

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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TAMILS BREATHE A SIGH OF RELIEF



Returned to power after 12 years in the wilderness, MUTHUVELU KARUNANIDHI has weathered many storms and buffetings. First came the machinations of Indira Gandhi which removed him from the Chief Minister's post in 1977. Then came MGR's uninterrupted reign till his death in December 1987 when every misdemeanour was overlooked by the Centre. January 1988 saw the coming of extended President's rule when Congress (I) resorted to every trick in the book to discredit the DMK and Kalaiguar in particular. Rajiv Gandhi paid 13 visits to Tamil Nadu in the past year at a reported cost of several crores of rupees, all to no avail. We salute Dr Karunanidhi on his election and wish him every success in his third term of office and in his unwavering resolve to help the Tamils of Eelam in their quest for a place under the sun.

YOUR VOICE

COMING EVENTS WILL PROVE LTTE WISDOM

Bertie Sebastianpillai, Australia

I greatly enjoy reading the TVI. I have no doubt the journal is playing an important part in moulding Tamil and world opinion in relation to our national crisis. The road to liberation is long and arduous and, as expected, there is murmuring amongst some of us of the difficulties ahead.

However, it is the unwavering leadership of the LTTE that can guide us to our final deliverance. Remember how the children of Israel grumbled to Moses about the tedious journey through the desert on their way to the promised land. Well now we have the impatient questioning of the LTTE leadership because results are not coming fast enough. Soon the wisdom of the Tigers will be vindicated and the correctness of their action will be proved as events unfold. It is my prayer that during this period of grave import for the Tamils you will continue to play your role in revealing the true picture as it unfolds to the people so that we will be able to judge for ourselves the quality of the leaders who guide our destiny.

In your next year of publication may I suggest that you introduce a Tamil segment of a few pages on matters relevant to our liberation struggle. This will be a worthwhile facet to your journal.

TELF'S REACTION TO AMIR'S INTERVIEW

M K Eelaventhan, Gen.Secy, TELF

Mr SJV Chelvanayakam had spoken many times of the deceit of Tamil leaders who forgot the promises they had made on election platforms once they got elected. Mr Chelvanayakam vowed to the Tamil people that he would not desert the principles for which he canvassed support among the Tamil people. Tamils overlooked the fragile physique, poor oratory, and failing health of Mr Chelvanayakam and supported him overwhelmingly in all his political campaigns because he was honest, dependable and loyal to the people who supported his policy.

In the 1977 election, Tamils overwhelmingly supported the 1976 'Vadukkoddai Resolution' of the TULF and gave Mr Amirthalingam a mandate to continue the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle. To this day, the Tamils have not changed their mind. In fact, they have consciously supported and participated in the armed struggle to such an extent that even the international community recognised our clamour for an independent homeland.

By saying that from 1984 TULF had been working for an acceptable alternative to Tamil Eelam, Mr Amirthalingam has effectively ignored the mandate given to him in 1977. In private discussion, he would say that for him Tamil Eelam was a 'dream' but that he is now awake.

Mr Amirthalingam is duty bound to carry forward the torch of liberation, subscribing fully to the 1976 Resolution. To say that he is changing course midway without referring to his electorate is tantamount to betrayal. The best alternative for him lies in retiring from politics and in writing memoirs about his glorious pre-1977 past, of

which all of us are proud. Persons may have the right to change their belief but they have no right to speak for the people who have NOT changed theirs.

TVI THE ONLY COMMUNICATION LINK

E Thavagopal, Jaffna

I wish good luck to the TVI for its immeasurable service to the Tamils. It is the only medium by which the world knows what is happening in Tamil Eelam. Please continue to raise your voice all over the world.

PEARLS OF PREMADASA

V Nagendram, Colombo

President Premadasa has invited the LTTE and the JVP for talks with him. There is also a rumour in the air that he is supplying arms to the LTTE to expedite the moving out of the IPKF. Has he changed his views of 1986 and 1987

on the Tamil militants

"Unless we kill every one of them, all talks are useless."
"Bloody fools. They want violence; we give them violence. We will set them right by force."

on negotiations: (Interview with Dr V P Vaidik on June 23, 1986)

"We have had enough patience and we want to make that clear to India and the whole world... Any friend who now asks us to find a political solution will be considered our enemy."

I don't think he has changed. If he has, then why is he supporting the quislings who were 'appointed' by the IPKF to the North-East Provincial Council ?

'SINHALA ONLY' ACT LAID FOUNDATION FOR TAMIL EELAM

V Thangavel, Ontario

Dr Brian Senewiratne's rejoinder to my piece deserves a reply. Let me make it clear that I don't doubt his sincerity. He is prescribing aspirin to cure cancer. He makes the sweeping statement that "only a small bunch of Sinhalese chauvinists who feel that Sri Lanka belongs to the Sinhalese and that the Tamils have no right to equal treatment." Every one knows that the opposite situation is the political reality. Even those progressive Sinhalese leftist politicians, who championed the cause of the Tamils made a full 180 degree turn. I am referring to people like Dr N M Perera, Dr Colvin R de Silva of the LSSP and Dr Wickramasinghe of the CP. It was pathetic to see these politicians marching through the streets of Colombo shouting "Thosai vade apitta eppa." Dr Colvin R de Silva, the architect of the now dead 1972 Republican Constitution, who bragged he had ushered in socialism, shamefully saw to it that the meagre safeguards provided to the Tamils like Sec.29(b) under the Soulbury Constitution were done away with in his 'socialist constitution' To add insult to injury, the Tamil Language Special Provisions Act was declared ineffective. This was because that Act was considered ultra vires vis a vis Sinhala Only - incidentally, that was the only amendment made by the government when parliament

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EDITORIAL

THE TAMILS AND THE GENERAL ELECTION (1989)

President Premadasa has moved rapidly to consolidate his position among the Sinhalese. There is still the parliamentary general election on 15th February. Its outcome will, to some extent, be altered because of proportional representation and the consequent sharp competition between the two Sinhala parties (the UNP and the SLFP); the more so, now with the decision of sections of the one-time Tamil Resistance (India's puppets) and the TULF to participate. A parliamentary majority may therefore not be as certain as the President expects.

We raise several notes of caution. We ask whether the Tamil participants in this election have agreed to abide by the Sixth Amendment. Will they swear allegiance to "the Unitary State of Sri Lanka"? This will indeed be a tragedy. All that the late Mr.S.J.V.Chelvanayakam built, from the launching of his Ilankai Thamir Arasu Kadchi in 1949 to the Vaddukoddai Resolution of 1976 (the creation of a separate state of Tamil Eelam), which had become part of Eelam Tamil political culture is now being dismantled. The TULF claims to carry on the policies of the late Mr.Chelvanayakam. The TULF has also oft-repeated that it received a mandate at the 1977 general election for Tamil Eelam. Now, when the Tamils are elected they will take their oaths of allegiance to the Unitary State before they occupy their seats in Parliament. The struggle from 1949 (the year of the Federal Party's birth) to the present day will be abandoned just for a seat in Parliament.

Amirthalingam has stated publicly that he will build on the Thirteenth Amendment. The flaw in that Amendment is the concentration and centralisation of the entirety of executive power in the Executive President. His governor in the province is his agent who will manipulate provincial councillors, control the public services within the province and delay the implementation of legislation, if he so desires. We are again at the mercy of Sinhala state power.

The Thirteenth Amendment rules out a confederal, federal or devolutionary system. We will thus have the pathetic spectacle of Tamil MPs going with their begging bowls to Sinhala ministers and to a Sinhala-dominated Finance Commission for funds and other matters relating to the Tamil areas. Even the permanent merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces is not guaranteed. We ask, further, whether Tamil MPs can negotiate an end to continuing state-aided colonisation of our homelands (Weli Oya being the latest).

Tamil leaders have tried without success to date to achieve our national objectives from pacts, agreements and talks, to India's counter-productive intervention. We failed in all these endeavours. Our question therefore is why start the walk again that leads up the garden path?

If the TULF and the ex-militants have a hidden agenda, they will mislead the Tamil people by not revealing the contents for public scrutiny. We are persuaded that neither the TULF nor the ex-militants can achieve anything by acting the role of mendicants, at the crossroads. The Tamil people could once more be deceived and misled.

We end by urging the Tamil people to give serious thought to the questions we have raised. We suggest that a Constitutional Convention of accredited representatives of the Tamil people, in the north, the east, from among our Indian Tamil compatriots, the Tamils in the Sinhala provinces and the Tamils living abroad meet and arrive at agreed decisions which will give them a clear indication of what the Tamil people really want. A few Tamils elected to Parliament will, in our opinion, not represent Tamil opinion.

TAMIL VOICE International

எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

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LTTE CALLS FOR BOYCOTT OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), in a statement issued from its headquarters in Jaffna on Jan 7, called upon the people of Tamil Eelam to boycott the forthcoming parliamentary elections to be held on 15 February. "The Tamil nation should resist this fraudulent attempt by the Governments of India and Sri Lanka to stage-manage an electoral process under the umbrella of Indian military occupation and repression. To conduct elections under the conditions of war, violence and anarchy when there is no peace and normalcy in the Tamil homeland is unjust, undemocratic and totally unacceptable", the statement declared.

The LTTE's statement further said, "Forty years of Tamil parliamentary representation has failed to resolve any of the fundamental problems of the Tamil people. The Sri Lankan parliamentary system based on the tyranny of the majority has helped to institutionalise and legitimise racism and deprived our people of their fun-

damental human and political rights. The Sinhala majority parliament was instrumental in depriving the Tamil people of their citizenship rights, of their linguistic rights, of their right to education and employment. Finally by enacting the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, the Sri Lankan parliament deprived our people of their fundamental right of political choice.

The Tamil ex-parliamentarians and the pro-Indian quislings who have opted to contest the parliamentary elections have betrayed the Tamil cause for their petty political ambitions. They have revealed themselves as the traitors of the Tamil-speaking people. By opting for a parliamentary path under the Sixth Amendment, these groups have denounced our people's right to self-determination, the very foundation upon which our political struggle is built. These treacherous elements have now launched a fallacious campaign that they are prepared to accept interim

solutions to advance the cause of the Tamils. But the truth is that these self-seeking opportunists have betrayed the cause of our people and undermined a legitimate national struggle for which thousands of people have sacrificed their lives."

The LTTE's political committee predicted that the coming parliamentary elections would be held under Indian military intimidation, threat and blackmail, with massive rigging, impersonations and malpractices similar to those of the Provincial Council elections and would have no credibility or legality.

"By callously disregarding the sentiments and aspirations of the Tamil people, the Government of India is committing a grave historical blunder. These devious methods adopted to suppress a legitimate cause of our people will never solve the basic problems of the Tamils but would bring further chaos and bloodshed", the statement observed.

YOUR VOICE

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debated the 1972 draft constitution. So, the Sinhalese who oppose quite clearly are NOT a small bunch as Dr Senewiratne states.

