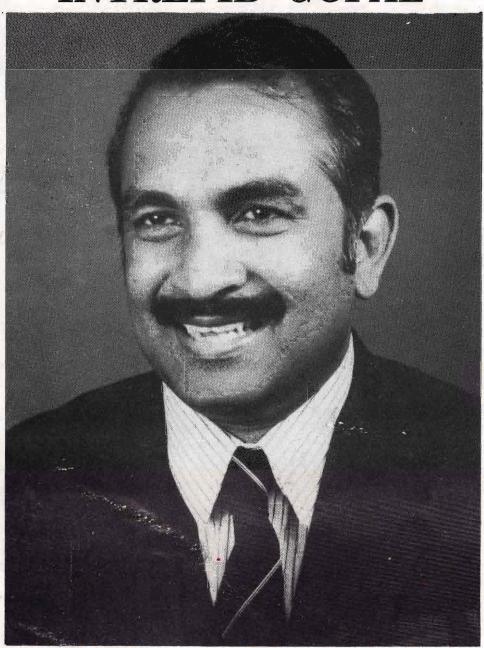
TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

Vol. 2 No. 5

15th March, 1989

INTREPID GOPAL



SHRI V GOPALSAMY, RAJYA SABHA MP AND LEADING DMK STRATEGIST, WHO UNDERTOOK A PERILOUS MISSION TO MEET THE TIGER LEADER, VELUPILLAI PRABAHARAN, IN HIS VAVUNIYA JUNGLE HEADQUARTERS.

(SEE PAGES 10-11 FOR FULL STORY)

YOUR VOICE

CAN MAKE AN IMPRESSIVE BEGINNING Premaranjan, Colombo

Whenever a general election is due to be held in the Island, the majority community whips up the sentiments of their voters by denouncing the minority Tamils and their claims. The 'Mother and Son' party in their last election manifesto had offered a kind of federal set-up for the country, if they came to power, to satisfy the aspirations of the minority Tamils. Mr Premadasa could now take the initiative to grant autonomy to the Tamils on the lines put forward in the SLFP manifesto, a federal constitution similar to that obtaining in Switzerland.

If such a step is taken, the SLFP who are the main opposition dare not oppose it in view of their election pledge, and the necessary legislation and Amendment to the Constitution could be put through. This is a good chance for the new President to try his hand. He has the capacity to succeed.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF TAMIL EELAM?

Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Wimbledon

Can the new generation of Tamil MPs elected at the recently held general elections in Sri Lanka take our struggle further to achieve the objective of an Independent State of Eelam? What is it that the MPs can hope to do, which the earlier Tamil representatives were unable to deliver?

The one immediate positive and feasible step that could be taken is to change the name of the North-East Province to that of TAMIL EELAM. The Indian and Sri Lankan Governments could be persuaded to agree to this. Just as Annadurai was instrumental in the changing of the name 'Madras State' to that of 'Tamil Nadu', and thus give some emotional and symbolic satisfaction to the Tamil people there, so that our people in the traditional Tamil homelands also will feel elated.

If the Indian Constitution permitted a change, Sri Lanka too can allow it. Indeed, Sri Lanka itself was known as 'Ceylon' until recently. So, will the new MPs take the initiative without delay?

IS PREMADASA A NON-CHAUVINIST?

Christie Rajanayagam, Toronto University

Your Editorial of 15 January 1989 (Eelam Tamil Agenda for 1989) portrays President Premadasa as a non-chauvinist Sinhala leader as it goes on to say "His first and immediate task will be to start the process of nation-building..... to do so he must weed out the Sinhala chauvinists." I am curious to know, since when has he become a non-chauvinist?

VIRAJ MENDIS SUPPORTS EELAM TAMILS STRUGGLE

Chris Procter, Chair Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign

I am writing to correct some inaccuracies in your magazine of February 15, concerning Viraj Mendis whom I have recently visited.

Viraj was flown, handcuffed to two policemen, to Colombo. He was met by a massive press corps. Representatives of the Daily Mail, Observer and ITN film crew were on the plane. "Supporters" of Viraj in Colombo did

not turn up at the airport. Instead someone called Chris Nuttall, who was then unknown to Viraj but who we now know as one of the Home Office/BBC's leading agents in Sri Lanka, had booked a press conference in the Galle Face Hotel and rooms for Henry West and Viraj. They addressed the press conference and left at the earliest opportunity declining the rooms when it was apparent that this was a set-up.

Viraj's family in contrast were represented at the airport and have remained loyal. Suresh, his brother, is a travel agent, not the Manager of the Ceylon Tourist Board as stated.

The Sri Lankan press, who appear 100% behind the UNP, will of course say what they want, including their bitterness at Viraj's support for the "international Eelam conspiracy." Progressive papers have a duty to look further than talks of "hoax" and "apologies." Since Viraj cannot now speak out openly, the campaign wishes to make it clear that we continue to support the struggle of the Tamil people led by the LTTE. This was carried as a motion at our recent General Meeting on February 26.

"This meeting condemns the Sri Lankan regime and the Indian Army for their genocidal war against the Tamil people. We salute the heroic resistance of the Tamil people, led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam."

Finally, we would like to appeal to your readers for support for members of our campaign on police frameups facing possible imprisonment, and for donations to be sent to: Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Manchester M15 5AL.

THE TAMILS MUST KNOW

Ramu, Jaffna

Did India dupe its favoured 'quislings' when India was able to assess the anti-Indian wave and thought it would be easier if EROS came to power than anybody else? The Tamils must know.

The verdict at the General Elections in the North-East has shown up all the atrocities the Indian army had perpetrated on the Tamils of those areas - the murders, the arson, the looting, the rapes etc.- the latest incident being 41 houses being burnt at Kokuvil on February 23 (one week after the elections) and 25 houses looted by the IPKF. There is stony silence from the elected representatives in the North-East. Why? Is this going to be the order of the day?

We find that the EROS M.Ps - "those who had been with the people at their time of distress" - are missing from the Peñinsula seeking protection from the Indian High Commission in Colombo. What does all this mean? What has the London-based 'Tamil Voice International' got to say about all this confusion made worse confounded? The Tamils must know.

And who are you, EROS? Are you an ally of the LTTE, and if so, on what basis of policy? Now that the elections are over, the EROS can tell the world at least now what their policy is. Is EROS for liberation of Tamil Eelam? Or is it for non-repeal of the 6th Amendment? Is it in favour of the Accord? Does it want the withdrawal of the Indian army? Why are they still sitting on the fence?

EDITORIAL

WILL THE INDIANS GO

All elections have now been completed in Sri Lanka. One of the verdicts is clear and strident. The Sinhalese people have accepted President Premadasa's pledge that he would get the IPKF to withdraw. The people of Eelam have returned a majority of representatives who also oppose the IPKF presence, though it must be admitted that a number of India's puppets were elected. Is there any prospect that this mandate will be implemented?

A few Indian battalions have been withdrawn. Significantly Sri Lanka's Army chief, Hamilton Wanasinghe, commenting on this token Indian pullout warned of a "vacuum" in the security situation. President Premadasa sees no urgency. Instead he has ill-advisedly planned on the referendum for the de-linking of the merged north-east on July 5 this year. Meanwhile ostensibly to maintain law and order, the President is recruiting 100 more policemen for every detachment on the island. We are not certain that these will be political policemen, armed thugs, trained presumably by RAW agents-provocateur to sow discord and then cruelly suppress opposition to the IPKF as far as the north-east is concerned.

In other words, both New Delhi and Colombo have conspired to eliminate opposition in the north-east. Evidently India is prepared to walk over her neighbours in South Asia, including South Asia's ethnonationalisms, and function as a cop on the beat for big powers interested in the region. But the Emperor's clothes (those of New Delhi) are evident. The pretence is nevertheless maintained. India's 'old maids', a term used by Jawaharlal Nehru (we regret the sexist allusion) to condemn India's pro-British newspapers during the struggle for independence, continue with their false propaganda that all is well in Eelam. The tailor who sewed the clothes, High Commissioner Dixit, has been given a new posting.

The reality however is different. The struggle for Eelam will continue. The begging bowl diplomacy of India's puppets who will now make their pilgrimage to Parliament in Sri Jayewardenepura is a self-defeating exercise. President Premadasa must, if he needs peace and harmony, address the problem. We are aware that archaic ideologues in the UNP hope to encapsulate the war in Eelam while business flourishes in the rest of the island. This is no solution to the bitter conflict, since independence, between the founding races of Sri Lanka.

President Premadasa, just like some of his predecessors who enjoyed the confidence of the electors in the early phases of their 'trysts with destiny', should not pass up the opportunity to ensure a lasting understanding between Sinhalese and Tamils. For this purpose he should not mistake the masked views of those of the pro-Indians in Parliament for the real feelings of the Tamil people. There is a risk that if this 'mind-set' persists, the possibilities of resolution of the conflict and reconciliation will recede into a hoary mist. A continuing war will prevail despite the IPKF. Does President Premadasa prefer an 'occupied Eelam' in the same style as '(Indian) occupied Kashmir'?

A new government has been formed. Much is being made of the portfolio on 'Buddhist Affairs' given to himself by the new President. Hindu and Muslim affairs have been down-graded to a status which is not within the domain of the new Cabinet. President Premadasa has a great many problems to handle. He should not however assign the portfolio of Tamil Affairs to the Government at New Delhi. India's refusal to permit Red Cross workers to help in Tamil Eelam was recently taken note of by the UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights at its annual meeting in Geneva. This is an added reason why President Premadasa must seize the peace initiative and not permit the bird of prey in New Delhi to persist in its cadaverous operations.

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

TERRORIST GROUP PROFILES

(We publish below a letter sent to President George Bush by **The World Federation of Tamils** from its headquarters in London.)

TERRORIST GROUP PROFILES

In November 1988, the "Terrorist Group Profiles" for 1988 was issued by the Vice-President's Task Force on 'Combating Terrorism'. The document was prefaced with a letter by you - then Vice-President and hence in charge of the Task Force.

INCLUSION OF

The World Federation of Tamils most strongly objects to the inclusion of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in the "Terrorist Group Profiles", finds the information about the LTTE irresponsibly inaccurate and emphatically rejects the attempted non-definition of terrorists and freedom-fighters you made in your prefatory letter. We are also puzzled by your intrusion into Tamil affairs, as to our knowledge, your government has never come to the aid of the Tamil people during all the long years of our oppression in Sri Lanka

The World Federation of Tamils represents nearly 200 local, regional and national organisations of the Tamil people world-wide, as well as the views of the majority of Tamils living in Sri Lanka. We are a political group and have no organisational alliance with any Tamil militant group, including the LTTE. While we cannot claim to represent the views of all Tamils - no Tamil group can make that claim - we are confident that only a very small percentage would disagree with the positions set out in this communication to you.

