

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

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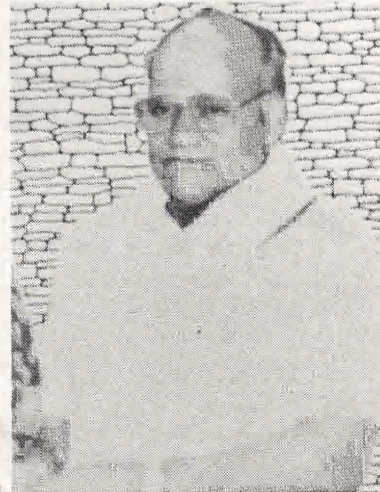
Vol. 2 No. 4

1st March, 1989

TULF OLD GUARD DEPARTS



M Sivasithamparam
President



A Amirthalingam
Secretary-General

“YOUNG” HOPEFULS STEP IN BUT FOR HOW LONG ?



R Sampanthan
President



V Yogeswaran
Secretary-General

YOUR VOICE

SETTLE DIFFERENCES; OTHER COUNTRIES DO

Dr S A Tharmalingam, London

Nowadays we hear a lot of violence in Ceylon. There is premeditated and planned group violence by government and private armies. The public in between are being crushed. They have become psychotic.

I make a heartfelt appeal to all - the public and the involved parties - to stop this and settle their differences by honest, selfless discussion and adjustment. Times are changing. The world all over is seeing the destruction and damage of civil strife and is attempting to settle differences - Central America, Soviet Union, China, Korea, Burma, Middle East, South Africa, PLO - by negotiation and compromise.

The public have to shout loud instead of grumbling to make parties realise their folly and to act. Let us not fail in our duty. Only if we persevere we can achieve our goals. India of the old Ramayanam and Mahatma Gandhi, and Ceylon with Lord Buddha's teaching can lead the world in truth and 'ahimsa'. It can and must be done.

TAMILS AND PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

Lt.Col. A J N Selvadurai

It is sad to see the Tamils not being able to unite in the political field even after so much bloodshed and misery. It does not reflect well on an intelligent people now split apart by bigotry and greed for power.

The Sinhalese and the Indians have led the Tamils by their nose into agreeing to a system of administration which does not give them any real autonomy and still keeps them under the thumb of an Executive President exercising his powers through a Governor.

The Tamils have to continue to depend on Sinhala largesse and to deal with a hostile bureaucracy of the Central Government. Further, there is nothing to indicate that state-aided colonisation of the East will stop.

We are going back to the same situation once again and all our suffering and sacrifice seem to have been in vain. If we are going to accept the situation without giving it further serious thought we will be only making fools of all our brave resistance fighters and martyrs who have sacrificed so much. It is not fair by them and we should bow our heads in shame.

As suggested in your editorial of February 1, a constitutional convention of accredited representatives of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka and our world-wide diaspora should put their heads together and decide upon our future.

While Federation may have been a suitable solution it could only be implemented successfully if there is ethnic harmony. The conditions for Federalism no longer prevail because of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism and bigotry. It is therefore imperative that there is dialogue with the LTTE and the other Tamil militant groups who should unite, and that we negotiate our future from a position of strength. With the change in the politics of Tamil Nadu we can only hope for the best.

STOP INDIAN BRUTALISATION BEFORE REHABILITATION

N.Siva, Urumpiray, Sri Lanka

It is a consolation to know that Professor A Jeyaratnam

Wilson's thoughts are with us, suffering Eelam Tamils. Rajiv Gandhi's dirty war against the Eelamists yet continues. Indian forces are roaming the streets here with guns at the ready. It was mass murder in the beginning. Now it averages six killings per day. The EPRLF, TELO, ENDLF and the newly formed Civilian Volunteer Force (minimum educational qualification required, 6th standard!) help the Indians in these killings.

Correspondent J S Tissanayagam, writing in the *Sunday Times* of 22.1.89, states, "People speak of numerous instances when they were terrorised at night by armed civilians (accompanied by Indian soldiers) who broke into houses during curfew hours. Nobody is certain who these persons were, but the fact that they came with the IPKF and tried to enter by demanding that they be permitted to check on whether LTTE members were being given protection made the people suspect the EPRLF."

The canard spread by interested parties is that former TULF MP Dharmalingam and Fr.Chandra Fernando were killed by the LTTE. Romesh Fernando writing in the *Island* of 22.1.89 says that MP Dharmalingam was killed by the TELO in 1985 on the instructions of RAW. This Indian spy organisation has got many prominent Tamils murdered. As for the killing of Fr.Chandra Fernando, this is what Fr.V.Yogeswaran S.J., says in the *Christian Worker* of August 1988:- "Fr.Chandra Fernando faced strong opposition in the last few months of his life.... this threat came from the militant groups who after the Peace Accord surrendered arms and wanted to enter the democratic process. The members of these groups still carry arms, are found in the IPKF camps and sentry posts..." It is for the intelligent reader to guess as to who committed the murder of Fr.Chandra Fernando.

May I submit to Professor Wilson that the conscience of everyone of the expatriate community should be aroused to stop Indian brutalisation in Tamil Eelam. Rehabilitation comes later. People living in fear and facing death 24 hours of the day cannot spare even a second to think of 'rehabilitation'.

TAMILS ASHAMED OF AMIR'S BETRAYAL

M K Eelaventhan, G.Secy. TELF

The Tamils of Eelam are ashamed to hear Mr Amirthalingam seeking Kalaingar Karunanidhi's help to deal with the Tamil Tigers. Mr Amirthalingam has lost his right of leadership of a nation struggling to liberate itself from the yoke of Sinhala imperialism and neo-colonialism. He has no support amongst his own people. Having alienated himself from them long ago and after wilfully disregarding their mandate to liberate the Tamil homeland, he is attempting to achieve personal power and rehabilitation with the Sri Lankan main stream of political life.

Neither the Tamils of Eelam nor the Tamils of Tamil Nadu will support any Tamil in bringing back Sinhala overlordship over Tamil Eelam. The liberation struggle shall continue in spite of Mr Amirthalingam. The people of Tamil Nadu will continue to support the struggle in spite of efforts by interested parties in India to woo them away from their committed support.

Mr Amirthalingam should gracefully give way to the truly patriotic groups to continue their struggle for liberation against serfdom under Sinhalese.

EDITORIAL

AN ANTI-GANDHI VOTE ALL THE WAY

Governor Alexander (Tamil Nadu) and High Commissioner Dixit failed to deliver the vote to Rajiv Gandhi. Gandhi has had a poor summit with Benhazir Bhutto who is obviously unable to make any policy commitment as her foreign minister is in the control of Pakistan's military. Gandhi laid the red carpet for Afghanistan's President Nazibullah who is now besieged in Kabul. Gandhi signed an Accord with the Sikh, Longhawal who was shortly thereafter assassinated. The same Gandhi signed the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord in July 1987 only to find President Jayewardene making way for the arch opponent of the Accord, President Ranasinghe Premadasa.

To add to these abysmal failures in his forays into his neighbour's political problems, Gandhi staked his reputation in Tamil Nadu's general election only to face ignominious defeat. Kalaingar Karunanidhi may help our cause given the fraternal relations between our Resistance and Tamil Nadu's sense of nationalism. But we have learned the lesson of not placing all our eggs in the Indian basket. We can nevertheless justly expect the support of every right thinking Indian against the presence on our motherland of not "peace keepers", but "law breakers" who are from time to time involved in murder, rape, sodomy and looting. They are worms in the entrails of our body politic.

Nor has the Gandhi-Dixit duet succeeded in attempts at defrauding the Sinhala and Tamil electors at the General Election of 15 February. The Tamils of Eelam have clearly indicated that they have greater faith in our own militants to protect them than Indian "storm troopers." True India's puppetry obtained a few seats. The natural question is how did these puppets win their majorities at the provincial councils? There is a case for an international commission of investigation.

To add to India's discomfiture, President Premadasa's ruling United National Party obtained a stable majority at the general election of 15 February. Premadasa has clearly stated his aversion to the Accord. With his alleged links with the JVP this anathema is aggravated. Even if the President wished to renege, or modify the Accord with a treaty of permanent friendship, we doubt that the terms will be very different. The fact is that India has obtained a foothold and there is now no frontier between India and Ceylon.

President Premadasa will have to summon all his skills as a practising politician of more than forty years experience to resolve the current imbroglio. Mr. Gandhi is in a weak position having suffered defeat upon defeat in his domestic arena. President Premadasa's only hope then, while Gandhi is tending his wounds, is to arrive at the best possible understanding with the leaders of the Tamil Resistance, those who are actually fighting on the ground, not the collaborators who are equivalents of Marshal Petain and Pierre Laval of the Vichy puppet Government whom the Nazis installed in occupied France or of the Vidkun Quisling (Norway) type. President Premadasa must make a viable peace with the true patriotic forces of Tamil nationalism.

Such a peace will require a whole range of preconditions. Normalcy must be restored. This can only be assured by the IPKF, the RAW, and all its evil works being withdrawn from the soil of Ceylon. President Premadasa may have to take his case to the United Nations. The IPKF has been guilty of harassment of the civilian population; some of its members are being tried under the Indian Penal Code for crimes of murder of innocent people, rape, looting and the sodomizing of young activists taken for questioning and detention. President Premadasa has ended the state of emergency in the Sinhala areas. Ironically the so-called "Peacekeepers" continue their reign of terror in the Tamil areas. There is an immediate need for the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, "Justice" and a Presidential Commission of Inquiry to investigate the crimes against innocent humanity perpetrated by men who are supposed to have come to keep the peace. An atmosphere conducive for peace negotiations to commence in earnest will emerge as soon as these preconditions are provided for.

TAMIL VOICE International

எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்கிலும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

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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.

PRABAHARAN - STILL THE CENTRAL FIGURE

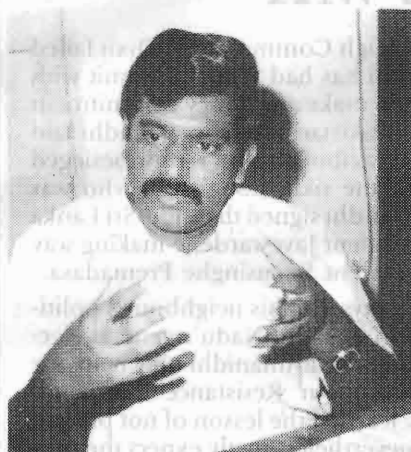
by Navamani, Kankesanturai

Since Veluppillai Prabaharan is not prepared to take orders from New Delhi, he is being painted by most Indian and Sri Lankan media to the outside world as a fascist and an intransigent man who does not believe in the democratic process. It is no different from the US and Israeli stand on PLO and its leader Yasser Arafat. The day will dawn when all the dirty tricks will come to light and he will be proved right and honourable as a freedom fighter.

