoottu. Again, during the Indian Army operations in November and December 1987, many innocent people were killed, houses looted and people once again fled the district and became refugees in other districts. The people of the village of Kumulamunai suffered the most. Only a few months ago the people had returned to their villages, rebuilt their houses and resumed their cultivation. In early March this year, entire villages were again completely destroyed. In the village of Kumulamunai alone 80 houses were burnt. The homeless are now refugees in a Hindu school in Thanniyoottu. Many innocent people were killed including a man who went a few days later to see his burnt house and salvage his belongings if any.

It is time the Indian forces left Sri Lanka. Their presence has served no useful purpose except to bolster those militant groups which now act as stooges of the Indian Army. This has only led to the further harassment of innocent people. It should be understood that as long as the Indian forces remain, Sinhala hatred of the Tamils will assume alarming proportions.

The Defence Minister of Sri Lanka proposes to re-deploy Sri Lanka troops to the North-East when militancy ceases in the South. He does not care a damn for the feelings of the Sri Lankan Tamils. The only way out is to take this complex problem to the U.N forum for a peaceful and permanent solution. India's role has become questionable and suspicious.

LET THE SINHALESE KNOW

R. Krishnan, Colombo

I was able to obtain quite a lot of information by reading

TVI, facts which did not reach me all this time. I wish to make a suggestion. We often obtain news from the Tamils who travel between Colombo and the North. The majority community does not know what exactly is taking place there and in the East as they only go by information they receive from the state controlled media.

Therefore, in the interests of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, especially those who live among other communities, it would be very good if you can make arrangements for your magazine to reach the majority community as well, both in the city of Colombo and outside. If the entire magazine cannot be sent because of costs, at least smaller versions of the paper, preferably printed in Sinhala, could be made available to them.

In my opinion, this would go a long way in creating understanding between the communities and thereby easing the present impasse.

PATHETIC-CONFESSION OF PERUMAL

M K Eelaventhan, Madras

Mr Varatharaja Perumal is repeating like a parrot what the Federal Party then and the TULF recently had been voicing on the Eelam Tamil issue. His expression of inability to DIRECT the affairs of a 'State' he is heading is exactly the reason why an independent Tamil Eelam should come into being. No politician or political party can find any meaningful solution to the Tamil problem within the framework of the present unitary constitution of Sri Lanka. We are now witnessing the predicament of the Sinhalese leadership to deal with the armed liberation fighters. Their attempt to make them accept Sinhalese overlordship is aided and abetted by Mr Varatharaja Perumal and his colleagues.

Does Mr Perumal want the LTTE also to accept Sinhala rule and commit political suicide by asking it to join this so-called 'democratic' process? TELF appeals to him and other quisling groups supporting the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement to abandon their present position and join hands with the Liberation Fighters to redeem our lost sovereign rights.

PROCLAIM TAMIL EELAM

V Thangavelu, Ontario

The question of Eelam and Tamil nationalism has long since passed the stage of discussion and debate. The Vadukkoddai resolution to establish Tamil Eelam by peaceful means or, failing, by other means is the culmination of a political struggle spanning three decades.

An International Tamil Conference should be convened not to discuss Tamil Nationalism but to proclaim Tamil Eelam, draw a Constitution, instal a government-in-exile with Prabakaran as the Head of State and Commander of the Armed Forces, design a National Flag, agree on a National Anthem, appoint a Poet Laureate, set up Diplomatic Offices in the world capitals and appeal to world governments to recognise Tamil Eelam (to begin with let Tamil Nadu recognise Eelam). This is the political agenda now urgently needed to back up the armed struggle in which so much has been sacrificed.

EDITORIAL

SRI LANKA'S CONFUSED
POLITICAL SCENARIO

President Premadasa's political troubles have just started surfacing. The President has had to distance himself from his closest rivals (Lalith) and (Gamingini), the undisguised power-seekers. He has learned his textbook too well and handed over the Prime Ministership on a one-year term to D B Wijetunga, ensuring that there will no Prime Minister permitted to put down roots. France's Fifth Republic provided examples of such immanent dangers, Georges Pompidou (dismissed by De Gaulle) and Jacques Chirac, (who challenged Mitterand for the Presidency and before that, learned to cohabit with the Vice President). Cabinet-construction in Ceylon was like feeding time in Dehiwela Zoo. Not only L and G but many others went just as empty handed; for example, the ever present Mohamed and (ex) President JR's Minister *without* Foreign Affairs, Hameed, who has now been put on to fresher pastures in the field of higher education, a veritable trap. We have a cabinet in Ceylon without a single Tamil representative from the North-Eastern province. Meanwhile (ex) President JR's time bomb of yet another referendum, that of July 5, to determine whether the merger should last or the Eastern Province be delinked keeps ticking away and will be held as planned. Whatever the result, we can only see further trouble ahead.

Premadasa is completely at sea with regard to the IPKF presence. Having come on a mandate to get them leave the island, he is now stuck with them. In effect, to the world community of states, Ceylon is an Indian protectorate. To our minds the short sighted Sinhala elites look on the Indians as doing their dirty job for them. Premadasa has to satisfy the JVP whom he has always looked upon as persons not directly linked with many of the most brutal assassinations and campaigns in the island's post-independence history. Already the JVP has declared Premadasa a President elected "illegally" and "not legitimately." This is a pretext for the JVP's continuing campaign of disruption and of undermining the social order. To what extent Premadasa's forces, official (the army) and unofficial (the Black Cats, the Green Tigers etc) can handle the unrest remains to be seen. Meanwhile Premadasa has in his recent speech to Parliament echoed Mrs Indira Gandhi's election platforms of many yesteryears. Premadasa wants to "alleviate poverty."

We are not certain whether to condemn High Commissioner Jyotindra Dixit for lacking in responsibility in leaving (on Delhi's orders) an unfinished agenda on the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord whose provisions in any case we do not recognise. What happens to Dixit's puppets once the provinces are delinked? Our understanding is that should the referendum put Eelam back to the Northern Province, then fresh elections will have to be held. We understand that EROS's thirteen Independents who now refer to themselves as the Eelavar Democratic Front (EDF) have put forward interim demands including the withdrawal of the Sixth Amendment (disavowal of separatism). Much will depend on Premadasa's statesmanship. Some Sri Lanka newspapers and Sinhalese academics have seriously advanced the notion of a Cyprus-style division of the island with the write-off of the Northern Province. We caution against such precipitous unnegotiated unilateral decisions.

TAMIL
VOICE
International

எப்பெருந் யார் யார் வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பெருந்

மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு

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All correspondence to:

Tamil Voice International
P.O. Box 228, Wembley,
Middx. HA9 8SZ, England

Phone (01) 904 0343

Fax (01) 908 2520

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SRI LANKA : CASE STUDY OF A DISASTER

"Sri Lanka was the watershed", says Ashley Tellis, a US expert on South Asian security issues. "India showed it was willing to use force even when there was no clear-cut security threat." Agrees a US State Department official, "Although India in the past has had strained relations with nearly all its neighbours, it had not taken advantage of its preponderant power to make them toe the line until the Indo-Sri Lanka accord of July 1987."

The story of how and why India recruited, trained and armed thousands of minority Tamils from Sri Lanka and then sent them back to the island to wage a guerrilla war against the government of the then President J R Jayewardene has never been fully told. To this day New Delhi denies its former sponsorship of several Tamil separatist factions, but interviews with former Tamil guerrilla leaders, Sri Lankan intelligence operatives and Indian diplomats reveal that from the early 1980s onward, Indian officials viewed support for the Tamil cause as first and foremost a means of asserting Indian influence in Sri Lanka. The same sources describe how Indian intelligence agents were so deeply involved in orchestrating the insurgency that at times they provided the guerrillas with detailed operational plans.

New Delhi's sponsorship of the separatists had its origins in Jayewardene's 1977 election victory, which drove Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, a friend and ally of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, from power. Jayewardene soon angered Mrs Gandhi by adopting pro-Western foreign and economic policies that New Delhi interpreted as a rejection of its leadership in South Asia. Jayewardene applied for membership in the Association of South-east Asian Nations; Indian officials suspected that he might even be on the verge of offering military bases and listening posts to the US.

In domestic politics, Jayewardene made a fateful error: he spurned every opportunity to reach an accommodation with Sri Lankan Tamils - 2 million among 12 million Sinhalese - who rightly felt they were being cut off from higher education and government jobs. A few dozen alienated Tamil youths formed underground groups that advocated the creation of Eelam, an independent Tamil nation in the northern and eastern parts of

the island. In 1982, agents of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), India's foreign intelligence agency, recruited one of those groups, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), and brought them to India for training in espionage and sabotage. An Indian diplomat who was deeply involved in policy vis-a-vis Sri Lanka during that period says it was no accident that RAW chose TELO, which had a large criminal element and was politically unsophisticated. "TELO which had no goals and no ideology", he says, "was the perfect private army for RAW."

