

TAMIL NATION

Vol 2

July 1992

No:11

UK Price 90p

Published in the United Kingdom by Tamil Forum Ltd., P.O.Box 373, Croydon, Surrey, CR9 6AB

“Ten years of guerilla war has not shown you can crush LTTE”

says Minister Thondaman

Minister Savyamurthy Thondaman, the long-time leader of the CWC, said in an interview with the Sri Lanka Sunday Island on 31 May that to achieve lasting peace the LTTE cannot be ignored. “Ten years of guerilla war has not shown you can crush people like this” he said. Excerpts from the interview follow:

Question -How do you view India's ban on the LTTE? In what way will it affect the LTTE's struggle and the prospects for peace.

Answer - The Indian government decided to ban the LTTE keeping in mind their national interests. We too must look to it in terms of our own national interest. We must have the best of relations with neighbours like

India. Merely banning the LTTE is not enough. We must see what follow up action they will take against the Tigers. I don't see why the ban should affect any talks between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government. If we do anything in our own interest no one can get angry with us. There was a time when Sri Lanka always accused India of training the LTTE and other militants. They never cared for us. It did not disturb India because they did what is good from their national interest. Likewise we too should be guided by our national interest.

Question -What is the significance of the recent bomb attacks by suspected Tigers or their sympathisers in Tamil Nadu? Could this pose a potential future threat to India?

Answer - It looks like the LTTE's reaction or that of their sympathisers. Bombing here and there is not going to have much effect. This looks like an immediate reaction. We have to wait and see what further action the Tigers will take.

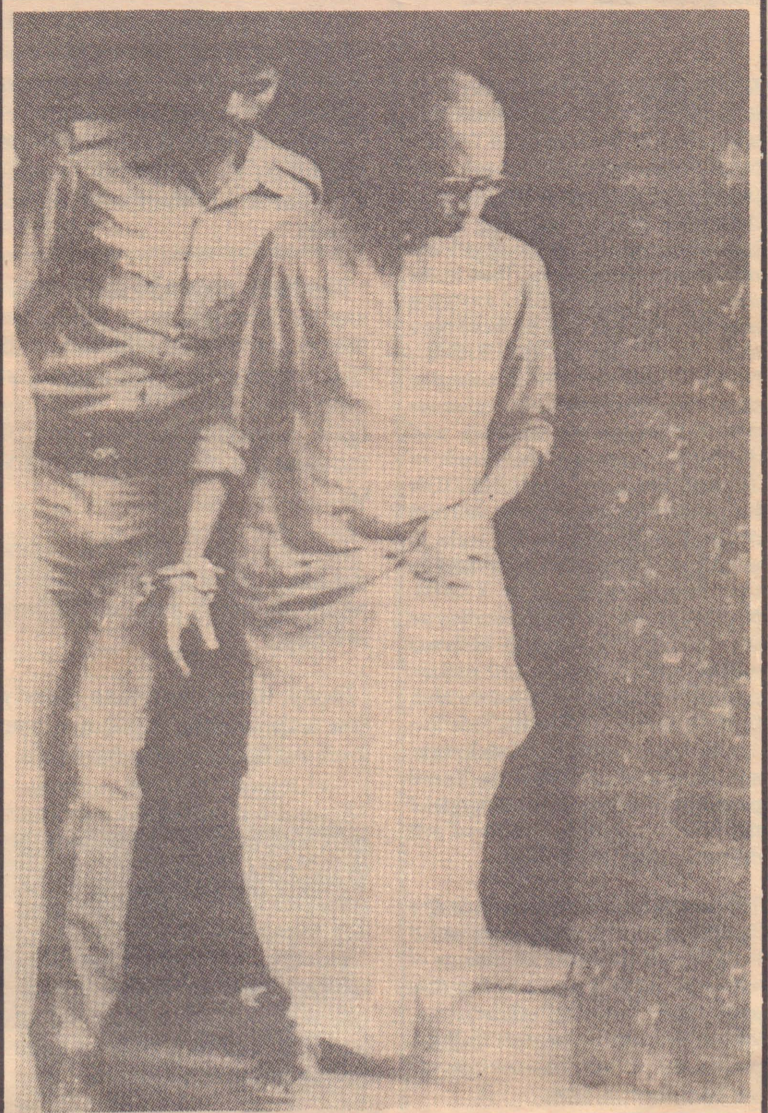
Question - Do you think the government should continue talking to the Tigers?

Answer - We must find a solution to the ethnic problem. How it can be achieved is a matter of detail. It is a big luxury to spend so much money on the war. So many years have been spent fighting with a consequent rise in the cost of living. The final solution to the problem has to be by peaceful means. If you take the situation as it is today, to achieve that peace you can't ignore the LTTE, - as long as it is a force to be reckoned with. Ten years of guerilla war has not shown you can crush people like this.

Question -What is your opinion about a possible joint Indo-Lankan effort to crush the LTTE and get Prabhakaran? Also how do you think the government should respond to an Indian request to extradite Prabhakaran?

Answer - Why haven't they done it all these days? The IPKF was here. Both the Indian and Sri Lankan armies had a chance to do it. It wasn't done because it is not practical. Also one has to see whether extradition is practical. Our experience has been, leave aside Prabhakaran - even ordinary LTTE leaders can't be caught alive.

India: Stop this Torture



Free Sivanayagam

Subramaniam Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation will complete one year in an Indian jail on July 21, 1992. His incarceration, without charge and without trial, offends against the fundamental principles of justice that no one shall be punished without due process. The National Security Act of India been used by the Indian authorities to stifle the fearless and honest voice of an outstanding journalist who had the courage to support the struggle of a people for justice. That Subramaniam Sivanayagam had sought refuge in Tamil Nadu from the oppression of a Sinhala Government serves only to underline the inhumanity of the actions of those in authority in the land of Mahatma Gandhi. The treatment accorded to Subramaniam Sivanayagam, a 62 year old diabetic, exposes the protestations of those in authority in India about their record on human rights. Sivanayagam was manacled when he was taken to Court at regular intervals and when his diabetic condition led to eczema and secondary infection with pus, he was taken to hospital, and manacled to the hospital bed.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in his address to the Congress sessions in Andhra Pradesh declared that 'India is not merely a country - it is a concept, it is a vision, it is a civilisational centre'. He added: 'we may not have analysed the structure but we have grasped the essence.' We say to Prime Minister Rao, with respect (panivudan): in the name of all that is civilised, in the name of all that is of the 'essence', stop this torture of a 62 year old diabetic who has committed no crime, and who has uttered no falsehood. We say to Prime Minister Rao, again with respect: SET SIVANAYAGAM FREE. Tamil Nation does not beg for justice. It demands it. It demands it because it has grasped the 'essence' - that truth, will and must prevail in the end.

Tamils: A Nation without a State

TAMIL NATION

"Truth and knowledge are an idle gleam if they do not bring power to change the world."

Sri Aurobindo

Recognising, that to change anything it is necessary to understand that which we seek to change, the TAMIL NATION is concerned not only with providing information but also with furthering an understanding of the issues that confront the Tamil national movement. Recognising that, in the end, we truly understand anything only to the extent that we have been able to change it, the TAMIL NATION is concerned with changing those material conditions of existence which continue to oppress and discriminate against the people of Tamil Eelam. The TAMIL NATION is rooted in the growing togetherness of the Tamil people and it seeks to participate in the effort to strengthen that togetherness. The TAMIL NATION seeks to focus attention on the unjust relationship between nations without a state and nations that have attained state-hood. And, the TAMIL NATION exists to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary, both amongst the Tamil people and outside, if the struggle of the Tamil people for national self determination is to be won.

The TAMIL NATION is published by Tamil Forum Ltd., a company registered in the United Kingdom, the entirety of whose profits will go to a charitable trust established to help Tamil refugees, to advance education amongst the Tamil people and to alleviate poverty and hardship amongst them.

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ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

U.S.A. - 30 US\$;

Australia - 40 AU\$

UK & Other Countries - £15

Cheques/Drafts in favour of
TAMIL NATION

Ana Pararajasingham writing from Sydney, Australia says

India's Sri Lanka Policy - an Exercise in Folly

Barbara Touchman, author, historian and twice winner of the Pulitzer Prize says, "A phenomenon noticeable throughout history regardless of place or period is the pursuit by Governments, of policies contrary to their own self interests."

Touchman considers such behaviour by Governments to fall within that category of misgovernment called "folly or perversity" and devotes an entire book titled "The March of Folly" to examine the occurrence of this particular phenomenon in history.

To qualify as a folly the author stipulates three essential criteria which are briefly summarized here as follows:

Firstly, it must have been patently counter productive in its own time itself and not merely by hindsight.

Secondly, there ought to have been other feasible alternatives available to the government at the time the particular choice was made.

Thirdly, there must be the folly of the policy pursued being that of a group and not that of a personality and of it persisting beyond a particular political lifetime.

It is both useful and interesting to examine India's Sri Lanka policy in the light of the criteria stipulated.

What is India's Sri Lanka Policy?

There are those who hold the view that India has no declared policy on Sri Lanka but merely reacts to what is perceived to be the ground situation. On the other hand there are others who discern a policy and direction in the manner in which India has acted in relation to developments in Sri Lanka.

The writer is of the latter view and considers Indian policy makers to have pursued a policy which has sought to meet the following objectives:

1) Satisfy India's domestic constituency. This may be called the "Tamil Nadu factor". In this context the policy has been to meet the short term wishes of the ruling party in Tamil Nadu on which Central Government depended for its political survival.

2) Serve its desire to assert itself as the Regional Super Power.

3) Maintain its highly centralized political structure.

It was in pursuance of this policy that India had initially armed the Tamil groups, then intervened in the guise of a "Peace Keeping" Mission, subsequently attempted to liquidate the Tamil Militants and now has banned the LTTE.

Criteria 1: Has India's Sri Lankan Policy been perceived as counter productive in its own time?

The answer to the question has to be in the affirmative given that India's action of sending in its troops to Sri

Lanka in pursuance of this policy was perceived at the beginning itself as being counter productive by several well respected authorities on the subject, and by both Indian and international media commentators.

A.P. Venkateshwaran, a former Indian Foreign Secretary was critical of India's actions from the very beginning and regarded the role of the Indian Peace Keeping Forces as "a grotesque travesty" in being "clearly on the side of the Sri Lankan Government in its oppressive actions." (Reported in the "Tamil Voice Interna-

tion" of 15th May 1988). bility to the region should involve meeting the aspirations of the Tamils of Eelam. Instead of which New Delhi has persisted with a course of action ignoring this reality and believing that it could achieve its own objectives without heeding this basic reality.

Today, these actions have culminated in New Delhi being looked upon by both the Tamil and the Sinhala inhabitants of the island of Sri Lanka, with suspicion and resentment.

Criteria 3: Is Indian Policy in respect of Sri Lanka not that of a

"Wooden-headedness, the source of self-deception, is a factor that plays a remarkably large role in Governments. It consists in assessing a situation in terms of preconceived fixed notions while ignoring or rejecting any contrary signs."

'group', but one designed to persist through succeeding political periods?

Again the answer has to be in the affirmative especially given that the present Indian policy is plainly a continuation of the policy that led to the Indian armed intervention in Sri

Lanka under Rajiv Gandhi.

Having failed to impose its own will by direct armed force, and having been compelled to withdraw its armed forces, New Delhi then attempted to carry out its policy by creating a mercenary force before its departure. Not unexpectedly this was a dismal failure.

New Delhi has thereafter persisted with its policy and despite timely warnings has today banned the LTTE in pursuance of its disastrous Sri Lanka policy.

India's Sri Lanka policy having thus met all three of the criteria stipulated by Barbara Touchman qualifies as a folly.

Perhaps in conclusion one should reflect on the words of Barbara Touchman which attribute the above behaviour to wooden-headedness on the part of policy-makers throughout history.

"Wooden-headedness, the source of self-deception, is a factor that plays a remarkably large role in Governments. It consists in assessing a situation in terms of preconceived fixed notions while ignoring or rejecting any contrary signs."

LEST WE FORGET

Nine Years Ago in July 1983

Nadarajah Thangathurai, Selvarajah Yogachandran also known as Kuttimuni, and Rajasunderam, were murdered nine years ago in July 1983. They were murdered whilst in custody under Sri Lanka's notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act. They were murdered in broad daylight, within the precincts of the Sri Lankan Government's high security Welikade Prison in Colombo. The murders were planned and premeditated. But nine years later they remain without investigation and the guilty remain unpunished. The Government of Sri Lanka has, during these nine long years, ignored the requests of several human rights organisations including Amnesty International to hold an impartial inquiry into the murders. Why? Who were the planners of the planned murder of prisoners in Government custody?

"Selvarajah Yogachandran, popularly known as Kuttimuni, a nominated member of the Sri Lankan Parliament...one of the 52 prisoners killed in the maximum security Welikade prison in Colombo two weeks ago, was forced to kneel in his cell, where he was under solitary confinement, by his assailants and ordered to pray to them. When he refused, he was taunted by his tormentors about his last wish, when he was sentenced to death. He had willed that his eyes be donated to some one so that at least that person would see an independent Tamil Eelam. The assailants then gouged his eyes..He was then stabbed to death and his testicles were wrenched from his body. This was confirmed by one of the doctors who had conducted the postmortem of the first group of 35 prisoners." (Madras Hindu 10th of August 1983)

"Amnesty International has itself interviewed one Tamil detainee who survived the killing and has received a sworn statement from another survivor, both of whom state that some prisoners who had come to attack them later told the surviving detainees that they had been asked to kill Tamil prisoners. According to the sworn statement: 'We asked these people as to why they came to kill us. To this they replied that they were given arrack (alcohol) by the prison authorities and they were asked to kill all those at the youth offenders ward (where the Tamil prisoners were kept). These statements demonstrate, Amnesty International believes, the need for further investigations to be conducted by an independent body before which witnesses can testify in conditions of safety.. Amnesty International believes that the government must order a comprehensive inquiry into the circumstances of the killings and bring to justice any of those identified as responsible for them..' (Amnesty International Report June 1984)

"It is not clear how it was possible for the killings to take place without the connivance of prison officials, and how the assassinations could have been repeated after an interval of two days, since Welikade prison is a high security prison and the Tamil prisoners were kept in separate cells..." (Ethnic Violence in Sri Lanka, 1981-83: Staff Report of the International Commission of Jurists)

MILITARY SOLUTION NOT POSSIBLE - BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER

John Fields, the British High Commissioner in Sri Lanka has said that Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis cannot be solved by military means alone and urged the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE to find a peaceful solution through negotiations. He appealed to the Parliamentary Select Committee to push ahead with its work so that there would be progress and positive results.

MAMMOTH PROCESSION IN NALLUR

One of the biggest ever processions to be held in Jaffna in recent years was held on the 5th of June calling for a political solution to the North East problem. The procession took place in Nallur in which religious leaders, academics, community leaders and a large number of civilians participated. They called for an end to the armed conflict and urged that places of religious worship be protected and areas surrounding them be declared non-military operational zones.

Asia Watch's 78 page report on Sri Lanka says "Indiscriminate bombing in Jaffna peninsula by army planes and helicopters has done untold damage"

A leading rights organization says reforms to prevent abuses by security forces in Sri Lanka had yet to show results. Even today, with the new agencies in place ostensibly to act against government offenses, Asia Watch said it found Sri Lankan citizens "still face serious difficulties in attempting to protest against human right violations by the state."

In a report released last week entitled "Human Rights Accountability in Sri Lanka," Asia Watch said it welcomed initiatives taken by Colombo following the Sri Lanka Aid Consortium meeting of October 1990, to protect human rights. But it said "the real test would be when victims of human rights abuse could make complaints against the security forces without fear of retribution."

MONITORS OTHER NATIONS, TOO

Asia Watch has issued reports on Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, China and other countries in the region. It occasionally gives testimony in Congress, briefs interested Congressional staff people, and critiques the State Department's annual human rights report. Last week's 78-page report looks at the many agencies that were established by Colombo to address international criticism of its rights record, and to assure the US that it is trying to prevent violations by security forces.

"Successive governments in Sri Lanka purged suspected sympathizers of the various guerilla groups," it said, and was involved in disappearances of individuals and extrajudicial executions. "As the war with Tamil militants in the northeast drags on, and the fear of a resurgence of militant activity in the south haunts officials," it said, "it

has become clear that the government's strategy only made things worse.

LOGISTICAL DIFFICULTIES

"Even if individuals overcome the logistical difficulties of filing complaints about government violations, those who lodge petitions with the Supreme Court or lawyers acting on their behalf can face harassment, intimidation or even death." The chances of any members of the security forces actually being convicted

"In some cases, hundreds of people at a time have been taken by security forces; many subsequently disappear."

as a result of complaints are dim, Asia Watch says, and even in the rare cases where any are found guilty, their sentences are often not enforced.

THE BOMBINGS IN JAFFNA

The report is based on information collected during the organization's mission to Sri Lanka last December. It said "indiscriminate bombing in Jaffna peninsula" continued in that month, according to a journalist source. Since June 1990, the report said, army planes and helicopters "have done untold damage" through bombing and strafing Jaffna in 1990 and 1991.

Asia Watch zeroed in on "many

"It is not enough to point to an impressive array of laws and institutional mechanisms adopted to protect and promote human rights. Unless these laws and mechanisms are effectively implemented, the introduction of such measures will serve only a cosmetic purpose."

of the tens of thousands of disappearances reported in recent years" following "roundups of large numbers of people suspected of links to militant groups." And while young men were the primary targets of these operations, it said, women, children and elderly men

have also been reported among the missing.

AND MANY DISAPPEAR

"In some cases, hundreds of people at a time have been taken by security forces; many subsequently disappear."

After the aid consortium of Western donors met in October 1990, and after added US pressure, when Congress moved to attach human rights conditions to the foreign aid bill for fiscal 1992-1993, Colombo set up a special task force on human rights. In addition, the All-Party Congress is completing a proposal to establish a national human rights commission with wide jurisdiction to document, monitor and protect human rights.

FEW 'CONCRETE RESULTS'

The task force has "little to show in terms of concrete results" as of May 1992, Asia Watch says in its report. It made similar criticism of other government agencies, though it commended the government for setting them up. The problem of accountability is aggravated by the plethora of units within the police force, Asia Watch says. People are moved from one police station to another without records being kept and without

any clear responsibility being fixed for the safety of detainees, it says citing examples. "It is not enough to point to an impressive array of laws and institutional mechanisms adopted to protect and promote human rights," the organization said. Unless these laws and mechanisms are effectively implemented, "the introduction of such measures will serve only a cosmetic purpose," it declared. (Courtesy: India Abroad, 5 June)

Mixed Signals?