Right now, the IPKF is recruiting a dangerous military group under the gilded name of Citizens' Voluntary Force who are to be supplied to 'their obedient servants' the EPRLF and associates as a Provincial Police Force. But their functions are going to be the replica of the RAW, CBI and IB, and will first annihilate the LTTE physically if the latter do not submit to the dictates of New Delhi. Thereafter, they will lay their hands on all other Tamil militant groups and will be New Delhi's watch-dogs in Sri Lanka, entailing far-reaching consequences. With all these dangers overhanging him, Prabaharan is calm, cool and contained.

The people have understood his stand as one who is not prepared to barter away the rights and the future of a community for the reward of power and position. Various media-persons who have visited the North and East have found his image high among the people. Even foreign media-persons have confirmed this. Bruce Palling confirms this in his report in *'The Independent'* of Oct.26, 1988. Thomas Abraham of *'The Hindu'* (19.11.88) found the EPRLF unable to strike root in the East even with their AK-47 and IPKF backing.

No less a person than J N Dixit who is uncompromisingly hostile to the LTTE, in an interview to the *SUN* on 10 Oct.1988, answering a question regarding the much-talked of abrogation of the Indo-Lanka Accord by both Premadasa and Sirimavo, said, "... if abrogated or cancelled, (it) will only prove the claims and arguments of extremists like the LTTE that the majority



community has always pulled back from giving autonomy and devolution to the minority Tamils." Further, explaining what he meant by threat to the sovereignty and unity of Sri Lanka, he said, "The threat to it won't be external, and any threat to the Agreement will prove the LTTE's claims."

Again, answering a question regarding LTTE by Rohan Gunasekera of *'The Island'* (Sunday) 20 Nov.1988, he said, "It's an urban guerrilla force which takes refuge among civilians. Unless you indulge in a totally sort of swamping attacks on civilians, overcoming such forces is a difficult long term exercise." Asked to clarify if he meant that it can never be secured, he said "Never."

What Dixit described as 'difficult to do' in relation to the civilian population is being done today in the North and East. The IPKF is doing the 'cordoning and guarding' of an area while the EPRLF and associates do the 'search and killing'. Even those innocent civilians who had supplied meals to the LTTE cadre during the climax of the Sri Lankan assaults have been shot dead. To meet the long term exercise which he spoke of the Civilian Voluntary Force is being trained in the IPKF camps now.

The *'Indian Express'* (21 Nov 1988) commenting on the North-Eastern Provincial Council elections, editorially admitted, "Unlike in the East-

ern Province, there is still no evidence of any significant drop in LTTE's sway over the Tamils in Jaffna." Unfortunately, the Editor does not know how the AK-47 inspired and conducted the elections.

Prof. Muni of the Indian Defence Academy is desirous of getting Prabaharan to consent to handle the administration in the North leaving the East to the EPRLF. He finds joy in even imagining such a compromise (*'Sunday Times'* 11 Dec. 1988). A fair section of Indian neutral authorities still favour a dialogue with Prabaharan.

Even Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in a recent special interview to N Ram of *'The Hindu'* (24 Dec.1988) has expressed his desire that the LTTE should join the democratic process. He also said that it would have been better had the LTTE entered the election fray during the North-Eastern Provincial Council election. It may not be surprising if Mr Gandhi does not know how the 'election' was manipulated because it is now very evident that he is not being given the true picture of the ground situation in North-Eastern Sri Lanka. Did he approve or condone the holding of the North-Eastern Provincial Council elections at the point of AK-47 rifles? Has he approved the killing of civilians, including women, prior to and after the so-called elections? Has he approved, or is he condoning, the robberies in the North-Eastern Province? The people are anxious to know it and the people feel that Mr Rajiv Gandhi must speak out his mind to Mr Prabaharan directly if he wants genuine peace in the North-East.

The late revered leader of the Tamils, Mr S J V Chelvanayakam, in his last speech in parliament, conveyed the following message to Parliament: "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

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FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

"Every vote is a vote against terror" so said Ranjan Wijeratna the General Secretary of the UNP on the eve of the General Election. Little did he know how true his words were to become in the north, where contrary to all expectations and the prophecies of the political pundits, the independent candidates, otherwise known as EROS, scored a significant victory over the Indian quislings, the TULF misalliance. The vote of the Tamil people was a vote against the terror of the IPKF and their collaborationists. Forced to vote against their will in a perversion of democracy, the voters did the next best thing they could. They registered a protest vote against the sell-out by Amirthalingam & Co, and against the Indian presence in their homeland, by voting for the independents. The lesson taught to Rajiv Gandhi by Tamil Nadu elections has been reinforced in the Sri Lankan elections - the Tamil psyche is not for tampering by New Delhi, Colombo or anywhere else. As film star Sivaji Ganeshan observed: "The people of Tamil Nadu have given a fittingly decisive vote against Rajiv Gandhi for his use of the Indian army to slaughter and heap up the corpses of our brothers and sisters in Eelam."

Insofar as the electorate in other parts of the island is concerned, though it has given President Premadasa a working majority, it has denied him the two-thirds majority that he campaigned for in order to institute constitutional reforms.

THE SUN ALSO RISES IN THE EAST

In the affairs of the Tamil people, much of the attention is usually reserved for the Jaffna peninsula. With Mr Amirthalingam compelled to contest Batticaloa in view of his unpopularity in Jaffna the focus, not unnaturally, also shifted to the east. The official line in Batticaloa from all the politicians, from the TULF and the EPRLF to the UNP and the SLMC, according to informed sources is a categorical assertion that should the IPKF withdraw, the east would be

plunged into chaos. But the public by no means loves the IPKF or its surrogates. "To see the EPRLF with arms makes the public feel very insecure" said a university lecturer. Others agreed. Nevertheless the people of Batticaloa voted for Sam Thambimuttu and Prince Casinader, both nominated by the EPRLF. The vote though was more for the personalities than for the party; both hail from Batticaloa and are identified as civic-minded citizens. One voter said: "I will vote for Prince, but not for the EPRLF."

The supposed unity of the Tamil alliance, allegedly so as not to split the Tamil vote, was put to severe test in the eastern province. Sam Thambimuttu said before the election: "We are only a syndicate of four groups who are fighting under the symbol and name of the TULF. The name is only a symbol of convenience." If unity was the intention, it was a bizarre display indeed. The TULF criticised the EPRLF at public meetings for its lack of parliamentary experience. The EPRLF for its part skilfully manipulated the open resentment caused by Mr Amirthalingam standing in Batticaloa. Clearly the ploy worked.

THE PRICE OF DEMOCRACY

It was always a source of pride for Sri Lanka that election turn-outs were usually around 80 per cent. The presidential election where the figure fell to 55 per cent was regarded as an aberration. There was optimistic speculation that the General Election turn-out would revert to earlier times, and the editor of the Sri Lanka *Sunday Times* predicted as much on the BBC. It was a pipe dream. To expect people to vote in large numbers in an election where the campaign had cost over one thousand lives, including those of more than a dozen candidates was, at the very least, unrealistic. In any case, what were people to vote for? Inflation is now running at over 30 per cent. Half the population exists on food stamps, and the President has a grandiose

scheme for alleviating poverty by providing Rs2,500 per month to every poor family. What is not certain is how he will finance it.

HIGHER EDUCATION ON THE JAFFNA CAMPUS

"If there is any institution in Jaffna where the pulse of a nation, a community, can be felt beating, it is the Jaffna campus. Within that microcosm, the suffering and despair of the youth of Jaffna is reflected." So wrote a journalist after visiting Jaffna University formerly Parameshwara College. On February 3, two undergraduates from the science and medical faculties were killed when the IPKF opened fire on students demonstrating within the university campus against the killing by the IPKF of Mr Shanmugalingam, a teacher at Jaffna Hindu College.

"We carried no arms, we were no threat" cried an anguished student in reference to their non-violent protest as hundreds of university students, black bands tied across their mouths in silent protest, walked the mile-long funeral procession of their two colleagues. Undergraduates expressed the fear that the IPKF regards them as potential enemies and has earmarked them for destruction. The campus is seen as a sanctuary and clandestine arsenal for the LTTE, and identified as a centre of anti-Indian resistance. At various times, students with LTTE links have been arrested; on an average three a week. Students complain that the IPKF has a psychotic aversion to undergraduates and take them in merely because of their status. Not surprisingly, the last item students produce when stopped by the IPKF is their university identity card.

To end with a note on the elections, a member of TELO told the *Sunday Times*: "The LTTE's problem is that they are not sure of their place in democratic politics. Their weapon is violence. They must learn to play the game according to the rules." The simple question of course is, whose rules?

THIRUKKURAL

S Sriskandarajah

பொள்ளென ஆங்கே புறம்வேரார் காலம்பார்த்து
உள்வேர்ப்பர் ஒள்ளி யவர்.

"Pollena Ankey Puram Verar Kaalam Paarthu
Ull VerpparOlliyavar" - Transliteration (487)

*The glorious, once of wrath enkindled, make no outward show instantly.
They bide their time, while hidden fires within them burn.* - Translation

The wise will not immediately and hastily show their anger; they will await their time and hold their anger. This is indeed wise. However, it is easily said but extremely difficult to practise. Only those who are balanced and can maintain their composure could cultivate this as a regular habit. It is practised by the enlightened not only because it is an exemplary quality but also because it has immeasurable utilitarian value.

Thiruvalluvar felt the need for restraint of anger in all individuals and has devoted one full chapter to 'Not being angry' (*Vehulamai* - Chapter 31). "If a man would guard himself let him guard against anger; if he does not, anger will kill him", says Thiruvalluvar. Though Thiruvalluvar extols the great virtues of not falling prey to anger, yet humans do at times indulge in anger and anger looks righteous at times. But our Puranams and Ithikasams (epics) have shown that none, even those who had acquired the best of divine powers through their penance and blessings, has escaped the inevitable consequences of succumbing to anger. Visvamithirar who competed vainly and conceitedly with Vasisthar to excel in psychic powers is a case in point.

Let us now turn to the Kural under consideration which is not one intended to extol the virtues of not becoming angry. It occurs in the chapter on 'Knowing the fitting time' (Kaalam Arithal). It is a piece of advice to kings. It is sound advice reiterating the saying "Haste is waste." The Kural is telling the king that nobody is strong and firm at all points and at all times and that everyone has weak points and strong points and that even the strongest can be beaten at his weakest point and that the weakest will be difficult to be subdued at his strongest point. Those who

thoughtfully consider and wait for the right time for the right action can even conquer the world. At a time when one should exercise self-control one must restrain himself like a stork which though tempted and attracted when small fishes pass by yet holds back and waits until a fit and fat fish passes by. That is very important for anyone who wants success in life.

