

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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MAIN PLAYERS IN A POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT



Premadasa



Rajiv Gandhi



Prabhakaran



Rohana Wijeweera



Srimavo Bandaranaike

YOUR VOICE

LTTE Vs. MR GANDHI

Dr Benjamin J Raj, Madras

I am writing with reference to the spate of letters that have appeared in the columns of *The Hindu* in the past few weeks 'justifying' the actions of the IPKF vis a vis the LTTE.

One has to recognise the fact that the island was a two-nation state as written in the constitution itself. A unitary Sri Lanka is a myth that exists only in the minds of the Prime Minister of India and the coterie that surround him.

What LTTE stands for is the restoration of Tamil rights, economic, social and political which have been encroached upon by the Sinhalese since 1928. The strength of the LTTE comes from the masses. Had the LTTE been supported by the CIA or the KGB, would Mr Gandhi have led them down so miserably?

Ms Karen Parker, an American lawyer and human rights activist, filed a report to the U.S Congress alleging the involvement of Col. Oliver North in Sri Lanka. She requested a probe into the missing \$9 million when the Iran Contra fund was checked after its seizure from the Swiss bank. When Col. North's money was frozen in the bank, all the 100 foreign mercenaries left Sri Lanka immediately. (It is to be noted that each mercenary was paid a salary of \$35,000 p a and there were 100 of them. According to her, it did not appear in the island's budget). She wondered why Col. North and the CIA Director William Casey undertook such a job. Is it because they loved the Sinhalese so much or they hated the Tamils? Probably, it was meant to create mischief by alienating the Tamils from the rest of India and keeping the south as a trouble spot, as Punjab is in the north.

Mr Gandhi's government failed to think twice when it received quick US support when the IPKF initiated action against the LTTE. In fact, India fell into the trap that the above two gentlemen laid so meticulously. Whether we accept this conspiracy theory or not, Tamils in Sri Lanka are alienated from India. They will not forgive us for what they have suffered at the hands of the IPKF even though the Indian army did at the outset a lot of good.

It is an open fact that there was a difference of opinion between the Foreign and Home Ministries in India in respect of a solution to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. It was very unfortunate that the Indian Prime Minister was on a tour of the West when the military action was initiated against the LTTE. Defence Minister Pant, a novice to matters relating to civil war, entered the picture in his absence. The Sri Lankan government painted it as an Aryan Vs Dravidian conflict, projecting themselves as Aryans and Tamils as Dravidians. Probably he flexed his muscles to defeat the common enemy. I was shocked to hear of the hundreds of cases of human rights violation by the IPKF. We arranged two demonstrations, one in front of the Indian

Embassy in Washington DC and the other in front of the White House, both attended by about 300 Sri Lankan Tamils and most of them came weeping having lost their relatives and their properties. Every Indian, by our indifference, bears a responsibility for staining our hands with the spilling of innocent blood and we have no right to accuse the LTTE for this.

Mr Gandhi became a lame duck. Not only did he fail to understand the grave implications of the assault on the Tamils of Jaffna, but he was also given wrong advice by his sycophants like Romesh Bhandari and Natwar Singh.

We have to accept the fact that the LTTE cadres are the sons of the soil and we are foreigners who entered the island for our own selfish purpose. Most of the IPKF (about 99,000) should be withdrawn and not more than 1,000 members should be deployed in Amparai, Batticaloa and Trincomalee. Such a redeployment of IPKF should be done in accord with the LTTE. As a mark of its statesmanship the LTTE should stop decimating the smaller Tamil groups even if they be "quislings". If we fail to act now, the map of the Indian subcontinent will be altered in a matter of time by our foolishness and stupidity. If we had had one strong Tamil leader in Tamil Nadu to stand up to the central government, such an unfortunate event would not have happened.

TAMILS ARE INDIANS, NOT SRI LANKANS

S Arul, Batticaloa

I want the IPKF to go because of the stupidity of the present Indian government. Instead of helping the Tamils from the oppressors, the Indian government came forward to help the Sri Lankan government by trying to suppress the oppressed. Now, Prime Minister Gandhi knows how reliable the Sinhalese are and why Tamils refuse to live with them. If he had co-operated with the LTTE the story would have been different and he need not blink as to what to do to win the general election this year.