A Reuter report datelined Colombo and published in the Lanka Guardian of 15 June, says that Sri Lanka was unlikely to pursue a military solution to the nine year war against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. "The Tigers are renowned for their ability to fight under duress and there is a likelihood of a blood bath if they are attacked. Their dominance (in Jaffna) is fairly well established. They have all the attributes of sovereignty and will fight to hold that", the report said.

In the meantime, Acting State Minister for Defence told army officers at the Palaly Camp in early June: "The Government has worked out its solution to the North East problem. It has to be implemented in two stages. The Government would use maximum force for the total annihilation of the Tiger strength and that would constitute the first phase. After completely wiping out the menace in that manner, the Government would try to seek a political solution to the problem. The total annihilation of Tiger power is an essential requisite for this exercise."

Bishop Ambalavanar in US & Canada

Bishop Ambalavanar of the Church of South India in Tamil Eelam recently visited the United States and Canada. During his visit he met with various expatriate groups in California, New York, Washington, Toronto and Ottawa. He also met with others interested in the Sri Lanka situation. We give here some of the commonly raised issues and his responses:

Q. Is Prabakaran serious about finding a peaceful solution?

A. I cannot speak for the LTTE. But from an observation of events and the statements made by the LTTE, it appears that the Tamil people are convinced that it is the Sri Lankan Government that is not committed to a peaceful settlement. It is the general belief that if the government were to make a serious meaningful offer then the LTTE would seriously consider it.

Q. How much support does the LTTE enjoy among the Tamils?

A. Those who do not support the LTTE have left the island. Most of those who remain generally support the LTTE. They certainly will not welcome any army occupation. Unfortunately the West only hears the statements of those who have left and often that is far from the truth.

Q. What are the alternatives?

A. Tamils have been given numerous proposals but nothing has been implemented. When the Indo Sri Lanka Accord was offered and

Chinese built Sri Lanka Army Plane shot down in Tamil Eelam

A Reuter-Kyodo Report in the Japan Times of 7 July said that a military aircraft carrying bombs and fuel crashed and exploded in Tamil controlled northern Sri Lanka on Sunday. Military sources said all 19 people on board were apparently killed. "We have no confirmation of the death toll, but no one would have survived such a crash" a source said.

The Chinese built Y-8, a 150 seat transport plane, was at an altitude of 1500 metres, when it suddenly dived and crashed in a ball of fire near Elephant Pass. The military's Joint Operations Command Centre in Colombo said the aircraft was carrying rations, arms, ammunition, explosives and fuel, and was flying to a military controlled airfield on the Jaffna Peninsula. There were six officers and 13 other air force personnel on the plane when it crashed in an area controlled by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam guerillas about 1 km from an army garrison at the Pass. The rebels who dominate most of the Peninsula are fighting for a homeland in the north and east for 2.5 million Tamils.

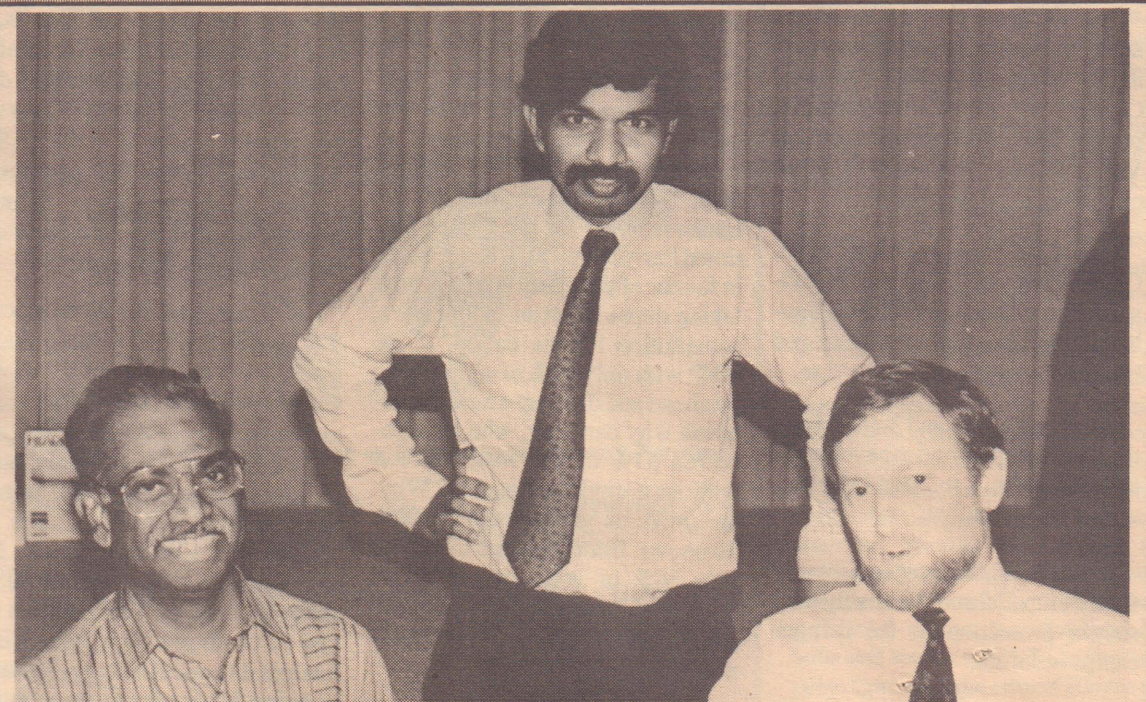
Military analysts said the rebels recently acquired anti aircraft guns and damaged some helicopters."

Whilst Sri Lankan military sources have denied any rebel involvement in the incident, an LTTE Press Release says: "Velupillai Prabhakaran, leader of the LTTE, visited in person the team of LTTE anti aircraft gunners who shot down the Y-8 Chinese built Sri Lankan transport plane, flying over Tiger held territory near the village of Iyakachi, east of Elephant Pass, and congratulated it on its success. He also congratulated the District Commander. Among the 19 persons travelling in the plane were 6 officers, one of whom was the son of Air Marshall Walter Fernando, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence. The plane was flying from Ratmalana Airport towards Palaly Airport. The Tiger gunners had used a 90 calibre anti aircraft gun to bring down the plane. Planes of this type have long been used to bomb civilian targets in Tamil Eelam.

partly accepted, the Tamils watched its implementation very carefully. They have now come to the conclusion that the LTTE's concerns and subsequent non participation were justified because those who accepted failed to deliver any autonomy. As to the details of the alternatives, if the Sri Lanka government comes to the table sincerely then the entire matter can be ironed out rather swiftly. We doubt the sincerity of the Sri Lanka Government because once the Government found the LTTE ready to seriously consider the Thondaman proposals, it hurriedly denounced them. The only interpretation that we can make is that the Sri Lanka Government finding it hard to later retract from even the little advancements made in the Thondaman proposal, decided to dump it. So how can

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Australian Foreign Minister meets Eelam Tamil Activists



The Australian Labor Party's Kingsbury Branch and Eelam Tamils hosted a reception to Australia's Foreign Minister Garath Evans recently at the La Trobe University. Picture shows Mr. Garath Evans with Mr. K. Somasunderam, a Past President of the Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria (on his right) and Mr. S. Muralidharan, a former Editor of the CTA newsletter (centre).

Sri Lanka to increase price of bread to pay for guns?

The Sri Lankan Govt. has increased the Defence Levy from 1% to 3%, thus giving an extra Rs 2,400 million for defence expenditure. Despite this there is a shortfall of Rs 3,000 million to meet the immediate cost of defence. This deficit will be made up by an increased turnover tax on a range of goods and services. Amongst the new measures now under consideration are said to be an increase in the price of flour and bread and the sale of Central Bank owned Treasury Bills at higher interest rates and a further increase in the price of fuel.

From the War Front

12 TAMILS ABDUCTED BY MUSLIM HOME GUARDS.

It is feared that the twelve persons, all Tamils, seized by the Muslim Home Guard near the Valaichenai paper factory on 29th April may have been killed by the captors.

OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA IN MANNAR ISLAND

There has been an outbreak of cholera in the Mannar Island and several hundred of affected victims have been admitted to the Mannar hospital and many have already succumbed to the disease.

S L ARMY TEAM GOES TO CHINA

According to Sri Lankan military sources, a team of high ranking army officers from the Armoured Brigade has gone to China following difficulties faced by the Army in getting spare parts for the new fleet of tracked infantry fighting vehicles purchased recently from that country.

TIGER ORGANISER WRITES TO SUNDAY ISLAND

In a letter dated April 19th to the Sunday Island, the deputy organiser of the Batticaloa Amparai region, Mampalam Suresh, who operates from the Kokadicholai area said that the Sri Lankan armed forces were preparing to wipe out the Tamils in the East within three months and that the war against the armed forces by the LTTE will continue and that Tigers were operating in large numbers in the East claiming the lives of many Sinhala soldiers. He denied the Government claim of having restored State control in the East and accused the Government of a planned genocidal attack in its attempt to eradicate Tamils from the East.

LTTE ATTACKS IN BATTICALOA

On 11th May the LTTE attacked an army column at Vakara in Batticaloa district killing 8 Sri Lankan soldiers and wounding 5 others seriously.

JOC COMMAND SAYS 'TIGERS ATTACKED SECURITY POSTS AROUND ELEPHANT PASS' ON 12 MAY

A large formation of Tigers is reported by the Commander of the Joint Operations Command, to have attacked several security posts around the Elephant Pass Army Camp from the Southern Front. They began the onslaught at 2.20 am on 12th May using machine guns and rocket propelled grenades. Eight Sri Lankan soldiers were killed and three received serious injury.

SHRI LANKA ARMY SHELLS INJURE DEVOTEES AT TEMPLE

Several hundreds of devotees gathered at Vattapallai Amman temple in Mullaitivu district on 18th May to celebrate the Visaka Pongal festival. Five shells were fired from the army camp which is just two miles away from the temple. Four shells landed in the field nearby but one landed right in the middle of the large group of worshippers. Twenty three people died and thirty were wounded seriously. The driver of

an ICRC van and two children were among the casualties.

SECURITY POST IN ANURADHAPURA DISTRICT ATTACKED

The Security Post at Thanthirimalai in the Anuradhapura District was the target of an LTTE attack in the early hours of the morning of the 12th of May. Five Sri Lankan soldiers lost their lives and three were seriously wounded.

LTTE AMBUSH IN MANNAR

At 5.30 am on 20th May, the LTTE ambushed a column of Sri Lankan soldiers between Nanattan and Vanulealai in Mannar district killing six and injuring two. Cordon and search operation in Batticaloa

CORDON SEARCH IN BATTICALOA

On the 7th of June the Batticaloa police cordoned the town and ordered all youths (both male and female) and the adult men and women to assemble in the area near the church. They were then subjected to severe harassing interrogation from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. because of a suspicion that LTTE cadres might have infiltrated the town. They found no Tigers among them and were allowed to go home after three hours of severe cross-examination to establish their identity.

LTTE ATTACKS IN VAVUNIYA

On the 29th of May, over 100 Tigers attacked army forward defence lines at Vavuniya, killing one soldier and two policemen. One officer and eleven soldiers were also wounded.

On the night of the 29th of May, the Tigers struck Mamaduwa, five miles East of Vavuniya, while the Government was holding the Presidential Mobile Service, killing two soldiers and a policeman.

In the early hours of the morning of the 30th of May, the Tigers attacked four bombers of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces at Thapaseliya, north of Vavuniya, killing two policemen and a soldier and wounding seven others.

At 8.30 a.m. on the 9th of June, one high ranking officer and twelve army personnel were killed when the Tigers attacked a column of Sri Lankan soldiers which was on its way from Kaddaiparichchan to Malinda/suram. The LTTE seized all the weapons the army carried.

On the 9th of June, the LTTE attacked the Sri Lankan Army in a position near Mannar town and killed four and wounded six others.

SRI LANKAN ARMY CASUALTIES

From June 11th 1990 to June 3rd 1992, over 1000 Sri Lankan armed forces men and women have been killed and 7,154 army personnel have been wounded; of these 285 are Officers.

SRI LANKA CLOSES HOSPITALS TO TREAT ARMY WOUNDED

The hospital authorities in the North East and North Central provinces have temporarily closed down civilian surgical units in a bid to treat the wounded Army personnel.

GOGGLES

by C.P.Goliard

15 YEARS AFTER THE VERDICT

I am no admirer of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, but at least it is my opinion that she will go on record as the last Sinhalese political leader to hold a general election in Sri Lanka, which was not tainted with mass-scale vote forgery and violence. This reference is to the July 1977 general election.

Fifteen years have passed since then, and all the elections held under the command of the ruling UNP have become polluted with Marcos-style mass-scale vote forgery.

When the then leading party of the Tamils, the TULF, announced that it would use the 1977 general election as a plebiscite for a separate Eelam state, there was much enthusiasm among the Eelam Tamils to deliver their verdict in support of this proposal. And majority of the Tamils did vote for a separate state.

However, after the outcome of the 1977 general election, the Sinhalese politicians and opinion-makers spent much energy to question the validity of the 1977 Tamil vote for Eelam. Questions were raised in the parliament and public media regarding, (a) whether a general election could serve as a plebiscite or referendum? (b) whether there have been any precedence in other countries for such a plebiscite? and (c) whether Eelam Tamils did really deliver a supporting verdict for a separate state?

The Sinhalese politicians, journalists, pundits running the public agencies and even priests turned into instant psephologists and statisticians to misrepresent the verdict given by the Tamils. Especially, Fr. Tissa Balasuriya (the Director of the Centre for Society and Religion, Colombo), vociferously projected the view point, using (or better to say, abusing) statistics, that the Tamils did not vote for a separate state.

OPERATION WHIRLWIND

Over 100 Tamil civilians have been killed and several hundred wounded in the Tellipallai sector of the war. Over 30,000 people have been displaced. Twelve people were killed in Valvettiathurai as a result of indiscriminate aerial bombardment.

Several buildings in Jaffna, Inuvil, Chunnakam and Tellipallai, including the Inuvil hospital and the Manohara theatre in Jaffna were destroyed by aimless bombing and shelling.

Between the 28th and 30th of May, the LTTE are reported to have lost 12 in Tellipallai, 7 in Thondamanaru and 11 in Mullaitivu.

More than 20,000 people displaced from Tellipallai and Atchuvely have sought protection in the refugee camps in Jaffna.

On the 1st of June the Sri Lankan Air Force dropped four bombs in Tellipallai causing severe damage to Thukleai Amwan Temple and the orphanage nearby.

A few among the Tamils, notably Fr. Joseph Mary, S. Sivanayagam and S. Sri Kantha countered the arguments presented by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya in the columns of the Colombo Tribune news magazine.

Even with all the overt omissions and bias (which had been exposed by the Tamil contributors to the debate), Fr. Balasuriya concluded, "When we take the Northern and Eastern provinces together, we see an important phenomenon. Within the Jaffna peninsula 71.8% of the votes were for the TULF. In the electorate Killinochchi, Mannar, Vavuniya and Mullaitivu, 57.7% of the voters opted for TULF; and in the Eastern province 28%. Taking both provinces together, the TULF had 370,456 votes. This is 49.9% of the votes cast..." (Colombo Tribune, Oct. 1, 1977).

Fr. Balasuriya further noted, "The voting pattern is 81.5% in the Jaffna peninsula, 85.1% in the four Northern electorates outside the peninsula and 87.0% in the Eastern province. The national average was 87.2%. If we therefore take the population of these two provinces together we can say that they have not voted as a whole positively for a separate state..."

Well, one could be sure that Fr. Balasuriya's forte is theology and not statistics. The independent analysts of the 1977 plebiscite verdict did calculate that 57% of the population in the Northern and Eastern provinces voted for the TULF, and Fr. Balasuriya's estimate of 49.9% was faulty. The Asia Week's correspondent asked the then TULF leader Amirthalingam in an interview (Sept. 2, 1977).

"You claim to have received a clear mandate from the people of the Northern and Eastern provinces to launch a struggle for the restoration and reconstitution of Tamil Eelam? But only 57% of people in these constituencies voted for the TULF. How then can you say you represent everyone?"

With his adept debating skill, Amirthalingam turned back the question to the correspondent to score his point. Said Amirthalingam, "Well, what percentage of Sri Lankans voted for the United National Party? Only 51% have voted in favour of this party which is now taking steps to draft and adopt a new constitution for the nation. If the UNP with only 51% of support can go ahead and draw up a new constitution why can't we, who have received 57% of the vote, proceed with our struggle for freedom? Why, the previous government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike received only 36% of votes cast in 1970. With that "minority" support she too gave the country a new constitution".

Amirthalingam's reply was faultless. But I feel, he should have gone further. In the 1937 elections held in the Indian sub-continent, the

Muslim League led by Muhamed Ali Jinnah (the founder of Pakistan), contested on an all-India basis. "It won 109 seats, out of a total of 182 reserved for Muslims. However it had not contested all the seats; Jinnah claimed that the Muslim League had won 60-70%, contested by the League candidates... (Altogether) of the 1,585 seats, the Congress won 716 (about 44% of the total). Of the Muslim seats it only secured 26 (5.4% of the total); and Congress contested only 58 Muslim seats..." (see, The Partition of India, Policies and Perspectives, 1935-1947, edited by C.H.Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwright). Compared to the mandate received by Jinnah in the 1937 elections, the verdict for a separate state given by the Eelam Tamils in the 1977 elections was clear-cut and convincing.

Though we cannot compare the global and local events which followed the 1937 election in the Indian subcontinent and the 1977 election in Sri Lanka, one can see the parallels of the 10-15 years which followed those two general elections. In ten years following the 1937 election, India split into a 'Hindu India' and a 'Muslim Pakistan'. Despite this split, there remained Muslim minorities in India and Hindu minorities in Pakistan. Similarly, in the fifteen years following the 1977 election there has occurred a de-facto split between the 'Sinhala Sri Lanka' and 'Tamil Eelam'. Similar to the situation in the Indian subcontinent, despite the de-facto split, there remain Tamils in Sri Lanka and Sinhalese in Eelam.

The splits in India and Sri Lanka did come with grief. In the partitioning of India, millions lost their lives. This occurred despite the adherence of Gandhian non-violence principles. The emergence of Eelam has occurred at the cost of "20,000 Hindu Tamils", a recent estimate by the Time magazine (June 22, 1992).

Even after this large-scale sacrifice of life on the part of Tamils, if some expatriates from Sri Lanka (both Sinhalese and Tamils) delude themselves that the federalism model under a unitary Sri Lanka will solve the problems among heterogeneous ethnic groups, I would say that they are living in fool's paradise.