If we react or over-react, we are doomed to fail. For some one who wants success it becomes necessary to suffer the insult and eat humble pie. Therefore the wise will not react openly when they are taunted or humiliated or offended if the time is not opportune and the place is not appropriate. They will abide their time. They will make it a point to remember *Anaikku Oru Kaalam, Poonaikku Oru Kaalam*. In the words of Thiruvalluvar, in such trying circumstances the wise will not react hastily so as not to make the opponent feel that he has been humiliated. Instead, they will pretend as if nothing has taken place and will devise a course of action to pay back the opponent in the same coin. This is a very good piece of advice which though intended for a king yet can be digested and adapted even by lesser mortals like us.

In the Mahabharatha, Duroona, the great master of archery, when humiliated and disgraced by Durupada felt as if the very ground he was standing on was caving in. But being wise he pocketed the insult and kept mum. He did not react. He went home laden with indignities. Having borne the venom for some time, when the opportune time came, he sent his students to seize the conceited Durupada and to bring him to his house. When Duroona's students carried out the command and Durupada stood before Duroona shorn of his royal power and majesty he asked



Durupada to recall the incident when Duroona stood like a destitute helplessly before Durupada the conceited, and chuckled. The chuckle of Duroona almost killed Durupada. But the decent Duroona did not taunt him. He only advised the king to be more royal than majestic and let him go unharmed.

Occasions are many when we go wayward and mess up while confronted with precarious situations. At such situations we should remember this Kural and act wisely. There is a time and place for every thing. Those who know the right time and right place are wise; others are not.

AMIRTHALINGAM STEPS DOWN

Appapillai Amirthalingam bowed out as Secretary-General of the TULF and was subsequently appointed to parliament for the seat allocated to the TULF from the national list of 29 members.

Amirthalingam, who lost Batticaloa to EPRLF/TELO candidate on the preference vote, was nominated to parliament on the ground that he was the Secretary-General of the party.

According to the sources in Colombo Amirthalingam and President M Sivasithamparam decided to step down from their posts they held for the last ten years to give way for the younger members in the party.

The former member of parliament for Trincomalee, Mr Sampanthan takes over as president and former MP for Jaffna Mr Yogeswaran takes over as general secretary. Former MP for Mannar Soosaitathan takes over as treasurer of the party.

Ask Rani

POPULATION CONTROL

Dear Rani,

Many years ago I read somewhere that approximately in every 25 years there is bound to be a world war or several small wars on this globe which will cause a big reduction in world population - for example, World War I (1914-18) and World War II (1939-45).

I am prone to think that, in the fortunate absence of such 'world-scale' wars for over 40 years, the increase in world population is being maintained at the 'permitted' limit by Mother Nature, by her introducing into this world incurable diseases like Aids, Leukaemia, Cancer, etc. and big scale destruction through massive floods, earthquakes, air crashes etc. with heavy loss of life. Can you please comment? - R.Monger, Kent.

A To hold 'Mother Nature' responsible for what are essentially events caused by humans is unfair. Take cancer for instance. Much of the blame for the high incidence of the disease lies in the introduction of carcinogenic substances (that is, chemicals that cause cancer) into food production; in smoking cigarettes which damages not only the smokers' body but also others who become passive smokers; and the expulsion of toxic wastes into the environment. Incidentally, Leukaemia is a form of cancer characterised by an abnormal increase in the number of white blood cells. Aids, likewise, is a symptom of human failing and is spread mainly through sexual permissiveness, and the sharing of hypodermic needles for drug abuse. Many of the 'natural' disasters such as floods have been caused by damage to the environment through logging of rain forests, for example, which has resulted in soil erosion.

Insofar as your hypothesis on wars as a means of population control is concerned, the two world wars accounted for 52 million deaths - 14 million in World War I and 38 million in World War II. When deaths from any war are compared with world population, since 1720 only once did a war cause the

loss of more than one per cent of the world's population over the period of six years, 1939-45. At that time, and since, the world population has increased at approximately two per cent per year. It can be concluded that even World War II did little to slow down the rate of population growth. In other words, war is not a sufficient means for controlling population growth, and it seems that birth control is much more effective than war deaths for world population control.

A QUESTION OF DEFINITION

Dear Rani,

When there was a lot being written about Viraj Mendis in the press, I noticed that he was called a refugee sometimes and an asylum seeker at other times. Are they the same, or is there a difference? Could you kindly enlighten me on this? - Jeevarani, Islington, London.

A It was with some difficulty, and after several inquiries, that I managed to obtain the answer to your question. I understand that the British Home Office, as well as the equivalent offices in other countries, treat refugees and asylum seekers as one and the same. In other words, an application for asylum is taken as an application for refugee status and vice versa. On the basis of the application, whichever wording is used, the Home Office makes the decision to grant either full refugee status, or exceptional leave to remain on an yearly basis or to refuse the application.

What I find disturbing is that the 1951 Geneva Convention is being applied to a steadily decreasing number of refugees. It means that the same person who in earlier years would have received full Geneva Convention status is now not recognised under the Convention. A good illustration of this is how states are now considering "individual" as compared to "collective" persecution. Consequently groups of asylum seekers such as Tamils (as well as Iranians, Palestinians, Lebanese etc.) are seen as falling outside



the Geneva Convention because most Western states are excluding collective persecution as a ground for an asylum claim.

TAMIL LANGUAGE RIGHTS

Dear Rani,

According to the 'Sinhala Only' Act, all government transactions should be conducted in Sinhala, and documents have to be kept in Sinhala only. That is the case in the private sector also. The requirement that translations would 'follow in Tamil' has not been strictly adhered to, so far.

Now that the Tamil language also has been declared an Official Language, could you please enlighten us on the effects of the practical implementation of Tamil in the Island in general, and in Tamils areas in particular? Will government transactions and documents etc. in future be in Tamil also all over the country, provided that the government is sincere in its implementation? - Kulendran, Bromley

A Quite frankly, I don't know exactly what is to happen regarding the implementation of Tamil as an official language. One can hope that the example set by President Premadasa in giving a short speech in Tamil following his address in Sinhala at his swearing-in ceremony augurs well for the use of Tamil as an official language. I am told that after independence many Sinhala civil servants and administrators were required to learn Tamil as part of their training. A re-introduction of this practice would no doubt help. It is my guess, however, that in all probability English will serve as the link language between Tamil and Sinhala which will perhaps be just as well.

ELECTION MANIFESTO OF TULF - A BIG BLUFF

V Kanthasamy, London

One is rather amused and amazed, if not indignant, at reading the TULF Manifesto, for it is a mixture of untruths, contradictions, shameless shifts and deep betrayal of trust.

After 40 years of political agitation through Parliament, Satyagraha, civil disobedience, talks and pacts, it dawned on the Tamil leadership that they should free themselves and hence the 'Eelam' slogan in the 1977 elections.

The Tamil youths, dismayed at the TULF leadership, had to resort to the only alternative as provided for in the UN Charter - to rise in armed rebellion. This led finally to the Indian intervention.

India is not for separation and TULF declared that there should be a suitable alternative. The TULF mentions many things:

Peace and Settlement: Has a satisfactory settlement been found or a serious beginning made? Provincial Council is totally powerless even on vital matters like security and land. Dr Brian Senewiratne declared, "What the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord offers to the Tamils were the same offered by the previous Governments, the only difference is that now the offer is under force of the Indian army."

Power should rest with the people, the elected. Here, the Executive decides through a Governor appointed by the President. The very Commander under whom war on the Tamils was waged is now their Governor.

We all want peace, but a stable, permanent and honourable peace, to live free, unmolested lives.

North and East: If anyone is to be blamed for dividing North and East, it is the TULF. History accepts the North and East as Tamil homelands. The preamble of the Accord accepts this. The census from 1948 accepts this. The government accepts this through the National Languages for North and East. The deployment of the Indian army accepts this and even the liberation fighters accept this.

The TULF could not even convince India of this solid fact and

remove the 'Referendum' clause from the Accord. Such an incapable leadership is preaching the importance of North and East being together. V P Singh asked Rajiv "Can you have a referendum in Kashmir?" I ask, can the Sri Lankan government agree for a referendum in Nuwara Eliya?

Talks they had in India: Everyone knows what happened to the proposals of Mr G Parthasarathy with which the TULF was involved. The proposals agreed to by JR were subsequently thrown into the bin. Even the TULF was asked to leave India by Rajiv. When this is the sorry and sordid story, the TULF shamelessly claims credit for their talks which were simply ignored.

They induced India to bring an end to our plight: We all know how our cherished birth-rights and future - a determined people making tremendous sacrifices - were treacherously bartered away overnight by the Indian PM for his own interests and to prop up the tottering regime of JR.

Their part in India dropping food: This is a blatant falsehood. It was MGR, on Prabakaran's intervention, who forced the Indian PM to do this.

Not working against the youths: Whether anyone likes it or not, one thing is very clear. The LTTE and Prabakaran have been accepted as the true, genuine, sincere, dedicated and committed leadership of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Tamil Nadu leaders, the IPKF Commander, the Sinhalese people and Government, political parties, all the Tamil Associations in the entire world (more than 100 in number), all accept the LTTE and Prabakaran as the real Tamil leadership.

Lack of commitment and steadfastness were the curse of the TULF which led to our present plight. When the LTTE was adamant in refusing to sign the Accord, the TULF and other groups signed. Is it not betrayal? Does the TULF accept the Provincial Council and the Accord and recommend these to the Tamils for acceptance as a viable

alternative to Eelam?

Thimbu declarations: The Thimbu declarations, jointly issued by all, so vital for us, have now been jettisoned by all the parties except the Tigers who are ignored in the political process.

Tamil now an Official Language: Dr Neelan Thiruchelvam, a TULF nominee himself, wrote in the *Veerakesari* that the Government did not show any interest in implementing it. He points out, "In future a two-third majority for any party would be difficult, and this Government with two-third majority has failed to bring a Bill."

Ill-advised to condemn India: When the whole world was indignant at the atrocities committed by the Indian forces and Mr Premadasa declared that genocide of the Tamils was being committed, the TULF did not condemn or say anything to bring relief to the Tamils. But they did not hesitate to condemn the LTTE which was purposely dragged into a war by India.

Had the TULF convinced India to remove the Referendum clause from the Accord, Martyr Dileepan and the 17 top men of the LTTE cadre would not have died; and no planned and state-aided colonisation in the East would have taken place.

The TULF now talks of appointments and promotions. They used to boast "We are brave men fighting for our people's freedom. We are not elected to fight for appointments, roads or hospitals." Now they sing a different tune.

If we accept the Accord or join any political process that flows from the Accord, we will be sealing our fate once and for all and we will be reduced to not second-class but third-class citizens, to be cursed by future generations of Tamils. What we need now is our freedom and not the form of government. Every group contesting the elections has an 'L' in its name meaning 'Liberation', pointing at oppression. So let us free ourselves first.