Failures are the pillars of success. Time is never too late for Mr Gandhi to sort out things with the LTTE. The LTTE must understand that we Tamils are Indians and not Sri Lankans, and forgive Mr Gandhi for the atrocities committed by the IPKF and shake hands with the IPKF. As a first step, the IPKF must start withdrawing from the north after disarming the EPRLF, ENDLF, TELO, and PLOTE. LTTE must assure not to take revenge on any of the groups. IPKF must be in the border areas to ensure that the Sinhalese do not attack the Tamils. That is the way India can help to bring peace to its southern neighbour while providing for its own security concerns. I caution all parties to be concerned of the CIA's hands in our problem.

EDITORIAL

THE PREMADASA-LTTE TALKS

Sri Lanka is possibly at a turning point in its history mainly because of the pragmatic President Premadasa and the political strategy of the Liberation Tigers. The two have realised who the principal obstructionists are (which in this case could range from RAW to the South Block advisors of Prime Minister Gandhi). The LTTE are aware of the principal contradictions in their midst, namely the various political instruments of RAW planted on soil sacred to and hallowed by the Tamils. Their intention has been to create dissension and internecine strife in Tamil Eelam. Given the fact that the problems that all the body politic have now been identified, it is clear that remedial measures are at hand. Solutions cannot be found by the waving of a magic wand. The process must of necessity be gradualistic.

President Premadasa's bona fides in his pursuit of peace are beyond question. Unlike his predecessor, he does not take shelter behind his cabinet nor does the President seek political advantage by sleight of hand. The President has clearly taken the responsibility to restore the equilibrium. The hawks of the Jayewardene government who undermined the peace process have been relegated to a back seat. The presidency has been transformed into a modern French-style executive, not the Byzantine mix of cabinet and monarcho-executive type government which racked Sri Lanka during 1978-1983, scattering responsibility to the four winds--the President, the Cabinet, the Government Parliamentary Group and the United National Party. Power is now identified as being vested in the Executive President. He has a bureaucratic machine in which he can have confidence and trusted ministers on whom he can depend to carry out the immediate task. To this extent we have reasons to be optimistic. There is hope of a positive movement towards a peace with honour for both sides. President Premadasa, we are confident, will not turn back.

Questions are being raised about the future of the New Delhi-Colombo relationship and of the merged North-East Provincial Council. The immediate priorities, we think, are different. That New Delhi and Colombo have to understand the need for a peaceful resolution is recognised by the LTTE and President Premadasa. The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987 failed to take into account several components necessary for the restoration of normalcy. To have excluded the LTTE from the negotiatory process at the time was a fatal error. Since the Accord, history has taken strange twists and turns and Indian Peacekeepers who came to protect the Tamils have become a marauding force, if not a veritable army of occupation. President Premadasa views the IPKF presence as an insult to his country's sovereignty. The most urgent objective therefore is for Colombo to persuade New Delhi that the President and his government can reduce the level of civil war if not end it so as to make the presence of the IPKF superfluous.

There are other priorities. The relief and rehabilitation of the affected Tamil areas must be attended to. Communications have to be restored. A trusting and continuing relationship between Tamil Eelam and Colombo has to be formulated. There are the gloomy prophets who cast doubts about anything worthwhile being accomplished. We cannot be certain that the outcome can be so negative. What is essential is a philosophy of hope which can materialise in practical measures towards national reconstruction. Both President Premadasa and the LTTE negotiating team have this common goal as their immediate objective. We are inclined towards this view. If the first steps fall in the right direction, the path-breaking future is laid out. Sri Lanka can then heave a sigh of relief.

TAMIL VOICE International

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"THOSE WHO WANT THE INDIAN ARMY TO STAY ARE TRAITORS" - LTTE

The Political Committee of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), in a statement issued from its headquarters on June 5, branded all those who wanted the Indian occupation army to stay in the island as traitors to the cause of the Tamil-speaking people. "No self-respecting person, whether he is a Tamil, Muslim or Sinhalese, will permit a foreign army to continue to occupy this country," the statement declared.