In July 1983, triggered by the ambush and slaughter of 13 soldiers by Tamil terrorists, Sinhalese mobs in Colombo attacked Tamils in their homes and shops, killing thousands. The communal rioting shocked India's own Tamil population of 50 million. Soon thereafter, RAW began to recruit hundreds of members of at least five Tamil separatist groups. Much of the training took place at the Indian army's Dehra Dun complex in the Himalayan foothills, where the recruits were taught how to handle small arms and how to make land mines using gelignite, which was to become the explosive of choice for one of the groups, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

By late 1984, hundreds of trained fighters were back in Sri Lanka, where they mounted acts of sabotage against government facilities. When attacks on military targets failed to make Jayewardene budge, **RAW encouraged killings of Sinhalese civilians to put more pressure on Colombo.** Says Uma Maheswaran, leader of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), "A RAW officer asked us to throw a grenade into a Sinhalese cinema or put a bomb in a bus or market in a Sinhalese town. Only we and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) refused." Agrees an Eelam People's leader, "The RAW agents offered us money to massacre Sinhalese. But we refused." The Tigers, by contrast, were co-operative. In May 1985, two bus-loads of Tigers drove into the ancient Sinhalese capital of Anuradhapura and, in the town's main bus station, opened fire with automatic weapons, slaughtering 143 civilians there and elsewhere. According to one of the participants in the killings, Tiger

leader Velupillai Prabhakaran was in radio contact with RAW agents during and after the massacre. [This accusation has been denied by Prabhakaran who has consistently set his face against attacks on civilian targets. Ed]

The killings prompted the Colombo government to agree for the first time to negotiate with the guerrillas. The talks collapsed, but the new Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, seemed reluctant to allow RAW to escalate the level of fighting. Later, when India stepped up its support of TELO, the Tigers showed their displeasure at New Delhi's favouritism by attacking TELO camps and murdering some 150 of its members, thereby neutralising RAW's favourite Tamil clients. RAW agents were apoplectic, but realised that they would have to work with the Tigers as the dominant Tamil force. In May 1987, when the Sri Lankan army launched an offensive against Tiger strongholds in the Jaffna peninsula, New Delhi obliquely warned Jayewardene not to push too hard, lest India be obliged to intervene. The Sri Lankan President appealed to Pakistan, China and the US for help, but got little encouragement.

The last straw for Jayewardene came in June 1987, when India began training the Tigers in the use of surface-to-air missiles - and then proposed an accord between New Delhi and Colombo. Under its terms Indian peace-keeping troops would disarm the guerrillas and Sri Lanka's Tamils would be granted a measure of regional autonomy. The annex to the Accord (an exchange of letters between Gandhi and Jayewardene) amounted to Sri Lanka's granting India a voice in its foreign and military policy. Jayewardene felt he had little choice but to accede. Once the pact was signed, on July 29, 1987, India no longer had need for the guerrillas. A few weeks later it blocked the Tigers' attempt to take control of a new provincial council in northern and eastern Sri Lanka. At the same time, New Delhi ordered its force of 15,000 soldiers, which by then had been deployed on the island, to disarm the Tigers.

It was only then that what had looked like an Indian success story showed its disastrous downside. Law-and-order collapsed in large parts of southern Sri Lanka as Sinhalese

FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

THE BIG BLACK CATS THAT STALK BY NIGHT

The sight of bodies appearing from nowhere, lying spread-eagled along the roads with gunshot wounds on the faces and hands tied behind the back, is becoming a familiar one in the Anuradhapura district. On a single day, 63 bodies were found lying by the roadside. A group calling itself the "Black Cats" claimed responsibility. Rumours have been rife that there is a strong link between the group and the security forces as those killed by the Black Cats are suspected of involvement in 'subversive activities' which is an euphemism for association with the JVP. The death squad, which acquired its name from the black attire worn by the killers, moves stealthily into the homes of those it wishes to eliminate, takes the victims some distance away, and then executes them with a shot-gun. The scenario is not entirely new to those in Tamil Eelam whose relatives, friends and neighbours have suffered similar fates at the hands of their oppressors.

PERUMAL'S PILGRIMAGE

It seems that one of the reasons that Chief Minister Varadaraja Perumal went to India was to attend the wedding of the daughter of the former High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr J N Dixit. His other activities while there, however, have raised eyebrows. He held meetings with Indian Cabinet ministers including Narasimha Rao (Foreign Affairs) and K C Pant (Defence) to discuss devolution, aid and security. The Chief Minister asked that an Indian team headed by a minister visit the "Tamil areas" and hold discussions to ensure the devolution package. He also requested Rs.3 billion for the reconstruction of Tamil Eelam. The CM complained that even though donor countries had contributed Rs.20,000 million for the reconstruction of his patch, the Sri Lankan government had given only Rs.387 million. He demanded that the entire sum should be put at the disposal of his government which alone must decide how the money should be spent on reconstruction and rehabilitation. Pity Mr Perumal does not realise that a puppet on a string

does not have freedom of movement!

The Sri Lanka *Sunday Times* indignantly reported that "for Indian ministers to meet Mr Perumal at an official level to discuss security matters smacks of interference in internal affairs. Sri Lanka may be small but such juvenile diplomacy gives the elixir of life to southern subversives who thrive on informing their supporters of India's plans to do a Sikkim in our land." A diplomat in Delhi compared the Perumal overtures to "Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N T Rama Rao asking for aid from the USA." Talking of diplomats, Dixit's next port of call is Pakistan. To think Benazir already has enough problems!

WHAT A FRIEND WE HAVE

Sri Lanka wants to sign another treaty with India. Sri Lanka's Foreign Secretary has submitted to his Indian counterpart a three page draft treaty entitled "Agreement to consolidate and expand friendly relations and co-operation between Sri Lanka and India." Apparently the new-fangled treaty does not seek to replace the Peace Accord in toto but only those "controversial and one-sided" clauses pertaining to the Trincomalee port and Voice of America broadcast facilities in Sri Lanka.

The draft states that Indo-Sri Lanka relations should be based on the *Panchaseela*, the five lofty principles enunciated by Nehru, Chou En Lai and others at Bandung: mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. It moreover says that both countries should not permit terrorist activities or separatism against each other, and that such elements should be deported to the country against which they are working. Given the absence of Sikh separatists in Sri Lanka, one wonders how two-sided this treaty will be. President Premadasa and Lalith Athulathmudali who kept away from the signing ceremony of the original accord are, according to *The Island*, unhappy about the manner in which India extracted commitments from Sri

Lanka on Trincomalee and the broadcast facilities without making a reciprocal commitment. Surely they are joking if they think that the regional heavyweight is duty bound to indulge in games of reciprocity with a piffling little island.

UP IN ARMS

The quislings' Citizens' Volunteer Force (CVF) commenced operations on 27th March. According to one of their spokespersons, political parties that did not join the CVF would be "disarmed and allowed to engage in political activity as behoves political parties in a democratic political system." Henceforth, the Board of Control for Security in the North-East Provincial Council, functioning under the commandant of the CVF, would have the exclusive right to arrest any member of the public not in uniform found carrying arms. The training for the CVF will be provided by none other than the IPKF. The CVF will comprise mostly civilians who would be "impartial in providing security not only to the politicians but also to the public as well." One cannot help but speculate that the CVF is going to be nothing more than a gun-toting EPRLF mob of thugs.

EROS DILEMMA

There are strong indications that the 13 EROS members will not take their seats in Parliament unless the North-East Provincial Council is dissolved and the referendum on the merger is called off. An interesting constitutional conundrum is in the offing if they continue to absent themselves from parliament, and do not attend at least one sitting between now and early June, at which time they will forfeit their seats. The subsequent procedure to fill the vacancies could spotlight a serious shortcoming in the Constitution. The Elections Commissioner is authorised to nominate the names of those who were next on the EROS nomination list - if that list is exhausted then EROS will be asked to nominate others. But what happens if EROS continues to absent itself? The Constitution does not indicate how vacancies are to be filled in such an event. No doubt, yet another amendment will take care of it.

THIRUKKURAL

S Sriskandarajah

பெயக்கண்டும் நஞ்சுண் டமைவர் நயத்தக்க
நாகரிகம் வேண்டு பவர்.

*Peya-k-kandum Nanchu Undu Amaivar
Nayaththakka Naagarikam Verndupavar* - Transliteration

*Those who desire to be styled the very emblem of courtesy will drink
even the poison that has been mixed for them before their own eyes*
(Literal translation)

Those who have the quality of graciousness in great measure will be prepared even to consume poison mixed in their presence if such an act would beget prosperity and happiness to the majority of the people.
(Contextual translation)

The Kural we have taken up for comment is one which defies any generally acceptable interpretation. Even so, an attempt is made to interpret it in the most reasonable manner possible in the sincere hope that it will kindle the thoughts of our readers.

To get a better grip of this Kural we must understand the background in which this is set. This Kural occurs as the last couplet in the chapter on 'Benignity'. Benignity may not be the exact equivalent of the term *Kannoaddam* but it is the closest. Benignity means benevolence, the desire for the well-being or comfort of others. This is a rare quality that is hard to find and few are they who are endowed with it. The greatness of this prince of qualities is such that Thiruvalluvar says that this world continues to exist by reason of at least a handful possessing it. Thiruvalluvar emphasises the greatness of this quality in yet another context when he says *The world abides for worthy men its weight sustain. Were it not so it will fall to dust again.* Not all of us desire the well-being and comfort of others. Even if we desire, do we generally translate that into action? And to what extent could this translation go? It is this extent that will decide the degree of benevolence. Let me once again take you through an episode in Mahabharatham to illustrate this Kural.

This episode relates to an incident which took place on the fourteenth day of the Kurukshetra War. Thurona, the veteran archer, was

leading the army of the Kauravas against the Paandavas. Thurona spread fear and destruction in the Paandava army. When Krishna realised the situation he told Arjuna in no uncertain terms that Paandavas could not cope with Thurona without discarding dharma (righteousness). Krishna said, "There is no other way open except one. If Thurona hears that his son Aswathaama is dead he will lose interest in life and throw down his weapons. One of you must therefore tell Thurona that Aswathaama has been slain." Arjuna shrank in horror and even others were not inclined to perpetrate a fraud. This was a real trying moment for Yudhishtira. He reflected deeply and resolved the deadlock by agreeing to bear the guilt of slipping from the path of rectitude.

Bhima lifted his iron mace and killed an elephant named 'Aswathaama', and, going near where Thurona was commanding his forces, he thundered "I have killed Aswathaama." Thurona heard these words as he was in the process of discharging a missile. Not having the mind to believe that his son was vincible he wanted to verify Bhima's statement from Yudhishtira, the repository of virtues. So Thurona turned towards Yudhishtira and asked, "Yudhishtira! Is it true that my son has been slain?" Thurona thought that Yudhishtira would not utter a lie. When Thurona posed that question Krishna was perturbed that Yudhishtira might let them down by telling the truth. Yudhishtira himself stood trembling in horror not knowing what to say. It was a real *Dharma Sankadam* for him. He hardened his heart and said, "Yes, Bhima has slain Aswathaama" and added inaudibly the words "the elephant."