Now, his request to manufacture political leaders acceptable to Colombo, Delhi, London etc. is very childish. Leaders evolve from the people, propelled by concrete socio-political conditions. Dr Senewiratne says Eelam is out of the question because majority Sinhalese will not agree. His refuge rather subterfuge that he referred to political and not military leaders is very inept. If politics is the art of the possible, then war is also the extension of the same politics by other means. He suggests a Federal State because no Sinhalese will agree. He thinks that the rights of the Tamils depend on the generosity of the Sinhalese. Not so. The Tamil nation lost its sovereignty in the battle field five centuries ago and that sovereignty had not been surrendered to the Sinhalese. The present struggle is precisely to reassert our sovereign right to Eelam. When peaceful struggle failed the alternative was armed struggle. The Sinhalese should by now realise that if they deny peace to the Tamils they will not enjoy peace either.

The foundation for a Tamil Eelam was squarely laid on the day the Sinhala Only Act was passed. The superstructure was built through persistent and continued denial of Tamils' land, education and job rights. We now have a de facto Tamil Eelam. The writ of the Sinhala government has not run through Tamil Eelam from 1985. What remains is the birth of the *de jure* Tamil Eelam; and that is only a short step away.

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FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

The great free-for-all bun fight which is going to be the Sri Lankan general election on February 15 got off to a start when nominations closed at 12 noon on January 6. The elections are bound to create dissension among the 1393 candidates even within the political parties, thanks to the proportional representation system of voting. Apart from voting for that party, the system requires that voters also mark their three choices from a particular party. To the average voter, many of the names appearing on the lists of 20 parties and ten groups of independents may be totally unknown. Nationally known figures of course will not face any such problem. A minister, for example, may lose in his own electorate but by virtue of recognition be able to garner enough votes in the whole district sufficient to get elected. On the other hand, a candidate who is highly popular in one electorate may not be able to get enough votes elsewhere in the district to enter parliament. This anomaly has created deep divisions within parties and led to competition among members.

THE TAMIL SELL-OUT

Candidates may have to contend with other dilemmas into which they have landed themselves. The four-party Tamil Front, comprising the TULF, EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO, and headed by none other than the TULF supremo Amirthalingam justify their participation on the grounds that they have aligned together on the basis of the four demands put forward at the Thimpu talks. But Mr Amirthalingam who is contesting Batticaloa must have doubts as to the propriety of his participation in the elections. Informed sources report that he has requested police to provide him with a revolver for his personal use. His fellow traveller, Varadaraja Perumal, has been arrogantly dismissive of the LTTE: "Today the LTTE is not a military threat. It is only a nuisance. And most of its leadership is running out of the country. The LTTE is not an increasing factor, it is a decreasing factor." But the truth of the situation belies

his words. As an interviewer from the *Sunday Times* rightly asked, if the claim about the LTTE was indeed correct, then why was it necessary for the EPRLF to form an alliance to contest the elections. Mr Perumal's feeble answer was that the formation of the alliance is purely to avoid splitting the Tamil votes. He added: "We do not have any common policy or anything like that." He claims, however, that the Tamil people will have a voice through representation in Parliament. One wonders just what manner of representation the Tamil people will get, when by his own admission there is no agreed policy.

Amirthanathan Selvam, the General Secretary of TELO, the third partner in the unholy tetrachy, predicts with an air of tragic comedy that the LTTE "will evaporate from the scene" as it is alienated from the people. He goes on to say: "Even though the LTTE is arrogant and is a terrorist movement... we are trying to bring the LTTE into the democratic line. We will try our best to have friendly contacts with the LTTE." With friends like that one need not worry about the IPKF, which incidentally the TULF says should remain until full autonomy is given in the north and east, and a Tamil dominated security force is set up.

ALL IS SAFE IN LANKA?

The Tamil struggle indirectly became the focus of British media attention when Viraj Mendis, a Sri Lankan seeking political asylum, was dragged away in his pyjamas from the church in which he has sought sanctuary for two years and 29 days. Mr Mendis insists that he will be persecuted or even killed if he is forced to return to Sri Lanka because of his support for the Tamil cause.

The Sri Lankan High Commissioner discounted any such fears. On BBC radio he gave the assurance: "Now we have a new President elected last month... He has lifted the state of emergency, detainees have been released, the tourists are going back to Sri Lanka, and hundreds of Sri Lankans who have been in foreign countries are returning to Sri Lanka, and

things are back to normal. In this context I don't know how it can be assumed that he is in danger." This is a tacit admission that the numerous assurances given prior to the presidential elections, that Mendis would be perfectly safe should he return to Sri Lanka, were unfounded.

Barely 24 hours after the state of emergency had been lifted, several killings were reported in the south. Despite assertions of all peace and quiet, during the period December 19 to January 2 there were at least 463 killings. The High Commissioner in London, it appears, is living in cuckoo land.

THE PROTECTIVE WINGS OF THE IPKF

The Indian High Commission meanwhile said that the suspension of the state of emergency would not affect the operations of the IPKF in the north and east, which would continue uninterrupted: "The IPKF had an obligation to disarm the militant groups which did not accept the Accord."

But UNP candidates seem uncertain of their position in relation to the IPKF. None of the 14 candidates being fielded by the UNP in Jaffna had gone to their electorate as of 15 January. The reason given for their reluctance is that they are unsure of the security the IPKF would provide since, in the popular view, the Tamil Front are "agents of the Indian government." The candidates would only go if provided with body guards who were ex-military personnel. So much for trust in the Peace Accord.

We have promises to keep
And miles to go before we sleep

Robert Frost

When bad men combine, the good
must associate; else they will fall, one
by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a
contemptible struggle.

Edmund Burke

This is not the end. It is not even the
beginning of the end. But it is
perhaps, the end of the beginning.

Winston Churchill

THIRUKKURAL

by S.Sriskandarajah

என்றும் ஒருவதல் வேண்டும் புகழொடு
நன்றி பயவா வினை.

Enrum Oruvuthal Verndum Puhazhodu
Nanri Payavaa Vinai - Transliteration

Those actions should be eschewed which bring neither
fame nor good (Kural 652) - Translation

"No matter who pounds, what is wanted is the rice grain" says a Tamil saying. This is a saying which we hear time and again in our circles. Whether it is a correct approach to good living is a moot point. Thiruvalluvar appears to have a different view.

Machiavelli, as many of us know, was a notorious politician and writer who said that "the end justifies the means." For him all was well that ended well. He cared not about the means employed as long as the end was achieved. He made no scruples about the means. In fact he was viciously unscrupulous. Western view, which supports the notion that all is fair in love and war, seems to have sided with Machiavelli at least in so far as it related to politics and government. But Thiruvalluvar is totally opposed to this view. He is of the firm conviction that the end will not justify the means and that the end cannot be honourable if the means used are foul. For him an activity that is tainted with crookedness can never yield fair fruit. If a course of action is unfair and deceptive, then, whatever the fruit, it should be shunned. Thiruvalluvar feels that it is preferable to suffer from the very evil to ward off which a particular course of action is employed than to enjoy the fruit of deeds tainted with sin and sinister motive. Thus, Thiruvalluvar says "The pinching poverty of the pure is far better than wealth earned by disreputable means". In other words Thiruvalluvar tells that means employed should be clean and fair and that good ends cannot be achieved through bad means.

Mahatma Gandhi steadfastly followed the precept of Thiruvalluvar. The following story illustrates the steadfastness of Mahatma Gandhi to this golden principle of Thiruvalluvar. In 1922, Mahatma Gandhi gave notice of his intention to embark on civil dis-

obedience as a means of freeing India from British rule. Accordingly, in February 1922, he started the campaign and a procession of more than a million people was wending its way through a town called Chowri Chowra. The British police, not wanting Gandhi to succeed, opened fire and continued raining bullets until they had exhausted their stock. But the procession, unmindful of the human casualties that had resulted, proceeded undaunted and unbowed, and the police took refuge in a garrison nearby. A few of the demonstrators who chose to take advantage of the situation forgot the rules of true Satyagrahis and set fire to the very garrison much against the strict orders of Mahatma Gandhi. When the building caught fire the entrapped policemen began to emerge and the enraged demonstrators resorted to the most shameful act of killing them.

When Mahatma Gandhi heard of the inhuman and immoral conduct of the renegades and the recalcitrants he was shocked and ashamed and at once cried halt to his civil disobedience movement and abandoned it. The followers of Gandhi whose feelings of nationalism and freedom had reached fever pitch questioned the propriety of his conduct. Mahatma Gandhi who was endowed with a faculty for concise expression said, "That which you obtain through foul means may be a great and precious thing, but it is not desirable; he who seeks equity should go with clean hands." Thus the civil disobedience campaign was abandoned at least temporarily until the people were really ready morally and spiritually for it.

The life of Gandhi, which was an experiment with truth, is a glowing example refuting and repudiating the



philosophy that "the end justifies the means." Thiruvalluvar said it but Gandhi lived it. Let the life of Gandhi inspire us into living a morally impeccable life in spite of the temptations of expedience and convenience.

A TAPESTRY OF EXILE

by Sundari

A fantasy dreamworld

*Woven around the stark naked
reality*

Of exile.

Suspended between worlds

All unknown

I sit

I wait

I listen.

Bewildered I call out "Amma"

But she is not there

To answer.

Her blood lies congealed

In the sand and soil

Of Eelam

From where it cries out

To be set free.

But how am I to answer?

Tell me my friends

(if there are any)

I too am trapped.

If I say something

I will have to leave

And go where?

Also to die by

Alien hands?

Or remain silent, say nothing

And obliterate from my mind

The future that is mine.

Ask Rani

THE PRINCE AND SRI LANKA

Dear Rani,

I have heard the term 'Machiavellian' used much in political discussion regarding Sri Lanka. I understand that it refers to a political theorist, but could you please give a bit of his background? - Rukmani R, Millfield

A Niccolo Machiavelli was born in Florence in 1469, the son of a civil lawyer. He is principally known for his two writings, "The Prince" written around 1513, and "The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy", usually known as the "The Discourses", written between 1513-17. Machiavelli was employed as a diplomat on various missions abroad, and was also involved in the organisation of the national defence militia. As a political theorist his approach involved a realistic assessment of politics in terms of power and control. Memorable phrases abound. To quote two:

"In all republics the number of citizens who reach positions of command is never more than forty or fifty; they can be kept quiet with honours or by being done away with; the rest only want security."

"Government consists in nothing else but in so controlling subjects that they will not be able to, nor have cause to, do you harm."

For Machiavelli, only a ruthless prince, prepared to violate all ethical norms can succeed under conditions of total corruption. Circumstances have to be overcome through this person's skill and effort, primarily military expertise. He can triumph only if his energies are devoted to war. Nothing less can unite the nation. Nothing else can expel the foreigners. I cannot do justice to Machiavelli in this limited space, but I hope the relevance of the above to Sri Lanka is not lost on readers.