"The Indian Prime Minister has repeatedly stated that the Indian army was sent to Sri Lanka purely on a peace-keeping mission at the request of the Government of Sri Lanka and that the army would be withdrawn if Sri Lanka makes such a request. Now the Sri Lanka Government has made that request calling for the total withdrawal of the Indian troops. But strangely enough the Indian Government seems to be very reluctant to pull out its troops. We wish to know on what grounds India wants to keep the army on our soil when the entire people of this Island - the Tamils, Muslims and the Sinhalese - want the Indian army to be totally withdrawn" the LTTE's political committee asked.

"The Provincial Council members and Parliamentary representatives who have been nominated in the fraudulent elections stage-managed by the Government of India have failed to address the grievances of our people, nor have they highlighted

the inhuman atrocities and mass murders committed by the Indian army. These quislings will not open their mouth and speak the truth because they have become slaves to their Indian masters and have to survive on the favours of the Indian Government. Now these Indian-backed groups are lamenting over the safety and security of our people. They are crying out that the Indian army should stay and protect the Tamils and Muslims. It is these murderous gangs who collaborated with the Indian occupation army in the senseless slaughter of more than 5,000 innocent Tamil and Muslim civilians, in the mass scale rape of Tamil and Muslim women, in the destruction of billions of rupees worth of Tamil and Muslim property.

These quisling groups are now involved in a campaign collecting signatures from the public, through intimidation and terror, in favour of Indian military presence. The Government of India, in utter desperation, is utilising its puppets to seek legitimacy for its continuous military occupation under the slogan of security for Tamils and Muslims. We wish to state that the Tamils and Muslims can live in peace and in security only when the Indian troops are withdrawn. Long ago, the LTTE demanded a referendum in the North and East on the issue of Indian troop withdrawal. But the Government of India, at that time, refused to hold a referendum fearing that the public

opinion would turn against them. It is rather strange that India, which refused a referendum, is now encouraging its quislings to seek public opinion by methods of intimidation, threat and blackmail" said the statement.

"The LTTE has been firm and consistent in its view that we should be self-reliant and fight for our cause without relying on foreign military intervention. We always said that foreign armies should not be allowed to fight for our freedom. We told the Government of India on several occasions that we will never function as their puppets and that we will look after the security of our people. It is because of our self-reliant and independent attitude that the Government of India despised us and finally launched a war against our movement and against our people. The government of India wanted to teach us a lesson. But now, it is the government of India which has learnt a bitter lesson. The whole world has now become aware of the grave injustice done to our people by India. The supreme sacrifice made by more than 500 of our cadres has effectively challenged the threat of Indian imperial domination in our region", the political committee declared.

The LTTE's statement finally calls upon the International Human Rights Organisations to visit Tamil-speaking areas to investigate the crimes and atrocities committed by the Indian army.

WRONG WAR, WRONG PLACE

By an IPKF veteran

The IPKF in Sri Lanka is a demoralised lot, unable to crank up the enthusiasm to fight the LTTE for whom the average Indian jawan feels as much admiration as he does sympathy. It is an odd war we soldiers find ourselves in, and one this country stepped into without any preparation.

The Indian jawan is a great fighter, but he has to be convinced that what he is fighting for is worth the effort and makes sense. The Indian soldier is nobody's fool. He may not be

aware of the twists and turns in Indo-Sri Lanka relations that got him and the IPKF into the mess they are in. But he understands the obvious. Here he is in Sri Lanka, firing at a mostly unseen enemy who is fighting for the freedom of a people who are as Indians as any found in Tamil Nadu. So he is fighting his kith and kin. How can he, under the circumstances, create that hate necessary to kill?

The only time soldiers really get worked up is when one of his own is

blown up by a mine or a booby trap or is killed by snipers. Then they go on a rampage. Indiscriminate shooting is the result. Reports of such excesses further alienate the local people who once welcomed the IPKF. An alienated and suspicious public is something the Indian jawan is unused to. Combine this with the fear the IPKF have of the omnipresent LTTE cadre, and then very soon every young Sri Lankan Tamil in good health begins to look like a guerilla.

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FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

The announcement came as a surprise even to seasoned Sri Lanka watchers. On June 1, without any forewarning, President Premadasa called for a complete withdrawal of the IPKF within two months. He said that he wanted to see the last Indian soldier leave Sri Lanka by July 29 - the second anniversary of the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, adding: "Now is the time for them to go. They came here at our invitation and helped us. Now they must go, and help us by going."