The father of federalism among the Tamils, S.J.V.Chelvanayakam, gave up his belief in 1975, after a valiant struggle with Sinhalese (non-violently, of course!) for a lengthy 26 years. The recent social and political agitations in the nominally federal countries such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, India, Canada and even the USA (after the recent Los Angeles riots) have shown that federalism has lost its appeal as a magic wand to bring justice for heterogeneous ethnic groups living in a country numerically dominated by a majority with different language, religious and ethnic heritages.

Indian Sunday Observer Reporter visits Jaffna and says

“a sojourn in Jaffna reveals that much of what is dished out in the print media the world over is erroneous if not bordering on blatant falsehood - bilge churned out by obliging Sri Lankan government authorities, who have reason to hate the LTTE”

“Beyond this point, you travel at your own risk,” reads the ominous sign board at a military check-post just outside Vavuniya. Ominous, yet apt. For beyond that lies Tiger country. Quite clearly, the Sri Lankan government washes its hands off all responsibility for the security of persons travelling beyond. The sign board is an official acknowledgement of the fact that the jurisdiction of the government ends there.

And few venture to tread beyond, unless they are sure of passing the scrutiny of the members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), or simply the Tigers, who man a check point barely two kilometres further down the dusty road, pock-marked with craters, the legacy of nearly a decade of civil war. Not government officials. Certainly not military personnel. Not even journalists!

The LTTE's check-post is comfortable. A wooded glen provided with thatched shelters for the travel-weary, drinking water in neatly painted barrels for the thirsty and the ubiquitous coffee shop stacked with small eats for the hungry. The checkpost is manned by nearly a hundred boys and girls, most of them still in their teens, all sporting automatic weapons that are further weighed down with ammunition pouches strapped to their shoulders. The team is led by Newton, a muscular, ebony-skinned youth in his mid-20s, who has an unmistakable air of authority and the bearing of a man who knows what he is doing.

Every person who has trekked the two kilometre stretch across no-man's-land past the military check-post (there is no other means of commutation along this stretch) has to register himself with the LTTE checkpost before boys and girls posted for the purpose. All regular commuters have photo-identity cards provided by the Tigers. Newcomers have to get temporary cards made and specify their destination and purpose of visit.

The procedure can be likened to the travails of any visitor to a new country in the hands of immigration. Not surprising. For this jungle checkpost is the gateway of what is in-effect, the de facto state of Tamil Eelam.

Anyone who enters this checkpost for the first time, is struck by the presence in the crowd of persons whose faces are covered with black masks with holes cut out for their eyes. “They are members of some rival militant groups like PLOTE, ENDP and others who have switched over to the LTTE,” explains a veteran. “They will identify any of their former colleagues and friends who try to slip into Eelam with the crowd.”

Few would hazard a guess on the fate of any unfortunate wretch identified by the masked operators as a possible spy. However, LTTE sources insist that the militant outfit is more sinned against than sinning. “We are not barbarians,” they claim. “We have killed the enemy in army

“...Pirabhakaran's militancy has given the Tamils a new spine”

action. We also had to eliminate some persons for strategic or political reason. But we do not derive any sadistic pleasure out of killing. Even today, we have nearly 20 Sri Lankan prisoners of war. The international Red Cross meets them very regularly. We have even extended invitations to their kith and kin to come over and meet them. However, it is the Sri Lankan government that is stopping them!”

While it is a debatable issue whether the LTTE can ever be made up of saints, a sojourn in Jaffna reveals that much of what is dished out in the print media the world over is erroneous if not bordering on blatant falsehood. Bilge churned out by obliging Sri Lankan govern-



LTTE women cadres training in the jungle

ment authorities, who have reason to hate the LTTE.

The general impression in Colombo is that people intending to travel northwards to Jaffna would be required to trek all of 100 kilometres to Uriyan or, if lucky, hire a bicycle to commute the distance, before crossing the huge lagoon that cuts off Jaffna from the mainland. The rationale being that since the outbreak of hostilities between the Sri Lankan armed forces and the LTTE in June, 1990, ‘fuels like petrol and diesel have not been permitted into Tamil territory. Like most impressions fondly nurtured about the LTTE controlled territory, this one is also false.

True, the Sri Lankan government has declared an embargo on the transportation of several commodities beyond Vavuniya, petrol and diesel amongst them. True also that following the Rajiv Gandhi assassination, and consequent strengthening of coastal surveillance by the Indian

navy, smuggling of these commodities from India has virtually come to a standstill.

Yet, there are auto-rickshaws and buses plying from the LTTE check-post to Uriyan. Auto-rickshaws modified to run on kerosene instead of

petrol and buses fuelled by an “enriched” mix of kerosene, diesel and vegetable oils!

Says Newton, visibly proud of the militant outfit's achievements: “Sri Lanka's economic blockade initially hit us badly. But we have learnt to survive.”

Learning to survive. That is the dictum that is driving the LTTE today more than anything else. To the extent that many citizens welcome the unpredictable conditions of war and the resultant embargoes: Says Sivananda Raja of the Sri Lankan Red Cross: “People are adapting to the changing conditions very quickly these days. Today if the average Tamil cannot afford fuel for his

motorised vehicles, he opts for the bicycle. The result is that his health is definitely better than it was before. With cuts in the supply of food-grains, the people are realising the need to attain self-sufficiency on this front. In the past, the average Tamil used to be meek and subservient. Pirabhakaran's militancy has given the Tamils a new spine. He is now far more gutsy than he ever was.”

The Sri Lankan government had hoped that by the prolonged war and the economic embargo, it would break the spirit of the Tamils and maybe even cause revulsion for the LTTE. The actions of the government have, however, caused exactly the opposite effect.

Many citizens of Jaffna admit that there was a period in the history of the LTTE when it was increasingly perceived as a directionless terrorist outfit with expansionist goals. The successful military campaign against



At the Jaffna Police Station

the strong IPKF contingent that had taken over the Jaffna peninsula in the days following the July, 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan accord. And the ruthless annihilation and systematic marginalisation of militant and political opponents amongst the Tamils and a series of daring attacks by suicide killers in the heart of Colombo which included the killing of the maximum security minister of defence Ranjan Wijeratne, the bomb explosion that rocked the presidential secretariat even as a cabinet meeting was in progress and a bomb blast within the precincts of the joint operations command of the Sri Lankan armed forces only heightened their audacity. But, agree most citizens of Jaffna the LTTE is past that phase now.

Says Balakumar, leader of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS) which recently merged with the LTTE: “The Tigers are today acutely conscious of their social responsibilities. They realise that if they want to be successful in their goals, they have to carry the

“...the LTTE continues to be one of the most potent guerilla outfits in the world”

people with them. Over the last decade, the people of Jaffna, generally meek and peace-loving have seen much bloodshed. They have been exposed to brutal repression by the Sri Lankan armed forces, the IPKF, the rival militant factions. They are no longer terrified of guns, and they can no longer be ruled at gun point. The LTTE has realised the importance of working with the people and for the people. That is the only way they can ensure the support and cooperation of the people.”

In a bid to control petty crime which had a tendency of being attributed to the Tigers, the LTTE has set up its own police force in the Jaffna peninsula. Says Natesan, a senior militant leader and confidante of Velupillai Pirabhakaran, who has been entrusted

ed the task of setting up the police force: “We recruited nearly 800 men and women. People who were not in any way connected with the LTTE. For six months, we gave them intensive training in police methodology. On December 1, 1991, our leader Pirabhakaran officially inaugurated the Tamil Eelam police force.”

Clad in smart, blue-checked shirts and navy blue trousers, the policemen and women today man nine police stations, registering complaints, investigating cases and settling civil disputes. Explains Natesan, “A team from the law department of the Jaffna university, in consultation with senior jurists, are now giving the finishing touches to our new penal code which promises to be a revolutionary concept in penology. We are also planning to set up magistrate courts shortly, both at the town and village levels. We have already started recruiting retired magistrates and eminent lawyers for this purpose.”

For nine years now, Jaffna has been devastated by war. Bombings and shellings have left their imprint on every building in the town that is still standing. And taken a toll of civilian lives that defies computation... The social wing of the LTTE has started Sencholai (red oasis), an orphanage for girls located in the heart of Jaffna.

Says Janani, a militant leader and a veteran of several battles, “Women in this land took to arms because they had no choice. But we have certainly not lost our good sense or compassion.” At Sencholai, Janani looks after over 70 girls from age three onwards, brought in by the district and village level LTTE activists from the Tamil areas of the north and east. The orphanage has classes run by quali-

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We publish here the third instalment of a revised version of a paper which Subramaniam Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation presented at a Seminar in Madras in March 1991, organised by the Centre for South and South East Asian Studies. That the writer of the paper should now be languishing in an Indian jail, charged with no offence and detained without trial, must surely speak volumes about the rule of law and freedom of expression in India today

Rise of Tamil Militancy

In India, where the concept of non-violence has a special appeal, at least among the older generation, because of the Gandhian struggle for freedom, one wonders whether many are aware that in the year 1961, there was a massive upsurge of popular protest in the north and east of the Ceylon which resembled in many ways the Gandhian movement in India.

For two months it appeared as if every man, woman and child was involved in the non-violent Satyagraha campaign which brought the administration of the two provinces to a halt. In retrospect, that remains the high-water mark of Tamil unity and collective passive resistance. It also marked the first symbolic assertion of Tamil independence with the inauguration of a "Tamil Arasu Postal Service".

Significantly, it also saw the second induction of government troops into the north and east, the first during the post-riots period in 1958; except that this time Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike ensured that most of the troops sent to Jaffna belonged to the Sinha regiment founded by her and composed exclusively of Sinhalese! Although gradually the entire Sri Lankan army was to get Sinhalese, it is interesting to note that the first Ceylonese Army commander of independent Lanka was a Tamil, Major General Anton Mutucumar, who relinquished command at the beginning of 1960. The non-violent campaign was of course crushed brutally by police and army violence. Emergency was declared, curfew was imposed in the north and east, the Press was brought under censorship, and for several weeks the Tamil areas were cut off from the rest of the island and the rest of the world through the scissoring of all communications - roads, railways, postal and telegraph services and telephones, while the Army was let loose. The year was 1961, and the seeds of Tamil militancy might have been sown at that time, but yet there was no discernible manifestation of it.

It was not until about ten years later after Mrs. Bandaranaike won a landslide victory in May 1970 and came to power for a second term that the Tamils began to feel the whiplash of State discrimination in manifold ways. While it was her husband - Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike who in 1956 fathered the "Sinhala Only" Act and unleashed the forces of Sinhala-Buddhist Chauvinism (which was to take his own life when a Buddhist monk shot him at point-blank range) it could be said with no exaggeration that it was the widow who was the mother of Tamil militancy! For it was under her 7-year rule from 1970 to 1977 that the island saw the worst forms of repression - the policy of standardisation in University admissions, the 1972 Constitution which effectively shut out Tamils from the mainstream of life, the banning of travel by Tamils to South India, the ban on imports from South India of Tamil literature, the

take-over of the biggest chain of newspapers, and the Police violence at the International Tamil Conference held in Jaffna in 1974.

It has to be remembered that it was her rule that saw not only Tamil youth revolt but Sinhala youth revolt as well - the Sinhala Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) insurgency of 1971, which saw Army terror for the first time in the Sinhala south and resulted in the killings of an estimated 15,000 - 20,000 Sinhala youths. Mrs. Bandaranaike's regime also saw the virtual collapse of the left movement, with Marxist leaders of the calibre of Dr. N.M. Perera, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Leslie Goonewardene, Pieter Keuneman, themselves surrendering to Sinhala chauvinism in return for Cabinet posts and power. This also could have had a bearing on the growing youth unrest and disillusionment that intensified in the seventies.

Tamil youth militancy was only one aspect of the strong opposition of the entire Tamil community to the republican Constitution of May 1972. Three leading organisations - the Federal Party, the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, and the Ceylon Workers Congress - formed the Tamil United Front on June 13, 1972 to campaign on a common programme for the constitutional recognition of Tamil rights.

Although the Tamil United Front confined its agitation to non-violent forms, there were open indications in 1973 that a number of younger Tamils had begun to resort to violence. It was officially stated on May

28 that 37 Tamils youths who had been arrested in previous months would be tried shortly by a special Commission on charges of attempted murder of parliamentarians, attempted destruction of state property, and intimidation. Mr. Jayakody, the Deputy Finance Minister, told the Assembly on June 6 that a naval patrol had seized a boat-load of 48,000 detonators on May 31 with an Indian manufacturer's marking and that subversive literature was being smuggled into the northern province from southern India on a large scale! The consignment was reported to have been organised by Yogachandran, popularly known as Kuttimani who was to be killed in the Welikade jail ten years later.

The first few years of Tamil militancy found expression through the pioneer youth organisation - the "Tamil Manavar Peravai" of which a youth named Sivakumaran became the most publicised figure, and a hero in the public imagination. The first political murder came two years later when Alfred Durayappah, a former Mayor of Jaffna and District Organ-

iser in Jaffna of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was gunned down by unidentified Tamil youths, on July 27, 1975.

The first formal pledge for Tamil Eelam came in February 1975 when the Tamil United Front leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, on winning the by-election at Kankasanturai with a crushing majority of 16,000 votes (polling 25,927 as against 9,457 by his Communist opponent) declared:

"I wish to announce to my Tamil people and to the country that I consider the verdict at this election as a mandate that the Tamil nation should exercise sovereignty already vested in the Tamil people and become free. On behalf of the TUF, I give you my solemn assurance that we will carry out the mandate".

The much-publicised Vaddukkudai resolution that came later, while reaffirming the Eelam objective, was couched more with constitutional fervour than in the language of liberation. That was perhaps to be expected of middle-class politicians long attuned to a Parliamentary form of struggle, and harvesting votes through the spoken word than through action. That there was no strong will behind the resolution on the part of the leadership was soon made clear when the party M.P.s entered into fruitless negotiations with Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike in an effort to have an interim settlement before the impending elections, while shelving for the time being the Tamil Eelam demand. The TULF leader Chelvanayakam died on April 26,

... While it was her husband - Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike who in 1956 fathered the "Sinhala Only" Act and unleashed the forces of Sinhala-Buddhist Chauvinism (which was to take his own life when a Buddhist monk shot him at point-blank range) it could be said with no exaggeration that it was the widow who was the mother of Tamil militancy!

1977, three months before the elections, and this was a severe blow for the political struggle at a crucial phase.

Although the party subsequently headed by Amirthalingam declared bravely in its manifesto that the elected candidates would constitute themselves into an Assembly of Tamil Eelam and proceed to draw up its constitution, nothing remotely like that happened.

Part of the explanation as to why the TULF leadership went back on its commitment, despite claiming that the people had given it a mandate for Tamil Eelam, lay in what turned out to be, the most capricious happening in the electoral scene in Sri Lanka. Political power since independence had always changed hands between the two major Sinhala parties - the United National Party, and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. The electoral pendulum used to swing either way, resulting in one party forming the government and the other heading the Opposition in Parliament. The Sinhala voting public which had a

From the First Two Instalments which appeared in the May and June issues of the Tamil Nation: "Tamil youth militancy was a recent phenomenon, a surprising one, when viewed from a sociological point of view, because it seemed out of character with the society that bred it... given the political backdrop of a decade and a half of Sinhala discrimination, mob attacks, pinpricks through the Press, the collective humiliation of a whole community which had made a contribution to the progress of the country well above its numerical strength, and the deprivation of a sense of belonging of a people who were born and bred there for centuries, something had to give way at some point of time... While the indigenous Tamils themselves had begun to wilt under the pressures of Sinhala-Buddhist oppression beginning 1956, it took a second generation of post-independence Tamil youths to think of violence as the only answer to unchecked majority violence. As they say in common parlance, the worm began to turn... Militancy connotes violence, and violence seen without its rationale and source of motivation, is certainly disturbing to the average mind; particularly to those who have no interest in knowing or hearing about either. It is the symptom, the external manifestation that troubles them, not the internal agony that caused it... Militancy connotes violence, and violence seen without its rationale and source of motivation, is certainly disturbing to the average mind; particularly to those who have no interest in knowing or hearing about either. It is the symptom, the external manifestation that troubles them, not the internal agony that caused it. This naturally results in popular prejudices, which in course of time get entrenched and continue to colour the thinking and perceptions of most people. But there is one undeniable advantage that violence has over non-violence: It is a superior attention-getter! ... But for the orgy of violence of July 1983, and because it also engulfed the capital of Colombo with its presence of tourists, and embassies and diplomatic missions, the world (even next-door India) would not have known much about the agony that the Tamils had undergone the previous quarter century..."

tendency to vote out a party than vote one in, was possibly so disgruntled with the 7-year rule of Mrs. Bandaranaike at the 1977 election, it reduced the parliamentary representation of her party to a measly rump of eight, while Jayewardene led the UNP into a stunning, unprecedented victory with a tally of 141. The pendulum had swung too far and the TULF suddenly found itself the second largest party with 18 seats - an outcome anticipated neither by the Tamils nor by the Sinhalese.

Profiting by a mere accident of history, the TULF leader decided to accept the post of Leader of the Opposition in the Sri Lankan Parliament. At a time when the Tamil youths had lost all faith in the Parliamentary system, and were looking out for an extra-Parliamentary struggle, including resort to violence, this distancing of the TULF not only from its own mandate but from the current

political mood of the Tamils was to bring about a gradual change in its political fortunes.

The elevation of a Tamil into the post of Leader of the Opposition angered the Sinhalese as well. It was not surprising therefore that on the 24th July, 1981, there took place in Mr. Jayewardene's Parliament an unprecedented bizarre occurrence: the ruling Government party passed a vote of no confidence on the Tamil Leader of the Opposition.

It was not the vote alone that mattered. At least two of the Government M.P.s, speaking on the debate speculated on the possibility of killing Amirthalingam and suggested ways and means of how best it could be done. One suggested the traditional punishment meted out to traitors by the Kandyan Sinhalese kings: rope two arecanut trees together, tie his legs to the two trees and cut the rope, so that he would be torn into two.

Another Member came up with another suggestion. He said: "Now Sir, what should we do this so-called

leader of the Tamils? If I were given the power, I would tie him to the nearest concrete post in this building and horse-whip him till I raise him to his wits. Thereafter let anybody do anything he likes - throw him into the Beira (lake) or to the sea, because he will be so mutilated that I do not think there will be life in him ..."

