

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

Vol. 2 No. 3

15th February, 1989

THE LAST WILL OF THANTHAI CHELVA



"We started the federal movement at one time to obtain the lost rights of the Tamil-speaking people and now we have found that through federalism we cannot achieve our objective. In view of this experience we have come to the conclusion that we must separate, and if we do not do that the Tamil-speaking people will never be able to get back their lost rights.

Our ancient people were wise. They had their own kingdom. In the history of Ceylon we had a place. We are not asking for a division of the country by our movement but we are only trying to regain what we have lost.

Our party is today moving with the idea of establishing a separate state. It is not an easy matter to get a separate state. It is a difficult matter. We know that it is difficult. But either we get out of the power of the Sinhalese masses or we perish. That is certain. Therefore, we will try and get this separation.

We have abandoned the demand for a federal constitution. Our movement will be all non-violent."

From HANSARD, Vol.20 No.10, page 1963, 19 November 1976

YOUR VOICE

USE SIMPLE ENGLISH AND MORE TAMIL

S Krishnar, Florida, USA

Since 1983 many Tamils have migrated to all parts of the world. In some countries where the persecuted and dispossessed have migrated, the national language is not English. These migrants, on average 30 years old, don't have a sound education in English because they received their education in Sri Lanka in Tamil. Hence, what is the point in publishing articles in high-flown English for Tamil youths unfamiliar with the language?

I appreciate and applaud the decision taken by the publishers of TVI very recently to allocate one page for Tamil so that many Sri Lankan Tamils can at least read that page but I think that one page is not sufficient. As you mentioned in your issue of January 1, not only Sri Lankans living in the Scandinavian countries of Europe but also in France, West Germany, Holland, Switzerland and the French-speaking territory of Quebec in Canada are not well-versed in the English language.

I fervently urge you to publish news and articles like Tamil proverbs for which we will be ever grateful.

EXPATRIATE TAMILS, WHERE ARE YOU ?

N S Kumar, Wembley, UK

The London-based Tamils and expatriate Tamils elsewhere, the erstwhile supporters of the Tamil Eelam struggle, why are you now in hiding? When are you going to surface again?

Who fought the Sri Lankan armies when they came in their thousands into the Tamil territories? Who guarded the civilians against the brutal attacks of the Sinhalese army? Which militant group safeguarded the Tamils when the Sri Lankan soldiers killed innocent people at random and raped Tamil women? Who forced the army personnel back into their barracks under threat of being killed if they popped their heads out? Why were the powerful Sri Lankan army, navy and air force unable to contain and defeat the 'boys' and capture our homeland? Who protected the Tamils during the dark hours?

Where are they now? Are they extinct? If they are still alive and kicking, have they a place in our society now? Are you just waiting to reap where you have not sown?

Expatriate Tamils ! We beseech you. Search your innermost heart and let your conscience speak !

KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK, TVI !

Siva Muthu, Croydon, UK

Like the TIGER leader Velupillai Prabhakaran, the TVI is showing great determination, strong commitment and sincerity. It is one year since this paper was started and against all odds TVI has grown from strength to strength. These are qualities which make me feel proud to be a Tamil. So, on behalf of all Tamils, I would like to appeal to

the editor and the publishers of this valuable bimonthly, please keep up the good work. We need a paper like this to keep our spirits high and to give us the strength to fight the international media which is virtually unanimous in its stand against the Tamils. This paper enables one to express one's views and also to counter many false facts and propaganda.

FROM HIDING, INTO THE OPEN !

G. Gnanachandran, Colombo

The TULF crowd has now re-appeared on the scene. During the time of our tribulation they were comfortably installed in 5-star hotels in India, 'negotiating' all the while, when the young fighters were dying in Sri Lanka. What were the other militant groups doing when the LTTE, single-handed, kept the Sri Lankan army at bay? Did they oppose the sly tactics of the Indian Government? Did they protest at the atrocities committed by the IPKF, when Tamil women were raped, and when ordinary citizens were mowed down like dogs on the road and in their homes? Did they raise any objection to the state-sponsored colonisation of traditional Tamil areas by the Sinhalese, even after the signing of the Accord? Did they protest, at the time when discussions were taking place for the setting-up of the Interim Administrative Council in Sept. 1987, over preparations to install Sinhalese police personnel in Tamil areas? Were they satisfied with the provisions for the 'devolution of powers' to the Provincial Council?

The very people who inspired the Tamil youth into militancy, and who instigated them to take up arms, are now content to surreptitiously usurp power under the military 'umbrella' of the IPKF? Will the IPKF be there permanently to safeguard the Tamils against any future attacks, oppression and atrocities after the unfortunate Tamils have been forced into a weaker position than ten years ago?

VIRAJ MENDIS AND THE TAMIL CAUSE

T Visvalingam, Croydon, UK

I don't know if Viraj is a hoax or not. I am not even prepared to debate Douglas Hurd's decision nor am I going to dispute Viraj's assertion that the British system is hypocritical. In fact, the Editor of Sunday Times, Mr Neil, said recently that hypocrisy is built into the British system.

What I would like to say is that for many years we have been trying to tell the world about a corrupt and evil regime in Sri Lanka but not very effectively: Viraj has succeeded in one short spell. He was headline news for days. If only there are more Sinhalese like him who have the courage to stand up to the system then we may see some light at the end of the tunnel. If not, as Dr Brian Senewiratne said, the agony of the Tamils will end in the destruction of the Sinhalese.

EDITORIAL

DEAR MR AMIRTHALINGAM

You have been in the Tamil National Movement for some 40 years. You participated in the birth of the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi (1949), the Tamil United Front (1974) and the Tamil United Liberation Front (1976). You were party to the decision first to seek a federal solution to our problems, and then you and all the Tamil political parties in their collective wisdom sought and obtained a mandate for Tamil Eelam. From 1956 to 1983, you have been party to abortive negotiations with Sinhala leaders. You have witnessed at least two pacts between prime ministers and the late Mr SJV Chelvanayakam reneged on as a result of Sinhala chauvinist pressure. In the midst of all this, you have campaigned in seven general elections and the referendum of 1982.

We ask you some straightfoward questions: Can the Sinhala leadership which deceived you in your long career ever be depended upon to honour any promises they will now make to you? Can your presence in Parliament stave off the ever-growing Sinhala colonisation of our Tamil homelands? Do you think you can correct the gross discrimination against would-be Tamil entrants to the universities and the public services?

If your answer is that you will try, we can only caution you that judging from past experience, you are only chasing a chimera of your imagination. If on the other hand, you respond that the presence of India has altered the equation of forces on either side of the cadjan curtain, then we remind you of the cautionary Tamil saying: "Don't lose your husband by placing your trust in the king."

Do you really know what our Tamil brothers and sisters want after your 5-year self-exile? The general election of February 15 will not provide you an answer. You have done the Tamil cause a disservice and added confusion to the Tamil mind. There is a vacuum in Tamil thinking today caused in large part by the presence and excesses of the IPKF. Your involvement in this farcical exercise has only served to legitimise the fraudulent procedures of balloting by trickery.

If you have any hopes on the 13th Amendment, please read Justice Wanasundera's dissenting opinion which lays bare the Sinhalese unwillingness even to grant an iota of what we the Tamils seek. Better still is Professor Lakshman Marasinghe's opinion that the Councils do not provide for any form of autonomy.

This takes us to our last question. Do you have a defined statement for which you are seeking a mandate from the Tamil people in regard to what our just claims are? We the Tamils must define our national interests, concerns, objectives and goals. Agreed conclusions must be arrived at in a representative forum of Tamils from every sector. We need to also remind ourselves that we cannot afford to put all our eggs in the Indian basket. If you can have such a Tamil consensus on our national goals established, you would do our community an enormous good.

Give up, we tell you, the thankless task of participating in an election that has no legitimacy. We are sandwiched between the conflicting national interests of India and the Sinhalese. Do not, we request you, become a collaborator or be the hapless victim of cynical forces in Colombo and in India.

TAMIL VOICE International

எப்பொழுது யார்யார்வாய்க் கெட்டிலும் அப்பொழுது
மெய்ப்பொழுது காண்ப ததிலு.

Volume 2 No 3
15th February 1989

Contents:

Your voice	2
Editorial	3
Interest in the Tamil Eelam cause in Tamil Nadu	4
Fortnightly Forum	5
Thirukkural	6
Ask Rani	7
Reflections on current events ...	8
Sri Lanka: At the cross roads	9
Eelam thoughts	10-11
Throne speech of the Sinhala Governor of Tamil Eelam ...	12-13
Gandhi gets his comeuppance ...	14
People & Events	15
Eelam News	16
Sri Lankan News	17
Tamil Poem	19
LTTE Appeals for UN mediation	20

All correspondence to:

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

Phone (01) 904 0343

Fax (01) 908 2520

Subscriptions: (24 issues)

£15.00 or US \$30 UK, India and Sri Lanka

£25.00 or US \$50 all other countries

Tamil Voice International, published fortnightly by Tamil International Ltd., aims to cater for the information needs of the Tamil community across the world. Subscriptions, donations, contributions in the form of articles, letters to the editor, and news reports that pertain mainly but not exclusively to Tamil-related affairs are welcome.

The views expressed in this journal are not necessarily those of the editor, the editorial board or the directors.

Material sent for publication may be abridged and edited if found necessary.

INTEREST IN THE TAMIL EELAM CAUSE IN TAMIL NADU

by Naadodi

(This article was written prior to the Tamil Nadu elections.)

I was on a private visit to Tamil Nadu recently for five weeks. This was an interesting time as it coincided with the Presidential election in Sri Lanka, the appointment of the nominee of the EPRLF as the Chief Minister of the North-East Province of Sri Lanka, nominations and electioneering for the State Assembly in Tamil Nadu and nominations for the Parliamentary elections in Sri Lanka. I used my stay to talk to ordinary people, businessmen, professionals, social workers, politicians and academics. I had discussions with professors and post-graduate students, and addressed several of their meetings.

The Indian Government is pouring a torrent of false propaganda repeated continuously through government-controlled media. The impression they portray is that the Accord has been welcomed by Eelam Tamils, that now there is peace (which is occasionally disturbed by the LTTE who have been subdued) in Tamil Eelam, that the Tamils now have for the first time their own province created by the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces, their own democratically elected government, their own chief minister and that Tamil is now an official language.

Many have succumbed to the repeated bombardment of such falsehoods. Those who have no time to think about the subject, to read more than the daily newspapers, or to watch television and listen to the radio are convinced that everything is all right. They are asking why Eelam Tamils should not return to their homes. In fact the government has been refusing to extend visas when applications are made for renewal.

