

"In a homogeneous society, adult franchise and territorial representation is the ideal thing. When the picture is complicated by the presence of racial and religious minorities, adult franchise and territorial representation would ultimately bring about the subjugation of the minority to the majority. This is what happened in Sri Lanka".

From the book:-

Political Memoirs of an Unrepentant Communist
by N. Sanmugathan

PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS

BRING JAFFNA TO STANDSTILL

Tens of Thousands Block Jaffna Secretariat

Jaffna came to a virtual standstill on Wednesday, February 5, when mass demonstrations from various parts of the peninsula converged opposite the Government Secretariat premises and demonstrated till noon as a token protest against the Government's activities. At 1.30 p.m. the demonstrators handed over a memorandum to the Government Agent, Jaffna, who received it and promised to transmit it to the Government immediately. A copy of the memorandum was also handed over to the ICRC representative.

Jaffna responded magnificently to the call for mass demonstration made by about 50 Organisations of various classes and functions. All shops remained closed throughout the day.

Workers downed their tools and students walked out of their classes to join in the demonstration. Farmers, men, women, children, displaced persons and refugees joined the demonstrations in thousands.

Demonstrators from Valikaman North, South and West started in procession from the Kokkuvil Hindu College junction, demonstrators from Vadamaradchy and Kopay areas started the procession from Kalviyankadu junction, people from the islands division who are now refugees started the procession from Saththiram junction in the Grand Bazaar area, the Thennamaradchy people took out the procession from Ariyalai junction and the Gurnagar people took out the procession from the Cathedral Church junction. The proce-

sionists after wending their way through many of the important streets of Jaffna city reached the Jaffna Secretariat about 9.00 a.m. It was a Sea of heads opposite the Jaffna Secretariat.

The demonstrators remained at the secretariat premises shouting demands and waving placards till noon when at 12.30 p.m. the President of the ad hoc body formed for staging the demonstration, Mr. Cyril, handed over a memorandum to the Government Agent, Jaffna, who received it and promised to transmit it to the President promptly.

The memorandum contained the following demands:-

- * Removal of all economic blockade.
- * Withdrawal of armed forces from all Tamil villages.
- * Rehabilitation and resettlement of the villagers in their homes after the withdrawal of the armed forces.
- * Immediate withdrawal of all armed forces personnel from occupied school buildings.
- * Removal of embargo on petrol and other fuel to enable restoration of transport services.
- * Regular supply of medicines to hospitals in Jaffna.

- * Removal of prohibition to transport of lime, chemical fertilizers and insecticide to the North.

The demonstrators left the Secretariat premises after handing over the memorandum to the Government Agent. Observers commented that the mass demonstration staged by the people of Jaffna on Wednesday was the biggest ever public demonstration with people of various walks of life and age irrespective of sex participating in thousands to give vent to their feelings of disgust and anger towards the oppressive Sri Lankan Government.

NAVAL BOAT SUNK

Defence Ministry Sources in Colombo said that a Naval Speed Boat of the Sri Lankan Navy was sunk by the LTTE in the seas off Poonakari on Monday February 3.

According to the same source 4 armed personnel of the Sri Lankan Government died in the incident.

The naval speed boat which was sunk was on duty transporting provisions to the Army Camp at Elephant Pass.

Musings of Mr. Meddle



Hamilton Wanasinghe has said that it is the duty of the Armed Forces and Police to protect the life and property of the people.

News -

Is he sure his message has reached in time the foreign donors meeting in Paris?

Mysterious Fishing Trawlers Appear Off the Vadamaradchy Coast

On Monday the 3rd of February about seventy five fishing trawlers appeared at a distance off the coast of Valvettipurai - Point Pedro beach line. The Sri Lankan gun boats were seen to escort these trawlers. Local people who saw these large cluster of fishing trawlers did not know exactly the identity

of these trawlers. There was general speculation that they may be the much publicised Indian trawlers transporting Tamil refugees from Tamil Nadu to Mannar.

But this cluster appeared again on Wednesday 5th at about the same location. Now the speculation is that these must be Sinhalese fishermen

doing prawn fishing escorted by the Sinhala Navy.

The recent visit of the Sri Lankan Naval Chief to India and his meeting with the Anti-Tamil Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the well-known Anti-Tamil Naval Chief of the Indian Navy among others indicate that this is a conspiracy jointly hatched by the racist Sinhala government and the power-crazy and petty Bahinns of India who after depriving the Tamil fishermen of their livelihood are bringing Sinhalese fishermen to do fishing in Tamil homeland under the aegis of the Indo-Sinhala Navy.

4 TAMILS SHOT DEAD

News from Batticaloa state that four Tamils have been shot dead at Ambilanthurai in the Batticaloa District.

According to this report the village of Ambilanthurai was surrounded by the Sri Lankan Army and some Tamil gangsters. On the morning of Sunday and Tamils were subjected to assault and other forms of torture. The report adds that four Tamils were tortured and shot dead. The dead have been identified as Gopalaratnam Yogan (24) of Kurukkalmadam, Sin-

nathamby Mahendrarajah (24), Ethirmannasingam Vajayarajah (27) and Nalathambay Paskaran (25) all of Ambilanthurai.

CANNON FIRE ALL OVER COASTAL AREAS

Sri Lankan Naval boats sent volleys of cannon fire right round the coastal areas of Jaffna peninsula on the night of Wednesday and morning of Thursday (February 5 and 6).