Meanwhile, getting disillusioned by the political leadership, Tamil youth militancy was charting its own course, and was emerging as a powerful underground force. Banks were robbed to fund the movement, and Tamil police officers investigating militant activities were systematically gunned down. The most sensational of these happened in April 1978 when three crack detectives who were inquiring into the assassination attempt on Pottuvil M.P., M. Canagaratnam, were inveigled into the jungles bordering the Mannar-Madhu road by an alleged informant who promised to lead them into a 'terrorist' camp. The police party was headed by Inspector T.I. Bastianpillai who had already earned notoriety for using torture on several youths for extracting information. The highly decomposed bodies of the three policemen were discovered several days later. The Government claimed that it had been established that the killers belonged to the Liberation Tiger movement. Uma Maheswaran who was later to head the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) was named by the Government as one of the suspects and his photograph along with those of three others were published in wall posters and newspapers as among the "wanted men".

On May 19, 1978, the National State Assembly passed a Bill proscribing the Liberation Tigers of Tamil and other similar organisations. On September 7, an Avro plane, till then Air Ceylon's only airworthy aircraft, was shattered by a time bomb at the Ratmalana airport in Colombo. The plane had arrived with a full load of passengers from Jaffna, and was to take off to the Maldives. Police, stated that the bomb was so timed that but for a slight catering delay at the airport, it would have exploded in mid-air over Colombo city. The Act proscribing the Liberation Tigers producing no results, the Government brought another Bill with wider powers named Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, and even that proving profitless, it was subsequently made part of the permanent law of the land. Misguiding him-

continued on page 12

Indian Sunday Observer Reporter visits Jaffna...

continued from page 5

fied teachers and is self-sufficient in vegetables, milk and other farm products. It even boasts of a gobar gas plant which partially looks after the energy requirements of the unit.

With power lines into Jaffna destroyed by bombings way back in June, 1990, the Tamil capital languishes in darkness. The people, consequently, have no source of entertainment, what with most of the cinema halls destroyed by shellings and VCRs and television sets rendered useless by the enforced power cut. In a bid to meet the entertainment needs of the masses and to earn a little mileage on the side, the LTTE finances drama troupes which tour the Tamil areas, putting up well attended performances. In addition, the LTTE also runs its own radio station which broadcasts programmes four hours each day in two sessions, which are availa-

ble not only on transistor sets but also over public address systems placed at strategic points in Jaffna town.

All these altruistic pursuits might well suggest that the Tigers have suddenly developed the wings of an angel and gone back on their militant preoccupations. Far from it. The LTTE continues to be one of the most potent guerilla outfits in the world.

And their strength stems from the personality of their leader, Velupillai Pirabhakaran, a short, stocky individual from the fishermen's community in Velvettithurai, who is credited with having given Tamils the spunk to stand up and fight repression. Pirabhakaran is probably the most wanted person in the world today. Hated by his enemies, venerated by his own ilk, he remains more elusive than the Scarlet Pimpernel. So elusive that even journalists have been known to fabricate interviews with him (the most recent example being the interview published in Sri Lanka's Sunday Island of February 23



Going to the market - in Jaffna

which was picked up by the world media.)

Pirabhakaran is backed by the unstinted support of over 10,000 followers, more than 30 per cent of whom are women. Symbolic of this implicit faith is the little glass vial of cyanide worn by every cadre of the LTTE round his or her neck. One they would gladly bite into, to evade being captured alive by the enemy.

Says Anton Balasingham, who is a spokesman of the militant outfit: "All over the world one reads of LTTE men being taken into custody. No LTTE militant would ever be taken alive by the enemy. Before that, he would have consumed cyanide and perished. We consider it an honour to die for our motherland than die a rat's death in the hands of the enemy after capture." But there have been instances when the cyanide has lost its potency and failed to kill. This has prompted most of the senior leaders to carry two vials of the lethal poison to ensure finality.

It is an extension of this loyalty to the leadership that is manifested in the form of the mysterious "Black Tigers", the harakiri outfit of the LTTE. Consisting of a dedicated bunch of individuals who keep exclusively to themselves, the Black Tigers undertake suicidal missions which brook no answer. Says Colonel Jayakodi, a top ranking official of the Sri Lankan army: "What can we do against a band of people who are prepared to die in their mission of killing others?"

The war has taken its toll on the LTTE. According to their own estimates, over 4,000 of them have perished since 1983. .. According to the Sri Lankan authorities, the casualties could be much higher than officially admitted by the LTTE. The figures also do not take into account those permanently disabled. Like the 16-year-old Vasanthan who is undergoing treatment in the Jaffna hospital with both his hands, his left leg and right eye blown off when a landmine he was wiring accidentally exploded. Or the 19-year-old Ramesh whose spine was injured while fighting over a year ago, and he has been totally paralysed from his hip down since then. Yet the toughness tells. Selva, a gutsy 18-year-old girl has had both her arms amputated following serious injury. But today, she is raring to go back into the battlefield having trained herself to remove pins and hurl grenades with her feet!

Peace is increasingly becoming an issue of concern for the LTTE leadership. Says Yogaratinam Yogi, secretary general of the Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT), the political wing of the LTTE: "We are prepared for talks. The Tamils are not violent people, naturally. We were forced to take up arms because peaceful methods for self-determination failed. The Sinhala government consistently trampled over our rights. But even today, if they come forward for a negotiated political settlement, we are prepared... But if the Sri Lankan government is hoping for a military settlement, we will not stop short of Belam!"

Pressure is building on the Tigers.

Navajeevanam Rehabilitation Centre bombed by Sri Lanka

During the recent aerial bombing of several areas in North Sri Lanka by the Sri Lankan Air Force, the Navajeevanam Rehabilitation Centre near Paranthan and the Medical Clinic of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India, nearby were hit twice. The attacks occurred on two consecutive nights. No casualties have been reported.

NAVAL ENGINEER SMUGGLES GOLD IN

A Sri Lankan naval engineer and a film producer who returned abroad on Air Lanka flight from Singapore on 24th April were arrested by the customs officers at the Katunayake International Airport for attempting to smuggle gold bars weighing ten kilograms, worth over 5.1 million rupees. The two men were later produced before the Deputy Director of Customs who imposed a fine of 15.3 million rupees and ordered the confiscation of the gold bars.

AIR LANKA EMPLOYEE SMUGGLES GOLD OUT

On 16th May, plain clothes police arrested an Air Lanka employee said to be a key member of a gold smuggling ring, trying to smuggle out gold bars worth over one million rupees. A senior spokesman for the Bureau of Special Operations which made the arrest said that the gold had come from Singapore on a flight on 15th May.

Swiss Federation of Tamils' Associations Marches to Indian High Commission in Berne, Switzerland



Around five thousand participated in the demonstration march organised by the Swiss Federation of Tamils' Associations (SFTA) on June 15 in Berne Switzerland. The march which was in protest against the Indian government's actions on the Tamil issue ended in front of the Indian High Commission. Representatives of the SFTA went accompanied by the Swiss Police went to the entrance of the High Commission to present a petition but the High Commission refused to accept the petition which was tendered. But whilst the High Commission official was busy refusing to accept the copy of the petition tendered to him, the original which had been posted to the High Commission (to meet this eventuality) was already being opened inside! The Petition said:

"We write to you as a matter of urgency and with a feeling of abhorrence at the way your government is handling the issue of the Tamils in general and the treatment of the thousands of those Tamils who had sought refuge in your country. We wish to condemn the ill-treatment and detention of many innocent Tamils in Tamil Nadu. The arbitrary arrest and detention of members of the Tamil community who are in the course of receiving medical care, cannot be justified and we appeal to you to end this most inhuman behaviour.

For the past few months the civilians, in the North, have been subjected to the most horrendous aerial bombardment and shelling from Naval artillery in the surrounding coastal villages of the fishing community and in other densely populated towns. Further inland, the vast majority of the population comprising of its local inhabitants together with the hundreds of thousands of refugees who fled from Army atrocities in Tamil areas to the south are facing constant threats of coercion and terror causing deep anxiety to their very lives.

In addition, the imposition and maintenance of an economic blockade, on the Tamils in their Northern homeland continues. We wish to draw your urgent attention to the plight of the Tamil people living under these conditions and would appeal to you to help in sending much needed medical aid to alleviate their sufferings. At the same time, we wish to express our deep concern on the matter of repatriation of Tamil refugees from Tamil Nadu to Sri Lanka. We consider this move to be most unnecessary and unwanted under the conditions currently prevailing in the Island.

We strongly feel that conditions for a negotiated peaceful process should be encouraged and that your present actions and approach towards the Tamil National question does not help."

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The TAMIL NATION exists to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary, both amongst the Tamil people and outside, if the struggle of the Tamil people for national self determination is to be won. Theory and practise are the two legs on which we walk. Theory informs practice and practice refines our theory. Nationalism has emerged as the dominant political phenomenon of the 1990s and clearly, there is a need to further our understanding of that which moves so many thousands upon thousands to willingly die so that their nation may live. We published in our June issue an article by Gunter Minnerup in Argument-Sonderbande, which examined the failure of some Marxist theories about nationalism. In this issue we publish an article by Rodolfo Stavenhagen who chairs International Alert. International Alert is a non governmental organisation which was set up in 1985 to help in the management of ethnic conflicts. Its original name was 'Standing International Forum on Ethnic Conflict.' Interestingly, at the time of its formation, SIFEC had as the first item on its Agenda the settlement of the Tamil-Sinhala Conflict.

Though Rodolfo Stavenhagen, makes no reference to Marx, readers may find in his 'objective criteria' for an ethnic group, four of the criteria specified by Stalin in his oft quoted 1913 essay on Marxism and the National Question. We invite our readers to participate in this discussion about what is a nation bearing in mind, of course, that any theory is useful only to extent that it is a guide to action.

The following is a summary of the lecture given by Prof. Rodolfo Stavenhagen of El Colegio de Mexico on 19 June 1991 in Tokyo. Prof. Stavenhagen gave lectures in Tokyo and Osaka, and participated in the meeting of experts on the questions of ethnic conflicts and an early warning system.

ETHNIC CONFLICTS

Nobody today who sees the news can ignore the tremendous conflicts that are talking place all over the world, the violence that has been generated because different peoples, different nations within states and across borders are confronting each other in terms of their religions, their languages and their cultures.

Some scholars have said that these domestic conflicts with states are as dangerous to the world as the nuclear danger. Many hundreds of thousands of people have been killed, many millions have been refugees

and have lost their homes and major massive violations of human rights have taken place in different parts of the world as a result of conflicts, not between states, but within countries themselves. These problems are on the rise all over the world and though they may be similar in appearance, in fact they are the result of different kinds of historical processes.

PROBLEM OF DEFINITION - "NATIONS" AND "PEOPLES"

These problems arise because there is a basic contradiction in the international system. The United Nations recognizes around one hundred and seventy independent states, but in the world there are around eight thousand or more distinct peoples or nations or ethnic groups. This contradiction is between a small number of states, governments that have the power and control the territory, and on the other hand many thousands of different groups with their own identities.

We have a problem of definition here, and some of the words and terms are not easily translatable, but I will try to convey some basic concepts and definitions which are useful in the analysis of these problems. The UN, for example, is based on the concept of nations. The preamble to the Charter of the United Nations speaks of 'we the peoples of the United Nations.' So we already have two concepts which are not identical, 'Peoples' and 'Nations.' As we know, the UN is an organization, not of Peoples, not of Nations, but of States, of governments.

The first article of the International Covenant on Human Rights establishes that all peoples have the right to self-determination. But nowhere in the legal documents of the UN is there a definition of 'peoples'. So we do not know who are the peoples who have these rights. We might say that there are basically two types of peoples. One type is the peoples who have their own states, who have coalesced into a territorial government, who identify with that state. These people receive a name of Nation, the Japanese Nation, the French Nation, the English Nation, because they are almost identical with the state with which they have been historically associated.

On the other hand we can speak of peoples who are not identical to a state but who live within the territory of a state. These are stateless peoples that are sometimes struggling for a state of their own, like the Kurds in Western Asia, or the Palestinians in the Middle East. Sometimes these peoples are referred to as minorities.

"MINORITIES" AND "ETHNIC GROUPS"

The concept of minority is used in the United Nations and I'll come back to that later. But is a very unsatisfactory concept because it basically refers to a numerical rela-

tionship between the minority and majority. But not in all cases are so-called minorities actually numerical minorities. They may be a political minority, that is they are discriminated against, they are dominated, they are excluded, they are oppressed, but they may not be a numerical minority, for example, Blacks in South Africa, Indians in Guatemala or Bolivia.

Another problem is that the concept of minority itself does not say anything about the group. We have to add an adjective; we say a racial minority, a religious minority, a linguistic minority, a political mi-

nority, a sexual minority. Furthermore, in today's political discourse, where everything is based on the rule of the majority, the concept of minority already implies disadvantage, something less than the totality. The majority is on top, has the power, controls the state, the government, the resources, the dominant ideology. The minority is at the bottom. The minority has to be content with what the majority wants to give it. Therefore, in the social sciences we prefer to use the terms ethnic group, which is similar to the terms I mentioned earlier, Peoples and Nations. There are two principal kinds of criteria for the definition and identification of ethnic groups, objective criteria and subjective criteria.

Objective Criteria for the Definition of Ethnic Group.

LANGUAGE

The first, and one of the principal objective criteria is language. Many ethnic groups in the world are identified by the language they speak.

"...for an ethnic group to exist there must be objective attributes and subjective consciousness, a feeling of identity."

many minority groups are in fact linguistic minorities. This is the case of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and of the Basques in Spain, of the Native American Indians in Latin America and North America. Therefore some people today argue that one of the basic human rights is language rights. In India, for example, for many years there were violent linguistic conflicts, linguistic riots. The constitution of India had to be changed to establish linguistic states. Still now there is a struggle about what languages are to be taught in the schools. In Europe, in Belgium, the country is split down the middle, between the Flemish and French speakers and there are basic political conflicts between them.

RELIGION

A second major criterion for the definition of ethnic groups is religion. Here I would draw a distinction between religion as a private matter and religion as a public mat-

ter in which the society becomes involved in all sorts of activities. Religion very often becomes a state religion, an official religion. Then there arise conflicts between the different religions. In many countries, different religions can live peacefully together, but in some countries, religion becomes a factor of ethnic exclusiveness, of ethnic identity and ethnic conflicts. In Lebanon, the long civil war has had many causes but a major division in Lebanese society is between Christians and Muslims. In Northern Ireland, there is a long historical conflict between Protestants and Catholics. In Sri Lanka, the Tamils distin-

and common myths the people share when they form a part of a nation or of an ethnic group. Thus, for example, you are all very conscious that Japanese culture is very different from Western culture and even from Chinese and Korean Cultures. Independently of where you are, there is something in Japanese culture which is passed on from generation to generation. Just as there is something in Tamil culture, in Basque culture, in Native American cultures, which gives meaning to everybody's life. Therefore, cultures are not only collections of objects or artifacts which you can see in a museum. A culture is a guideline for

living, a model, an unspoken code which guides our day to day activities.

RACE

Finally another objective criterion for the identification of ethnic groups is biological: race. Race, of course, is at the base of what we are all concerned with, racism. But when we look at the scientific literature, there is no scientific concept of race. Race as such does not exist in real life. That is very difficult to understand, because in general, public opinion does think that the world is divided into races. The concept of race is really constructed socially and culturally. People attach a meaning to certain biological differences. Everybody is different biologically but whether these differences are important politically and economically or not, that is a social construction. It has no physical reality.

For example, in Brazil, there are Blacks, there are Japanese, there are Native American Indians, there are immigrants from Europe, from Portugal and from other European countries. And there is a biological continuum. There are no clear racial differences between the different parts of the population. Whereas in the United States the Blacks are very clearly different from the non-Blacks because of the history of slavery, segregation and discrimination which was different from that in Brazil. Another example: for the outside world, all of the population of Haiti are descendants of African slaves and so they are Black. But inside Haiti, the Haitian people make a very clear sociological and political distinction between different shades of Black.

SUBJECTIVE CRITERIA

We have six objective criteria for ethnic identification: language, religion, territory, social organization, culture, and race. Sometimes all of them are together, sometimes only one or two of them are present. But even all of these objective criteria are not sufficient if there is not also subjective awareness of these criteria. Therefore, for an ethnic group to exist there must be objective attributes and subjective consciousness, a feeling of identity. (to be concluded in August issue)

FORUM

Time Magazine June Cover Story comments:

“The day seems to be past when rebellious people could be told that they must remain subjects of a state they wanted no part of”

“Human life”, wrote Jean-Paul Sartre, “begins on the far side of despair.”

As the shrapnel continues to scream around them the bludgeoned inhabitants of Sarajevo in Bosnia must be praying to their respective gods that their despair will give way to a new humanity that will rise above generations of ethnic strike to produce a land fit for living. Wish them luck, for they need it desperately.

Do the same for the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia who, despite the bloody evidence of Yugoslavia, seem bent on their own course of self-determination, which threatens to sunder a country that one stood solidly together to resist Soviet tanks.

And then do not assume that ethnic ambition and rampant nationalism are confined to a Europe still heady in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's demise. All over the world, ethnic groups of enormously varying size are demanding and frequently getting their own national turf, complete with flat, army, currency and U.N. seat.

In fact, there seem to be two main trends vying to shape the post-cold war world. One is the move towards uniting once jealous sovereignties in economic groupings that also have political ties, like the 12-nation European Community. The contrasting trend is toward splitting up existing nations into smaller and smaller ethnic pieces. That trend might now be the stronger.

The very thought makes most leaders of the established powers shudder. To them, it threatens instability on a large scale, as even some of the biggest and oldest nations - yesterday the Soviet Union, tomorrow maybe China - face potentially violent breakup. At a recent international conference French President Francois Mitterrand worried out loud “whether in the future every tribal group will dispose of its own laws to the exclusion of any common law?” He immediately answered himself. “You can sense how impossible that would be.”

Less impossible than irresistible, comes the reply from determined minorities and political scientists of the realist school. They view the turmoil as the necessary pain attending the birth of a genuinely new world order no longer dominated by large nation-states but composed mainly of regional associations of smaller countries. It is possible too to see the move toward

self-determination as a net gain for liberty.

In any case, the day seems to be past when rebellious people could be told that they must remain subjects of a state they wanted no part of. Since resistance is usually futile, say many experts, the task for international bodies such as the U.N. is to seek to guide the upheavals into peaceful channels.

That, however is a mammoth job that would begin very late if it started today. The idea that every group with a common ancestry, language, history and culture should have its own state and write its own laws is well established. In modern times, the principle of self-determination got a big boost from Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I and in 1945

for its part, no longer feels compelled to prop up repressive regimes, like that of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, that if once counted on as bulwarks against Soviet expansionism.