Should we not all unite, forget the past, and stand together to bring solace and happiness to our long suffering people?

THE IRONIES IN SRI LANKA TODAY

by Wakeley Paul

The Indian government resented the LTTE from the inception of its direct involvement in Sri Lanka's affairs. Mr Prabakaran consistently refused (despite being beholden to them for past favours) to become a blind puppet of the regional superpower.

The Indian government (with its own global perspectives and goals in Sri Lanka) obtained a foothold on the Island via the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of 1987, but realised they had to eliminate the LTTE to have their way. They found allies in the TRI STAR GROUP who shared this goal, but their joint efforts proved futile against the LTTE whose resilience was founded on the support of the populace.

The Indian representatives got the EPRLF and ENDLF to cooperate with the Sri Lankan government in contesting the Provincial Elections, and the two parties became the official representatives of the Tamil people in the North-East Provincial Council. The people in the North registered their protest by boycotting the election, while those in the east were forced into booths to register their votes and those of others they were coaxed to impersonate.

The irony of all this is that now the

Sri Lankan government, in desperate need of finding a solution to the ethnic problem to carry out its economic program, has to deal with the Tamil people through their non-representatives. Furthermore, these non-representatives need the Indian presence for their safety and survival, while the Sri Lankan government and Sinhalese people find this presence an affront to their pride.

The end result is that the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE now share a common ideal-INDEPENDENCE FROM INDIA FOR EACH OF THEIR PEOPLE. Both people seek to rid themselves of the INDIAN presence.

The LTTE and Sri Lankan governments share a common bond and common goal. They need each other not only to achieve that goal, but to negotiate a peace between their people.

Those who co-operated with the government in contesting the Provincial Council elections to become the ostensible representatives of the Tamil people now stand for everything the government of Sri Lanka does not. What is worse, they have become INDIAN AGENTS ON SRI LANKAN SOIL.

TERROR IN JAFFNA

by Kausheel, Nugegoda

All the people of Sri Lanka should be well aware of the motive of the Indians in this country.

SLMC candidates have not taken their oaths, the UNP candidates have not gone to the north. It is the Indians (RAW) who trained the LTTE against the will of the Sri Lankan Government. Now they are inside the country with the blessings of the previous UNP leadership. A government was formed in the North and East without one vote being cast in the whole of Northern province. And the Indians have provided the EPRLF, ENDLF, TELO and TULF with arms. Anyone who goes to the north can openly see with their naked eye Indian soldiers and the IPKF-backed men carrying weapons and power. These men are torturing and killing at least 15 to 20 innocent people a day in the whole of north and east. The world media is

silent about the situation in the north and east of Sri Lanka, including the BBC and Amnesty International. When the Sri Lankan army was on the offensive in the region, the Indian press and then the world media made a hue and cry over the situation there. Now, a regional power is committing the crimes with the help of its stooges, and everybody is silent about it. If the world media could go to the north and east and meet the people there, they would understand the truth. It is terrible there.

Peace will not dawn in the north and east as long as the IPKF is there. Nobody wants this pseudo regime. The torture and the killings must come to an end. We are a small country; allow us to be free like Singapore, not to be dictated to by a diplomat and his country.

Prabaharan - still the central figure

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perish." (National State Assembly Debates, Vol.20 No.10 Part II - Friday Nov.19, 1976). On an earlier occasion he expressed the hope that the Tamil youths who were then on a militant path would one day become the leaders of the Tamils. Like Mr Chelvanayakam, Prabakaran is also wedded to this policy (of a separate state) and is steadfast in his pursuit of same. He fully realises the legacy bequeathed by past leaders. He is the only leader credited with having carried forward the struggle from where Mr Chelvanayakam left, in the same spirit of unshaken devotion.

Prabaharan is the embodiment of the aspirations of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka and this fact is part of history and cannot be erased. Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic, Nathuram Vinayak Godse. But Gandhian ideals are still alive. Those who stand for reason, justice, and lofty ideals can never be killed by military might, and they never die. By killing them physically, their ideals are enshrined in the hearts of their people and their spirit endures for ever. That is history but self-seeking men refuse to learn.

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EELAM thoughts

by S. Kurushetran

A simple, basic truth that has been known to the suffering lakhs of people in Tamil Eelam for the past several years, but which found difficulty in gaining acceptance in the world outside - particularly in India - has now suddenly exploded in the face of the disbelievers through a democratic process that they approve, and under the very nose of the Indian army in Trincomalee, Jaffna and elsewhere. That simple truth is: THE TULF HAD LONG CEASED TO BE "VALID CURRENCY" IN TAMIL POLITICS. There is a more telling word in the Tamil language to describe the TULF - *Sellaa-Kaasu*.

TULF DID NOT REPRESENT ANYONE

Truth, it is not often realized, is the most difficult thing to sell in the world today; worse than vacuum cleaners. And truth, especially the unpleasant variety, is easier swept, like dirt, under the carpet. Even in countries such as Sri Lanka and India where the garb of democracy is yet preserved, selling it is as tough as trying to sell chastity in a whorehouse. Nobody seems to be wanting to buy it. Once, an Indian editor when told of the large-scale destruction of civilian lives and homes in Jaffna during the early months of the IPKF operations breezily waved aside both the information and the man with one hand: "I don't want to hear all this LTTE propaganda." Why is it difficult for truth to be heard? Churchill, once asked about the disinformation about the Normandy landing during World War II, said: "The truth in a conflict is so important that it must always be accompanied by a bodyguard of lies." In today's world, where most states are involved in conflict situations, not only with other states, but with its own citizens, and sometimes as in the case of India with citizens (Tamils) of another state, it becomes essential to keep the truth out from its own citizens. The mass media, the Radio, the Idiot Box (TV) and even sections of the Free Press

IT'S TIME TO DISBAND TULF

take on the role of "body guards." Now let us see how the world has been kept in ignorance of the truth for so long that the TULF leaders did not represent anyone except themselves. But first the recent election itself.

Take these two observations by *THE HINDU'S* Colombo correspondent Thomas Abraham in his reportage of the parliamentary elections (Feb.17). He says:- **The real surprise of the election was however in the North and East where the alliance of the pro-Indo-Sri Lanka Accord parties led by the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) was humbled by the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS)...**

Now how did Mr. Abraham let himself in for this "real surprise"? For a man who represents a prestigious newspaper, and coming from a country known for its pre-election sample surveys, had he only asked some voters in the north-east what the prospects for the TULF were, he would have ascertained the truth in a jiffy. May be the IPKF, his own government and his own newspaper would not have permitted him that freedom, a freedom which he surely enjoys in his own country? But who was to blame for that? Had he the freedom to do so, he need not have unnecessarily inflicted that "real surprise" on his readers, and thereby distorted the truth.

Take his second observation. He writes:- **"In Jaffna, where the TULF was at its most confident, the EROS won eight out of eleven seats..."**

Now how did he arrive by that piece of ignorance? In fact, it was widely known, not only among Tamils, but even in Colombo, that the TULF leader Mr. Amirthalingam himself avoided Jaffna, because it was there that he felt **least confident**. He first decided not to contest, pinning his hopes on a bonus seat, and thereafter changed his mind and opted for Batticaloa where he thought, with the marked EPRLF presence, his chances would be better. The local TULF candidate Mr. Sampanthamoorthy would have fared better than him, but he, poor man, was shuffled out into the bonus list in order to accommodate Mr. Amirthalingam.

Correspondents like Mr. Abraham

would be better advised to read the more perceptive coverage of Eelam Tamil affairs that sometimes appears in other southern regional newspapers like the *DECCAN HERALD* and in the North Indian papers than his own newspaper. For example, this report appeared in the *TIMES OF INDIA* of Feb. 1, which could have given him more insight into the electoral strategies in Jaffna:- **"LTTE MEN IN LANKAN POLL FRAY.** Colombo, Jan.30 (UNI). **Despite the LTTE's call for boycott of next month's parliamentary elections, its cadres are canvassing support for certain candidates in the north and east, informed Indian and Sri Lankan Tamil sources said today. They said the candidates, known supporters of the Tigers, figured in the list of nominees of Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS)...**

Had Mr. Abraham read the news paper in Colombo itself, he would have learnt that Mr. Amirthalingam and other TULF stalwarts left for Jaffna by helicopter on the 18th January, held talks with some supporters at Hotel Ashoka, under heavy guard provided by the IPKF, and returned to Colombo on the third day, the 20th. Does it look like the act of a leader who was **most confident** in Jaffna, does it?

The truth is, the TULF leadership had begun to lose its following as early as 1979, and with their physical withdrawal from the soil in the wake of the July 1983 violence and the passing of the Sixth Amendment, the rupture between them and the Tamil people was complete. If the illusion was successfully maintained (until now) that they continued to be leaders of the Tamil people, thanks (or blame) must go to the Indian government and the Indian media.

VIOLATION OF PUBLIC TRUST

Let us trace the birth and the downward graph of the TULF in historical perspective. In May 1972, faced with the threat of the new republican constitution of the SLFP, three Tamil parties - the Federal Party under the leadership of S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, the Tamil Congress headed by G.G. Ponnambalam, and the Ceylon Workers' Congress led by S. Thondaman, along with some youth groups, got together under the banner of the

Tamil United Front (TUF) in a rare expression of solidarity. In December the same year, after the 1972 constitution was promulgated without Tamil participation, Mr. Chelvanayagam resigned his seat at Kankesanthurai and dared the government to contest him again on the right of self-determination of the Tamils. The call was ignored by Mrs. Bandaranaike and the seat remained vacant until 1975, when at the by-election Mr. Chelvanayagam openly called for a mandate for a sovereign state of Tamil Eelam. Mr. Chelvanayagam was returned with a formidable majority, his largest ever, and he claimed it was a mandate for Tamil Eelam. "On behalf of the Tamil United Front", he said, "I give you my assurance that we will carry out this mandate." That then was the first open demand for a separate state, even before the Tamil United Liberation Front came into being. Although the three Tamil parties got together under the TUF banner, it became clear that the unity was not founded on any concrete working programme. It was merely a knee-jerk reaction to the growing avalanche of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism. When the Federal Party, tired of agitating for a Federal constitution for twenty years, only to be met with the Sinhala charge that it was a disguised cry for separatism, decided to opt for the real thing, the other two partners in the TUF alliance, the TC and the CWC, began to drift out of the TUF. Mr. Thondaman saw no virtue in subscribing to a demand for Tamil Eelam, which he thought will not solve the problem of the plantation Tamils. Neither did the Tamil Congress favour the idea, given its traditional campaign for equal rights for the Tamils under a unitary constitution. So much so, when the "Tamil United Liberation Front" came into being in 1976, and passed a formal resolution for the setting up of a separate Tamil state, the words "United" and "Front" were virtual misnomers. In essence, it was the Federal Party that reconstituted itself as the Tamil United Liberation Front. Meanwhile, the SLFP leader Mrs. Bandaranaike, faced with a revolt by the Communist partners in her coalition government began negotiations with the TULF leadership in a bid to

take over her problems before the 1977 elections. Nothing came out of the negotiations, and the talks collapsed. In March 1977 Mr. Chelvanayagam fell ill and in April he died. When the 1977 elections came round in July, it was Mr. Amirthalingam who led the party, seeking a categorical mandate from the Tamil voters for the setting up of a sovereign state of Tamil Eelam. The percentage of TULF votes in the seven districts of the North and East were as follows:

Jaffna District	71.81%
Mannar District	51.44%
Vavuniya District	58.82%
Mullaitivu District	52.16%
Trincomalee District	27.18%
Batticaloa District	32.14%
Amparai District	20.25%

There are several lessons that the Tamils have to learn from an analysis of the results, both favourable as well as unfavourable, but the fact remains that the TULF leadership claimed in it a clear mandate by the Tamil people in the two provinces for Tamil Eelam, given the fact that the Eastern province did not have an ethnic Tamil majority, as distinguished from the Tamil-speaking majority.