Reports from various places

show that almost all coastal areas were subjected to attack. According to these reports the attacks have been made along the coastal areas of Chulipuram Keerimalai, Thiruvadinilai, Ponnalai, Vadamaradchy and Ariyalai coast.

2,419 Armed Forces Personnel Killed

Col. Sarath Munasinghe, Army spokesman, recently said that in all 2,419 armed service personnel died from the beginning of the current war in June, 1990.

According to Col. Sarath Munasinghe 1,944 of the killed belonged to the Sri Lankan Army. The rest belonged to the Sri Lankan Navy, Air Force, Special Task Force and the Police force.

Political Bhikkus

Political Bhikkus are posing a serious threat to the country's sovereignty by constant wagging of their fanged tongues.

Men who dedicate themselves towards propagation of the noble mission of Lord Buddha have set themselves to defile the rules of VINAYA by their misdeeds. If they are permitted to permeate the affairs of the State unchecked there will be serious consequences.

The above observations are sequel to the utterances of Rev. Vimala Thero and his of Rev. Rasira Thero both of whom have described Mr. Thondaman as irresponsible and the ghost of Pirabha. It is evident that both these Prelates must have been in

a ghostly trance when they made these public remarks.

Mr. Thondaman has been a trade unionist, Politician and now a Minister. It was, therefore, well within his purview to make a conciliatory political speech. Any sensible and right thinking citizen would welcome his role as a mediator in bringing the two major communities closer. Mr. Premadasa's tune may also be in consonance but he is inhibited by a fear of the consequences arising out of his role as mediator.

Generally, the majority of Sinhalese are flexible to trust and therefore the Political Bhikkus have influenced the lay people by a wrong notion of blindly following them. Unlike the ordinary people,

these priests have no problems. They are found with all comforts and facilities.

Mr. Premadasa as an experienced politician and a practising Buddhist, ought to know best about these political bhikkus. His experience will tell how his predecessors have succumbed to too much interference from bhikkus of this category. The task of resolving the present crisis is more of a political nature

and as an executive President, his role is paramount.

The Tamils have vindicated their stand as citizens of this country against violations of their Human Rights. If democracy in this country was well on course, there would have been no need for the youths of the North East to stage an armed insurrection. By the deployment of armed forces, the situation has taken a turn for the worse. Bombings, strafings and shell attacks have become common features to the people of the North

and East. It was, therefore, inevitable for the LTTE to make a counter attack. Mr. Premadasa's position is precarious especially when it comes to making courageous decisions as Head of a State and more so as Head of a Community at which another community is at logger heads. There is a positive role cast on him as Head of State especially in the context of Human Rights violations. He must not shirk that role.

D. Jeyvananthan

Vathiry

Goodwill Mission of Religious Dignitaries to the North

Dear Sir,

A team of Catholic missionaries visited many refugee centres, saw the various damages and met people of different walks of life and got a first hand impression of what really happened in the north during the security operation. They told me that the people of the south west were not fully informed of these unholy and pitiful scenes; and promised to give the correct picture to them, if it is feasible.

Another Christian delegation led by the Former President of the Methodist Mission, Rev. Dr. S. Ma

Perera also visited the various places of the north and noted the sufferings of the people. It is impressive to learn that they gave the best publicity in the press of the south and also appraised the true position to the government leaders to stop further bloodshed.

It is also revealed that another team led by the Catholic Bishops of this country are billed to visit the north soon. It will be better if they are made available to those who want to meet them and to voice their sentiments and welcome.

The leading members of the Mahasangha also visited

several security camps, met the service personnel and saw their security arrangements and expressed their grief and sorrows about their plight, recently. It will be appreciated if they also see the affected places and meet the people to get better information since mid June 1990 civil strife. The people will be pleased to welcome them and to give protection. The ICRC delegation will be ready to take them round. They may also bring the relatives of those security men, who are still captives in the north.

J. Arulanandam

Vayavilan

The Great Betrayal of the Pensioners

The Editor,
Hot Spring.

Sir,

Hate off to "The Hot Spring" for News of the woes of the hapless and helpless state pensioners. The pensioners were promised Rs. 260 per mensem as C. L. A. from election platforms in 1982. Despite several appeals to those in authority and letters to the press the promise has not been fulfilled.

A pensioner can truly repeat the words of O'hellio, The Moor of Venice and say "I have done the state some service and they know it." However the Sri Lankan government has forgotten the

services rendered by the pensioners.

Although the pleas of the pensioners have fallen on deaf ears, they need not despair. We cannot strike. Focusing public opinion by street parades and placards may prove risky in the present context. We may be hounded and paped at detention camps down south.

The pensioners can influence their family, kith and kin, neighbours, passengers in buses and trains and the people in the dust and din of the market-place. These influence can finally peacefully snowball in the ballot boxes during the next election.

S. Jeyaratnam

Co'ombo-4

C. L. A. Rs. 260/- for Pensioners Shelved?

Cost of living Allowance of Rs. 260/- promised to the pensioners by the present Sri Lanka President Ranasinghe Premadasa in a debate of Parliament, has been shelved, stated Mr. P.S. Thiruchelvam, the Hon. Secretary of the Federation of Northern Pensioners who returned after meeting the Hon. Minister of public administration, Mr. Fergus Perera and the Director of Pensions Mr. W. Piyasena in Colombo. He further stated that although the Director of Pensions in his report strongly recommended the C. L. A. to pensioners, the Ministry officials and others are reported to have expressed dissentient opinion and stated that the pensioners of Sri Lanka were not in active community service and could manage without it. The Pensioners' Association in the South, however, are perturbed about this

lethargy and are preparing an island-wide agitation to bring pressure on the Government to pay the cost of living allowance to pensioners as well in view of the present high cost of living.