The last two words got drowned in the din of the battlefield and were not



heard by Thurona. When Thurona heard that his son had been slain he threw his weapons away and sat down. At that moment Dhrishtadyumna cut off the head of Thurona. Let the story stop here. Let us concentrate on the moral. It was strange that Yudhishtira stooped to such an unthinkable level. The God of Virtue Himself did not approve of the act of Yudhishtira. When words of untruth came out of the mouth of Yudhishtira the wheels of his chariot, which until then remained four inches above the ground and never touched it, came down at once and touched the ground. This was the justice that was meted out to him who uptill then never swerved from the path of rectitude.

Why did Yudhishtira behave as he did? Can we justify his action? According to our Puraanas, when the ocean was churned and the dreadful poison that emerged threatened to consume the heavenly beings, did not Rudra gobble the poison and save the celestials? In the Ramayanam, Rama was driven to bear the sin of killing Vaali in total disregard of the rules of fairplay. Just like that, Yudhishtira decided to bear the shame of telling a lie because he thought it would do good to many. If it could be shown that he took the 'poison' of being branded as a liar only for the purpose of destroying the wicked and saving the virtuous, then one may be able to appreciate the seemingly improper conduct of Yudhishtira. Great souls care not about their personal name or fame. They are so selfless that they are prepared to lose their all for the common weal. This then is the meaning of the Kural we have reviewed.

Ask Rani

NO PAY FOR MPs

Dear Rani,

There seems to be some confusion about the 13 who won as independents in the general election. Have they taken their oaths and what is their position in Parliament? **Puvenes R, London**

A *The Secretary-General of Parliament, Nihal Seneviratne, recently announced that those who contested and won the 13 seats as an independent group are not entitled to emoluments from parliament as yet. The reason for this withholding of payment is because the thirteen have not taken their oath of allegiance to the constitution of Sri Lanka. Mr Seneviratne said that they would be entitled to all emoluments once they ended their boycott and took their oath.*

PREMADASA - PRABAHARAN ACCORD

Dear Rani,

Why has President R.Premadasa not yet arranged for a meeting with Prabakaran to discuss the problems of the Sri Lankan Tamils and obtained his views on a possible solution for same? According to news reports he has already met the leaders of certain other "militant" groups. **Kunarajah, West Germany**

A *Your question is particularly interesting in the light of President Premadasa's recent offer to negotiate with the JVP. Not being in the confidence of the President or his advisers, I can only speculate as to the reasons why no meeting has been arranged with Prabakaran. Either President Premadasa does not feel sufficiently threatened to make a move in the direction of negotiating with the LTTE, or conversely he feels that he is not able to negotiate from a position of strength as, contrary to all prognoses, the LTTE has proved more resilient than either the Sri Lankan government or the Indian government had bargained for. My feeling is that so long as the IPKF remains in Tamil Eelam, President Premadasa's confidence, however misguided, in their ability to "maintain peace" will preclude any Premadasa-*

Prabaharan summit. For the sake of Tamil Eelam I hope I am proved wrong.

THE TERMS OF THE PEACE ACCORD

Dear Rani,

One of the clauses of the Sri Lanka-India Peace Accord says that ALL militant groups should lay down (or be made to lay down) their weapons. As far as we can infer, such groups, with the exception of the Tigers, have given up their arms. India therefore took them on to its good books and placed them on the high pedestal by making them members of both the Provincial Council and Parliament. In the process, it is an open secret that India has armed and trained these groups and let them loose to have their own way. The IPKF also connived with them to arrest, torture and kill those opposed to the Accord, irrespective of whether they were LTTE boys or innocent civilians.

Don't you agree with me that the very spirit of the Accord, not to speak of the clauses therein, has been violated? How can the Indian authorities explain this contravention? **Eelavan, Jaffna, Tamil Eelam.**

A *I'm afraid I am going to have to play Devil's Advocate here. Under the circumstances, it was to India's advantage to "buy" out those who laid down their arms. After all it is more convenient to have surrogates do the dirty work. Furthermore, these groups act as a ready scapegoat for India's misdemeanours. From India's point of view, it was in its interests to ensure the groups' loyalty. In all fairness though, India did not "make" them members of the Provincial Council or Parliament as in both cases elections were held though the method in which they were conducted is open to question. There is little doubt in my mind that India has indeed violated the spirit and the letter of the Peace Accord. Whether those who are opposed to the Accord are LTTE "boys" or not, does not give the IPKF or their quislings the licence to arrest, kill, torture or maim. It is hardly the role of*



WORKING IN SRI LANKA

Dear Rani,

I am married to an Englishman who is very keen to live in Sri Lanka as he wants to get to know my country. It does not seem possible that we can live in Jaffna at present which is where I would like to be. We are thinking of working in Colombo for the present. Do you think we will have any problems? **Renuka Stevens, Maidenhead.**

A *I am not quite certain what you mean by whether you will have any problems. From an employment point of view, my understanding is that your husband will not be permitted to work at least for the first year. A foreigner married to a Sri Lankan woman is now entitled to a one year resident visa. After a year in residence, the husband may apply for Sri Lankan citizenship. In effect this means that a wife is expected to maintain her husband if she wishes to reside with him in Sri Lanka. I suggest that you contact the Sri Lankan High Commission for clarification particularly if you are no longer a Sri Lankan citizen.*

REVEAL THYSELF

Dear Rani,

Is Rani your real name? Also which part of Sri Lanka are you from? I am curious. **Sita, Long Beach, New York, USA**

A *I really wonder whether my name or place of birth is of any consequence. However, to satisfy your curiosity, I do not have a "real" name as such in that I have been called by various names - not all of them complimentary - at various times. Rani is one of them. As for my origins, suffice to say that I am from Tamil Eelam.*

THE SITUATION IS FRIGHTENING

Shan, NSW, Australia

Recent events in Sri Lanka seem frightening to the Tamils, contrary to the hopes of many. The continued aerial bombardment of Mullaitivu and the escalation of activities by the heavily deployed Indian army jointly with Sri Lankan soldiers have all dashed the expectations of early return to peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka.

When Mr Jayewardene stepped down and Mr Premadasa, who was opposed to the presence of Indian troops in Sri Lanka, succeeded him, not without a little help from his own 'green tigers' and the tactics of JVP, and by promising to get rid of the Indian troops from Sri Lankan soil, it appeared that the Indian ruler would have had no choice but to withdraw his not too disciplined troops from the North and East. Mr Premadasa was not alone in his quest to rid the Island of Indian troops; most of the Sinhalese leaders of any consequence and the Tamil civilians who bore the brunt of the brutality of the Indian troops, also want it.

During the height of Indian brutality on the Tamils, Mr Gandhi managed to silence the people of Tamil Nadu by a combination of misinformation and other covert actions. Mr Gandhi tried the same approach in the Tamil Nadu elections and lavished his usual false promises on the people of Tamil Nadu. The Tamils didn't believe him and they voted for the DMK instead.

Many eminent Indians have also begun to criticise the presence of Indian troops in Sri Lanka and the atrocities committed by them against the Tamils. Recently General Cariappa, former chief of staff of Indian armed forces, has attacked the continued presence of the Indian troops in the North and East. And yet another Indian, Father Kuttanar, the Jesuit priest from India who visited Jaffna recently, has said, in an interview with the Indian-Pacific Programme of Australian Broadcasting Corporation, that the brutality of Indian troops has now exceeded the atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan troops.

While right-thinking people realise that the Indian military operation in the North and East against the Tamils is a mistake, Mr Gandhi has not heeded their considered advice, and is adamant in continuing the

military solution, thus making one to wonder whether he is prejudiced against Tamils. Or, is he guided by selfish motives or by any other unseen forces? God only knows. The convenient excuse of safe-guarding India's geo-political interests does not hold water any more.

In the long run, the true story of what happened in Sri Lanka will be exposed in India and to the world. India's large minority groups who already feel alienated by Mr Gandhi will not take kindly to his willingness to sacrifice them. In all four south Indian states and some 'Northern' states, for the first time, regional leaders have become more popular than national leaders. This trend is in sharp contrast to the Nehru-Indira period. In fact, Mr Gandhi owes his position and power to Mrs Gandhi's popularity in all the states including the southern states. At the moment this has all changed and he needs to exercise moderation for his own good. Unfortunately, to the detriment of the Tamils, he does not seem to have realised this.

On the other hand, the Sinhalese who will benefit from the Indian intervention are suspicious of Indian motives for good reasons, and therefore they will not be grateful to India. In fact, the success of JVP and Mr Premadasa in winning popular support among Sinhalese is due to their anti-Indian stand. India's 'carrot for Sinhalese and stick for Tamils' policy has obviously not worked with the Sinhalese.

However, India now seems to have prevailed on Mr Premadasa, who previously had been calling on India to withdraw her troops immediately, to drop his usual anti-Indian rhetoric, by offering a lot more 'carrots'. If recent joint attacks by Indian and Sri Lankan troops are a guide to go by, one can assume that the latest Indian carrot to Mr Premadasa is a promise to devastate the Tamils and Tigers before they leave, so that the Tamils will never raise their head again.

Mr Amirthalingam, our former leader, and Mr Varatharaja Perumal, our India-imposed Chief Minister, seem to be condoning the violence committed by the Indians. There is a news blackout in the international media especially regarding the atrocities committed on Tamil civilians.

Now smiling, Mr Premadasa, with all his recent successes in his bag, has set out to take the next logical step of building bridges with countries like Pakistan, Japan, China and many others, whom he expects will act as a bulwark against any future Indian intervention. It all looks frightening for the Tamils. Let us hope that by some miracle we will be able to see the light at the end of the tunnel.

EELAM TAMILS SALUTES A NOBLE INDIAN



"The history of India and of many countries of Europe have demonstrated that there can be no stable equilibrium in any country so long as an attempt is made to crush a minority."