Once the mandate was claimed by the TULF leadership, what did it do? It went back on it, there being no question about it. The president of the TULF, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, when asked by the then *SUNDAY TIMES* (A Times group newspaper now defunct), what the Front proposed to do if it won the mandate for separation, responded by saying that their first step would be to set up a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution for Tamil Eelam. Instead, having become the second largest party in Parliament through a totally unforeseen distortion of the electoral process, the leader Mr. Amirthalingam grabbed the opportunity to allow himself to be installed as the Leader of the Opposition in the Sinhala Parliament; a ridiculous situation, but for the fact that it represented a flagrant violation of the public trust. With that symbolic act, even the third word in the TULF's name - "Liberation" flew out of the window. The TULF ceased to be neither a "United Front" nor a "Liberation Front." The history of the TULF ever since, has been the

history of the proverbial donkey's tail - a slow disintegration. They say about that poor animal, the mule, that it has neither the pride of ancestry nor the hope of posterity. The story of the TULF has been the same. With the shameful performance at the recent Parliamentary elections, the TULF has publicly exhibited to the world that it has not only no tail, but also not even a head to show itself either in Jaffna, or Trincomalee or Batticaloa or Colombo, or Madras or New Delhi or even beyond.

LACK OF COMMITMENT

How the TULF leadership managed to retain the public illusion of being Tamil leaders until now, is another story. When the leadership fled to Madras under the fear that the Sri Lankan government might put them behind bars in the wake of the harsh provisions of the Sixth Amendment, it was the consequence of a major blunder of their own making. The Sixth Amendment, passed in the Sri Lankan parliament on the 5th August, 1983, said: "No person shall, directly or indirectly, in or outside Sri Lanka, support, espouse, promote finance, encourage or advocate the establishment of a separate state within the territory of Sri Lanka." Anyone who contravened these provisions became liable to the imposition of civic disability for up to 7 years, the forfeiture of his movable and immovable property (except what he needs to sustain himself and his family), the loss of his passport, the right to own any immovable property, the right to engage in any profession.... in addition, if he is a Member of Parliament, he loses his seat. Since the TULF was formally (if not sincerely) committed to the establishment of an independent Tamil state, by virtue of its Vadukoddai resolution of 1976, it was faced with the dilemma of either capitulating, and taking the oath disavowing separatism, and face the risk of being hounded out by the people then and there, or remain in the country and face the risk of being charged under the Sixth Amendment. What in the calculation of the TULF leadership was only a political joke perpetrated on the Tamil voters suddenly became a serious matter. When a

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lawyer makes a mistake, maybe the client may end up in jail, or be hanged. When a surgeon errs, the patient might die. But when a leader of a people makes a blunder either through incompetence, or for selfish reasons, or even through an honest miscalculation, the consequences to a people, to a whole country, can be disastrous. Today, both the Tamils and the Sinhalese are paying for the sins committed by a handful of politicians on both sides of the ethnic fence - the Bandaranaiques, the Jayewardenes, and of course the Amirthalingams. But why should they? How many thousands of Tamils have lost their lives, the lives of their bread-winners, lost their movable property, their passports, their right to engage in their trade or profession in their own land? The tragedy of the TULF leadership was not that they were forced to flee because of their commitment to their political objective, (in which case the Tamils would have respected them and admired them) but precisely because of their lack of commitment.

It was the good fortune of the TULF leadership that when they fled to India, the Indian government under Mrs Gandhi initiated a series of negotiations to settle the problems of the Tamils with the Sri Lanka Government. Whom could India send as negotiators to Colombo? The obvious choice fell on the TULF leaders; after all, they were elected MPs, seasoned politicians, good lawyers, men who had rubbed shoulders in Parliament with the Sinhalese leaders. Well, this gave them the status that they had lost in the eyes of their own people. They could have preserved this image at least in the eyes of the outside world, had they not, either impelled by their own egos or pressurised by an external force, parachuted back to face an election that surely their instincts would have told, they were bound to lose.

TIME TO DISBAND THE TULF

The quality of good leadership is to force events (even the critics of the LTTE cannot deny this virtue to Prabakaran), **not to chase behind events.** John Kenneth Galbraith tells the story in one of his books of a little known Paris revolutionary of 1848,

Alexandre-Auguste Ledru-Rullin. Looking from his window one day and seeing a crowd pass by, he said, "I must follow them, for I am their leader." Even this option - that of backing the genuine liberation forces from the rear and yet meriting enough acceptability as leaders - was there, but the TULF leadership failed to take it. Had they at least seen the writing on the wall, if not during the seventies, at least during the early eighties, that a new Tamil generation was assuming command of Tamil thinking, that the struggle for Tamil rights was entering a new dynamic phase, happily or unhappily with arms, and gracefully retired to the background and told the Tamil people: "Look, we have in our own time contributed something to the Tamil cause. In the new evolving situation we are fast losing our relevance. Let our youth carry on. Anytime you need us, we are still here", I am sure that would have been a triumph of realistic pragmatism over egoism. Is there any unwritten law that says that the TULF leaders must continue to be the leaders of the Tamil people until they die (or until both die)?

These views are not born of hindsight. They had been articulated time and again over the past several years, but not many, least of all the

TULF leaders, were prepared to listen to them, or absorb them. But as some writer said: Those who forget the past are condemned to re-live it. The past is important, at least to be able to define the present, and even chart the future. Now, that the Tamil people have given a "democratic" verdict, which neither New Delhi nor the world can afford to dispute, it is time for the TULF leadership to withdraw itself from the Tamil political scene. If the Tamil people feel the need to create a new "democratic" leadership at sometime or other, let them.

It is time to realise that Tamil leaders, from the time of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and Arunachalam, down to G G Ponnambalam and S J V Chelvanayagam, and further down to Amirthalingam, fall into the category of leaders whom one could describe as "constitutionalists." That era is now over. There is a fundamental, qualitative change in political thinking, as well as political behaviour. In this kind of "new wave" situation, Tamil people cannot afford unnecessary baggage like the TULF. It has to go; otherwise it can continue to be an expensive distraction. It's time to disband the TULF, lock, stock and barrel, and get on to new equations.

GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

Parties	Votes	Percentage	No.seats
UNP	2,837,961	50.7	125
SLFP	1,780,599	31.8	67
INDEPENDENT (EPDF)	221,998	3.9	13
SLMC	202,014	3.6	4
TULF (EPRLF, ENDLF, TELO)	188,593	3.4	10
USA	160,271	2.9	3
MEP	95,793	1.7	3
ELJP	67,793	1.2	
ACTC	7,610	0.1	

Voting in Tamil Eelam

District	Registered	polled	Percentage
Jaffna	592,210	265,058	44.8
Vanni	141,448	47,650	33.7
Trincomalee	152,289	106,273	67.8
Batticaloa	216,574	169,284	78.2
Amparam	265,768	224,444	84.5

Total registered voters: 9.37million

Polled: 63.6 %

Rejected (of votes cast) 6.1%

TIGERS BECOME THIRD LARGEST PARTY

says Chris Nuttall speaking from Colombo on February 17 BBC Eastern Service.

The major surprise of Sri Lanka's elections was the emergence of an independent group, which had hardly bothered to campaign, as the new Parliament's third largest party. The Group, which won 13 seats, has been identified as the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students. EROS is closely associated with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the only Tamil militants still carrying on a guerrilla war for a separate state in the North and East.

Their success is being seen as an indirect vote of support for the Tigers by the Tamil people, particularly those of the Northern Jaffna Peninsula, the Tigers' former stronghold, where EROS won eight seats. This was in spite of a call for a boycott of the elections by the LTTE. It had said they would be a fraud, stage-managed by the Indian and Sri Lankan governments and all those contesting would be traitors to the Tamil cause.

LTTE CALL FOR BOYCOTT 'ONLY PARTIAL SUCCESS'

The boycott call can only be considered a partial success. There was 44 per cent turn-out in Jaffna compared with a national average of 64 per cent. In the Vanni to the south it was 33 per cent. In the east, the turn-outs in Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Amparai were 70 per cent, 78 per cent and 84 per cent respectively. These are areas where there are large Sinhalese and Muslim communities and there was a greater sense of competition among the electorates, with voting on communal lines.

Nevertheless, the turn-outs do give credence to the long-held notion that the Tigers' main power base is in the north and they are comparatively weak in the east. But the distribution of seats reveals that the Tigers still command strong support in Trincomalee. EROS won two of the four seats, with the other two going to the national UNP and SLFP.

SUDDEN SPURT BY EROS

In Jaffna, there were reports that EROS suddenly began to campaign seriously in the final three days, suggesting that the Tigers had finally given their tacit approval to EROS taking part. The group won 150,000

votes, 63 per cent of the poll. This gave them eight of the eleven seats. EROS won one of the five seats in the Vanni, two out of four in Trincomalee and one out of five in Batticaloa. It did not contest in Amparai but picked up another seat on the basis of its share of the poll nationally.

The election results can be seen as disappointing for the other Tamil groups contesting. The Democratic People's Liberation Front, identified as PLOTE - the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam failed to win a seat. An alliance of four parties which had accepted the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Accord won 10 seats. They fought under the symbol of the Tamil United Liberation Front, the moderate group of Tamil politicians who had become the largest Opposition group in the last parliament but were forced to forfeit their seats when they refused to take an oath of allegiance to a unitary state in 1983.

But in a devastating reversal yesterday, the TULF failed to win any of the seats it contested and its leader, Mr Appapillai Amirthalingam the one-time leader of the Opposition in the last parliament, lost in Batticaloa. Instead, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) took seven seats and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) won two.