It is also reported that the Government is considering revision of salaries to all state employees and the Federation of Pensioners has in its memorandum appealed to

the said Committee to consider a proportionate increase to pensioners as well and also rectify several anomalies in matters relating to pensions and W. & O. P. contributions etc.

These and other matters are expected to be brought to the notice of the Hon. Minister of Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Home Affairs at the next meeting scheduled for 26-2-92.

Appointment of part-time English Teachers in the North postponed

The Government sometime back formulated a scheme to appoint suitable retired Teachers including public servants as part-time teachers of English on a contract basis at Rs. 75/- per hour. Accordingly appointments

were made in other parts of Sri Lanka as from January, 1992 except in the North. It is now reported that these appointments have been stalled in the North due to lack of sufficient funds.

79th Birth Anniversary of Father Xavier S. Thaninayagam

Rev. Fr. Xavier S. Thaninayagam was born on 8th February, 1913. He gave an added impetus to the Tamil Liberation Movement. It was

he who brought into focus the great cultural heritage and the noble ethical ideals of the Tamil people. He gave the Tamil people a cultural identity and a political stature.

This deeply-read scholar bestrode his continents like a colossus, carrying aloft the flag of the Tamil Language. In 1964 he brought into being the International Association of Tamil Research linking the world's foremost Tamil Scholars who were able to meet regularly at International Conference in Kuala Lumpur, Madras, Paris, Jaltua, Madurai and Singapore.

Rev. Fr. Thaninayagam participated personally in the Satyagraha at Galle Face Green to lodge his objection to the imposition of Sinhala Only Official Language Act of June, 1956. Even before Tamil Vattachi's book 'Emergency 1982' relating to the racial riots of that year was displayed in International Booksellers, photostat circular letters describing the atrocities perpetrated on the Tamils in Sri Lanka were posted to every Tamil living

in European Capitals. Perhaps, Rev. Father Thaninayagam was the first expatriate to internationalise the Tamil Cause.

The late Rev. Fr. Xavier Thaninayagam was accorded a civic reception by the Jaffna Municipal Council on 26th April, 1980. He delivered the Chivanayakam Memorial Address for the year 1980 four months prior to his death on 1st September, 1980.

—Thiraviyam

Best Six Doctors

The Best six doctors are SUNSHINE, WATER, AIR, DIET, EXERCISE, AND REST.

No one can deny this. These doctors do not charge you even a Cent. Their treatment is ever free. Get their free treatment and be ever happy and healthy.

—Swamy Sivanauda.

Govt. Policy is Shaped by Buddhist Clergy

Use Your Good Offices to End War

AN EELAM CITIZEN WRITES TO Rev. SOMA PERERA

We are deeply moved by your earnest and diligent efforts to bring the cognition of the Sinhalese Community and the International Community, of the barbarous attacks let loose on the Tamil Community in Sri Lanka. You have further seen the callous destruction of thousands of houses, schools, business establishments, Govt. buildings and temples. You would have realised how amidst such state terrorist activities the non-combatants have to live out their lives in the North and East. Besides, are the members of the L. T. T. E. really terrorists? No less a person than the erst-while Indian Major General Sardesh Pande has applauded them as noble-fighters for the liberation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. It is plain even to the least experienced political observer that the Government policy with regard to the Tamils is shaped largely by the Reactionary retrogressive and stupid Buddhist High Priests and the war-mongers in the top-positions in the Armed Forces.

While India advocates vigorously the continuation of the Unitary set-up in Sri Lanka, it continues also to harbour the E. P. R. L. F. which during the I. P. K. F. occupation had declared that the North and East in Sri Lanka had seceded from the Sri Lankan set-up and ushered in the Tamil Eelam self-rule motion. How did the Indian Government view this development? It has always been untrue to its professions of neighbourly good-will. The P.L.O.T.E., a discarded Tamil Militant Organisation had staged a coup on the unsuspecting Maldivean Govt. This was foiled by the intervention of the Indian Govt. But the Sri Lankan Government has extended to them a warm welcome to our Island Home, despite the grave international crime they had committed on a peaceful neighbourly nation. This is the type of moral stance that Sri Lankan Govt. adopts in regard to weighty issues.

Feverish preparations are being made by all the wings of the armed services to launch a very massive attack

on the Jaffna Peninsula in the new future probably in the middle of February, just after the Paris Aid Consortium meeting so that they could obtain the necessary Financial Aid without embarrassing European donors to meet the war expenses of a portion of 1,500 crores of rupees estimated in the budget for 1992.

