



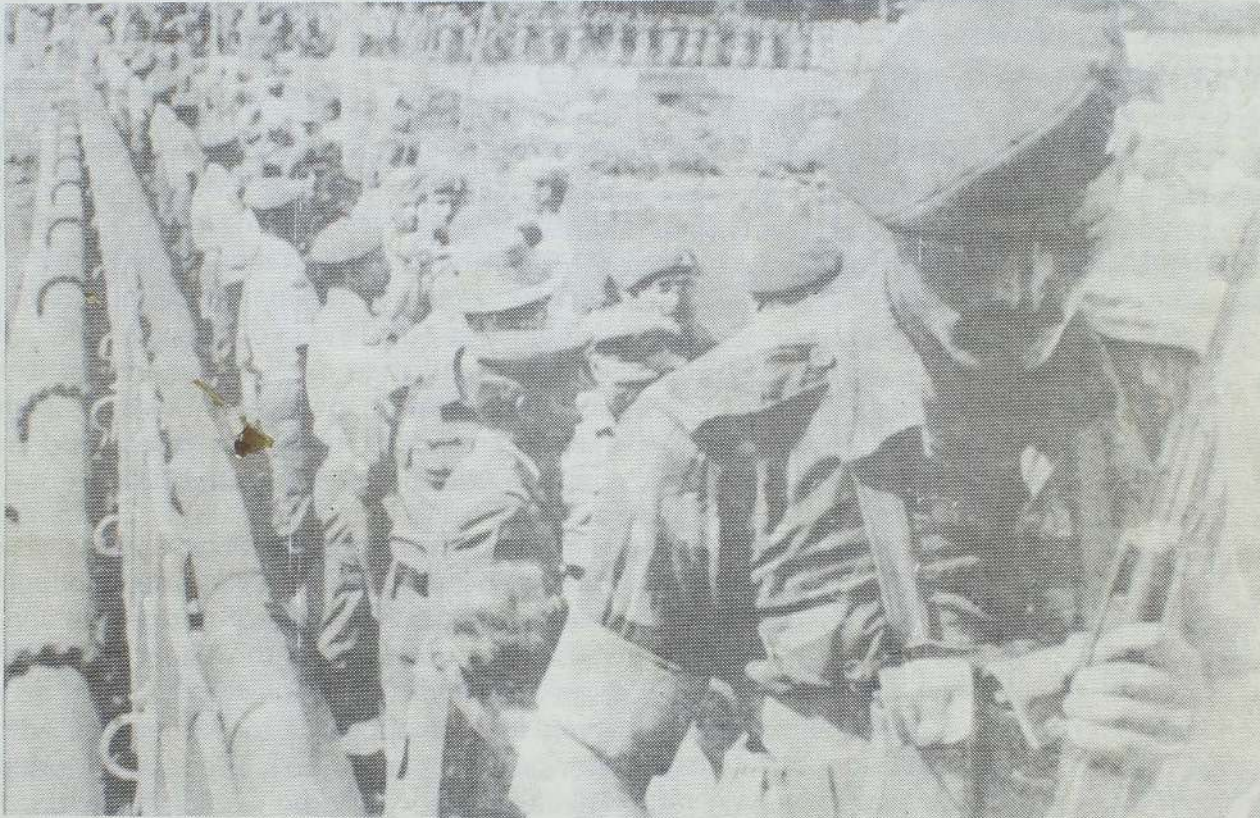
# Tamil International

Vol. 1 No. 2

1st April 1990

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## The Indian troops finally depart



**The  
Tigresses  
Take  
Control!**

## READERS' VIEWS

### CONGRATULATIONS

Rajan, Ilford, Essex

Tamil International is undoubtedly better than some of the earlier issues. My congratulations. May God help you to keep it up.

### THERE IS NEED

Siva, Toronto

We are happy that Tamil International has appeared as an "independent" journal. We are happy to note that TI "is committed to furthering the Tamil National Struggle in Tamil Eelam besides serving as a forum for the expression of enlightened opinion.." and would be run "as a community publication."

We expect TI to live up to its avowed commitments and serve as an organ of the expatriate Tamils. There is a need for such a paper and all expatriates should assist. Good luck.

### THOUGHT FOR INTELLECTUALS

Sampanthan, Colombo

We are all proud that LTTE has stood up to the onslaught of the Sri Lankan and Indian forces. We are also proud that Prabaharan has proved to the world that Tamils are a martial race. More than anything else we have proved that Tamil Nadu cannot lead the Tamils spread around the world.

What worries me is whether we can justify the cost of achieving these by-products. Intellectuals must give thought to this question of cost of achievement. I call these as by-products because we have not achieved the main objective.

### MAGNANIMITY IS A MUST

Sutharsan, Ealing, UK

While I congratulate the LTTE on its successes, I would like to appeal to the LTTE through your columns to show magnanimity to its enemies. The LTTE are now the unchallenged masters of the North-East and responsible for law and order situation there. Taking revenge on the weak who are on the run is not a courageous act. Further, it is now that the LTTE should show magnanimity and give amnesty to the cadres of other groups who worked with the Indian forces. By doing so the LTTE will enhance its popularity manifold.

### SHOULD DEVELOP CONFIDENCE

Nathan, New York

LTTE has not so far taken expatriate Tamils into its confidence. It may be justifiable in times of war. Now that it has formed its political wing and calls it "Peoples' Front" it should take into its confidence as many people as possible. It is a shame to have members of the military wing as its President and the General-Secretary which only indicates the

lack of confidence in the Tamil people - not only in the expatriates but also in the local people.

### THE TRUE VOICE

S Kailasanathan - UK

The situation in Ceylon is changing from day to day and it is very difficult to know where we are heading for and what is in store for the Tamils. At the moment we see the LTTE co-operating with the Sri Lankan Government to remove the IPKF from our part of the island. Once the IPKF is gone the Sri Lankan Government will lose no time in clashing with the LTTE and this will not come as a total surprise to the LTTE. I am also very pleased to hear that the LTTE has started collecting taxes in the liberated areas. I take this as a first sign towards self government.

I am not very moved by the recent lament coming from some of our intellectuals about what they claim is the lack of freedom of expression. Freedom of expression can in some instances mean playing into the hands of those who are opposed to our liberation or don't care for our liberation. Forty years of freedom of expression did not prevent us from losing our land or our people. Why not wait for full liberation and then exercise freedom of expression in a liberated Eelam? In the meantime why don't these intellectuals use all their talents to rehabilitate and help the orphans, the displaced and the distressed?

I am sorry to hear about the unhealthy financial state of your esteemed journal. This is a very important paper because I consider it the true voice of our people and every effort must be made to keep this paper going. I find that the paper has attractive features which could be enhanced to make it more appealing to our readers. Articles like The Inevitability of Eelam, Folk Tales and Historical Stories and Thirukkural are welcome reading material.

I find the articles written by professional people in support of our cause very encouraging. One such person is Lt Col Anton Selvadurai. I found his article "What happens after the War", (TVI Vol 3, No 1) very interesting; but I was surprised that he included jet fighters in his list of requirements for our defence. There is a long way to go before we think in terms of jet fighters.

There is always the danger that the Indians, in pursuit of their own interests, will try to please the Sinhalese majority in the island at the expense of Tamil rights, just as they have done so far. The Indian Government will bend only to public opinion in India. We could have had greater support from the Tamils of Tamil Nadu had we shown greater concern for the Plantation Tamils, both expatriates and those in Ceylon. The Plantation Tamils must have been noticeably included in our struggle all along.

I congratulate the LTTE for their achievement for the Tamils so far and wish them continuing success.

*continued on page 4*

# TAMIL International

எப்பொருள் எத்தன்மைத்து ஆயினும் அப்பொருள்  
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு.

Volume 1 No 2  
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The views expressed in the journal are not necessarily those of the editor, the editorial board or the directors. Material received for publication is subject to abridgement and editing where found necessary.

## EDITORIAL

# THINKING OF OURSELVES AS A NATION

*With the total withdrawal of the Indian armed forces from Northeast Sri Lanka, a 2-year 8-month alien military involvement in Eelam Tamil affairs has ended. This represents a major victory for the Tamil Eelam armed struggle spear-headed by the Liberation Tigers. Any calculation on the part of the erstwhile Rajiv Gandhi Government that even after the forced departure of the Indian forces it could continue to carry on a proxy war and suffocate the liberation process with the help of paid puppets like the EPRLF, ENDLF, and TELO, has now gone awry, with the latter ending up most unexpectedly in distant Orissa. Peace has come to the people, after they had endured war and conflict for seven years. An ordered society and a democratic polity are now within achievable distance. But even Peace, like War, has to be won, if it has to endure. While the responsibility for this lies mainly on the broad shoulders of Mr Velupillai Prabaharan and other LTTE leaders and their cadres, a continuance of the positive and constructive roles played thus far by three governments, President Premadasa's, Prime Minister V P Singh's and Chief Minister Karunanidhi's, would become necessary in order to counter any threats to peace and stability.*

*These threats can come from various quarters: the contra-militant groups among the Tamils which have lost power, lost ground, and lost face; India's disreputable Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of the Cabinet secretariat, which now denied the opportunity of directly fishing in troubled waters in Eelam Tamil soil, can yet manipulate anti-LTTE "operations" from Indian soil; Sinhala chauvinist careerists in Sri Lanka both outside as well as within President Premadasa's Government; and of course the least visible but most powerful - international meddlers seeking to destabilise the entire Indian ocean region. A recently published book "India - The Security Dilemma" written by eminent defence columnist Cecil Victor, suggests that India can fall a prey to "coercive diplomacy" by the United States, China and Pakistan, with subtle pressure being built through infiltration in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, to reduce India into a second class power in the region like Egypt; a pattern that is now visible. The author cites Pakistan's increasing nuclear weapon capability, the possible induction of US military personnel to fly the Advance Warning and Air Control Systems (AWACS), secret support for Khalistan in some Western countries, China's nibbling at Indian territory in the rear, as danger signals to India's security. But how about India's southern flank over which all Indian Governments from Nehru's time had displayed blissful unconcern, until President Jayewardene gave Mrs Indira Gandhi a rude jolt in the post-1983 period.*

*What is of special concern to Eelam Tamils is that author Cecil Victor in listing the various manifestations of that "coercive diplomacy" alleges that it was the United States which had inducted Israel, South Africa and Britain to help President Jayewardene's government to help crush the Tamil movement, and it was the US plan which led India under Rajiv Gandhi into a battle of attrition against LTTE. The author goes on to warn that India will soon have to face the prospects and possibility of Mossad and British mercenaries patrolling the sensitive Palk Straits which separates Sri Lanka from the Indian mainland - a frightening scenario, even if it seems an unlikely one in the present context.*

*Nevertheless, it is time that Eelam Tamils shake themselves off from a peninsular or provincial outlook, begin to think of themselves as a nation, develop a global consciousness and assert their separate identity internationally. The area around us can become a hunting ground for contending forces and has the potential to become increasingly volatile. To allow our future to be dictated by power-plays and counter-plays by governments seeking balances of power over our heads cannot only turn us into a Lebanon, but deprive us of all the fruits of future independence, for which we have already paid the price in terms of thousands of human lives.*

# “MADINTHAVARHAL YARAO; KUTHIPPAVARHAL YAARO”

D.Ram, UK

The above is the front-page caption from the Jaffna weekly *Thisai* of February 23. It states that while somebody fought and perished, the victory dance is being performed by someone else. This headline has been provoked by a comment in the Ceylon *Daily News* that the IPKF is withdrawing because of the demands of the Sri Lankan Government and its people and in the interests of neighbourly relations and not owing to the guerilla war of the Tamil Tigers!

The LTTE-Premadasa talks, bypassing “Super India”, the cease-fire yet in force between the two parties and the recognition of the PFLT as a political party are very recent events. In the *Island* of December 24, 1989, Indian High Commissioner Lal Mehrotra has claimed success for the IPKF mission, and credit for “driving” the LTTE to the negotiating table and for “continuing” to disarm the Tigers. **Not a word about the thousand Jawans who perished, the thousands minus limbs and the many receiving psychiatric treat-**

**ment. Neither did he say about the crores spent by Rajiv Gandhi on the IPKF operations to see that Prabakaran’s head falls at his feet;** no less a person than a present Minister in Delhi, Mr George Fernandes, is reported to have quoted Rajiv’s desire, at a public meeting in Thirupathur. **So it was not geopolitics that ravaged NE Sri Lanka.**

*Frontline* is changing sides gradually and said in its February 17 - March 2 issue that “almost everything has gone right for the LTTE since it began talking to the Sri Lankan Government in May 1989.” Shamindra Ferdinando said in the *Island* of January 14 that after 7 long years of bloody fighting against the Sinhalese forces, the Tamil groups and the Indians, with over 13000 casualties, the Tiger movement is still a force armed with all sorts of new weapons captured from the two armies and rival groups. However, another *Island* columnist Taraki says in the March 4 issue that the LTTE’s main problem is resources, men and material. TNA amateurism and logisti-

cal support arising from the Colombo connection made it easy for the Tigers. Yet another Sinhalese military strategist says that instead of a conventional war like “Operation Liberation”, the vigilantes, Green Tigers, Black Cats, and other similar marauders should be let loose in the North-East Sri Lanka. **But fortunately for the Tamils Prabakaran is not a “planter”, neither is Mahendrarajah a “mudalali”!**

One yet remembers what General Nalin Seneviratne said sometime before the accord - “Our writ does not extend beyond the barbed wire fences!” And when the valiant Air Force said “We refuse to fly, if one more plane is lost”, JR thought it was time to give Rajiv Gandhi a chance or rather a break away from the Bofors scandal that started raging then.