The President said that Sri Lanka would not have the self-respect to host a planned conference of South Asian states in November if a foreign army was still present. More to the point, however, is that JVP threats could jeopardise the conference and the Indian withdrawal will, hopefully, pre-empt the development of such a situation. After all the JVP had, only the previous week, set its own deadline of June 13 for the withdrawal of the IPKF, and called on the public to boycott Indian goods. The latter prompted a cartoon where in reply to the question: "Why is the food so tasteless today?" by a JVP fighter, the cook replies: "Why comrade, we are not buying any Mysore Parippu or Bombay onions now!"

There are other reasons besides. JVP thinking, for one, has gained increasing popularity. In Parliament last month, Rohana Wijeweera's "Indian expansionism" which was the last of five lectures that he delivered in 1971, provided the text for many a SLFP speaker. The IPKF is seen as the most blatant symbol of the much derided Accord, and as *The Island* stated, "feelings mounted in all quarters last week against the continued presence of the IPKF." Another reason is that in the eastern province, quite apart from the north, there is little confidence in the IPKF. The violence against Muslims in the area has been blamed on "former militant groups" now acting under the patronage of the IPKF. Speaking during the parliamentary debate on Sammanthurai where the events took place, the Minister of Trade and

Shipping, A R Mansoor, was cheered by the SLFP when he said that law and order had broken down in the eastern province only after the IPKF had come.

MUSLIMS' FEARS

The proposed referendum on the merger of the north and east, like other factors in the politics of the island, currently hangs in the balance. The SLFP has asked in parliament for a statement on the government's intentions on the referendum. Both the SLMC and the EPRLF have written to the President asking that it be not held, preferring the continuation of the merger without a vote. Mr Ashraff has suggested that the government is behind the communal violence in the hope that the feeling of insecurity will compel most Muslims to vote with the Sinhalese to permanently delink the east and the north. Not only that but also Mr Ashraff has gone so far as to say that the security is so poor in the east that the Muslims do not trust the IPKF, the Tamils or the government. Therefore, he argues "the SLMC's view is that everybody in Sammanthurai should be given a gun to protect himself", and that Muslim home guards should be raised, and police recruits should reflect the ethnic composition of the area. While one may understand Muslim fears, the thought of an armed citizenry is a chilling prospect.

INDIAN RESPONSE

So how has the Gandhi bandwagon responded to the Premadasa bombshell? The announcement of the withdrawal was clearly made on a unilateral basis since the President said that he would be making his request to Prime Minister Gandhi within a few days. According to sources in New Delhi, the Indian government has been put in an embarrassing dilemma by the Sri Lankan action, particularly with regard to the implications of a deadline imposed by Sri Lanka. Officials are distressed that

New Delhi was not consulted on the issue. As the Guardian noted: "Any impression that Indian troops are leaving under duress would not only be a blow to India's pride, but would also damage Mr Gandhi's image in an election year." The withdrawal of more than 40,000 troops is no easy task although their deployment seemed easy enough.

PEACE PROPOSALS

The announcement is an indication that India was rightly concerned that its two years of intensive diplomacy might come unstuck by the peace talks between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. The IPKF had, after all succeeded in disarming all the Tamil militant groups except the LTTE. It was singularly peeved that the LTTE delegation had been plucked from under its nose by the Sri Lankan air force. The talks are the first to have been held without the help of Indian mediation since the LTTE began its guerilla activities in 1972. Their historical significance and hope of peace notwithstanding, the first stage of the talks have been inconclusive. The LTTE is expected to return to Colombo around mid-June to continue with the talks.

Now that the fate of the IPKF appears at least to have been settled, the key question is to what extent the LTTE will modify the demand for Tamil Eelam. *The Island* noted that the crucial dilemma facing the government is how much powers the Tamil people should be given in their traditional homelands, and that the issue rests on the merger of the north and east. "While such a merger is vital from the point of view of Tamil interests, it is anathema to all Sinhala opinion including the UNP and increasingly Muslim opinion as well." Before his departure for London, Mr Anton Balasingham said: "We are very happy with the way the current talks are going, we think that President Premadasa is very genuine." For the sake of the Tamil people one trusts that he is right.

THIRUKKURAL

S Srikandarajah

மிகினும் குறையினும் நோய்செய்யும் நூலோர்
வளிமுதலா எண்ணிய மூன்று.