Either it is with this objective, or marking time till they receive the new consignment of 75 powerful tankers, a number of Gun Boats and fighter planes from China and from 3rd World Nations at low rates, or M/s. Walkers (Ceylon Ltd.) & Co. Colombo to locally manufacture and supply the Bombs (45 Gns. capacity steel drums filled with explosives at a cost of 2½ lakhs each) and artillery

K. Thiruchittampalam

shells, or till the Government's proposed increase of another 25,000 personnel youth armed forces are completed. It is with this objective that Mr. Premadasa and his Cabinet colleagues are attempting a hypocritical move to reach an understanding with the LTTE. Meanwhile Mr. Premadasa has appointed two committees to work out a solution to the Ethnic strife only to camouflage his military moves to disable the LTTE. His valued Cabinet colleague Mr. Thondaman's efforts to bring the warring parties to the conference table does not promise to bear fruits.

That Mr. Thondaman's intended visit to the North has been postponed a number of times highlights the fact that the Govt. is not seriously concerned about the necessity of arriving at a peaceful settlement.

We would earnestly urge upon your honour to intimate to all the aid-giving countries, and the World Bank how their financial aids are channelled for specifically military objectives in the North and East of Sri Lanka. It is sad to reflect how the Christian countries in the West could knowingly contribute to the slow and steady

destruction of a noble and always peace loving people, the Tamils. The North and East of Sri Lanka is on the brink of a vast destruction to be wrought by the Fascist Government of Sri Lanka. What a vast tragedy is to be staged after the Paris Meeting Mr. Premadasa has adopted the delaying tactics to execute his nefarious plans. He is a past master at this game. If the International Community does not stir itself to put an end to the war plans of Mr. Premadasa it will very soon find in the North and East a colossal desert bereft of every-living thing. It is the bounden duty of every newspaper in the world to draw the earnest attention of all the peace-loving people in the world to the tragic plight of the Sri Lankan Tamils. Can you afford to see the North and East of Sri Lanka go the way that Biafra had to take? Please act now tomorrow would certainly be too late. Besides, we feel that International Organisation like (1) Amnesty International, (2) International Commission of Jurists, (3) International Alert, (4) British and Dutch Refugee Councils, (5) The Jesuit and Catholic Refugee Services, (6) The World Council of Churches, (7) European Economic Community Countries, (8) Commonwealth Countries, (9) U. N. O., (10) Development Aid Committee - America, Japan and European Community Countries, (11) U.S.A. Refugees Committee should be appealed to, to bring immediate pressure on the Sri Lankan Government to stop forthwith its Genocidal war and initiate peace talks with the LTTE the only legitimate Organisation of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

It has been announced by the L. T. T. E. high Command that all the Police and Army personnel now in the custody of the L. T. T. E. would be permitted to be taken to their homes down South of Sri Lanka by their parents or closest relatives. Earlier the L. T. T. E. had requested the nearest relatives of the detainees to come and see them personally. But

now as a measure of true humanity they have gone one step further and are prepared to release them. This noble gesture on the part of the L. T. T. E. Leader Mr. V. Pirabakaran should be viewed against the back ground of the numerous atrocities the detainees had committed on the innocent Tamils.

The Rehabilitation Ministry has stated that due to the North-East War from 1989 to 1991, 12 thousands were killed and 17 lakhs had been made refugees by the atrocities of the Sri Lankan combined Forces. But a Colombo Based workers Union has stated that 50,000 of Sri Lankan Tamils have been killed. Surely the above account is only a rough account. But the actual account could be more than the above account.

1. Bauddha Sinhala Colonization is being rapidly done in the Army occupied Traditional Home Lands of Tamils in the North and East of Sri-Lanka. To achieve this object, the Sri-Lankan Army is snatching by force the

Land Deeds from the Residents of these areas and driving them away.

2. Sri-Lankan Tamil Refugees from India are being indirectly forced to return to the occupied territories of North & East, but housed in Refugee camps, in order to Hood-wink the Donor Countries in two ways (a) To get Aids in the pretext of Rehabilitation to purchase arms, (b) To show to the outside world that the situation in Sri Lanka has returned to Normal.

3. Within the last 48 hours, Islands off Jaffna and all the surroundings of Jaffna peninsula have been Militarized in full swing for a very heavy attack by all the Sri-Lankan Combined Forces (Army, Navy, & Air-Force)

The Christian West and all Donor Countries Members must make a visit to North of Sri-Lanka (Jaffna Peninsula) watch the situation and press the Sri-Lankan Govt. to declare a Cease-fire and remove all the Military bases from North & East. If this is not done, surely 10 lakhs of Innocent Tamils will have to lose their lives and all the balance remaining houses, Churches, Temples, Schools, Hospitals etc., etc., will be razed to the Ground level by the Sri-Lankan Air Force, Navy & Army.

Anna Remembrance Day

On February 3rd 1969, C. N. Annadurai, the founder-leader of the D. M. K. passed away. At the time of his death Mr. Annadurai was also the Chief Minister of the State of Tamil Nadu in India.

Mr. Annadurai started his public life as a disciple of Periyar E. V. R. as my Naicker.

Mr. Annadurai was an accomplished scholar - a fine speaker and writer. He is regarded as the person who set in the renaissance in Tamil literature and art.

The DMK which was originally a non-political social up-lift movement soon entered the political field and Anna - as he was affectionately called - was able to defeat the formidable Congress Party under the late Mr. K. Kamaraj.

After Anna's demise his party split into two - the DMK and Anna DMK - and remain fierce enemies of each other.

Anna is regarded as the symbol of Tamil and Dravidian nationalism.

Anna is remembered by Eelam Tamils as he unreservedly supported the Tamil cause in the Island.

PANORAMA

Indian Overlordship

Ever since India gained independence from Britain, India has been a nuisance and threat to her neighbours.