TULF SUFFERS SERIOUS LOSS OF SUPPORT

In Jaffna, the TULF's former powerbase, it polled only a share of 25 per cent of the vote, compared with 72 per cent on its own in 1977 when it won 11 seats. The party did help the alliance to poll nearly 200,000 votes nationally and it hopes that Mr Amirthalingam will be nominated for the one seat allocated to the TULF combine on a national basis. Explaining their defeat, Mr Neelan Thiruchelvam who contested in Jaffna said that in an atmosphere of threats and intimidation it had been difficult to campaign. They were not armed to the same extent as the EPRLF and had been able to hold hardly any meetings. But he admitted that the TULF had suffered a serious loss of support.

Mr Thiruchelvam said the party

had made a misjudgement in not contesting the November 19 Provincial election. This had put in place the North-Eastern Provincial Council - the main provision of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement which had been designed as a compromise to Tamil demands for self-rule. The council is dominated by the Indian-sponsored EPRLF and Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front or ENDLF, who took the thirty-six seats in the North without a contest when no other Tamil group opposed them.

NORTH REJECTS EPRLF

In some ways the general election vote in the North can be interpreted as an anti-EPRLF vote. The Jaffna voters appear to have protested against the EPRLF being allowed to run their affairs. It can also be seen as a protest vote against the Accord and the continued presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

The Jaffna voters appear to have discounted the TULF as a party that can help them. It has suffered because of the long exile of its leaders in Madras following threats made against them by the Tigers. The party also lost credibility when it decided not to put up candidates in the provincial election.

TIGERS STILL TRUE VOICE OF TAMILS

The election result is a big boost for the Tigers after they had been left out in the cold politically and were under great pressure militarily from the IPKF. Their boycott call was ignored in the Provincial Council election in the east and the EPRLF was allowed to seize power in the new province unchallenged by other Tamil groups.

But now the Tigers have a powerful platform for their views in the new parliament should they choose to exploit it. They can claim that the vote has shown that they are still the true voice of the Tamil people. There was speculation today that EROS may not take up its seats in parliament and the wins may be used merely to show the enduring strength and support of the Tigers who in recent months have sometimes seemed as weak as kittens.

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

PROF.S. VITHIANANTHAN
(1924-1989)

**VOTE OF CONDOLENCE BY A
REPRESENTATIVE FUNERAL
COMMITTEE, JAFFNA,
ON 26.1.89.**



It is with deep regret that we, on behalf of the Tamil-speaking peoples, record the death of Professor Suppiramaniam Vithiananthan, the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jaffna (1979-88).

Vithiananthan, a distinguished University teacher since 1946, was an esteemed figure in the field of Higher Education of Sri Lanka. He headed the University of Jaffna for almost ten years, first as President of the Campus and later as Vice-Chancellor, providing the young University with the firm, democratic, intellectual foundations it needed.

His role in the development of the Faculty of Medicine and keeping it up to measure equal with the highest of Sri Lankan standards was great, and it is the blue print for the Faculty of Agriculture which he steered through that is being implemented now. Equally significant are the formula-tive steps he took to plan out the Faculty of Engineering for the University.

The greatest achievement of Vithiananthan, the Vice-Chancellor, was that he ran a University in Jaffna at a time when it hit the headlines of the international media as one of the worst hit areas in the world, whereas Sri Lankan Universities located at more peaceful places remained closed. He had the great quality of being effective without being aggressive.

He was a much respected figure among the Vice-Chancellors and was prevailed upon to take the chairmanship of the Committee of Vice-

Chancellors and Directors in the year (1986-87) in which the Commonwealth Universities Association had one of its triennial celebrations so that he could represent Sri Lanka at that Conference. That was how fellow Vice-Chancellors wanted to honour him in the penultimate year of his service. It was a great tribute to his efficiency when they re-elected him for the next year too. Vithiananthan was a member of the Senate of the Tamil University, Thanjavur.

He was known to generations of University students - Tamils, Sinhalese, Muslims and Burghers - as one of the most popular, ever-responsive University teachers. As Sub-Warden of Jayatillake Hall, under Professors Malalasekera and Rodrigo, and as Warden of Wijewardene Hall, he was a friend of all the undergraduates. He was, to put it in Sri Lankan idiom, an 'elder brother' to all of them helping them in their needs and guiding them through their crises. To the Tamil students at Colombo and Peradeniya, Vithy was an indispensable part of their University career, and even thereafter.

At a time when the University of Ceylon, through its intellectual mentors like Malalasekera, Ratnasuriya, Kanapathipillai, Hettiaratchi and Mailvaganam, exemplified the dignity of the national culture, Vithiananthan emerged as the Tamil counterpart of Saratchandra, both initiators of the Sri Lankan cultural revival. Maname and Ravanesan, Karnan Por and Sinhabahu became not only landmarks in the history of Sri Lankan theatre but also in the cultural rediscovery and awareness among the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

Vithiananthan's efforts at resuscitation of the indigenous Tamil theatre which contributed to the culture awareness of the Sri Lankan Tamils highlighting the specifics in relation to Tamil culture in India provided the cultural foundations for the ensuing political struggle for the identity and recognition of the Sri Lankan Tamils as one entity. Vithy's love for Tamil and Tamil culture was an acknowledged source of inspiration for the political leadership.

He himself emerged as the symbol of Tamilian defiance of state oppression when he successfully organised and conducted the Fourth Con-

ference of the International Association of Tamil Research (1974). All these made Vithiananthan a respected institution among the Tamils.

He was one who stood above all regional and religious differences among the Tamil-speaking peoples of Sri Lanka. He highlighted the Muslim contribution to Tamil, rediscovered the Batticaloa Theatre, encouraged the up-country Tamil traditions, reactivated the Catholic Theatre of Mannar and published collections of folk songs of all Tamil regions. He personified the concept of Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking people. In that sense, he was always considered the first and best representative of Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking people in South India, Malaysia, Singapore etc. Vithy during his time, was the best symbol of Tamilian secularism, its universality and internationalism.

His outstanding role as a cultural activist and a social figure had always inhibited an objective appraisal of his intellectual contributions to Tamil studies. His "Thamilar Calpu", the culture of the Tamils, a work dealing with the culture and civilisation of the Cankam Tamils is perhaps the most definitive work in Tamil on the subject, having run into three editions in Madras and one in Sri Lanka. He was one of the best teachers of grammar.

Vithiananthan, to his contemporaries, to the students who studied under him, and to those who worked with him and sometimes even against him, was the symbol of humanism. He forgot and forgave all wrongs done to him and was the first to rush to help. It is no exaggeration to say that he took upon as his, the worries and woes of his associates and acquaintances, and thus, quite often, had to bear the cross too. And this he did with great human understanding and divine majesty. It is an example of martyrdom that cannot be found among lesser mortals. It is this human loss that is irreplaceable.

Sri Lanka could have equally talented artists, teachers, intellectuals and social activists, but never one with such humanness and love, forbearance and forgiveness blended with all these into one indivisible whole. He was a Man among men, a mile-stone in the history of Sri Lankan Tamils, unforgettable, unique.

We salute his memory!

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

LONDON VEENA GROUP

3rd Annual Cultural Evening of The London Veena Group is to be held on Saturday, April 1, 1989 at 6.00 p.m. at:

Lola Jones Hall, Greaves Place, Tooting Broadway, London SW 17

Programme:

CARNATIC VOCAL: Nageswari Bramanandha

SITAR RECITAL : John Parkins

RAGA ON PIANO: Keith Barnard

BHARATHA NATYAM: Chitra Satkunanathan, Veena Natarajan, & Vanathi Nithiananthan

GRAND VEENA ORCHESTRA: Arunthathy Srisikantharajah and her musicians

For details: (01) 543 2126

PERSONAL



M THIYAGARAJAN, ACMA, has been admitted as a partner in the firm of Heneghan Joseph & Co., Accountants operating from 18, The Broadway, Wembley Park, Middlesex. Earlier he had worked for J Sainsbury Plc., Rank Xerox Ltd. and Courage Ltd. Mr Thiyagarajan has been actively promoting the interests of several Tamil organisations in London.

22-MEMBER CABINET AND THEIR PORTFOLIOS

PREMADASA APPOINTS ONE TAMIL AND ONE WOMAN

President Premadasa: *Buddha Sasana, Policy Planning & Implementation, Defence;* **Wijayapala Mendis:** *Transport & Highways;* **ACS Hameed:** *Higher Education, Science & Technology;* **D B Wijetunge:** *Finance;* **Gamini Dissanayake:** *Plantation Industries;* **M Vincent**

Perera: *Justice & Parliamentary Affairs;* **Lalith Athulathmudali:** *Agriculture, Food & Co-operatives;* **Festus Perera:** *Power & Energy;* **S Thondaman:** *Textiles & Rural Industrial Development;* **Ranil Wickremasinghe:** *Industries;* **Dr Ranjith Attapattu:** *Labour & Social Welfare;* **P Dayaratne:** *Lands, Irrigation & Mahaweli Development;* **JM Perera:** *Fisheries & Aquatic Resources;* **WJM Lokubandara:** *Education, Cultural Affairs & Information;* **Alick Aluvihare:** *Posts & Telecommunications;* **C Nanda Mathew:** *Youth Affairs & Sports;* **AP Mansoor:** *Trade & Shipping;* **UB Wijekoon:** *Public Administration, Provincial Councils & Home Affairs;* **Mrs Renuka Herath:** *Health & Women's Affairs;* **AMS Adikari:** *Tourism;* **B Sirisena Cooray:** *Housing & Construction;* and **Ranjan Wijeratne:** *Foreign Affairs.*

NORTH-EAST TAMIL & MUSLIM MPs

At the Parliamentary Elections held on February 15, the following were elected to serve as MPs:- (figures in brackets represent votes obtained)

JAFFNA DISTRICT

INDEPENDENT: E Ratnasabapathy (40,947), S Pararajasingam (36,340), S Sivamaharasan (22,622), A P Selliah (20,747), T Loganathapillai (17,616), S Edward (17,429) and J G Rajenthiram (13,928).

TULF (EPRLF): K Navaratnam (22,255), K Premachandran (20,737) and G Yogasangari (20,233).

VANNI DISTRICT

UNP: Rasamanohari Pulendran (3,260)

TULF (EPRLF): Emmanuel Antony Silva (6,385), Raja Koneswaran (6,276)

TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT

INDEPENDENT: S Ratnarajah (784), K Maathavarajah (575)

UNP: M E H Maharoo (10,000)

BATTICALOA DISTRICT

TULF (TELO): K Govinthan (25,651)

TULF (EPRLF): Prince Casinader (21,599), T Sam Thavarasa (19,431)

INDEPENDENT: A Gunaseelan (22,889)

SLMC: A M Hisbulla (15,831)

DIGAMADULLA DISTRICT

SLMC: M H M Ashraff (56,464)

TULF (ENDLF): T N Jeyaratnam (17,880).