COMBATANTS IN ARMED CONFLICT

We assume that, as President, you wish to pursue a foreign policy that fully complies with international law and that is based on accurate information about the various troubled areas in the world, including, unfortunately, our homeland in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, we submit to you our views, which we Tamils, the major affected party of the turmoil in our country, consider both legally and factually accurate.

We begin by explaining our rejection of your definitions set out in your prefatory letter. First of all, a group is not terrorist or freedom defending based on their philosophical or ideological goals - goals, by the way, you never set out. By operation of treatybased and customary humanitarian law, a group carrying out armed activities is assessed by whether or not they qualify as combatants in an armed conflict. If a group qualifies as combatants, then they are not terrorists, even if other governments do not find their philosophical or ideological goals acceptable. The LTTE have qualified as combatants in an internal armed conflict for a number of years - a fact acknowledged by the consensus vote on resolution 1987/61 at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights session of 1987. That resolution called upon the parties to the conflict to comply with humanitarian law - obviously recognising that humanitarian law applied. The LTTE have met the test for internal combatants because they are organised under responsible command, carry out sustained and concerted military activities, exercise control over territory, comply with the principle of distinction by wearing appropriate clothing and insignia and by carrying arms openly.

Of course, if combatants violate the rules of war, then those acts, not the status of the combatant, are to be condemned. Your soldier Calley violated the rules of war during your government's military involvement in Vietnam, but that did not reduce him to "terrorist" - he remained a combatant and was tried and convicted for breaches of the rules of war. Further. his violations did not reduce the US forces to 'terrorists'. We cannot pretend that the Tamil armed combatants have never violated the rules of war - of course some do. However, that regrettable fact does not alter the status of the LTTE as a whole. During the civil war stage of the conflict, the Sri Lankan armed forces regularly and gravely violated the rules of war - a fact apparently not relevant to your government. Thousands of us Tamils were killed, tortured, or imprisoned by these forces.

INTERNAL CONFLICT NOW INTERNATIONALISED

Tragically, since the entry of India into our civil war, the Indian armed forces are violating the rules of waralso disregarded by your government. The conflict is now 'internationalised' and is accordingly governed by the relevant international treaty-based and customary armed conflict rules relating to international armed conflict.

The Tamil people have suffered the violations of the rules of war by both these military powers, and quite understandably, we have felt the need to defend ourselves and to raise our voices both domestically and internationally to human rights and humanitarian law violations. Some of us, including the members of The World Federation of Tamils (WFT), try to defend ourselves using purely peaceful means. Others, including the LTTE, have chosen less peaceful means.

The term 'freedom fighter' is not a legal term but rather a political one. The WFT clearly accepts that the LTTE fights to defend the freedom of the Tamil peoples in Sri Lanka, whether with or without our particular approval. Nonetheless, we know that the LTTE are combatants not because they are someone's freedom fighters, but because they met the customary international law test for combatants in an internal armed conflict and now continue to meet combatant tests as combatants in an internationalised civil war.

IS IT TERRORIST?

We note with humour your Report's section on "Political Objectives/Target Audiences." Excluding the separatist nature of certain Tamil goals, these objectives are the objectives your government approves and indeed fosters with reference to conflicts occurring in Nicaragua and Afghanistan. Is it *terrorist* to present violations of human rights and humanitarian law to the international community? Is it *terrorist* to urge that

continued on page 6

FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

PRESIDENT PREMADASA

Our view had always been that President Premadasa's campaign against India was an insurance policy that President JR took against being overwhelmed by forces outside the UNP opposed to the ill-fated Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987. Our conspiracy theory runs as follows: Opposition to the Accord must come from within the JR government; there could be no better leader than the Prime Minister (at the time) himself. So it was arranged for the Accord to be signed when the Prime Minister was in Japan; Lalith Athulathmudali, the other contender for the office of President, fiercely opposed the terms of the deal, while Gamini Dissanavake and President JR agreed to India's intervention: thus in one fell swoop, opposition from outside the UNP that could have toppled the JR government was contained within the UNP. What better evidence of this double contradiction than Prime Minister Premadasa piloting the Thirteenth Amendment through Parliament and the entire government parliamentary group voting for it? This contradiction within a contradiction is one of JR's suprapolitical propensities. The same principle guided JR when he "kept" Cyril Mathew until such time as it was convenient to get rid of him.

President Premadasa shows no urgency or keenness to send back the IPKF. This is where he will face a sea of troubles not only from the Tamil Resistance but from the very forces he unleashed among the Sinhalese. Such suicidal exercises have dogged Sinhalese leaders in the past in their pursuit of power, SWRD Bandaranaike being the supreme example. President Premadasa has not said a word to date about his plans to secure the complete withdrawal of the IPKF or for resolving the deadlocked conflict with the Tamils.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

A two-headed executive is the problem of Gaullist-style presidentialism. The Executive President, cut off from the legislature, has no alternative but to depend for parliamentary support on the Prime Minister who will always seek to displace him. General Charles de Gaulle therefore dismissed one of his strong-willed Prime Ministers, Georges Pompidou and President Francois Mitterand found himself contesting his Prime

Minister, Jacques Chirac, for the office of President. President JR had the supra-political instinct of appointing nearly 100 of his 146 MPs as ministers and deputy ministers. He thus assured for himself a support base in Parliament. But even then JR had to keep Prime Minister Premadasa at bay. JR was more than successful in his strategy.

Our point is that President Premadasa will face the same problem whoever his Prime Minister may be. A divided government with a twoheaded executive will find the going rough. President Premadasa has a way of cutting through bureaucratic procedures and delays when he has to accomplish goals; he is a modern day Sir Oliver Goonetilleke (as Civil Defence Commissioner). Nonetheless, he may have to contend with an assertive Prime Minister, an independent-minded government parliamentary group and a strong and vigilant parliamentary opposition. The Catch 22 question is whether President Premadasa can fit himself into the role that was tailor-made for JR.

KALAIGNAR KARUNANIDHI AND MR GANDHI

The reverse of 'Midas and the Golden Touch' haunts Gandhi at every state election. Mistakenly Gandhi put his best foot forward at Tamil Nadu and made speeches unbecoming of a Prime Minister. Kalaignar's runaway victory adds up to Gandhi's discomfitures, all of which will take some toll when the general election to the Lok Sabha is called some time between now and November 1989. Kalaignar's success could help in the resolution of the Eelam Tamil - Colombo Government conflict. We wish Kalaignar success in his return to office. The DMK government is evidence that Tamil Nadu does not want to be run by New Delhi or the Congress (I) party.

EXIT MR DIXIT

From Kabul to Colombo to Moscow is a long haul. Dixit tried to accomplish the goals of Indian foreign policy in Sri Lanka. It is difficult to be positive about Dixit. But he succeeded in two tasks. He abridged the sovereignty of the Island. He forced President Jayewardene to enact the Thirteenth Amendment. On the debit side, Dixit failed to win the support of

the Eelam Tamils. He antagonised, by his several diplomatic gaffes, both Sinhala and Tamil opinion. We are compelled to conclude that Dixit's spell in Sri Lanka must carry the epitaph "Failure of a Mission", the title of a book that Britain's ambassador to Hitler's Germany wrote after his several attempts during his term in Berlin to appease the insatiable Nazi dictator. It is possible that Dixit and the South Block (New Delhi's Foreign Ministry) were sabotaged by RAW. RAW could have been manipulated by the security agencies of major and super- power states for their own national interests. Dixit also signally failed to ascertain for himself as to who were the most representative sections of Eelam Tamil opinion. It is possible that he was misled by self-appointed Tamil interlocutors and spokespeople. Perhaps, he himself preferred to transact business with these latter day people because he found it hard to settle with the authentic leaders of the Eelam Tamils.

EX-PRESIDENT J.R. JAYEWARDENE

President JR must live in splendid retirement after his disaster-laden presidency. As President Premadasa's representative at the funeral of the Emperor Hirohito, JR was sent probably to remind the "white men of Asia" of the "forgive your enemy" speech he made on behalf of defeated Japan at San Francisco in 1949. JR also attended the SAARC meeting in Pakistan in December last year, one of his last official acts as President. There he embarrassed Benazhir Bhutto at an official function when in a speech he said that Ms Bhutto had promised in 1987 to rein in the military in Pakistan. This was unnecessary when everyone knows that Pakistan's military establishment has an important voice in the government of that country.

President JR's archives have been placed at the disposal of the historian K M de Silva. The latter in collaboration with W Howard Wriggins, the former US Ambassador to Colombo and a veteran specialist on the politics of Sri Lanka, has published Volume 1 of the 'Life of JR'. Western specialists on Sri Lanka, in their reviews of the book, do not appear to be sympathetic to the former President.

THIRUKKURAL

S Sriskandarajah

இ*உ*ளதாக முள்மரங் கொல்க க**ோயு**நர் கைகொல்லுங் காழ்த்த விடத்**து**.

Ilaithaaha Mul Maram Kolha Kalaiyunar Kai Kollum Kaazhththa Idaththu (Transliteration)

"Cut down thorn-trees while yet they are young; for when they are overgrown, they will themselves cut the hand that attempts to fell them" (Translation)

This is a sound couplet of great practical value. There is an equivalent in the English language which is common. To nip in the bud is an English saying. It means that we should put a stop, if necessary, at the initial stages. In other words anything that has the potential for producing disastrous consequences should be suppressed or destroyed at its birth. Thiruvalluvar has expanded on the English saying by giving the example of a thorny tree. Thorn or pine of any plant when young is quite tender and fragile and is not capable of pricking or hurting the fingers that tamper with it. When it matures and hardens it defies any attempt to nip it; on the contrary it hurts the fingers that try to pluck it.

The Kural in question occurs in the chapter on "Knowing the quality of one's foes" (chapter 88) and is basically meant for a ruler. But it is of great use and importance to ordinary householders also. To put it in another way, nothing, however small, should be treated as trivial. By this Kural Thiruvalluvar tries to say that it is unwise for a king to allow his foe to grow in strength. The moment he sees a pocket of opposition he must quell it then and there. If he neglects it and procrastinates, it will pave the way to ruin after proving doubly difficult to find a solution. Thiruvalluvar further advises that enemies, both powerful and weak, should be dealt with at the most opportune moment. Even a weak foe should not be ignored because even a little spark, if overlooked, may cause a great conflagration. Great fires are often caused by small sparks. Is it not true that a great banyan tree begins with a tiny mustard like seed?