When Bhabani Sen Gupta of *India Today* recently asked President Premadasa whether the Sri Lanka Army would take on the Tigers and “finish them off”, the reply was a roaring “No.” And so be it.

## READERS VIEWS (continued from page 2)

### THE FLAG OF SRI LANKA

Periyadorai - Colombo

The flag of Sri Lanka is dominated by the Sinhala Lion, with just brush strokes of 2 colours to represent the Tamil and Muslim minorities. It conveys the impression that this concession has been patronisingly granted to the minorities by the Sinhala majority.

People are represented not purely by their population ratio. The flag must represent the true ethos of all the people and their contribution to their country. With only 20 miles of sea between South India and Sri Lanka and with the catamaran in existence, one does not have to be a historian to appreciate that the Tamils would have been in the island long before the arrival of the Sinhalese.

The minorities consented to this under-representation of themselves in the National Flag through a feeling of bonhomie and trust in the Sinhala Buddhist majority, who have betrayed this trust in the formulation of the “Sinhala Only” policy. The flag then, with the dominating Sinhala Lion, is truly representative of Sinhala domination and subjugation of the minorities.

But times have changed, coinciding with the “Perestroika” of Gorbachev in Russia, which has had its rippling effects in Sri Lanka too. This change of thinking has resulted in the recognition of Tamil as an official language and English as a link language and the formation of Provincial Councils. This change was brought about after Mr Premadasa became the President. This “Prema-istroika” must now reflect in the flag of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, to indicate Buddhist tolerance and the implementation of the principle of “Dhammavijaya” of the great King Asoka, i.e. conquering not by force of arms but by the Dhamma.

So, I think it is quite reasonable and proper for this “Prema-istroika” and “Dhammavijaya” to be reflected in the flag, where the minorities are allocated half the flag to represent themselves on an equal basis. As to how they are going to represent themselves on the flag, is a matter for them to take up later; but this change must be first agreed in principle with the Sri Lankan government.

I therefore request that this matter be taken up by the Tamil and the Muslim communities. Perhaps the LTTE negotiating team, at present in discussions with Mr Premadasa about the future of the Tamils, may find it appropriate to discuss this matter too.

## “IF THEY DON’T WANT PEACE, WHAT DO THEY WANT?” - YOGI

(Excerpts from interview given to *THE ISLAND*, Colombo by Yogarathnam Yogi, Secretary-General, PFLT)

**Q - What is the LTTE's attitude towards EROS?**

A - We are not happy with EROS' attitude recently because they haven't spoken anything against Indian atrocities. They wanted India to stay and protect the Tamils' interests. This irritates us a lot. We have told them we don't like their attitude. They went and trained with the Indian Army. We asked them why, because India is giving arms to the TNA. They said they had no choice, they had to get trained but that they never worked with the TNA. That argument is OK - they never worked with the TNA. But somehow they trained under the Indian Army. These are the things that created a lot of tension between us.

**Q - Is there an LTTE threat to EROS? Do you want them to resign from Parliament? Why did EROS MP from Batticaloa Segudawood Basheer resign?**

A - No, there is no threat from us. We didn't ask them to resign from parliament. Most of the EROS parliamentarians are LTTE supporters. Some of them are disillusioned with the EROS position now. When they were elected to parliament they thought they could do a lot. But now EROS is not having a clear cut policy because a few of them are loyal to the Indian Government, especially one of their leaders, Shankar Raji who is in India. He is very loyal to India and he is working with a RAW agent named Chandran, a RAW Director in India. He is very close to him. In EROS half of the group are loyal to Shankar or to India, half of them are with Balakumar. They don't have a leader to clearly direct them. Recently they promoted Balakumar because we had a good relationship with him. So we thought they may have a good relationship with us.

**Q - Are you opposed to the pre-**

**sence of the Sri Lankan security forces in the north-east?**

A - We don't want the Sri Lankan security forces to be involved in law and order problems because it is not their duty. That is police work. We are not against their limited presence in the north-east. They can go out, buy their provisions and come back. We told the government the Army shouldn't do law and order work unless there is an emergency. We told the government they could recruit the Provincial police force and this could function.

**Q - The government has said that no armed, para-military groups will be allowed to operate in the north-east and that any such groups will be disarmed. Why aren't they moving against the LTTE?**

A - One must look at our problem in a realistic manner. Because India tried to disarm us we had a war. India couldn't disarm us. We fought with the Sri Lankan security forces for 17 years and now we are having a ceasefire. So there is no question of

disarming. What we have to discuss is how we can link the existence of our armed cadres to the security of the Tamils and Muslims. If you try to disarm us then there will be a war.

**Q - The common impression in the south and also now among the Muslims and certain sections of the Tamils is that the LTTE has been given a free hand to go on the rampage and kill their opponents?**

A - Well, after we surfaced there is nothing happening - it is peaceful. When you look at the past two years 6,000 people were killed. Nobody bothered about it. Everybody kept quiet and waited for the LTTE to be liquidated. Because we survived now everybody is worried. At the time 6,000 people were killed, so many women were raped, thousands of rupees worth property were destroyed. No one raised his voice. Now there is relative peace. Everybody is doing his job, shops are open even after midnight. So why are people worried? They don't want peace? What do they want? I don't understand.

## KITTU PREDICTS PLO-TYPE ROLE FOR LTTE: WILL MAINTAIN ARMY

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam will mould itself into a global politico-military organisation like the PLO, and also maintain a "second army" in Sri Lanka. This was disclosed by senior leader and co-ordinator of LTTE's International Affairs Sathasivam (Kittu) Krishnakumar in a telephonic talk from London on Saturday.

"It will be unique among nations where there are two armies in the

same country, and the government also accepts it" Kittu said, affirming that the LTTE would never surrender its weapons. President Premadasa had accepted the LTTE's demand for retaining arms and consolidating itself in the Tamil areas. But, some members in Premadasa's cabinet were trying to create trouble, he said.

On the eve of the departure of the IPKF from the island, the LTTE had  
*continued on page 21*

## Our Literary Heritage

## NAALADIYAAR

by S Sriskandarajah

Beauty is a beautiful word both in substance and form. What is beauty? "Beauty is what it does" may be an idealistic definition of qualities that give pleasure to the senses or to the mind. It is in the first of the two senses it is generally understood by ordinary people. The saying "beauty is skin deep" is a reflection of this shallow understanding. The sublime and real meaning of beauty is least understood by most of us. John Keats, the great English poet of all times said that "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever." In other words if we say that a thing or a state of thing is beautiful then it must give us joy for ever. If a thing, however bewitching and enthralling it may be, does not give a kind of joy that will last for ever then it is not beautiful. Viewed in this sense, the beauty of the things that captivate us momentarily is not real; it is ephemeral and transitory; it does not give us joy for ever; and hence is not real beauty.

There are things that could give us joy for ever. Perhaps this depends on how the person perceives or

குஞ்சி யழகம் கொடுந்தாணக் கோட்டழகம்  
மஞ்சள் அழகம் அழகல்ல - நெஞ்சத்து  
நல்லமயாம் என்னும் நடுவு நிலைமையால்  
கல்வி யழகே அழகு.

views life. There is a verse in *Naaladiyaar* which tells us what beauty is. Let me expand the verse. The verse reads:

Many people perceive that woman is an embodiment of beauty. For some people a woman with long black and glossy tress may be a thing of beauty. For some others a woman who is clad in a dexterously textured feather weight and cloud soft saree may be a thing of beauty. For some others a woman who has her fascinating physique besmeared with turmeric paste and coloured with streaks in unguents may appear a thing of beauty. But they are only perceptions and mirages; they are not real beauty; because the tress of a woman or the saree of a lass or the sweet smelling body of a woman can

never give joy for ever. Their attraction has its limitations. As one grows the tress will lose its gloss and grow grey; the figure of a woman will lose its shapely curves and the developing wrinkles will kill the form. Hence it is idle to speak of these as beauty because such beauties are short lived.

So what is the real beauty? **The real beauty is the beauty of a person who possesses poise gained through learning and erudition which makes him feel that he is good and is able to do good to others through such learning and erudition. In other words, it is the conviction of a person that he is a good person and the satisfying and ennobling feeling that he is able to be of good to others that is real beauty.**

When a person, man or woman, is possessed of such composure he/she will have a beauty which gives an eternal and ever bubbling joy to the possessor of that composure and to the beholder. Mahatma Gandhi had it. It is because he had it, he became Mahatma.

We also can become Mahatmas. But it is easily said than done. The first step to acquire such beauty is to begin to feel for others and to think "thy need is greater."

**In the war torn towns and villages of the North-Eastern province of Sri Lanka our dear ones and near ones are moaning and wailing under the burden of poverty, misery and deprivation. This is the hour when they need our co-operation and good wishes. If we start now we will acquire the beauty Naaladiyaar speaks of, sooner than later.**



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## A SRI LANKAN VIEW OF KARUNANIDHI'S NOVEL: "PAYUM PULI PANDARA VANNIYAN"

The Tiger remains the greatest symbol of Tamil might; which it now seems Karunanidhi is set to revive, along with other symbols and issues which have periodically ensured the allegiance of the Tamil Nadu electorate despite constant and systematic efforts by the Centre aimed at diluting the potency of the Dravidian ideology.

Pilimatalawe is angry. His mistress Marthanee who is also his daughter's, (Piyaseeli's) friend, has told him that she would no more be party to his treacherous plans. Marthanee has returned from Mullaitivu and is convinced now that the Tamils are a cultured people who are determined to rid the island of the invader. Pilimatalawe is alarmed and exhorts his mistress to behave like a true Sinhala woman. To which she answers "the Sinhalese and Tamils live in this island and it belongs to both races. These two peoples should have equal rights and should live here without antagonising each other. That is my desire."

The cause of Pilimatalawe's bitterness and Marthanee's charge is the heroic patriotism of the legendary Tamil warrior-Chieftain of the Wannipandara Vanniyan. He has fought and resisted the British invader in the Wannijungles of the Tamil north, and he has now helped the king of Kandy - Wickremarasinghe to defeat the British. The valorous deeds of the Tamil warrior of Wannijungles have ruined Pilimatalawe's hopes of coming to power with the help of the British invader.

This is not from any Sri Lankan history book, but what is found in the 67th instalment of a historical novel by Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi currently being serialised in the popular weekly *Kumkumam*. The novel is Payum Puli Pandara Vanniyan - **The leaping Tiger Pandara Vanniyan**.

**Karunanidhi is working with obvious parallels in his novel. The**



**course of the novel is also connected to current developments in Sri Lanka related to moves by the LTTE. Earlier the novel described the mission of a friend of Veera Pandiya Kattabomman the last Tamil king who resisted the British in Tamil Nadu - to the Wannijungles in Sri Lanka. His mission was to meet Pandara Vanniyan who was also resisting the British. This part of the novel appeared when Y Gopalsamy MP whom Karunanidhi once referred to as his 'sword', visited Prabaharan in the dense jungles of the Wannijungles.**

Karunanidhi's remarkable literary skills have always had a definite political purpose. His film scripts were fairly influential in his comeback after the death of MGR. His literary merits earned him the name Kalaignar, savant, by which he is now generally known.

What does Karunanidhi have in mind in writing such a novel?

The historical novel has been the most powerful literary genre at the service of the Dravidian movement. It was immensely successful in popularising a so-called 'golden era' in the history of the Tamil people. The portrayal of a heroic past and the courageous deeds of various mythical, legendary and historical Tamil kings and chieftains has contributed towards the propagation of a Dravidian

Tamilian - identity, distinct and in no way inferior to the 'Aryan' culture of the very powerful minority of Brahmins in Tamil Nadu.

'The golden era' along with the uniqueness of the Tamil language and the anti-Brahmin secularism was part of the Dravidian ideology. If the Sangam epoch symbolised the purity of Tamil language and culture, it was the epoch of the Chola kingdom that symbolised the 'golden era'. Many novels were about that zenith of Tamil power when the military and naval might of the Chola kingdom subjugated many parts of south east Asia.