I also found that activities such as kidnappings, resort to guns, petty thefts, drug-trafficking (this is the one most frowned upon), arrogant behaviour and general lack of respect for local laws by some of the militant groups which are not as disciplined as the LTTE, have created antagonism and lost support amongst the local people. This is unfortunate, but

what is even worse is that the words 'militants', 'boys' and 'freedom fighters' have in Tamil Nadu become synonymous with the LTTE - just as any acts of violence committed in the Tamil areas are attributed by the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments to the LTTE.

Amongst the opinion creators, Messrs Veeramani and Nedumaran are the most ardent and consistent of our supporters. Others very close to these two in their support are Messrs V Gopalswamy, Aladi Aruna and Kalimuthu. The AIADMK (Janaki) manifesto specifically states that the Accord has not fulfilled the purpose for which it was signed, Prabakaran is the leader of the Tamils, and that the Tamils be given a homeland and a democratically elected government.

The draft of the DMK speech for political broadcasts included a reference to the Tamil Eelam cause and the government requested them to delete it. On their refusal, they were denied time on the Radio and TV. The government thus unwittingly reminded the voters, who missed the DMK speech, about the Tamil Eelam issue.

At the Dravida Kazhagam's annual 'Social Justice' conference held in Thiruchirappalli on 7 & 8 January 1989 and attended by more than 60,000 people, three different calendars with Prabakaran's pictures were sold in large numbers and many youths sported T-shirts with Prabakaran's picture. A painting titled 'Tamil Eezham Martyrs' was unveiled and a speech solely devoted to our trials and tribulations was made. Messrs Veeramani and Nedumaran devoted a substantial portion of their speeches to the Eelam problem, LTTE and Prabakaran. Hon. B P Mandel, a minister of the West Bengal Government, considered Prabakaran, along with Thanthai Periyar and Pasumpon Muthu Ramalinga Thevar, as the three individuals who have done most for the Tamil people. He also compared Prabakaran to Subhas Chandra Bose.

It is usual for DK followers to bring

their babies to be named by Mr Veeramani at a ceremony similar to baptism, except that he chooses the names. Every male child except one was named 'Prabakaran'. The exception was named 'Viduthalai Puli'. Every time LTTE or Prabakaran was mentioned or support for Tamil Eelam, there was tremendous applause. Several resolutions were passed unanimously at the conference. The first one expressed sympathy for those who suffered during the earthquake in Soviet Armenia. The second and third resolutions related to the Tamil Eelam cause.

On the second day a long procession was taken through the streets of Thiruchirappalli. There would have been over 100,000 who either took part or watched the procession. The words on one of the arches erected over the procession route were exclusively devoted to the Tamil Eelam cause, LTTE and Prabakaran. Several of the placards, posters and slogans shouted also supported them.

It is absolutely necessary to counter the false propaganda and to win back the support we once had. We should encourage Messrs Veeramani and Nedumaran in their endeavours and obtain Dr Karunanidhi's support for our righteous cause. We should also back those few Sri Lankan Tamils who have been able to penetrate all strata of society in Tamil Nadu and have been telling them the truth about the situation in Tamil Eelam, so long as they support the LTTE (one such person is Mr M K Eelaventhan who now supports the LTTE unequivocally). Tamil Nadu people have to be made aware that the Provincial Government is a puppet made up of quislings and that the people of Tamil Eelam continue to support the LTTE who are the only group who have consistently defended our rights. It should be realised that in the current situation those who are doing this work cannot openly carry the label of being representatives of the LTTE.

FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

The brutal carnage in Sri Lanka continues unabated. In this respect at least the claim by Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in London that "things are back to normal" as reported in the last Fortnightly Forum is correct. Figures released recently show that in December of last year 1200 were killed, and between January 1 and 26 another 584 were added to the list. Of those killed, ten were candidates at the General Election: six SLFP, one UNP, two USA and Mr Sivagnanam from the Tamil Congress.

THE JAYEWARDENE MEMOIRS

A question that is often asked these days is what is to become of JR? Will he, like his friend Ronald Reagan, retire into the sunset to write his memoirs (undoubtedly by a ghost writer in the case of Mr Reagan) or will he continue to play an active role in politics from behind the scene? The latter seems the most likely scenario given that his 11 years in power is the longest unbroken spell since independence, and he is not likely to relinquish this mastery of power politics easily. According to one Indian commentator, the postponement of parliamentary elections in 1982, amongst other measures, "severely restrained the test of public opinion during the Jayewardene era." In his estimation, Jayewardene's major diplomatic success was moving India away from championing the Tamil cause to giving active support to the Sri Lankan government, particularly in the form of the Peace Accord.

Where the analysis fails is in considering India's wish to become not merely a regional superpower, but a global one. India playing the self-imposed role as leader of the "Third World" has shown little qualms about using the Non Aligned Movement as an effective launching pad in becoming an international foreign policy moderator. As a writer in the *Sri Lanka Sunday Times* noted: "The more enlightened members of the

public are resigned to the fact that Sri Lanka is now a pawn in the hands of India. They accept the fact that India has elevated the EPRLF only because it can be a counterweight to the LTTE... The feeling also prevails that the LTTE leadership has not been destroyed because the IPKF only hopes to weaken them so that eventually the LTTE will be amenable to Indian policy." Jayewardene may indeed be a master of power politics, but he is as much a pawn in the hands of India.

DIXIT'S SWANSONG

The other Indian pawn is of course the Tamil Front which is nothing but a creation of Delhi. The rationale behind the move by India to bring the parties together to form the Front was to mitigate the unpopularity of the EPRLF by having a coalition principally with the TULF. But how the EPRLF's active promotion of Mr Sam Thambimuttu in the contest with Mr Amirthalingam in Batticaloa is to be reconciled, remains to be seen.

The principal negotiator behind the Tamil Front was none other than the ubiquitous Mr J.N. Dixit, India's High Commissioner to Sri Lanka. It has now been announced that Mr Dixit is to be India's next ambassador to Moscow. Sri Lanka's gain is surely the Soviet Union's loss. It is doubtful whether *glasnost* will go so far as to accommodate Indian meddling in the Soviet affairs. Mr Dixit is to be replaced in Colombo by Kuldeep Sadev, presently the joint Secretary of India's Foreign Ministry. It is to be hoped that Mr Sadev will display a greater degree of awareness of the depth of feeling against the IPKF than his predecessor.

THE MOST FAMOUS UNKNOWN

The saga of Viraj Mendis, the celebrated asylum seeker also continues. On his journey back he was accompanied by Father Henry West whose church had provided asylum for over two years. When the plane stopped over at Zurich, the priest's demand

that Mendis be allowed to disembark pending a possible last-minute asylum decision from West Germany was refused. When he asked the Swiss policemen by whose authority they refused, one replied: "My authority is the government." Father West countered: "My authority is God." In the end the man of God lost the argument. Following his much heralded arrival in Colombo, Mendis was quoted extensively in the foreign media as saying that he was "wrong about the danger he faced in Sri Lanka."

It turns out that a statement he gave to the *Island* was cut, distorted and passed on to the BBC. Mendis subsequently released a statement saying: "The media have cynically twisted my statement to give it a meaning exactly opposite to that intended... When I said that some of the claims I had made were wrong I was referring to the intricacies of the political situation in Sri Lanka and not the general pattern. Everyone can feel a storm of violence brewing in the run-up to the election on 15 February. My earlier statements about the dangers in Sri Lanka were inaccurate only in that they under-estimated the number of people who are under threat. When in Britain, I believed that the main chauvinist force was the JVP. I now believe chauvinism to be more widespread. I now realise that the situation in Sri Lanka is even worse than I believed when I was in Britain."

While one sympathises with Mendis, his offer of a "photo-call" and press conference from a five-star hotel displayed a remarkable lack of sensitivity. In view of the fact that there are many who doubt the sincerity of Mr Mendis's claims of alliance with the Tamil cause, one would have thought a less ostentatious venue more appropriate. Perhaps it is too much to expect him to publicly voice support for the Tamil struggle from Colombo, but nonetheless having used it as the reason for seeking political asylum, one had reason to hope for better.

THIRUKKURAL

S Sriskandarajah

எண்ணித் துணிக் கருமம் துணிந்தபின்
எண்ணுவம் என்பது இழுக்கு.

*"Ennith Thunilha Karumam Thuninthapin
Ennuvam Enpathu Izhukku" - Transliteration*

*Think carefully before launching into action. To think of the ways
and means in the course of action is fatal. - Translation*

The above Kural is a household one. This is an opportune time for us to address our minds to this Kural. The future of any individual depends on how he or she confronts a crisis. Only those who have made the right decision at the right time have succeeded and prospered in life. Decision-making being an art, some people think that those who have it are born endowed with that faculty. But it is not so. Just like learning a technique or acquiring scientific knowledge it could be developed and cultivated. What is wanted are forethought, keen observation and deliberation. In the West, decision-making has developed as a science and it is being taught in the Universities. But in the East this subject is still in an embryonic stage. Thiruvalluvar appears to have felt the need for the decision-making skill and has therefore devoted a full chapter to it which he calls 'Therinthu Seyalvahal' about acting with due consideration.

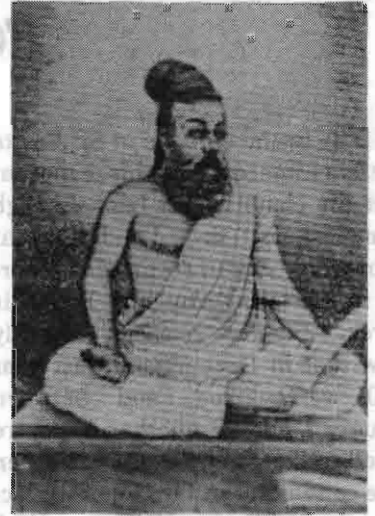
There are certain rules to be followed in decision making. If we bear those in mind we will be able to weigh the pros and cons for any decision that we may take. Decision-making is an opportunity given to us to shape our life as we want it. Our decisions may be irrevocable and may make or mar our lives. Therefore great importance should be attached to this issue.

Before arriving at a decision we must study the problem in hand, assess it in our mental eye and observe its different facets. Having evaluated the dimensions of the problem we must set about finding its cause. Once this has been done we must move to formulate our aim which may be a short-term one or

even long-term, and then judge how the decision we are going to take will assist the attainment of our goal. When we try to think of the practicability of attaining our goal, several questions will stare at us. Where are we strong? And where weak? What are the obstacles that we may have to surmount in the event of our choosing a certain course of action? What will be the consequences if we fall in our chosen course? In the process of trying to answer these questions, sanity and even wisdom may dawn on us and we may be compelled to think of alternate courses of action. We may even be inclined to take a second opinion from somebody whom so far we did not consider as one of consequence. It may result in our seeing other paths of action one of which we can choose and forge ahead.

The fact that we considered all aspects before deciding to take the plunge does not necessarily mean that we will positively be successful. Even the best planned actions can end in disaster. What Thiruvalluvar says is that we should discipline ourselves, plan our actions and we should not just act on the spur of the moment. Be it marriage or funeral, child-bearing or child-rearing, education or employment, fighting or negotiating, there must be planning.