APOLOGY

A number of readers have objected to the reference in TVI Vol I No 24 in the Tamil Page that "the Tamils in countries like Norway and Denmark have insufficient knowledge of English."

TVI apologises and reiterates that it was said in general and not meant for these countries alone.

ARRESTED FOR KEEPING EXTRA FOOD

The Anglican Church Priest at Kopay, Rev. Edward Jayaraj, was taken into custody by the IPKF on January 28 after a 'cordon and search' operation and released on January 31. The only offence he committed was being in possession of extra food items which the IPKF claimed were meant for the LTTE. The priest had brought these extra items for a wedding. These are the conditions under which people are living in Jaffna!

ROBBERIES GALORE IN N-E

In the North and East, since October 1988, there has been a spate of robberies where the people allege that the EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO cadres go to houses, in numbers of 15 to 25, when curfew is on. They demand their dinner from the women-folk after taking all valuables like jewels and cash. In Jaffna the people ring temple bells, beat large tins or buckets and raise cries of distress whenever they find these robbers in the village, to chase them away. One youth who raised such cries was shot dead by the armed robbers at Kandermadam. It is said that some members of these groups are making money to go to foreign countries in search of jobs.

YOUTHS PREPARE TO GO ABROAD

Following the fast-deteriorating and explosive situation in the North and East, a large number of Tamil youths who are not wedded to any group have come to Colombo and are waiting to go abroad, more in search of peace and safety than for jobs.

SEVENTY LIVES IN JANUARY 1989 ALONE

Violence in North East province is said to have claimed a total of 70 lives during the month of January alone. This included 19 members of the Sri Lankan forces, 20 IPKF and 30 Tamil civilians.

FUNERAL PROCESSION OF UNIVERSITY VICTIMS

The funeral of Thanabalasingam Satyendra, one of the two varsity students who were shot dead by the IPKF, was held on Saturday, February 4. University students and staff numbering over 2000, wearing black bands and mouths tied with black cloth as a protest against denial of freedom of speech by the IPKF, marched in procession to the crematorium from the home of Satyendra.

HOSPITAL VISITORS KILLED BY EPRLF

A mini-bus carrying passengers, most of them visitors to the hospital with food for the patients, was stopped by the EPRLF cadre, on Feb.5, Sunday. The driver was ordered to drop the passengers at the venue of an election meeting of the EPRLF. The driver resented this. After an argument he was asked to proceed. As the bus started to move this armed group fired at the passengers inside the bus killing five of them including two women.

YOUNG WOMAN KIDNAPPED

In the first week of February, a young woman travelling in a private bus from VVT to Colombo was kidnapped by a group of armed youths near Vavuniya. Her brother complained to the IPKF, but no action was taken to find her whereabouts. The group is said to be from the EPRLF.

CHIEF MINISTER COULD NOT ADDRESS MEETING

C M Varadaraja Perumal was scheduled to address a meeting at Nelliady on 6th Feb. As the meeting commenced LTTE opened fire at the platform which was guarded by EPRLF cadre. EPRLF and IPKF returned fire, and pandemonium reigned. Varadaraja Perumal could not speak and the meeting was abandoned.

PLOTE MEMBERS KIDNAPPED

Three members of PLOTE are reported to have been kidnapped in

Vavuniya by EPRLF members. Their whereabouts are not known.

LTTE FIRES ON ARMY CAMPS

The LTTE is reported to have fired mortar shells into two army camps of the IPKF in Adampan (Mannar) on January 26, Indian Republic Day. Casualties are not known. LTTE has stepped up its offensive against the IPKF and its allies in the last few weeks.

IPKF ERECTS MORE CAMPS

The IPKF are putting up more camps and check-points in the Jaffna peninsula, it is reported. A curfew from 7 p.m to 5 a.m has also been clamped down in the peninsula.

JAFFNA-COLOMBO TRAIN ATTACKED

The Jaffna to Colombo train is reported to have been stopped beyond Medawachchiya and passengers assaulted and robbed of their belongings by unidentified persons.

EPRLF OFFICE ATTACKED

At Talawakelle, in the plantation area, the office of the EPRLF is reported to have been attacked and burnt down by a gang of armed persons.

BALLOT PAPERS PLUNDERED

The Election Office at Vavuniya was set on fire in the first week of February, by a gang of armed men believed to be members of the EPRLF. About 10,000 ballot papers have been taken away by the attackers.

4 CIVILIANS KILLED

The IPKF is reported to have shot and killed four innocent civilians in Batticaloa in reprisal for a mine attack by the LTTE in which 7 Indian soldiers were killed.

TRAIN AND A BUS SET ON FIRE

A passenger train was set on fire at Valaichenai in Batticaloa by a gang of armed men. The engine and some carriages were damaged. Armed youths stopped a CTB bus at Batticaloa, ordered the passengers to alight and set the bus on fire.

DEMONSTRATION IN JAFFNA

It is reported that a mass demonstration was staged by the people of Jaffna denouncing the killing of S Jeganathan and T Satyendra, two undergraduates of the University of Jaffna by the Indian soldiers. The



Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Thurairajah, addressing the meeting at the University grounds, emphasised the urgent need for restoring peace in Sri Lanka.

TELO MEMBER KILLED BY THE PUBLIC

According to a report from Mullaitivu, a member of the TELO group had been lynched by members of the public at Mullaitivu. Four of his comrades who accompanied him had escaped. Some weapons were also taken from them.

KACHCHERI FUNCTIONS UNDER MILITARY FORCE

The Jaffna Kachcheri is reported to have been forced open by the IPKF and ordered to function. The Govt. Agent and about 40 officials have been forcibly taken from their homes to the Kachcheri to carry on with their normal work.

IPKF SHOOT DOWN TAMIL FARMERS

Four Tamil farmers were shot dead by the Indian troops while they were working in their paddy fields at Mullaitivu.

LTTE DENIES INVOLVEMENT

In a statement issued on February 12, the LTTE denied any involvement in the killing of civilians in the North-Eastern Ampari District. It added, "We condemn vehemently these acts of terrorism on civilian targets. We suspect strongly the Indian-backed "Three Star" group for the killing of Sinhalese civilians and extreme Sinhalese elements for the killing of Muslims in Amparai. This is a calculated attempt on the part of the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments to put the blame on the LTTE to tarnish our image at a time we have appealed

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SRI LANKAN NEWS

APPOINTMENT OF PM

It was confidently expected that the appointment would have been made on February 22 by secret ballot of the Cabinet. This has not happened presumably because unforeseen problems.

IMPLEMENTATION OF DEVOLUTION TO BE STEPPED UP

Mr Festus Perera, Information & Fisheries Minister, is reported to have told the Press that Cabinet Ministers had been instructed to devolve adequate powers to all provincial councils. President Premadasa, on discovering on his tour of Batticaloa recently that although the Ministries had transferred powers to the Provincial Councils the government departments had not done so, has ordered that immediate action be taken to transfer the powers effectively.

RUSH FOR PASSPORTS

It is reported that there is an unprecedented rush at the Sri Lankan Immigration & Emigration Office in Colombo for passports. On an average the office received 750 applications daily for passports, but since January 23, the applications have doubled to about 1500 per day.

CODE OF CONDUCT FOR MPs

Following rumours of bribery and corruption among parliamentarians, the Sri Lankan Cabinet of Ministers meeting under President Premadasa is reported to have approved the preparation of a 'Code of Conduct' for Members of Parliament. The task is said to have been entrusted to Food Minister, Lalith Athulathmudali. The code, based on those of the US, UK, Singapore and India, is expected to come into force after the General Elections.

PREMADASA OFFERS HIS HAND

President Premadasa is reported to have reiterated his call to the JVP and LTTE to join the political mainstream. He is also said to have offered to have negotiations with them at any place and at any time promising to give them full protection.

TAMIL BUSINESSMEN KILLED

Two unknown persons are said to have walked into the shop of a prominent Tamil businessman in Colombo (popularly known as 'Potato' Shanmugam) and shot and killed him and his brother Subramaniam. The reason for these killings is not known.

C.O.L. RISE WAS STEEPER THAN INCOME RISE

According to a report published by the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, the monthly income of the average middle class family in Sri Lanka rose by 420 rupees whereas the rise in the Cost of Living rose by 908 rupees during the 11-year rule of the UNP from 1977-88. While the daily wage of an average worker increased by 60%, the cost of essential food items like rice, vegetables, meat etc. shot up to 133%. There has also been a notable increase in the cost of water and electricity. The report further states that between 1952 and 1975 the Cost of Living index kept pace with income, going up to 98.3. But between 1976 and 1988 it shot up to a staggering 467.5 !

KILLINGS: POLITICAL AND OTHER

According to papers tabled in the Sri Lankan Parliament on 17.12.88 by Mr Vincent Perera, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, lives lost by political killings in Sri Lanka between 16 November and 14 December 1988 are:

North East	69 civilians
South - Political killings	81
Other killings	323

Civilians killed in the South during the period January 13 to January 26 are reported to be 178. According to police reports, as many as 1,100 political and other murders have been committed in Sri Lanka since the Presidential election on 19.12.88. The Sri Lankan authorities have blamed the JVP, for most of these murders. On January 25 alone 50 people are said to have been killed.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN TOLL

It is reported that at least 670 persons had been killed in Sri Lanka in election violence since the campaign for the General Elections commen-

ced in January.

NAGODA HOSPITAL ATTACKED

The Nagoda hospital is reported to have been attacked by a gang of JVP militants killing two Special Task Force men who were guarding one of their injured comrades. The attackers are also said to have taken away some of the arms and ammunition from the commandos.

CIVILIANS SHOT DEAD

18 civilians are reported killed by the Sri Lankan STF in Akuressa in the Matara area. The faces of the dead persons had been mutilated presumably to prevent identification.

BANKS ROBBED

At Tangalle four Rural Banks are said to have been looted. Cash and jewellery to the value of over Rs.250,000 have been robbed by armed gangs. The People's Bank at Kaduwella is reported to have been robbed of 3 million rupees worth of jewellery and Rs.30,000 in cash by a gang of armed youths. The Wellawatte People's Bank is said to have been robbed of 2 million rupees worth jewellery and Rs.200,000 in cash during day time by armed men. Rs.5,000 in cash was robbed from a Co-operative Rural Bank in the Matara district after threatening the officials. In the Matara district, 9 Rural Banks, Co-operative Stores and Sub-Post Offices are said to have been attacked by armed persons and a total of Rs.85,639 in cash robbed from them.

As much as Rs.40 million worth of cash and jewellery are said to have been robbed in the month mid-January to mid-February by the so-called subversives of the JVP in the South.