This Kural will prove very useful to people who are blessed with children. Sigmund Freud claimed that humans are biologically promiscuous and his claim may be questionable. It might have in fact been questioned by modern sociologists who are themselves likely to be questioned by the next generation of sociologists. Whatever

it be, I would go a step further and say that children, being social animals, are by nature delinquent though that delinquency may be explained as part of the process of maturation. Whether delinquency is part of the process of maturation or not, it should be the duty of parents to check and reprimand children whenever they are seen doing wrong; it should be pointed out and reproved. If reprimanding or reproving were to be shunned just because modern sociologists and psychologists say that children should be permitted to act freely without inhibition and that they should not be imposed upon then things would prove difficult later in life. In fact it has often proved to be

In the sixties, the revolutionary ideas and liberated thinking of some academic sociologists took the people in Great Britain by storm and they gave a go to these novel ideas propounded by the new elite of society.



The result is today we find 52,000 offenders in jails built a few decades ago to hold 35,000. Those involved in the juvenile justice system of today now say that there is sense in the saying spare the rod and spoil the child. The truants, offenders and delinquents of today in UK are the generation of youths to whom the theories of the neo-sociologists were applied in the sixties. To nip in the bud still holds good. We must catch our children when they are young and catching implies a little bit of thrashing also!

Now to the Kural again. Even as how a potential thorny plant should be destroyed when it is quite young and less painful, anything that has the capacity to create a problem at later stages should be wisely exterminated at the start itself. Tomorrow may be too late. Let us all take this Kural to heart.

Terrorist Group Profile

continued from page 4

foreign military forces leave our homeland and stop killing us? Is it terrorist to reject the notion that Tamils must 'negotiate' for their fundamental rights either with our own government or with a foreign power? Or to communicate that we are entitled to basic human rights and need not 'negotiate' for them? We also note that you condemn alleged acts of the LTTE that are obviously military in nature and fully allowed under the international rules of wartargeting soldiers and military facilities.

The WFT has sought diligently to assess allegations of violations of human rights and violations of the rules of war by all parties to the conflict. Some of the acts that your Task Force has attributed to the LTTE were clearly committed by others. We do not say so to defend the LTTE, but in the interest of truth. It does our organisation and our family members still in Sri Lanka no good to be

untruthful - after all we, not you, are dying in our homeland. We are acutely aware of the political machinations of the governments involved as well as Tamil and non-Tamil supporters of those governments. While you may choose to believe them rather than us, ultimately the truth will be known. Regardless, there will be no end to the troubles in Sri Lanka unless the majority of Tamils accept a solution - that is what democracy is all about. We will not accept your government's idea of what we Tamils should want - we will struggle and defend our right to have our own opinions in the spirit of democracy and full compliance with our human rights and aspirations.

In the immortal words of Thomas Jefferson, "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure." We urge you, as leader of the free world, to help us in our fight for justice and liberty and not to take the side of our oppressors.

THE BALTIC MODEL

CAN THIS BE APPLIANTS.

WAR AND LIBERATION

Dear Rani, and add to lorence and all

I know the support that Karen Parker gives those young people involved in our liberation movement. As a famous international lawver she has maintained that our soldiers of Eelam have to be regarded as soldiers in international law as there is a war going on in the north and east of Sri Lanka. The IPKF must therefore take prisoners and not shoot unarmed liberation fighters of our beloved Eelam, and honour the Geneva Convention.

Likewise our soldiers must not leave room even to be accused of killing uninvolved third parties like women and children in this conflict. Those of us overseas who contribute to our war effort must be assured that the Geneva Convention is upheld by our fighting boys. Jean Paul Satre once said that ultimate evil is war. If the ultimate evil is war, do we then have to accept all the nastiness that wars generate or should we try and fight a "civilised war" if that can exist, without poison gas and without murdering babies and children?

I am a student and feel confused. Rani, can you please help? - Tania Chelliah, Essex.

Yes, war is a terrible evil and of A that there is no doubt. All wars involve a measure, however small, of violence. Indeed Professor Michael Howard states that, "the prime characteristic of the military is that they use violence with great deliberation", and the late Professor Hedley Bull defined war as "organised violence carried on by political units against each other."

Attempts have been made, as for example through the Geneva Conventions, to limit the procedures that may legitimately be employed, whatever the justice of the cause, in the conduct of war. An armed conflict is not necessarily a violation of human rights or other international legal norms. There is no international law that prohibits a people from defending themselves and their rights against tyranny and

oppression. However, the way the armed conflict is carried out may be in violation of the rules of war, and as such violations constitute breaches of humanitarian law.

Although the rules of armed conflict are too numerous to list here, there are some principles, which if adhered to. would make a war more "civilised." First is that the civilian population should not be a target of military operations. It includes a prohibition against targeting hospitals, schools and places of worship. Karen Parker in "Humanitarian Law and the Tamil Struggle" (TVI vol I, No.24) makes the damning statement that all parties to the conflict in Eelam - India, Sri Lanka, the LTTE and other militant groups - have violated this rule. Second, the sick and the wounded, whether combatant or civilian, are entitled to care and protection. Third, prisoners of war and civilians detained for reasons related to the conflict, must be treated humanely. Fourth, persons or groups shoud be allowed to offer humanitarian aid to victims of the conflict, including persons perceived as the enemy. We can but hope that our fighting boys (and girls) respect their rights. The entire more bottle and new males.

BALLOT RIGGING

Dear Rani, home verbust among bonn

It is very much in the news these days that ballot papers in thousands have been stolen or taken away by force of arms from police stations and post offices in Sri Lanka. Can you deny that these ballot papers have been used, by whoever took them, for rigging purposes in the General Election of February 15? Are the five MPs of the British Parliament who formed part of the international committee which monitored the elections aware of such leakages of ballot papers? What is their reaction going to be? -N.Suntharesan, Mansfield.

I have little reason to doubt that A ballot papers have been stolen. To take a cynical view on the matter, electoral malpractice has long been an integral part of the Sri Lankan version of democracy. The general election



was not the first, nor likely to be the last time that electoral rigging has taken place. But that does not mean that one should condone the practice. I am sure that the monitoring committee has been made aware of electoral fraud, but without concrete evidence I do not know how they will act upon it. It is likely of course that unsuccessful candidates could file a petition but again it is difficult to predict the outcome. In any event, not all the rigging in the world seems to have helped the TULF alliance or the UNP which desperately. wanted a two-thirds majority.

TAMIL LANGUAGE

Dear Rani,

nit pose a problem. There are many languages spoken in the world. I think it is accepted that English is the best known international language, and one finds people speaking it in every corner of the earth. Tamil also is a very sophisticated language, but it seems to be known in only some parts of the world. Is this something to do with Tamil being a Dravidian language, and English being a European one? -Suvendrini A, Haverford, UK

The main reason that English is $oldsymbol{A}$ the major international language has much to do with the colonial past, not least of which is the fact that the United States was a former colony. Any possible competition from French was demolished when English became the language of technological communication. Tamil is a language of great antiquity, spoken by over 60 million people, and is regarded as one of the principal languages of the world. It is spoken in such disparate places as South Africa, Fiji, the West Indies, and Singapore although most speakers are in Tamil Nadu and Tamil Eelam.

THE BALTIC MODEL OF THE ALAND ISLANDS: CAN THIS BE APPLIED TO EELAM?

by Thirumalai Nathan

Policy-makers and policies are never permanent. Therefore when the present Indian Government states it will not permit a separate state of Eelam, it does not mean that this option is completely closed. Governments in India can change and so would policies. The balance of power in the South and South-East region can alter. There is no settled situation forever in a changing international system. India does however have a permanent interest in protecting her southern flanks. The Rajiv Gandhi government's solution can be implemented if all parties to the dispute are agreed on it. The problem is that this solution is not acceptable. Nor has it still reached the stage of completion. The unfinished agenda comprises the Chidambaram proposals of 1986.

The question of guarantees for India against the subversive activities of foreign hostile governments operating in Sri Lanka is a matter for negotiation between the two governments. The state of Eelam does not pose a problem. This appears a red herring. The new state can have its neutrality guaranteed by India. Alternatively, the new state can conclude its own treaty of friendship and mutual defence with New Delhi. Again, the argument of a separate state being a bad example for India's various potentially secessionist movements is specious. Regardless of Eelam, whether it comes into being or not, the Khalistani Sikhs are determined to obtain a separate state for themselves. India supported the break-up of Pakistan and actively participated in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. Eelam will be a small state compared to Bangladesh. It must also not be forgotten that the important difference in the Indian and Sinhala situations is that India has the resources of leadership which can accommodate demands for a liberalisation of the Indian system, a resource which is lacking among the Sinhala leaders.

THE BALTIC MODEL

However, given India's present concerns and the determination of the

Tamil Liberation Movement to obtain the right of self-determination. there is a way of resolving the issue. The Baltic model of the Aland Islands is a good one. The islands with a population of 23,000 lie between Finland and Sweden, in the Gulf of Bothnia. The islands, historically-speaking, belonged to Sweden and most of the islanders use the Swedish language. In 1917, when Finland secured its independence from Czarist Russia, the Alanders wished to become part of Sweden. Finland objected claiming the Alands as their territory. The Alanders then took their case to the League of Nations. They based their claim on President Woodrow Wilson's right of self-determination. They were led by Julius Sundblom, a local newspaper editor.

The lesson here is that the cause of Eelam needs further internationalisation beyond the deadly confines of total dependence on India. We must have representatives in the capitals of the Western and Communist worlds, or at least the more important of the capitals. We need to present our case to every possible agency of the United Nations Organisation. In this way, Eelam can be lifted from the smothering embrace of India. East Timor (Indonesia), New Caledonia (France) and Cyprus (Turkey and Greece) are disputed territories which have gained international attention. The West Bank Palestinians are yet another example of young people who have risen in defiant despair against their oppressors as distinct from people who are cowed by their oppressors and hibernate in utter hopelessness.