Though Thiruvalluvar, who had known the almost incorrigible and incurable weakness of the Tamils, warned us in advance through his 'gems', yet, time and again, we have been committing the self-same mistakes, and today we are in this mire of uncertainty and confusion. During the late seventies, the Tamil leaders of



Sri Lanka took one decision and today's leaders appear to have taken another decision to cling to power and prestige, and we know not whether the gullible Tamils will once more be led up the garden path. Let us therefore remember the Kural yet again 'Ennith Thunilha Karumam, Thuninthapin Ennuvam Enpathu Izhukku', and act wisely. No one can afford to make mistakes eternally.

GEOLOGY LESSON

by Estella Schmid

Earth is an amalgam
of sands, humus and clays.
Earth is a mixture
of sticks, bones and waste.

Earth is made of blood
of ores,
of sweat and phlegm of oppressed.

Earth is made of pain,
of mineral salts
of misery and roots.

Earth is made of rocks
and gnashing of teeth.

Earth is an amalgam
of hatreds, stone and love,
of clay and iron hopes.

Earth is the place of deserts,
plains, mountains and the sea.

Earth is the place of man.

Earth is the place of men
who make it free
to be free.

Earth is made of land
by peasants and workers of the land
itself-

by the struggle of the Tamil people
and of all the other millions of
oppressed
everywhere in the world.

Ask Rani

TO BE A NATION BUT NOT A STATE

Dear Rani,

Most of the world's international borders are less than a century old. In other words, there are many new states. We now hear that the State of Palestine may be a reality as will Namibia. How do these 'new' nations emerge, and how does the formation of states relate to Eelam? - **Vikram, Hampshire, UK**

A In the first place, a 'state' is not the same as a 'nation' - they are two related but separate concepts. A state is a sovereign political entity with absolute authority over a defined territory and its population. By comparison, it is difficult to define a 'nation' let alone the geographical area which it occupies. It has been said that whoever wants to be a nation is a nation. The historian Hugh Seton-Watson states, "A nation is a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness... A nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation or behave as if they formed one." States can exist without a nation, East Germany being a case in point. Conversely, a nation can be included with other nations within one state - the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka being a good example.

Many of the states we know today are artificial creations with arbitrary boundaries produced by European great powers sharing their spoils. As Lord Salisbury wrote, "We are engaged in drawing lines upon maps where no white man's foot has ever trod; we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were." Thus Pakistan, as it existed from 1947 to 1972, was almost entirely the creation of the British on leaving the Indian sub-continent, and Czechoslovakia, between the wars and after the Second World War, the creation of the victorious powers.

Insofar as Eelam is concerned, there

is a useful distinction to be drawn between a 'cultural nation' which is a community united by language, religion or other cultural bonds, and a 'political nation' which in addition to cultural bonds also possesses a legal state structure. Self-determination, on this basis, is the process by which a cultural nation becomes a political state, and also that by which a political state becomes a cultural nation. In historical fact though cultural unity has usually followed on, and not preceded, political unity. In other words, the cultural nation is more the creation than the creator of the political state. The political state of Sri Lanka has manifestly failed to bring about any notion of a cultural state which would at a minimum require that the languages, laws and customs in the territorial area of rule be reconciled. Under the circumstances, the Tamil nation has little option but to strive for political statehood.

INDIA'S HOLD OVER BHUTAN

Dear Rani,

The editorial in TVI Vol.2 No.1 says that Sri Lanka risks being Bhutanised in its foreign relations by India. What form of government does Bhutan have, and exactly what is India's relationship with it? -

Thangam, Manchester, UK

A The Kingdom of Bhutan is an absolute monarchy. The system of government is unusual in that power is shared between the monarchy, the Council of Ministers, the National Assembly and the monastic head of Bhutan's 6,000 Lamas. In 1949, Bhutan signed a Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship with India. Under the terms of the treaty India guaranteed non-intervention in the internal affairs of Bhutan. In return, Bhutan undertook to be guided by India in the conduct of its foreign relations.

India provides Bhutan with army training facilities, although it is not directly responsible for the country's defence. The Indian government has indicated that any act of aggression against Bhutan would be regarded as an act of aggression against India. The



irony of India, a leading light of the Non-Aligned Movement pursuing with vigour a policy of bringing neighbouring states under its hegemony, is exemplified in the case of Bhutan.

THIRD WORLD STATUS

Dear Rani,

Asian and African countries are usually described as Third World countries. By what criteria are countries classified as Third World, and in your opinion should they be termed as such? - **Savitri Manohar, Birmingham, UK**

A A popular media label, the 'Third World' provides a convenient stereo type by which to describe the majority of the world's population. The criteria by which it is determined is more by exclusion than by definition. That is to say, the Third World consists of those countries not in the first or second world. The first world consists mainly of Western industrialised countries and Japan, the second world (a term seldom used) covers other industrialised states mainly in the Eastern bloc.

A group of school children in London, when asked their thoughts on the Third World, listed poverty, curries, babies dying, war, disease, starvation etc. Such distortion of reality is a denial of the richness and variety of cultures, languages, religions and lifestyles that make up the so-called Third World. There are few statements that can be made with any reliability about the Third World, and any degree of precision requires so many qualifications as to render the tripartite categorisation largely useless. The label is probably too deeply entrenched to be avoided, but I still don't see that as a reason for its continued usage. After all, the term does little to reflect the social and economic differences, and the lack of common political or economic policies in the Third World.

REFLECTIONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

Wakeley Paul

Some realities that leaders on all sides might heed right now are:

1. Neither the majority nor the minority community of Sri Lanka desires the continued Indian presence,
2. The government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE share this sentiment,
3. Those dependant on the IPKF for their existence cannot obviously share that sentiment,
4. The Indian government plainly resists that sentiment,
5. India's interests in Sri Lanka are opposed to those of its people and their representatives,
6. The IPKF's dependants must bear with India's interests so as to survive,
7. Opponents of India's interests in the North-East Province are subject to sustained attack by the IPKF,
8. The Indian government has sabotaged negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and those who oppose it,
9. The Sri Lankan government is not free to negotiate with those who share their interests and oppose India's, and
10. India prevents free negotiations between consenting Sri Lankans.

Thus, India's presence in Sri

Lanka portrayed to the international community as a move to secure the island's interests and maintain peace is unquestionably false, if it is propounded on the assumption that the people, or a significant segment of them, wish it. They are, in short, an occupying force who remain against the people's desire.

Some Tamils fear that the void created by India's departure will be filled by unwelcome Sri Lankan forces. They fail to see that India is training and arming its Tamil supporters to form a Tamil army in the North-East to do their bidding. They will not leave till this is in place. The Sri Lankan army will thus have to deal with these agents of India rather than the one group that also opposes the Indian presence, unless India persuades the Sri Lankan government to join forces with India's agents to wipe out India's opponents. If so, the Sri Lankan government will ensure that they become permanent Indian puppets, having joined in attacking the one group that had the courage and fortitude to stand up to the IPKF.

The Sri Lankan government can ill-afford to encourage an army of Indian agents in the North-East, nor can they choose not to negotiate

with the acknowledged representatives of the Tamil people if the economy is to be revived.

The Sri Lankan government must also recognise the need of the minorities to have a degree of self-government free of the vagaries of the extremist Sinhalese towards them. The euphoria of victory must give way to the harsh realities that have to be contended with in the interests of both the majority and the minorities alike.

SUMMARY OF INDIA'S PRESENT ROLE

THE ROOTLESS, RUTHLESS PRESENCE: The humanitarian friend has become a callous conqueror. The protector of the down-trodden has become their ruthless suppressor. The sought-after saviour has become their dreaded and despised ruler.

Neither the majority nor the minority seeks or needs them, yet they claim to be in demand, and so remain. The base has sunk from their feet, and the argument for their presence is devoid of foundation, and yet they remain. The root cause for their intervention has evaporated, and yet they are there.

WILL THE LIBERATION FIGHTERS OPT FOR ANYTHING LESS?

A K Vairamuththu, Alvayooran, Sri Lanka

"Veera Suthanthiram Vendi Ninraar Pinner Veronru Kollvaroe?" (Will those who craved heroic liberation, settle for things less) is the sentiment echoed by Bharathiyaar from the then French colony of Pondichcheri from where he was also engaged in the struggle for Indian independence. He directed this question to a minority among those engaged in the struggle for independence who were prepared to accept limited self-rule as an immediate alternative to complete independence which they were demanding. It is an opportune moment to recall Bharathi's sentiments when the Indian forces of expansionism, along with their 'adopted children' in

Tamil Eelam rejected by the people as anti-social elements actively engaged in contemptible activities, are trying their utmost to crush the liberation struggle of the Eelam Tamils. It is also opportune to recall the sentiments of the French revolutionaries - "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" - when the French people are now celebrating the bicentenary of their revolution.

In Tamil Eelam human rights continue to be violated on a scale never heard of in any other part of the world. The human right to live as free citizens, acknowledged by the UNO, is being violated by the fourth largest army of the world which has entered the country as tools of the

Sinhala chauvinism. This was done under the pretext of an Accord signed by two individuals as the heads of two countries without any consideration for the fundamental rights of the affected people, without consulting even their governments and certainly without consulting the victims of unbridled and prolonged oppression nor their true representatives. The Tamils have been regarded as an expendable commodity by the Indian Government whose main ambition is territorial hegemony. The aim of the other signatory to the Accord is the extermination of the Tamils.

These adopted children of the Indian Government have recently

SRI LANKA: AT THE CROSS ROADS

Ana Pararajasingham

The Sri Lankan state orchestrated pogrom of July 1983 which claimed thousands of Tamil lives and the Indian intervention in July 1987 which claimed a further three thousand Tamil lives within a short period of the intervention were events designed to beat the Tamil population into submission.

It is now abundantly clear that the pogrom of July 1983 and the Indian assault of October 1987, were primarily aimed at alienating the Tamil armed resistance from the masses by inflicting heavy human and material damage upon innocent civilians.

Both Governments appeared to have believed that such a move would lead to the population turning against the armed militants. Whilst the Sri Lankan Government's strategy resulted in the exact opposite with young men and women joining the Tamil Militant Groups in droves, the Indian offensive did achieve limited success by confusing and demoralising the population in the short term.

The reason for India's short term success is to be found in the following situation: (1) the perception by vast sections of the population that the Indian intervention was prompted by a sense of "friendship" towards Eelam Tamils (Advocated by Mr Amirthalingam and his ilk in order to pursue their own selfish interests.), and (2) the effect of the 5-year old war against the Sri Lankan army and the euphoria brought about by the cessation of hostilities

following the Indian intervention.