.... how should the international community cope with the drive toward self-determination? Thoughtful diplomats and academic analysts offer four general guidelines:

1. Do whatever is possible

through preachment, aid and sanctions to encourage the spread of democracy. The most violent ethnic explosions usually have occurred under repressive regimes.

2. Grant a large measure of self-government to dissident ethnic groups, and encourage other countries to do the same. Democracy alone may not satisfy ethnics who suspect that their representatives in a national parliament will be constantly out-voted on such matters as where and how tax money should be spent. The presence of 22 Kurds in the Turkish parliament (out of a total of 450 members) has not prevented Kurdish nationalists from turning south-eastern Turkey into a land of fear.

3. Develop a set of principles to govern when new states should be given diplomatic recognition and what they must do to qualify for admission into international bodies. Robert Badinter, president of the French Constitutional Council and head of the E.C. Arbitration Commission on Yugoslavia, suggests that new states must establish democratic institutions, accept international covenants on human rights, pledge to respect existing frontiers and guarantee respectful treatment of their own ethnic and/or religious minorities.

4. Work out rules for determining when international intervention is necessary to prevent ethnic bloodshed, and develop mechanisms to carry it out. The old principle that

a government might do anything within its own borders to its own people has been shattered within the past 13 months by two events: the dispatch of a U.N. force to northern Iraq to protect Kurds from massacre by Saddam Hussein's forces (the Kurds have since set up what amounts to an autonomous zone there); and the arrival, however tardy, of the U.N. peacekeeping force in Croatia while the Croats were still fighting to break free from Belgrade.

But since the U.N. neither can nor should butt into every secessionist dispute around the world, some standard is needed to judge when intervention is justified. One often heard suggestion is that intervention is defensible whenever a civil war threatens to send floods of refugees across international frontiers, disrupting neighbouring states.

None of this can happen too soon. Hardly any state seems exempt from the threat of violence and breakup in

the name of ethnic self-determination. China, which gives the outside world the impression of being a monolith yet contains 55 ethnic minorities numbering perhaps 80 million people, could also be on the verge of a breakdown. In Europe there are feelings of repression and aspirations toward autonomy, if not independence, among Hungarians in Romania, Turks in Bulgaria, Poles in Lithuania, and now Slovaks in Czechoslovakia. In Afghanistan civil war could yet pit southern Pashtun against northern Uzbek and Tajik in a conflict that could spill over into neighbouring Pakistan and the formerly Soviet republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

All this adds up to a crazy quilt of ethnic ambition. The task ahead is to ensure that the quilt is not forced into service as a shroud. (Courtesy Time Magazine 22 June 1992: Excerpts from a report by James Carney/Moscow, William Mader/London, and J.F.O. McAllister/Washington.)

BISHOP OF MANNAR MEETS PRESIDENT

A delegation headed by Dr Saundara-nayagau, Bishop of Mannar, comprising Fr. J.B. Devaraja, Fr. A.P. Devasagayam and the president of the Mannar Citizens' Committee Mr Somabala, met President Premadasa on the 30th of May at the Presidential Mobile Office at the Gamini Mala Vidy-alogam in Vavuniya, to discuss the problems incurred by the people as a result of the on going war in the North.

FLOODS WORST IN 126 YEARS

The unprecedented twelve hour downpour on the night of the 4th of June said to be the heaviest in 126 years, flooded Colombo and its suburbs, marooned some 300,000 people and left them homeless. The Parliament building itself was under four feet of water even after 24 hours, and the policemen guarding it had to use boats to go out. It is claimed that companies and individuals favoured by the Government had been allowed to fill low lying land and build houses on them for short term profit and that this had affected the normal drainage system which led to the flooding.

Behind the Barbed Wire Fence



Refugees in their own homeland in the East

Bishop Ambalavanar...

continued from page 3

we believe that the Government is genuinely seeking a solution?

Q. What do you think about the efforts of the Select Committee?

A. Those of us who have carefully observed the Select Committee feel that it is yet another ploy to buy more time to find a military solution.

Q. Would not the Tamil people get tired and worn out and eventually give up the struggle?

A. The people have more than clearly shown their ability to survive without electricity and supplies. Such measures have only hardened them. They are also puzzled as to why the West reacts so quickly to Yugoslavia while it does not seem to care for their suffering for several years.

Q. What do you think of the Rajiv Gandhi assassination?

A. The LTTE has consistently denied it. India has begun a judicial process which has so far not revealed any compelling evidence. We will have to wait and see the outcome of justice before blaming it on the LTTE.

The Tamil national liberation struggle is not taking place in outer space. It is taking place on the ground - and in the Indian region. The political impact of much that happens on the Indian sub continent is also felt by the people of Tamil Eelam. Though reports of the disintegration of the Indian Union are often greatly exaggerated, events in the Soviet Union show that empires do crumble, if they do not recognise, well in time, the political force of emergent nationalisms, and take steps to restructure in a genuine and meaningful way. And for the Indian Union the time is now. Unity will emerge only when the different nations of the Indian Union are recognised as equals, not when it is sought to deny their existence. Unity will emerge only when New Delhi acquires the vision and the strength to constitute a confederal commonwealth of free and equal nations. It will be futile for New Delhi, Canute like, to order the rising tide of emergent nationalism to recede. The rising tide of Sikh nationalism will not recede in the years to come. Neither will Kashmiri nationalism recede. Nor will Assamese nationalism. Nor for that matter will Tamil nationalism recede in the years to come. On the contrary, these nationalisms will grow from year to year. The words of Lord Avebury, in an article published in the December 1991 issue of the Tamil Nation, are apposite: "There are momentous changes beginning to take shape all over the world, and India cannot insulate herself from the new dispensation."

Sachi Sri Kantha says in Japan Times:

"Like the Soviet Union, India will also splinter"

In a letter published in the Daily Yomiuri, Osaka on 1 June, Sachi Sri Kantha says: "Your AP report from New Delhi (May 22 P4) stated that 'India banned the Tamil Tiger group, saying its secessionist campaign in Sri Lanka jeopardized India's security.'" Then, the following sentence noted that some of the 60 million Tamils in Tamil Nadu sympathize with the separatist cause. If only "some" sympathize with the cause espoused by the Tamil Tigers, why bother banning this group, which may be of peripheral significance?"

Contrary to the information presented, the message of the Tamil Tigers has much grass-roots appeal among the folks in Tamil Nadu. That explains why the Indian government has acted now to ban the movement.

However, the authorities in New Delhi should not forget that, exactly 50 years ago, the then ruling British authorities in India outlawed the Forward Bloc organisation of Subhas Chandra Bose. This did not prevent the message of Bose from gaining support among the Indian masses. Now, Bose is hailed in India as a pre-eminent freedom fighter whose stature is secondly only to that of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru.

One should also note that, apart from Tamil Nadu, secessionist campaigns in other Indian states such as Punjab, Kashmir, Assam, Nagaland and Tripura have gained popularity among the natives. It appears that India is splintering and may follow the path of the Soviet Union in the not-so-near future. It took 75 years for the Soviet Union to become dismembered. Since contemporary India came into existence in 1947, I predict that within the next 30 years India will splinter into more than a dozen separate states, along linguistic lines.

The Indian Region

Tamil Nation, Brahminism and Mr. Madan Mohan Rao

Tamil Nation readers will not be unfamiliar with the writings of Mr. Madan Mohan Rao in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Times.

Sometime back, Mr. Madan Rao was concerned about the Tamil Nation's views on Indian unity. On that occasion we sought to reassure Mr. Rao that the Tamil Nation was not anti Indian. We said that instead of screaming in fear about 'separatists' becoming bolder day by day, Mr. Rao and his ilk will better serve the cause of Indian unity, if they wake up to the reality that the unity of India will not be achieved by suppressing the national aspirations of the different peoples of India. But it seems that Mr. Rao cannot leave well alone. In a piece written from Madras for the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Times last month, Mr. Rao writes about the views expressed in the Tamil Nation about Brahminism. He says:

"Having failed to get support from the masses of Tamil Nadu on the basis of ethnicity or 'Tamilness', the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have willy nilly turned to the seemingly more potent strategy of anti-Brahminism to gain support here.

Though ... the London-based 'Tamil Nation' has been voicing anti-Brahmin sentiments for some time now, there was no word from the LTTE leadership itself till recently when its top-rung, Yogaratnam Yogi, told the 'Voice of Tigers Radio' that the Brahmins had played a major role in the anti-LTTE drive in India.

Yogi said: "The Brahmin hypocrisy in India and the newspapers and other media channels in India controlled by the Brahmins, played a major role in banning the LTTE."

Yogi had in mind probably, the anti-LTTE stance taken by Brahmins such as Rajiv Gandhi, Foreign Secretary and former High Commissioner of India in Colombo, Jyotindra Nath Dixit, the present chief minister of Tamil Nadu Jayalalitha Jayaram, the proprietors of the English daily 'The Hindu' the editor of 'Frontline', 'Thughlak' Cho S Ramaswamy.

The leading Tamil dailies 'Dinamani,' and 'Dinamalar' and the top of the drawer Tamil magazine 'Ananda Vikatan' all welcomed the ban on the LTTE and these are either Brahmin owned or edited. It so happens that the leading lights of the press in Tamil Nadu are Brahmins. The most popular dailies or magazines show a disproportionately large Brahmin involvement.

At any rate, the LTTE view is that the establishment in India is controlled by the Brahmins and that the Brahmins have traditionally viewed with displeasure the emergency of any group which was non-Brahmin.

C P Goliard writing in the April 15 issue of the 'Tamil Nation' says it is the non-Dravidian and Brahmin ruling class in Tamil Nadu which has been against the LTTE. He says the ruling class consists of two types, the establishment, which is alien to the Dravidian land, but garbed with military and intelligence arm and the Brahmin brown sahibs who control the press and other law enforcement agencies. According to the writer, only 120 signed

up for participation in Mahatma Gandhi's 1920 Satyagraha because the new agitational technique was propounded by a "Low casteman - Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi."

The "Hindu" daily of those days had refrained from accepting Gandhi's suggestion that it publish a proscribed book as a mark of defiance of the Raj.

TAMIL NATIONALISM

Goliard equates the present antipathy for LTTE chief Velupillai Prabhakaran in Tamil Nadu's allegedly Brahmin establishment with the "cold shoulder" given to Gandhi seventy years ago. After citing comments in "The Hindu" castigating the Tigers for "Maiming India" Goliard goes on to say: "At least, in one aspect, we can identify the similarity between Mahatma Gandhi and Prabhakaran. Both came from outside the Brahmin class, and to the Brahmin leadership by non-Brahmin talent is an anathema"

A box item in the "Tamil Nation" of the same date, reproduces a translation of a rejoinder of the Dravida Kazhagam general secretary K Veeramani to an editorial in "The Hindu" of February 24 headlined "Bring LTTE to Justice."

Veeramani says The Hindu's editorial represents the views of not just the paper but the "Brahmin establishment" comprising Cho. Ramaswamy, Subramanian Swamy, Dinamani, Dinamalar and others opposed to the Dravida Kazhagam which is rooted in the anti-Brahmin Tamil National Movement of Ramaswamy Naicker."

Veeramani condemns the "attempt of the Brahmin establishment to use the Rajiv assassination as an excuse to wipe out Tamil nationalism.

There is, therefore, a clear attempt on the part of the LTTE to exploit, anti-Brahmin sentiments in Tamil Nadu or as in the case of the article by C P Goliard to perceive a Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict when there wasn't any.

The LTTE is perhaps doing this in the hope that given the fact that Tamil Nadu has had a strong anti-Brahmin movement spawning powerful political parties like the DMK, the AIADMK and now the Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) this sentiment would be of help to it. Having identified its detractors as being principally Brahmins, the LTTE hopes to get the support of the non-Brahmins.

The Eelam struggle is led by Saiva Vellalas, a caste group in Tamil Nadu which took a leading part in the anti-Brahmin Dravidian movement. The LTTE is trying to turn the Eelam struggle into a "non-Brahmin Tamil struggle" with the aim of getting the support of the Indian Tamils who are supposedly ranged against the anti-LTTE Brahmin "Power elite".

Parties in Tamil Nadu like the Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) do give this strategy a certain amount of validity. The PMK is not only virulently anti-Brahmin but also very pro-LTTE.

The PMK leader Dr Ramadoss is hoping to revive Tamil nationalism, which is also anti-Brahmin, of the kind propounded by Periyar Ramaswamy Naicker. Though he has not given a call for a separate Dravida Nadu, as Periyar did, Dr Ramadoss is all for the creation of Tamil Eelam. The PMK leader describes the governments of Jayalalitha

and Narasimha Rao as "Brahmin Rule" and like C P Goliard, thinks that the "Brahmin establishment" would not tolerate the emergence of a non-Brahmin force.

The equally anti-Brahmin left parties and Tamil extremist parties like the Tamil Desiya Podu Udami Katchi (Tamil National Communist Party), the Dileepan Manraam, the Radical Youth League (RYL) are also staunch supporters of the LTTE.

There is a feeling among a section of the Dravidian movement that the DMK had become too soft and had veered away from the pristine Dravidian goals of Periyar. This section, spread over several parties and "cultural groups" is planning to come together under an umbrella organisation probably led by either Dr Ramadoss or P Nedumaran.

Apart from this overground political outfit, there could be underground terrorist groups of the type which set off a bomb in the TV relay station at Kumbakonam on May 24."

We are once again grateful for the extensive coverage that Mr. Rao has given to material appearing in the Tamil Nation. But Mr. Rao is wrong on several counts. Tamil Nation is not against Brahmins but it is against Brahminism. It is against casteism. Tamil Nation is against casteism because it is against all discrimination, particularly that which is based on the accident of birth. It is against casteism because caste divides and the urgent need today is for the Tamil people to unite and reinforce their togetherness. Anti-Brahminism is no 'tactic'. It is rooted in the struggle of the Tamil people to free themselves of all oppressive structures. The Tamil national liberation struggle is not simply a struggle of a people to free themselves from an external oppression - it is also a struggle to free themselves of age old inequities which have may even have acquired a 'cultural' or 'religious' gloss. True religion liberates - it does not confine. It is a people who strengthen themselves internally who are better able to resist any external effort to subjugate them. The internal and external aspects of the liberation struggle of the Tamil people go hand in hand. Brahminism is unjust, it erodes the unity of the Tamil people and it must be fought at every turn. And we repeat: this is no tactic.

Again Mr. Rao is wrong when he asserts that the Eelam struggle is led by Saiva Vellalas. It is not. The Eelam struggle is not led by any so called 'caste'. It is led by those who have had the backbone to stand up and struggle against a continuing oppression by a Sinhala dominated Sri Lanka government and who have been ready to commit their lives to that struggle. It is before such persons, who have been ready to give their lives so that their brothers and sisters may live in freedom, that thousands upon thousands of Tamils have been willing to bow their heads, in all humility, and follow. Hopefully, Mr. Rao whose writings are in demand in the Sinhala owned press in Sri Lanka, may none the less, have some understanding of all this.

Savitri

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The Emerging Multipolar World

KGB and Sri Lanka

Disclosure of a memorandum, dated 2 March 1989 and numbered 405-K/ov, from the then KGB Head, General Vladimir Kryuchkov to the then Soviet Union President, Mikhail Gorbachev has caused waves in the Sri Lanka political pond.

The memorandum alleged payments by the KGB by the opposition SLFP led by Srimavo Bandaranaike and claimed that this assistance had helped her to increase SLFP's seats in Parliament from 8 to 67 at the December 1988 General Elections. The memorandum obtained by Moscow News, said that Srimavo Bandaranaike "conveys her sincere gratitude to Moscow for support which, in her words, made an important contribution to the success of the Freedom party in the election race under tough conditions."

The memorandum added that a "number of KGB confidants have been infiltrated into Parliament as MPs from the SLFP and the ruling UNP." It said: "The KGB continues its secret contacts with Srimavo Bandaranaike and will use her personal political weight and the increased influence of her party in the interests of the Soviet Union. Our secret contacts will be used to this end as well."

Mrs. Bandaranaike has dismissed the KGB memorandum as "non-sense" and has challenged anybody to produce a letter from her expressing thanks to the Russians. She says that she cannot be bought by anybody.

Political analysts say that the KGB report may well have been a self-serving exaggeration or even a false statement by the KGB station chief in Colombo. What is intriguing, however, is the timing of the news release about the alleged KGB payments. The Sri Lanka state controlled Daily News and the Daily Observer were quick to call for a thorough investigation. Faced with calls by the opposition for an inquiry into the allegations in the Udugampola affidavits, it seemed that the tables had now been turned on the opposition. Some political observers have remarked that the whole episode served to expose the global content of local elections!

Amnesty Shows Hit India

Amnesty International has set up hundreds of road shows across Britain depicting human rights abuses in India. Half of all the Amnesty groups in the country are campaigning only against abuses in India, following the publication of its report on India last March. The shows which began in March will continue at least until end August.

In the fashionable town of Bath, Amnesty groups set up camp outside the Roman baths, attracting many tourists. Volunteers distributed pamphlets carrying grim pictures and statistics. Pictures of a policeman beating up a boy, which was on the cover of the March report, were pasted across the boards. Passers by were invited to sign petitions to the Indian Prime Minister and others. "It is the first time we have done this sort of action on India said Amnesty Spokesman Rob Beasley. The Amnesty Report said: 'Political prisoners are often brutally tortured and untold numbers have died as a result. In Jammu and Kashmir detainees have been burned with domestic irons and pierced with electric drills. In Punjab their legs have been wrenched apart and crushed with heavy iron rollers. In Assam electric shocks, often administered with jeep batteries, are apparently the most common form of torture.'

Tamil Refugee Housing Association

2nd Floor, Millmead Business Centre,
Mill Mead Road, London N17 9QU

Tamil Refugee Housing Association Ltd, is an expanding voluntary organisation engaged in providing quality housing to Tamil refugees in England. It is presently managing 210 bedspaces and is also embarking on developing permanent housing. Applications are invited for the following post from suitably qualified candidates with experience in Housing Association finance -

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The post holder will work as part of the Central Management Team having overall responsibility for developing, managing, maintaining and monitoring the finance systems and procedures. For a job description and application form contact the Administrative Assistant on phone 081 365 0894. Closing date for applications is 20 July 1992.

TRHA is funded by the London Boroughs Grant Scheme and is an Equal Opportunities Employer.

P.M. Inpanayagam, President, World Tamil Movement (Ontario) congratulates Canadian Prime Minister on

Canadian recognition of independence of Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and calls for intervention of UN in Tamil - Sri Lanka conflict

Mr. P.N. Inpanayagam, President of the Ontario based World Tamil Movement wrote to Mr. Brian Mulroney M.P., Prime Minister of Canada, on 28 May on the imposition of economic, trade & oil sanctions against Serbia and called for Canada's assistance in securing UN intervention in the Tamil - Sri Lanka conflict.