BOMB EXPLODES IN MALIGAWA

A bomb exploded in the precincts of the well-known Buddhist Temple of the Tooth, 'Dalada Maligawa' in Kandy. Six persons were injured seriously, two of whom later succumbed to their injuries. Following the incident, 9 women and 2 men have been taken into custody.

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MUSLIM SCHOOL SET ON FIRE

The Zahira Maha Vidyalaya, a Muslim School at Mawanella in Kegalle district, is reported to have been set on fire, allegedly by the JVP militants.

SINHALESE VILLAGE ATTACKED

It is reported that in early February, a Sinhalese village, Dutuwewa in the Polonnaruwa district, was attacked by a gang of persons armed with guns, knives and other deadly weapons. 34 Sinhalese, including children and a Buddhist monk, are said to have been killed. Several houses also had been set on fire in this village.

The Sri Lankan Government, as usual, blamed the Tamil Tigers for this attack. The LTTE, however, has denied any involvement in the attack and blamed IPKF backed terrorist groups.

18-MEMBER MONITORING COMMITTEE

An 18-member team from 9 countries, including 5 British M Ps, have been monitoring the General Elections that took place on February 15.

ESSENTIAL SERVICES DECLARED

In view of the General Elections, the following service departments had been declared essential services under the Public Security Act in Sri Lanka:
Post & Telecommunication services,

distribution of fuel, supply of electricity, road and rail services, the conducting of the general elections, public administration, and maintenance and production of tea, rubber and coconut.

NEW PRESIDENT PLEDGES NEW REVOLUTION

In his 'Address to the Nation' broadcast on the occasion of the 41st Anniversary of Sri Lanka's independence, President Premadasa is said to have pledged a new revolution in Sri Lanka which eschewed violence and has as its essence social and economic justice. This revolution, which will provide opportunity for all and discrimination to none, will be inspired by the great Buddhist, Hindu, Islamic and Christian faiths, he has said.

PRISON CONDITIONS APPALLING

Mr Phillip Benwell, MBE, an Australian, past Chairman of the Liberal Party of NSW and a member of the State Council of NSW, who was detained in Welikade prison in Colombo following extradition proceedings, has described the conditions in the prison as 'sub-human'. He is reported to have told the Press that it was impossible to describe the horrors he faced. He was kept in the cell in which the Tamil leader Kuttimany was kept, tortured and murdered during the jail massacre of Tamil detainees on July 25, 1983, at the Welikade prison.

EELAM NEWS

continued from page 16

to the UN Commission on Human Rights, now in session in Geneva, to intervene and bring peace through a political solution to the conflict."

IPKF FORCED TAMILS TO VOTE

Indian army warned the Tamil people of severe punishment, including imprisonment, if they boycotted the parliamentary elections. It banned all public protests. The army also rounded up hundreds of public servants who were boycotting work and kept them in the Jaffna Kachcheri. Indian-backed groups threatened the people with death if they failed to turn up to cast their votes.

On the day of the general election the Indian army and the EPRLF forcibly transported the Tamil people, who preferred to stay at home, in tractors and lorries to the polling stations. A number of incidents are reported where LTTE cadres launched fierce attacks on these efforts. LTTE also launched widespread attacks on military targets in the North-East. At Nedunkerny the Indian army fired shells towards residential areas.

SOLDIERS REMOVING LTTE POSTERS KILLED

Four Indian soldiers were killed by the LTTE when the soldiers attempted to remove posters put up by the LTTE at Oddusuddan.

625 ARMY CAMPS IN EELAM

There are now over 625 military camps (Indian and Sri Lankan) established in Tamil Eelam to subjugate the Tamils.

COURTS TO RESUME FUNCTION

It is reported that the new Justice Minister has ordered that the judicial system in the Eastern Province be resumed by 1 March 1989. The courts there had ceased to function since May 1987. He is also taking steps to restore the judicial system in the Jaffna peninsula early.

TELO CAMP ATTACKED

A TELO camp in Pesalai is reported to have been attacked by the LTTE. In an exchange of fire, 3 TELO members, 3 Tigers and 2 civilians are reported killed.

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Aay	ஆய்	Kasipan	காசிபன்	Sempiyan	செம்பியன்
Achuthan	அச்சுதன்	Keeran	கீரன்	Senkudduvan	செங்குட்டுவன்
Ahattiyan	அகத்தியன்	Komaan	கோமான்	Senthan	சேந்தன்
Ainkaran	ஐங்கரன்	Kopalan	கோபாலன்	Senthooran	செந்தூரன்
Airavathan	ஐராவதன்	Kugan	குகன்	Seralaathan	சேரலாதன்
Aiyan	ஐயன்	Kumaran	குமரன்	Seramaan	சேரமான்
Akkuran	அக்குரன்	Kuperan	குபேரன்	Seran	சேரன்
Amalan	அமலன்	Maaran	மாறன்	Seyone	சேயோன்
Amaran	அமரன்	Maayone	மாயோன்	Siththan	சித்தன்
Amizhthan	அமிழ்தன்	Malaian	மலையன்	Siththiran	சித்திரன்
Ampalan	அம்பலன்	Manimaran	மணிமாறன்	Sivapalan	சிவபாலன்
Analan	அனலன்	Maniyan	மணியன்	Soman	சோமன்
Ananthan	அனந்தன்	Mannan	மன்னன்	Suntharan	சுந்தரன்
Anthimaan	அந்திமான்	Maravan	மறவன்	Thaaman	தாமன்
Athihamaan	அதிகமான்	Mathavan	மாதவன்	Thangan	தங்கன்
Appan	அப்பன்	Mathevan	மாதேவன்	Thampan	தம்பன்
Arasan	அரசன்	Mavali	மாவலி	Tharuman	தருமன்
Aruchunan	அருச்சுனன்	Mayavan	மாயவன்	Thevan	தேவன்
Arulmozhi	அருள்மொழி	Mayilan	மயிலன்	Thilahan	திலகன்
Arulnanthi	அருள்நந்தி	Mayooran	மயூரன்	Thillaiyan	தில்லையன்
Arunan	அருணன்	Muhunthan	முகுந்தன்	Thinnan	திண்ணன்
Asokan	அசோகன்	Murugan	முருகன்	Thirumaran	திருமாறன்
Azhakan	அழகன்	Nagaiah	நாகையா	Thirumurugan	திருமுருகன்
Chandiran	சந்திரன்	Nahulan	நகுலன்	Thiruvan	திருவன்
Chanthan	சாந்தன்	Nakkeeran	நக்கீரன்	Thuraivan	துறைவன்
Chozhan	சோழன்	Nalli	நள்ளி	Thuraiyan	துறையன்
Ekalavan	ஏகலவன்	Nanthan	நந்தன்	Thuronan	துரோணன்
Emanathan	ஏமநாதன்	Nathan	நாதன்	Uttaran	உத்தரன்
Ezhini	எழினி	Navalan	நாவலன்	Umaphy	உமாபதி
Ilaiyan	இளையன்	Navarasan	நாவரசன்	Vaaman	வாமன்
Ilakkuvan	இலக்குவன்	Neelan	நீலன்	Vaasakan	வாசகன்
Imayan	இமயன்	Nimalan	நிமலன்	Vaasan	வாசன்
Imayavan	இமயவன்	Oari	ஓரி	Vaasu	வாசு
Indran	இந்திரன்	Paari	பாரி	Valavan	வளவன்
Iraiyan	இறையன்	Palan	பாலன்	Vallaan	வல்லான்
Irumporai	இரும்பொறை	Palaraaman	பலராமன்	Vallavan	வல்லவன்
Kaanthan	காந்தன்	Pandiyan	பாண்டியன்	Valuthy	வழுதி
Kaaranan	காரணன்	Paranan	பரணன்	Varunan	வருணன்
Kaari	காரி	Parathan	பரதன்	Vasanthan	வசந்தன்
Kaasipan	காசிபன்	Pathuman	பதுமன்	Velan	வேலன்
Kadampan	கடம்பன்	Perumaal	பெருமாள்	Vemban	வேம்பன்
Kadavul	கடவுள்	Ponnaiyan	பொன்னையன்	Venthan	வேந்தன்
Kalpahan	கற்பகன்	Ragavan	இராகவன்	Vethan	வேதன்
Kamalan	கமலன்	Ranjan	இரஞ்சன்	Vezhan	வேழன்
Kanahan	கனகன்	Raman	இராமன்	Villavan	வில்லவன்
Kannan	கண்ணன்	Rudran	உருத்திரன்	Viradan	விராடன்
Kanthan	கந்தன்	Saarangan	சாரங்கன்	Viruthan	விருதன்
Kapilan	கபிலன்	Sakaran	சாகரன்	Viyaasan	வியாசன்

**THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TAMILS
ANNOUNCES**

SECOND INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE

TO BE HELD ON
SATURDAY 29TH AND SUNDAY 30TH APRIL 1989
IN LONDON

THEME OF THE CONFERENCE

**TAMIL EELAM, INDIA AND SRI LANKA : THE
FUTURE OF TAMIL NATIONALISM**

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

SATURDAY, 29th APRIL

SESSION 1:

9.30 a.m: REGISTRATION
10.00 a.m: KEYNOTE ADDRESS
10.30 a.m -1.00p.m : **THE TAMIL AGENDA: INDIA'S ROLE AS THE REGIONAL
SUPER-POWER**

Indo-Sri Lanka relations since July 1983, The expectations and demands on India by the Tamil People in their struggle, India's duties and responsibilities as Regional Super-Power, India's use and abuse of its Super-Power Status, and Reconciliation between India and Tamil Eelam.

SESSION 2:
2 p.m - 5p.m

THE TAMIL AGENDA AND TAMIL NADU

The role of Tamil Nadu in the Tamil Struggle, Pressure that can be applied by Tamil Nadu on the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments, and Kalaingar Karunanidhi's role in the struggle.

SUNDAY, 30th APRIL

SESSION 3:
10a.m - 1p.m

THE TAMIL AGENDA: POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Implications of the Provincial Council, Presidential and General Elections for Tamil Eelam,
The role of the Electoral Process in the Struggle,
Future tactics, and strategies, and
International Structure Required.

WORKSHOPS:

THE TAMIL AGENDA : ORGANISATION

- 1 THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN THE TAMIL STRUGGLE
- 2 FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND THE TAMIL STRUGGLE
- 3 INTERNATIONALISING THE TAMIL STRUGGLE
- 4 EVENTS AND PUBLICITY

Papers are invited on any of the topics set out in the programme for presentation at the conference. Papers should reach the Conference Secretary before April 1, 1989. Suggestions as to the structure of the conference as well as offers of assistance will be welcomed.

SPONSORED BY TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

ANY ONE INTERESTED IN ATTENDING, PLEASE CONTACT

THE CONFERENCE SECRETARY.
P O BOX 228 WEMBLEY
MIDDLESEX HA9 8SZ UK

There will be a charge to defray expenses

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