Subsequent developments, however, have indicated to the Tamils that Indian motives for intervention did not take into account the resolution of the political problems of the Tamils but were essentially concerned with securing India's own geo political interests. The imposition of a defective political set up (Provincial Councils with little or no real powers) and the installation of an ill disciplined mercenary force as the Provincial Government through a fraudulent election have only confirmed Tamil fears that a lasting political solution was never on the agenda.

Having realised its folly in under estimating Tamil resolve in seeking self-determination but having in the meantime indicated to the Sri Lankan Government and to other powers its (India's) position as the regional power, India is likely to embark upon a withdrawal of its forces in view of internal and international pressure.

Such a withdrawal is bound to leave India with its gains intact but its reputation as a champion of the oppressed badly tarnished. At this point one would expect the Sri Lankan Government to be tempted into pursuing India's policy of hunting down the LTTE by using the EPRLF -TELO cadres.

Such a policy obviously based on a perception that the LTTE has been considerably weakened by India is bound to prove disastrous to the Sri Lankan Government as the

continuing assault by the LTTE on the IPKF and its allies during recent times indicate that the LTTE is far from weakened.

Meanwhile, most Eelam Tamils realise that allowing the LTTE to be defeated militarily could only lead to increased colonisation, the de-linking of the North and East, the Sri Lankan Government turning the gun on the collaborators and the imposition of military rule in Tamil homeland. This realisation alone is sufficient to keep the LTTE well supported and ensuring that the guerrilla war is continued.

A prolonged guerrilla war is no condition for the Sri Lankan Government to pursue its own economic goals and hence the seeking of a political solution is of utmost importance to Sri Lanka at this point of time.

Sri Lankan Government is in fact faced with only one choice if it is to meet Tamil demand for self determination without compromising on the unity of Sri Lanka- the granting of true federal powers to the Tamil homeland. The powers of course will have to include Finance, Internal Security, Economic Development and an immediate reversal of the effects of recent colonisation programs. Failure to appreciate this would only result in further bloodshed in the short term and the emergence of an independent Tamil State in the long term.

Sri Lanka is indeed at the cross roads.

(from page 8)

been joined by another group, the ex-Parliamentarians of the TULF, now aptly called the 'Tamil U-turn Lackeys' Front' under their leader, the 'Kuththu-Karanam' man, who deserted his people in 1983, allowing them to be massacred in their thousands by the Sinhalese forces and later by the Indian army. This other group has become parliament-sick after long absence in the wilderness. Unlike the French nobles who returned to France after the French Revolution, who had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, these ex-MPs have forgotten their pledges and learnt new lessons in treachery and betrayal. By their U-turn, they have joined another band of traitors and betrayers who are engaged in the

pastime of aiding and abetting the Indian forces to kill and maim their own kith and kin, to rape their sisters and mothers, to loot their property and to destroy their own land. Now these 'moderate politicians' have come to seek the votes of the people for whose liberation they can no longer speak but are only paving the way for their ultimate humiliation in their motherland. Are not these traitors ashamed of an unpardonable crime?

Bharathiyaar said, "Petta Thaayum Pirantha Ponnaadum Natarava Vaanilum Nanisiranthanavey", ie. Mother and motherland are to be cherished before heavenly bliss. There are those willing to sacrifice the motherland for the crumbs

which might fall from the table, forgetting the fact that they too will be eventually exterminated by the very forces whom they are now actively assisting. There was an Eddappa Muthali who betrayed Veera Paandiya Kottabomman to the East India Company. We have had traitors and quislings throughout our history. It was due to such traitors that we who once ruled over Eelam have now been reduced to minority status and squeezed into two provinces and threatened with extinction.

Even at this eleventh hour, I appeal to them to desist from their treachery and to join the freedom fighters in their heroic struggle to liberate a subjugated people.

EELAM thoughts

by S. Kurushetran

Statistics are often perverse; not only because they can be made to lie, but also because they can be used to de-humanize human tragedies. No doubt some worthy in New Delhi is keeping a count of the daily killings in the Punjab, in Sri Lanka, and possibly in Tamil Eelam. May be he is using a computer. But who is keeping a count of the blood being spilt, the stench of the corpses on the roadside, the wailing of mothers and widows and the agonies of the human spirit? Who is worried about human suffering, the pain of death, or the pain of living itself? Why does New Delhi hold a scrap of paper called the Accord more important than thousands of lives - Sinhalese, Tamils, Sikhs, Gurkhas, and Maharashtrians? Most of all, who is worried about the truth? In the land of Mahatma Gandhi, not all newspapermen write the truth, and apparently not many readers are keen to know it anyway. Statistics can also be fudged. You can play around with them, hide them when they are inconvenient, flaunt them when it suits. You can use them to dispose of arguments, to hide the truth, or to distort issues. But what does one make of a newspaper commentator who keeps on arguing against his own statistics? Quoting the right facts but drawing the opposite conclusion? Now take this report in the Sunday issue of a leading Delhi newspaper (Jan 15, '89). It is written by a man by the name of Mahendra Ved, and the amazing headline says: **IPKF RETURNS WITH GLORY**. Can any sensible reader, even in India, see either RETURN or GLORY? The article opens with these profound statements:

"With 3,000 soldiers back home, and more likely to return in the coming weeks, it is the beginning of the final phase of the Indian Peace Keeping Force's operations in Sri Lanka's north-eastern province. Thus India, proving the Prophets of Doom wrong, has begun to withdraw its forces from what was widely perceived as 'Vietnam'..."

Firstly, no self-respecting editor of a leading newspaper could possibly justify this misleading headline when a miserable 3,000 troops return

out of a total number - of how much? The writer himself provides the answer:

"What began as a contingent of 3,000, swelled to 55,000, while unofficial figures have talked of a lakh. The Sri Lankan army chief has recently talked of 'four Indian Divisions'..."

Secondly, that part about GLORY. Where is the glory in a Peace Keeping Force whose operations according to the writer himself, *"have left close to a thousand dead and three times the figure injured. Official figures were questioned last year without any firm basis. A majority of the casualties have been the result of ambushes, booby traps and mines."*

Now, compare this with the figure of Indian casualties in the last actual war that the country fought against the might of the Pakistan national army in 1971: "Indian casualties in the war were officially given as 1,047 killed, 3,042 wounded and 89 missing in East Pakistan, and 1,462 killed, 3,611 wounded and 2,149 missing on the Western front" (*Keesing's Contemporary Archives* - page 25058).

NOT AN EASY WAR

The amiable Mr. Ved continues to argue against himself by saying:

"It has not been an easy war to fight - to call it 'war' would seem to militate against the spirit of the Accord and the purpose behind the IPKF operations. And yet, Indian soldiers fought determined, motivated and well-trained guerillas, who had no dearth of arms and ammunition and who were ingenious enough to have their own explosive factories."

Sounds more like a tribute to the "determined", "motivated", "ingenious" guerillas than to the IPKF, does it not? That expresses the dilemma of make-believe journalism in India today - trying hard to hold a brief for the IPKF, while flying in the face of all facts, truth and statistics. Unhappy Mr. Ved finds it difficult to call it "war", because how can a Peace Keeping Force be seen to be fighting a war, but yet he has to call it by that name because his own statistics bear it out. He says:

"Joining in the effort was the Indian Air Force, which conducted one of the

biggest airlift operations since the Berlin airlift of World War II, rushing soldiers and stores. The score by the end of 1988 was 21,000 sorties, two to three lakhs passengers transported and over 18,000 tonnes of stores supplied. Besides this, there were special heliborne operations...The Navy has borne the main brunt of ferrying troops and supplies throughout...It needs to be said that the use of MI-25 helicopter gunships by the IAF did cause a furore. Contingency demanded this..."

WHAT HAPPENED TO THESE 2000 BOYS

What kind of contingency demanded this gigantic operation, and who were they fighting against, costing the country an estimated Rs 3 - 5 crores every day? Were they fighting the armed might of another country? No. Coming to statistics again, in the words of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the time of the signing of the Accord, the IPKF was to disarm "2,000 boys." One year and four months have now gone since the disarming operations began. What happened to these "2,000 boys"? Statistics again. As early as July 1988, the claim was made that 2,000 militants were killed in IPKF operations until then (*THE HINDU*). One does not know whether old women and infants were among the militants killed, but if they were not, obviously Rajiv Gandhi's "2,000 boys" are no longer there. So whom is the IPKF fighting in the month of February in the year of our Lord 1989? Our schizophrenic friend Mahendra Ved has an explanation for that. He says:

"A report has it that the estimate of 2,000 militants in Jaffna in October 1987 was belied in that rank and file of many other groups which had officially surrendered, joined the LTTE ranks swelling them to 10,000."

Good for you Mr. Ved, but let us all now drop the pretence about Peace Keeping. Insurgency specialist Shekhar Gupta of *India Today* said as far early as January 1988 that it was "the country's longest war"

(India Today, Jan 31, 1988). "The Indian Army had never seen a war like this" he said. Now where does your story lie after one year? Let us take a sample survey of opinions. Here are some extracts from an article in the *Sunday Times, Colombo* (Jan 1, 1989) written by Sinhalese Journalist Sugawera P. Senadheera. The feature is titled: **INDIA'S LOST ARMY FACES TALL ORDER IN JAFFNA**. Doesn't sound very glorious, does it?

"We are under army occupation. Jaffna today is similar to Rome under army occupation in the Second World War", said a senior Catholic priest in Jaffna. Continuing further he said "Mr. Premadasa should stick to his campaign promise and ask the Indians to leave. We thought the Indians came to help, but attacked us civilians with cannon, mortars and tanks. They continue to harass civilians."

"Said an Indian Army officer: 'Sinhalese hate us because their national pride is hurt. The Tamils don't like us now. And on top of it there is no appreciation from our government. This is the lost army. Nobody cares for us. Only our casualty figures are given in Indian newspapers; that too is given if it suits the government. For example, 18 IPKF soldiers were killed on June 1st 1988, the day Indian Defence Minister K C Pant came to Jaffna. Army top brass suppressed that news. These poor Indian soldiers were ignored even in death because they died on the wrong date.'"

The Bishop of Jaffna Dr. Deogupillai said: "We want peace and democracy but we don't want it forced down our throats."

Mahalingam, a shop keeper said: "The EPRLF have sided with the IPKF and are hunting Tigers. As they cannot find Tigers, they kill civilians who support the Tigers."

A senior doctor attached to the Jaffna hospital said: "An average of four to five dead bodies are found on the roadside every day. How can the EPRLF expect the support of the people? - Every night the EPRLF members and the IPKF go about prowling. They kill a few civilians and round up 30 to 40 boys daily."

IPKF Been There Too Long

Here is an unofficial United States view of the IPKF. Heritage Foundation, a think-tank of the US administration, says in its document "Mandate for Leadership: Policy strategies 1990s" :-

"We think that the Indian Peace Keeping Force has been there too long and has not accomplished anyth-

ing at this point. Our interest is in the stability of the region and we certainly feel that the IPKF has not added to the stability of Sri Lanka."