Jawaharlal Nehru

Sri Lanka: Case study of a Disaster

continued from page 4

extremists denounced the Accord as a treasonous sellout and rallied Sinhalese support with appeals to anti-Indian patriotism. Furious, the Tigers struck at Indian army posts in northern Sri Lanka in the first phase of a new insurgency that persists to this day. Some 800 Indian soldiers have died at the hands of the Tigers. India still has 100,000 troops and paramilitary forces committed to the Sri Lankan operation, yet it has failed to put down the guerrillas. The simmering conflict may not be India's Vietnam, but it provides the lesson for New Delhi that even an emerging superpower must recognise its limits. [Courtesy: *Time International* - April 3, 1989]

A TAMIL ALTERNATIVE ?

In spite of the indignant language in which it is couched, the stated objection of Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, to the visit of Mr Varadaraja Perumal to India, may well have been merely for the record. While Mr Wijeratne may have felt personally affronted that the Chief Minister of the North-Eastern Province briefed Indian leaders, including Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in clear violation of established procedures, it is unlikely that the matter will create fresh complications in bilateral relations. For one, it is necessary for Colombo to simulate a degree of antagonism towards the EPRLF-dominated provincial council, if only to remove prevailing Tamil fears that the Ministry holds office on sufferance. Moreover, President Premadasa's Government is also anxious to remove Sinhalese fears that it has forgotten its pre-election promises and is now settling down to a cosy relationship of political dependence on India. The objections to New Delhi's breach of diplomatic norms in this matter may, therefore, be a useful instrument to raise the political temperature in preparation for the hard negotiations over the draft bilateral treaty that is expected to establish greater "reciprocity" in Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

But while Colombo has its own imperatives, it is not certain what either New Delhi or the EPRLF can hope to gain from Mr Perumal's visit. The fact that the provincial Chief Minister left Sri Lanka on an Indian aircraft, was given access to high Indian officials, and felt no compunction about seeking economic assistance for his province may fuel Tamil fears of a puppet regime in their midst. This view may have been further strengthened on Friday when Mr Perumal asserted that the IPKF should remain in Sri Lanka. The proposal for the establishment of an armed volunteer force, along the lines of the notorious Home Guards, will also create fresh apprehensions of renewed internecine warfare among the Tamil groups which can only be said to benefit India. Nor can Mr Perumal's meeting with the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu or the

EPRLF's proposal to enter into a dialogue with the LTTE ideologue, Mr Anton Balasingham, in London, be said to be evidence of a fresh start. While the DMK chief is not over-enthusiastic about endorsing Mr Perumal's administration, the LTTE will probably view the London initiative as evidence of the EPRLF's desperation to acquire a modicum of legitimacy.

In short, it would seem that the bid to create a new political alternative to the LTTE among the Sri Lankan Tamils has made no significant headway. Last month's parliamentary election was an indication that the LTTE continues to hold emotional sway over the Tamils and that there is an absence of popular faith in the

Indo-Sri Lankan accord. The problem is compounded by the growing appeal of antagonistic nationalisms among Tamils and the Sinhalese, a development that can hardly be said to be favourable to rational dialogue. Perhaps the withdrawal of the IPKF could undermine the JVP's political appeal in the southern districts, but **there is no cause for overall optimism so long as the official machinery in the Tamil areas is firmly in the hands of a group that clearly does not enjoy any significant measure of popular confidence. As time runs out for the Indo-Sri Lankan accord, the island seems to be heading for a fresh conflict.** [Courtesy - *The Sunday Statesman* (Calcutta) - March 26, 1989]

BURNT ALIVE

Kandiah Kanapathipillai Vinayagamoorthy (27) and Ambikaipahan Anapayan (21), security guards at the Leisure Investments Amusement Arcade in Soho (central London), were tied up, doused with petrol and set alight in the basement strongroom of the arcade, allegedly by robbers, on the night of Sunday, April 2.



K.K. Vinayagamoorthy of Kilinochchi and A. Anapayan of Kokuvil

Vinayagamoorthy and Anapayan were refugees from the horrors of the civil war in Tamil Eelam, and had sought asylum in Britain in May 1985. They were exemplary young men, quiet and studious, sharing a flat in 7 Weston Park, Crouch End, London N8.

The police have arrested five people in connection with these brutal killings.

"No arts, no letters, no society,

And what is worst of all,

Continued fear and danger of violent death:

And the life of man, solitary,

Poor, nasty, brutish and short."

EELAM thoughts

Kurushetran

(Part 1 of this article appeared in Vol 2 No 6)

The root cause for this continuous suffering of the Eelam Tamils was first - the inability of the Sri Lankan Sinhala State to recognise an existential truth that the Tamils could lay claim to be a nation in their own right; second - having been compelled to recognise it, persistent Sinhala unwillingness to accept it. The fact that the earlier Tamil leadership did not press the claim, either at the time the British colonialists left the island (as Jinnah did in India), or even for some years after, did not mean that the claim did not exist. It simply meant that the claim was not made. Looking back now, that should stand to the credit of the Tamils, their good sense, and willingness to place their trust on the Sinhala majority. But that trust was soon squandered by Sinhala leadership, through a series of discriminatory laws aimed both against the plantation Tamils of Indian origin as well as the indigenous Tamils, and through State-sponsored Sinhala colonisation of traditional Tamil-majority areas. By trying to equate their own ethnic-religious identity (Sinhala Buddhist) with the national identity, and thereby excluding the Tamils from a common sense of belonging, the Sinhalese themselves triggered the mechanism that led to the birth of Tamil nationalism. May be, some day history will record that if Sinhala myopia led to the demand for Tamil Eelam, it was Sinhala intransigence that made it an accomplished fact.

Once the rationale for a separate Tamil identity was articulated, tentatively at first by the Federal Party under the leadership of S J V Chelvanayakam, more forcibly by men like C Suntharalingam (an Oxford-educated ex-Professor of Mathematics) and V Navaratnam (then MP for Kayts and a leading theoretician of the Federal Party) and finally Mr Chelvanayakam himself as leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front, in unequivocal

THE INEVITABILITY OF TAMIL EELAM - 2

terms, what was once an existential concept began to assume the dynamics of a historical process. There are several academics (particularly in India), political commentators and journalists who are unable to visualise a future Tamil Eelam, either because they fail to see the Eelam struggle in terms of past historical determinism or because they lack a futuristic sense.

Some even go along with the popular tendency in confusing it with Prabakaran's guns, little realising that Prabakaran himself, with or without guns, is the by-product of an unrelenting historical process. His is the aggressive crystallisation of a 40-year Tamil search for self-esteem and a distinct identity. Whether he gets killed or remains alive, it does not make a difference to the continuous thrust of history. When he is accused of "intransigence", repeated parrot-like by journalists who are in a hurry to catch the copy deadline, or by politicians who find it a useful word to close all thought on the man, it is not realised that it is this "intransigence" that makes all the difference between politics and a liberation struggle.

Granted the unhealthy reality that in Asian societies, unlike in the West, politicians earn media space highly disproportionate to their real worth, it would be unwise to take their perceptions and pronouncements on public affairs too seriously. There is hardly any politician around who is blessed with a sense of history, or has the capacity to see his way through the logic of historical changes. Panoplied in power, surrounded by sycophants, propped up by their egos, and vaingloriously dependent on the trappings of office and state authority and military machines, they hug the belief that they are men who make history, and spread that illusion among the vast mass of an uncritical public. But that is not true. For example, **the course of Sri Lankan history these past few years was shaped not by all-powerful Executive Presidents, the Jayewardenes and Premadasas, but by a young man hailing from a small coastal village in Jaffna, who carries a price of Rs. 1 million on his head,**

and whose domain is the jungle. But for Prabakaran there would have been no need for ex-president Jayewardene to go shopping for arms in the West, or offend Indian sensitivity about her strategic interests in the region. But for Prabakaran there would have been no Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. And but for his blocking up the entire Sri Lankan military resources and intelligence and the government pre-occupation in the North-East over a period of several years, the JVP could not have built itself up into the terrifying force it is today in the South - changing the Sinhala man's history as well.

The Tamil demand for separate statehood cannot be readily understood except in terms of an evolving process of history. The demand for Tamil Eelam was not a sudden whim; it was the culmination of a historical experience dating back to the "elite politics" during British rule. The tip of the Eelam iceberg could well go back to the early years of the present century. The following paragraphs written by the well-known Sinhala historian K M de Silva will help to offer an insight into the very beginnings of Tamil discontent:-

"The first president of the Ceylon Reform League was Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, whose standing in the country made him the obvious choice for the post; the intention clearly was to give the post of president a prestige which only he could have conferred on it. Indeed in the years 1917 to 1921 the leadership in the agitation for constitutional reform was in Arunachalam's hands as was the movement for the formation of a Ceylon National Congress. During this period his prestige was at its height; his leadership was ungrudgingly acknowledged by the most prominent Sinhalese of the day, and was not seriously challenged till 1921. What distinguished elite politics in Ceylon in the first two decades of the twentieth century from succeeding decades was the harmony that prevailed between the Sinhalese and the Tamil leadership. In the political jargon of the day there were two majority communities, the Sinhalese and Tamils, and the minorities were the smaller groups. The situation

changed fundamentally after 1922 when instead of two majority communities and the minorities, there was one majority community - the Sinhalese - the Tamils now regarding themselves increasingly as a minority community. It has remained so ever since." (A History of Sri Lanka, K M de Silva, Oxford Press, 1981)

The last sentence *It has remained so ever since*, should be put down as a lapse into carelessness on the part of Prof. de Silva. The Tamils stopped thinking of themselves as a minority community years before the book was written. Possibly Prof. de Silva was too close to history to realise the assertion of Tamil nationhood, or again it may be illustrative of the premise that we mentioned at the beginning of this article - Sinhala unwillingness to accept it.