Julius Sundblom succeeded in obtaining a compromise settlement from the League of Nations. The Alanders as a result now have their own prime minister and parliament. They have their flag. They print their stamps. Their official language is that which a majority of Alanders speak, the Swedish language. They are legally Finnish citizens but they speak no Finnish. Although foreign affairs, external defence (not internal

security), national taxation, the courts, the post office and alcohol are in the control of the Finnish government (even these can be modified by negotiation), the Alanders have their ministers participating in the deliberations of European sovereign states such as the Nordic Council of Foreign Ministers, in the Council of Europe and various other international organisations.

What is significant is that the Aland islands have a special status which gives them the benefit of enjoying near independence and frees them at the same time from doing the bidding of the Finnish Government. This compromise was worked out in 1921 and Britain was closely involved in negotiating the formula. Thus, although legally the Alanders are Finnish citizens, today the Alanders refer to themselves as being neither Finnish nor Swedish; they claim a new nationality, that of being Alanders. Their citizens are not required to perform military service even in wartime. Land in the islands can only be bought by the Alanders and any Finnish immigrant must be resident in the islands for a period of time to be granted Aland citizenship. Much more significant is the fact that the Alanders were granted the right to petition the League of Nations if they were mistreated by the Finns. Their separate status is recognised by the fact that the Aland Islands are an internationally recognised neutral zone.

The state of Eelam can be, with suitable modifications, designed on the Aland model. In this way, some connection can be maintained with the Colombo government. India's fears of her southern flanks being exposed can be met by an Indian guarantee of neutrality and an international recognition of the state of Eelam as a neutral zone. It is of interest to note that the United Nations Secretary General seriously considered the Alands formula in 1982 as a way out of the Falklands dispute between Britain and Argentina. A similar formula can, surely, be negotiated for the state of Eelam.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS DIE AT THE HANDS OF INDIAN FORCES

[Memorandum by the Co-ordinating Committee of Teachers, Employees and Students, University of Jaffna]

It is with a deep sense of grief that we chronicle the deaths of Sathasivam Jeganathan (first year Science student) and Thanabalasingham Satyendra (first year Medical student) who died when the IPKF fired upon student protestors on February 2. Ten others were injured in the incident which took place a few yards from the University. The peaceful protestors who included girls were first beaten up by soldiers who then threw stones at retreating protestors.

Soldiers opened fire when a couple of students threw back some of the stones. The students had decided on an hour's sit-in to protest against the IPKF's firing at students inside the University the previous evening. The soldiers in pursuit of a youth had opened fire at random from the main entrance immediately upon arrival. Several students escaped narrowly while one was injured in the leg. There had been no firing from inside the University. Of the students who had a narrow escape, some were on the sports field, and others were outside the library.

The tragedy parallels similar events in some of the world's most brutal regimes, such as in Palestine (Israel) and South Africa. It is ironical that the world's largest democracy and its peace-keeping force could only duplicate the actions of regimes it condemns with verbal gusto. India has been most vociferous in protesting against the deaths caused to Palestinian demonstrators by Israeli army shooting.

It should be noted that the students had demonstrated peacefully on earlier occasions without incident but this time soldiers had shot to kill without even firing warning shots. It is now our experience that after such an incident the IPKF comes out with unconvincing explanations for unarmed civilians to come by their own fate. Proximity to an army camp was given as a reason this time. We do not wish to discuss technicalities on such a tragic occasion but we wish to make three observations.

These incidents are part of a pattern of atrocities against civilians by the IPKF and its associates which, besides individual murders and collective beatings, include the incident at the Jaffna Roman Catholic Cathedral where the 17 year old organist, Jude Zacharias, was killed after gruesome

treatment (26.11.88) and the shooting of a teacher at Jaffna Hindu College during school hours (26.1.89). Two teachers were injured and several others were assaulted on this occasion.

The use of armed terror against unarmed civilians, whatever the provocation, and the use of massive force against defenceless individuals, is more than cowardice; it is a form of barbarism contrary to all the ideals of civilised humanity and those of the Indian freedom movement.

We assert that the following are resorted to by the IPKF on a routine basis despite repeated protests: (1) Undisciplined and unjustified use of weaponry against civilians. (2) Beating of civilians found in the vicinity of an incident without respect for age and sometimes even of sex. (3) Torture of detainees. The torture is often so gruesome that a large number of innocent persons have disappeared. (4) Wanton destruction of civilian property after an incident.

In recent times there has also been a number of instances of shelling into civilian areas. We demand an impartial judicial inquiry into all violence against civilians. We also demand that the IPKF and the Indian authorities explain: (1) How these practices accord with the restoration of the democratic process, which must include a restoration of dignity to ordinary civilians, and the lifting of Emergency Rule in this country? (2) Given that they were going to be repeatedly, even deliberately, provoked, are the IPKF going to justify their opening fire at crowds of people going about their normal work unawares or to subject them to any form of degrading treatment? (3) Civilians are often treated as a massive army of the 'enemy'. Minor technicalities are cited as reasons for what they may suffer from the IPKF, as though ordinary people have been trained at a military academy - 'you should have spoken to so and so': 'you should not have moved like that'. etc. etc. What action has the IPKF taken to see that its men conform to ordinary military rules? (4) In international eyes, the only justification for the IPKF's presence here is to act as a Peace Keeping Force and to restore democracy to

the Tamil areas. It also claims to be a friend of the Tamils. After 18 months what has it done to understand the people and to deal humanely with politically sensitive issues such as demonstrations, even violent ones? (The student demonstration was peaceful). (5) What are the measures that have been taken to restore normal civil law and ensure that the IPKF and its associates respect such law?

Once these questions are answered it will become clear whether the IPKF is here as friends of the Tamils or to further some other ends. It will also become clear whether there is a rationale for an Indian presence even in a peace-keeping role.

We also demand from those who aspire to be leaders of the Tamils: Some of you have appealed to us with charming newspaper advertisements asking for our vote. If we cannot express our real feelings, our real anxieties, and cannot speak out against the atrocities we are subject to, please be honest enough to say that you can only lead us into further enslavement.

Some of you bear arms in our name and claim that you are doing it for our good. Can you not see that we are becoming weaker and weaker, subject to more insidious manipulation than we had ever imagined? Once we stood to lose some lands, now we stand to lose even our spirit. We respect your sacrifice and let it not be in vain. Do not use methods of terror to make people conform to your wishes. This weakens them more than terror from an outsider. Do not use people as pawns for political ends. You will be judged not by the power you wield but by whether you served the cause of freedom.

Given the critical state of our community, it is very crucial that the university should discharge its functions without interruption. It is the only institution that is now in a position to voice the interests, not just of the students, but of the entire community. We request all those forces which claim to have the interests of the Tamils at heart not to attempt to use the university for narrow political ends. Let the tragic loss of these two students and of many others of our brethren be an occasion for reflection and renewal. The least of the entrance of

IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE, FIRST REQUISITE FOR LASTING SOLUTION - says Gopalsamy, MP

The DMK MP Mr V Gopalsamy, who returned on Saturday, 4th March from an adventurous and strenuous four-week visit to the North-Eastern Province of Sri Lanka, told a crowded press conference in Madras that he had a detailed discussion with the LTTE leader, Mr V Prabaharan, and his associates somewhere in the jungle and they had made it clear to him that Eelam was not negotiable and they cannot live in peace with the Sinhalese.

He said, however, that he had asked the LTTE "to accept a just solution without resiling from their principles, at the same time without being rigid."

The DMK MP was convinced that the first requisite for finding a lasting solution was for the IPKF to order an immediate ceasefire. "At any cost, the fighting must stop and an atmosphere must be created to revive the talks with the LTTE. Unless such a congenial climate is built up, their stand will only harden."

Mr Gopalsamy said, The people of Eelam were of the view that the IPKF must withdraw, the Tamil people in the island must be allowed to determine their own future and India should provide only "political assistance" to the Tamil groups to thrash out a settlement.

"I do not want to advocate any stand and am only echoing the feelings of the people there and the LTTE in addition to my own impressions", he added.

24 DAYS IN JUNGLES

Mr Gopalsamy, who made the trip by boat operated by militants, said he spent 24 days in the jungles of the North-East and stayed with the LTTE supremo, Mr Prabaharan, for a "few days." He also met other leaders like the LTTE deputy chief, Mr Ajit Mahathiya, and Mr Kittu during his "risky but successful" sojourn in Sri Lanka.

"At least twice I was surrounded by the IPKF during their 'Operation Checkmate' and the latest offensive started a couple of days ago, when I was just leaving. The Tigers protected me and took me away safely to another jungle. They suffered considerable losses in trying to protect me. Two of their leaders who received me, Hari and Kamal, have been killed besides Sarath. Another leader, Siva, was grievously injured and at least 13 Tigers suffered serious injuries during the offensive", the MP reported.

He did not want to disclose the route he took or where he met Mr Prabaharan and other LTTE leaders. "The route is known to you. Suffice it to say that I went on my own and returned alone. I reached Indian soil on Saturday and arrived in Madras the same night."

Mr Gopalsamy said he had taken the decision to visit Eelam entirely on his own and left without letting either his leader, Mr M Karunanidhi, or even his own family members know about his plans. He reached Sri Lanka on February 7 and sent word that he wanted to meet Mr Prabaharan. When the LTTE leader wanted to know whether he had come on behalf of the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, he made it known that he had come on his own and without the knowledge of Mr Karunanidhi. "Because of my enthusiasm and involvement and because of the personal risk at which I had gone there, he agreed to meet me", he explained.

THE 'TURNING POINT'

He was taken from one camp to another and finally he met Mr Prabaharan somewhere in the jungle. "I was told that the death of the 12 Tigers after consuming cyanide pills while they were in the custody of the Sri Lankan army and the helplessness of the Indian Army and Government in securing their release was the turning point. Mr Prabaharan told me that when he took back his pistol and gun at the funeral of those 12 Tigers, all his colleagues picked up arms once more, after having laid them down with the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement."

Mr Prabaharan also observed, Mr Gopalsamy said, that when the talks through Mr Kittu were progressing he was detained under the National Security Act in Madras, bringing all discussions to an end. "Prabaharan, as well as the Tigers and Eelam Tamils, still love India and the Indians. Their fight is not against India but only against the army there. They want freedom for themselves and do not want to be sacrificed for the geopolitical advantages that India might derive from the Agreement with Sri Lanka", Mr Gopalsamy asserted.