**The armies of the Chola kingdom marched with the flag which writers and poets of the Dravidian renaissance transformed into the symbol of Tamil might. It was the Chola dynasty's flag of the leaping Tiger.**

One of Prabaharan's earliest friends and mentors poet Kasianandan who has surfaced again recently was a student involved in the Dravidian movement during this period. It is generally believed that it was he who named the Tigers so.

The Dravidian movement is no more than the tremendous social and cultural force it was. But the DMK cannot allow along with the wave of the Dravidian ideology, the loss of those symbols that may be required to stir dormant emotions of at least the literate Tamil nationalist sections of Tamil Nadu. The Tamil Tiger remains the greatest symbol of Tamil might; which, it now seems, Karunanidhi is set to revive, along with other symbols and issues which have periodically ensured the allegiance of the Tamil Nadu electorate despite constant and systematic efforts by the Centre aimed at diluting the potency of the Dravidian ideology.

Karunanidhi has recently found another way of diminishing the role of

*continued on page 11*

## MEDIA EXCERPTS

### INDIA ON THE POINT OF QUITTING SRI LANKA

India's attempts to impose its will on Sri Lanka appeared to be on the brink of collapse last night. **The Delhi-sponsored chief minister of the mainly Tamil North and East provinces who declared the region independent less than two weeks ago, was reported to have fled with his wife and family.** The departure of Anamalai Varatharaja Perumal probably precedes the final withdrawal of Indian troops by only a few days. From the start, the best organised and most ruthless group has been the Tamil Tigers. Having fought Sri Lanka's army to a standstill, they took on the might of India in late 1987, and have emerged as the de facto power in the Tamil provinces.

**If government allows the Tigers to fill the new political vacuum, it could end for ever Colombo's dream of a united island. But if the government attempts to take over the administration, it could revive all the resentment and militancy of the 3 million Tamils.** [Derek Brown in New Delhi - *The Guardian*, March 12, 1990]

### TIGERS AND POLICE PATROL TRINCO IN PEACE

Armed Tamil Tiger guerrillas strolled once again through the dusty streets of this north-east Lankan port today after the withdrawal of Indian troops who had been sent here to crush their separatist revolt.

Guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam peacefully entered Trincomalee, the administrative capital of Sri Lanka's north-east province and the Indian army's last major outpost in the country, as the Indians withdrew on Tuesday. A senior Lankan army officer in Trincomalee said there had been no violence. "We have reached a working arrangement with the Tigers to avoid violence, and so far it seems to be holding up very well", said the officer, who asked not to be identified. A Tiger soldier who gave his name as Saran, cradling his automatic weapon and surrounded by several curious townspeople, said: "We have come in peace and we don't expect to have to fight."

Before the Indian withdrawal, people in Trincomalee feared a resurgence of fighting between the Tigers and the Lankan army, or ethnic riots between Tamils and Sinhalese. Residents said they were relieved by the Tigers' peaceful arrival. [Courtesy: *The Daily News*, Colombo, 15 March]

### PREMATURE REPUBLIC

The LTTE are operating on the premise that President Premadasa will soon dissolve the Northeast Provincial Council and call fresh elections, which they are confident they will win. However, **the Sri Lankan Government has declared there will be no election in the northeast**

while any party there bears illegal arms.



**But no one in Sri Lanka expects the LTTE to lay down their arms once the Indian pullout is complete, though Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne - who as deputy defence minister is the political head of the security forces - is on record as saying that the Tigers have promised Premadasa they would disarm once the Indians depart. Wijeratne admitted the Tamil militants have grown accustomed to a gun culture and "must be gradually weaned away from it" - a task likely to represent the government's next major challenge in the northeast.** [Courtesy: *Far Eastern Economic Review* - 15 March 1990]

### LANKA TO AVOID CLASHES WITH LTTE

The governor of the North-eastern province, Gen. Nalin Seneviratne, who flew in to the port town Trincomalee on Monday, a day before the Indians marched out, is refreshingly candid in admitting the administration's keenness to avoid any confrontation with the LTTE.

The police and the army have gone out of their way to accommodate the Tigers. "There is no question of the Sri Lankan forces trying to stop the cadres from coming in with arms. It would be foolish to halt the president's peace efforts by quibbling over guns. Considering the peculiar situation now prevailing, we have to be pragmatic," Gen Seneviratne said.

Unlike in the rest of the north and east, Tamil civilians here are not over enthusiastic about the IPKF's departure. When the Tigers rode into town on Tuesday, people neither waved nor cheered but silently watched the convoy of Nissan pick-ups, with red and yellow LTTE banners take positions in the town. The Tamils here hate the Sinhalese and mistrust the Sri Lankan forces. They are afraid that with the Indian army out, they may once again be harassed by the army, navy and police. But Father Pius Padmarajan, a diehard critic of the IPKF and an LTTE supporter, feels there is a change in the attitude of the Sinhala establishment. He said the discipline and fire power of the Tigers had made the ruling party leadership realise that they "cannot take on our boys."



had made the ruling party leadership realise that they "cannot take on our boys."

All sections in Trincomalee are hoping for the best and preparing for the worst. Most Tamils are convinced that the Tigers and the Sri Lankan Government would eventually fight. Prasad, a hotel waiter said, "When the two sides clash, the Tigers with their guns will go into the jungles. What will happen to young people like me? We have to stay and face the wrath of the forces."

An uneasy calm prevails in Trincomalee. A senior army officer confided, "For the moment the situation is under control, but I can't say what will happen in future." [Courtesy: *The Times of India* News Service, March 17, 1990]

## IPKF'S TASK COMPLETE

Lt Gen A S Kalkat, General Officer Commanding Indian Peace Keeping Force, said here today that the last contingent of the IPKF will pull out of Trincomalee in Sri Lanka on March 24. When the reporter asked him whether the North-Eastern Provincial Council had also been "de-inducted", he answered: "It is not de-inducted. It is a political matter to be handled at Delhi."

On the pluses of the induction of Indian troops, he said that for the first time in the history of modern Sri Lanka, there was a Tamil government in the traditional Tamil homeland. The holding of the NEP Council elections also made the merger of the East with the North possible.

Answering another question, Lt Gen Kalkat said it was not just an IPKF effort but a national effort comprising the three services, CRPF, Red Cross, All India Radio, Door-darshan, P and T department, Shipping Corporation of India and Border Road Organisation. "Therefore, the IPKF across the board, is a national involvement."

It was difficult to rate the fighting capability of the LTTE because "we are talking of people who indulge in terrorism. The more ruthless they are, the more successful they will be," he said. "This was an operation done under the public eye and there are no skeletons in our cupboard." The IPKF lost 1,155 men and 2,984 were wounded.

Lt Gen Kalkat said the IPKF did not evacuate the NEP Council Chief Minister, Mr A Varatharaja Perumal. "The matter is above my head. It is a political question," he added. [Courtesy: *The Hindu*, March 18, 1990]

## IPKF LEADERS SATISFIED

Briefing a team of visiting journalists from Delhi and Madras, the IPKF's General Officer Commanding, Lt Gen A S Kalkat, said here on Sunday that the IPKF's pull-out would be completed by March 24.

He said the IPKF's primary politico-military mission had

been accomplished. It was set a two-point agenda of action: **(1) the Sri Lankan Government should not settle the basic political issue regarding the rights of the island's Tamils through military means, and (2) the Tamils, for their part, should not set up a sovereign and independent state of their own.** Gen Kalkat maintained that the IPKF had ensured the fulfilment of both these objectives during its sojourn and operations in the island's Tamil areas.

As for the IPKF's claimed success in preventing a military solution of the Tamil problem by the Colombo Government, Gen. Kalkat said the Premadasa Government and the LTTE leaders were presently doing political business with each other. This was a sure index of the Indian force's success in achieving its goal in this delicate area of intense confrontation that had fouled up relations between these two Sri Lankan forces on the eve of the arrival of the IPKF's first contingent in Sri Lanka in July 1987, he explained.

On the question of the IPKF's "failure" to disarm the LTTE, he took the line that it was not a simplistic issue of disarming a "terrorist" group which did not wish to abide by the Indo-Sri Lankan accord of July 29, 1987. It was, in the final analysis, a question of military operations against a group that chose to "renege" on its own stated willingness to fall in line with the other Tamil groups in terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord. Gen Kalkat also explained that the so-called issue of disarming the LTTE cadres also entailed delicate problems of interacting with nearly 20 per cent of the Tamil population or half a million people. **He indicated that people of this numerical magnitude were in some ways deeply supportive of the LTTE.**

Asked about IPKF's yet another "failure", namely the disintegration of the Citizen Volunteer Force that had been raised to take over police duties in the Tamil areas after the IPKF's total pull-out, Gen Kalkat traced the circumstances in which the CVF was raised under the aegis of the Sri Lankan Government itself. Therefore, he said, the CVF was basically a 'peripheral' issue on the IPKF's agenda of action on the ground.

Gen Kalkat also listed the following other spin-off "successes" arising out of the IPKF's operations:

The Island's erstwhile Northern and Eastern provinces were merged to give the Tamils a long cherished homeland of their own within a united Sri Lanka. The IPKF's perceived ability to help conduct the Provincial Council elections in the Eastern territory, without any disruption by the LTTE, had paved the way for the merger.

The IPKF's operations had induced the LTTE itself to open a political dialogue with its sworn enemy, the Sri Lanka government.

The IPKF's GOC refused to answer essentially political questions about India's geopolitical stake in Sri Lanka, the

*continued on page 22*

# FROM RUSSIA WITH LOVE - "PREMA-ISTROIKA"

Lt Col Anton J N Selvadurai

In Russia they call it "*Perestroika*" but in the Sinhala part of Sri Lanka they call it "*Prema-istroika*" after their President Premadasa, who is now following on the lines of Gorbachev in the change of thinking regarding domination over other nations.

After about 70 years of Communist Dictatorship in Russia and over 40 years in its satellite states in the Eastern bloc, the people have been forced to admit that the Communist system of government does not work. The Communist system depends on collectivization and this involves central planning, where you have to work, not for yourself, but for a bureaucrat, sometimes hundreds of miles away. The system is also unjust in that one party - the Communist Party - exploits the others and arrogates to itself special powers and privileges, although calling themselves the working class or the *hoi polloi*, but they are in reality a kind of middle-class bourgeois. They even have special shops and foods exclusively for themselves and have a sort of class system, which the revolution sought to destroy.

Since their collectivization system prohibits a man working for his personal profit, there is no incentive to work, and it does not permit him to show initiative. Even an ice-cream vendor in Russia is directed by the Communist Party. He is collected in the morning from the central store, dumped in the town and brought back home in the evening. He is not allowed to choose his site or to leave the site appointed by a bureaucrat miles away in an office. He gets a fixed pay and so he does not care to advertise his wares and induce more custom and therefore displays a take it or leave it attitude.

You get a similar attitude in State Corporations in Sri Lanka too, as in Russia. They are in charge of people who have no training or experience but selected on favouritism purely as bureaucrats or workers who are working only for their pay with no incentive bonuses and share ownership, as in private companies.

Their socialist system that depended on central planning created havoc with agriculture too, where farmers would

pour the fertilisers down the rivers rather than bothering to fertilise their fields. Although the economy was in ruins, the Military and the Politburo, wanting power and glory and the good life with all its privileges, created the myth of the Western monster. They created a large military machine which they were unable to use, despite spending over 20% of their GNP for so many years at the expense of the proletariat - the working class.

Socialism in the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, although not so extreme, needs to change. It is a little too interventionist. It has several state-controlled corporations and, as usual, such state corporations are not making profits. Further, it is a Buddhist country with a religious chauvinism which the politicians exploited to acquire power, like the Communist Party in Russia. **Their counter-productive actions in oppressing the Tamil minority created the need for the Tamils to take up arms and for the formation of a guerilla force called the "Tamil Tigers." They caught the Tiger by the tail and could not let go, so they brought in the Indian Elephant and further compounded the problem.** Seeing a common enemy in the IPKF, they joined forces. The "Elephant" has decided to make a tactical withdrawal and could always return.

Now the rippling effect of *Perestroika* has arrived in Sri Lanka too, all the way from Russia. Implausible as they may feel, **the Sinhalese have to realise that giving the Tamils autonomy and living together as neighbours in our little island - as our ancestors did before European colonisation - would be the only solution.**

Having failed to get rid of the Tamils, despite the adoption of Hitlerian methods - of trying to wipe out a nation in order to solve a problem - they are now eating humble pie. They now realise that it is futile to be influenced by the anachronistic Mahavamsa and have now recognised Tamil as an official language and allowed Provincial Councils. Dutugemunu did what he had to do in his day and age, but emulating him in this day and age is sheer villainy of the highest order and utterly retrogressive.

The re-structuring of the governments in the Eastern bloc of the Soviet Empire involved the liberation of those states from the constraints of Moscow, each developing according to its own aspirations. Similarly for a peaceful Sri Lanka it involves the lifting of the constraints on the minorities. The Tamils, being a separate nation culturally and geographically, should be granted the autonomy they desire, the refusal of which was the main cause of the strife in the island for the last 17 years or so. Only if this is done can the Sri Lankan Government be able to concentrate on building its depleted economy and re-route defence expenditure for peaceful purposes.