That even a man like Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, who unlike his equally distinguished brother Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan considered a "radical" and a "nationalist", was forced to turn to "communal politics" was unfortunate enough; but it marked the beginnings

of Tamil disenchantment with Sinhala intentions. It also saw the first instance in recent history of Sinhala leaders going back on a written agreement - long before Bandaranaike tore up the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact or Dudley Senanayake confessing his inability to stand by the Dudley-Chelva agreement in the fifties and sixties. A written agreement by Sinhala leaders James Pieris and E W Samarawickreme undertaking to give a special seat for the Tamils in the western province in December 1918 was quickly dishonoured. This undertaking was crucial in getting the support of the Jaffna Association in the formation of the Ceylon National Congress. Arunachalam who had "negotiated this settlement and thrown the full weight of his prestige behind it" had his confidence in the Sinhala leaders shattered, when the public disavowal of the pledge came, and he quit the very National Congress that he founded. Well-meaning political innocents who yet keep asking the Tamils "Why don't you negotiate with the Sinhala majority and learn to live in peace?" have to remember that **there is no instance**

in history where the Sinhalese leaderships have ever honoured a negotiated settlement or a written agreement with the Tamils. History has come full circle and today we find that the Sri Lankan Sinhala leadership is exhibiting the same "going back" symptoms in implementing the provisions of a written agreement entered, mind you, not with the Tamils, but with the head of a neighbouring government. This criticism does not come from this writer or from Prabakaran. The Chief Minister of the (temporarily merged) northeast provincial council, installed in authority by India herself, sounds like a panicmonger when he says "everything will collapse" if the Sri Lanka government does not drop its "intransigent" attitude on the question of devolution of powers under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. One does not know what he means by "everything", but the northeast administration that he heads certainly shows every sign of collapsing, unless New Delhi and the IPKF manage to shore him up for some more time.

(To be continued)

உலகத்தமிழர் கலாச்சார மன்றத்தின் ஆதரவில்

K. J. யேசுதாஸ், சுஜாதா

இணைந்து வழங்கும்

இன்னிசை இரவு

ரொரன்ரோவில்

இடம்

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
OF COMMERCE
570 SHAW ST., TORONTO

காலம்

May 21, 1989

ஞாயிற்றுக்கிழமை

மாலை 6:30

தொடர்புக்கு 461-5991



மொன்றியாலில்

இடம்

6590 St Dennis
JEAN - TALON
Metro

காலம்

May 22, 1989

திங்கட்கிழமை

மாலை 6:30

தொடர்புக்கு 344 3993

FROM THE MEDIA

SRI LANKA'S REACTION

The Globe and Mail's Bryan Johnson has been told that his reporting from Sri Lanka has offended President Ranasinghe Premadasa. Mr Johnson and his family, who have lived in the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo for the past 17 months, have been ordered to leave.

In the course of Sri Lankan election coverage last fall, Mr Johnson produced two carefully researched articles discussing the humble origins of presidential candidate Premadasa. Mr Premadasa was born to a washerman's family in the slums of Colombo. For the benefit of a Canadian readership not well acquainted with the Sri Lankan caste system, Mr Johnson offered a detailed description of the social and political implications of Mr Premadasa's meteoric rise and of the difficulties he still faced.

Mr Johnson also noted that the topic went unmentioned in the Sri Lankan press. Public talk about caste was taboo. After his articles appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, Mr Johnson was told that by breaking the silence -

even in a Canadian newspaper - he had earned Mr Premadasa's enmity.

On January 2 Mr Premadasa was sworn in as the President of Sri Lanka, the first member of his caste to have won such prominence in the 2,500-year recorded history of the island. Within three months, he dramatically expressed his displeasure with the *Globe* correspondent. With just eight days' notice, Mr Johnson and his family have been expelled from the country.

By their nature, newspapers deal with controversial and complex matters and sometimes give offence. For that reason, any newspaper with integrity scrupulously corrects errors and provides an open platform for readers to express their views. The officials of many governments have made use of *The Globe and Mail's* letters column to chastise this newspaper's reporters and editorial writers. The result is debate which enriches public knowledge. This is how a free press operates in a democracy, promoting engagement, dial-

ogue, the clarification of views and greater understanding.

The Government of Sri Lanka did not respond by engaging in debate. There were no letters of complaint from that quarter to put before the public. Criticisms from Sri Lankans in Canada who wrote as private citizens were speedily published. Even then, no suggestion was made that Mr Johnson's reporting suffered from factual errors or even misinterpretations of Sri Lankan culture or traditions. Mr Premadasa chose disengagement, silence, continuing misunderstanding and arbitrariness.

Sri Lankans braved the threats of terrorists to stage free and fair elections. We applauded last December the courage of political candidates and voters who stood up to the gunmen and put their lives on the line to keep Sri Lanka free. How troubling that the newly elected president has so casually begun to undermine those freedoms that democracies are sworn to maintain. [Courtesy - *The Globe and Mail* (Editorial) - 31.3.89]

JAFFNA JOURNAL

Robert Cutinha

[The author, Secretary of Jesuit Refugee Service, India, who visited Jaffna recently, incognito, narrates his experiences of the situation there, not publicised by the Indian media]

The 400 kilometre journey from Colombo to Jaffna in the north, lasted 16 hours, with one halt for refreshments. The bus arrived at 3.00 a.m near Vavuniya, the gateway into Eelam territory from Colombo. However, it had to wait for the curfew to be lifted at dawn.

At dawn and after some traffic hassles, the bus headed for Jaffna. It was searched twenty times along the way. All had to get out of the bus, allow themselves and their baggage to be searched, trudge another half kilometre along the road past the Indian soldiers preening their loaded weapons and then board the bus again.

Along the route some IPKF personnel were blown up. In this case there was a drastic change in the security ritual. People passing that

point, whether on foot or in vehicles, without exception, had to run a kilometre, with hands raised above the heads and prodded by the sticks and rifles of the heroes of the fourth largest army in the world.

Dusk to dawn curfew is common menu for the citizens of Jaffna. But curfew can come even during the day, whenever the IPKF feels jittery. Permanent road blocks abound, disfiguring what otherwise must have been a charming town. Many places in the town are out of bounds for the citizens. The telephones are hardly working and the mail arrives once or twice a week under escort.

The armed Indian soldiers patrol round the clock. The city still shows signs of the fierce battles between the IPKF and the militants. Although armed soldiers are everywhere, the

militants still call the shots. They allow the banks to function only thrice and the Secretariat only once in the week.

During the 2-day stay in Jaffna it was possible to meet the Vicar General of the Jaffna diocese, an Anglican pastor, a retired professor of the University of Jaffna, principals of colleges, sympathisers of the 'boys' (a term of endearment for the militants), an activist tortured in an IPKF camp, also a parent whose son was picked up in the night by the IPKF because it is curfew hours and no one can move out looking for help.

It is now believed by all that India miscalculated the determination of the militants. It does not call for any military genius, even though India abounds in generals and not geniuses, to understand that no seasoned guer-

illa group will hand itself over to the generals on a platter. Therefore, it does not seem far-fetched to suggest that this miscalculation was permitted as a price to be paid by India for securing the rating as *numero uno* in the region.

This suggestion seems justified by the 'pragmatism' displayed by the IPKF in recent months. This manifests itself in the training and the use of "rival Tamil guerrillas (primarily EPRLF, TELO, ENDLF) as proxies, arming them and licensing their habit of 'taxing' travellers and raiding homesteaders" (*Asiaweek* of Oct.28, 1988). And it is commonplace to see the officers of these groups and the IPKF civil liaison functioning side-by-side in many towns including Jaffna.

The two outstanding victims of this pragmatism were the chairmen of the Citizens Committees of Jaffna and Batticaloa. Both were shot dead by the proxy groups, as attested by unimpeachable persons.

Further, the IPKF ensured that only the IPKF-approved candidates of these proxy groups could file nominations in the five out of the eight districts in the newly created North-eastern province. "Consequently, these groups have bagged without contest 36 seats in the 71-member North-eastern Provincial Council. That meant they had clinched five out of the eight districts up for grabs" (*Asiaweek* Oct.28, 1988). Hence there is a genuine fear that this broker's role by the IPKF may usher in a government of puppets and sycophants of the Indians in the Tamil homeland.

Hence the miscalculation theory does not wash. It is a deception to conceal the nascent regional ambitions of New Delhi fuelled by an inflated estimate of the country's economic, political and military clout.

Whatever the real politik that has landed the Indian jawan in this soup, he remains a total misfit in the ambience of Eelam. The cultural, economic, social and educational level of Jaffna cannot escape the notice of an Indian who is alive to the reality at home. Literacy is almost total, whereas India's literacy after four decades of independence still stagnates between 40-50%.

It was interesting to notice that the

militants allowed the schools to function, whereas in India closing schools is a perennial occupation for many. Even village schools in Eelam have a neat appearance and are attended by children in neat uniforms, unlike the miserable picture of many village school children in India. Children do not go after cattle care, which seems to be the reason for begetting children in the villages in India. It is also to be noted that Sri Lanka's per capita GNP is £400 compared with India's £260. (*Asiaweek*, 28 Oct. 1988).

Compare this with the misery, deprivation, illiteracy, social fragmentation and feudalism that is endemic to the cow-belt of India which provides the brawn of the IPKF. It is a tailor-made situation for behaving like beggars on horseback!

It is constantly reminded that **"the fourth largest army in the world" cannot come unstuck in Eelam.** This predicament is too much of a psychological stress to the ordinary IPKF jawan who is operating under a siege mentality. Therefore, the loot, rape, tortures and other atrocities on the people in the guise of containing insurgency provide some comfort and compensation to the battered *macho* of the IPKF.

The people-bashing IPKF has also inflicted great ecological damage to the region. Hundreds of coconut and other useful trees have been felled to provide the 'peace-keepers' unhindered view into the interior from the roads. The IPKF are indulging in harassing psychologically, if not

physically, school-going children. These children are stopped and searched at the whims and fancies of the soldiers flourishing their rifles. The children walk away in fear, unable to grasp anything of it. Of course, the message, through this intimidation of the children, to the families is clear: "Beware! Behave yourselves, or else....! Big Brother is watching!"