THE VOTE COUNT

Dear Rani,

What is the proportional representation method of voting? I am not sure how this electoral system is different

from the one here in Britain. - Vasanthi, Reading

A There are a large number of electoral systems and details vary considerably within these. Three broad types of electoral system, however, may be distinguished: the simple plurality system, majoritarian systems, and proportional representation.

In Britain, the simple plurality system operates. The candidate with the most votes wins the seat and there is no redistribution of votes after the count. Although this system has the benefit of simplicity, it is usually unfair to minorities who may be under-represented even if they consistently come second or third in each constituency. Another drawback is that a candidate may win on a minority of the popular vote: 30 per cent, for example, compared with 25, 25 and 20 per cent for rival candidates. Majoritarian systems are designed to ensure that a candidate can only be elected with a majority of the popular vote and not simply a plurality of the votes cast. If no candidate wins such a majority at the first count, then a second ballot is held, as in France, or a second count, as in Australia, in which votes of the less successful candidates are redistributed according to the second preferences registered by their supporters.

Proportional representation, in theory at least, seeks to secure adequate representation in the legislature for minorities as well as majorities in accordance with the vote recorded in the whole electoral division. There are a variety of redistributive formulae, but two major distinctions may be made. The first is where the voting and allocation of seats is done on a constituency basis with individual candidates. The other is where voting occurs on the basis of a party list.

HUMAN RIGHTS CRITERIA

Dear Rani,

I am unable to understand on what basis human rights organisations judge violations or atrocities commit-



ted on human beings. In certain parts of the world they vociferously announce that a few people here and a few there have been killed. These cases are taken up at the United Nations level and thrashed out. Even abductions of individuals are given wide publicity and the governments and the media show grave concern for such cases. On the other hand, the Indian army has stepped into a neighbouring country, Sri Lanka, and is committing unbearable atrocities on a section of the citizens there, including the cruellest forms of torture, murders, random killings and rapes. No such human rights organisation appears to have taken this up at the UN (or even at village) level or at least interfered and stopped India from committing these cruel deeds. Could you say that these organisations consider Sri Lankans as 'human' beings; or is India exempt from their surveillance? - N Vithuran, Enfield

A You are quite correct in pointing out the lack of publicity to atrocities being committed in Sri Lanka, and I have no satisfactory response to offer. At the non-governmental level, groups such as Amnesty International have ensured that at least some degree of international attention is given to what is going on, but I agree that it is totally inadequate. I think, however, that the onus is on us, as expatriates, to take the initiative and urge human rights organisations to act on this matter.

Where governments are concerned, it is clearly not in their national self-interest to take India to task; otherwise they would have done so without hesitation. Nonetheless, the indifference of governments should not preclude us from writing, as individuals and as Tamil groups and organisations, to the Secretary Generals of the United Nations, Commonwealth and the like, and MPs, Senators, Congressional representatives or Government Ministers as the case may be, asking them to take up the issue. At worst, they will not reply, at best they may do something. Either way we have nothing to lose.

*Point of View***A CRY FROM THE NORTH***(Copy of a statement issued and signed by a large number of academics of the University of Jaffna in October 1988)***LAYING ASIDE ILLUSIONS**

On 17 September, the Indian High Commissioner J N Dixit held meetings with various sectors of the Jaffna public at the Jaffna Kachcheri.

The gist of his message was: The only sane and pragmatic option for the Tamils is to participate in the forthcoming Provincial Council elections for the provisionally merged North-Eastern Province. This would help to fill the political vacuum and sort out thorny issues like land settlement. An elected Provincial Council would make devolution a reality and peace a possibility.

On the surface, his thesis sounds cogent. But does it correspond to the ground realities? Is people's participation in the so-called electoral process a possibility today? Free and fair elections presuppose an atmosphere where people can make up their minds without being pressurised at gun-point - whoever holds the gun.

What is the reality today?

We know that neither individuals nor community organisations can effectively raise their voices against the many human rights violations that continuously take place today. People live in fear. They live unsure of their destiny, in terrorised silence - thanks to the acts of omission and commission by the IPKF and the various armed militant groups. The run-up to the nominations made the situation worse. Almost daily, revenge killings are taking place; innocent, middle-aged civilians - both men and women - have been amongst the victims. In many instances the IPKF's complicity is well known. No one has the means or the courage to protest - mostly in fear of the IPKF and the dominant militant groups. In view of such a situation, for India to exhort full participation in what is portrayed as free and fair elections is a parody; especially because India itself is partly responsible for creating such political conditions in the community over the past five years.

Indian involvement as an instrument in marginalizing the people

could be traced back to 1983, when India armed the militant groups. Criminal acts by some of them, which included a large number of murders on Indian soil, went calculatingly unchecked. Though India was the common patron of all the groups, divisions and antagonisms between the various groups grew at a rapid pace culminating in annihilations.

Thus, it seems not incorrect to presume that India's own interests were being served by maintaining these divisions. The militant groups became large military organisations, accountable to different interests, including clandestine state agencies in India. The people had virtually no check over the activities of the groups. The rate and scale of killings in the community and the atmosphere created by these made people live in terror, and left them with little choice but to become passive on-lookers. Thus this past as well as the present call into question India's own claims about its intentions to produce a viable democratic political process.

However, even if elections could be technically held, whom can Tamils elect as their representatives? Given the present state of divisions and volatility, it is hard to think of anyone who could function as representatives of the people - rather than as rulers. The future of elections will be decided by the manner in which India and the different groups perceive their own interests. The outcome of elections cannot resolve problems arising from habits that have been exacerbated by the prevalence of murder and assassination. Until these latter emotions have been curbed and people are able to speak out freely, elections will not be welcomed with any degree of enthusiasm.

It must be mentioned that the generality of Tamils held India in very high regard. There were the links of religion and culture. The leaders of the Indian independence struggle had a devoted following here. Furthermore, in recent times, Tamils owed

much gratitude to India for the succour and refuge it provided for Tamils fleeing the state-sponsored violence in Sri Lanka. India also did a great deal to expose the Sri Lankan state's racism internationally. But things changed rapidly from October 1987.

The erosion of confidence in India amongst the Tamils is the result of hundreds of civilians - men, women and children - being killed by the Indian army during the closing months of 1987; and the mounting toll of the 'disappeareds', victims of torture and deaths in custody continuing unabated to the present day. When such brutal realities are brushed aside and India is able to speak in paternalistic and threatening tones, the community should realise its own position of weakness. The Tamils should be aware of the problems of relying on India to guarantee peace. It is fairly clear that the present elections as a key for a better future for the community is in serious doubt. What is the alternative? It would be irresponsible as well as fatalistic just to make pronouncements of powerlessness of the people and lay all the blame on Indian involvement. Such a position would not allow the community to extricate itself from the morass and would amount to empty India bashing. This would still leave the initiative and the controlling influence in the hands of external forces.

We have to examine not only our relations with the Indian and Sri Lankan states, but also ourselves. Our obeisance to terror within the community, our opportunism and lack of principles in the face of many internal killings have made it easy for external forces to use the same weapons to control us. In the face of our acquiescence with anti-democratic tendencies within the community, our plea for democracy becomes a meaningless exercise. Many individuals and youth who voiced criticism of the political forces have been victimised, driven away, or killed while we looked on.

Thus, if the people are to regain

their lost self-will and dignity, they will have to move towards a principled collective response. We have to assert universal values to which we are both emotionally and intellectually committed.

It is the lack of such commitment that enabled us to come to terms with murder when it concerned others' sons, and then watch helplessly in panic when the cancer, allowed to grow, threatened our own sons. We are now paying for past indifference.

When we look back, there are two aspects to our failing to stand up collectively - as people, as professionals, as institutions or as ordinary workers belonging to unions. One was that we were confused about fundamental principles and failed to

reach any working agreement. The other was the fear that if one stood up, the person next may let him down, thus placing him in danger. Consequently, a few isolated threats, real or imagined, or the hint of a gun have sufficed to close down institutions. We have further dehumanised ourselves by losing a sense of pride in work and service by allowing these to become secondary.

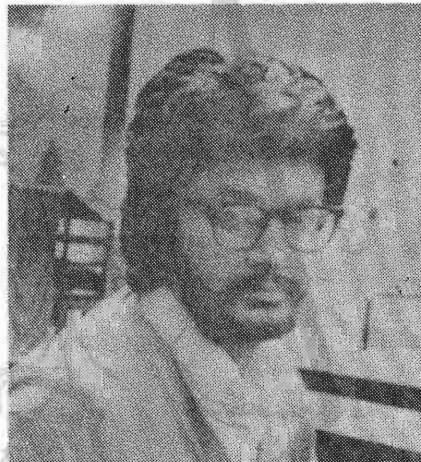
How do we assert ourselves as people when no one dare take a stand on the many pressing issues? As individuals or small groups in our neighbourhoods, places of work, unions or associations, we must question our past, understand where we went wrong and re-discover our principles. We must be conscious of the

message of past experience, that in standing up for others we are also standing up for ourselves. This course requires courage; but no other is open to us. We have tried to play safe in the past. The result was mass murder from several sources. Non-combatant civilians too became unarmed frontline troops facing the wrath of advancing armies.

The future looks even more bleak with the rapid growth and consolidation in southern Sri Lanka of forces of narrow political vision. This opens the door for further involvement by external forces. Let us not remain forever unprepared and continue trapped in the logic of passivity - hoping against hope that someone else will bring us deliverance.

VIRAJ MENDIS and ROY HATTERSLEY

(Rt Hon Roy Hattersley M.P., Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, on his conversion to the cause of Viraj Mendis, deported to Sri Lanka after a 15-year stay in the U.K.)



Viraj Mendis

"Until last Wednesday morning I thought that Mr. Mendis was doing more harm than good. Then 50-odd policemen and a large number of immigration officers raided the Church of the Ascension, with the BBC alerted to report the fun and the Minister of State available at the end of a telephone to give inter-round summaries. From then on I was for Mr. Mendis. I could also claim that my mind had been partly changed the previous day when, by complete coincidence, Amnesty International convinced me that any Sri Lankan who asked for asylum should be allowed to settle in Britain. But that was only the beginning of my conversion.

It was absurd to spend so much time and money deporting a man who by no stretch of ministerial hyperbole could be described as a danger to society. Mr Mendis sets a precedent which I believe could be accepted without danger. Anyone who stays for two years in a church should be allowed to remain without creating the risk of "swamping" about which Margaret Thatcher once warned. Mr

Mendis was arrested to prove that Whitehall always wins----- especially if its opponent is black. They made an example of him to encourage the others. That's not how decent governments behave.

That does not make Mr Mendis a hero of our time. But that was another reason why I came out on his side. Society ought to be judged, not by the way in which it treats the great and the good, but by the manner in which it deals with the undesirable and unattractive, who make nuisances of themselves outside Labour Party meetings.