And if Mr. Ved is looking for further glory, here are IPKF casualties during the month of January 1989. Three killed on the 7th, one on the 10th, three on the 13th, two on the 17th, six on the 18th, three on the 20th, one on the 23rd, one on the 26th, five on the 29th. These are of course figures given by the Indian media itself. As for the other achievements of the IPKF, they consist of killing civilians, harassing them, causing them indignities, declaring of curfews, curbing their freedom of movement, the freedom of expression and the freedom of the Press, compelling them to vote, giving background support to the EPRLF, TELO and other quisling groups to rob, extort and kill, and now killing University students - in short, maintaining Peace and guarding Democracy! In which of these do you see "GLORY", Mr Mahendra Ved? Looking around at much of the Indian press, one is inclined to look with sympathy what Italian dictator Benito Mussolini once said: "I am all for a free Press. It's just newspapers that I can't stand!"

Indians Bad Imperialists

The Harvard whiz-kid and TULF's intellectual prop, Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam came out with an interesting observation recently while talking to an Indian visitor, Tarun Basu (Indian Express, Jan 22). "Indians are bad imperialists", he had said. "Good imperialists are far more subtle and do not make others conscious of the fact they are being imperialised." It was said in jest, says Tarun Basu, because Dr. Tiruchelvam is "a votary of Indian troop presence in Sri Lanka and thinks the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was the best thing to have happened to the divided island." If we ascribe a little seriousness to the "jest", as surely Dr. Neelan T's subconscious mind intended to, it leads to some interesting speculations. Firstly, it brings out the kind of dilemma which every intellectual faces when he compromises his intellect with sordid and power needs. The Dr Jekyll in him resents Indian imperialism, but the Mr. Hyde in him welcomes it, if only it could be given the kind of spit and polish which only institutions like the Doon School and Harvard could possibly provide. Say, British imperialism for example. We were imperialised by the British for one and a half centuries, but we never felt it.

But here, hardly have one and a half years passed that apart from the poor folks living in Tamil Eelam made to feel Indian imperialism every day and every hour, even Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam living in his academic ivory tower in Colombo can get the feel of it. At least British Imperialist troops do not go about looking for innocent unarmed Irish citizens to wreak their vengeance when IRA militants set off a bomb somewhere. Since intellectuals like Dr. Neelan T. do not mind imperialism in principle, as long as it is "subtle" and given the fact that Indian imperialism has a long way to go before it acquires subtlety, and also given the unholy mess that is Sri Lanka today, may we look for other alternatives? A polite letter to that effervescent lady at No. 10 Downing Street should be in order; and there is no doubt she would be interested. She never saw any real excitement after Falklands, and that was long time ago.

It is only one and a half years after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, but look at the changes in the "dramatis personae" within that time. One of the two signatories to the accord, President Jayewardene is no longer in circulation. One of its most ardent supporters, the once durable Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel is being hounded out of the country. The flamboyant Indian army chief, Gen. Krishnaswamy Sundarji who after a tour of the north and east on 8th October 1987, promised "results in 48 hours" (Daily News, Colombo, 9th Oct, 87) has gone into unhappy retirement. Chief of the Indian Army's Southern Command Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh is no longer there with his swagger stick. The man who was on spot charge, Lt. Gen. Harkirat Singh was recalled long ago. Come December this year, who knows whether the other signatory to the Accord will be in circulation either. Now, High Commissioner Jyondra Dixit whom opposition leader Anura Bandaranaike referred to as "the Viceroy of Sri Lanka" will soon be finishing his term without finishing his brief. Even the Accord, already in tatters, might not be there, except in the New Delhi museum, if it is replaced by a "Friendship Treaty." Then what remains? The continuing misery of the Tamil people of course, not to mention the increasing misery of the Sinhalese themselves, or that of the IPKF. □

THRONE SPEECH OF THE SINHALA GOVERNOR OF TAMIL EELAM

(The following are the highlights of the speech delivered by the Governor of the North-Eastern province, on 16 December 1988. He was initially sent to the region by the Jayewardene regime to suppress the Tamil struggle. Now in the role of governor, he seeks once more to consolidate Sinhala rule over the Tamil homeland. Ed)



Lt Gen Nalin Seneviratne

The people of the North-East underwent untold hardships and unbearable sufferings during the last five years. According to the available statistics, over 13,000 lives were lost and many thousands were wounded. Almost 100,000 families, or about 500,000 people, lost their homes. Nearly 1,500 children lost both their parents and over 6,000 children lost one of the parents. Many buildings and places of worship have been destroyed. The infrastructure of the Province has been totally devastated. The task of re-settlement, rehabilitation and reconstruction is mammoth and the Provincial Government assures that it will be achieved to everybody's satisfaction.

Law and Order

The ethnic disparity in the Sri Lankan Armed Forces and the Sri Lankan police is the grave concern of the people of the North-East. This disparity had caused oppression and excesses. As an immediate measure, a Citizens Volunteer Force, consisting of the youths of the North-East, will be established to enforce law and order. Approximately, 1,500 youths have already been recruited to this Citizens Volunteer Force. It will have a cadre of about 7,000 personnel.

Early steps will be taken to est-

ablish a High Court in Trincomalee, presided over by a Senior High Court Judge. The Provincial Government believes that this would facilitate the restoration of the judicial machinery within the Province that had collapsed due to ethnic conflict.

Rehabilitation

The Government's considered view is that the task of rehabilitating the North-East should be entrusted to the people themselves. The people and their representatives know best. The Provincial Government will prepare a Programme for Rehabilitation. It has been assured of funds from the Central Government, friendly countries and other donor agencies. The Government of India has already assured a major participation in this Programme.

Non-governmental organisations which are interested in the task of rehabilitation will be given the necessary encouragement, provided they confine themselves to the approved rehabilitation programme.

Food and Co-operatives

Supply and distribution of food will be undertaken in such a manner as to reduce food shortages. Fair Price Stalls and Co-operative outlets will be established in the towns and villages to ensure equity. The Co-operative Movement will be revamped to function as a useful peoples' movement.

A Provincial Food Authority will be established to handle collection, storage, processing and distribution of grains and foodstuffs.

Housing and Water Supply

The ethnic conflict had a heavy toll on the Housing sector in the Province. Over 100,000 houses were either destroyed or damaged. Furthermore, the regular housing construction programme too, came to a standstill during the past five years. The Provincial Government has therefore decided to give top priority for housing. While free housing will be provided to the poorest of the poor, other house-builders will be given all incentives including soft loans. Provision of safe drinking water in villages as well as townships will receive the urgent attention of the Government. While all incentives will be given for the construction of wells, the Government will start new water supply schemes in needy areas.

Health

Equal emphasis will be given by the Government for both preventive and curative aspects of health. Indigenous medical practice will be encouraged and assisted. The Hospital in Trincomalee will be modernised and upgraded in order to meet the expected increase in demand resulting from Trincomalee being made the Administrative Centre of the North-Eastern Province. Other hospitals and dispensaries in the Province, too, will be improved and upgraded. The Government will also establish Primary Health Centres in remote villages in order to enhance the quality of life.

Education

The people of the North-Eastern Province have a tradition of giving pride of place to education in their lives. The educational activities of the Province have been completely disrupted for more than five years. Most of the educational infrastructures have been severely damaged during the conflict. Lack of adequate number of trained teachers, school buildings, laboratories and facilities for extra-curricular activities have stood in the way of the advancement of education in the Province.

The Provincial Government proposes to rectify all these inadequacies. The Government will also improve the quality of the teaching staff. It is further proposed to recruit new teachers from amongst suitably qualified young persons.

The Provincial Government will pay the utmost attention to extra-curricular activities in schools. This will minimise the harm that is being perpetrated on the younger generation by commercial tutorials. The present examination-oriented educational system will be reviewed by the Government. Steps will be taken to improve the quality of English-teaching in all schools.

There are already two Universities in the Province, in Jaffna and in Batticaloa. However, these Universities do not cater for all disciplines of higher education. Engineering, Architecture, Maths-Science, Dental Surgery, Veterinary Science, Law, Linguistics and Public Administration are some of the fields that are not taught at either of these Universities. The Provincial Government will est-

establish a University in Trincomalee, with special emphasis for the teaching of Engineering, Architecture, Maths-Science, Law, Linguistics, Public Administration and other disciplines.

The Provincial Government will establish Senior and Junior Technical Colleges and Vocational Schools to impart technical and vocational skills to youths who would not pursue tertiary education.

Local Government

The Provincial Government will study the status of the existing Local Authorities with the view to elevating them, where necessary, and to confer on them additional powers. The additional powers contemplated are in respect of Health, Education and Social Welfare.

District Administration

The System of District Administration will be carefully studied and necessary steps taken to avoid confusion in the lines of authority, vis-a-vis the Central and Provincial Governments.

Land Administration

Landlessness has been the root cause for poverty and caste oppression in the Province. It is therefore an issue of utmost importance to the Provincial Government, which has the goal of alleviating poverty and eradication of caste oppression.

The subject of land has been the most sensitive issue between the people of this Province and the Central Government. The Provincial Government will commence negotiations with the Central Government to resolve this issue to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Agriculture

The majority of the people of the North-Eastern Province are farmers. They engage in the cultivation of paddy or subsidiary crops. A special organisation will be set up to co-ordinate the agricultural activities in the Province, which would include the supply of agricultural inputs and the provision of extension services. Consequently, unnecessary duplication of functions and idling of talents will be avoided. The farmers, too, will get an efficient service from the Governmental machinery.

Diversification of crops will also be encouraged by the Government. Export markets for agricultural crops will be explored in order to raise the income levels of the farmers.

Fisheries

The second main occupation of the

people of the Province is fisheries. The ethnic conflict has affected around 34,000 fishing families and their rehabilitation will be one of the main tasks of the Government.

The development of both marine and inland fisheries and aquaculture will be given priority by the Government. Since the procurement of craft and fishing gear, processing, storage and marketing of marine products are some of the problem-areas for fishermen, the Government will endeavour to remove these difficulties. The Government will take steps to improve facilities at the fisheries harbours and study the need for new harbours. Establishment of fisheries-based industries will also be given priority.

Industries

The Provincial Government in consultation with the Central Government will take steps to re-organise and expand the Chemical, Paper, Ilmenite, Ceramic, Sugar and Cement industries already functioning within the Province. The Provincial Government will also take necessary steps to carry out exploration and other scientific studies on the mineral resources available within the Province with the view to establishing new industries.

The Government will also ensure that industrial development does not lead to ecological imbalances and environmental pollution. The people of the North-East are traditionally famous for their skills in small industries and handicrafts. Every effort will be taken by the Government to encourage them in this direction.