Indian forces have entered the territories of almost all her neighbours under one pretext or other. Pakistan, Bangla Desh, Tamil Eelam and Maldives had the misfortune to put up with the alien Indian army in their territories.

Even where there had been no direct military intervention in neighbouring countries such as Nepal and Bhutan India has secured her hegemony by other means.

It was only China that took the bully Indian bull by the horns. Even today China is in occupation of large areas of land which India claims is hers and India is not able to redeem this territory which she lost when she got the beating from the Chinese in the sixties.

Bengal and Bengalese

Bengal and the Bengalis are divided into two. There is East Bengal which is now an independent state called Bangla Desh and there is West Bengal which is a state within the Indian Union.

In both Bengals the people belong to the same race and speak the same language - the difference being that while the East Bengalese are largely followers of the Islamic faith but the majority of West Bengalis are Hindus. In both Bengals, however, there are Hindu and Muslim minorities respectively.

By the way both the national anthems of India and Bangla Desh are compositions of the great Bengali Poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

The Language of hypocrisy

Mr. J. N. Jha, the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, (poor man he cannot ape his one time predecessor J. N. Dixit as Indian viceroy) has said the ethnic problem

in the island has to be solved by federalism which is already there in the 13th Amendment to the constitution of Sri Lanka without using the nomenclature.

Diplomacy has often been found to be hypocrisy.

A former Chief Justice of India Baghat, observed in the course of his judgement in a Rajas'han case that the Indian constitution could be conveniently termed federal or unitary depending on the circumstances.

Does not Mr. Jha know that before the 13th Amendment was brought in it was referred to a five member court of the supreme Court of Sri Lanka and that the Supreme court held that the 13th amendment did not infringe any of the existing provisions of the unitary theocratic,

Jayawardhene made Constitution?

India coins new words

'Geo-political interest' is a word set in circulation by Indian hegemonists to replace the 19th century concept explained by the term 'spheres of influence'. Behind the latter concept was the insatiable desire of imperialism to wield power. It is now discredited and European states are becoming co-partners with equal rights and responsibilities in a European Community of nations.

India is reviving the old concept of super powers with spheres of influence. But true to Brahmanical hypocrisy it has chosen to hide its evil intentions by replacing discredited term nology with newly coined phrases.

- Spectator -

TAMIL LIBRATION MOVEMENT STARTED IN FEBRUARY

Lankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi (F. P.) launched its first statewide one day hartal throughout Tamil Eelam territory on 20th February, 1956, when the

United National Party (which had as its president, Sir John Kotelawala who was Prime Minister as well) convened its Kelaniya Sessions to pass the Sinhala Only resolution

which was to pave the way for the dissolution of Parliament to seek a mandate from the voters to make Sinhala Only as the Official Language of the whole Island.

the only official language of the whole Island in spite of the fact that it had an electoral understanding with the LSSP and CP and also the backing of the entire Tamil speaking voters residing outside the North Eastern Province.

Government in 1970. The monument was re-erected at Kolonnawa but the General Clerical Service Union in which he was member, quietly shifted the venue of the annual commemoration to the martyr's own residence at Vaddukoddai.

Lankai Tamil Arasu kadchi (ITAK) convened a Special Convention of its membership at Trincomalee in August to decide its strategy to fight the imposition of the Sinhala Only Act of 1956. To attend this Conference, its membership marched to Trincomalee on foot from every part of Eelam. In connection with the big event, an open public competition was held to select a National Anthem for the Tamil people. A song entitled 'Valha Eela Thamilakam, Valha inithu Valkave' composed by poet Paranaamsadanan was selected.

The Special National Convention of the ITAK gave the Government of Sri Lanka an year's ultimatum to find a political solution to the Tamil question, failing which it resolved to start a mass civil disobedience campaign to win back the rights of the Tamils. At the tail end of the period of the one year granted to the Government by the ultimatum to resolve the Tamils question, the Government invited The Tamil Arasu Kadchi for talks which culminated in the Bandaranayake-Chelvanayakam Agreement of 1957.

The Pact, however, was unilaterally abrogated by Prime Minister Bandaranayake on April Fool's Day following a tar brush campaign led by the Buddhist Clergy and Sinhala chauvinists. Prime Minister Bandaranayake himself was later assassinated

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Indian Democracy Exposed

The elections to the remaining north and east provincial council were held after the President had, by a proclamation, merged the north and east into one province. Quite clearly, security wise, there was no means of holding a free and fair elections. The LTTE had called for a boycott of the elections and there was no administration worth its name functioning. In such a situation what happened was that the Indians stage managed an election which was far from free and fair. The canard that the Tamils voted overwhelmingly in favour of the Accord and against the war is absurd. There was no election in the North province because the candidates were declared uncontested. In the Eastern Province all the Tamils did not vote.

The Indians got the former militant groups under the leadership of the EPRLF and formed them into a front and distributed all the seats among them. These candidates were taken to the respective kachcheries by Indian helicopters. While these candidates were brought to the Jaffna Kachcheri by an Indian helicopter, the Indians had declared a local curfew to prevent anyone entering the Kachcheri. They also searched all people in the vicinity to check whether they had high denomination notes. The IPKF not only provided security but also worked inside the election booths. This was Indian bourgeois democracy at work.