The young do not know when there will be a knock in the night by the IPKF. Pregnant women approaching the time of their delivery are not sure whether they would get medical assistance because of the curfew during which only guns speak. Amidst this turmoil of minds and hearts, the armed Indian patrol has acquired notoriety for their knee-jerk reactions which spell death. It is indeed the darkest hour for a resourceful people who feel totally betrayed by India.

But it can also be sensed that deep within them there is a sense of pride that a handful of people have put the 80,000 soldiers of the fourth largest army in the world on the defensive. In this no-win situation, it can only be hoped that statesmanship will prevail and the IPKF will be brought home. India does not have to be the Big Brother to Eelam people who are resourceful enough to manage themselves.

As a footnote, it is worth recording a comment heard in Tamil Nadu: **"Because of the Eelam Tamils, Indian Tamils can walk head held high in Delhi!" Is anyone listening ???** [Courtesy - Jivan - February, 1989]

IF THE WAR HAS ENDED, WHY ARE SO MANY DYING?

(Barbara Crossette in *The New York Times*, March 9, 1989)

The arid Jaffna peninsula, the centre of Sri Lankan Tamil culture and once the seat of independent Tamil kings, is living under foreign military occupation, breeding new tensions to replace those that brought the soldiers here.

The troops are Indian, part of a peace-keeping force charged nearly 18 months ago with disarming Tamil guerrillas whose separatist battle with Colombo had carried an increasingly destructive five-year war to Jaffna, the rebels' stronghold.

Indian troops are now not only the target of the Tigers, but also the focus of bitter criticism in Jaffna, where

flattened houses and disrupted families still bear witness to an Indian siege in October 1987. Residents accuse the Indians of a variety of crimes from looting to assault.

The Tigers, almost unbelievably, have not lost public sympathy despite their terrorist tactics and the destruction that came in their wake. Over and over again, a visitor to Jaffna hears the Tigers complimented for "never letting us down." Quietly, the Tigers are still a presence in Jaffna town, in villages elsewhere on the peninsula and on surrounding islands. If Indians control the roads by day, Tigers have the

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PEOPLE AND EVENTS

Mahakavi's "PUTHIYATHORU VEEDU"

Staged by **KALARI Theatre Movement - An appreciation**

Mahakavi's *Puthiyathoru Veedu*, a village-type drama was staged on 18 March at the Lewisham Civic Centre by **Kalari**, a Theatre Movement. The aim of this Movement is to foster Naattukooththu, a feature of the fine arts of the Tamils. The drama was set in the background of a fishing village which had seen several changes within a period of a few years.

This drama was written by the late Rudramoorthy of Alaveddy under the pen-name of *Mahakavi*. Apart from the other characters who acted as the colleagues of Maayan and who formed the chorus on the stage, the interesting and notable character was Kannaaththai, a widow in the village. Typical of the village scene she was a helper to Mayili and also a gossip-monger who was partly responsible for the marriage of young Mayili with Maasilan. The characters of Mannavan, Maayan's 10-year old son and Maraikkaadar who advocated and finally brought about this marriage were well portrayed by the actors. A short dance sequence in the form of *Kummi* was also introduced in the scene of the wedding of Mayili with Maasilan.

The drama was ably directed by A Tarcisius, a theatre personality who has already directed a few other dramas in London. There were no accompaniments other than the Miruthangam, organ and a drum. Dramatic art should try to portray the life of the community. This drama is an attempt in this direction and it has been well done. It is expected that **Kalari** will bring forth more productions in the future.

SEMINAR ON TAMIL REFUGEES

A one day Legal Consultative Meeting of Tamil Refugee Action Group (TRAG) was held on March 31, 1989 at the Camden Town Hall. The meeting was designed to expose the half-asleep Tamil refugees in Great Britain to the most recent changes in the British Immigration Act and to create an awakening in them as to how the racist and discriminatory immigration procedures operate and

how their lawful claims for asylum are thereby affected. The meeting was also aimed at devising ways and means of helping the hapless refugees to take appropriate steps in presenting their cases in the correct angle.

It was a remarkable meeting which assumed the pattern of a seminar with sixty-five asylum seekers joining in enthusiastically. The number of participants was restricted so that each participant could receive proper attention and advice from the legal experts on matters relating to refugees.

Mr Philip Rudge, one of the distinguished speakers, spoke on the European developments affecting asylum seekers and highlighted the discriminatory acts of European nations that are signatories to the Geneva Convention. **Mr David Burgess**, an ardent supporter of the Tamils and their just struggle, explained eloquently the rights of Tamil refugees. As the legal representative of many a Tamil asylum seeker he picturesquely painted the attitudes of the British Courts of Justice and expressed his fears regarding the future of Tamil refugees who have been given only temporary admission by the Immigration officials at the airport.

Whereas Mr Burgess confined himself to the attitudinal problems of the British Judiciary and its stance in relation to Tamil Refugee issues, Mr Chris Randal elaborated on the practical aspects of the problems an asylum seeker would encounter in relation to his application.

Individual consultation with experienced case-workers took place during the evening session. The consensus of the gathering was that it was a rewarding surgery. There was a lively panel discussion which preceded the surgery and Jane Coker, Sue Shutter, and Ingrid Southerland and a representative from the UKIAS answered the several questions put to them. The panel did not hesitate to condemn the successive pieces of legislation by which the conventional rights of asylum seekers have been gradually watered down and whittled away.

It was made clear to the participants that the problems are part and parcel of the Tamil national liberation struggle and that without the active participa-

tion of the Tamil community it would not be possible to create an awakening within the complacent international community.

May we hope that TRAG will often convene meetings and seminars of similar nature.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

CONFERENCE

PUBLIC MEETING

"Tamil Eelam, India and Sri Lanka: The future of Tamil Nationalism"

SPEAKERS: V. Gopalsamy, K. Veeramani, A.P. Venkateswaran, K.P. Unnikrishnan, P. Upendra, Sunad Datta Ray, Karen Parker and several others.

VENUE: Brent Town Hall, Forty Lane, Wembley (Tube: Jubilee & Metropolitan)

DATE & TIME: 1st May, commencing 2.00 pm

ALL ARE WELCOME

TAMIL NEW YEAR CELEBRATIONS

of Northern Tamil Association

VENUE: Longsight Community Hall, Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester

DATE: Saturday 22nd April,

Tamil Union of Herts presents:

PLAY: KALADDA KALYANAM

DANCE: BHARATHA NATYAM

in aid of Herts Tamil School.

VENUE: Copland School, Cecil Ave Wembley, (Tube: Wembley Central)

DATE: Saturday, May 13, 7pm

DETAILS: Phone (01)952 3017

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

3.5.89 Pirathosha Viratham

5.5.89 Amaavaasai Viratham

6.5.89 Kaarthikai Utsavam

8.5.89 Chathurthi Utsavam

10.5.89 Sashdi Viratham

18.5.89 Pirathosha Viratham

20.5.89 Pournami

20.5.89 Vaikasi Visakam

23.5.89 Thirugnanasambanthar Poojah

THANTHAI CHELVA

By M K Eelaventhan

Samuel James Velupillai Chelvanayakam, whose birth anniversary falls on 31st March, was the undisputed leader of Lanka's Tamils: loved, adored and admired by all the Tamils, as well as Sinhalese, irrespective of their political affiliations.

Many leaders have been respected and admired, but only a few have been venerated. Thanthai Chelva, as he is affectionately called, ranks foremost among them. Politics is a dirty game but he purified it to a very great extent. When many politicians formulated policies to suit the next election, Chelva acted in a manner that would give a lasting solution even for future generations. He was a leader who could not be bought over for the plums of office. A leader must lead and never be led. In keeping with this concept he led the Tamil masses. He was always conscious of the aspirations of the masses.

Chelva entered politics in his late forties, in 1947. His hold on the Tamil masses and the respect he earned from non-Tamils and his political opponents continued undiminished. The Sinhala political parties and the Sinhalese masses, though opposed to his political philosophy, felt his continued presence necessary to prevent Tamil 'extremists' taking an upper hand. The Tamil youth who were determined to resort to desperate remedies to seek a solution to the basic problems facing them, respected his advice though they might not have fully endorsed his faith in non-violence. His sincerity in politics was never doubted even by his worst opponents and the Tamil youths remember with deep gratitude his political vision and prophecy. If he had not taken to politics, not only the rights of the Tamils but even the Tamils themselves as an entity would have ceased to exist.

Chelva stood for a federal constitution as the ideal solution for the multi-lingual and multi-national problems facing the country. He pursued this policy with the sincere hope of changing the hearts of the Sinhalese leaders. After repeated disappointments over talks and pacts he



had with successive Sinhala Governments, he came to the irrevocable decision of having a sovereign Tamil state as the only solution left for the Tamils. For Chelva it was a very painful decision knowing quite well the consequences that would flow from implementing it. Very often in his public pronouncements he said that freedom for the Tamils would not be offered on a silver tray, and that the Tamils must be prepared to undergo untold sufferings in the process of which they may even have to face death.

Chelva was by no stretch of imagination an orator. His concern was more for the content of the words than for their beauty. When he spoke in an inaudible feeble voice measuring each word and pausing in between words, the audience tuned their ears to grasp the meaning of what he said because each word he uttered conveyed deep and profound thoughts. Where brilliant orators and legal luminaries could not succeed, he succeeded immeasurably.

In his personal life he was simple, as revealed in his residence at Tellipalai, Jaffna, and his rented residence in Colombo. Anybody could meet him at any time and explain his problems. In Sri Lanka many enter politics with little wealth but amass it during their political career. Chelva's career was just the reverse. As a leading civil lawyer he was very wealthy when he entered politics but at the time of his death he had very little.