Public Buildings

In order to consolidate the civil administration in the North-Eastern Province, the Government will go ahead with a programme of construction of public buildings, including an Assembly Hall for the Provincial Council, Ministerial and other Secretariats and official residences.

Muslim Affairs

The Government wishes to declare two important matters with regard to the Muslims living within the Province. Firstly, the Government will take all possible steps to protect and maintain their distinct identity. Their cultural traditions and religious needs will be considered at the highest possible levels and necessary steps taken to fulfil those needs. Secondly, the Islamic Theology for social liberation will be introduced and fostered in close co-operation with competent Islamic Theologians

in keeping with the present day national and international perspectives and current realities.

The Provincial Government will also take steps to recover and return the lands lost by the Muslims and also help them to cultivate the lands that were not under the plough for the past five years due to ethnic unrest.

Sinhalese Minority in the Province

The Provincial Government has a moral commitment to its ideological conviction, to convince the Sinhalese people of the Province that the administration is not based on race, religion or language, but on secularism and social progress. To achieve this end, the Government will commence negotiations with the leaders of the local Sinhalese community on all issues that affect the historical cordial relationship between the Tamils and the Sinhalese.

The Government is of the view that the Tamil-speaking people of the Province will accommodate reasonable demands of the Sinhalese minority. It is the wish of this Government to uphold the principles of equality in administration, and especially, in land administration, law and order, education and culture. This Government will take steps to re-settle and rehabilitate the affected Sinhalese who had traditionally lived in the Province, in places of their choice. In this regard, care will be taken to see that attempts made to upset the historic ethnic fabric, in the name of chauvinism of different hues, will be kept under check.

Tamil Language

The Tamil language, which was relegated to a secondary position, has now become an official language along with the Sinhala language. The Government will take action with all earnestness to give the Tamil language its rightful place in the administration. The Government will also provide all facilities to undertake research pertaining to the Tamil language in collaboration with the Government of Tamil Nadu.

Devolution of Powers

The Provincial Government is of the view that the devolved powers offered under the Thirteenth Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution hardly satisfy the aspirations of the Tamil-speaking people of the North-Eastern Province. Hence it will commence negotiations with the Central Government and the Government of India with a view to working out a satisfactory package of devolution.

GANDHI GETS HIS COMEUPPANCE: THE TAMIL NADU ELECTIONS

by Sundari

The day before the elections in Tamil Nadu, the Congress Party General Secretary distributed sweets in anticipation of his party's victory. He confidently, and as it turned out foolishly, predicted that a "Rajiv wave" would sweep the party to power with 200 seats. Events proved otherwise as the DMK swept to power with 170 out of a total 232 seats.

The Congress party had been lulled into a false sense of security from the large crowds that Gandhi drew to his rallies during the campaign. He was deluded into believing that he could single-handedly bring back the Congress Party from two decades in the political wilderness of Tamil Nadu. But the party had no leader of any stature in the state. Gandhi's smattering of Tamil and numerous visits to Tamil Nadu were clearly not enough to convince the electorate. The Prime Minister had no one else to blame but himself and his faceless advisers for the ignominious defeat.

Tamil Nadu is by no means a yardstick against which the behaviour of the electorate in the country as a whole can be judged. But the big margin by which the Congress Party has lost and the manner of its losing should cause Gandhi serious worry. During the four years of his rule, he has not been able to win the assembly elections in any of the mainstream states. He lost in West Bengal, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana and now Tamil Nadu. He has some nominal victories to his credit in Tripura and in some other tiny north-eastern states, but it is hardly a record that can inspire his party to go into the general election which is less than a year away.

STAR POWER FAILS

The landslide victory swept away not only the Congress Party but also the rival factions of the AIADMK that had fought like alley cats to lay claim to MGR's political legacy. Janaki's political ambitions were laid to rest with her party's one seat

performance, while Jayalalitha who replayed sepia prints of old MGR hits during her campaign managed only 27 seats. Film glamour was indeed an unexpected casualty. The invasion of Tinsel Town into Tamil Nadu politics meant that a literal star war was inevitable given the deeply cemented bonds between films and politics.

Though the galaxy of film stars on the campaign trail attracted huge crowds, the star parade made little impact on the electoral considerations of a highly mature electorate. In some cases, their presence was even counter-productive. The two candidates for whom Sridevi, the reigning queen of Indian cinema, campaigned - her father K. Ayappan, the Congress Party candidate in Sivakasi and central minister M. Arunachalam in Rajapalayam - performed dismally. Even Sivaji Ganeshan, matinee idol and leader of the Tamizhaga Munnetra Munnani (TMM), lost to the DMK by a margin of 10,634 votes. But perhaps star power did not fail. After all Mr Karunanidhi is a lyricist and the scriptwriter for more than 30 films.

A STAR IS BORN AND ANOTHER FADES

After the election, Mr Karunanidhi said that he had written the scripts for six movies already waiting to be released. "I got them released before winning the elections and becoming barred from writing scripts. I did it by writing in the morning and speaking at the rallies in the evening."

In a drama that could rival the scripts that he has written, Mr Karunanidhi who is 64, gave credit to the Tamil-speaking people for his spectacular victory. The DMK came to power by capitalising on emotions evoked by a successful campaign to prevent the imposition of the Hindi language on Tamil Nadu. Karunanidhi had been taunted by Gandhi for wearing dark glasses day and night as the habit of a coward who did not dare look people in the eye.

He demolished that taunt with an emotional account in the voice that mesmerised crowds throughout the campaign, of how his eyes were damaged by an accident in his youth. It typified his ability to turn disadvantage and misfortune into political credit.

Born into a middle class family, Karunanidhi joined a movement for promoting the interests of low caste Dravidians of South India. At the age of 12 he recognised the powerful pull of drama and joined a theatre group. He discovered the strong bond it had with the people of a state where the poor had few means of entertainment besides films. It was appropriate to his background that he became a minister in the first government formed in Tamil Nadu of a party that believed in the Dravidian movement.

"I WILL NOT LET DOWN THE LTTE"

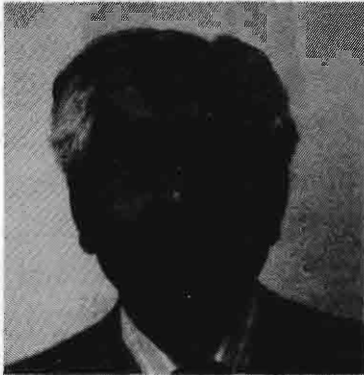
At his victory press conference, Karunanidhi said that his win was a "fitting reply to Rajiv Gandhi, who in his speeches and activities tried to put down the Dravidian sentiment." Most importantly, he added that as far as those of Dravidian descent in Sri Lanka were concerned, "I will try to solve the problem in a smooth way. I will not let down the LTTE or Prabhakaran."

The comment caused concern across the Palk Strait. The Sri Lankan *Sunday Times* assured readers that: "Sri Lankans worried about the strengthening of anti-Sri Lanka forces in neighbouring Tamil Nadu after the re-emergence of the DMK rule can take consolation from the defeat of the most vehement supporter of 'Tamil Eelam', P. Nedumaran and the candidates of his Kamraj Congress." But those involved in the Tamil struggle will not easily forget Mr Nedumaran who in 1985 crossed the Palk Strait as an illegal immigrant and spent two weeks in the Jaffna peninsula as an honoured guest of the LTTE. His defeat may prove only temporary.

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

TAMILS ABROAD

**Kathirgamathamby Kandiah,
O.B.E.**



Born on 20 August 1916, the only son of the much-loved and highly respected Udayar of Udupiddy, Kandiah began his early education at the American Mission School in his village, passed the Cambridge Senior from Hartley College and the London Inter- Science from Jaffna College. Already he was displaying exceptional inventive talents: his home had become a centre for investigating radio reception.

After a year at St Joseph's College, Colombo where under the able guidance of the veteran schoolmaster, S.Thangarajah, yet another star of Vadamadachi, Kandiah won an Open Entrance Scholarship tenable at the Ceylon University College, with a performance never achieved earlier, so knowledgeable circles of that era told the writer. He scored an average mark of 80%. The Professor (C.Suntharalingam) and Senior Lecturers (FHV Gulasekharan and S Nadaraser) were so surprised that they brought him back from Udupiddy to sit another exam where he scored over 90%!

His two years at University College passed without any further flash of mathematical brilliance or revelation of his true genius except for him to win the Mathematics Scholarship to Cambridge where he spent a rather uneventful three years at Queens College on his Maths Tripos. He was now moving away from his subject to the more exciting and completely new field of Electronics. It should be recorded that at the end of his Cambridge days he built his own TV receiver using scarce parts and improvising for the rest, the only one in the Har-

well area at that time.

It is from 1940 onwards that Kandiah's inventive and teaching talents blossomed. He worked at Pye Radio for a year setting up army communication radios and in 1941 he was a Civilian Instructor on Radio to the RAF in Dudley, Worcs. For the next four years (1942-46) he lectured in Electronics at the Cavendish Laboratory, University of Cambridge. During this period he developed instruments for the detection of neutrons and measurements of their time of flight to assist teams engaged in nuclear physics research. He moved to the Atomic Energy Research Establishment (AERE) at Harwell in 1946 and also assisted the Rutherford Appleton Laboratory to start up an Instrumentation Division there.

From January to June 1984 he was employed by the United Nations to run a course in Nuclear Electronics for South East Asian Countries held at the University of Ceylon. Since his formal retirement from the AERE in 1981 he has been engaged part time by the University of Southampton, some UK Govt departments, RAL and also AERE to continue his research interest on problems of sensitivity of detection systems for x-rays, nuclear particles, infra-red and visible radiation.

He married Phyllis Turner in 1940. They have a son Peter, a solicitor in the Cayman Islands and a daughter Pavalam who works for the IBM in the UK. In 1965 he was awarded the OBE for "distinguished services to the country."

Jay

MEDICAL INSTITUTE OF TAMILS



The inaugural meeting of the Medical Institute of Tamils was held on January 8, 1989, at Trinity Hall, East Ham, London E6, and was attended by a large number of doctors, their spouses and well-wishers. The following key objectives for the MIT(UK) were identified as requiring urgent action:-

- To serve as a co-ordinating centre to help hospitals, medical schools and health projects for Tamils,
- To be an information centre for medical and para- medical undergraduates and post-graduates,
- To undertake health advice and research projects among the Tamil community,
- To monitor and enhance the recognition of hospitals and under-graduate and post-graduate training in the Tamil homelands, and
- To assist and ensure the selection of candidates from the Tamil homelands for appropriate training in UK and elsewhere.

Dr Daya Somasundaram from Jaffna University (who is on a year's leave and is studying at Leeds University) made an important contribution when he highlighted the problems among victims of torture and suggested proposals for their care and for future action in this field.