He said the LTTE saw two positive signs a couple of months back - the return to power of the DMK in Tamil Nadu and Mr R Premadasa's demand before the Presidential elections that the IPKF should be withdrawn from the Island. "Apparently they feel that President Premadasa has since accepted his predecessor's stand that it is better to get their problem solved with the help of the IPKF and at India's cost. We are paying for our army to do Sri Lanka's job", the MP remarked.

Mr Gopalsamy noted that contrary to the "propaganda" in India, the IPKF was involved in a "very fierce battle." "Let me tell you, they are not fighting with one hand tied behind their back as the Government of India makes out. They are shelling the place with 250 kg shells and are using the latest MI 24 helicopter gunships to track down and liquidate the LTTE. They are also killing innocent Tamils in the process."

He asserted that by and large the people still supported the LTTE and this was obvious from the 'poor turnout' in the two elections. "The present Provincial Government in the North-East is a dummy one that does not enjoy public support. Even the reported polling was because of the IPKF's pressure and threat."

Asked if the EROS enjoyed the LTTE's backing, he said the EROS candidates had made use of that feeling and even fielded some candidates who were known supporters of the LTTE. "Though it has won them a few seats, it does not mean they have LTTE's support."

Mr Gopalsamy mentioned that another setback to the process of normalisation was the killing of the LTTE emissary, Johnny, who was "riddled with bullets" when he was unarmed and in the process of going back to his leaders for consultations.

ONLY 17 FREED

He alleged that of the 157 LTTE cadres led by Mr Kittu, who were flown back to Jaffna a few months ago, only 17 had been released and the remaining 140 were detained in IPKF camps. "I was told by a member of the Jaffna Citizens Committee who came to see me that these 17 men were released in two batches and the Committee was brought to witness their release. But they were virtually left at the mercy of the other armed Tamil groups."

Asked to comment on the 'ground situation' and the mood of the LTTE, Mr Gopalsamy said the Tigers had lost many fighters in the continuing IPKF operations, but did not lose popular support. "People in the surrounding villages are sending them food to the jungles. But often these villagers are threatened by the IPKF and the food supplies are cut. I was fed by the same villagers and I also met Kumarappa's mother and Kittu's mother."

He said that many young girls, in the 16 to 20 age group, were joining the LTTE and were committed to the cause. The women in the villages told him that there were more casualties after the IPKF stepped in than when the Sri Lankan army was handling the situation.

APOLOGISES TO HIS LEADER

"It was my own decision and I did not consult anyone, including my leader, Dr Kalaignar Karunanidhi. I knew he would not permit me to undertake such a journey to Tamil Eelam", Mr V Gopalsamy said.

He said he met the Chief Minister, Mr M Karunanidhi, on March 5 and apologised for setting out on his own. "He told me that the trip was very risky and unnecessary when he was discussing the issue in detail with the Prime Minister. He also told me that enthusiasm should not become obsessive or fanatical. But treating me as his son, he pardoned me", Mr

Gopalsamy said, with moist eyes. The DMK MP, Mr T R Balu, was at his side during an urgently convened press conference at the party head-quarters at Teynampet.

Asked if he thought his trip was proper, Mr Gopalsamy replied, "I know what I have done is not right, but it was an impulsive decision. I saw in the papers there that the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister had asked for my arrest."

Was he planning to do anything further after the trip? "No. I have reported the whole thing to my leader and it is up to him to do his best. We know the interests of Eelam Tamils are safe in his hands. He can talk to the Prime Minister when he meets him. I went on my own and not as a representative of the DMK. So I cannot do anything on my own now. All I can say is that I am satisfied with my visit and achieved what I wanted", the 45-year old MP observed.

FAMILY OF FOUR THAT 'VANISHED'!

young girls and their mother, Sangaralingam Thangaratnam, were in their house in Nallur, in northern Sri Lanka, in November 1987 when members of the IPKF ransacked it and took them to the nearby IPKF station. The group of soldiers was known locally as the 'Six Guards'. Half an hour later, Mrs Sangaralingam and her eldest daughter were seen being led blindfolded to a jeep, which took them to an IPKF camp in Jaffna. That evening, the two younger girls, aged 10 and 12 were also driven away. No one has seen them since. The "disappearance" of the family is being publicised as part of Amnesty International's focus on women prisoners of conscience to mark International

Women's Day on Wednesday, March 8.

A relative of the Sangaralingams who went to the IPKF station on hearing of the arrests was asked whether she had any message for the Tigers. When she demanded to see Mrs Sangaralingam she was interrogated, then beaten up. During her day in custody, she briefly caught sight of Kayathiri Vino, the youngest girl. Since then, all inquiries have been in vain. IPKF headquarters deny holding the family, and the commanders of 20 IPKF camps visited by relatives said they had never heard of Mrs Sangaralingam or her daughters. [Courtesy - 'The Independent' -March 6, 1989]

ELECTIONS RIGGED -RUKMAN SENANAYAKE

Mr Rukman Senanayake, leader of the Eksath Lanka Janatha Party (ELJP), has made allegations for the second time at a press conference that the recent General Elections in Sri Lanka had been rigged. In order to prove the allegation he is said to have produced at the conference 10 books of ballot papers. It may be recalled that at an earlier press interview he had produced marked ballot papers which had been removed from ballot boxes in Kegalle.

FIREARMS WITHDRAWN FROM SLMC

The Sri Lankan Government is reported to have ordered the withdrawal of all firearms issued to candidates of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress before the elections. The order followed complaints that certain members of the SLMC were misusing the weapons in the (former) Eastern province.

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ELECTION '89: A STATEMENT AND A MANDATE

from our New York Correspondent

Since 1977, the Tamil people in Sri Lanka have not been afforded a chance to express their political will. Weak as they are as an ethnic minority, especially in a country where political benevolences are made along ethnic lines, the last vestiges of their right to even the most basic of democratic prerogatives were stripped in 1983.

After this long spell of virtual serfdom came a series of elections where the Tamils, at least in theory, were granted suffrage. However, this turned out to be one hell of an ordeal for the Tamils, with everything going against them - extreme and undue coercion, excessive violence, venal and corrupt electoral practices - all stage-managed by a powerful conqueror.

But, in spite of this pressure and strain they came through this ordeal making a remarkable and striking 'statement' that can only be called an edict; a pronouncement that bears out their political will, insight and wisdom. This 'statement', however, is so enmeshed in a multitude of factors that one has to cut through a real morass to be able to see it.

The Choices...

The choices that the Tamils had cannot be characterised by any stretch of the imagination as free or fair. Even their very basic option of whether or not to participate in what they perceived as nothing but a gigantic fraud, for example, was not left to them. They had armed hoodlums knocking on their doors threatening dire consequences if they didn't vote; they had their ID cards confiscated; they were forcibly carried to polling stations; and some were even compelled to commit perjury.

The Vox populi...

But, in spite of this duress, only a mere 65% of them voted in the Presidential and P C elections, and according to tentative reports, a paltry 40% participated in the General Elections. In other words, even if one were to adopt a conservative estimate to allow the fraudulent votes, a whopping 60% (or at least

50%, by the normal 90% turnout) of the Tamil electorate endorsed the LTTE stand.

Some would cite the LTTE counter-threat to explain this outcome. But if we were to accept this reasoning, they will have to explain to us as to how an average Tamil felt threatened more by a few hundred hunted Tigers hiding out in the jungles than by a highly visible hundred thousand strong IPKF, and over a thousand fully armed Tamil mercenaries, who in fact used their superior manpower and fire-power to bully and browbeat the average Tamil!

The Voters' Choice....

A more interesting phenomenon is how the minority who participated, i.e. those who voted by choice, those who voted under duress, and the illegitimate voters, cast their ballots. Of the 732,519 registered votes in the Northern Province, the EPRLF-TULF- ENDLF-TELO alliance netted only 67,892 (9.2%) votes. In the Eastern Province, of the 511,755 they secured 111,350 (21%). This, one must bear in mind, includes all the questionable votes - the stolen ballot papers, the perjurers driven from booth to booth and the stuffed boxes. RUKMAN SENANAYAKE

In sharp contrast to this, the majority of Tamil voters in their infinite wisdom and astuteness opted for a group, who for all practical purposes did not even participate in the elections. The Eelam Democratic Front (the political wing of the EROS) was prevented from registering as a political party. These fraternal confidants of the LTTE had to field their candidates as independents. In fact some of these candidates were known LTTE sympathisers.

The most intriguing fact is that the EDF candidates had withdrawn from the electoral process long before the election date, in deference to an LTTE directive. They could not, however, have their names removed from the ballot papers because according to the Sri Lankan election ordinance enrolment as a candidate is irrevocable.

The Tamil voters, however, seized this opening, this unforeseen opportunity, to make their point. Their proclamation was so loud and clear, and so profound that the BBC commented - "The vote is an endorsement of the EROS and the LTTE." The Tamil voter is known to make "statements" of this nature through the electoral process. In the Presidential election for instance, his statement was "we do not trust either of the two leading candidates", and showed this by voting for the candidate who was unlikely to win! In the past, candidates who had won one election with a 99% majority have, when they crossed over, found themselves defeated in the next election with loss of their deposits. These are deep and profound statements that only reflect the Tamil political acumen and shrewdness.

The Mandate

The Tamil mandate in this election is crystal clear. A good 60% asserted that they stand by the LTTE. Only a 14.4% (this includes the perjurers who swelled this number) declared that they back the Indian stooges and what they stand for. Of the rest, a good majority expressed their support for the group that declined to be part of the Indian puppet show, and are known to be LTTE partisans.

In summation, the Tigers, without even participating in these elections, have earned the Tamil mandate. This sequel, sensational as it may seem to many, certainly is not astonishing. Those who changed horses midstream, to abandon the freedom struggle prematurely and for egoistical reasons, were defeated. Whereas, those who were 'steadfastly resolute in what they set out to do triumphed. What is astounding is how the Tamil voters, against such massive odds, out-thought and outmanoeuvred everyone in making that 'statement'.

continued on page 18

Revealing quotes

WHAT STOPPED INDIA FROM INVADING SRI LANKA?

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was a regional bully's crude imposition on a helpless neighbour. What did the agreement seek to achieve? What did its signatories set out to do? The Agreement sought to establish peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka. Undoubtedly the country was being devastated by an internal war. But who fanned the flames of the conflict? Who supported one party to the conflict with arms and ammunition, training and safe refuge, money and material? Who blasphemed country in international forums by giving a false picture of what was happening here?

Although the Indian Government has consistently denied any participatory role in the Tamil militants' struggle against the Sri Lankan Government, interestingly the July pact and the Annexures too made an indirect reference to India's role in the past.