It will be good for the Sinhalese too, to live independent of the Tamils. They would be rid of the Tamil problem which has been such a burden to them. It is difficult to understand why the Sinhalese do not want to let go of the Tamils, who have been their historical enemies and whom they tried to get rid of. It is not yet understood why in the first place they did this to the Tamils in the full knowledge that India would intervene. Normally one would have expected them to avoid provoking India into the fray and, in order to avoid it, would have granted federalism to the Tamils when Chelvanayagam asked for it. The only explanation one could attribute to this unreasonable behaviour of the government is that they were blinded by Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism and the need to retain the favour of the Sangha. The shock of Tamil armed resistance and the JVP terrorism in the South have brought them to their senses.

Ancient animosities suppressed by 450 years of colonial rule have risen and will continue to do so, unless there is a reversion to the pre-colonial state of separate existence. It is obvious that the 2 races are incompatible and unable to live together without friction and ignition. **It will be good for both parties to part as friends and live as good neighbours under the cool shade of the Indian umbrella.**

So one would imagine that "*Prema-istroika*" is a good thing and it is hoped that this will eventually bring peace to our strife-torn land.

### A SRI LANKAN VIEW

(continued from page 7)

greater Indian nationalism. Subtle endeavours by pro-DMK magazines tend to portray the Indian army in Sri Lanka as an external aggressor to be resisted by the Tamil nation. To those steeped in the Dravidian tradition of politico-literary propaganda the message in Karunanidhi's novel is very clear. The leaping Tiger Pandara Vanniyan is patriotic because he is resisting an external aggressor. The issue of Tamil rights has been replaced by the broader concept of Tamil patriotism which has to resist all external dominations which also provides for tactical compromises, as in the case of the LTTE's Colombo connection.

By externalising the Indian army and extolling Tamil patriotism, through the most useful medium of the Dravidian movement. Karunanidhi may partially succeed in sustaining the potential of Dravidian radicalism.

Karunanidhi has come a long way from the days when he used to constantly demand that Delhi should send the Indian army to save the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

**What we have now is a Karunanidhi who is carefully conducting a Tamil nationalist ideology into which he is subtly integrating the Tiger's Tamil patriotism, a task which will gradually create the conditions in Tamil Nad which would be conducive for the perpetuation of DMK's politics and a resistance to the influences of pan-Indianism.**

The survival of the LTTE as an independent force is also necessary for the DMK. It is now only too obvious that Delhi's involvement, among other things, has succeeded in politically emasculating the Sri Lankan Tamil movement. Such an emasculation if allowed to proceed any further would ultimately rebound on

the DMK also. The LTTE is the only force that has at least survived it, by resisting it even at a very late stage.

Therefore the strategy is distancing the LTTE from the Centre and creating the conditions for the continuation of LTTE's independence. The LTTE has become very active in Tamil Nad again. They are clearing the state of other groups with the help of the Q-F branch which was earlier formed under State police to hunt down ML's commonly known as Naxalites and later turned into the T.N State's arm for handling Sri Lankan Tamil militants.

**The Tiger flag, the historical symbol of Tamil might now flies high in the North and East no doubt much to the satisfaction of the author of Payum Puli Pandara Vanniyan.**

[Courtesy: Taraki, *The Island*, 18 Feb 1990]

### MATRIMONIAL

Jaffna Hindu parents, good family connections seek suitable pretty bride under 30 years holding degree or professional qualifications for their son 32 years ACCA, working with a London firm of Chartered Accountants, educated at leading Colombo College. Correspond with chart. Mat/1/190 -C/o Tamil International.

\*\*\*\*\*

Jaffna Hindu brother seeks suitable partner 33-39 for his sister British Citizen with post-graduate qualifications and in permanent high government employment. Communicate with details including horoscope. Mat/2/190 - C/o Tamil International.

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# SWEET & SOUR

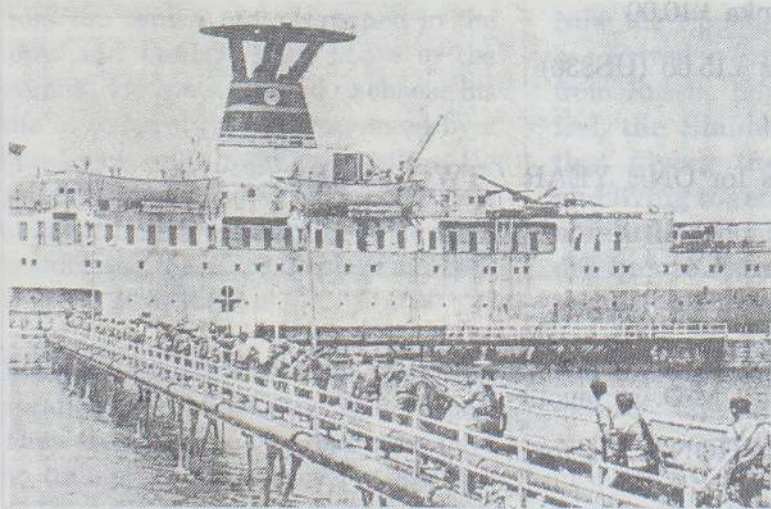
by SOURPUSS

## THE ORISSAN ODYSSEY

An odyssey is a long adventurous journey, or a series of wanderings. How the EPRLF and ENDLF leaders and cadres and families left Trincomalee for Madras, then left for Visakhapatnam, and eventually ended up in Orissa after five days of sailing and waiting at sea, was itself an odyssey for a total of 1,335 men, women and children. The drama began on March 8 at 6.30 a m when the first ship, **Harsha Vardhana**, carrying about 750 refugees lay anchored about three miles from Madras harbour. It was not allowed to berth for several hours. Later, it was allowed to berth in the east quay under tight security, but the passengers were not allowed to disembark.

Mr Premachandran of the EPRLF told *The Hindu*: "When they left Trincomalee, they were told they will disembark in Madras. I do not know what is going on. So they are going to proceed to some other destination. The Government of India has organised this ship. Something is going wrong in Tamil Nadu." He did not know whether it was the IPKF or the External Affairs Ministry which organised the refugees' sailing in the vessel.

Another ship, the **Tippu Sultan**, carrying a further contingent of about 600 was also on its way to Madras harbour. Both ships were under Navy charter, and both were refused clearance, apparently on the instructions of the Tamil Nadu Government.



IPKF soldiers belonging to 12 Assam Rifles boarding 'Harsha-Vardhana' at Trincomalee on Sunday

*The Hindu*, quoting unknown "sources", said the decision to ferry the refugees from Trincomalee to Madras was taken at a meeting of the External Affairs Minister Mr I K Gujral and the North-Eastern Provincial Council Chief Minister Mr A Varadaraja Perumal in New Delhi in

January / February this year. Only on the basis of that decision that both **Harsha Vardhana** and **Tippu Sultan** were hired. "This is an official agreement. Most probably, the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister does not know about it. How is it possible that the two ships can come to India unless there is an agreement?", the sources asked.

*Whichever the "sources" that told this to The Hindu, they were letting the cat out of the bag. If the decision was taken as early as January / February, it showed that the EPRLF leadership was aware of the ground realities, that such an eventuality was likely to occur. Why then go through the exercise of declaring the provincial council into a constituent assembly of Tamil Eelam unless it was meant to be a mockery and a farce? Or was it to create a situation whereby the Premadasa Government would have found it difficult to repeal the Sixth Amendment? It was obvious that the intention was mischievous.*

## KARUNANIDHI'S DEFENCE

Defending the action of the Tamil Nadu Government in asking the Centre to divert the refugees to some other state, Chief Minister Karunanidhi said there were reports that those who were coming by the ships belonged to militant groups. If these people started moving freely in Tamil Nadu, their opponents from other groups would track them down, leading to clashes. "This Government does not favour the movement of armed militants in the state", he said. At the same time genuine refugees would be received in Tamil Nadu and given all necessary facilities. So far, 3,000 refugees had come to the state and they had been lodged in Mandapam and Kottapattu camps. Mr Karunanidhi said the State Government had been surprised when it had been told only a day before the scheduled arrival of the two shiploads. Immediately, the Prime Minister and others at the Centre were apprised of the "undesirable results" of allowing militants to land in Madras, including deterioration of the law and order situation.

## ANDHRA ALSO REFUSES ENTRY

The next stage of the drama occurred when even the Andhra Government now run by Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I) denied entry to the two shiploads. After both State Governments had refused disembarkation, it was planned to divert the two ships from Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh to the Paradeep port in Orissa. But the idea was given up as it was found that the State machinery there was not in a position to handle such a large number of people. So the Andhra Pradesh Government agreed to their disembarkation at Visakhapatnam on condition that the refugees were immediately transported to Orissa by road. They were then taken in 29 buses to the Koraput district in Orissa, after waiting several hours both at sea and at the registration counters inside the port. They were thoroughly checked for any weapons before they joined the queue at the registration counters.

## AMONG THE TRIBALS

Meanwhile on the 10th, an Indian Air Force plane landed at the Orissa capital of Bhubaneswar, carrying a further 296 refugees, including the **Secretary General of the EPRLF Mr K Padmanabha, two ministers of the North-eastern Provincial Council, ten council members and some unidentified leaders of the ENDLF and TELO and their families.** Perumal's secretary K Vigneshwaran, his wife (a Sinhalese) and children were also reported among those who arrived in Bhubaneswar. The refugees later left for Malkangiri and Satiguda in the tribal-dominated Koraput district, about 625 km from Orissa capital.

## RESENTMENT ALL ROUND

But that of course is not the end of the story. Firstly, official circles in Orissa are unhappy that Chief Minister Biju Patnaik had given in to Prime Minister V P Singh's request to house these people in Orissa. Sources speaking to *The Hindu* on condition of anonymity said that Mr Patnaik should have consulted the officials before giving his consent. The district administration has been suddenly over-burdened with the presence of these Sri Lankans, particularly in an area where the Naxalites of the People's War Group are already causing security problems. The Health Department at Koraput is not geared to meet the medical needs of this sudden influx in the district. A *Times of India* report dated March 13 says: "The Orissa Government appears to have bitten much more than it can chew by providing shelter to the EPRLF and ENDLF cadres and their families. Faced with the enormous task of providing an adequate security cover to the refugees from possible attacks by LTTE guerillas as well as to maintain law and order in the region known for its periodic pitched battles between the police and the Naxalites, the government officials are already beginning to throw up their hands in despair. **To add to their woes, there is palpable tension in the air because of the resentment expressed by the local tribals against the encroachment of their area by the Tamil refugees.** As it is, there have been a series of clashes between the tribals and the Bengali refugees resettled here after the Bangladesh war... Apart from the problem of providing security, the police are not quite sure how to handle the refugees themselves, most of whom are militants trained in guerilla warfare."

## BITTERNESS AMONG REFUGEES

As for the refugees themselves, "the bitterness over the Tamil Nadu Government's refusal to grant asylum to them is writ large on their faces", says a Special Correspondent writing to *The Hindu*. "The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister has buckled under the pressure of the LTTE", their leaders say. Perhaps to protect people like you from the LTTE group which are moving about in Tamil Nadu that the State Government has asked you not to enter there, a newsman suggested to a vocal EPRLF activist Sukumar. "We have no such fear" he said. "When

we, unarmed people, are in such dire straits, we are made to run from pillar to post. Is this the way Tamil Nadu Chief Minister is protecting the interests of Sri Lankan Tamils?... When we deserted the island, our destination was naturally a Tamil atmosphere. We are denied that privilege", he said.

**One refugee who was interviewed, Mrs Manoranjithan, said: "My son and I who owe allegiance to the EPRLF have come, but my husband who is an independent person has refused to come saying that things would change for the better there and so there is no need to run away."**

Another *Times of India* report says: "The refugee camp has an unusually large number of teenagers, all of whom describe their vocation as "warfare." And in the midst of such a militant lot, it is surprising to find out one of them named "Gandhi" Devaraj, who can speak quite a bit of Hindi. He said he was named "Gandhi" by the IPKF soldiers with whom he had worked for a long time...**(possibly as an informer - Sourpuss).** Of course not all the refugees are committed to leading a militant life-style for ever. There is 39-year old N Regal, who wishes to go to Madras and start his carpentry business. "We cannot live in Orissa indefinitely. How can we earn our livelihood here." That they cannot live here permanently is echoed by most of the refugees, some of whom have come with their families. Lodged in the Dandakaranya sheds, once used by refugees from East Bengal, the Sri Lankan Tamils appear to be distinctly unhappy in the otherwise picturesque surroundings. There are no toilets, no bathrooms. Men, women and children are forced to bathe in a canal nearby. The language is a major barrier too.. Even as one takes a look at the camp from an elevated site, the place presented a pathetic sight with the refugees huddled in groups behind barbed wire fencing, armed policemen keeping a constant vigil on them and the refugees themselves moving around with dazed look like the survivors of a shipwreck. "Lunch time" was at 4 p m. A long queue was seen before a makeshift kitchen for food. When they returned the plates contained just a lump of rice and a sprinkling of Sambar and assorted cooked vegetables. Asked whether the food is sufficient, a woman refugee just grinned and moved... some of the young men in their teens and 20s were in slings and heavy bandages for injuries said to have been caused in their fight with the LTTE."