The following officers were elected to the Central Committee:

President Dr S Pasupathyrajah
Vice-Presidents Dr S Arunachalam (Education & Research), Dr R Jayaratnam (Administration & Finance) and Dr K Sivakumar (Overseas & Social Activities)
Secretaries Dr S Mahendran, Dr N Sivananthan, Dr S Shanmugadasan, Dr A Selvaratnam, Dr V Nerminathan and Dr W T Maheswaran
Asst. Secretaries Dr K Puvanendran, Dr P C Gunasegaram, Dr S Thevendra, Dr A Mahendrarajah, Dr K Ranjadayalan, and Dr M Chandrakumaran.

Communications: 56 Tryfan Close, Redbridge, Ilford, ESSEX. IG4 5JY.
 Tel: 01-551 3411

continued on page 18

TIGERS VOW FOR SEPARATE HOMELAND

LTTE fighters say they will continue their campaign against Indian troops until they have an independent homeland. "We are fighting for separation... nothing more, nothing less" said Thepan, a commander of the LTTE in charge of the Vadamaradchi political wing. "We will fight to the last man... to the last drop of blood..." he said. According to militant sources, the Tigers have recently purchased new weapons, recruited over 1,000 "boys", and could fight on for another 10 years. Local residents keep watch for Indian soldiers as the fighters move around villages. They do 'sentry' duty. "We have requested the people not to vote (in the General Election). The choice is however theirs.... we won't force them. Though we are fighting for a separate state, we are willing to listen to any new proposals of the Indian and Sri Lankan governments. We will continue to fight Indian troops, Sri Lankan soldiers or anyone who seeks to deprive us of our rights", Thepan concluded.

TIGERS ATTACK IN BATTICALOA

LTTE cadres have stepped up their attacks on rival groups at Kiran in Batticaloa district killing four members of the EPRLF and abducting two others. Reports indicate that the LTTE are about to intensify their attacks against rival militant groups despite the protection given to them by the IPKF.

LTTE KILLS INDIAN SOLDIERS

The LTTE group has claimed (in posters) the responsibility for the killing of eight Indians in operations in the Pesalai area in Mannar. This was consequent to an Indian shooting rampage in the area, where at least five Tamil civilians had been killed.

The IPKF which lost at least 15 servicemen the previous week has launched a fresh crackdown on the LTTE in these areas. Meanwhile, at Seruwila, two Indian soldiers were killed and two wounded in a confron-

tation with the Tamil fighters.

Seven Sri Lankan soldiers, including an officer, were killed at Silavathurai in Mannar district in a LTTE ambush. At least 25 Sri Lankan and Indian forces personnel have been killed in recent LTTE offensives in the N-E province.

EROS OFFICES DAMAGED

The EROS offices at Vantharamoolai, Chengaladi and Valaichenai in Batticaloa district have been badly damaged by unknown persons on Friday, January 27.

A spokesman for EROS stated that it was an action deliberately taken to discredit and discourage them in the coming elections, but they would continue undaunted to espouse the cause of the Tamils against all oppression.

EELAM NEWS

PLUNDER IN THE NORTH

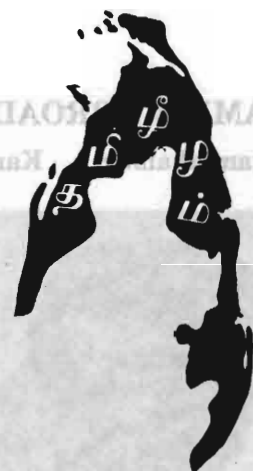
Reports of daily plunder by the IPKF with the assistance of the EPRLF at night are being received in London almost from every village. Letters received from friends and relatives complain that the situation is worse than ever before. Killing and harassment of people suspected of LTTE sympathy also are said to be rife.

ELECTION CANDIDATES KILLED

All Ceylon Tamil Congress candidate Sivagnanam and NSSP candidate Annamalai were killed in the north, while ten candidates were killed in the south.

HELICOPTER PROTECTION TO TELO ?

On January 19, in the vicinity of Nayanmarkadu (Jaffna), while LTTE cadres intercepted a group of TELO members and inflicted heavy casualties on them, IPKF helicopters came to their rescue and LTTE withdrew.



JAFFNA HINDU COLLEGE SUFFERS

Members of IPKF and EPRLF carried out brutal attacks on teachers and students of Jaffna Hindu College on January 26, and a teacher, Shanmugalingam, and a student were killed.

LTTE TAKES ON IPKF

LTTE guerrillas engaged the Indian army on January 26, at several places in the Jaffna peninsula. Fierce fighting raged throughout the day. Several Indian soldiers are believed to have been killed and many more wounded.

EXECUTED

Three members of EPRLF were executed by the LTTE on January 26, in Sithandy (Mannar).

11 SINHALESE KILLED

11 Sinhalese civilians were killed in Amparai on February 3, and LTTE has been blamed for it. LTTE, in its statement of the same day, has denied involvement and has said "We are opposed to the killing of Sinhalese civilians and have always condemned it as an act of terrorism. We strongly suspect that this could be the dirty work of Indian-backed Tamil terrorist groups."

IPKF KILLS UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

When the Jaffna University students held demonstrations on February 2, against the killing of one of their mates the IPKF attacked them. Two students were killed and 8 were injured. This incident and the killing

continued on page 19

SRI LANKAN NEWS

KILLINGS IN THE SOUTH

Killings of prominent citizens are reported daily from the South of Sri Lanka. Ten candidates for the forthcoming general elections have already been killed. Tissa Wadugodapitiya, President of the Election Committee of the SLFP; the supplier of beef to the Sri Lankan armed forces at Minneriya; and a brother of M K Sirisena, a Provincial Council member of Hambantota are among those killed recently.

RICE FROM BURMA AND CHINA

Sri Lanka is said to have entered into agreements with China and Burma for the supply of rice. Rice has already arrived and is being sold at Rs.11.25 per Kg.

41 DIE IN BUS ACCIDENT

A bus carrying school children is reported to have collided with a train at an unguarded railway level crossing at Ahungalle, about 50 miles south of Colombo. 41 persons, most of them school children, have been killed and 70 others injured.

BEGGING FOR PARDON

About 1,000 Sinhalese are reported to have paraded the streets of Anuradhapura with posters asking for pardon from the JVP for voting at the Presidential Election.

PASSPORT FOR VIRAJ

Brothers and sisters of Viraj Mendis, who was deported to Sri Lanka from UK on 20 Jan., are said to have disowned him as he had supported the Tamils. His elder brother, Suresh Mendis, Manager of the Ceylon Tourist Board, has stated in an interview with the foreign press that his family has had no communications with Viraj and that he would not be taken into the family or given shelter. One bit of good news is that he has been issued with a Sri Lankan passport.

'FRESH' CANDIDATE FOR THE 'DEAD' ONE

In a speech by the Elections Commissioner made at a press conference recently, he has said that, when a candidate for the forthcoming general election dies or is killed, another candidate can take his place and he will bear the same candidature number as that of the deceased.

This being the first election under the 'proportional representation' system, he said that Voter's Guide booklets would be distributed among the voters, starting from Jan.30.

The Election Commissioner is legally empowered to cancel or postpone the election in a particular District or Province, if he deems it necessary.

TIME RESTRICTION ON LOUDSPEAKERS

A news report from Sri Lanka states that the dates and time allowed for holding of Election meetings and the number of hours for use of loudspeakers have been restricted by the police. It is understood that these restrictions became necessary owing to several assassinations of candidates that have taken place in the island. Election meetings will be allowed to continue only till 7-30 pm in the urban areas and till 6 pm in the rural areas.

At the same time, all flags, placards, banners, and candidates' pictures exhibited with decorations, etc. have been banned from roads and public places, it is learnt.

POLICE STATIONS ATTACKED

Three police stations in the Colombo region were simultaneously attacked by subversives in the last week of January, and they escaped with a number of weapons, leaving five policemen and a civilian dead. The police stations are those at Bambalapitiya, Mattakuliya and Ragama. In another incident two policemen were killed in Middeniya.

HOLD REFERENDUM, WE TAKE TO ARMS - PLOTE

According to the DPLF, the political wing of the PLOTE, Tamil organisations such as the PLOTE will take to arms if the government attempts to hold a referendum with a view to demerging the North-Eastern province. Mr B Sivaram, DPLF General Secretary, said that such a move would mean that the territorial security of the Tamils would be lost. Even the EPRLF which administers the North-East province would be out of office with the Provincial Council dissolved, as a consequence of this.

584 KILLED IN JANUARY

It is reported that 584 people have been killed throughout the island between January 1 and 26. The highest number killed in a day was 53 on January 26. In December, a total of about 1,200 were reported killed, 101 on the day following the Presidential elections.

EXIT DIXIT ?

Mr J N Dixit, Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, will be India's next Ambassador to Russia. According to diplomatic sources, Mr Kuldip Sadev, (Joint Secretary of India's Foreign Ministry) will take his place.

REPATRIATION

At least 75,000 Tamils of Indian origin who have obtained Indian citizenship are still in Sri Lanka while nearly 20,000 of those with Sri Lankan citizenship continue to live in India, according to Mr Sellasamy, Secretary of CWC.

ACCEPT RED CROSS OFFER - CRM

The Civil Rights Movement has urged the Government of Sri Lanka to accept the repeated offers of the International Committee of the Red Cross to carry out its humanitarian work of protecting political prisoners and tracing missing persons, in the wake of reports of torture, terrorism and ill-treatment of persons by both forces of the state as well as those who oppose them.

TERRORISM HAS COME TO STAY

Ex-President Jayewardene is reported to have said, at his last Cabinet meeting, "Whether we like it or not, terrorism in Sri Lanka has come to stay and we will have to live with it for the rest of our lives." This statement keeps ringing in the minds of many of his cabinet ministers.

MRS B ESCAPES

Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike survived an assassination attempt on February 5, when grenades were thrown at the stage and gun shots fired as she stood up to speak at a rally in Polonnaruwa district. Bodyguards hustled her to safety as a twenty-minute gun battle took place. Three security men were badly wounded. Forty people were injured. Mrs Sirimavo sustained minor injury and blamed supporters of the UNP for the attack.

People and Events

continued from page 15

DEATHS

Mrs Thangaratnam MUTTUCUMARU (82), former Principal of Ramanathan College, Chunnakam, and sister of Mrs Ratna Navaratnam (Retd. Director of Education, Jaffna) and of Mrs Alagaratnam Thevathasan (Canada), died in Toronto on 29 January.

Two days later, her brother **C THURAIRAJASINGHAM** (72) died of a heart attack while on a visit to London where his daughter Karpaka Calderbank and son Jayakumar live. Mr Thurairajasingham retired in 1971 after serving as a District Land Officer in Ceylon. 37 Stanford Road, East Ham, London E6 1LP

Elizabeth Packiam ROBERT, wife of the late Selvadurai Robert (Race-horse owner and trainer, and proprietor of Robert's Forage Works, Panchikawatte) died in London on 21 January.