That speaks volumes for the enor-

mous sacrifice he had made for the cause he championed.

Chelva was extremely careful in choosing his words, leaning more on the side of understatement than overstatement. It was often said that he used Biblical language. At the negotiating table, he was a hard bargainer who never yielded on fundamentals. The B-C pact was a classic example of his grasp of the essentials. Though Chelva was very often compared with Gandhi for his political honesty, it would not be wrong to compare him with Jinnah for his grit and determination and for his unyielding attitude on fundamental issues. Typical of an able civil lawyer, he knew how and where he should lay the stress.

Among the Tamil leaders only a very few have emphasised the preservation of the traditional homeland as an essential ingredient for the survival of the Tamil community. Chelva excelled among them: "What the body is to a soul is the land to a linguistic group." It is necessary for its self-expression. This undeniable truth was repeatedly emphasised by Chelva, and the Tamils are now much more conscious of this issue than any other issue that is facing them.

Chelva was a rare phenomenon in Ceylon politics. Whether anyone agreed with his political philosophy or not it is readily accepted that his impact is permanent in the politics of Sri Lanka. Chelva was essentially a man of peace. He liked to find solutions to problems in a peaceful manner. But, he wanted peace with honour. He was a political prophet, nay a messiah, who had shown the promised land to the Tamils. It is now left to the Tamils to achieve it and for the Sinhalese brothers to readily concede and prove to the world that they believe and practise the Buddha Dhamma in its purest form. To quote the apt words of Rt. Rev. D J Ambalavaner, Bishop of Jaffna, "Mr Chelvanayakam died like Moses himself, without reaching the promised land, but the vision he saw he leaves behind as the heritage and challenge to his people."

REFERENDUM - THE LAST AND THE MOST DANGEROUS POLL - Mervyn de Silva

One more election to go - the referendum, moment of maximum danger. With an encouraging 64% turnout, a spirited Sri Lankan bought some desperately needed time for what is widely regarded as an embattled, if not doomed, democracy. At the same time, however, the Tamil voters, seem to have placed a time-bomb under the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord. The significant difference in Tamil voting between the North and the East, and the communal voting pattern - Tamil, Muslim and Sinhala - in the East gives cause for serious concern in the coming months. The timing device on the bomb indicates that the explosion is likely on or after July 5, the date fixed by President JR for the eastern province referendum which will decide whether the present North-East merger should continue.

The North voted 'Independents' meaning EROS, which has maintained friendly ties with the LTTE. The 'Independents' it is said includes some well-known LTTE sympathisers. The East however, favoured the EPRLF contesting under the TULF banner. The EROS won more seats (13) than the TULF (10). And it was EROS that refused to take an oath under the Sri Lanka constitution and left its 13 seats unoccupied when President Premadasa addressed Parliament on the 9th. EROS or rather its political wing Eelavar Democratic Front told the President it wants the 6th Amendment removed. When it was rushed through Parliament in August 1983, soon after the vicious anti-Tamil riots, even the strongly parliamentary TULF said "No", left the House, and then to exile in Madras.

President Premadasa played it smart. Come to parliament, state your case, and the other opposition parties may also welcome the withdrawal of the 6th amendment which requires every MP to renounce separatism. There won't be any problem of 2/3 majority, what with the UNP's 125, EDF's 13 and the TULF's 10.

President Premadasa has cornered the EDF, on that. However the 6th Amendment is NOT the major political issue. The referendum is. And the EDF is not at all happy about a July 5 referendum to decide the fate of the North-east merger. But the Referendum will be held, not only because it is what the Accord requires but because no Sinhala-dominated party can afford to expose itself to the charge that it has acquiesced in a permanent North-east linkage.

And the referendum assigns the Muslims, the smallest of the three communities island-wide but the second largest in the eastern province (33% to the Tamil 42%) the key role in the drama of the Referendum. The Muslims are caught in the middle. Yet the situation, if handled shrewdly, can bring its own rewards since the Muslims hold the balance.

In the East, the Muslims are Tamil-speaking. Elsewhere the Muslims talk fluent Sinhala. The Muslims have lived in peace with the Tamils for a thousand years until the "war", initially confined to the North, moved to the East to make Muslim neutrality a grand illusion. The Sinhala psyche accepts Jaffna (the North) as the Tamil home-land, but not the East. The real problem, though, is economic and contemporary. Successive regimes have sought to satisfy the demands of the land-hungry in the populous Sinhala South by moving settler-colonists to the East where new "virgin" lands have been opened through high-cost irrigation schemes.

Decisive votes

The election results do not hold out much hope for a smooth or, from the Tamil point of view, successful referendum. The Muslims hold the key, or rather, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) a creature of post-accord politics.

The EPRLF has held its own in the East. Yet, the pro-LTTE "independents"

have more MPs. They will set the pace, making stronger demands on land, police powers, money and, of course, the referendum. The EPRLF group will have to keep pace. Together, they will prove troublesome for Mr. Premadasa, embarrass India, and complicate Delhi's relations with its preferred presidential candidate.

Provocative Line

The Tamil line will provoke the SLFP and the Muslim Congress and re-introduce into parliament an acrimonious ethnic debate which stopped after the TULF withdrew in 1983. Convinced that she was "robbed" of victory in December, Mrs Bandaranaike will pounce on this heaven-sent opportunity to clobber President Premadasa who has been accommodating to the North-East council. The fall-out from the heated parliamentary exchange will suit the extra-parliamentary JVP ideally.

Aware of the alternative, the return of the Sri Lankan army, the independents fielded by EROS may not want the IPKF to get off the LTTE's back. Between EROS in the Colombo parliament and DMK in office in Madras, pro-LTTE elements in Jaffna hope to put sufficient pressure on Mr Rajiv Gandhi to declare a ceasefire and re-open negotiations as a prelude to incorporating the "Tigers" in a more representative, and stable Tamil consensus.

A deal with the Muslims, a cartographic re-arrangement, and a troops pull-back from the East are already being discussed in academic circles. The security implications and Indian interests are appreciated. A total Indian pull-out will confront the Sri Lankan army with an impossible two-front war which army commander Lt Gen Wanasinghe has ruled out. But if the "Tigers" have ceased fire, a new Delhi-backed peace keeping force, which will undermine the JVP and defuse tensions in the East, is one possibility. [From *Lanka Guardian*, 15th March 1989]

28 INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED

LTTE fighters confronted the Indian soldiers at 7.30 in the morning on April 6 about one km away from the Indian army camp at Mankulam. The soldiers were moving towards Olumadu on their usual search and destroy operation.

The confrontation which lasted 45 minutes left 26 soldiers and 2 high ranking officers of the Indian army dead. There were no casualties on the LTTE side. Large quantity of arms and ammunition were claimed to have been captured by the LTTE.

3,000 HOUSES FOR THE N-E

The Government Agents, Heads of Depts. and Corporations of the North-East Province met at 7-Islands Hotel, Trincomalee, on Saturday 1st April, for the purpose of programming the rehabilitation of the North and East. This meeting was chaired by Mr Varatharaja Perumal. It was decided to spend Rs.2 million for clearing of debris from the damaged buildings. It was also resolved that 3,000 houses should be built in the 8 districts at a cost of Rs.90 million.

TELO MEMBERS AT DELHI

Leaders of TELO have gone to New Delhi for talks with India's Defence and Foreign Ministers on the rehabilitation of the North and East, Indian assistance to the N-E province, the forthcoming Referendum and the question of security.

CVF RECRUITS TAKE OATH

78 Citizens Volunteer Force recruits have taken their oaths of office before the IPKF Commandant of Vavuniya. They will be carrying out police duties jointly with the Sri Lankan police. No member of the EROS has joined this Force as it is said to be dominated by EPRLF members.

IPKF WILL NOT BE WITHDRAWN TILL N-E IS SECURE - RAJIV

According to All India Radio, Rajiv Gandhi has told the Chief Minister of the N-E Provincial Council that the Indian troops would not be withdrawn from Sri Lanka until the Sri Lankan Government strengthens security in the North and East.

FEDERAL SYSTEM WITHIN 6 MONTHS OR ELSE

Dr Subramaniam Swamy, a leading member of the Indian National Opposition Front, has told 'India Abroad' recently that the Tamils will resuscitate their demand for

independent Tamil Eelam if President Premadasa fails to establish a federal system of government within the next six months. He said that it would now be easier to carry out the campaign successfully as Mr M Karunanidhi has become Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

SEPARATE TAMIL ARMY?

According to Mr Kirupakaran, Finance Minister of the N-E Provincial Council, President Premadasa has approved the formation of a separate Army Unit composed of 6,000 Tamil recruits.

C M, N-E PC, TO EXPLAIN

The Sri Lankan Foreign Ministry has called for a full explanation from Mr Varatharaja Perumal as to why he went to India recently. In reply, Mr Varatharaja Perumal is believed to have refused to comply saying that he saw no reason why he should have to explain.

IPKF USING HEAVY ARTILLERY & BOMBERS

Since March 3, the Indian army is using heavy artillery, helicopter gunships and bomber planes in their attempt to 'flush out' the Tigers. As a result, 300 innocent civilians have been killed and many hundreds injured.

TAMIL FISHERMEN ATTACKED

Tamil fishermen fishing off the coast of Karainagar in Jaffna have been attacked by the Sri Lankan Navy. Several fishermen have been seriously injured. It is reported that the Sri Lankan naval base in Karainagar has been shelled by the Tigers. Casualties are not known.

MUSLIMS SHOT DEAD

Two Muslims, one a Manager of a Bank and the other a Grama Sevaka, have been shot dead by unknown person at Sammanthurai in Batticaloa district.

TWO MORE EROS MPs RESIGN

Two more Members of Parliament from EROS group have submitted their resignations to the Secretary-General of Parliament. They are Mr A P Selliah chosen from the Jaffna District List and Mr M Sundaramoorthy from the National List.