The fact of the matter was, Indian officials had become obsessed with the idea that Jayewardene planned to grant the American military forces base rights at Trincomalee. They had managed to convince Indira Gandhi of this, and she agreed to a plan by the RAW to establish links with a number of small Tamil guerilla groups operating in the north of Sri Lanka.

Without naming Sri Lanka, she had asserted, while inaugurating the Foreign Ministers' conference of SAARC on 1 August 1983, that "most of our countries are multi-racial and multi-religious, it would be idle to pretend that we are not affected by what happens elsewhere. Even as we meet, there are disturbing and tragic developments in our neighbourhood." She had expressed India's concern over the disturbances of July 1983 and sent her Foreign Minister to Colombo on July 28 to talk to President Jayewardene.

In 1983, Indira Gandhi told Tamil expatriates in New York that she would have ordered the Indian army to invade Sri Lanka but had reservations because of the defencelessness of the Indian plantation workers.

INVASION WAS IMMINENT

The plan for an invasion of Sri Lanka accidentally came to light when an Indian agent, who was paid by France to spirit away vital secret files on Indian defence arms, also picked up, inadvertently, details of the plan. The plan was for the Para Troopers of the Indian Army to attack and carry out the task of capturing crucial Sri Lankan airstrips. Plans for the invasion were to be put into motion in the first fortnight of August 1984. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her advisers discussed the invasion plan but it was temporarily put in abeyance. Even so, series of plans for an air-borne invasion of the Island had been afoot. In the first fortnight of August, sudden orders had been issued to the 50th Independent Para-Brigade in Agra to move into the air field immediately and commence preparations for action. But later the plans to use Agra as a base were dropped because it was too far away. It was then decided to use Trivandrum instead because of the proximity of the airstrips in Jaffna, Trincomalee and Colombo. The capture of the airstrips was to be followed by the landing of troops by air. Evidently, an amphibious operation was also to be mounted alongside with ships and landing crafts being used to land infantry troops and an armoured corps regiment.

In the second half of September the back-up team, complete with supplies and heavy equipment had boarded three trains to Trivandrum. The trains had taken six days to reach Trivandrum. To conceal their entry into Trivandrum the troops had disembarked some 12 km outside the city, in a shunting yard. The assault force waited in expectation for the green light which never came. The assassination of Indira came between the plan and its execution.

Another story is that a Super Power had advised the Indian Prime Minister not to embark on the enterprise until her government had succeeded in sufficiently blackening the image of Sri Lanka in the eyes of the world.

It is known that Indira Gandhi was under tremendous pressure from Tamil politicians and bureaucrats to invade Sri Lanka.

DENIAL OF EXISTENCE OF TRAINING CAMPS

Both the mother and her son Rajiv turned a blind eye to the existence of training camps for Sri Lankan guerillas on Indian soil. Eight such military training camps had existed in North India. Sri Lankan Tamil youths fighting for separatism in the Island received instructions and training there. The trainees were members of the TELO, PLOTE, EPRLF and EROS. The instructors had links with RAW. The Indian army camp close to the Delhi airport trained members of the PLOTE and TELO, even prior to May 1983. In Tamil Nadu too there were several training camps for LTTE, TELO, PLOTE and TELA where the Indian instructors were channelled through RAW. Mother and son denied the existence of these camps. At the same time, what a contribution indeed towards establishing peace and normalcy in the Island!

Despite the training and support given by the Indians, the Sri Lankan army offensive at Vadamaradchi rattled both Prabaharan and his Indian sponsors. The suddenness of the attack, its effectiveness and its swiftness made the fall of Jaffna look a very real possibility. It was then that India decided to bring the government of this country to its knees. Vadamaradchy set in motion the chain of events which led, first to the abortive 'invasion' by a flotilla of fishing boats, then to the shameless and naked violation of Sri Lanka's air space and territorial integrity by Indian aircraft for purpose of dropping food parcels which was an undiluted act of international brigandage.

Tyronne Fernando, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, related how, at a dinner party by the Cuban Ambassador given on June 5, 1987, Indian High Commissioner Dixit had told him, "Well Sir, if your offensive goes on, you can expect more droppings."

Those entrusted with the task of negotiating a 'Friendship Treaty' for Sri Lanka in the near future should know whom they are dealing with. Can there ever be friendship between unequals? Courtesy - 'The Island' - January 29, 1989

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

3.4.89 Monday - Pirathosha Viratham

Panguni Pongal

5.4.89 Wednesday - Amaavasai Viratham

Saturday - Kaarthikai Viratham

9.4.89 Sunday - Chathurthi Viratham

10.4.89 Monday - Panguni Pongal

Tuesday - Sashdi Viratham 14.4.89 Friday - Tamil New Year 18.4.89 Tuesday - Pirathosha Viratham

20.4.89 Saturday - Chithra Pournami

30.4.89 Sunday - Thirunavukkarasu Nayanar Pooja

DEATHS



DR COLVIN R DE SILVA, the architect of Sri Lanka's first republican constitution of 1972 and the leader of the Trotskyite LSSP died in Colombo on February 27 at the age of 82. Born at Baddegama on February 16, 1907, he was educated at Royal College where he won the Governor's scholarship, followed by King's College, London. He obtained a Ph.D in 1932 for his three volume 'Ceylon under the British'.

De Silva returned to Ceylon as a dedicated Marxist and was a founder member of the oldest political party, LSSP. Meanwhile, De Silva had established as a brilliant criminal lawyer. When war broke out in 1939, his party was banned and the leaders jailed. De Silva was arrested in 1940. In 1942 he escaped from jail and went to India where he became secretary of

the Bolshevik-Leninist party. On his return to Ceylon he successfuly contested a seat in Colombo to become an MP in 1947.

He kept his distance from the LSSP and rejoined in 1950. When Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike decided to enter into a coalition with the LSSP, De Silva resisted the idea but had to move with the tide. In 1970 he became a cabinet minister. He was given the task of drafting a new constitution.

The LSSP, which had over 20 members in the 1970 Parliament, suffered a humiliating defeat in the 1977 elections, not retaining a single seat. De Silva lived among capitalists but fought for the rights of the working class and will be remembered as a pioneer of the left movement in Sri Lanka. (From The Times - March 4, 1989)

A T SINNATHURAI: Born in Alvay on January 27, 1907, Mr Sinnathurai established himself as a successful businessman in the Central Province of Ceylon. He set up two large stores in Wattegama, ATS No.1 and ATS No.2, and a third in Matale. He was popularly known as "ATS Mudalali" and greatly respected for his integrity and generosity. Latterly, he also ran a successful hardware and grocery shop - 'Jothy Stores' - in his native Alvay which he loved most dearly.

He died in Chilaw on February 8 on his way to Colombo to meet his eldest son, A T S Ratnasingham, and was cremated the following day in Kanatte. He leaves behind six other sons, Velayutham, Navaratnam, Nadarajah, Sinnathamby, Kandasamy and Kanagalingam, and three daughters, Rajalakshmi Karunanathan, Puvaneswari Hyland and Mangayarkarasi. His wife died in 1987.

104 Dora Road, Wimbledon Pk., London SW19 7HJ

CHELLAPPAH RASIAH, M A (Cantab), B.Sc (Lond), M.I.C.E., M.I.W.E. Born in 1908, he had his early education in Parameshvara College, Jaffna. He entered the Ceylon University College in 1925 and three years later he won the Open Engineering Scholarship to Cambridge University.



His long and distinguished career in the Public Service began in 1936, with his appointment as District Engineer in the PWD. With his reputation for honesty and hard work, he rose steadily to the post of Deputy Director 13 years later, and soon after he was appointed Director of the Dept of Waterworks of which he was the first head. He retired in 1968 from this post. Later he worked as Director of Samuel & Sons, Colombo, until his death on January 26.

Mr Rasiah was an active member of the Thiruketheeswaram Temple Restoration Society. He married Sathyalakshmy, second daughter of the late Mr & Mrs V S S Kumarasamy of Kanthermadam, Jaffna. He leaves behind his wife and two daughters, Ratneswary Easwarathasan and Sivakumari Gnanendran. 84/6 Lauries Road, Colombo 4.

SAROJINI VISVENDRAN

Wife of T Visvendran (Transmission Engineer, British Gas), mother of Shankar and Latha, sister of Chandramohan (Sri Lanka), Dr Indramohan (Zambia) and Surendramohan (UK), died at her home in 27 Cromwell Road, Stevenage, Herts SG29HT, on March 2. The cremation took place at Golders Green Crematorium on March 11 in the presence of a very large number of friends and relations.

Born on September 8, 1941, she was the only daughter of Mr K Kanagasabai, Retired Chief Accountant (Police & Excise Depts.in Sri Lanka) and of the late Mrs Yogam Kanagasabai. For sometime past she had been in indifferent health and underwent major surgery in October last year. It could be truly said of her 'She was a friend of many and enemy of none'.

81 KILLED

According to an LTTE press release dated March 3, 81 Indian army personnel were killed and 49 injured during their confrontation with the LTTE between 29th January and 28th February. On the Sri Lankan side 3 navy personnel, 2 soldiers and 1 police officer were killed. 23 LTTE fighters lost their lives.

TAMILS KILLED IN SINHALA AREAS

Buses plying between Colombo and Batticaloa are being attacked by Sinhalese thugs. One Tamil was killed on 1st March at Welikandai and two on the 2nd at the same place.

AMIR SNEAKS IN

Despite objections by the EPRLF, Mr A Amirthalingam, who was defeated in the recent general elections, has been selected as MP from the National List, because of the total votes polled for the alliance. The EPRLF hierarchy is said to be displeased with the selection and Tamils generally wonder whether Mr Amirthalingam has a moral right to represent them.

IPKF WILL NOT LEAVE FOR 6 MONTHS

Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of State for Defence, has told the Press that the IPKF will not leave Sri Lanka until a proper Police Force is established in the North-East to maintain peace and order there. That may take six months, he said.

MANAL-ARU SETTLERS ATTACKED

A village at Manal Aru in the Eastern Province, where Sinhalese were settled recently and was re-named 'Weli-Oya', was attacked by unknown persons. 8 villagers are reported killed, and nine others injured.

SANCTION FOR IPKF TO PERSUADE VOTERS

Official sanction was given for troops including the IPKF to 'persuade' voters of North-East to go to the polls. 57 deaths by violence were reported on election day.