He said: "We write to congratulate on your bold initiative to seek a Security Council Meeting aimed at imposing economic, trade and oil sanctions against the Government of Yugoslavia and recall the Canada's Ambassador in Belgrade.

In taking this initiative ahead of all other countries you have brought credit to Canada as a country in the forefront to uphold Human rights, specially the inalienable right of self-determination, corner stone of all other human rights, of people who constitute a nation. It is on the basis of recognition of this right that Canada had officially recognized the independence of Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Your declaration that "these measures are designed to demonstrate the determination of Canada and the International community as a whole to end the bloodshed in Bosnia Herzegovina" had touched a raw nerve of the thousands of Eelam Tamils both refugees and others living in Canada. Like in Bosnia there is bloodshed in Sri Lanka where during the last 10 years thousands have been killed, maimed and thousands more have simply 'disappeared'.

There are remarkable similarity between the Serbian massacre of the two million people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sinhala genocidal war against the three million Tamils. In fact we, Tamils, are in a worse plight since the International community had by and large turned a Nelsonian eye to the bloodshed in Sri Lanka. We are confident that you would have been briefed about the Report by the Canadian Human Rights Mission which visited Sri Lanka in January 1992. The report listed 43 recommendations including one calling the Sri Lankan Government not to seek a military solution to the ethnic conflict. However, Sri Lankan Government is pursuing the military option undeterred.

The fact that the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is a problem in the background of a third world country should not be seen as a reason for the Prime Minister of Canada or any other Western leaders to be unconcerned about the bloodshed in that country. Your concern about the violation of human rights and consequent bloodshed should transcend race, religion and continental boundaries.

We, therefore, take the opportunity to appeal to you to come to the rescue of the three million Tamils by stopping the bloodshed in Sri Lanka through the intervention of the International community. Canada should take the initiative to seek a meeting of the Security Council to consider appropriate measures to stop the bloodshed."

Japan affords Ariyaratne platform to lambast Premadasa Government

In spite of the Sri Lankan authorities unprecedented lobbying efforts to have the award revoked, the Sarvodaya leader A T Ariyaratne became the recipient of the Niwano Peace Award, awarded by the Niwano Peace Foundation in Tokyo on 12th May 1992.

He told an audience among whom was Japan's Minister of Education, Science and Culture, Kuneo Hatoyama, that he and his family had received dozens of death threats in the last three years. He lashed out at the harassment of his organisation and said that the success of the work of Sarvodaya had aroused fear and envy among those who wielded political and economic power at the highest level. Sarvodaya properties were seized and endless harassment of Sarvodaya programmes was manipulated by certain powerful authorities he declared, after accepting the 20 million yen award.

In the 1930s, Mohamed Ali Jinnah remarked that the demand for Pakistan was a national question - and that therefore it was an international question. Ever since the Thimpu talks in 1985, the international dimension of the Tamil national liberation struggle has become increasingly open and manifest. The bottom line is that Sinhala chauvinism cannot succeed in its attempt to subjugate the Tamil people without aid and support from the international community. It is also true that, in the end, Tamil Eelam itself will need to secure broad international recognition. To address the international frame within which the Tamil national liberation struggle must perforce take shape, is therefore, not a matter of self-indulgent luxury but a matter of immediate, direct and practical significance. The new balances that are being struck in the emerging multipolar world are not without relevance to the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam. Again, if the 1950s and the 1960s were the decades of the anti colonial liberation movements, the 1990s will prove to be the decade of the post colonial national liberation movements. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. Neither is it a dirty word. The political force that it generates has begun to prevail over the power of many existing state structures.

India woos Clinton?

Indians made up about 8% at a recent \$1000 dollar a plate Fund Raiser for the prospective US Democratic Party Presidential candidate Bill Clinton in Baltimore. Lait Gadhia a leading Democratic campaigner in the Indian community alerted Clinton to the sanctions put on India by the US. Bill Clinton was generous in his comments. He called the US Administrations rights accusations against India 'hypocritical' in light of its China policy following the Tiananmen massacre. He said that if elected he would attempt to 'appoint a high visibility, distinguished American to be ambassador. The relationship perhaps cannot be repaired overnight but I would like US and India to be much closer.' The Fund Raiser exceeded its goal of \$50,000. Indications were that Indians had contributed nearly 20% of the amount. (News Source: India Abroad, 3 July)

K. Visuvalingam writes from Paris, France on

THE LTTE BAN

The violation of human rights in India has been taken to the top of the Himalayas by its intelligence services through the path of TADA (Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act). Recently, India has been condemned by many human rights organisations, including Amnesty International. The honour and respect that India had was sold for the Swedish Krone by the late Rajiv Gandhi and his ruling clique. The move by the Indian authorities to ban the LTTE is an attempt to divert the attention of the people of India from rising inflation and the economic problems that press upon them. The LTTE is a freedom movement which has fought for the rights of Tamils in Sri Lanka. By banning the LTTE, India is trying to demonstrate that it is a regional power. But, how can India think of being a regional King when it cannot solve its own domestic problems in Punjab, Kashmir, and Assam?

If we look into the recent events in India, we can see the hypocrisy behind the anti Eelam Tamil attitude of the Indian government. LTTE supporters and LTTE members have been arrested, tortured and some even killed in India. Eelam fishermen are harassed by the Indian naval force and Tamil refugees repatriated to Sri Lanka. On top of all this, what is the 'something special' that India wants to achieve by banning the LTTE?

It is evident that from the beginning the Indian authorities approached the LTTE with the idea of using them as puppets. But they were confronted with the LTTE's careful intelligence, diplomatic skills and ideological commitment. India then changed its role from so called 'mediator and peace-keeper' to that of partisan destroyer and resorted to military force. Irreparable damage was done to Tamil Eelam by the war crimes of the Indian army. Nearly 8000 innocent Tamil civilians were killed. Tamil homes were looted. Tamil women were raped. The barbaric Indian military force stole thousand upon thousands of sovereigns worth of gold, millions of foreign currency and high value electronic goods. Whether legally or illegally where has all this wealth gone to? But in the end, the defensive guerilla war launched by the Liberation Tigers succeeded in driving out the so called IPKF.

The international community laughed at India's Viet Nam. It now seems that India, having failed in its war against the LTTE, wants to use the opportunity afforded by the Rajiv Gandhi assassination, to assassinate the LTTE. But here again, things did not come out quite right. The 'evidence' of LTTE complicity that was obtained by the Indian intelligence services would not have withstood scrutiny in a fair and open trial under the ordinary criminal law. India therefore resorted to having a secret trial under the notorious TADA and as a further step, decided on the tactic of banning the LTTE. But is this ban accepted by the people of India? No, never - because, to speak the truth, they know that the TADA is threatening them as well.

If we go back to the history of West and East Germany, we can see an almost similar situation. The people of East Germany wanted to live with West Germans. But the East German gov-

ernment did not allow this. Like India using the TADA and the 'Ban', East Germany introduced maximum punishments and built the Berlin Wall. But how long did that last? Likewise, there will come a day when the people of Tamil Nadu and the people of India will give a reply to the present actions of the Indian government.

Without seeking to ban a freedom movement, India should ban the political parties involved in the Swedish Bofors bribe scandal and punish those who have humiliated and insulted the people of the sub continent. India must know that the ban on the LTTE is a ban on Eelam Tamils as well as a ban on a rising Tamil consciousness all over the world. The truth is out. India does not want Eelam Tamils to win their freedom. In other words, all these days, the Indian Government has tried to take the Eelam Tamils for a ride.

R. Shanmuganathan writes from New South Wales, Australia on

DRAVIDA NATIONALISM

There is no doubting the fact that loyalty of Taraki will be to his Sinhala employer whose paper is no exception to the other Colombo based major newspapers in promoting Sinhala chauvinism (Candidly speaking TN 5/92).

With the wisdom of hindsight one could also conclude that had Periar been less strident in promoting atheism, he would have been more successful in popularising his self re-

A recipe for health

A Tamil Nation reader who is a well established General Practitioner has sent us an Oxfam recipe for good health - a spoonful of sugar! The Oxfam publication says: "Diarrhoea causes the dehydration and death of millions of children every year. Yet the remedy is pitifully simple. Mix two tablespoons of sugar and one level teaspoon of salt in one litre of water. Given to a child after every episode of diarrhoea, it prevents dehydration and death. It costs pennies." Our doctor reader adds: "It is a very simple and useful remedy for diarrhoea for all ages - a remedy which many are not aware of."

spect movement. In fairness to Periar, it must be mentioned that he didn't give as much importance to Dravidian Nationalism as he gave to social reform, social justice, Brahmin dominance and superstition.

Actually Periar was in the Congress movement till 1924 and he left Congress in protest against Brahmin domination. Dravidian Nationalism grew much later, nearer to independence when Periar began to fear North Indian domination. To reinforce these points, some important events that took place in India during Periar's period are appended below in chronological order:

1885: Indian national congress was formed to press the colonial government for more benefits to Indians.

1906: Indian Muslim League was formed in Dacca to look after the

needs of muslim community.

1915: Mahathma Gandhi returned from South Africa.

1916: Justice Party was formed in Madras by PT Thiyagaraja Chettier and D H Nayar to mobilize non-Brahmins against Brahmin predominance in profession and politics.

1919: Gandhi became actively involved in Congress.

1925: Periar left Congress protesting against Brahmin dominance to found the self respect movement.

1929: Congress formally declares demand for independence from Britain.

1929: Periar organizes the first of a series of annual conferences of self respect movement.

1937: After years of Justice rule Congress wins the election in Madras state.

1939: Periar becomes leader of the much weakened Justice party.

1944: Justice party was renamed Dravida Kalagam. Periar declares demand for separate state for Dravidian land.

1949: Dravida Munnetra Kalagam was formed.

1953: Madras state was split and four states were formed in South India on the basis of linguistic homogeneity.

1967: After 30 years Congress loses election in Tamil Nadu and DMK wins.

The effect Russian revolution had on Periar, the communist successes in China and the intentions, and motives of the British must also be taken into consideration before a more accurate assessment of Periar's performance can be made.

(Note by Interim Editor: Reader Shanmuganathan's comments are a welcome and useful contribution to the discussion concerning the failure of E.V.Ramasamy Naicker to mobilise the Tamil people behind the demand for Dravida Nadu. However, it may not be altogether right to suggest, as he appears to do, that Dravidian nationalism grew 'nearer to independence' and that 1944 was the year when E.V.R. first made public the demand for Dravida Nadu.

The demand for Dravida Nadu was made as early as December 1938 at the Justice Party Confederation in Madras. C.N. Annadurai, then Organising Secretary of the Justice Party, in a pamphlet published in 1943, titled *Ariya Mayai (Aryan Illusion)* was critical of the view held by some that the idea of a separate sovereign state for Dravidians was copied from the example of the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. He pointed out that it was chronologically wrong to say so because the Lahore session of the Muslim League which called for Pakistan was held in March 1940 whereas the Justice Party Confederation where E.V.R. put forward his demand for a separate Dravida Nadu was held in Madras in December 1938. (Quoted by E.F.-Ar-

schik, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*).

The question that was asked in *Candidly Speaking* in TN 5/92 was: Why did E.V.R. fail to deliver on his demand for Dravida Nadu whilst Jinnah succeeded in establishing Pakistan? The comments of Professor K.Nambi Arooran in his well researched *Tamil Renaissance and Dravidian Nationalism*, serve to throw some light.

He writes: "The (Madras) Mail (15 Nov 1939) in a leader entitled 'The Justice Party's War Aims' criticised the war aims of the Justice Party and said that it was "sad to see a once great political party declining into a narrow and separatist sect". The Mail posed to E.V.R. a series of questions relating to the proposed Tamilnad such as its geographical boundaries, the status of non-Tamils, and its foreign and defence policies. The Mail considered the scheme of E.V.R. as "utterly impracticable" and said that it would be wrong to believe that a relatively weak Tamil State could be happier when independent than as a member of the federation."

"To the criticisms levelled against his scheme of a Dravidian State, E.V.R. replied in detail in a letter to the editor of the Mail (20 Nov 1939). His definition of Dravidanad lay on linguistic bases in the same manner as the Congress demanded linguistic provinces. But, for E.V.R. the concept was a Dravidian Federation which compromised all areas where the four major Dravidian languages were spoken. His definition of Dravidians included all people who inhabited those areas - "Muslims, Christians, Depressed classes and all 'Hindus' except Brahmins who call themselves Brahmins. As to the problem of non Tamilians living in those areas, E.V.R. said that the non Dravidians (meaning Brahmins) would be duly protected and properly safeguarded."

"(But in the end) it was a question how much support the demand for Dravidanad received from Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam language speaking peoples. Among the leading members of the Justice Party itself there were many who doubted at the support of the Andhras, Kannadigas and Malayalis for the proposed Dravidanad scheme of E.V.R. For example, S. Somasundara Bharati, presiding over the Chingleput District Justice Party Conference, said that their salvation lay in making this movement for the separation of Tamilnad more dynamic, that he had not much faith that Andhras and Malayalis would fall in line with them, and that therefore he suggested not to agitate with them, for Dravidanad, but confine themselves to the separation of Tamilnad."

Sufficient, perhaps, has been said to explain the view expressed in *Candidly Speaking* in TN May 92 that one reason for the failure of E.V.R. to deliver on the promise of Dravida Nadu 'was the attempt of the Dravida movement to encompass Tamils, Malayalees, Kannadigas and all Dravidians and mobilise them behind the demand for Dravida Nadu - unsurprisingly, the attempt to mobilise across what were in fact separate national formations failed to take off.'

Support for the positive contributions that E.V.R. made in the area of social reform should not prevent us from examining where it went wrong. Again it may well be that E.V.R. represented a necessary phase in the struggle of the Tamil people and given the objective conditions of the 1920s and 1930s, E.V.R. was right to focus sharply on the immediate contradiction posed by Brahmin dominance. Be that as it may, in the 1990s, we need to learn from E.V.R. - not simply repeat that which he said or did.)

Democracy Continues - in Sri Lankan Style!

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS THROWN AT SPEAKER

On 21st May, the acting Leader of the Sri Lankan House of Parliament, Mr Wijayapala Mendis, moved a motion in the House asking the Parliamentary Privileges Committee to look into the conduct of the six SLFP Members of Parliament who are alleged to have thrown books and documents at the Speaker, Mr M H Mohamed, while he was still in the House. The offender can be sentenced for upto two years imprisonment or be suspended from the House for one month, depending on whether the breach of privilege comes under Schedule A or Schedule B of the Parliamentary Privileges Act.

MOTION OF NO CONFIDENCE ON SPEAKER

The Opposition has given notice of a no confidence motion against the Speaker, Mr M H Mohamed, calling upon him to resign forthwith for violating the provisions of the Parliament Powers and Privileges Act, the Standing Orders of Parliament and the cardinal principles of Parliamentary democracy in conducting the proceedings of Parliament on 20th May 1992. Among the other charges levelled against Mr Mohamed are depriving the Opposition MPs of their fundamental rights to express freely and fully their views and debate the resolutions.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

A member of Parliament and Attorney-at-law Mr Srivath Lalaka Kumarasinghe and two prominent members of the Western Provincial Council, Indrapala Hewawitharana and Norbert Perera were ordered by the Colombo District UNP organisation not to participate in party activity until disciplinary inquiries against them were over. Accused of providing printing facilities to the opposition DUNF, Councillor Perera's printing press was recently blocked by unidentified persons using a heavy vehicle. Several days later, armed persons visited the same place and threatened to take action against him and the other supporters of DUNF. It is believed that the decision of the DUNF leaders to print their party paper "Rajaliya" at the printing press belonging to Councillor Perera was the reason for action against him.

BOOK REVIEW

Kenya's foremost freedom fighter and rebel Jomo Kenyatta once lamented; "When the Christian missionaries came to our land, we had our land and they had the Bible in their hands. They asked us to pray with closed eyes. Then, when we opened our eyes, we had the Bible in our hand, but they had our land".

It was a poignant summary of how Christianity encroached into the Asian and African continents, hand in hand with the colonial masters. This encroachment was not without repercussions. It resulted in the genesis of a new breed of social reformers in the Indian subcontinent, who campaigned for rejuvenation of Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. The book, *Religious Controversy in British India*, edited by Kenneth W. Jones, explores the impact of nine such social reformers in the history of Indian subcontinent for the past 150 years.

In the preface of the book, the editor notes that, "this collection of nine studies and one analytic chapter opens a window to a world expressed in South Asian languages hitherto closed to many scholars and students of the subcontinent". Six chapters, constituting the part one of the book, deals with inter-religious confrontations. Of these, 3 chapters focus on Hindu-Christian polemics; 2 chapters cover the Muslim-Christian polemics; one chapter analyses the Hindu-Muslim confrontation in language between Devnagari and Urdu. Careers of four social reformers, who "fought for change within their religious community" is classified under the section of 'Internal polemics' and is covered in 3 chapters, which comprise the part two of the book. The final chapter, identified as part three, provides an overall synthesis and analysis of the professional careers of the leaders who influenced the Indian Society in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The leaders and reformers who have been the focus of this book are as follows:

1. Vishnubawa Brahmachari of Maharashtra (1825-1871)

2. Arumuga Navalar of Jaffna (1822-1879)

3. Swami Dayananda Saraswati of Gujarat (1824-1883)

4. Dr. Muhammad Wazir Khan of Agra (?-?)

5. Munshi Muhammad Meherullah of East Bengal (1861-1907)

6. Kandukuri Viresalingam of Andhra Pradesh (1848-1919)

7. Sayyid Mumtaz Ali of Lahore (1860-1935)

8. Ditt Singh of Lahore (1852-1901)

9. Kahan Singh of Nabha (1852-1938)

All chapters, covering the activities of these social reformers are provided with bibliographic essays listing the published material available for studies on each of these religious activists.