## Every passing day makes it worse

The Orissa Government is tying itself up in knots with every passing day. Tension is mounting among the tribal inhabitants, says a report in *The Independent* of 15th March. Police arrested a group of agitators for blocking the traffic leading to the Tamil shelter camps, but later let them off. Slogans like "Go back Sri Lankan Tamil refugees" echo the tribal-dominated district. Tribal organisations headed by the *Koraput Zilla Adivasis Hari-*

*continued on page 21*

# RECONSTRUCTION & DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL EELAM

Prof Kopan Mahadeva, MSc, PhD (Birm), CEng, FIProdE, FRSH, FBIM

(Summary of a paper to the R.O.O.T Seminar, March 1990)

## INTRODUCTION

The task confronting the expected new government of Tamil Eelam is two-pronged: To speedily reconstruct the once-existent but recently destroyed infrastructure by mustering, harnessing and utilising all the Tamil manpower resources available in the various regions of the world and employing them productively on well-planned reconstruction projects, and to employ the same personnel and newly recruited and trained Tamil manpower for further economic development of Tamil Eelam.

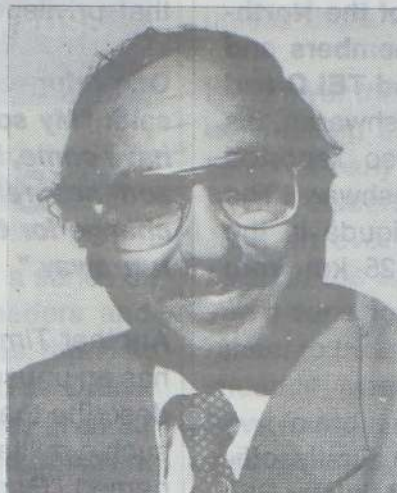
## IDENTIFYING SUITABLE TECHNOLOGIES

### 1. FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS:

Eelam cannot be expected to generate much income from taxes and exports in the initial stages. Hence reconstruction has to be carried out as economically and speedily as possible using minimal financial resources and any initial aids, all locally available raw materials and labour, and traditional skills. Larger financial assistance and aid will be needed from outside, to construct new facilities such as essential new basic industries, offices, secretariats and a parliament building, and to buy urgent machinery, vehicles, etc.

**2. HUMAN RESOURCES:** It will be unrealistic to expect many to return to live and work in Eelam except on a retirement basis unless they can be motivated to participate in power-sharing, policy-formulation and government. Those who opt not to participate in politics will expect job-satisfaction, adequate pay, work-facilities and trouble-free living conditions which can't be guaranteed for some years to come until political stability is reached. Hence it seems most likely that only those who presently work in the island, those refugees abroad who will be compelled to return and persons very close to the political movements which capture power will constitute the main initial manpower for Eelam.

**3. SELF-SUFFICIENCY (S-S):** Eelam has to produce enough food for its population, reconstruct the destroyed and damaged houses, roads, schools, hospitals, offices, and so on, using the raw materials and labour available in the region, and



manage with minimum imports.

### 4. INTERMEDIATE TECHNOLOGY:

While every thought should be given to such ideas wherever appropriate and practical we should not forget that intermediate technologies most optimally combine indigenous and modern technologies.

**5. SELF-RELIANCE (S-R):** Self-Reliance leads new nations to Self-Sufficiency through development. Although Eelam could expect funds from the Sri Lankan and Indian governments, when a peace formula is worked out, aid from the UN agencies and other friendly nations, and some trade pacts with the southern and western provinces of Sri Lanka it will still be best for Eelam if we try to follow the S-R and S-S Principle.

**6. EMPLOYMENT:** Tamils of Eelam have been mostly living at minimum subsistence levels for some years now. They must be provided with facilities to earn enough for proper food and clothing, for their social and cultural needs, for building and maintaining their dwellings, and so on. The youth who are now engaged in the political struggle have to be found jobs. Creating conditions of full employment would be one of the best ways of distributing the fruits of self-rule among all citizens equitably. Hence, it is vital that the technologies which we choose should be such that they provide adequate employment opportunities.

**7. EDUCATION:** Tamils usually give a high priority to education. The youth now engaged in liberation struggles would need accelerated study programmes when peace returns. Our chosen technologies should therefore aid the Tamils in the

field of education, as in speedy development.

### 8. SUPPLIES & SERVICES, MAINTENANCE, SPARE PARTS, ETC:

When hand-picked foreign technologies are imported into Eelam, we must make sure that we will never be let down on any of the above aspects at any time in a manner which could cripple progress and negate the Principles of Self-Sufficiency.

## HOUSING AND BUILDING TECHNOLOGIES

In reconstructing the damaged and destroyed buildings and houses of Eelam, it would be wise to bring them back to the original state speedily and economically, using as far as possible, the same designs and materials as what existed earlier. But for new houses and buildings it would be worthwhile to think of a national policy based on appropriate indigenous materials and designs.

Specific materials and technologies usable for foundations, walls, roofs and floors of poor, middle-class and luxury houses, and commercial buildings and offices in Eelam are discussed in the main paper which recommends that rain water could be collected from roofs and stored separately for washing and drinking, stresses the importance of water-sealed lavatories for all houses, extols the merits of tube wells technology, and discourages indiscreet felling of valuable trees. More wide-spread use of clay bricks is suggested, the use of asbestos discouraged for roofs and ceilings, and the need for another cement factory and steel and building materials factories discussed.

## ROAD-CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSPORT TECHNOLOGIES

Conventional technologies are recommended for repairing the large main roads presently unsuitable for fast and regular traffic in Eelam, including reconstruction of culverts and provision of drainage facilities, especially if reconstruction of culverts and provision of drainage facilities, especially if the project is going to be financed by overseas aid based on the conventional technologies, but the use of concrete surfaces, with the replacement of steel tyres on bullock carts by solid rubber (if not pneumatic) tyres

is recommended for the conversion of existing earth, gravel and sand surfaced minor roads into more popular alternative routes to ease traffic congestion. All the materials required for concrete roads are available locally. Bicycles with carriers, tricycles with trailers, and motorised scooters/scootershaws are recommended for 1-3 commuters as modal means of transport, as well as for haulage of light loads to and from farms, orchards, vegetable gardens, markets, and so on.

In order to save on oil-imports, small battery-powered Sinclair-type cars are recommended for local assembly initially (and for manufacture later) as well as diesel-fuelled rather than petrol-type lorries and buses for road transport of people and goods.

Maximum advantage must be taken of the existing railway facilities for mass transport of passengers and heavy goods like cement, tiles, bricks, sand, grains, fertiliser and oils, with small lines to new places where the economics would justify extensions.

International airports have to be explored in Batticaloa and Trincomalee in addition to Palaly, if tourism is to be developed, and more minor ports for sea trade, to supplement Trinco and KKS.

## AGRICULTURE AND FOOD TECHNOLOGIES

The above technologies are discussed under the sub-headings of Rice Cultivation, Livestock, Horticulture, Water & Irrigation, Deep-Sea Fishing, Food Technology, Coconut & Palmyra Plantations, Orchards and Sugar Cane, Soya Beans, Cashew, Hemp & Cotton, with several new ideas like the use of two-wheel tractors, the more wide-spread use of solar power for drying and processing of agricultural products, the utilisation of wind energy for pumping water by using wind-mills; the use of hand, kerosene and electric pumps to lift underground water through tube wells for irrigating farms; construction of concrete bases under vegetable gardens to save fertilisers and water, and wire concrete boats for fishing cooperatives.

More agricultural intermediate technologies quoted include: Mechanical paddy transplanters, Cotton stalk pullers, Cotton seed drills, Green manure trawlers, Sugarcane crushers, Nut shellers, Paddy threshers, Corn grinders, Animal-Drawn Tool

bars and Harvesters, Jab seeders, Food canners, Methane gas water pumps and Oil expellers; Crop rotation techniques, Special-developed hybrid seeds, Transplantation techniques; Small scale flour milling of grains and seeds; Freshwater fish farming and aquaculture techniques; Small scale manufacture of sugar; Drugs and pharmaceuticals from plants, washing-up liquids from lemon, detergents from copra; Production of edible oil from lemon grass and rice bran, acetic acid from rice husk; Industrial Use of Agricultural Wastes: Lightweight concrete from rice husk, Methane gas from leaves, etc; Use of Natural Fibres for making ropes, paper, etc; New protein sources: Soya, algae, etc; and Rainwater catchment tanks using polythene sheets and pipes.

## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL EELAM

Western-type mass production technologies adapted to Eelam's needs and local resources as larger government industries to produce basic items like fertilisers, wheat flour, cotton textiles, cement, steel, rubber, ceramic and clay products, milk & milk foods, tools & hardware, fuel oils and small transport vehicles (mentioned above) are recommended in two's as far as possible, one each in North and East Eelam, with similar medium state-owned factories for production of essential drugs, pharmaceuticals and vitamins, refrigerators, office and school furniture, exercise & text books, electric bulbs & electrical accessories; Radio, TV & microcomputer assembles; electric motors, petrol & diesel engines, edible oils & fats, boats & fishing nets, water pumps and similar products.

Private sector medium industries are recommended for synthetic textiles, clothing & hosiery; various concrete products, electric, kerosene & methane gas cookers, paints and cutlery/crockery.

Small, cottage & handicraft private industries as intermediate technologies are suggested in government industrial estates or private premises, to produce a variety of hundreds of goods, typical examples being: Canned, bottled & packeted fruits, processed nuts and other snacks and delicacies, spices, herbs, powders and similar food products; small-scale (2-30 tones/day) sugar & cement production; forged farm & domestic tools; rice mills & grinders; motor & auto

vehicle and bicycle spares; soaps, cosmetics and toiletries, aluminium and other metal and clay utensils; tyre re-treading; paper, plastic, wooden & glass products; hand pumps & spares; tobacco products, wines, spirits, beverages and confectionery and earlier-mentioned agriculture based industrial products.

## OTHER TECHNOLOGIES

The other technologies discussed in the author's full paper are Health-related technologies, Information Technology, Technological Research & Energy Technologies recommending, inter alia that:

1. Eelam engineers should develop local equivalents of the type of high-tech equipment that Eelam doctors are used to abroad.
2. Preventive health technologies should receive a high priority;
3. Tamil word-processors now available are usable for communication, administration and publishing textbooks cheaply and inexpensive English micro-computers can be used for most commercial and accounting purposes in Eelam;
4. Eelam should re-commence exploration in Mannar & similar areas for oil. Until then Eelam must minimise on oil usage;
5. Research results from abroad on solar, tidal and wind energy utilisation must be vigilantly monitored by Eelam scientists & adopted promptly to our needs. **A Research Institute should be soon established for research along with Eelam's universities, to develop intermediate technologies to match local resources, needs, talents and traditional crafts & practices;** and
6. All energy from methane gas, alcohol, etc., should be utilised.

## THE NEED FOR FRONT-LINE PROFESSIONAL PARTICIPATION

Finally, economic and technological development of any nation depends on the sincere and active participation of its professionals: Engineers and Technologists, Scientists, Researchers, Doctors, Lawyers, Accountants, teachers, Servicemen, Priests and others. We have many such men and women from Eelam - some of the best in the world. **It is vital for Eelam's economic and technological progress that its professionals too form a part of its front-line political process.**

## PEOPLE AND EVENTS

### WEDDINGS

**GIRITHANANDA**, son of Mr & Mrs C Kanagasabai of 12 Ayshwariya Apartments, Coastal Road, Kalakshetra Colony, Besant Nagar, Madras 90 and **DEEPAKUMARI**, daughter of Dr & Mrs P S Thillainathan of 65/1 Wyman Road, Nallur, Jaffna, at Hotel Palmgrove, Nungambakkam, Madras on 22 March.

**SATCHITHANANDAN**, son of Mr & Mrs C Sankarakumaran of 46 Hill Street, Kandy and **KUMUDHINI**, daughter of Mr & Mrs V Perampalam of 41/21 Shanti Niketan Colony, Madras 101, at Saraswathy Hall, Colombo 4 on 9 April.