An example of IPKF democracy at work was told me by a cousin who lives in Valaichenai in the Eastern Province. He, his wife and two others had gone to vote. The polling station was manned by policemen. There was none from the election department. A policeman asked him how many votes they wanted. He was given 4 ballot papers, without any reference to electoral registers. He was immediately surrounded by armed EPRLF cadres who relieved him of his ballot papers and told him that they would put the ballot papers.

N. Sanmugathasan,

President of Ceylon Trade Union Federation and National Organiser of the Ceylon Communist Party in his book 'Political Memoirs of an Unrepentant Communist'.

Although this was the first political agitation organised by the Tamil Arasu Kadchi (F. P.), it turned out to be an unqualified success. Transport was brought to a halt and schools were boycotted. There was a complete stoppage of work and even dogs were not found on the roads. People in their homes undertook a one-day fast. This was the situation which prevailed throughout the length and breadth of Tamil Eelam.

Following the Kelaniya Sessions of the UNP, Parliament was dissolved on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala who sought to obtain a mandate from the voters to give effect to the Sinhala Only resolution through an Act of Parliament. But the party in power was routed at the hustings and it was able to retain only eight seats in Parliament whereas the Lanka Sama Samaja Party which stood for parity of status for both languages, Sinhala and Tamil, had won nearly fifteen seats and it became the Official Opposition again in 1956. The Lankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi won ten seats and became the accredited leaders of the Tamil speaking people of the North and East.

The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, an electoral front of which the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was the major partner, came to power in the elections and proceeded to bring legislation to make Sinhala as

On June 5th, 1956 when Parliament debated the Sinhala Only Bill, the Lankai Tamil Arasu kadchi performed a satyagraha in front of the very Parliament at the Galle Face Green, headed by its leader, Thanthai S. J. V. Chelvanayakam. The satyagrahis were subjected to assaults and

VENTHAN

stones and missiles were thrown at them. The Satyagraha was called off at noon and Members of Parliament of this Lankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi went to the House of Representatives and participated in the proceedings which were in progress. "What an awful and bloody sight in Parliament", somebody from the Opposition remarked, as these members walked into Parliament.

The riots which started did not stop with the maltreatment of the group of satyagrahis. Even a monument at Kolonnawa junction erected in memory of a trade union martyr named Kandasamy who was shot and killed by the Police during the strike by public servants in 1947, was brought down because Kandasamy happened to be a Tamil. But the irony of it was that even the leftist leaders who had instigated the strike never cared for Kandasamy, when they later held ministerial posts under the LEP

Should Progressive Mankind Mourn the Death of Soviet Union?

No one, including American President George Bush, would have imagined that the United Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.) would be no more by the end of year 1991. The complete disintegration that occurred in the former Soviet Union stunned the whole world.

Even the opponents and rivals of the Soviet Union would have not wished the disappearance of this Country from the World Map. Instead they would have preferred a weaker, subservient Soviet Union which could be turned into their market.

When considering the magnitude of this event, mourners are few, nationally and internationally. Often their contributions are loaded with self-contradictory logic and arguments as to why it happened in the Soviet Union the way it happened.

Trotsky's Views

Many, including the Trotskyites of various hues, try to say that it is because of Stalinism that Socialism failed in Soviet Union, and Soviet Union came to this dismal end.

They argue that if the Soviet Communist Party would have listened to the warnings of Leon Trotsky regarding bureaucracy they could have avoided the Stalinist blunders and horrors.

But they stop with that. These brand of Trotskyites don't talk about Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution or about his attitude towards the party any more.

They should be reminded of a recent aphorism quoted in a Sri Lankan English Magazine, "Stalin was the greatest Trotskyite ever born". This statement is not complementary to Trotsky.

Another kind of leftist interpreters put the blame on Gorbachev's weakness for the events that led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. For them Boris Yeltsin is the villain.

They forget that one Gorbachev, or one Yeltsin cannot make or mar history.

They put forward the view that if the reforms initiated by Nikita Khrushchev were continued without interruption and

interference Socialist Soviet Union could have been saved. For them, Gorbachev is an innocent but faithful disciple of Khrushchev, and was the last Russian Communist who attempted to save the Soviet Union from its demise.

It is quite puzzling as to why all these Marxist Trotskyite and leftist interpreters, commentators and 'Mourners' forget the ideological controversy that raged

Bharathinesan

in the (Communist) world during the sixties of this century.

Ideological Controversy

This controversy over the ideological debate or the great polemics as it was called then started after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which Khrushchev came out with his peaceful co-existence theory and attacks on Stalin.

Later, led by Mao Tse-tung, the Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party an ideological offensive was

launched on a world scale against the positions taken by the Soviet Communist Party.

Not only the question of the correct evaluation of the life and works of Stalin was discussed in the course of this debate, but myriad problems concerning the international Communist Movement were also discussed.

In this struggle between the 'genuine' Marxist-Leninists led by Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the revisionists led by the Soviet Communist Party the Marxist-Leninists concluded that Soviet Union was no more a Socialist Country and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was no more a Communist Party, it was a revisionist party, a capitalist party.

Social Imperialism

The once Socialist Soviet Union thereby became a capitalist country. In other words, with the might it had, Soviet Union became an imperialist country like the United States of America.

In the sixties and seventies of the 20th century the two super-powers United States of America and Soviet Union contended for world supremacy.