Religious Controversy in British India; Dialogues in South Asian Languages, edited by Kenneth W. Jones, State University of New York Press, Albany, New York, 1992, 291 pp. US\$ 21.96

Certainly, the chapter of interest to Eelam Tamils is the one with the caption, "Arumuga Navalar and the Hindu Renaissance among the Tamils", by Dennis Hudson, a professor of World Religions at the Smith College, Massachusetts. Navalar's 170th birth anniversary falls on this year. This 26-page chapter begins as follows; "In the context of Western and Christian influence in eighteenth and nineteenth-century India, what did Tamils say about what it meant for them to be Hindu - not in English or in French, but in Tamil? A full and satisfying answer will have to include the little known but highly influential work of one man, Arumuga Navalar of Jaffna (1822-1879)". Then, it provides a synopsis of Arumuga Pillai's (Navalar's original name) biography, followed by an analysis of his career under the topics, (a) Arumuga Pillai's emergence as a Shaiva activist, (b) Navalar Arumuga Pillai, "The Learned", (c) Arumuga Navalar: writer, publisher, polemicist; and (d) The impact of Navalar. Dennis Hudson

emphasizes the point that, although Navalar began his professional career as a publisher, preacher, teacher and reformer in Jaffna, "he worked both sides of the Palk Strait, establishing twin centers for his reforms. To the printing press he set up in Jaffna, he added one in Madras; the school of Shaiva Splendour he established in Vannarpannai was matched by one in Chidambaram; he battled with non-Agamic Brahmans in Jaffna and struggled against Dikshitaras of the Nataraja Temple...and everywhere he disputed the claims and refuted the abuses of the Christians... Much to his personal distress, he was opposed not only by Christians but also by some Hindus in both places".

In sports lingo, one can conclude that Navalar believed that offense is the best form of defense. He also did not offer courtesies to his opponents, when they were not needed or when his beliefs were insulted. So much he adopted and used the western advances in technology for his campaign, I tend to believe that, if Navalar had lived in this century, he would even have moved into movie production as well, to defend Hinduism.

Within a life span of 57 years, Navalar (a contemporary of Abraham Lincoln, Leo Tolstoy, Victor Hugo, Alfred Tennyson and Henry Thoreau) produced "approximately 97 Tamil publications, 23 were his own creations, 11 were his commentaries (ural), and 40 were his editions of those works of grammar, literature, liturgy and theology he thought Tamils should know". However Dennis Hudson also observes that, "a full examination of his (Navalar's) life is yet to be done in a western language". This certainly is a black market for the Tamil intellectuals who have produced tomes of these material on Shakespeare, Dickens Mark Twain and Tagore. One may feel encouraged to note that Dennis Hudson has informed that he is working on a long-range study of him (Navalar) tentatively entitled, "For the love of Shiva: Arumuga Navalar and Hindu Reform in the Nineteenth Century".

In the final chapter of the book, Barbara Metcalf (a professor at the University of California, Davis) traces the parallels in the lives of the nine social reformers covered in the book. Four features stand out prominently. First, the polemicists understood the functioning of the British institutions and they learnt English and read the Bible. Secondly, many operated in "urban centers with new populations, government offices and educational institutions". Thirdly, rather than living sedentarily, they moved from place to place for campaigns against their opponents. Fourthly, they also became masters of the vernacular languages in which they were able to articulate their ideas more effectively and to a broader audience. Arumuga Navalar (Tamil), Viresalingam (Telugu), Vishnubawa Brahmachari (Marathi), Mushi Meherullah (Bengali), Sayyid Mumtaz Ali (Urdu), Dayananda Saraswati and Ditt Singh (Punjabi) - all produced voluminous works in their languages of operation, which became a "boon for ordinary people and means of diminishing Brahmanic prestige". How can one measure, whether the message of these social reformers did reach their intended audience? The comparative population figures for Christians in India and Kenya now tell the success story. Currently, the ratio of Hindus to Christians in India stands at 34:1 (670.64 million to 19.7 million). However, in Kenya, the ratio of those practicing traditional beliefs and Islam to Christianity had declined to 0.35:1.

Rise of Tamil Militancy

continued from page 6

self into believing that if one law does not work, a more tough one will, President Jayewardene kept making new laws instead of attempting to tackle the problem politically.

On July 11, 1979, he appointed his kinsman Brigadier T.I. "Bull" Weerasingha then Chief of Staff of the army as the overall commander of Jaffna and issued the following grandiloquent decree:

"It will be your duty to eliminate in accordance with the laws of the land the menace of terrorism in all its forms from the island, and more especially from the Jaffna district... This task has to be performed by you and completed before the 31st December, 1979".

On the same day a State of Emergency was declared in Jaffna, and the President invoked provisions of the Public Security Act to give the police and armed forces the power to dispose of dead bodies without inquest. It was the furthest any Government could go - to give legal sanction for any killing without being answerable to any authority other than the one man who gave it, the President himself.

But yet, how little this extreme repression succeeded in curbing Tamil militancy could be realised by the fact that today, twelve years later, the same armed forces are unable even to penetrate into Jaffna. It is also a telling commentary on how far Tamil militancy has progressed - from acts of terrorism, to guerilla warfare, and into a position where it is acquiring the capacity to take on the might of a State on equal terms. Of course much water has flowed down the Ganga and the Mahaweli between these years; and a multiplicity of developments that contributed towards this end, involving not only the main partisans - Sri Lanka and the Tamils but the Indian and Tamil Nadu governments, as well. If there is one year that could be marked off as a watershed in the growth of Tamil militancy, that was 1983.

The riots of July-August caused such revulsion world-wide against Sri Lanka, and brought so much of international sympathy to the Tamils that militancy acquired a justification, and a halo. Secondly it brought a sense of urgency to the vast mass of nonparticipant youths themselves resulting in the spontaneous swelling of numbers volunteering to take to the gun, and for the first time without much parental objection. Thirdly, the sudden opening out of space - across a mere twenty odd miles of water to Tamil Nadu and India.

The very boat journey which thousands of youths undertook, most of them for the first time, gave them an elation and a sense of freedom after the constricted and dangerous lives they were leading within the confines of north and east.

The most consequential factor of all was that Tamils saw in India under Mrs. Indira Gandhi a convincing, if not an open, ally. They saw in her not merely a Prime Minister who was keen to safeguard her country's strategic interests, but one who was prepared to go beyond that, in safeguarding their interests as well.

So much did happen in the aftermath of the 1983 riots that so few people remember a significant episode that happened in Delhi five days before the July violence began. The Sri Lankan High Commissioner Bernard Tillekeratne was summoned to the Foreign Office by the then Secretary in charge of the Sri Lanka desk, Shankar Bejpai, and was told about India's concern over happenings in Jaffna!

Particular reference was made to the Emergency regulations that were operative in Jaffna permitting disposal of dead bodies without inquests. A surprised Sri Lankan envoy ventured to ask whether the "concern" was conveyed from Tamil Nadu. He was told that the concern was being expressed "at the highest political level". Understandably from their point of view the Sri Lankan Press virtually went into hysterics on the 21st July, accusing India of "meddling in the internal affairs" of Sri Lanka. "Big brother, shut up" was one of the screaming headlines in one of the dailies. Whatever the Sri Lankan government or the Sinhala people felt, there was no doubt that that was the kind of "meddling" that Tamils appreciated! At least, at that point of time!

Perhaps we are too near to the post-1983 history to be free to articulate sensitive issues relating to India's role in the context of Tamil militancy but this writer will not be handing out any secret by pinpointing two aspects: that India did have a major hand in both the acceleration of Tamil militancy as well as the travails that it experienced between 1983 and now.

Secondly, although Mrs. Gandhi might have drawn up several options on how to handle the Sri Lankan situation, and chose the nicest option first, of offering India's good offices to bring about an amicable solution to the ethnic problem, she did have the last option in reserve in case the situation warranted it - a Bangladesh - type military intervention.

For the first option she used the experience but pliable TULF leaders; for the last option her Intelligence men had already readied the least experienced, but the most pliable militant group - the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO).

But the important fact was that under Mrs. Gandhi Indian foreign policy had a mind of its own. The Sri Lanka Government was kept always on its toes. By enunciating what was known as the "Indira doctrine" she had given the message both to Sri Lanka as well as to the rest of the world that India would not brook any outside interference within her sphere of influence. She also did not want to disturb the presence of Tamil militants on Indian soil, and was content to refer to them as 'refugees', as a way of ensuring that the initiative always remained with India.

Between Mrs. Gandhi's death in October 1984 and now, Indian policy in respect of Tamil militancy has gone through several twists and turns; based as it seemed, on a sense of drift and ad hoc approaches. The emerging trends in Sri Lanka today point to various dramatic possibilities. If the present trends continue, the Sri Lanka government might reach a point where, economically, politically and militarily, it could push itself into a dead end, in which anarchy followed by military rule might prove to be the only answer. Whether that kind of scenario could involve foreign powers outside the region is a matter for Indian foreign policy study. But it might well prove to be that out of the same state of chaos might emerge a solution that could at last satisfy Tamil aspirations and probably give Tamil militancy, as solely represented by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, an official recognition that India has up to now denied. Should that happen, and if India fails to regain her initiative and gets trapped into a position of a mere spectator, that would be most tragic, not only for the Eelam Tamils, but for India's strategic concerns in the region.



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Culture is the distilled essence of the way of life of a people. In the case of the Tamil people the distillation process has spanned a time period of more than two thousand years. It is a culture which is reflected in so many of the things that we do unconsciously. It is reflected in our cuisine, in our dress forms, in the way in which greet each other, in our language and in our beliefs. It is a rich culture which has found vibrant expression in our literature, in our songs and in our dances. It is a living culture which has grown by interacting with other cultures but which at the same time has given much and has much to give to the world. It is a living culture which also serves to cement the increasing togetherness of more than 50 million Tamils living in many lands and across distant seas.

Maharajapuram Santhanam dies in a Road Accident



During the early hours of Wednesday, 24th June 1992, the devastating news of the death of Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam under tragic circumstances in a road accident, reached us with a jarring shock.

Born on 20th May 1928, Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam hailed as the 6th in direct shishyaparampara of Saint Thyagaraja; his illustrious father and guru, the late Sri Maharajapuram Viswanathaiyer, being the fifth.

Having had his primary education at Kumbakonam, Sri Santhanam obtained a firm foundation of Carnatic music from Melathoor Shyama Dikshitar and later continued under his father Sri Maharajapuram Viswanathaiyer, in the traditional style.

Since his debut at the age of 20 years in Calcutta, Maharajapuram Santhanam engaged himself in developing his latent talents which were identified by the authorities of the Ramanathan Music Academy (Jaffna, Sri Lanka) and he was appointed as its Principal in 1960.

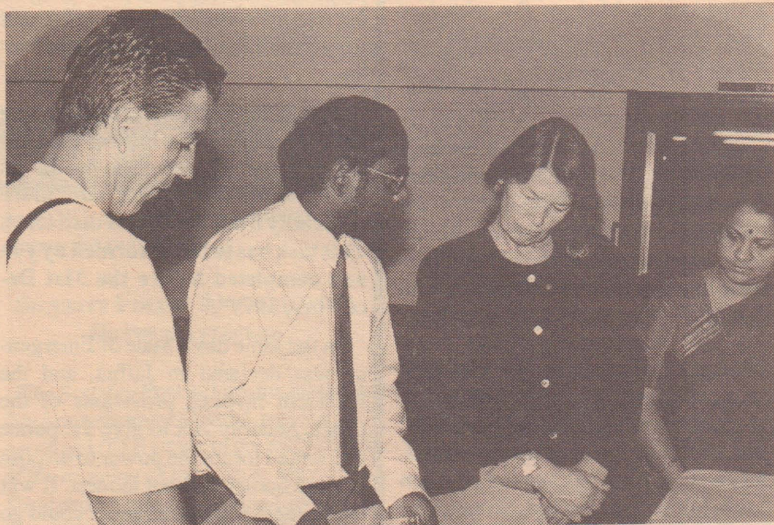
During his tenure of six years in this prestigious capacity he produced many talented musicians and earned many fans and friends, many of whom are in the U.K. appreciating unique talents.

Of the many eminent musicians in India, one climbed up to the top grade during the past decade was Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam. "Maharajapuram

Iyal, Isai, Nadagam

AT WESTMINSTER CENTRAL HALL, LONDON

Puthumai Penn - Photographic Exhibition



The International Federation of Tamils in UK held a two day photographic exhibition on Friday the 12th and Saturday the 13th of June at Westminster Central Hall, London. The exhibition was opened by Ms. Glenda Jackson, the Member of Parliament for Hampstead. (picture alongside)

The Exhibition was organised primarily to highlight the changed role of the Tamil woman who until recent years was thought of as a full time housewife or a part-time wage earner and a part-time home maker. Now she stands not only in the battle front, wielding guns and grenades, but also engaged in every task

hitherto done only by men. The exhibition served to focus on aspects of the culture, history of the people of Tamil Eelam and their struggle for freedom, with particular reference to the role of the Tamil woman.

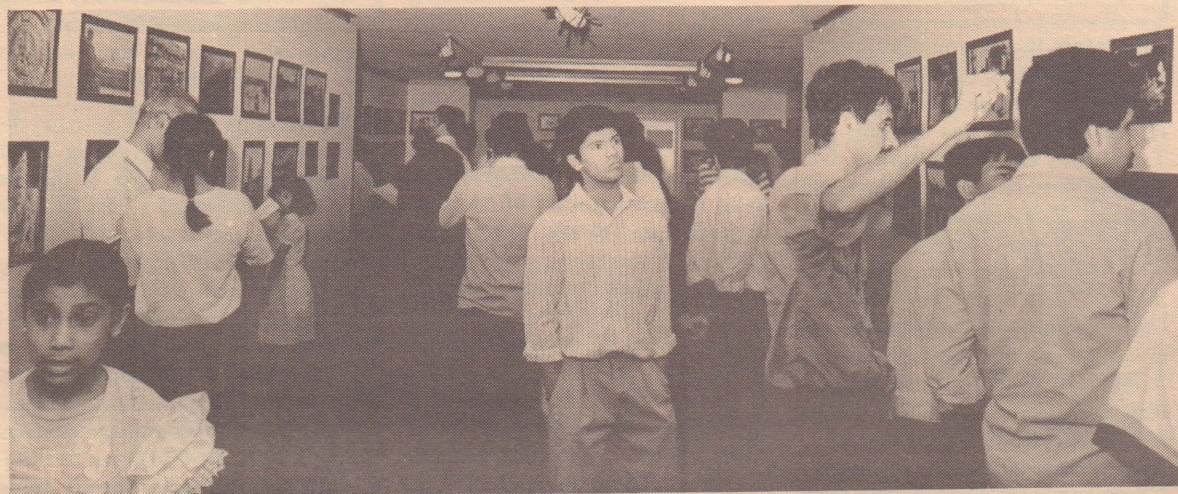
Both on Friday and Saturday there was a steady stream of visitors, including many non Tamils who were moved to express their concern about the suffering of the Tamils in their fight for justice and freedom.

The scenic splendours of some of the Tamil areas, despite the ravages of war, drew the attention of many visitors. Some pictures showed the ruins of the Jaffna Public Library destroyed in 1980. There were also scenes of the result of the relentless bombing of civilian areas by the Sri Lankan Air Force -portraying loss of property, life and limb, as well as photographs of weapons seized from the Sri Lankan Army and one of the captured Jaffna Fort with the Jaffna flag fluttering in the breeze.

The main exhibits traced the change in the woman's role from the hearth of home to the training camps and the battle front. Tamilwomen who were likened by Kambar and other early Tamil poets to delicate dolls, decked in jewellery, of slender frame and with swan-like gait, now appeared wearing cyanide capsules, shouldering AK 47's and traversing difficult terrain with martial strides. Truly - Puthumai Penn.

The final section showed the effects of the blockade of food and other necessities; the efforts of the people trying to beat this embargo, travelling long distances on bicycles to bring in much needed essentials to the North; transport of all kinds (without petrol, even carrying people on their shoulders and wading through river; refugees in their own land sheltering in camps and under trees.

The photographic prints were of a high quality, mounted attractively and were placed in a sensible sequence. All in all, it was a successful and well hung exhibition and served as an eye opener to those who were still not fully aware of the happenings in Tamil Eelam. (A.N.E.)



Swami Chidrupananda visits UK



Swami Chidrupananda from the Sri Sarada Devi Sevashram, Point Pedro is on a short visit to England. The Sevashram programme includes the establishment of a full fledged institute of culture and a well equipped mobile medical clinic to meet the needs of the people of the area. Swami Chidrupananda is the resident Swami in charge of the ashram. Cottages for the homeless have been built and the Sevashrama has granted Minor's Endowment Certificates to the value of Rs.50,000 to 42 children. Picture shows a mother who has lost her husband receiving an Endowment Certificate for Rs.1000 on behalf of her child. Swami Chidrupananda may be contacted at 0734 429467.

tradition" is well worth naming his style of south Indian music. Apart from the highly acclaimed style of raga Mohana, Sri Santhanam created his unique style and thillanas in ragas Revathi, Sivaranjani, Charukesi and Brindavanasaranga, "The superstar of south Indian music" is no exaggeration of his achievements.

Endowed with a fine feeling for melody and gifted with a mellifluous voice which has range, manoeuvrability and depth, there was practically nothing that his voice could not reach. His imagination was free and varied. A master in the delineation of ragas he had many thrilling moments for the audience with his inimitable modulation of tone. His rich and resonant voice and intensity of devotional fervour had endeared Santhanam to lovers of Carnatic music.

He was the centre of attraction in all the State functions in India, including the many at the office of the Presidents of India in the recent past. He earned more than ten prestigious titles of which "Sangeetha

Kalanidhi" was one he most revered. Also, "Asthana Vidwan" (Thirumala Thirupathi Dhevasthanam, Kanchi Kamakoti Peedam and Sri Venkateswara temple, U.S.A.), "Sangitha Sahara Samrajya Maharaj" (by the British Association of Young Musicians) "Sangitha Boopathi" (by Merikandar Atheenam, London) are a few he liked most.

Sri Santhanam was one who made enormous contributions to the contemporary classical music in Tamil. His favourite compositions include those of Mahakavi Subramania Bharatiyar, Yazhpanam Veeramani Iyer and Papanasam Sivan. In recognition of his contributions to Tamil, the Tamil Nadu Government conferred the title "Isai Perarigner" on 21st December 1991.

Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam encouraged all young and upcoming musicians in whatever way possible, especially through the Maharajapuram Viswanatha Iyer Trust by

way of offering scholarships, special titles etc. The British Association of Young Musicians of which he was the Patron-in-Chief was encouraged tremendously in sustenance of Carnatic music and symbiotic development of this celestial art of Indian classical music among the British communities.

Maharajapuram Santhanam's death has left a huge irreplaceable vacuum in the world of Carnatic music.

His stentorian voice...his sense of lifting tonal modulation, his ornamental swara technique...his emphasis on the lyrical aspect and many of such unique qualities shall remain in his innumerable audio cassettes and C.Ds. Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam is survived by his daughter Brindha, his sons Srinivasan and Ramachandran, two grand sons and four grand daughters. (Dr. P. Ambikapathy, British Association of Young Musicians)

Vidwan Muthukandasamy Desikar in London

Thiruppanthal Mutt's Aadheena Vidwan S Muthukandasamy Desikar is now in London at the invitation of London Meikandaar Aadheena to give, over a period of three months, a series of Pannisai Music Recitals based entirely on the Saiva Thirumurai popularly known as Thevaram and Thiruvagasam.