### FORTHCOMING EVENTS

April 14: 6.30 - 10.30 pm - Essex Tamil Assn. Cultural Evening & Dinner - Leyton Assembly Hall. For tickets and details call 01-506 2119

April 22: 4.30 - 7.30 pm. Cultural Evening at Surbiton Assembly Rooms, Maple Road, Surbiton, Surrey. For tickets and details call 01 - 949 3012 or 01 - 399 7848

April 28: 6.46 pm. Variety Performance at Brent Town Hall, Forty Lane, Wembley. Organised by Tamil Orphans Trust. For tickets and details call 01 - 908 6221 or 01 - 422 0012

May 5: 6-10 pm - International Tamil Foundation Second Anniversary entertainment & dinner - Wimbledon College Hall. For tickets & details, call 01-567 3221.

May 12: 7pm - midnight - Chundikuli/ St Johns Past Pupils Assn Dinner & Disco - Copeland School, Wembley. For tickets & details call 01-998 5470.

### THAMIL ISAI NATYA VIZHA

Before a very large and appreciative audience which included Dr S Thinnappan, Head of the Tamil Language Dept. of the University of Singapore, Mr Thanganamootoo, President of the International Movement for Tamil Culture and a leader of Mauritian Tamil community and Councillor Len Williams, Mayor of the London Borough of Brent, the West London Tamil School laid on a varied programme of music and dance on the 17th March at the Copeland School, Wembley.

The school is indeed fortunate to have on its staff highly talented and experienced teachers such as Puvaneswary



Vanathi Nithiananthan

Elampooranar and Ambika Thamotharam (vocal), Uma Chandradeva, Gunawathy Shakespeare and Ranjani Sanders (Bharata Natyam), Dr T Nirmalaraj (flute), Suthamathy Srisatkunam and Sivatharani Sahadevan (Veena), Kalaivani Indrakumar (violin), Muthu Sivarajah (Miruthangam), R Ragunathan (Ganjira) and S Ragunathan (Morsing), all of whom took part in the evening's programme along with well-trained and enthusiastic pupils.

The Vizha was outstanding for the uniform high standard of every single item. The current Chairman of Governors of the school, Dr W T Maheswaran emphasised the importance of preserving our unique cultural traditions in this alien atmosphere. The Secretary of the Board, Dr Indrani Pathmanathan, paid a special tribute to the founder of the school, Mr C J T Thamootheram, who was present, to all the teachers and parents who had worked so hard to produce such an enjoyable programme and to the scores of children who had performed with so much enthusiasm and acclaim.

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Chithra Satkunanathan

Any criticism can only be of the delay in starting and the time taken between items. Obviously a show of 15 items and near 100 performers needs a firm stage manager.

T.Krishnan

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## RETURN OF THE TIGERS

Following the withdrawal of the Indian army and the return of the Tamil Tigers, peace, normalcy and order have been restored to all the districts of the NE region. Having defeated the TNA, the military wing of the LTTE has surfaced in all areas and have entrenched themselves in full strength. Tiger flags are flying in all towns and villages and the people are jubilant and relieved to see the LTTE fighters taking control of the security situation and ensuring peace in the war torn territory.

Outside the main LTTE headquarters at Kondavil hundreds of Tamils assemble to get the Tigers to resolve petty disputes, ask favour, and lodge complaints. Jaffna once one of the largest wholesale markets is fast regaining its reputation. Lorries from the deep south and the hill country manned by Sinhalese crews were doing brisk trade.

## LTTE CADRES FOR PROVINCIAL POLICE

Cadres of the LTTE are reported preparing to join the provincial police force of the Northeastern province as part of their plan to establish a law and order machinery in the region.

## SURROGATE GROUPS MOVE OVER

With the deinduction of the Indian Army from Trincomalee, the North-East Provincial Council has become non-operational as the EPRLF and ENDLF which have a total of 55 members in the administrative body have moved out of the region fearing an LTTE take-over. EPRLF member Yogashangary declared that they would not "run away" from Sri Lanka, but find their way to Colombo and other areas outside the North-East and fight democratically for their rights.

## NEDUMARAN IN EELAM

Mr P Nedumaran, President, Tamil National Movement in Tamil Nadu is addressing meetings in Tamil Eelam at the moment. He is also collecting details of the atrocities committed by

the IPKF in Eelam to submit a report to the Human Rights Organisations, once he gets back to India. He is a strong supporter of the LTTE and has been one of the Tamil Nadu politicians fighting for the rights of the Eelam Tamils. Tamil Commissioner Mrs N Ramachandran has assumed duties as Commissioner Inland Revenue Department from Jan 1. Mrs Ramachandran who was earlier Deputy Commissioner is the first woman to hold this post. She is an old girl of Ladies College and Aquinas University College where she obtained her B.Sc degree.

## DEPORT MILITANTS

Mr P Chidambaram, former Indian Home Minister, has urged the government of India to immediately ensure that the armed Sri Lankan Tamil militants roaming in Tamil Nadu are sent back to the island. This is urgent if the safety and security of Tamil Nadu is to be ensured, he said. While the refugees who were coming from the island had to be looked after on humanitarian grounds, the central government could have no sympathy towards armed militants converting Tamil Nadu into a battle field to settle their scores, he added.

## INDIA REJECTS CALL FOR EELAM

On the move by EPRLF towards declaration of independence, India has made it clear that she supports the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. In keeping with this clear policy, India does not support any call for Eelam in any form. TELO too has come out strongly against the EPRLF's action. TELO has said that a unilateral declaration of independence should be "backed by popular support and accompanied by practical control over territory and the potential to defend it."

## MRS PERUMAL LEAVES TRINCO

As the administration in the NE Provincial Council crumbled, some of those close to Varatharaja Perumal are reported to be taking off for



undisclosed destinations. Mrs Perumal took off from an airport near Trincomalee, most probably to India. Mr Perumal has said that he is not a fool and he did not want to be killed by staying behind in the provincial capital after the Indian withdrawal.

## ORISSA TAKES REFUGEES

After being turned away from a traditional Tamil refuge in southern India, more than 1,300 Tamils fleeing from the North-East were given shelter in eastern India. Officials in Tamil Nadu State refused to shelter the refugees, saying militants among them could cause trouble. All the refugees belonged to the EPRLF. Chief Minister of the Eastern Orissa State, Mr Biju Patnaik, said, "We agreed to Delhi's request to resettle the Tamils who were refused accommodation elsewhere, keeping in view the national interests."

The 867 EPRLF refugees housed in Satiguda camp include two ministers of the North Eastern province, Mr S Rajaratnam and Mr George Selvaratnam, the EPRLF general secretary, Mr K Pathmanaban, the chief minister's secretary Mr Peter and father-in-law Mr A Vedanayakam, some councillors and officers of the NE Provincial council. Mr Perumal's mother, an invalid, is also staying here. Two hundred and ninety six of the refugees were flown in from Trincomalee on March 11, while the others arrived a day earlier after being transported in two ships up to Visakapatnam.

### SLMC PLEADS

The leader of the NEPC Opposition Mr M H Cegu Isadeen has requested the government not to dissolve the council to please the LTTE, following the unilateral declaration of Independence made by the ruling EPRLF and ENDLF. If the government proceeds to dissolve the NEPC disregarding the aspirations of the Muslim community, the government would lose the confidence of the Muslim community, he said.

### THREE TAMILS KILLED

Three Tamils from an estate at Punduloya were shot dead by unidentified gunmen on March 9 at about 11.30 p.m. All three victims were from the same family. Empty cartridge cases were found at the scene of the attack.

### LIFE TERM FOR KILLING TAMILS

The killer who roasted two security guards, Ambikaipahan (21) and Kandiah Ganapathy (28) at an amusement arcade in Soho, London was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Old Bailey. During an armed robbery these men led the Sri Lankans and two other staff members to the strongroom in the basement, poured spirit over them and set the room on fire. The Tamils died but the two others escaped with severe burns.

### AN UNDERSTANDING WITH LTTE

Higher Education Minister A C S Hameed was in Trincomalee on March 17 to have talks with the Tigers. Present at the talks were Anton Balasingham, and Yogi of the LTTE, Minister Hameed, Secretary Ministry of Defence Gen Cyril Ranatunga, NE Governor Nalin Seneviratne and other high ranking security services personnel of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police in Trincomalee. The conference was held at the Naval Academy at Dockyard. The meeting was held to ensure that there is understanding between the LTTE and the administration of Trincomalee under the Governor.

Government security officials said

that the LTTE had already given a firm commitment to the government that their armed cadres would not fire or attack any Sri Lankan security service personnel in the Northeast. In response to this the Sri Lankan forces had been instructed by the Government to refrain from entering into armed confrontation with the LTTE.

### DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The Supreme Court declared that the North-East Provincial Council's proposed statute to take over the assets and liabilities of the Central Government run transport boards of the North-East was not consistent with the Constitution of Sri Lanka. Earlier, the measure passed by the NE provincial council was refused assent by the NE governor and had to be referred to the Supreme Court as to its constitutionality.

### TAMIL INTELLECTUALS BLAMED

Chief Minister Varatharaja Perumal addressing a meeting of the NE provincial council on February 26 is reported to have blamed the Tamil intellectuals in the country for failing to play an active role in the liberation struggle.

### PROVOCATIONS

A Jaffna based regular passenger coach plying between Jaffna and Colombo was shot at killing a passenger and wounding several others. Trigger-happy men in a jeep fired at the coach as the jeep overtook the coach at Nochiyagama near Anuradhapura on the night of February 23. The dead passenger was Miss Saroja Subramaniam. The coach was bound for Jaffna from Colombo. In the same area a Jaffna bus was stopped and armed men relieved the passengers of cash, jewellery and other valuables.

### TO BE EVACUATED

Muslims living for generations in the village of Wessagirya in Anuradhapura are to be evacuated from the Sacred City. The village is said to be strewn with a large number of historical monuments.

### MAJOR KANDEEPAN DEAD

Major Kandeepan (28) of the LTTE died in a motor accident and his body was taken to various branch offices of the LTTE in the Jaffna peninsula where the people in their thousands paid their last tribute. The body was cremated at Kandavalai, his native village.

### ARMY CAMPS REMOVED

Two camps belonging to the Sri Lankan Army were removed from Karadiyanaru and Pullumalai in Batticaloa district. The removal is said to be a consequence of talks between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Government. The LTTE has requested the government to remove all camps in the Northeast except the main ones.

### LATE POOPATHY REMEMBERED

Meetings and prayers were held in various parts of the Northeast in memory of Mother Poopathy who died during her fast until death demanding peace during the IPKF - LTTE confrontation.

### SLMC OPPOSED TO REPEAL

The Sri Lankan Muslim Congress has rejected any attempt to repeal the 6th Amendment to the Constitution disavowing separatism saying that the move will be counter productive and that they are suspicious of the intentions of the LTTE which demands the repeal of the Amendment.

### BLOODBATH NOW HISTORY -LTTE

Stanley Dominic, LTTE's political leader for the Jaffna district is reported to have said " We are prepared to wage another war if southern racialism overtakes good sense. We are not asking for anything more than what people outside the North and East are enjoying - dignity, fundamental rights, economic and social development." Speaking from his headquarters at Kondavil he said the so-called impending bloodbath when India pulls out all its troops was "history."

# FOLK TALES AND HISTORICAL STORIES

by Thaatha

## HOW HE BECAME A COLONIST

He had a lonely tea-boutique. It was covered with tin sheets. So, he was known as the "Owner of the tin boutique." The Tea Shop was a landmark to the many passers by. They all stopped there for a cup (usually in a tin) of tea or a "Bottle of Orange Barley." They also of course venerated the way side God Ganesh shrine there.

The boutique-keeper adored Ganesh; when the Ganesh shrine was neglected, he lamented. He was in grief and went to bed in tears. But in a dream he became aware that Ganesh was shifting residence. So, when he got up he was worried. Where can his Ganesh go to? There are no other buildings in the locality. In the evening someone told him that they found a growth like the face of an elephant at the trunk of a nearby tree. He hurried there and hugged the tree, saying, "Oh, you have come here!" Daily he would venerate there. Every one said that it was a tree trunk miracle.

Eventually it was found that the tree marked the end of a tank embankment. So, the tank was restored, and the pioneer boutique-keeper given a colony.

## PLIGHT OF THE PLANET

He had wandered about aimlessly in the endless universe. *Kethu*, the mystery planet with a serpent's body, decided to descend to the planet earth. He was seeking a particular spot on it.

The event happened in the nebulous age, centuries and centuries ago. Elixir of long life "*Amirtha*" had been obtained by the Devas; they obtained it by churning the milky ocean, on the advice of Lord Vishnu, the Preserver. It was being shared by imposition. His head was cut off, but he would not die; he had already swallowed the elixir. The miserable sight of a head without a body, and a body without a head was unbearable. So a snake's body and head were substituted. They wandered in the wide expanse. Astronomers call them the Dragon's Tail and the Dragon's Head.

Kethu, The Dragon's Tail, came down to a lonely spot in Lanka; there he performed thapas and prayed for the remission of his sin. He was successful.