The Marxist-Leninists used the term 'Social-Imperialism' for Soviet Union. At times they even said that social-imperialism i.e. Soviet Union is a more dangerous enemy to the people of the world than the old United States' imperialism.

The fact that the post-Stalin Soviet Union developed into an imperialist country is effectively proved by its foreign policy actions.

If not in terms of imperialism how can one explain its invasions of countries such as Czechoslovakia, Poland as well as Afghanistan?

If not in terms of imperialism how can one explain its 'marxist' attitude towards the (socialist) East European countries and Mongolia and its exploitation of these countries?

If not in terms of imperialism how can one explain the Brezhnev doctrine of 'peaceful co-existence' which in fact means that the countries should be dependent on Soviet Union for everything?

In this context, should the progressive mankind mourn the death of Soviet Union?

They should feel glad that one imperialism with a socialist label is dead and the confusion it created to their detriment is no more.

Is Lankan GOVERNMENT...?

Lankan Government announces
That military actions will continue
Till LTTE comes for talks!
But LTTE has announced
On several occasions
That it is ready for unconditional talks!
Is Lankan Government.....?

Lankan Government declares
That army operations will proceed
Until LTTE agrees for a cease fire!
But in so many instances
LTTE has announced that
It is ever ready for a cease fire!
And it has also once
Declared a cease fire in 1991
Which was ignored by Lankan Government!
Is Lankan Government.....?

Even after a number of discussions;
Round Table Conferences and Agreements
With LTTE and others -
Lankan Government now says
That LTTE has not yet
Announced its demands
Regarding ethnic problems
And therefore it finds
Very difficult to solve the problems.
The Government has not yet so far
Announced its minimum offers to the Tamils
To solve the ethnic problem!
Is Lankan Government.....?

- Saravanas -

Tamil Liberation Movement...

(Continuation from page 4)

by a Buddhist monk Dr. W. Dahanayake became Prime Minister for a brief period. In the March, 1960 Election which followed, no party gained an absolute majority in Parliament. Mr. Dudley Senanayake formed a minority government who insisted that Chelva should trust him and give him unconditional support. He was, however, not prepared to come to terms with the ITAK on its four minimum demands.

Dudley's government was defeated in Parliament following the Throne Speech.

The widow of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake entered politics with the July, 1960 elections to become the world's first woman Prime Minister. Her party had a tacit understanding with the ITAK on the National question prior to the elections. Handbills printed by the ITAK explaining in all three languages what Federalism was and What Federalism

was not, were distributed by her party during the election campaign, as the UN under its leader Mr. Dudley Senanayake were attempting to rouse communal passions in order to win Sinhala votes.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranayake won the elections, although she herself did not contest any seat. She became Prime Minister by being nominated to the Senate. But after becoming Prime Minister, she failed to honour the tacit understanding she had with the ITAK prior to the elections. Furthermore, she brought the Language of the Courts Bill by which she intended to extend the implementation of Sinhala Only in the Courts as well.

A satyagraha campaign was started on 20th February, 1961 to oppose the implementation of Sinhala Language in Courts. This Satyagraha campaign crippled

the civil administration in the North and East for nearly three months, as admitted by Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranayake. In the Senate, yet the Government remained inactive it neither took any action to enforce the law and order against the satyagrahis nor did it initiate action to resolve the Tamil National Question by a peaceful dialogue.

Thus in order to break the stalemate and conclude the Satyagraha campaign, the ITAK started a civil disobedience movement by inaugurating the Tamil Arasu Postal Service by releasing postage stamps. These stamps were much in demand by international philatelists. By way of post script it may be stated that the Ilakkai Tamil Arasu Kadchi is the official registered name of the Tamil Political Organisation widely known as the Federal Party largely for its advocacy of a Federal Constitution for Ceylon.

HOT SPRING

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The Oddity of a Neighbour

Countries all over the world - from distant Canada across the Atlantic to Australia in the Pacific - have called for an end to the war in this island - home of both Tamils and Sinhalese.

The Sri Lankan Government has not been able to act blatantly defying world opinion. It was therefore talking peace and carrying on war.

Just at this time one odd man nearer home has calculatedly driven a nail to stop any prospect of talks - because he has become increasingly irrelevant in the island's affairs - thanks to his own hypocrisy!

The magisterial order asking the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, Mr. V. Parabakaran and another leader of the LTTE to surrender because they cannot be apprehended, is intended and timed to see that no negotiations take place at the instance of other countries between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE without Indian participation.

No less a person than Mr. A. P. Venkateshwaran, the former Foreign Secretary of the Government of India has said that the magisterial order may result in the postponement of any talks between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE. Mr. Venkateshwaran's surmise has been proved to be true by reports in the mass media based in Colombo which hint at the possibility of no talks taking place between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE.

India wants to control Sri Lanka through Eelam Tamils subservient to India. That is why she wants a unitary Sri Lanka and gives asylum to quislings while at the same time sends out genuine refugees much against the wishes of the refugees themselves and against international opinion.

India wants to wreck vengeance against the LTTE because the latter is not prepared to be a tool in Indian hands to serve India's ambitions.

Apart from doing everything to see that no settlement is reached to end the conflict, the Indian Government is indirectly prodding the Sri Lankan Government to carry on the war.

According to latest reports discredited TULF emigres, M. Sivasubramanian and A. Thangathurai have come to Colombo from India to tell the Sri Lankan Government how it should carry on the war without causing damage to civilians and their properties!