No good has been done by the return of Mr Mendis to Sri Lanka--except for the pleasure it gives to people who enjoy pulling wings off

troublesome flies. Viraj Mendis buzzed about in the most inconvenient and infuriating way and there were many occasions when I would gladly have swotted him with a rolled up newspaper. But it was that quality that made the test of our wisdom and patience.

Paradoxically, perhaps even perversely, as Wednesday wore on, Mr Mendis' weaknesses became his strength. When a smirking Douglas Hurd (Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge) described Mr Mendis as being "certainly not fortunate in his student career" and produced huge guffaws from Tory backbenchers who can hardly read and write, I knew what the argument was really about and whose side I was on. (Courtesy - *The Guardian*, January 21, 1989)

LONDONERS IN GENERAL ELECTIONS

It appears that four Sri Lankan Tamils from London have left for Sri Lanka recently to file their nominations for the forthcoming general elections. They are Mr Sangari of EPRLF, Mr Srinivasan and Mr Manoharan of ENDLF and Mr Sitharthar Dharmalingam of PLOTE.

THE VALI-OYA OUTRAGE

from our Trincomalee correspondent

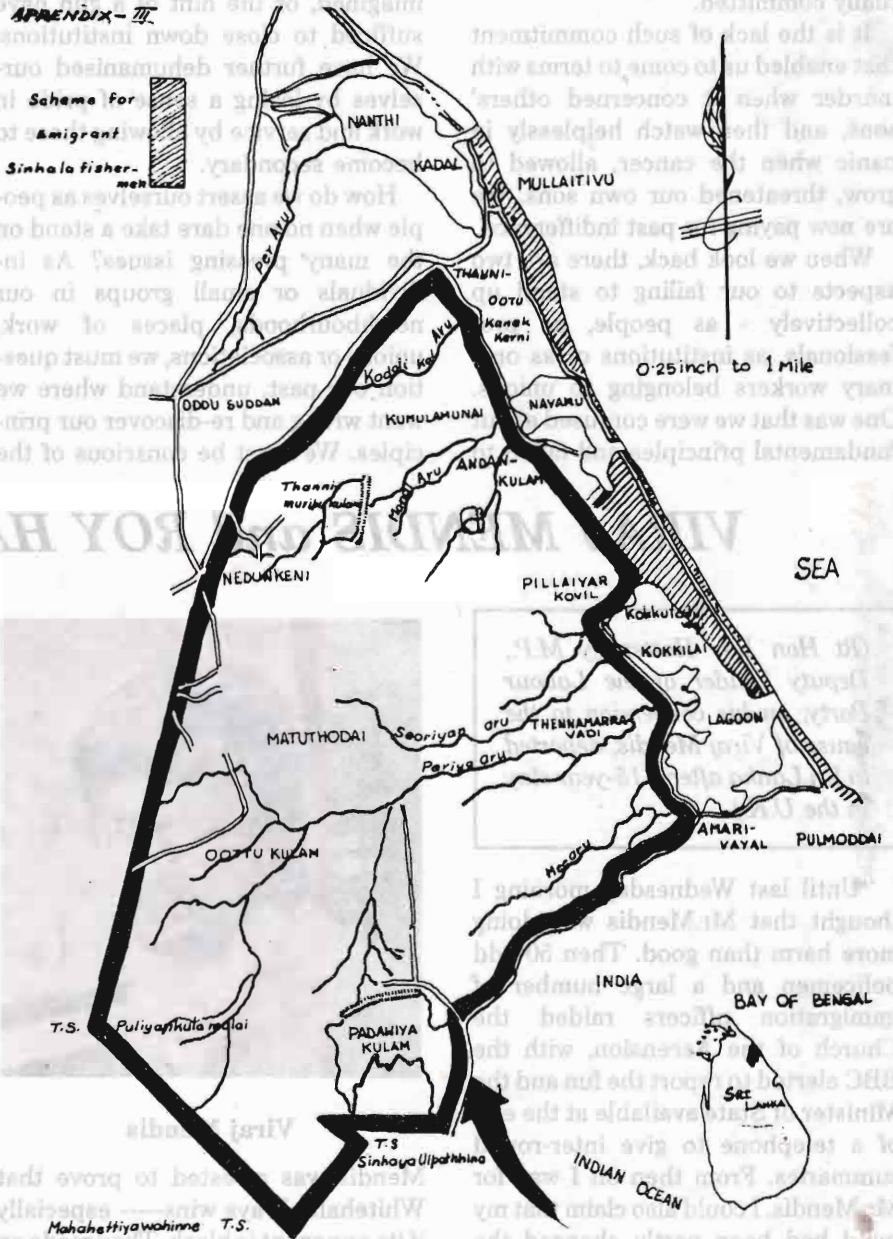
"Woe unto the Tamil-speaking people of Sri Lanka, even unto those, in their innocence, have placed their trust and hopes in the July 1987 Accord. Brutality and disaster continue to befall our hapless people, the Accord notwithstanding. Dispossession and Sinhala colonisation of our traditional homelands continue unabated and with full fury." Thus we are driven to cry out in anguish.

Ever since Ceylon was granted its independence in 1948 by the British, there has been a planned and well-orchestrated move by successive Sinhala governments to weaken and destroy the fundamental rights, the civil liberties, the economy and the very identity of the Tamil-speaking people of this country. Many were driven away from their places of habitation in predominantly Sinhala areas under the claims that those lands were to be declared sacred Buddhist areas or to be parts of large settlement schemes. Sinhala-Buddhist pogroms, sponsored by successive governments, drove many more of our people away from their lands and properties, especially in the aftermath of the upheavals of 1956, 1958, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1977 and 1983. In many instances the racist Sinhalese gangs were led or directed onto their path of murder and mayhem by ministers and MPs of the state.

The whole Island, from Point Pedro to Dondra Head, was openly claimed by the government as Sinhala-Buddhist country, and the Tamil community, including those of the plantation sector, have fallen victim to the government's relentless and institutionalised suppression. To gain political clout based on racism, predominantly Tamil districts were settled with Sinhala people in large numbers. The extent of this aggression can be gauged when we find, as for example, that in the Eastern province a Sinhala population of 4.5 per cent in 1938 has now swollen to 33.0

APPENDIX - III

Scheme for
 Emigrant
 Sinhala fisher-
 men



per cent - an 'eight-fold' leap! The Maduru-Oya project is another instance where whole Tamil villages were uprooted, though the motives adduced at that time have later been found to be a cover to supplant the Tamils with the Sinhalese.

Then came the Indian intervention, first with the avowed intention of succouring the famished people of Jaffna and then as a partner of a solemn Accord. The largest carrot held out to the Tamil-speaking people was that the North and East of the country

would have every chance to merge. Alas, so much for our hopes and aspirations! It is perhaps foreseeing a situation, as at present, that a sizeable proportion of our community expressed its reservations against the Accord, whilst the rest adopted a wait-and-see attitude - the LTTE opting to express its suspicions and distrust openly.

The Sri Lankan Government continues its surreptitious efforts at fracturing the geographical contiguity of the North-East region of our country

on the basis of ethnicity, intensifying its activities especially after the signing of the Accord. Artificial homelands were being created for the Sinhala community in most Tamil districts, and in recent times, a special politically motivated scheme for exclusively Sinhala families (more than 3,000 families) was commenced at Manal Aru (a hitherto Tamil name, now changed to VALI-OYA, a Sinhala rendering of the same meaning). This scheme was possible only by driving away the Tamils from their own or leased lands and those who were resettled there as hill-country Tamil refugees, the victims of earlier Sinhala violence. Tamil villagers in the vicinity were murdered and all the rest forced to flee in terror in the face of the onslaughts of the government's military might. In one night itself 29 villagers were murdered at Othiyamalai, a hamlet furthest from the Vali-Oya colony. A list of villages thus vacated by Tamils is given below:

1. The following numbers of families have been dispossessed of their land by the armed forces of the Sri Lankan Government in the latter's bid to create new homelands for the Sinhala community being brought in from other Sinhala districts - (based on 1971 figures):

VAVUNIYA-NORTH Grama Sevaka Division (Vavuniya District): Ootukulam 1, Vedivaitha Kallu 89, Sooriyanaru 83, Kallatru Kulla Thiddam 1, Ariyakundaan Cholai 118.

KOKKUTHODUVAI Grama Sevaka Division (Mullaitivu District): Kokkuthoduvai 861, Karunartukerni 370, Shalarthuveli 1, Kotahakerni 19, Vaththai Merdu 12, Unthiriyankulam 1, Kalnaarti 1, Manatkerni 1, Alankulam 23, Vannaathi Pallam 5.

KOKKILAI Grama Sevaka Division (Mullaitivu District): Kokkilai 508, Mariya Munai 4, Muhathuvaaram 1,004.

NUMBER OF MIDDLE CLASS FARMS, each 100 acres or more, leased by Tamil business concerns: Radio Kamam, Dollar Farm, Ananda Trading Co, Jegajothy & Co, S Rajaratnam S Sellathurai, S Amba-

lavaner, D Nadarajah, Kent Farm, Ceylon Theatres, Ariya Kundan, Cargo Boat Co, Railway Group, Postal Group, etc.

2. The following number of families are to be dispossessed of their lands in the immediate future under the provisions of the government gazette notification of 15.4.1988:

VAVUNIYA-NORTH Grama Sevaka Division (Vavuniya District): Kaatupoovarasam Kulam 91, Kanchooramotai 38, Katkulam 101 Sinnakoramotai 57, Kovil Puliyankulam 81, Maruthodai 54 Nochchikkulam 82, Paddadai-murintha Kulam 54, Paddikkudiyiruppu 351, Thanikkallu 12, Thuvaram Kulam 49, Unchatkaddi 80.

OTHER Grama Sevaka Divisions 6 (Mullaitivu District): Aaladi Kulam 5, Arumugaththam Kulam 69, Nai Aru 465, Thannimurippu 243, Andankulam 49, Kumulamunai 1,165, Puliyamunai 16.

The details of families of the villages of Thanniyootu, Kanukerni, Murippu, Karnatukerni, Poothanvayal, Periyakulam, Senapulavu, part of Nedunkerni town, Iththimadu, Palampaasi, Maamadu, Thatamalai, Madavalasinkam Kulam, Kodaalikkallu, Maamoolai, Othiyamalai, Udanka, Erukkalam Pulavu, Arumugaththam Kulam, Karadippooval and many others in the Districts of Vavuniya and Mullaitivu and villages in the Trincomalee District - e.g. Thennamara Vaadi, Kotakerni, Amarivayal and Pulmoddai - with a total approximate family strength of 7,590 in addition, have yet to be included. **This will make a total of 13,288 families that have been dispossessed or will be dispossessed of their homelands through the government's scheme - that is, a total of 42 villages, in addition to the 14 or so tracts held on lease by Tamil business concerns.**

Large areas further away were cordoned by the military after murdering or driving out all Tamil inhabitants.