That spot in Sri Lanka has since been called *Thiru Kethu Eswaram*, because of the celebrated event that occurred there. It is located near Mannar.

## FLYING CHARIOTS MADE ON ORDER

Maha Thuvadda was a Master Craftsman of the ancient world. He was the Chief of the Craftsmen; they were reputed to have been well versed in all high techniques. They made the Wonder Chariot for mighty Ravana. It would take him to any place he wanted, in a moment. He had only to wish.

But Thuvadda had one grief. He had no offspring; no progeny who would continue with his celebrated art of Divine Master Craftsmanship. So, he too, like what Kethu did of yore, came to that location in Lanka. There he performed thapas and prayed to the Supreme One.

At length his wishes were granted. His progeny Viswakarma won equal fame as Divine Architect. Thuvadda remained there. He founded a township. It was a well known place of the time; it was called *Maha Thuvadda Puram* or *Matoddam* for short.

## BEADS AND BANGLES

Babylonians and Egyptians, they all came from the West, and the Javanians and Chinese from the East to Matoddam.

*Matoddam*, the city that Maha Thuvadda built, was an important sea-port, during early history. It was the scene of arrivals and departures of men and cargo. Romans, Persians, Arabs and others flocked there for trade. The local spices, pearls and gems attracted much trade.

Bartering was an accepted practice. The Westerners would barter their glassware, beads and bangles. The Easterners their jars of oils. Matoddam became an Emporium of Trade, a veritable Super Market. It earned the name of "*Maha Santhai*", a big market, becoming *Mantai for short*.

## PEARLS, PEARLS, PEARLS

Pearls, Pearls, large and small. That is how it used to be at Marichukaddi over a hundred years ago. The Pearl Bank region once existed from Chilavathurai to Marichukaddi, off the coast line from Mannar to Puttalam.

Fortunes were made during the Pearl Fishery season. Skin divers would go down to the bottom of the sea, from boats. They would then collect whatever oysters they found on the bed of the sea; they would then be hauled up, all very quickly. They cannot hold their breath for long.

When the oysters are brought to the shore, they are heaped and sold in lots. The purchasing trader then sits down to prise open the oysters, one by one. That usually is a very dirty mess. The stench can be unbearable. But the lure of sudden wealth urges them on. After several empties, an oyster with a large pearl may be found. That is the time when fortune is made. Then there is much rejoicing. Small pearls are found more frequently.

Now with improved techniques for under water diving, divers can remain on the sea-bed for very long periods. But the beds have now become empty of oysters, may be because all of them have been collected. It is also said that the bed has got disturbed. Pearl fishing has therefore not been undertaken for some time.

# SRI LANKAN NEWS

## AI CONDEMNS SECURITY FORCES

An Amnesty International report published in December 1989 described widespread extrajudicial executions committed by the security forces in southern Sri Lanka since the state of emergency was reimposed in June 1989. AI has asked the Government of Sri Lanka to institute an independent commission of inquiry into the extrajudicial executions and to withdraw emergency powers granted to the security forces which enable them to dispose of bodies without post-mortem or inquest.

During the course of parliamentary proceedings on February 15, Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne posed the following questions about AI and answered them himself: "What is AI? Did any world body appoint them? They are a self-appointed lot who are trying to throw their weight around. They are a bunch of individuals scraping money and sending telegrams and telexes and wasting our time. They are trying to tell us how to run our country."

AI has consultative status with UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), under which the Commission on Human Rights functions. The Attorney General of Sri Lanka is hard put to defend Sri Lanka's human rights record at the recent session of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva. The parliamentary opposition sent MPs Mahinda Rajapakse and Vasudeva Nanayakkara to Geneva to lobby against Sri Lanka.

## REVOKED

The emergency regulations, permitting police to dispose of bodies without inquest, proscribing organisations, controlling of publications and those dealing with ticketless travel in public-transport were revoked effective from February 15.

## DETAILS OF MISSING MEN DOCUMENTED

The Defence Ministry has documented and sent details of several persons who have been killed or have disappeared in the recent past throughout the country to Sri Lanka's representative to the International Human Rights conference held in Geneva, Attorney General Sunil de Silva. This was in response to a query raised by human rights agencies on the fate of these persons, at the conference.

## DIRECTOR GENERAL

The former High Commissioner of Sri Lanka in the UK, Mr Chandra Monarawela, has been appointed Director General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs upon his return to Colombo. He also carries responsibility for South Asian affairs at the Ministry. Gen. Sepala Attygalle has been appointed High Commissioner of Sri Lanka for UK.

Sri Lanka is expected to forego its turn to hold the Summit conference this April. The government is expected to announce this decision shortly. Pakistan is the current chairman of the SAARC. The Maldives, who will be hosting the SAARC summit in November this year has appealed to Sri Lanka to let it hold the summit.

## MORE CASES OF MURDER

The gang of policemen which security sources claimed were responsible for the Wavulkele massacre in which 12 persons, including a teenage girl, were killed and their bodies set on fire on February 27 are alleged to have been involved in at least 40 cases of alleged murder, rape, robbery, and assault.

Ten policemen have already been taken in for questioning in this connection. The special CID team investigating into this has already recorded statements of several residents and policemen.

At least 80 security forces and police personnel are in custody for alleged involvement in subversive and criminal activities according to Defence Ministry sources.

## JR THANKS IPKF

At a banquet hosted by the Indian High Commissioner Mr L L Mehrotra in honour of GOC IPKF Lt Gen A S Kalkat on March 17, Mr J R Jayewardene said that the IPKF came at his specific invitation, it had lost 1500 lives and spent an enormous sum of money, and Sri Lanka can never forget this. He thanked the IPKF profusely for its services and sacrifice.

## 25 ACCIDENTS A DAY IN COLOMBO

Police stations in Colombo recorded 782 accidents in January - on an average 25 a day. The Colombo traffic police detected 8,093 motor offences during the month.

## SURRENDER FIRE ARMS

Political parties and their candidates, and those in possession of unlicensed firearms or weapons or explosives were required to hand them over to the nearest police station on or before March 1. Any person in possession of the said weapons after March 1, is liable to be prosecuted.

## BBC MAN UNDER FIRE

BBC correspondent in Sri Lanka Chris Nuttall is making the news apart from writing it. Last week he was interrogated by the police for a story he wrote. On 17 March while he was out of his room in a new five star hotel in the Fort, his room caught fire. The fire did not spread. Asked for the cause of the fire a management spokesman said that the absent BBC man had left his immersion heater on.

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*If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in any moral point of view, justify revolution. - Abraham Lincoln*

## If They Don't Want Peace

*continued from page 5*

developed as a formidable military force, but its political growth was not adequate. The stress would now be on political growth, and on gaining "formal accreditation of the Tamil people to continue their struggle." Elections were therefore necessary. The Tigers would take part in a poll to prove that they are the representatives of the Tamils. "We can carry on our mission at the international level with confidence and authority after the poll", Kittu said.

Asked about the fear among the other groups to participate in elections when the LTTE was armed, he said these groups had earned the wrath of the people during the time they held office. He charged that the EPRLF had done to death 3,000 LTTE supporters during its regime. "How can you call them a political party. They acted like puppets."

As the LTTE leader saw it, the entry of Indian forces and the role of the other groups, had "obstructed the Tamils' revolution which was in progress. It is even now difficult to predict the future

shape of democracy for the Tamils, after the revolution is over. But there will be no need for the armed LTTE wing once the revolution is complete."

**PLO-like status:** The LTTE would launch an international political campaign to gain a status like that of the PLO. The LTTE would be the Tamils' representatives just as the Palestinians had the PLO. The Tigers' military success had already been acknowledged all over the world. It was now the time to consolidate politically.

The decision to go for elections and suspend the military moves was only a "respite for Tamils." The LTTE had been fighting continuously from 1983 and now wanted to work politically. The Provincial Council polls would be only an interim settlement, and if the Colombo Government refused to devolve powers as proposed by the LTTE, the fight for Eelam would begin afresh.

**Kittu did not rule out the possibilities of a fresh round of fighting with the Lankan forces,** but added that "it will not take place for some-time. The Sinhala Government is

weak, economically and militarily, after fighting the JVP. They will not want a fresh encounter soon."

The Tigers felt that President Premadasa personally was making genuine efforts to put an end to the ethnic troubles in the island. "Unlike the Indian approach under Mr Rajiv Gandhi's government, the Lankan President had not insisted on the LTTE taking part in peace talks with him after surrendering weapons. He allowed us to come with weapons and talk. India bargained that we should surrender at least 700 weapons before any official talks could be conducted." The LTTE's military struggle had thus been officially recognised by the Lankan government, he said.

On the V P Singh Government's role, Kittu said its attitude was responsive and positive. "We have no difference of perception with it." The mediation by Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M Karunanidhi was also "positive, and could not be called a failure."

(Courtesy: G. Ananthakrishnan, *Express News Service*, Madras 17 March)

## Sweet & Sour

*continued from page 13*

*jan Unnayan Parishad* (Koraput district tribal harijan development council) has threatened to launch an agitation if the refugees are not withdrawn from the area immediately. The council has already sent memoranda to President Venkatraman, Chief Minister Biju Patnaik and Congress (I) president Rajiv Gandhi in this regard. Meanwhile, as the Dandakaranya resettlement of Bengal refugees is to be wound up soon, there is bound to be disenchantment among the Bengali settlers over the government's patronage of the Tamil refugees. Even a former Orissa minister and Congress (I) leader Raghunath Patnaik, a local MLA, in a strong statement threatened to "throw out the unwanted foreigners by force" if the authorities failed to withdraw them immediately.

Another report says that within a week of their arrival here, the Tamil refugees have begun distress sale of their valuables and gold ornaments. Lanka currency of Rs 3 is being swapped for one Indian rupee... **Intriguing is the sudden arrival of an MP of the Lanka Government (I) Mr Ananta Sankari with two others Mr Rajan and Mr Viji,** supposed to belong to a TULF faction. **They are believed to have conferred in secrecy with ENDLF members at Malkangiri on March 12 night on the future course of action...**

The latest report is that at least ten refugees have

escaped from the camps !

## But where is Perumal ?

Now that he has led his "people", unlike Moses, into a promise-less land, where is Mr Annamali Varadaraja Perumal ? Where have his "puppeteers" in RAW hidden him? The first report of course said that he was heading for "an unknown destination in India." Some said Bangalore, but that cannot be. Although the Bangalore climate is very mild, it can turn hot for Mr Perumal because there is a powerful pro-LTTE Indian Tamil lobby in the city. In Colombo when newsmen asked Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne about the whereabouts of the UDI declarer, he said: "I understand he is in Mauritius.. perhaps he is helping the sugar industry." The Indian Government official in Delhi made a cryptic comment; he said he has been authorised to say that he was not in India! *The Independent, Bombay in its column "Private Eye" (March 16) says: "Though Indian correspondents in Colombo have reported that Perumal has arrived in India, New Delhi has officially denied it. But the Chief Minister's family including his mother is known to have arrived by IPKF IL-76 aircraft from Trincomalee in Bhuvaneshwar...* Informed sources in Delhi say that Perumal who was living in an IPKF camp, might eventually end up in Australia. He is believed to have stashed away much of the funds India made available to him ... **Sourpuss learns however that he is being kept under close wraps in Cuttack in Orissa, near the capital, at least for the present.**

Media Excerpts *continued from page 9*

## NO QUESTION OF DISARMING

The emergence of Tigers as the most powerful politico-military force has alarmed the Sinhala chauvinists who have been dreaming of virtual disintegration of the LTTE at the hands of the Indian army. Shocked by the swiftness in which the LTTE has asserted its military power in all areas vacated by the IPKF, these racist elements are now demanding that the Tigers should lay down their arms.

**We wish to make it absolutely clear to all those who demand the surrender of arms from the LTTE that the question of the possession of arms is linked to the safety and security of our people. Our people have a genuine and serious concern for their physical safety**

## AN ODE TO SRI LANKA - WHERE THE BUDDHA CRIES IN DESPAIR

Anton, Kandy

In the third century BC came Mahinda Thera to Sri Lanka,  
To spread the word in that island of the glorious Buddha Dhamma,  
The saintly son of the great King, Asoka Maurya, of India,  
Who was the champion of the teachings of the enlightened Lord Buddha,  
Revolted by horrors of war in Kalinga, himself became an upasaka.

Fair Buddhism flourished in India and spread East and West,  
Scholars and saints from near and far came to learn and pray,  
At the feet of the great Sakyamuni to Kusinara and Buddhagaya,  
Where the Lord Gauthama sat under the spreading Bo tree,  
And perceived the world beyond death and the mysteries of re-birth,  
Concluding that one is re-born in stages, until the end in Nirvana.

His eightfold path encompassed the lives of man,  
And showed them the straight and narrow path,  
And that above all things to thine own self be true,  
And thou canst not then be false to any man.