World situation has dramatically and refreshingly changed recognising national aspirations and leaving only one power in the world. Instead of hoping and working for a situation where that power would lead the world morally, India seems to hope that she can become the new second power! Such Indian ambitions - devoid of moral values - can lead to only greater human catastrophe.

When all the world wants peace, equality and fraternity, India seems to be the odd man out of step with the trend as was seen in the case of the Iraqi invasion and in the short-lived overthrow of Gorbachev not to mention our own case.

DISINFORMATION AND MISINFORMATION

A good example of the above currently popular phraseology is provided by a book authored by Rohan Gunaratna who is described as a Research Fellow at the Institute of Fundamental Studies which claims to be the publisher. The get-up of the book which is only 82 pages is very expensive; there are more than fifteen coloured plates and the book is printed in high quality paper. But where in Sri Lanka this Institute of Fundamental Studies is housed or the price of this expensive publication could not be found in the book.

In the Foreword or Introduction the learned Professor Bultjins says as follows;

"For his incisive observations and historical sense, we all owe a considerable debt"

But it is a pity that neither the researching author nor the learned Professor had that much of sense of history to recall that the creation of the Republic of Sri Lanka (claimed to have been achieved on the authority of the people at large through an affirmative vote for one or the other of the three Sinhala parties that coalesced under the leadership of Sirima Bandaranaike) is untrue in that the voters of the Northern and Eastern Provinces rejected the said Call for a Mandate - Only 14 per cent voted for the Coalition parties. It is significant the voters of the North as well as the East did jointly and severally reject the Call for a Mandate. That the lack of a mandate from the North and East vitiates the claim of the people's authority for the creation of the so-called Republic of Sri Lanka if the claim is advanced that the so-called Republic encompasses the North and the East. That much for the sense of history of these worthy intellectuals.

Biological Warfare

On page 51, the author gives within inverted commas the text of a communique on plans and progress for a biological war mainly targeted against tea, rubber and other produce. The text of this communique is too detailed to be one issued by an enemy who fights against a Government. It is stated to have been issued by the militants but there is no information as to which of the militant groups issued it and how it came into the hands of the author. As far as one knows, no such news had come in a y

responsible press. If in fact, such a communique was really issued, the Government of Sri Lanka would have exploited to the fullest such a material to denigrate the Liberation Tigers (the only group fighting for the liberation of the Tamil homeland). The author appears to specialize in sensation-mongering.

A vivid description of an invasion plan by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is detailed in detail in page 58 et seq. The author's version of the Invasion Plan is so detailed as to create the impression he was employed in the Indian Armed Forces and was entrusted with formulating and carrying out the invasion of Sri Lanka! It is difficult

S. Vanniasingham

to visualize a more lurid attempt at sensation-mongering.

The author who ascribes to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi such a hostile and diabolical plot to invade Sri Lanka has not thought it fit to explain why in the post-Indira period, her own son who mostly followed the policies of the same Congress Party chose to attack the Eelam Tamils and subjugate them to the genocidal imperialism of Sinhala Sri Lanka.

The policy of India towards Sri Lanka is based on certain understandable but totally unjustified reasonings. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was undoubtedly sympathetic to the suffering Tamils of Eelam. This is obvious from her various communications and public utterances. In fact, Cabinet Minister Baghat once mentioned that there were "elements of genocide" in the attacks of the Sinhala Government of Sri Lanka against the Tamils. But she never made up any plan to deal with the ethnic problem - she never uttered a word about Sri Lankan sovereignty or territorial integrity. But Rajiv

Gandhi began to bleat about Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity. He never realized that once he conceded this any attempt at settlement of the ethnic problem would be concerned with the mere mechanism of Government and that would be an internal affair and India would have no locus standi to intervene in shaping the mechanism of Government already conceded by him to be an internal matter.

There was undoubtedly a right about turn in India's Sri Lankan policy after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. How it happened is very simple. Indira Gandhi had confidence in herself and India. She knew very well that the inherited values of several millennia derived from Hinduism held together India. In fact Eelam Tamils are emotionally one with India, not withstanding the tracass caused by Rajiv Gandhi. Indira Gandhi maintained statesman-like silence but Rajiv Gandhi bleated like a goat about Sri Lankan sovereignty and territorial integrity. The moment Rajiv Gandhi began to bleat about, the wily old Jayewardene and Athulathmudali saw the opportunity to turn New Delhi against Tamils, reminding Rajiv Gandhi that Tamil Nadu was the first State to demand secession and completed the trick by spelling out:-

"An independent Tamil State of twenty lakhs of Tamils would mean a fortiori another independent Tamil State of 55 million Tamils".

This mantram went straight into the mind of Rajiv Gandhi and other hair-brained Congressmen and that is how the Indian troops who came under the impression that they were to protect the Tamils were shooting at them.

To understand this simple sequence of cause and effect is to admit the complete absence of legal validity for Sri Lanka to rule Eelam.

Don't Give Aid to Sri Lanka

Lalith - Gamini Combine support expatriate Eelam Tamils?

Eelam expatriate Tamils have received support now from an altogether unexpected direction.

Eelam expatriates have been lobbying in various countries the Tamil cause which put the Government of Sri Lanka in a very bad situation.

Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Disanayake are reported to have visited a number of foreign embassies in Colombo and urged the missions not to recommend aid for the Government of Sri Lanka now headed by R. Premadasa.