No civil officers were permitted to enter these zones where preliminary arrangements were being made to settle members of the Sinhala community. Even the new alienation of the lands concerned was done secretly and at Colombo (by the Ministry of Lands) instead of by the relevant government agents and their officials.

How can India disclaim its responsibility for the tearing asunder of the North and of the East of our country, which have been contiguous geographically and in their ethnicity for ages? The gazette notification of 15 April 1988 indicates that large chunks of land in the Mullaitivu and Vavuniya districts, the very traditional lands of the Tamil-speaking people, are to be forcibly vacated with the government's proclamation that these lands comprise a 'Special Area' forthwith. India doesn't enjoy sufficient rapport with the Tamil-speaking people of this country to realise that the present activities of the Sri Lankan government militate against their aspirations and hopes; and, incidentally, hold up the Accord to ridicule and derision and lead to ultimate failure, by not keeping to the intent and spirit of this agreement.

The establishment of the Vali-Oya scheme and its blatant expansionism is the thin end of the wedge to fragment the North-East Tamil traditional region permanently and with disastrous consequences for our people. **Meanwhile, India continues to look the other way with indifference and assumed naivete, whilst 42 of our historic villages are being gobbled up. We cannot but wonder whether the present situation will lead to the permanent implantation and expansion of the Vali-Oya Sinhala colony and to the irrevocable severance of the North-East linkage, thus spelling the doom and death of the Tamil-speaking people of this country.**

MEDIA REPORTS (Excerpts)**DOUBLE REJECTION FOR SRI LANKA
PEACE EFFORTS**

Efforts by Sri Lanka's new President to direct the island back towards peace and dialogue have been violently rejected both by Tamil separatists and by Sinhalese extremists. This is reflected in casualties since nominations for parliamentary elections next month were received.

Yesterday the Tigers called for a boycott of the elections. "The Tamil nation should resist this fraudulent attempt to stage-manage an electoral process under the umbrella of Indian military occupation and repression",

a Tiger release said.

Recently, he (Premadasa) lifted the 5-year-old state of emergency, and has released hundreds of people held under its rules. More than 500 suspected (JVP) Front members, however, are still in detention awaiting trial.

Within hours of the state of emergency ending, the Front woke up from a post-election sleep and killed 15 people on Jan 12. Only minutes after the emergency was lifted, Front members ambushed an army vehicle, kill-

ing three soldiers and wounding four in the deep south of the island. A senior member of the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party and two supporters were also killed in a bomb and gun attack 40 miles south of Colombo.

The Tigers too have been laying traps. Six Sri Lankan soldiers were killed in two attacks in the north in the second week of January, and three Indian soldiers were blown up by a bomb. (*Daily Telegraph* - 14.1.89)

THE WITHDRAWAL OF INDIAN TROOPS

The withdrawal of two battalions from the North and East of Sri Lanka represents only a fractional scaling down of the Indian presence in Sri Lanka. The latest withdrawal is designed to mend bridges between Mr Premadasa and Mr Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister. The withdrawal will be highlighted in the election campaign in the Tamil Nadu state of South India, where 50 million Tamils are to vote later this month for a new legislative assembly. Mr Gandhi is campaigning hard in the state in an effort to put the Congress party back into power after 21 years.

**OPTIMISM OVER SITUATION
IN SRI LANKA**

The High Commissioner (Mr Dixit) briefed Mr Gandhi in detail on the thinking of the new administration on matters connected with the Indo-Sri

Lanka Agreement, other political developments and prospects for the near future.

Mr Dixit had met Mr Premadasa a day after the presidential election result was out. What transpired in that meeting, described as 'good' by Indian sources, was not officially indicated but it was followed by two significant developments - the new President's orders for the immediate devolution of powers to the north-eastern provincial council and New Delhi's decision to withdraw two battalions of the IPKF.

PM'S INSTRUCTIONS

The Prime Minister instructed Mr Dixit to initiate discussions on "further steps" to fulfil the aspirations of Sri Lankan Tamils regarding decentralisation within the unity and integrity of the island. The High Commissioner was also told to inten-

sify efforts to strengthen and expand relations with the new Government, on the basis of mutual trust, co-operation and reciprocity.

As regards the first point, Mr Dixit will, it appears, be required to take up with the Sri Lankan authorities matters connected with (1) the speedy implementation of Mr Premadasa's instructions on the transfer of power to the provincial council, and (2) the improvement of the devolution package which, as the new President told the provincial Chief Minister, Mr A Varatharaja Perumal, could be examined. India had a stake in the follow-up steps in view of its anxiety for an early start of the rehabilitation and reconstruction work in the north-eastern province - for which it had already committed Rs.25 crores. (K K Katyal reporting in *The Hindu* on Jan 10, 1989)

COLOMBO TO SEND DRAFT TREATY

The Sri Lankan President, Mr R.Premadasa yesterday indicated that he will be presenting the draft of an Indo-Sri Lanka Friendship Treaty for Indian approval in the near future. The Government of India's position has been that it is willing to consider any suggestions from Sri Lanka for a bilateral treaty.

Mr Dixit who has returned to Colombo after consultations in New Delhi, carried a message from the Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in which, according to a press release from the Indian High Commission, "it

was conveyed that India has taken note of the positive steps taken by H.E. the President to devolve powers to the North-Eastern and other provincial councils in conformity with the 13th Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution and the Provincial Councils Act. It was also conveyed that further improvement of the devolution powers responsive to effective decentralisation and aspirations of the people at the provincial level would strengthen the stability and unity of Sri Lanka.

FIRM ON DEVOLUTION OF POWERS: The President gave a further thrust to the process of devolution of powers to the Provincial Councils by ordering the Secretary to the Ministry of Provincial Councils to report to him within a week the progress in this regard.

MOVE TO LEGALISE CVF: The Cabinet decided to legalise the Citizens' Volunteer Force (CVF) being trained by the North-Eastern Provincial Council under the Mobilisation and Supplementary Force Act. (*The Hindu* - Jan 19)

ASPIRING M.PS FOR NORTH & EAST

The following is the list of candidates contesting in the North- East Province for the Parliamentary Elections to be held on Feb.15, 1989:

JAFFNA DISTRICT

Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF): M Sivasithamparam, S. Senathirajah, Neelan Thiruchelvam, Anandasangari, Rajendran, R P Ratnasingham, Srinivasan.

Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF): K Premachandran, A Navaratnam.

Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO): N Sriskandarajah, M Aloysius.

Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF): R Manoharan, Yogasangari.

Eelavar Democratic Front (EDF): Sebastiampillai Edward, Sinathamby Sivamaharajah, Eliyathamby Ratnasabapathy, Eliyathamby Pararajasingam, Arunasalam Ponniah Selliah, Thiyagarajah Yogasundarajah, Sellathurai Pararajasingham, Sinnathamby Kanapathipillai, Kanapathipillai Thillainathan, Ganapathy Selvanayagam, Thambu Loganathapillai, Joseph George Rasenthiram, Manickam Suntharamoorthy, Sabaratnam Sivanandarasa.

All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC): Kumar Ponnambalam, Motilal Nehru, Appathurai Vinayagamorthy, Rasakone, Ratnarajah, M Sellathurai, L A Joseph, Mohammed Usarudeen, K Gnanarasa, Sathanathan Manosivam, Kumarakuruparan, M Alphonsus, K V Mahendran, M D Sivagnanam.

Eelam People's Front (EPF + PLOTE): Dharmalingam Sitharthar, Arumugam Selliah Kandasamy, Selliah Muttiah, Sinnappodi Sivashanmugamoorthy, Sivaram Tharmaratnam, Poothalingam Muththamil Singam, Selliah Kirupairasa, Nadarasasingham Jeyarasasingham, Subramaniam Sathanathan, Thuraisingham Uthayakumar, Kanapathipillai Paramesvaran, Iyampillai Manickampillai, Rasiah Sivakanthamani, Thirunavukkarasu Kanapathipillai.

United National Party (UNP): S Thirumanappillai, N Sivanathan, S Jeganathan, Velayutham Saravana Bhavanathan, A Sivapala Subramaniam, S Sivathas, K P Samugasamy, Dr Arasaratnam Sellappah, W S Arunasalam, Gurusamy Govindarasa, A Santhira Martin, Ratnam Sellathurai, S Sivanayagam, Janab D N Bharuhak.

TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT

T U L F : R Sambanthan, Thangam Selvamani Vadivel (TELO), Janab A W J Packeer, T Gnanasegaran.

E D F : Sivapragasam Ratnarajah, Nagarajah Thilakarajah, A Basheer Jameel, Konamalai Mathavarajah, Nadarajah Sriskandarajah, N Y Raj Kapoor, Kumaravelu Rajeswaran.

Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC): Janab M I S Jamaldeen, A Somachandra, Janab I Aboobucker, Janab V Abdullah, Janab M A Mahroof, Janab A M A Azeez, E Karunakaran.

UNP : M E H Mahroof, A M P Chandrasena, P K Muhammed, V Navaratnarasa, S Ranaveera, Ranjani Segarasinghe, W Vijayadasa.

BATTICALOA DISTRICT

T U L F : Appapillai Amirthalingam, P Joseph.

T E L O : K Karunakaran, A Mohammed.

E P R L F : Sam Thambimuttu, Prince Casinader.

E N D L F : A Jeevaratnam, J Lakshmikanthan.

E D F : G Soundararajah, Alakippodi Gunaseelan, Shanmugam Pathmanathan, Kanagaratnam Varatharajah, Paul Sukumar, Janab S Basheer, Janab Ali Uthuma Lebbai Harry, Janab Uthuma Lebbai Junail.

UNP : K W Devanayagam, K Manic-

kam, E Esvaran, Wesley Sinathamby, Abdul Razak, I Sarangapani, V Sandrasegar, M E C Rahuman.

INDEPENDENTS: A Kumara Vadivelu, Ratnasingham, A S Muhaiddeen, S Vivekanandan, D Shanmugalingam, K Vignesvaran, K Kamaleswaran.

VANNI DISTRICT

T U L F : P S Soosaitasan (TULF), Jeyaseelan (TULF), Rasu Koneswaran (EPRLF), Anthony Emanuel Silva (EPRLF), Adaikkalanathan alias Selvam (TELO), Santhirahasan alias Chetty (TELO), Gnanapragasam (ENDLF), Jamalinin (ENDLF).

E D F : Santhirasegari, Kailasapillai, Ira Subramaniam, Janab Ayoob, Vignarajah, Alfred, Thurairatnam, Eesan.

S L M C : Janab M Aboobucker, S N A Cader, M Razeek, S Muhammed Rasa, K P D Raheem, M I H Mohideen, A Christopher, A Sellathurai.