She leaves behind six children - Esther Emmanuel (UK), Wesley (Melbourne), Neville (Colombo), Maureen Wigneswaran (Los Angeles), Pearl Chanmugam (Sydney) and George (UK). 43 Ellerby St., London SW6 6EU.

S P L THAVENTHIRAN, born 5 September 1943.

The death occurred suddenly of a heart attack of Mr Thaventhiran (45) at his home in 3 Horwoods Gardens, Basingstoke, Hants, on 21 January. He was an Executive Officer in the Civil Service. His parents, Mr & Mrs P S Selvanayagam, live in Naranthanai, Kayts. Besides his parents he leaves behind his wife Anne Sarojini (nee Selvadurai), sons James (15) and Jude (3), brothers Sothy Mariasegarampillai (Sharjah, UAE), SEB Thanenthiran (Melbourne), SCF Jittenthiran (Norway) and a sister Puvanam Mazenod (Kayts).



WEST GERMAN TAMILS REMEMBER

The Death anniversary of **Martyr DILEEPAN** was commemorated in every country where Eelam Tamils live. The commemoration events held in West Germany were on a massive scale. A video cassette recording is available from P. Selvam, Postfach 1132, 5172 Linnich, West Germany.

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

6.3.89 Mahasivarathiri

7.3.89 Amavasai (New Moon Day)

11.3.89 Sathurthi Viratham

12.3.89 Shasti Viratham

Karthigai Viratham

21.3.89 Full Moon Day

22.3.89 Pankuni Utharam

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

March 24 : 12 noon - 3 pm GOOD FRIDAY - Meditation on the Cross led by the Rev.S.Israel, Professor from the Tamil Nadu Theological Seminary, at present reading for a doctoral degree at Wesley House, Cambridge. London Tamil Congregation, Putney Methodist Church.

March 26 : 3-45 pm. LTC Easter Service. Preacher Rev.S.Israel. Conductor & Celebrant - Rev.S M Jacob.

ARANGETRAM

Mridanga Arangetram of Yasaskara Sarma, son of Srimathi and Sivasri Pooma Siva Satchithanantha Kurukkal of High Gate Murugan Temple and disciple of Mr Muthu Sivarajah is to be held at 6.30 pm on 25.2.89 at High Gate Murugan Temple, London.

TAMIL NADU MINISTERS

A 17-member DMK Ministry headed by Kalaigai Karunanidhi was sworn in after the landslide victory for DMK at the recent elections. Kalaigai retained for himself several important portfolios including Public General Administration, Home, Finance, Industries, Commercial Taxes and Backward Classes.

The list included one woman, Mrs Subbulakshmi Jegadeesan, who has been given Social Welfare and Rural Industries. Mr Anbazhagan, General Secretary of DMK, is given Education and Mr S.J. Sadiq Pasha, Party's Treasurer, is given Law.

Mr M. Kannappan becomes the Minister for Transport and Mr K.P. Kandaswami, Editor of Dinakaran, is Minister for Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments. Others sworn in are Mr Ko Si Mani, Minister for Agriculture; Mr Arcot N. Veeraswami, Minister for Food; Mr Pon Muthuramalingam, Minister for Information and Labour; Mr Veerapandi Arumugam, Minister for Rural Development and Local Administration; Mr Durai Murugan, Minister for Public Works; Dr Ramakrishnan, Minister for Adi Dravida Welfare; Dr Ponmudi alias Deivasigamani, Minister for Public Health; Mr K.N. Nehru, Minister for Electricity; Dr Chandrasekharan, Minister for Animal Husbandry; and Mr S. Thangavelu, Minister for Handlooms.

DEATH

Prof. Subramaniam VITHIANANTHAN, Ph.D (Lond), till recently Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jaffna, died in Colombo on 22 January and was cremated in Kankasanturai on 28th January. Mrs Vithiananthan pre-deceased him in 1978. Dr Vithiananthan had previously occupied the Chair of Tamil in the Peradeniya University. He was particularly renowned for his promotion of Tamil Folk Drama producing several plays and skits during his teaching days. A fuller appreciation of Prof. Vithiananthan will appear in a later issue.

He leaves behind five children - Arulnambi (Canada), Mrs Mahilnangai Rajmohan (Australia), Miss Anpuchelvi Vithiananthan (Jaffna), Inpachelvan (USA) and Sivamainthan (Canada).

பாயுதடா தமிழ் வேங்கை
சில காலம் ஓய்ந்த பின்னே!

மின்னலெனக் கண்ணொளிக்க
மறமிடியாய் தெறிதெறிக்க
முன்னில் வரும் பகையவரோ
மண்டியிட்டே நடுநடுங்க
பாயுதடா தமிழ் வேங்கை
சில காலம் ஓய்ந்த பின்னே!

ஏமாந்தோர் என நினைத்து
எக்காளம் இட்டோர் முன்
ஏமாந்தீர் எனவுரைத்தே
இடைவாளின் பிடிதாங்கி
பாயுதடா தமிழ் வேங்கை
சில காலம் ஓய்ந்த பின்னே!

யார் முன்னே வந்தாலும்
எவர் தடுத்து நின்றாலும்
கூர்வேலைக் குருதியிலே
குளிப்பாட்டி களித்தாட
பாயுதடா தமிழ் வேங்கை
சிலகாலம் ஓய்ந்த பின்னே!

-இந்து-

EELAM NEWS

continued from page 16

of a teacher and a student inside Jaffna Hindu College have caused student strikes and demonstrations in the Peninsula.

70 KILLED IN ONE MONTH

According to an LTTE press release, 70 IPKF soldiers were killed and 26 wounded between December 27 and January 28. The report claims that 16 Sri Lankan soldiers, 3 members of the Sri Lankan Navy and 2 members of Sri Lankan police were killed during the same period.

IPKF HANDS OVER DEAD

On January 2, the dead body of Perumal Balasubramaniam aged 27 years was handed over at the Government Hospital by the IPKF. He was arrested at Ganesapuram on 30.12.88

AMIR APPEALS TO KARUNANIDHI

Amirthalingam has appealed to Kalaingar to advise the LTTE to give up arms and join the political process. Kalaingar, in an interview with 'Maalai Murasu', has said that Amirthalingam paid him a courtesy call and had not seen him specially to discuss the problem of Eelam Tamils. Kalaingar is reported to have said that the LTTE alone cannot be blamed for violence, the DMK's stand is that the war between LTTE and IPKF should be stopped, a negotiated settlement should be reached and that he would discuss this with Mr Gandhi when he gets the opportunity to meet him.

TAMILS REJOICE

Tamils all over the world expressed their joy and congratulated Kalaingar Karunanidhi over the victory of the DMK in Tamil Nadu. Congratulatory messages and good wishes were sent by several Tamil associations, including The World Federation of Tamils. The WFT in its message said, "Your victory is a victory for Tamil nationalism." Messages were also sent to V Gopalasamy, Propaganda Secretary of the party. One cable read, "Rajiv Gandhi has been clearly told that Tamils cannot be fooled for ever." Prabakaran, the LTTE leader, in his letter to the

continued on page 20

LTTE APPEALS FOR UN MEDIATION

In an appeal made from its headquarters in Eelam, the LTTE has requested the UN Commission on Human Rights, presently in session, to persuade the Government of India to withdraw its troops and the UN to help in finding a negotiated political settlement for the ethnic conflict.

It has submitted that a grave and dangerous situation has developed in the North-Eastern region of Sri Lanka as a consequence of continuous occupation, repression and terrorisation by the Indian armed forces and that under the cover of 'peace keeping' operations the forces continue to engage themselves in a ruthless and brutal war against innocent civilian masses causing intolerable suffering to the Tamil people.

"In total violation of all norms and principles of human rights the Indian army of occupation has been carrying out a vicious campaign of persecution and terror in the form of mass arrests, imprisonment, torture, rape and extrajudicial executions. In recent months alone, hundreds of innocent people have been senselessly murdered and thousands have been rounded up and held in custody in various army camps. Some of these army camps have been turned into torture chambers and innocent people are being subjected to the worst forms of inhuman cruelties.

The Indian military atrocities in the Tamil homeland are further aggravated by the terrorism of the Indian-backed Tamil armed groups (EPRLF, ENDLF, and TELO) who have in recent months unleashed a campaign of violence, murder and terror in Tamil areas with the active connivance of the Indian military authorities. These mercenary groups have exterminated more than two hundred prominent Tamil citizens. Tamil political leaders, citizens committee members, priests, social workers, university lecturers and trade union leaders have been killed in cold blood for having been critical of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement and being sympathetic to the policies of our movement.

The Government of India, in collusion with the Sri Lankan regime, has

clamped down on all sources of information in a deliberate attempt to hide from the international community various crimes and atrocities committed by the Indian army and its quisling armed groups. Both the Governments have imposed rigorous censorship on the local media and have refused factfinding missions from international human rights organisations. Having effectively suppressed the freedom of the press and other democratic institutions in Sri Lanka both Governments have been utilising the state-owned media and diplomatic services to carry out a massive disinformation campaign to distort the reality of the actual situation and to mislead the world community.

Our plea for peace and negotiated settlement has been systematically rejected by the belligerent and intransigent attitude of the Delhi Government. The Tamil people are now convinced that the Indian administration has aggressive hegemonistic designs in the region with the purpose of consolidating its strategic and geopolitical ambitions rather than to secure the interests of the Tamils.

The majority of the people in Sri Lanka, both the Tamils and Sinhalese, are firmly opposed to the Indian military presence which will neither serve the interests of peace and stability in the region, nor in any way resolve the ethnic problem.", it pointed out.

continued from page 19

DMK leader, dated January 10, wished Kalaignar every success, adding that the DMK is the only party that could inspire the Tamils of Tamil Nadu.

Dr Karunanidhi is looked upon as the protector of the Tamils, following in the footsteps of Arignar Anna-durai. By his recent victory, Tamils feel that their language, culture and their interests would be restored to their rightful place.

Eelam Tamils have been looking upon Kalaignar as the only person who could rescue them from the woes and sufferings they have been undergoing at the hands of the Sri Lankan army and now under the Indian army.

LTTE HANDS OVER INDIAN SOLDIER

An Indian soldier, Vinoth Singh of U.P., who was in LTTE captivity was released in the presence of the Valvettiturai Citizens' Committee members, and the public at Pt Pedro bus depot on February 2. Vinoth Singh expressed his gratitude to the LTTE for treating him well during the period of his captivity.

DEATH FOR HEROIN SMUGGLER

A 32 year old youth, Shanmugara-jah, was sentenced to death by Negombo High Court Judge for attempting to smuggle 619 grammes of pure heroin into Sri Lanka.

BACK TO SQUARE ONE - (OR RETURN OF PRODIGAL AMIR)