The ancient Thevara Panns formed the basis for the later carnatic and other music styles of India. In addition to recitals at the three London Saiva Temples, the learned Othuwar will also conduct Thirumurai music lessons and religious discourse.

Those interested should contact the temples direct or ring the Administrator, LMA Trust on 081 531 6435 for further details.

People & Events

Lewisham Refugee Network Annual General Meeting

The first Annual General Meeting of the Lewisham Refugee Network was held under the distinguished patronage of Mr Jim Dowd, Mayor of Lewisham and Member of Parliament for Lewisham West, on May 16 1992, at St Andrews Church Hall, Brockley Road, London SE 4.

The following were elected as Office bearers:- Chair - Mr Ismail Farah (Somali), Vice Chair - Mrs Di Phillips (British), Secretary - Mr Simon Kefle (Eritrean) and Treasurer - Mr N Gnanasambanthan (Eelam). The Lewisham Refugee Network is an organisation mooted by a few social minded British citizens residing in Lewisham to help in providing services to refugees mainly living in Lewisham.

The unique feature of the Network, at present, is that it is represented mostly by refugee members of Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Kurdistan, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia, Eelam, Togo, Uganda and Zaire. Non refugees too may become members.

The aims of the Network are to work with all refugees, whatever community group they belong to; to give information and support so that they can manage their own lives; to organise themselves into community groups and to give them a voice and right in making decisions which affect their lives.

Deaths

Death Notices and Obituaries in the Tamil Nation are published free of charge as a service to the Tamil diaspora - dispersed as they are across many lands and distant seas. Notices and Obituaries for publication may be sent direct to the Tamil Nation in UK at P.O.Box 417, Cambridge CB3 9LZ, Fax (0223) 355431; in Australasia at P.O.Box 623, Mulgrave North, Victoria 3170, Australia, Fax(03) 560 7739; and in USA at 23 Tamidan Road, Poughkeepsie NY 1261, Fax (914) 485 5865

C.N. AMBALAVANAR, retired A.S.P., C.I.D. Sri Lanka and General Manager of Cinemas Ltd., beloved husband of Puvaneswari, father of Ratnarajah (S.L.), Shanmugathan (Canada), Sitalakshmi (S.L.), Krishnamoorthy (U.S.), Thirumoorthy (U.K.), Pushpavathy (U.K.), Vallinayakai (Canada), Kugathan (Canada), Vijayalakshmi (S.L.), and Logendra (Canada), father in law of Ranjani, Mano, Subramaniam, Shanthi, Pathma, Naveenan, Yasotheran, Renuka and Dilini, died suddenly on 19 June. His remains were cremated according to Hindu rites in Golders Green crematorium on 25 June.

Veerasingham THARMASANGARI, retired Inspector of Schools, Sri Lanka, retired Education Officer, Nigeria, son of the late Mr & Mrs S Veerasingham of Atchuvely, beloved husband of Kanaganayagi, father Kanagasangary, Sivasangary, Nagulasangary, Uthayasangary, Vijayasangary and Suvikenthiri (all of Can-

MARRIAGES

The marriage of RASASINGHAM brother of A Balasingam of Klebang Besar, Malacca and SIVANAYAKI, daughter of Dr & Mrs Paramalingam of 334 KKS Road, Jaffna took place on June 6 at Oshwal Mahajanwadi, Campbell Road, Croydon, Surrey. The bride is a sister of Dr P Sivalingam of Wembley Park.

The marriage of UTHAYAKUMAR son of Mr & Mrs Kumarasingam Mulliyawalai, Sri Lanka and RAJANI, daughter of Mr & Mrs Vijayanathan Kantharodai, Sri Lanka took place on Sunday the 7th June 1992 at Amoreanx Community Centre 2000, Menicoll Avenue, Scarborough, Ontario.

The marriage of JANARTHANA, son of Mr.K.Jeganathan (former Principal of Colombo Hindu College, Ratmalana) and Mrs.K.Jeganathan, presently of Transkei, South Africa, and SUMATHI, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. M.Karunanidhi of Eastwood, New South Wales took place on 11 July at Ryde Civic Hall, Melbourne, Australia.

ENGAGEMENTS

The engagement of GOWRIKANTHAN, eldest son of Mr & Mrs P Thavanayagam (Govt School, Batticaloa) and PRIYADARSHINI, youngest daughter of Mr & Mrs Amirthalingam of Kanderodai Chunnakam, Sri Lanka took place at 12/1 Police Park Avenue, Colombo 5 on the 18th March 1992.

BIRTHS

Dharshan and Chrishanti ALAGARATNAM were blessed with a baby daughter on 3rd June, at Mayday Hospital. First grandchild for Dr & Mrs K Sathanathan (Purley) and Mr & Mrs Kiru Alagaratnam (St Albans)

ada), brother of the late Ganeshasangary, the late Rajasangary (Attorney-at-Law, Chavakachcheri), Anandasangary (Ex M P Kilinochchi), Sahadevasangary (People's Bank Jaffna), Mrs Mathy Gnanasanbathan (UK), Parathasangary (Zimbabwe High Commission, UK), the late Gnanasangary, the late Mrs Mankayarkarasi Jeyaseelan, Mrs Loganayagi Ratnam, Mrs Thirunelnayagi Kathirgamasothy and Dhuruvasangary (Canada) - expired on 30th May at 44 Timberbank Blvd, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada. Cremated on Wednesday 3rd June 1992.

V.R. NEVINS SELVADURAI Relict of the late Dr.D.D. Nevins Selvadurai and mother and mother in law of Anton & Leila, Letitia & the late Vernon Chanmugam, Felicia & Reggie Jeyarajah, Timothy & Indranee, Deva & Christine, Patricia & Prince Watson, Stephen & Gnana, Paul & Debbie and Rohini & uke de Silva died 26th May in St Louis U.S.A.

Jaffna Central Hat Trick



The 7 aside limited over OBA'S Cricket competition was played at Worcester Park in London on 25th May 1992. Our special correspondent at the match, reports that Jaffna Central gave Royal a right royal roasting to win the Festival of Cricket OBA'S Trophy for the third year.

Eelam Tamil 13 year old Ganesh Sittampalam, son Arjuna and Neela Sittampalam has obtained a First Class Honours Degree in Mathematics at Guildford University. Congratulations Ganesh!

TAMIL FOOD IN LONDON

Within the past 12 months at least three restaurants have been opened in different parts of London which provide genuine Eelam curries and other favourite preparations. The latest are (1) "Jaffna Taste" started by a family from Ariyatai at 272 Ealing Road, Alperton, Wembley. Among their specialties are "Kool," "Murunga Kaai," "Kana-vai," "Thamarai," "Kilangu," and "Mothakam. (2) "Jaffna House" at 90 High Street, Tooting Broadway, London SW17 provides a wide variety of vegetable curries such as "Tomato Kulambu," "Venthaya Kulambu," and "Potato Pirattal" besides appetising devilled mutton and prawn "Vaaipan" and Soosiam, "Ach-charu" and "Rasam," "Fried Fish" and "Crab Curry". (3) Southall has the longer established "Thamilinee" on Uxbridge Road, Hayes and "Bharat Restaurant" at 80 South Road which has proved popular not only with Sri Lankan folks but also with British and North Indian connoisseurs of hot and spicy foods.

Kanagasabapathy ANANTHARAJAH, Engineer, son of late Mudaliar Kanagasabapathy (Mullaitiva), brother of Ratnarajah (Neuro-Surgeon, USA) Sundaralingam (Accountant), Maragatham, Mangayathkarasu, Anandasothy, Dr Arumajarajah, Amirthalingam (Engineer), Vignarajah (Accountant), Kumaralingam (Industrial Chemist), Arunachalam (Engineer) - all of USA, Husband of Sagunthaladen nee Sellathurai, father of Dr Gowri, Ani, Shankar and Sundar. Funeral New York June 1st, 16 Panorama Drive, Huntington, New York 11743.

Maheswari PATKUNAM, retired teacher, Hindu College Colombo, wife of Mr S Patkunam, retired Vice-Principal, Hindu College Colombo, and mother of Dr P Murugadas, expired on 22nd May. The cremation took place on 24th May at 8.30 am at the Kanatte Cemetery.

REGISTRATION

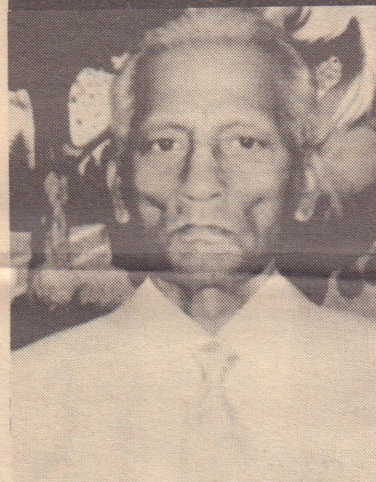
The registration of the marriage of Dr.S.Maheswaran, son of Dr. & Mrs.S.Satkurunathan, presently of New Malden, and Geetha, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. K.Ratnasingham of Wimbledon, took place on 9 July in London at the Merton Registrar's office. The wedding, according to Hindu rites, will take place in November.

New BBC reporter to Colombo

Chiaka Nwosu, who joined the BBC as a trainee radio reporter in 1987 has been appointed as the new BBC reporter in Colombo. He replaces Christopher Morris who has returned to the World Service Newsroom in London. Chiaka was born in Nigeria and educated in Edinburgh and London and studied Psychics at the London University.

Professor Peter Schalk of Uppsala University, Sweden is scheduled to visit Jaffna University from July 18 to August 14.

Appreciation - C.N.Ambalavanar



Mr.C.N.Ambalavanar, the third son of Mr. and Mrs. C.Nagamuttu of Sandilipay, who died on 19 June lived in Edgware, London since 1983. He was educated at St.Benedicts College and later after training, joined the Police Force. He rose to the rank of Superintendent at the time of his retirement from the police force. He later served as General Manager, Cinemas Ltd and of Gunaratnam Industries.

He was a man of outstanding integrity and instinctive devotion to duty. His honesty, hard work and tireless service made all his superiors respect him and regard him as an asset to the Police Force. Even those whom he questioned and charged, felt that they were dealing with a just and fair-minded police officer.

He was selected as chief interrogator in many important cases. These included the investigation into the 1961 'coup de tat' case and the later navy corruption case in the Far East. He also played an important role in the inquiry into the assassination of the then Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mr.S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. He successfully investigated the difficult corruption cases such as the Egerton Paul and Joseph Canagaratne cases.

He leaves behind his loving wife, Puvaneswari, to whom he was most devoted. To his ten children, he was a firm yet indulgent father. He was an affectionate and caring grandfather to his fourteen grand children. His fami-

LOOKING AHEAD

JULY

14 Tuesday
Sivanandha Maharishi
Remembrance Day
18 Saturday
6.30 p.m. West London Tamil
School Annual Prize Giving at
Greenford Hall
19 Sunday
Swami Vipulananda Adigal
Remembrance Day
Sathoorthy Viratham
20 Monday
Marconi Remembrance Day
Neil Armstrong landed on the
Moon (1969)
21 Tuesday
Belgium National Day
22 Wednesday
Poland National Day
23 Thursday
9th Anniversary of Commence-
ment of July 1983 Genocide of
Eelam Tamils
Ethiopia Republican Day
25 July
International Federation of
Tamils Protest March - To-
wards a Just Peace, commemo-
rating July 1983 Genocide -
Hyde Park Start at 1.30 p.m.

26 Sunday
Ekathasi Viratham
4 p.m. London Tamil Congrega-
tion 20th Anniversary Thanks-
giving Service, Dinner and
Cultural Evening at Rivercourt
Methodist Church, Hammer-
smith. Further particulars from
Rajan Rajaratnam, LTC Secretary
0895 271421 or Vathany
Thangiah, Social Secretary
081 688 2503

28 Tuesday
C.Tharmakulasangam
Remembrance Day
29 Wednesday
IPKF Landed in Palaly, Eelam
30 Thursday
Bhrama Sri Irakunatna Iyer
Remembrance Day

AUGUST

3 Monday
Nallur Kandasamy Temple
Kodi-Ettram (Flag Raising)
Festival
5 Wednesday
Suntharamoorthy Nayanar Kuru
Pooja
Aurobindho Birthday
6 Thursday
Atom Bomb dropped over
Hiroshima and Nagasaki
7 Friday
Rabindra Nath Tagore Birthday
9 Sunday
Cinemas K Gunaratnam
Remembrance Day
Ekathasi Viratham
11 Tuesday
Punguduthee Kathirkamam
Chariot Festival Day

ly, sons in law, daughters in law, brother, sisters, nephews and niece, held him in warm affection and great respect.

He will be greatly missed by his friends, most of whom affectionately referred to him as 'Ambale'. Among those who will fondly remember him are those countless number of people whom he helped with his advice and counsel. He was always there when you turned to him for help. To me and my husband, he was always our fond Kunchiaiyah and after my father's death, he was a devoted father and a loving grandfather to our children. We will miss him. May God grant him light and peace. (R.E.Emmanuel)

TAMIL NATION

On 9th Anniversary of July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils

The International Federation of Tamils calls upon Tamils in the UK to join the protest march against the invasion of the Tamil homelands by the Sri Lankan army

GENOCIDE '83

"Clearly this (attack in July and August 1983) was not a spontaneous upsurge of communal hatred among the Sinhala people - nor was it, as has been suggested in some quarters, a popular response to the killing of 13 soldiers in an ambush by Tamil Tigers on the previous day, which was not even reported in the newspapers until after the riots began. It was a series of deliberate acts, executed in accordance with a concerted plan, conceived and organised well in advance. But who were the planners? ..." (Paul Sieghart: Sri Lanka: A Mounting Tragedy of Errors - British Justice Report, March 1984)

"...Army personnel actively encouraged arson and looting of business establishments and homes in Colombo and absolutely no action was taken to apprehend or prevent the criminal elements involved in these activities. In many instances army personnel participated in the looting of shops..." (The London Times, 5th August 1983)

"Violence also erupted in places such as Kandy, Matale, Nuwara Eliya, Badulla and Bandarawela. On each of these occasions it followed a similar pattern. The incidents were started off by people coming in from outside the districts, lists were used to identify Tamil property and systematic attacks were made on it: the local people were then encouraged to follow with further depredations..." (Patricia Hyndman, Lawasia Human Rights Standing Committee Report 1983)

"The impact of the communal violence on the Tamils was shattering. More than 100,000 people sought refuge in 27 temporary camps set up across the country... A government spokesman has denied that the destruction and killing of Tamils amounted to genocide. Under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, acts of murder committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such are considered as acts of genocide. The evidence points clearly to the conclusion that the violence of the Sinhala rioters on the Tamils amounted to acts of genocide." (The Review, International Commission of Jurists, edited by Niall MacDermot, December 1983)

On the 9th Anniversary of the July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils, the International Federation of Tamils in UK has called on Tamils and sympathisers of the Tamil cause join a march to protest against the invasion of Tamil homelands by the Sri Lanka army. In a notice issued on 10 July 1992, announcing the protest march scheduled to start at 1.30 p.m. on Saturday July 25 at Hyde Park, the International Federation of Tamils said:

"On 28 July 1984, David Alton MP, Paddy Ashdown MP, Norman Atkinson MP, Tony Banks MP, Prof John Barret, Kevin Barron MP, Alan Beith MP, Tony Benn MP, Prof Tom Bottomore, Anne Clwyd MP, Mark Fisher MP, Roy Hattersley MP, Michael Foot MP, Sir David Lane, Robert Kilroy Silk MP, Clare Short MP and many others made a public appeal which was published in The Guardian of the same date. They said:

"The ethnic violence which erupted in Sri Lanka in July 1983 brought untold misery to the Tamils. They were beaten, hacked and burnt to death in a frenzy of racial hatred. Their houses and businesses were selectively looted and destroyed. The Sri Lankan government had admitted that the violence was pre planned and well organised and that even sections of the security forces joined in the attack against the Tamils. 53 Tamil detainees held in a maximum security prison were brutally killed on July 25th and July 27th. Yet to date no impartial inquiry into these violent attacks has taken place.

Amnesty International (AI) recently reported a number of cases of extra judicial killings and secret disposal of bodies without inquest or post mortem. The AI and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) have also reported on a number of cases of torture and death in custody of persons detained incommunicado for period upto 18 months under the Sri Lankan Prevention of Terrorism Act. 'No legislation conferring remotely comparable powers is in force in any other free democracy...

such a provision is an ugly blot on the statute book of any civilised country' (ICJ). The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution has virtually disenfranchised the country's 3 million Tamils by reason of the ban imposed on their political parties. This Amendment according to the ICJ, 'constitutes a clear violation by Sri Lanka of its obligations in international law' ... We are of the opinion that:

* an impartial international commission should be set up to inquire into the violence against the Tamils in July 1983 including the killing of 53 Tamil detainees held in custody by the government.

* the Prevention of Terrorism Act should be repealed and the powers given to the security forces which facilitate arbitrary killing of civilians and disposal of their bodies without inquest or post mortem should be rescinded..."

This 1984 appeal, like so many other appeals by independent and impartial observers, has gone unheeded by the Sri Lanka government. Uptodate, no inquiry, leave alone an impartial one, has been held into the planned murder of thousands of Tamils in July 1983. The Prevention of Terrorism Act continues to be an 'ugly blot' on Sri Lanka's statute book and the Sixth Amendment to the Sri Lanka Constitution is a continuing 'clear violation' by Sri Lanka of its obligations in international law'.

Today, the genocidal attack on the Tamil people continues with increasing ferocity, with the clear intent of bending them to the will of a permanent Sinhala majority, within the confines of a unitary state. It is a genocidal attack, which has been matched, not surprisingly, by Sri Lanka's refusal to enter into negotiations for the establishment of associative structures within which the Tamil people and the Sinhala people may live in peace and in freedom."

Towards a Just Peace

INDIA: Stop 'show trial' of Leader of Tamil Eelam

INDIA: Halt forced repatriation of Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka

SRI LANKA: Stop invasion of Tamil Homelands

SRI LANKA: Lift blockade of medicine, food and fuel to Tamil Homelands

SRI LANKA: End war and negotiate for a just peace

On 9th Anniversary of July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils

PROTEST MARCH AGAINST INVASION OF TAMIL HOMELANDS BY SRI LANKA ARMY

Saturday 25th July 1992 - Start: Hyde Park 1.30 p.m.

International Federation of Tamils