S L F P : M Nadarasa, M A Abdul Cassim Marikar, F George, V Jayatilleke, A Sithamparanathan, E Ravindraraj, K Viyayaratnam, S P Wijetunge.

AMPARAI DISTRICT

T U L F : Kovan Kandiah (TULF), S Kathirgamathamby (TULF), D Gopalaratnam (EPRLF), V Murugavel (EPRLF), M Selvaratnam (EPRLF), A Thivyanathan (TELO), S Sriskandarajah (TELO), K Radhakrishnan (ENDLF), S Maheswararajah (ENDLF).

E D F : Rasaratnam Sri Rajarajendra

S L F P : S S Mustafa, Kapila Ratnayake, M C Ahamed, Dr M A Jalaldeen, A L Muhaideen Baaba, M A Atham Lebbai, S M Veerasinghe, P V K Thevara Perumal, Nanda Jayawardena, Inthira Vasantha.

TAMIL GREATS

ARUMUGA NAVALAR

By M K Eelaventhan

EELAM'S CONTRIBUTION TO TAMIL

From time immemorial Tamil Nadu and Tamil Eelam have contributed their share to the enrichment of Tamil language, culture and the Tamilian way of life. Eelaththu Poothan Thevanaar, Eelaththu Naganar from the Sangam age and other eminent poets, writers and intellectuals like Nallur Arasa-Kesarai, Sababathy Navalar, Sankara Pandithar, Puloly Kathiravetpillai, C V Thamothersampillai, Chunnakam Kumarasamy Pulavar, Navaliyoor Somasundara Pulavar, Nallur Gnanaprasagar, Vipulananda Adigal of Batticaloa, Kanagasundaram of Trincomalee, Pandithamani Kanapathipillai and Father Thaninayagam have in their own way enriched the Tamil language and literature. It can be safely said that Tamil Eelam has contributed substantially towards the promotion of Tamil language, literature, architecture, science, technology and cultural growth of Tamils.

NAVALAR AWAKENED THE TAMIL CONSCIOUSNESS

The early part of the 19th century was a dark period for the Eelam Tamils. Under alien British rule, there was the danger of the Tamils losing their language, culture, their way of life and their religious beliefs. During this crucial period, Arumuga Navalar, the champion of Saivism (Hinduism) and the pioneer of Tamil prose appeared on the scene. The Christian missionaries were converting the Tamils to Christianity by providing education, employment and concessions. There was a real danger of the preponderant majority of the Tamils succumbing to these inducements and attractions, and eventually, losing their Tamil and Saiva identity. It was left to Arumuga Navalar to awaken the consciousness of the Tamils and to make them aware of this drift.

NAVALAR'S TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

In this context it must be emphasised that though Arumuga Navalar fought against the conversion of the Tamils to Christianity, he was not a religious fanatic. He was a good friend of Rev Percival who was a Wesleyan missionary teacher at Jaffna Central College. When Rev Percival requested Navalar to translate the Bible into Tamil, Navalar happily undertook the task. Even



the Tamil scholars of Madras of the 19th century acclaimed his effort as the best translation. This aspect of his life revealed not only his command of English and Tamil but also proclaimed to the world his broad thinking and religious tolerance.

BIRTH AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Arumuga Navalar was born in Nallur, the once glorious capital of Tamil Eelam, on December 18, 1822, and passed away at the age of 56 on December 5, 1879. His father Kandhar and mother Sivakamy were deeply religious and devout, and Navalar imbibed those qualities. Even as a teenager he mastered Tamil, Sanskrit and English, and made an indepth study of Tamil grammar, language, literature and religious works. It is on record that at the very young age of nine he completed a drama script begun by his father who passed away without completing it. Scholars who had gone through this work were full of praise for the originality he showed as a playwright.

EMINENT WRITER AND SILVER-TONGUED ORATOR

Arumuga Navalar was a prolific writer and a 'silver-tongued' orator. He was a pioneer in the field of prose-writing. In the 19th century the Tamil prose style was in its infancy. Navalar appeared on the Tamil literary firmament and brought out prose works which are cherished by Tamil scholars as outstanding achievements. Parithima Kalaingar later described Navalar as "Vasana Nadai Kaivantha Vallaalar" (the best exponent of Tamil prose).

HIGH MORAL RECTITUDE

Today the writings and pronouncements of public men have little or nothing to do with their private life. But the life of Arumuga Navalar was in total conformity with everything he said and wrote. He maintained a

high moral standard in both private and public life. Even his opponents respected him.

THIRU VI.KA'S TRIBUTE TO NAVALAR

In his short life covering 57 years he published around 75 books. They covered his original writings and his commentaries on ancient classics. C V Thamothersampillai and later U V Swaminatha Iyer followed the footsteps of Navalar in this field of publishing ancient classics. One eminent Tamil scholar Thiru Vi.Ka said, "In the field of editing and publishing old manuscripts Navalar laid the foundation, C V Thamothersampillai built the walls and U V Swaminatha Iyer beautifully roofed it."

PERFECTION IN PRINTING

Printing was in its embryonic stage in the early 19th century. During this difficult period Navalar brought out quality printing to the praise of his readers. This shows clearly his desire for perfection in all his ventures.

PHILANTHROPHIST AT HEART

He was a philanthropist at heart. In a moving letter to his elder brother he quotes Mark Antony, "I have lost everything except what I have given away." He passed on all he received towards his passionate objectives of education, publication and propaganda for the revival of the lost heritage of the Tamils.

CHAMPION OF HINDUISM

Tamil language and Saiva ideals were very dear to his heart. Throughout his career he championed the cause of Hinduism. Sir Muthucumarasamy said of Navalar: "He is the Hindu of Hindus. He is one of those orientalist who can measure swords with even such a giant as my honourable friend the Queen's Advocate Hon.Mr.R Cayley in any argument. He has a following which cannot be despised." Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan said "We have lost the champion reformer of Hindus" at the demise of Navalar in 1879.

POSTERITY WILL REMEMBER HIM

109 years have rolled by after the passing away of Arumuga Navalar, but his memory is still cherished by all the Tamils throughout the world and especially by the Eelam Tamils. The Tamils are eternally indebted to Navalar, and posterity will remember him with gratitude.

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

OBITUARY

RAJASURIYAR CHELLAPPAH - (born 1918, died 1988)

Rajasuriyar graduated from the Ceylon University College in 1942, taught at Jaffna Hindu College for two years (1943-1945) and joined the Bank of Ceylon in 1945. He was the first Ceylonese Branch Manager at its London office. On retirement from the Bank in 1970, he accepted an assignment as World Bank Consultant & General Manager of the Liberian Bank for Industrial Development & Investment. In 1983 he was appointed Consultant to Bank of Indonesia in Bali, and three years later he returned to Africa as Consultant & Director of the National Investment Bank in Accra (Ghana). A heart attack in September 1987 forced him to retire from banking and to bid goodbye to West Africa where he had served with distinction and acceptance for almost 15 years.

Rajasuriyar died in Sydney on 1st November. He leaves behind his wife Annalakshmi (daughter of the late Mudaliyar S.Chellappah & Mrs Chellappah), and children Chelvy Sri Ranganathan (Ireland), Nimal (Canada), Shanthi Arudpragasam (Australia) and Dr Naren Chellappah (Singapore).

20 Kanangra Place, Cherry Brook, NSW.2120.

ROBERTE J A SETUKAVALAR - (Born 22 July 1912; died 27 December 1988)

Robert Setukavalar took to teaching when other avenues of employment were open to him. He obtained a First Class in the London B A with Mathematics and Latin as his subjects. After teaching in Batticaloa for several years, first at Batticaloa Central College and then at the Govt. College, he was appointed Lecturer in Mathematics at the Govt. Training College, Palaly. On his retirement from Palaly he taught at St.John's College for 10 years.

Mr Setukavalar was a prominent Methodist lay-preacher and a Vice-President of the Sri Lanka Methodist Conference. Mr Setukavalar married Selvaranee Pullenayagam, daughter of the veteran Colombo lawyer, B O Pullenayagam: she died in 1982. He leaves behind four daughters Rajini Somanader, Selvini Devendra (UK), Vinodini Somanader and Premini, and three sons, Rabindran (Aus.),

Jayendran (Oman) and Suhendran (Aus.).
43 Central Road, Batticaloa.

Mr G N EDWARD, B Sc (Iond) (born 4 Oct 1914 died 25 Dec 1988) Son of S A Edward, revered Jaffna Central College schoolmaster, later Kilner College Headmaster and author of Arithmetic text-books, George followed in his father's footsteps teaching at Jaffna Central College from the mid-30s. Chemistry was his forte. Later he was appointed lecturer, Govt. Training College, Maharagama, and in 1957, transferred to Palaly Training College where he ended his distinguished career as Principal. He is survived by his wife Ponmalar (nee Beadle) and daughters Shanti Aruliah and Vasanti Richards.

17 Swartz Lane, Chundikuli, Jaffna.

AMBALAVANAR SAMBANDAN, LL.B Hons (Lond) - (born 8 Jan 1906, died 18 Dec 1988)

Sambandan had a wide civil and criminal legal practice in Jaffna and Colombo. His services were also retained in several of the outstation courts where he was renowned for his forensic skills and judicial temperament.

He was married to the late Saraswathy Veeravahu and he leaves behind five daughters - Dr Nimala Pasupati (Oman), Saradha Satgungasingham, Padma Nadaraser, Urmila and Usha, and sons Padmanabha (Malaysia) and Dr Sidha Sambandan (UK). His funeral took place in Jaffna.

7 Hardwick Close, Eaton, Norwich NR4 6JQ



PIRAVEEN YOGENDRAN, born 30 May 1982. The death occurred on 21 December, 1988, under very tragic circumstances, while on holiday in

Malaysia with his parents Mr & Mrs T S Yogendran (Yoges & Thana) and sister Mathurini, of a charming and most entertaining youngster. Piraveen was known for his great capacity to imitate TV personalities and film stars and in singing Tamil film hits specially from Gangai Amaran's programmes. His life has been cut off at a very tender age but his memory will endure.

38, Warren Drive North, Berry Lands, Surrey KT5 9QL.

PERSONAL

Miss Dharshini JESUDASON, elder daughter of Mr & Mrs K T Jesudason, has been awarded a five-year Research Grant by Stanford University, California. After a brilliant career at Ashford Girls' School, Kent, she proceeded to Jesus College, Oxford, where she obtained a First Class in Chemistry. Mr Thavam Jesudason taught Chemistry at Wesley College, Colombo, till he left for Jos in Nigeria 25 years ago. Mrs Chandra Jesudason (nee Nalliah) was a teacher at Vembadi Girls' School before her marriage.

Tilak RATNANATHER, 24-year-old son of Percy & Narishta Ratnanather of Woodford Green, Essex, was recently selected as one of Britain's Young Deaf Achievers, 1988. The award, presented by the Princess of Wales, was not only for his academic success but also in recognition of his contribution to college life.