SALE OF TAMIL DAILIES STOPPED

The sale of the Tamil dailies *Uthayan* and *Murasoli*, printed in Jaffna, were alleged to have been

stopped, on February 9, by a militant group as they carried election propaganda. A rival group, however, confiscated the papers from the publishing houses and distributed them free. The two newspapers have still not resumed publication.

SINHALESE VILLAGERS KILLED IN HOROWAPOTANA

34 Sinhalese villagers including women and children were mercilessly killed in Horawupotana on 11 February, and 18 of their houses burnt. The 'Daily News' (as usual) blamed the LTTE for this massacre but the LTTE promptly denied responsibility.

CVF GROWS STRONGER

Of the 1,500 Citizens Volunteer Force recruited by the North-East Provincial Council and undergoing training at present, 250 have taken up duties on Feb.2. The strength of the CVF is to be increased to 7,500, according to the Chief Minister of the NEPC.

In the meantime, the government has decided to recruit 10,000- strong CVF under the Mobilisation and Supplementary Forces Act No.40 of 1985, to be deployed to every Province in the country.

DISPLACED FAMILIES RESETTLED

The Director of Social Services disclosed that of the 57,930 families displaced due to ethnic violence in Trincomalee, 23,027 Tamil, 16,587 Sinhalese and 7,658 Muslim families had since been resettled. 2,115 families, both Sinhalese and Tamil, are still housed in 17 welfare centres while the rest were living with their relations and friends. But it is not understood as to what has happened to hundreds of Tamils who were chased out of a number of Tamil villages in the Eastern Province.

IPKF GOING ON 'HOLIDAY'

IPKF pulled out another battalion of 900 men on February 8. The Sri Lankan President, announcing this proposed withdrawal in Jaffna on February 6, said, "I told the Indian Government now that the IPKF's job is over, they can go back. The pull-out is being done methodically." An SLFPer said "IPKF battalion is going on holiday." (Probably he must be referring to further fresh battalions arriving through Palaly which the S.L. Government is not aware of - Ed.)



SLMC WILL TAKE THEIR SEATS

The SLMC is prepared to take their seats in the North- Eastern Provincial Council as their demand for Muslim Congress members to be recruited to the Citizens Volunteer Force has been met by the NE-PC. The SLMC is also willing to drop its demand for a referendum to decide on the permanent merger of the North- east if a Muslim majority unit on a cantonal basis is conceded.

EROS BOYCOTT PARLIAMENT

EROS has decided not to attend Parliament which opens on March 9, demanding a ceasefire in Eelam.

PASSENGERS ROBBED

Passengers in a bus from Colombo to Jaffna were robbed of cash and valuables estimated at Rs 300,000 by an armed gang. This happened on February 2, between Vavuniya and Mankulam.

RAIL TRACK BLASTED

The railway track between Murunkan and Parayanalankulam in Mannar has been blasted with a bomb by unknown persons resulting in disruption of rail service. Repairs to the track are expected to take more than two weeks.

CM PERUMAL GOES TO COLOMBO

In an interview with a correspondent of the Tamil Nadu weekly 'Junior Post', Varatharaja Perumal, Chief Minister, N-E Provincial Council, has complained that he had no office furniture, no vehicle, no telephone, not even a residence to carry on his work, and that he had to go from Trincomalee to Colombo every time to seek permission of the Central Government even for "minor

administrative matters."

He had earlier stated at a meeting of the Provincial Council that powers for the administration of the Province had not been properly transferred to the Council by the Central Government, and has accused the Government of not co-operating in this regard.

BISHOP CANNOT SPEAK ON "THAT SUBJECT"

Dr B Deogupillai, Roman Catholic Bishop of Jaffna went recently to attend a Church Conference in India. While speaking at the conference, when he began referring to certain activities in the north of Sri Lanka, the Chairman of the Conference is said to have sent him a note requesting him to refrain from talking on "that subject", and that a meeting with the "Big Man" (Rajiv Gandhi) could be arranged for that matter.

'TAMIL SHALL BE THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE'

The North-East Provincial Council is reported to have passed a resolution moved by its Chief Minister, Mr Varatharaja Perumal, that 'Tamil shall be the official language of the Province', with a rider that replies to correspondence shall be sent in the language in which such correspondence originates.

HIGH COURT JUDGES FOR N-E

The Sri Lankan Government has appointed Messrs R Sathiapalan, M K Selvarajah, A L M Ismail, V Satchithananthan and S Balasingham, Attorneys-at-Law, as High Court Judges for the North-East province.

IPKF SETS FIRE TO HOUSES

It is reported that the IPKF had set fire to several houses in Kokuvil and caused extensive damage to them in reprisal for attacks by the Tamil Tigers.

LEADERS OF TAMIL GROUPS MEET

Some of the leaders of the TULF, EPRLF, TELO AND EROS groups have met in Colombo and have had discussions in order to put a stop to the internecine quarrels and attacks among Tamil groups.

MAGNANIMITY OF INDIA!

The Indian Government is reported to have 'donated' nine million rupees for the development of the North-Eastern province. It has also 'gifted' 25 omnibuses for use in the North and 23 more for the East of Sri Lanka.

ARRESTED YOUTHS RELEASED TO JOIN POLICE

125 youths arrested in Batticaloa and detained by the IPKF for almost a year have been released and urged to join the Police Force to be set up shortly in the North-East Province.

6 NAVY PERSONNEL KILLED

Six members of the Sri Lankan Navy were killed by LTTE fighters in a fierce encounter on March 6, in Trincomalee. A truck and a tractor belonging to the Navy were destroyed and several weapons captured by the LTTE.

TAMIL VILLAGES IN FLAMES

Over 100 civilians were killed and several Tamil villages were destroyed as the Indian and Sri Lankan armed forces launched a massive combined military offensive against the LTTE in the Mullaitivu district.

Heavy fighting ensued from the beginning of March in Nithikaikulam area where Indian army deployed a large contingent of troops. Paracommandos and the Gurkhas have been involved in the fighting at close quarters. Attack helicopters, machine guns, other infantry and artillery weapons and tanks are being used. Indian and Sri Lankan military aircraft and helicopters bombed the area indiscriminately setting several villages ablaze and causing heavy civilian casualties.

Indian sources claim to have killed 50 LTTE fighters while they lost 11 soldiers. Fighting continues at the time of going to press and exact extent of casualties and damage is not known. LTTE claims to be putting up fierce resistance.

RAJYA SABHA MP CONFIRMS

V Gopalsamy, MP who returned from Eelam after four weeks' unoficial stay there, has told reporters in Madras on his arrival there, that the Indian forces are "shelling the place with 250kg shells and using the latest MI 24 helicopter gunships."

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) based in Geneva has released information regarding Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees:

"A governmental meeting did indeed take place on 16 and 17 February 1989, in Geneva during which the situation of Tamil asylum-seekers from Sri Lanka was discussed in the light of the circumstances prevailing in the country at present. It was con-

cluded that no return from Europe of groups of Tamils should take place for the foreseeable future and until the situation is re-evaluated. The foreseeable return of individually rejected asylum-seekers should in the circumstances be approached with special prudence."

'THE PEACE TRAP' is a candid portrait of the political storm sparked off by the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of July 29, 1987. The crisis in implementing the accord is presented against a background of the issues and personalities involved. 'The Peace Trap' is, in itself, a sensitive new phrase, bristling with a fine sense of paradox, that summarises India's political dilemmas in bringing peace to Sri Lanka. The book also captures the changing moods and methods of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, with the author drawing on his intimate journalistic contacts with Prabaharan, the leader of the Tamil Tigers. The book, focussing briefly on the Sri Lankan Government's worries as well, is an introductory work by a political journalist who has been a witness to some of the major developments in contemporary Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

Written in a highly readable style, 'The Peace Trap' traces all the major events right up to the end of April 1988. But the analysis of the issues raised in the book has an enduring value in contemporary Indo-Sri Lankan diplomacy. In all, the book is a bold presentation in an extremely fluid situation.

The author, P S Suryanarayana, is a Senior Staff Correspondent of the 'Financial Express', an important publication of the Indian Express group. Based in Madras, he has been covering political and economic events on a day-to-day basis. He visited Sri Lanka to study the political and ethnic crisis there. Born in Salem (Tamil Nadu, India) on July 15, 1949, Suryanarayana gave up a prestigious Indian government service job in 1976 to plunge into the exciting world of daily journalism. He worked as a reporter with the 'Indian Express' and 'The Hindu' in Madras before joining the 'Financial Express'. He has a Master's Degree in Politics and Public Administration (Madras University).

Price Rs.36. Available from Affiliated East-West Press Ltd., 35-36 Greames Road, Madras 600 006.

SRI LANKAN NEWS

49 MINISTERS OF STATE

In addition to the 22 Cabinet Ministers, President Premadasa has appointed 49 Ministers of State. Mr P P Thevaraj, has been appointed Minister of State for Hindu Cultural Affairs and Mr M S Sellasamy, Minister of State for Transport. A list of the 22 Cabinet Ministers appeared in our last issue.

NO CHANGE IN THE SHEET TO THE SHEET TO THE SHEET THE SHE FOREIGN POLICY

Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, Minister for External Affairs, has declared that there would be no change in Sri Lanka's foreign policy and that Sri Lanka would follow the path of nonalignment.

THE 'BLACK CATS'

An anti-JVP terrorist organisation called "The Black Cats" has sprung up in the South. This organisation is said to have killed at least 20 JVP militants. It is rumoured that it is an unofficial creation of the government.

ARMY DESERTERS JOIN JVP

The Sri Lankan government is said to be highly worried that a large number of deserters from the Sri Lankan armed forces have joined the JVP militants. About 2,500 men have deserted the armed forces.

PRESIDENT'S VICTORY TEMPORARY - JVP

In a leaflet published recently, the JVP states that President Premadasa's victory is temporary, that former President Jayewardene is very much active politically behind the scenes, and that the Bandaranaikes are aiding the UNP, the USA and Indian agents.

PRESIDENT WILL SUPERVISE **WORK OF MINISTRIES**

Soon after appointing his Cabinet, President Premadasa has warned Ministers that he would not stint in his duty to supervise the work of all ministries and that any Minister failing in the quality of service to the people cannot expect to continue in office.

He has also impressed upon them that they would all be working for ALL the people of Sri Lanka and called upon them to scrupulously refrain from doing anything which would encourage discrimination or perpetuate political rivalries.