Could he have ever known that in this age of Perestroika,  
His Sangha in Sri Lanka, the home of Theravada,  
Would not oppose the blood and carnage beyond repair,  
Should stoop so low that the great Master would cry in despair,  
Who provided for all problems to be solved,  
With justice, compassion and Metta in mind,  
Once warriors for lofty virtue, for high endeavour, for wisdom sublime.

So bad is the state of Theravada in once fair Sri Lanka,  
Where the Dhamma is abused by men for fame and power,  
With temples desecrated with blood, cruel disregard for human life,  
We hope and pray that salvation will return to remove the strife,  
To restore the peace, the tranquillity and santity of yore,  
To wait in trepidation for the karma in store.

having suffered a genocidal oppression from the Sinhala army and later by the Indian 'peace keepers'. There is no question of disarming until a permanent political solution is worked out with an effective security system that should ensure the safety and security of our people, a system in which LTTE should play a dominant role.

The LTTE is essentially a liberation movement and we took up arms for the sacred cause of protecting and preserving the life of our people. We are not attached to arms nor do we love violence and war. The role of arms, we firmly believe, is to ensure peace and to safeguard the right to existence. For seventeen years, we fought the Sri Lankan army to safeguard the life and for more than two years, we fought the mighty Indian army for the same cause. It is our sacred duty to defend and protect our people and ensure for them a life of peace, freedom and dignity. [Editorial, *Voice of Tigers*, Feb 1990]

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## இலக்கியக் காட்சி

## நரைக்கு மருந்து

நரைக்கு மருந்து! உதுவும் ஒரு கேள்வியா என்று சிலருக்கு எண்ணத் தோன்றும். இலண்டனில் இருந்து கொண்டு இப்படி ஒரு கேள்வியைக் கேட்கலாமா என்று சிலர் ஏனெனம் செய்யவும் கூடும். சுருளாத மயிரைச் சுருட்டவும், சுருளிபோல் நீண்ட மயிரை நீட்டி நிமிர்த்தவும் மருந்துகள் மலிந்துள்ள இந்த நாட்டில் வெளுப்பைக் கறுப்பாக்கவும் பளுப்பை இருட்டாக்கவும் ஐம்பதுக்கு மேல் கலவைகளும் சேர்வைகளும் உள்ளனவே என்று இன்னும் ஒரு சிலர் தமது ஞானத்தைக் காட்டலாம். சுருட்டவும் நீட்டவும் கற்றுக் கொண்டோம் என்பது உண்மைதான். கறுப்பிக்கவும் இருட்டிக்கவும் அறிந்து கொண்டோம் என்பதும் மெய்யம்மைதான்.

ஆனால் இந்த சுருட்டல், நீட்டல் கல்வியும், கறுப்பிப்பு இருட்டிப்பு அறிவும் போலியான அறிவுகள். உண்மையான அறிவு அல்ல. நரை என்பது ஒரு அறிகுறி. ஒரு காரியம் அதற்கான காரணம் வேறேதோ உண்டு. வெளுத்த மயிரைக் கறுத்த மயிராக்கும் போது அறிகுறியை மறைத்து எம்மை அணுப்பி, மற்றையோரையும் ஏய்க்கின்றோமேயொழிய நரைக்கான காரணத்திற்கு மருந்து செய்யவில்லை. அந்தக் காரணத்தைக் கண்டு பிடிக்க முயலவும் இல்லை.

ஆனால் இரண்டாயிரம் ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னர் தமிழ்நாட்டில் வாழ்ந்த புலவர் நரையைப் போக்குவதற்கு வழி சொல்லாமல், நரை வராமல் காப்பதற்கு வழி சொல்லியிருக்கிறார். அவருடைய பெயர் பிசிராந்தையார்.

பிசிராந்தையார் ஒரு புலவர். அவர் நரை, திரை இல்லாமல் நெடுங்காலம் வாழ்ந்தவர். நூறு ஆண்டுகள் கழிந்தும் அவருடைய தலைமயிர் நரையில்லாமலும், தோல் சுருங்காமலும், பற்கள் விழாமலும் இருந்ததைப் பார்த்து வியந்த சிலர், அவரிடம் போய், "அய்யா பெரியவரே! உங்கட்கு வயது நூறுக்கு மேல் என்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் நீங்களோ நரையும், திரையும் அற்று கூனலும், குடுகலும் இல்லாமல் பொல்லும் ஊன்றுகோலும் இல்லாமல் குமரன் போல் இருக்கிறீர்களே? அது எப்படி?" என்றார்கள்.

பிசிராந்தையார் அவர்களை அமரும்படி சொல்லி அதற்கான காயகல்பம் (Elixir) என்ன என்று விளக்கினார். அவர் சொன்னார்: "உடலின் இளமை உள்ளத்தைப் பொறுத்தது. உள்ளம் களைக்காத வரை உடலும் களைக்காது. உள்ளம் களைத்தால் உடல் களைத்துவிடும். தலை நரையும் தோல் நரையும் உள்ளம் களைத்து விட்டது என்பதற்கு அடையாளம். இன்று வரை எனது உள்ளம் களைக்காது இருக்கின்றது. அப்படி உள்ளம் களைக்காது இருப்பதற்குக் காரணம் நிறைய உள்ளன. அவற்றுள் வீட்டுக் காரணங்களும் நாட்டுக் காரணங்களும் அடங்கும். என்னுடைய வீட்டை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் எனது மனைவியும் மக்களும் அறிவு நிரம்பியவர்கள். தன்மையும் காத்து தன்னைக் கைப்பிடித்த கணவனையும் பேணிக் குடியையும் ஒம்பி வாழ்பவன் என்னுடைய மனைவி. ஏவா மக்கள் மூவா மருந்து என்ற இலக்கணத்திற்கு இலக்கியமாக வாழ்கின்றார்கள் எனது பிள்ளைகள். என்னோடு பழகுகின்ற இளையவர்களும் கண் இரண்டும் ஒன்றையே காண்பது போல எனது குறிய்பு அறிந்து செயல்படுகின்றார்கள். என்னுடைய நாட்டை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் நாடாடும் மன்னன் காட்சிக்கு எளியவனாகவும் கடும் சொல் இல்லாதவனாகவும் இருக்கிறான். அத்துடன் செவி கைக்க வருகின்ற சொற்களையும் பொறுத்து முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றுகின்றான். இவை எல்லாவற்றுக்கும் மேலாக என்னுடைய ஊரிலே பொறுமையே உருவான பொதுத் தொண்டே முச்சாண அறவோர் பலர் இருக்கின்றனர். இவ்வாறு அன்பான வீடும், அமைதியான நாடும், அறிவால் நிம்பிய ஆன்றோர்களும் இருப்பது தான் எனது இளமையின் இரகசியம்", என்றார் புலவர்.

அந்தப் பழந் தமிழ்ப் பாவலனின் இரகசியத்தை உள்ளடக்கிய பாடலையும் ஆங்கில மொழி பெயர்ப்பையும் கீழே காண்க. கண்டு தமிழில் கொள்க காதல்.

இளமையின் இரகசியம்.

The Secret of Youth.

யாண்டு பல ஆக, நரை இல ஆகுதல்	Your years are many we've heard
யாங்கு ஆகியர்? என வினவுதிர் ஆயின்	Yet not a hair of your head grey
மாண்ட என் மனைவியொடு மக்களும் நிரம்பினர்	What's your secret? You ask me
யான் கண்டனையர் என் இளையரும், வேந்தனும்	My noble wife and my children
அல்லவை செய்யான், காக்கும் அதன் தலை	Are greatly learned and full of wisdom
ஆன்று அவிந்து அடங்கிய கொள்கைச்	My servants anticipate every wish of mine
சான்றோர் பலர், யான் வாழும் ஊரே.	My king does no evil at all:

But protects all his subjects evermore.

I have companions in plenty

In the vilage where I live,

Men who are wide in their learning,

With their passions all quenched,

And with humility and modesty in all their

ways

புறநானூறு- 191.

Purananuru 191

## REVIEW

## Seminar of ROOT at City University, London

The Research Organisation of Tamil Eelam which is engaged in grass roots initiatives in Tamil Eelam for the past couple of years, conducted a two day international seminar in London on the 24th and 25th of March 1990. The discussants and participants in the seminar were people of consequence and men of acclaimed experience and expertise in the chosen areas and to say the least it was a treat to listen to them.

During the first session of the seminar on the first day the discussion and deliberation revolved around the subject of development. Mr M. Sri Shanmugarajah who is currently the Secretary, Development and Planning in the North East Provincial Council spoke on the subject of "Economic Development and the felt needs of Tamil Eelam".

Professor Kopan Mahadeva, who has served in the public and private sectors of Sri Lanka for decades delved deep into the subject of viable indigenous technologies for the reconstruction of Tamil Eelam. Mr K. Paramothayan the father of Cooperative movement and a seasoned writer of Sri Lanka fame kept the audience spellbound by his rapturous speech which was full of facts and candid opinions. He emphasised the inculcation of correct values and attitudes to Tamils is more important than the imparting of education and skills. He stressed that we should not fall flat before the technology and that technology cannot thrive unless it is subordinated to human needs. He concluded his speech by saying that an Eelam Community College is a crying need.

The afternoon session presided over by Mr Ratnasingham started with a speech of Mr K. Sivarajah on the subject of fisheries development in Tamil Eelam. His speech was well received and he succeeded in convincing the audience that the people of Tamil Eelam could depend on fisheries as their mainstay.

Prof. Durairatnam who is currently working as an adviser to the Brazilian Government - delivered a well researched speech on the subject of "Exploitation of the seaweeds of economic importance"

Mr S. Balasundaram who is one of the directors of the ROOT, chaired the third session of the first day and Dr S.S. Ganesanandan presented three papers on behalf of their authors who could not be present. The research papers were on the following subjects: (a) Milk collection, Processing and Marketing in the North East Province. (b) Crop - Livestock Integration of small holders; and (c) Development of Plantation Agriculture in the Jaffna District.

The third session was as lively as the previous two and Dr Ganesanandan proved his mettle by providing quick and ready answers to the various relevant questions thrown at him by the audience.

Morning session of the second day was presided over by Dr S. Pasupathyraja, Chairman of MIOT and the session started with the profound speech by Prof C. Sivagnanasundram of the Jaffna Campus, generally known as Dr Nanthy. The main anchor of his speech was that health cannot be promoted without social development and that there is before us the enormous task of developing the Tamil society

which has been battered and bruised over the past decade. He identified the environmental needs and said that it would be idle to talk of improving health without having proper facilities for teaching the personnel engaged in the provision of health care needs. He highlighted the problem by saying that in Jaffna there are only 2 dental centres for a population of 67,000 children and that there is only one surgeon in place of 24 surgeons for the 6 base hospitals in the North East of Sri Lanka. He outlined the health care problems faced by the Tamils and pleaded with the audience to make available £100,000 immediately so as to enable him to resuscitate "the collapsing health care condition in Tamil Eelam". He said that at present a para medical institute is a *sine qua non* in Tamil Eelam and that ROOT should prioritize this in their programme. Following Prof. Sivagnanasundram, Dr S. Jegarajah, Dr S. Shanmugathan and Dr Seermaran spoke on the health care needs of the Tamils in the years to come in the villages of Tamil Eelam. Dr S. Mahendran and Dr S. Sivanandan demonstrated the need for Tamil Eelam to be healthy to become wealthy.

The afternoon session was devoted to financial matters and was conducted under the presidency of Mr S. Ramanathan. Dr Arjuna Sittampalam the renowned financial advisor of Swiss Bank fame spoke on the subject of financial infrastructure for Tamil Eelam. His cautiously worded statements were well received by the audience. It was relieving and refreshing to hear from him that Tamil Eelam is a viable proposition and that we could develop Tamil Eelam into a safe haven provided there is political stability in the country.

Last session was Open Forum and Mr A. Emmanuel presided. During the open forum there was a free exchange of views and the key speakers of the seminar answered the questions asked by the audience.

It is interesting to note that a good many of the audience volunteered to serve in the various sub-committees that were formed to give effect to the various projects proposed by the experts and skilled men who spoke or submitted papers.

My reporting would be lopsided if having faithfully recorded the proceedings I fail to say something of the non-rosy side of the proceedings. In spite of the bubbling enthusiasm that was evident during the two days, the doubt whether Tamil Eelam will become a safe place for one to move about appeared to be rankling in the hearts of a few. The experts found it difficult to forget the past bloody and violent incidents in Tamil Eelam. Though all participants did not express such fear in so many words, yet they have cautiously hinted at it. Two solicitors among the audience who actively participated in the deliberations gave vent to their feelings when they said that it would be idle to speak of economic regeneration when there is the fear of political instability and the diffidence that people would not have the freedom from fear at least for some time to come.

Though it could be hoped that the Rule of Law would be brought back to Tamil Eelam soon and that freedom from fear will be restored to the people without delay, yet scepticism continues to haunt the undecided expatriate community.

By Arthasastrri