Tilak is the first deaf student to take a mathematics degree at University College, London. He is currently doing research at Jesus College, Oxford, into computational fluid dynamics which may help others with impaired hearing. He also hopes that work on his international electronic mail systems could also give deaf people a better chance to communicate more easily.

MATRIMONIAL SERVICE

Jaffna Tamil Hindu Parents seek Bridegroom for doctor daughter MBBS, 34 years, employed in London. Permanent UK resident. Please send horoscope and details - Box MS 6, c/o TVI.

INCIDENTS IN THE NORTH AND EAST - first fortnight of December 88

Sithankerny, Chulipuram, Pandatarippu and Chankanai: The IPKF clamped down curfew and conducted searches from the early hours. All males, irrespective of age, were removed for questioning. While most of them were released some were further detained. Office workers could not report for work. Schools were closed disrupting year-end examinations scheduled for the day.

Valanthalai in Karainagar: S.Pathmanathan, a state employee, was shot dead by the IPKF as a curfew violator.

Nelliady: Theesan, local LTTE leader, and Sundaresan were shot dead by the IPKF in a confrontation.

Kunchukulam: Near Madhu Church, 3 members of PLOTE were shot dead by the IPKF.

Navatkuli: Arul of LTTE was shot dead by the IPKF.

Punnalaikkadduvan: IPKF opened fire at persons attending a funeral. Vairamuthu Sinnachchi, a woman aged 45, was killed.

Vavunikkulam: 13 LTTE men and 8 IPKF men were killed in an encounter. 6 were arrested as LTTE suspects. IPKF fired shells on surrounding areas.

Point Pedro: Sivaguru Ashok, aged 19, was shot dead by the IPKF and S Sivaganesan was injured by bullets.

Madhu Church: A catholic priest was arrested by the IPKF as a LTTE sympathiser.

Kodikamam: An LTTE activist was shot dead by the IPKF.

Trincomalee: A soldier of the IPKF was injured when LTTE attacked them. A woman was killed in the counter attack.

Thirunelveli, Jaffna: Subramaniam Balachandran alias Mathy of the LTTE was killed by the IPKF in a confrontation.

Trincomalee: Consequent to an argument, police opened fire on a group of Tamil youths and B Premachandran was killed. Two youths who were in the funeral procession of Premachandran were dragged into the Sri Lankan army camp at Sebedagama by servicemen. Following this some youths took refuge in the IPKF camp situated opposite the Sri Lan-

kan camp. This resulted in a clash between the Sri Lankan and Indian servicemen. One Indian soldier was killed and 3 Sri Lankan service men were injured. The EPRLF in a statement claimed that 12 persons including members of the EPRLF, ENDLF, TELO, civilians and an Indian serviceman were killed. Indian and the Sri Lankan military authorities accused each other of involvement.

EMERGENCY IN NORTH-EAST

The Indian High Commissioner, Mr J N Dixit, is reported to have told the Press that the lifting of the emergency will not affect the operations of the IPKF as they are in Sri Lanka on a bilateral agreement.

TAMIL GOVERNMENT AGENT REPLACED

Lankanesan, the Tamil Government Agent of Vavuniya, has been replaced by Brigadier Ranjan de Silva who is already holding the post of Coordinating Officer, Vavuniya.

EELAM NEWS

ENDLF ABDUCTS MUSLIM BUSINESSMAN

Mr Fouz, a wealthy Muslim businessman, was abducted in Colombo by four members of the ENDLF over a ransom demand. Fouz was taken to Trincomalee and from there by fast boat to Cape Comarin in South India. The boat has been impounded by Tamil Nadu police.

NAVY OFFICER KILLED AT SEA

Navy officer S D S Ajantha and three members of the LTTE were killed off the coast of Karainagar in a mid-sea battle on December 27, according to Sri Lankan Naval sources. Indian and Sri Lankan patrol craft continue to check LTTE movements.

IPKF, 1 DEAD TO 3 INJURED

The dead-to-injured ratio among the IPKF has been nearly twice the ratio in other wars that Indian soldiers have fought, Air Marshal A S Chahal, Director General of Medical Services (Air Force), is reported to have said. The ratio in Sri Lanka has been one dead to three injured.



TIMBER DEPOT ON FIRE

The Sri Lanka Timber Corporation depot at Padaviya in Vavuniya is reported to have been set on fire and destroyed by an armed gang, after threats on its employees. The loss is estimated to be over Rs.500,000.

EPRLF ATTACKS CIVILIANS

As a sequel to the kidnapping and killing of two of their members in the Eastern province, EPRLF members have attacked innocent civilians in the area. Several civilians were seriously injured and extensive damage was caused to their houses and shops.

AMIR IN BATTICALOA

The TULF leader, Amirthalingam, is leading the campaign in Batticaloa, and Sivasithamparam in Jaffna. Sivasithamparam is said to have initially refused to be a candidate in the General Elections for the reason that TELO has not given a satisfactory explanation for the murder of ex-TULF M.Ps Dharmalingam and Alalasundaram.

PREMADASA TO TALK TO LTTE

President Premadasa is reported to have reiterated his willingness to have talks with the LTTE in connection with the problems of the Tamils.

LTTE NO THREAT TO PEACE

Varatharajah Perumal, C M of the North-East PC, stated at a press meeting in Colombo, that the LTTE is no longer a threat to peace and the democratic system of the country and that the democratic forces must now pave the way for the LTTE to enter the political main stream without loss of face or loss of life.

SRI LANKAN NEWS

"DIRE CONSEQUENCES"

- Dixit

Dixit to foreign correspondents: "Both Premadasa and Mrs Bandaranaike were apprised by me of the dire consequences that could follow a unilateral abrogation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord; that a unilateral abrogation would allow the other party to act independently and without any restraint."

BUDDHIST PRIESTS IN DETENTION

Of the 800 Sinhalese detenus held at Boosa, 24 are said to be Buddhist priests according to a Colombo news report.

NO MORE SINHALA ONLY

Sinhala and Tamil have been declared official languages of Sri Lanka, with English as a link language, by an amendment to the Constitution effected recently.

LANDS OF FARMERS GRABBED

According to an article in 'The Island' of Dec.11, "In the Uva Province, the problem of peasant landlessness has been compounded by the presence of multi-national Sugar Plantation companies that have grabbed the lands of the farmers and enslaved them. The most recent indicator of the present climate of violence in the Uva region was the massacre of three Indian civilians in the Moneragala area working for one of these companies."

S P CHARGED FOR MURDER

Police Superintendent K Dharmadasa and two other police officers have been indicted in the High Court of Colombo under two counts of conspiracy to murder and the murder of Attorney-at-Law Liyanarachchi whom they arrested on September 25, 1988.

EMERGENCY OUT AFTER 66 MONTHS

The five-and-a-half year emergency has, at last, been lifted with effect from Jan.12, 1989. Emergency was first declared in 1982 to pre-empt post election violence. With the lifting of the emergency, the normal law comes into operation, under which a person taken into custody should be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours.

But in the North and East, lifting of the

emergency is a non-event to the Tamils because the IPKF has its own ways and laws and Sri Lankan laws could apply only to fill any gap in the laws, says a news report published in Madras.

DETENUS RELEASED

575 detenus held in camps at Boosa and Colombo who were arrested for subversive activities, were released recently. All of them are from districts in the South of Sri Lanka and none from the North or East.

VEHICLES SMASHED

According to sources in Batticaloa 10 SLFP vehicles were smashed when UNP and SLFP supporters recently clashed in Akkaraipattu in Eastern Province. About 30 UNP supporters armed with clubs, swords and knives stormed into the houses of the SLFP supporters and smashed up the vehicles.

CHANDRIKA BOWS OUT OF POLITICS

It is reported that Mrs Chandrika Kumaranatunge, the President of the SLMP, is to bow out of politics, at least temporarily. The vice-President, Mr Ossie Abeygunasekera, said that she is out of the Island and will not be available for the election campaign.

SLFP DROPS SECTION 29 AGAIN

In its manifesto for the forthcoming general elections, the SLFP has once again dropped Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution which gave equal status for all religions. Instead, Buddhism has been given a prominent place in their new manifesto.

SLFP sources said that the provision on units of devolution as presented in the DPA programme - a Tamil unit in the North and East and a Muslim Unit in the Muslim villages of the East - would now be dropped. The SLFP will also not support the merger, nor the Provincial Council system of decentralised government.

NSSP MEMBER SHOT DEAD

A prominent member of the Nava Sama Samaja Party in Jaffna, Mr A Anthony Pillai, is said to have been shot dead by unknown persons.

CANDIDATES KILLED

At Hambantota, Mr M K Gunasena, brother of Mr Sirisena, a UNP Provincial Council member, is reported to

have been killed. Four members of the SLFP including two candidates for the General Elections are said to have been shot dead. It is learnt that altogether 9 SLFP candidates for the General Elections have been killed since the date of nomination.

It is reported that an SLFP candidate of Hambantota, Mr Mervyn de Silva, was seriously injured and four of his supporters, including his brother, were killed when a gang of men attacked his house at Tissamaharama.

PRESIDENT TO CHIEF MINISTERS

At a conference of Chief Ministers of the Provincial councils and Government Agents, President Premadasa is reported to have spelt out his programmes for poverty alleviation, the provision of free mid-day meals for school children, and for streamlining the Police force. The smallest Police Division, he said, would consist of not less than 100 officers and will be recruited from within the local area and trained there before being sent out.

He is also said to have stressed the importance of the use of Sinhala and the Tamil languages in helping to bring about peace and harmony, and of devising a plan to encourage people to become proficient in both languages.

5 CHARGED FOR ATTEMPTED MURDER

It is reported that 5 persons accused of the attempted murder of former Sri Lankan President, Mr J R Jayewardene, have now been indicted in the High Court of Colombo.

IPKF KILLS SINHALESE

According to the Sinhala Bala Mandalaya, two Sinhalese have been killed and 11 others injured at Akkaraipattu (in the Eastern Province) believed to be by the IPKF.

SIRIMAO FILES PETITION

In her election petition filed on January 9 in the Supreme Court challenging the election of Mr Premadasa as President of Sri Lanka, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has alleged that the election was neither free nor fair, that electoral laws had been flouted and that voters had been intimidated with death threats from the extremist Sinhalese People's Liberation Front, the JVP.