INDIAN MILITARY LEADERS ARRIVE

A General of the Indian Army and a Captain of the Indian Navy have



EELAM NEWS

by the 30,000-strong Indian contingent fighting the Tigers in the Mullaitivu area.

IPKF MEN MENTALLY AFFECTED

The Indian Air Force chief Sunderam has disclosed at a seminar in Bangalore that about 100 IPKF men, including 6 high-ranking officers and 2 junior officers, have become mentally deranged by reason of the 18-month long war in the North-East of Sri Lanka. He also revealed that 386 IPKF men were being treated at the Navy Hospital in Bangalore, for wounds sustained by them in this war.

REGIONAL TV FOR EELAM

Tamil TV viewers, particularly those from Eelam, often complain of poor reception, that not enough programmes are telecast in Tamil, and that they are being deliberately neglected. The authorities claim that Tamil programmes are allotted on the basis of population.

The sensible way to solve this problem is to set up a regional station in the North-Eastern province. There is already the nucleus of such a station at the Palaly Army headquarters, called the 'Channel 3' of the Rupavahini which functions erratically. It was set up soon after the peace accord was signed and was intended to serve the Tamil community.

At present only Tamil feature films are shown on Rupavahini. This station could serve for producing tele-dramas and documentaries with artistes from the Tamil areas and as a centre for training TV technicians. It is also more economical and practical than inviting artistes to Colombo. There is a demand for this from the Tamil people.

SRI LANKAN NEWS

POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMME CURTAILED

The Poverty Alleviation Programme which helped to win the Sri Lankan Presidential election for Mr Premadasa in December was drastically curtailed in the first budget presented in the new parliament by the Finance Minister, Mr D B Wijetunge who is also Prime Minister. A substantial cut in the initial costs of President Premadasa's pet project helped to calm the fears of Sri Lanka's business community of a sharp increase in the inflation rate if it had proceeded unchanged. The project would have cost Rs.42 billion to implement fully.

The budget also included a surcharge on all higher rate taxpayers, and heavy duties on luxury imports such as cars. The Finance Minister also introduced a novel scheme to draw the "black" money into the investment side of the economy. During the next three months, "black" money may be deposited in the National Savings Bank with no questions asked. The depositor will forfeit 20% instantly. The rest can be invested through the bank for the next three years in labour intensive, industrial and agricultural projects.

JVP GOES UPCOUNTRY

It is learnt that handbills have been distributed and posters exhibited in plantation areas in the hill country of Sri Lanka by JVP cadres. It is a threat to security for the people in these areas who do not toe the JVP line.

JVP's DEMANDS

A hartal was organised by the JVP on 5 April 1989, to commemorate the uprising by the JVP in 1971 (on the same date), which was quelled by the Srimavo Bandaranaike Government, where thousands of lives were lost.

PREMADASA RENEWS HIS PLEA

President Premadasa has renewed his appeal to the JVP and the LTTE to join the democratic process and said that they would be given seats in Parliament if they laid down their arms. If they accept, the seats for these groups would have to come from the UNP list of 125. He also said that if these militants gave up violence and came forward for discussion, he would open 200 centres throughout the island for conducting negotiations with them. He called

them to agree to an exchange of views on their grievances with the objective of working out solutions to those grievances. LTTE has indicated that they are not fighting for seats in parliament.

CEASEFIRE AND AMNESTY

President Premadasa has said that there would be an unconditional ceasefire and a grant of amnesty to the JVP effective from April 12; and the IPKF would be asked to consider similar terms for the LTTE. Any improvement in the present situation is unlikely as no solution to the problem has been placed before the parties concerned.

GOLD SMUGGLED IN AIR LANKA PLANE

Sri Lankan Customs officials have detected 120 slabs of gold worth Rs.6 million smuggled into the country in an Air Lanka aircraft which had flown from UK via Dubai. Six Air Lanka employees are said to have been taken into custody in this connection.

DIGs RETIRED PREMATURELY

6 Sri Lankan Deputy Inspector-Generals of Police have been retired by the government prematurely. They are suspected of having supported the Opposition SLFP during the last general election.

FRIENDSHIP TREATY WILL NOT REPLACE ACCORD

The Treaty of Friendship which Sri Lanka is seeking to enter into with India will not replace the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, it is learnt. The key element of this Treaty is "reciprocity." The draft Treaty is aimed at replacing the text of the annexures, particularly the provisions relating to the use of Trincomalee harbour and the Voice of America broadcasting facilities in Sri Lanka.

BUDGET IN THE RED

Sri Lanka's trade deficit widened to Rs.23.8 billion (£416 million) last year from Rs.20.5 billion in 1987. The journal "Economist", commenting on the recent Sri Lankan budget for 1989/90 said to be Rs.72 billion in the red, states that keeping the election promise of alleviating poverty costing about Rs.42 billion means "printing money" which would be "worthless"; and the government's obstinacy "reckless." The journal concludes that prices look like "running riot" unless

Mr Premadasa's budget is "the beneficiary of a miracle."

SRI LANKAN GETS LIFE SENTENCE

A Sri Lankan, one Chandra L Nagasinghe, has been sentenced to life imprisonment at the Old Bailey in London for the murder of another Sri Lankan Sisira Gunaratne. It appears that Nagasinghe, who is the son of a retired Colonel in the Joint Operations Command of Sri Lanka, was engaged in large-scale drug-trafficking in London in collaboration with another Sri Lankan Bernard Rajanayake and a Greek national, financed by the deceased Gunaratne. Nagasinghe, Rajanayake and the Greek national have also been jailed for four years for dealing in heroin.

Why are so many dying? continued from page 13

ability to cut them by night.

The Indians, many Sri Lankans and Indians believe, are learning the costs and frustrations of a classic guerrilla war. In Jaffna, New Delhi's soldiers have become the government. There are no functioning courts, no police. Sri Lankan officials, trying to restart institutions, are regularly barred from visiting their own buildings, an official in Colombo said.

A reporter arriving on the peninsula with letters permitting travel to Jaffna signed by both Sri Lankan and Indian military authorities was held up at Palaly airport, about 15 miles away, for more than two hours, during which time two Indian officers asked for the names of people she intended to meet. Soldiers tried to prevent picture-taking in the town.

A 'MONEY ORDER ECONOMY'

With fishing, market gardening and commerce, the livelihoods of Jaffna, curtailed for more than five years, many people in the area are living on what a Tamil politician called 'a money-order economy', banking on remittances from relatives who fled.

Some Indian troops, fewer than 4,000 by most counts, have been withdrawn. But diplomats in Colombo say others had been arriving to replace them. "With the progressive withdrawal of the Indian peace keeping force", a Tamil leader said, "the provincial government of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front could become like Najibullah's". Open confrontation among Tamils is a possibility.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE

LONDON, 29th-30th APRIL 1989

"Ours is a national liberation struggle, a struggle for freedom to shape our political destiny, a struggle waged with courage, heroism and sacrifice, a struggle soaked in blood and tears, a struggle built on the ashes of several thousands of martyrs." Political Committee of the LTTE

At the end of April last year, two hundred and sixty Tamils representing Tamil Associations from all over the world met in London for the First International Tamil Conference. Delegates came from as far afield as Australia, Botswana, Brunei, Canada, France, Malaysia, Germany, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Sweden, India, Sri Lanka and the United States, as well as from the United Kingdom.

The conference was called by the World Federation of Tamils to discuss the issues confronting Tamils in the struggle for their homeland of Tamil Eelam. Of particular concern was the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987 which had dramatically altered events within Sri Lanka and in the region as a whole. The Indian Peace Keeping Force, initially seen as the liberators of Eelam Tamils, had rapidly become their oppressors. There were gross violations of human rights as Eelam Tamils were raped, tortured and killed, mainly for their support of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

It was recognised that there was an urgent need for international opinion to be informed of the indisputable fact that the LTTE had the support of Eelam Tamils both inside and outside Sri Lanka. Moreover, it was perceived that given the inability of Eelam Tamils within the country to express themselves freely, the responsibility lay with Eelam Tamils overseas to articulate the pain and the suffering of a people who had been denied their right to self-determination.

The conference unanimously adopted five resolutions. The resolutions affirmed the right to self-determination; the prima facie claims of Tamil refugees seeking political asylum; the urgent need for an immediate ceasefire and negotiations leading to a political settlement; the safety of Velluppillai Prabaharan; and most significantly, the recognition of Velluppillai Prabaharan and the LTTE as the true leaders of the struggle for Tamil Eelam.

This year, on 29 and 30 April, Eelam Tamils from the world over will be meeting again at the Second International Tamil Conference. *The objective of the conference is to formulate the international agenda for the struggle for Tamil Eelam in the light of the resolutions passed at the last conference.*

Among those addressing the conference will be Mr V.Gopalsamy MP; Mr A P Venkateswaran, former Indian Foreign Secretary; Mr K.P.UnniKrishnan MP President, Congress (M); Mr P Upendra MP, Leader, Telugu Desam; Mr Sunada Datta Ray, Editor, Calcutta Statesman; Mr T Alagirisamy, General Secretary, Tamil National Movement; Mr K. Veeramani, General Secretary, Dravida Kazhagam; the renowned Tamil poet Puthuvai Rathinam; Professor Jeyaratnam Wilson; Mr Wakeley Paul and Ms Karen Parker.

There are four workshops: the role of culture in the Tamil struggle; financial resources and the Tamil struggle; internationalising the Tamil struggle; and events and publicity. The workshops are designed to ensure maximum participation by all delegates so that the many and varied talents of Eelam Tamils can be utilised to the full. The success of the conference is dependent on Eelam Tamils giving it their fullest support.

VENUE: Conference Auditorium, Claremont High School,
Claremont Avenue, Harrow, Middlesex

REGISTRATION: A minimum fee of £25.00 is being charged to meet a part of the costs.

CONTACT: All those wishing to attend the conference please contact the Conference Secretary, P O Box 228, Wembley, Middlesex HA9 8SA, UK.

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“Magulans”, Dollis Hill 01-459 6248

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