DRUG ADDICTION TAKES A BAD TURN

The Director of National Dangerous Drugs Control Board of Sri Lanka, Mr C T Jansz, states that drug addiction in Sri Lanka has become a serious problem. The more potent drug, heroin, smuggled by foreigners into the country, has taken over from the milder narcotics like Cannabis or ganga and opium since 1982. According to him there are over 30,000 drug addicts in Sri Lanka.

The number of arrests made for heroin-related offences in Sri Lanka has risen from nil in 1980 and 8 in 1981 to 2,820 in 1987. However, the number of Sri Lankans arrested abroad for drug offences has declined from 236 in 1983 to 113 in 1987.

IRREGULARITIES AT POLLING

Several polling irregularities have been reported after the recent General Elections in Sri Lanka. Ballot papers were destroyed when a voter dropped a cigarette butt into a ballot box at Polonnaruwa. In another incident an armed gang had entered a polling centre at Beliatta, in the South, and stuffed ballot papers into the ballot box. At Horowupotana, the ballot boxes were forcibly removed from polling stations by unauthorised persons. In Anuradhapura, security forces intercepted a convoy of buses which were smuggling ballot boxes. Some police officers in civilian clothes were detected travelling in those buses. The Commissioner of Elections had cancelled the polling as invalid in 13 polling centres following intimidation. The centres affected were 5 in Matara, 1 each in Kurunegala, Kegalle, Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura, and 2 each in Kandy and Badulla, affecting 12,000 registered voters.

TAMIL CANDIDATE HAD ARMS

On February 5, a revolver and ammunition were snatched from a Tamil candidate residing in Kollupitiya (Colombo) and contesting a seat in the Jaffna district.

SUBVERSIVES TAKE FIREARMS FROM MALIGAWA

The military guard room at the Dalada Maligawa (Temple of the Tooth), Kandy, was attacked by a group which entered the premises in the guise of pilgrims on February 8. Two subversives and two civilians were killed in an exchange of fire. 11 persons including two young women were arrested. Subversives escaped with 10 T-81 rifles and ammunition.

TROOPS BACK IN THE FIELD

Thousands of troops withdrawn from the battle against subversives in the South in mid-December after President Premadasa lifted the 5year old emergency are deployed again for action in full force.

CHANGE OF MIND

President Premadasa, in a message on the 41st Anniversary of Sri Lanka's Independence, said, "Those elements who seek to obstruct or destroy the democratic process will not long be tolerated by the vast majority of freedom-loving Sri Lankans." But, a few days later, at a public rally in Matara, he repeated an invitation to the JVP and the LTTE to enter into negotiations either with him or his ministers, which he said could be held after the elections.

PREMADASA CHOOSES HIS P M



President Premadasa of Sri Lanka appointed on March 3 his Finance Minister, Mr Dingiri Banda Wijetunge, aged 67, as Prime Minister, overlooking the claims of Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of Agriculture and Food, and Mr Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of State Plantations. Mr Ranil Wickremasinghe, Industries Minister, was appointed Leader of the House.

SRI LANKA IN LEBANON-TYPE SITUATION

Lord Avebury, Chairman of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group, who went, among others, to Sri Lanka to monitor the General Elections on February 15, has said in an interview given to the Sri Lankan daily 'The Island', before leaving the island, that Sri Lanka is in "a Lebanon-type situation" and that "only time will show if the elections are helpful to Sri Lankan democracy.'

INDIAN INTERVENTION HAS PROLONGED AGONY

(We reproduce a section of the statement made by the Disabled Peoples' International - a non-governmental organisation in consultative status - at the 45th session of the UN Human Rights Commission)

"Disabled people's International continues to focus great attention to the problem of armed conflicts, violations of the rules of armed conflict, and their relationship to disability. War, and particularly violations of the rules of war, are quite obviously, major causes of disability. War crimes are among the gravest of all human rights violations, and according to international law rules such as those set out in the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, subject the perpetrators to jurisdiction in any country. Further, all countries have an obligation to seek out and try violators of the rules of war.

Disabled Peoples' International regrettably recognises that people will fight back, with force if necessary, when any government engages in violations of human rights or when their country is subjected to outside military aggression. In these regrettable circumstances, the international community has an obligation, in conformity with Common Article 1 of the Geneva Conventions, to ensure respect for the rules of war. On this point we cite the International Court of Justice in its case Nicaragua v United States of America. (1986 I.C.J at paras.215 et seq.) Compliance with humanitarian law not only reduces incidence of disability, but, as pointed out by Mr Pastor Ridruejo, the Special Rapporteur for El Salvador, in the introductory remarks to his report made at the 45th meeting of this session, can better promote an atmosphere for peaceful resolution of the conflicts.

In internal armed conflicts, the international community also has an obligation to not intervene militarily. Unfortunately, this rule is violated by India, who has intervened in the civil war in Sri Lanka. The intervention itself. even when the rules of war are respected, has needlessly prolonged the conflict in Sri Lanka and has made prospects for peace ever move distant. Worse yet, the government of India and its military forces in Sri Lanka are violating the rules of war with grave consequences for disability.

As an example, in the Fall of 1988, 154 war-wounded combatants, who had been in refuge in Madras where they sought needed medical aid, were forcibly sent back to the North of Sri Lanka where all but a few are held in detention with no access to humanitarian aid from the International Committee of the Red Cross or any other organisation. Many of them are severely disabled, and had been in hospital in Madras. Others had been held in Central Prison, Madras, under orders from session judge R S Rathnesami. These persons are all

entitled to the rights under Geneva Convention III relating to prisonersof-war.

Additionally, a large number of civilian casualties has resulted from indiscriminate military operations carried out by the Indian forces. Some of these are set out in the Report of the Special Rapporteur for Summary or Arbitrary Executions (U.N.Doc.E/CN.4/1989/25 at paras 249-252). The Rapporteur also sets out allegations of violations by the opposition forces. These violations continue. For instance, on January 7, 1989, 11 persons were seriously wounded and 40 injured by the Indian forces in Pallikudiyiruppu (Eastern Province); on January 19, more than 100 people, including 10 hospital workers, were injured, also by the Indian forces. The situation of these and other war-wounded is made more grave by the military actions, in violation of the Geneva Conventions, against hospitals and medical workers.

continued from page 12

The Illegitimate Provincial Council....

A logical corollary of this outcome is the fact that those who have been propelled under the most dubious of circumstances to govern the northeast provincial council do not have the Tamil mandate. Half of them got there without a contest because others could not challenge them without getting murdered for it. The other half got in through the most praetorian and venal electoral modes Sri Lanka has ever seen. They do not have the legal, ethical or the moral mandate to govern the Tamils.

The sooner everyone acknowledges this the better it is for all concerned. Mr Sivanayagam's statement in this regard is most apt: "Indian policy-makers may be compelled to take a second look at their existing attitude towards Prabaharan and the LTTE. And that probably could be the best thing that could happen to the Tamils, and to India as well, because the longer she persists in controlling the lives of the Tamil people, through gun power and 'puppet shows', the easier it would be for the LTTE to control the minds and hearts of the people."

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எழுதியது: பேராசிரியர் கோபன் மகாதேவா

சாதி என்றும் சமயம் என்றும் சண்டை இட்டுப்பிரிந்திடோம், பாதியில் நற் திட்டங்களேப் பரிகசித்துத் திட்டிடோம், காதினிலே கள்ளமாகக் கெட்ட கோள்கள் கூறிடோம், சேதிகளேத் திரித்துச் சொல்லி சேற்றை அள்ளிப் பூசிடோம்.

மாதர்களே மேதினியில் மடக்கி வைத்து மகிழ்ந்திடோம், போதை தரும் மதுவில் மூழ்கிப் பாதி வாழ்க்கை வாழ்ந்திடோம், மோதி எங்கள் சோதரரைக் கோபம் கொண்டு கொன்றிடோம், காந்தியைப் போல் சாந்தமான பேச்சுவார்த்தை கைவிடோம்.

வீதிகளில் வாதம் செய்து விரோதிகளாய்ப் பிரிந்திடோம், சூது வாதுத் தர்க்கங்களே மீதி இன்றி நிறுத்துவோம், யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளீர் என்ற வார்த்தையை பேதம், சந்தேகம் தீர வாழ்க்கையிலே காட்டுவோம்.

மாபெரும் தியாகங்களும் சேவைகளும் செய்த எம் காவியத் தஃலவர்களே (நாம்) சாகினும் கடிந்திடோம். நாம் தமிழர், நல்லவர்கள், வாழ வேண்டு என்பதால் பூமியிலே மற்றவர்கள் வாழ்வதைத் தடுத்திடோம்.

தோதில்லாத பதவிகளில் மோகம் கொண்டு அமேந்திடோம், தீதில்லாத கருத்துக்களே மேதினியில் பரப்புவோம், தேதி, நேரம், காலம் காத்துக் கருமங்களே ஆற்றுவோம், யாதும் வந்த போதும் என்றும் நீதியைக் காப்பாற்று வோம்.

மூவேந்தர் தமக்குள்ளே மூட்டிய வெந் தீயிஞல் சாவு கொண்ட சரித்திரத்தை நாங்கள் என்றும் மறந்திடோம். பாவேந்தர் பாரதியார் கற்பனித்த குலத்திண நாமேனும் நிறுவி வைத்து நல்ல வாழ்க்கை நடத்துவோம்.

காலம் எல்லாம் கற்றுக் கற்றுத் தேடிய நம் அறிவிண வாழ வைத்து விருத்தி செ்ய்து தாயகத்தைப் பேணுவோம். மேலே நாட்டு எந்திரிகம் மேலும் மேலும் எமதர்க்கிப் பாலேவன இடத்தில் எல்லாம் ஆலேகள் உண்டாக்குவோம்.

காதை தூரம் போயுள்ளோம். பாதை நீண்டு தெரியுது. பேதம் பேசி வீணில் காலம் போக்குதல் உசிதமோ? ஆதியிலே சீர் திருந்தி ஆட்சி செய்த பரம்பரை பாதியில் உள் பகைகளிஞல் மோதி நாங்கள் மாழ்வதோ?

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: THE TAMIL AGENDA AND TAMIL NADU

2 p.m - 5p.m 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

Kalaignar Karunanidhi's role in the struggle.

SUNDAY, 30th APRIL

SESSION 3: THE TAMIL AGENDA: POLITICAL STRUGGLE

10a.m - 1p.m 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

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

ANYONE 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

PHONE (01) 904 0343, FAX (01) 908 2520