FROM THE IPKF TORTURE CAMPS

(We publish an edited version of an account by a detainee, a member of the LTTE and an affidavit signed by another detainee released by the IPKF)

The army camp at Kankasanturai (KKS) is comparable to the one at Boosa. Those who were arrested in Jaffna as suspected Tigers are kept at this camp. Up to now in this camp alone there are more than 1,400 captives. Though a few have been released yet many of them spend their lives not knowing what is in store for them. Among them, only less than 75 are Tigers and their sympathisers. The rest of them are innocent civilians. Apart from these, many others who have been arrested and confined for no rhyme or reason are suffering in local camps at various places. The camp at Maruthanamadam is likened to the Colombo 4th Floor in so far as the torture tactics are concerned. Between October 1987 and February 1988, more than ten innocent Tamils have been mercilessly and brutally beaten up and killed. How many more have met their fate thereafter in the same fashion is known only to the IPKF. Many Tamil lives have been lost even at the Navatuli camp. Many more civilians have been tortured inhumanly at the KKS camp after having been taken there for 'questioning'. Beating while the person is kept upside down, giving electric shock treatment are some of the methods of torture practised at the KKS camp. **Many Tamil captives including Param, Mandales, Anpu and Mansoor have been dragged along thorny bushes and stony roads having been tethered to the buffer of trucks or jeeps.** The army had beaten up Jay Jayanthan and Kumar who had requested that their beds be debugged. The rule in the camps is that the inmates should greet the Indian soldiers when they step into the camp. In particular they should greet them 'Good Morning, Happy'. At present there are 109 captives in the "A" block. The thrashing given by the soldiers is so inhumanly brutal that many including Thayalan have become 'mental cases' and are receiving treatment at Kankasanturai hospital. Peter and Bala-

sundaram were given a terrible punishment; they were buried up to their shoulder under the ground and the army trucks were run over their shoulders. One Mr. Sothinathan aged 55 years was arrested on suspicion that he is an LTTE supporter and beaten to pulp. **Major Nayar, Major Sharma, Captain Rajan, Govindan and Sukumar of the KKS camp are notorious for their cruelty.** Their promotional prospects are enhanced by the degree of torture that is administered by these army officers. It has been found that those officers who had committed the most heinous crimes and atrocious tortures have gained their promotions comparatively quickly.

The food that is served in these camps is not fit even for the consumption of dogs. Invariably the food is full of worms and dead flies. Beating while hanging upside down, passing electric current into the sexual organ and pouring boiling oil, mixed with chillie powder, into the anus are common in these camps.

The officer-in-charge of the Thaalayadi camp is a sex-maniac. He resorts to the ruse of arresting boys of the area who have beautiful sisters with a view to forcing the latter into the army camp so that he may have his amorous ways with them.

In spite of all these happenings the people are with us. They support us to the very hilt. The fact is that our national struggle cannot be contained or curtailed by any force. This is the historical truth.

SWORN AFFIDAVIT

(Name and address withheld.)

I am a bachelor and am living with my parents at the above address. On 14.4.1988 some Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) men came to my house and arrested me at about 8.00 a.m. I was sick and lying in bed at the time they arrested me. They did not give me any reason for the arrest. I was

taken to the IPKF Camp at Chavakachcheri and interrogated. I admitted that my two brothers were in the LTTE militant group but that they had not come home since January 1988. They made me lie down and beat me with batons for half an hour. That night at about 7.00 my hands were tied behind my back. I was made to squat and my hands secured to an iron rod planted on the ground. I was beaten by three soldiers; two of them used motor cycle chains while the third wielded a wire to beat me. I was beaten for nearly 45 minutes while being interrogated for information about the movements of LTTE members. I was bleeding from injuries caused by the beatings. After the beating and interrogation session was over I was taken to a different part of the camp after my eyes were blind folded. The whole of the night of 14.4.88 I was kept somewhere with my hands still tied behind my back. I could not sleep the whole night due to the pain from my wounds and the state in which my hands were bound.

On 18.4.88 I was given some medicine to be applied to the lacerations on my back and on my left side caused by the beating with chains and wires. On 28.4.88 I was released after my parents and Citizens Committee members had intervened on my behalf. My mother sent a written appeal dated 14.4.88 to the IPKF Commander of Chavakachcheri appealing for my release.

After I was released I was taken to a private medical practitioner who examined me and issued a medical report. I still bear the scar on my wrists as a result of my hands being bound with ropes. The scars of the lacerations on my back and left side as a result of the beatings by the IPKF are yet visible. I do not feel fit to carry on my trade as a mason consequent to the torture inflicted on me by the IPKF.

தாயை மீட்கும் இளைஞரின் ஒற்றுமை முழக்கம்

எழுதியது : பேராசிரியர் கோபன் மகாதேவா

அலங்கோலப்பட்ட அன்னை புலம்பல்

“கண்திறப்பீர்! என்மக்காள், நீவிர் எல்லோரும்; ஒத்துழைத்து
கண்ணருவிக் கம்பலையும் காட்சியுமாய்த் தவித்திடும் என்
பிணிப்பொடுகும் சிக்கும், பேன், சொறிவும் உடன் போக்கி
மணிமகுடம், மலர் சூட்டி அரியணையில் ஏற்றிடுவீர்”

மூத்த மகன் தம்பி தங்கையருக்கு முழங்கல்

“ஒற்றுமை வேண்டும், ஒற்றுமை வேண்டும் - எம்முள்
ஒற்றுமை வேண்டும் தம்பி;
கற்றதை மறந்து, கற்றதை மறந்து - நாங்கள்
கற்றதை மறந்து விட்டோம்.

பறி கொடுத்தோம் தம்பி, பறி கொடுத்தோம் தங்காய் - எங்கள்
உரிமைகள் பறி கொடுத்தோம்.
மறியல் போட்டு, மறியலில்போட்டு - எம்மை
அடக்கி ஒடுக்கி விட்டார்.

கையை மடக்கினார், காலைக் கட்டினார் - எங்கள்
வாயை அடைத்தார் தம்பி,
தாயைப் பிடித்துத் தலையில் அடித்தார் - அதைத்
தாங்கிக் கொண்டு இருப்பீரோ?

பறிபட்ட சுதந்திரம், பறிபோன உரிமைகள் - நாங்கள்
வென்றிட வேண்டும் தம்பி - இன
வெறியர்கள் பிடித்து வடிவழித்த தாயை - நாங்கள்
வாழ்விக்க வேண்டும் தங்காய்!”

இளைய மக்கள் எல்லோரும் சபதம்

“ஒற்றுமை வேண்டும், ஒற்றுமை வேண்டும் வேண்டும் - எம்முள்
ஒற்றுமை வேண்டுமடா!
ஒற்றுமை வேண்டும், ஒற்றுமை வேண்டும் - எம்முள்
ஒற்றுமை வேண்டுமடி!!
வடிவழிந்த எங்கள் அன்னையை வாழ்விக்க - எம்முள்
ஒற்றுமை வேண்டுமடா!!!
பறி கொடுத்த எங்கள் உரிமைகளைப் பெற - எம்முள்
ஒற்றுமை வேண்டுமடா!!!!”

LATE NEWS

INDIAN SOLDIERS ATTACK VVT

Six members of the IPKF were killed in an encounter with the LTTE in Valvettiturai on January 19 while they were on a search and destroy operation.

In retaliation, large number of IPKF soldiers arrived on the scene and unleashed indiscriminate attacks on the civilian population in a three mile coastal area around Valvettiturai.

SECURITY FOR MUSLIMS

The leader of the SLMC, Mr Ahroff, has, in a recent statement, stated that about 3750 Muslims would be recruited for security duty in the Muslim villages in the Eastern Province.

RONNIE DE MEL - COMMISSION TO INQUIRE

It is reported that the outgoing Cabinet of Ministers of Mr Jayewardene have, at their last meeting on Dec.28, 1988, decided to set up a Commission of Inquiry to inquire and report into the serious allegations of bribery and corruption, against former Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel, his family members and any company or institution in which they had financial interests.

OVER 10,000 KILLED

President Premadasa has said, that over 10,000 Sri Lankans have been killed in the violence that has been going on in Sri Lanka since 1983. There have been 1491 political killings in Sri Lanka during the four months from September 1988. Not less than 490 cases of fundamental rights violation are said to be pending in the Courts of Appeal of Sri Lanka in respect of persons arrested and detained by the Police, the Army and the Navy.

INTERIM CABINET

President Premadasa is reported to have formed an interim Cabinet of Ministers, adding the Defence and Finance portfolios to his 10 other portfolios including that of Prime Minister which he continues to hold, till the outcome of the General Elections. This interim Cabinet included Messrs S Thondaman, A C S Hameed, Gamini Dissanayake, Lalith Athulathmudali and K W Devanayagam.

TAMIL NADU ELECTIONS

All but two of the AIADMK ministers who were in the MGR cabinet have been defeated in the elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly held on January 21. Mr S Thirunavukkarasu and Mr K S S R Ramachandran now part of the Jayalalitha faction won their seats. Two ministers who were in MGR's first government but subsequently crossed over to the DMK have been returned on the DMK ticket. They are Mr Nanjil K Manoharan and Mrs Subbulakshmi Jagedeesan. Prominent among the losers are Mr V R Nedunchezian and Mr C Aranganayagam who fought as Indepen-

dents, Messrs R M Veerappan, K Rajaram, P U Shanmugam, S Muthusamy and V V Swaminathan (Janaki faction) and Mr S D Somsundaram and Dr H V Hande (Jayalalitha faction).

Some of the former ministers did not contest the elections this time. They include Mr S Ramachandran who now heads a third AIADMK faction, Mr R Soundararajan, Mr C Ponnaiyan, and Ms Gomathi Srinivasan. With the DMK sweeping the polls most of the former DMK ministers have been elected and may look for places in the new cabinet. Mr Karunanidhi was sworn in as Chief Minister on January 26.

	SEATS CONTESTED	SEATS WON	DEPOSIT LOST
DMK	202	151	0
AIADMK (Jayalalitha)	201	27	33
Congress I	215	26	55
AIADMK(Janaki)	177	1	141
CPI (M)	20	15	0
CPI	13	3	5
JANATA DAL	10	4	1
Independents	2080	* 5	2040
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* Independents include Janata-Vijayaragavan 2 and ICP 1.

PARTY POSITIONS

DMK FRONT (DMK: 151, CPI (M): 15, JANATA DAL: 4)	170
AIADMK (Jayalalitha) FRONT (IDMK: 27, JANATA:2, CPI: 3)	32
CONGRESS (I) FRONT (CONGRESS (I): 26, ICP: 1)	27
AIADMK (Janaki) FRONT -AIADMK (Janaki)	1
INDEPENDENTS	2
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LOOTED GOODS ON SALE

More than 10 soldiers of the IPKF, including Lt. Rossy Joseph, who with their families are occupying rooms Nos 83, 87 and 89 of the old MLA Hostel in Madras, have been travelling to Sri Lanka every week and bringing with them valuable articles which generally are sold in the 'Burma Bazaar', Madras. The trading transactions take place in room No.87 between 3 pm and 9 pm

on two days of the week, the articles being bought by the traders of the above bazaar.

Vehicles with the following registration numbers are among those used in the 'smuggling': Jeep Nos. 281 187B 42410 H, 1602 87B 44154 N, 1602 85B 29119 W, and 87B 43522 W. (K Paskaran writing in 'Neyar Vimarasanam')