"Mihinum Kuraiginum Noay Seyyum Noolor
Vali Muthalaa Enniya Moonru" (941) (Transliteration)

If (food and work are either) excessive or deficient the three things enumerated by (medical) writers, water, bile and phlegm, will cause disease. (Translation)

The Kural taken up for discussion in this article occurs in the chapter on medicine. The dictionary defines medicine as "A substance possessing, or reputed to possess, curative or remedial properties."

Though the 95th chapter of the Thirukkural is captioned medicine, yet almost all the ten couplets speak of food rather than of medicine. According to his view, a person's disease may be karmic or causative; that is, a person's diseases are the result of deeds in a previous birth or because of bad food habits. As diseases caused by reason of one's karma cannot be cured, but only endured, Thiruvalluvar in his chapter on medicine and medication speaks more about food habits which according to him are the main cause of most of our diseases.

In his very first kural on medicine/medication which is the one we have taken up for discussion he advises us that the first principle to be observed is moderation. Therefore follow its golden rule - **food taken in excess, even ambrosia, will become poison** - "Alavukku Minchinaal Amilthamum Nanchu." What must be noted is the effect such excessive or deficient consumption has on the three humours of our body. Though present-day western medicine does not appear to endorse the aforesaid Ayurvedic principle of humour yet the ancient Western medical world believed it. They believed in three humours, rheum, phlegm and bile and that these three humours should be in the right proportion and that one will fall a prey to disease if this proportion is disturbed. Thiruvalluvar says that this proportion depends on what kind of food one takes. This is why Thiruvalluvar stresses the importance of right food in right quantity.

It has been believed for some time that Cholesterol is a factor that is responsible for most cases of heart attack. Consequently people were medically advised to refrain from taking food items that are rich in Cholesterol. A news item which appeared in one of the recent issues of The Guardian says that the reduced consumption of Cholesterol has resulted in people becoming more prone to cancer. Excessive consumption of cholesterol caused heart ailments and a low consumption of cholesterol makes one an easy prey to cancer! Hence the need to follow the golden path.

If we understand the present kural one will not fail to realise that it is this aspect of excess and deficiency that Thiruvalluvar has asked us to guard ourselves against. An excess intake of



anything is as bad as reduced intake and can cause illness. This is true in regard to cholesterol also. Reduction of cholesterol may have some salubrious effect in controlling heart ailments but at the same time it may have some malignant effect on the lungs and bones.

The fact that people in Switzerland, Finland and Denmark who take a lot of dairy food have few deaths from heart diseases goes to show that the trouble is not with the food, but with the quantity and the quality of the food that we take. Our physical constitution has a balance. Our artificial food habits deny us the essential ingredients required to maintain this balance. It is the maintenance of this balance the kural under review emphasises.

WRONG WAR, WRONG PLACE

continued from page 4

Whole villages have been denuded of youths who have been hauled away by the IPKF to detention camps, leaving families without wage-earners. This create bad blood, anger, and still wider support-base for the LTTE guerrillas.

The LTTE casualty and capture rates are grossly inflated, as is the figure of captured weapon stores. And medals are distributed by the commanders mostly to themselves and their cronies for acts of bravery not immediately clear, especially to those in the field. An example: Maj. Gen. A S Kalkat helicoptered into Nitikaikulam in August last year. A couple of LTTE men breached the defence perimeter of the helipad. At the first sign of trouble, however, Kalkat dove into a trench, as did all officers accompanying him, even as the intruders calmly blew up two of the parked helicopters, one of

them the general's, and just as calmly got away. The LTTE boys certainly deserved medals for their guts and daring, but those actually decorated were several of these IPKF officers around Kalkat!

When an average soldier sees such farce being enacted day after day, he loses respect for officers and he loses heart in the enterprise he is engaged in. And all he can pray for is that he does not come within the gunsights of the LTTE during the time his unit remains in duty with the IPKF. And, he comes back convinced about the LTTE's cause. God save the IPKF! [The Writer, is a serving infantry officer who has served with the frontline units of the IPKF in Sri Lanka, has requested anonymity. [Courtesy: India Week : May 26 - June 1, 1989]

Ask Rani

TAMIL MASSACRE

Dear Rani

I woke this morning to the news that over 50 Tamil people had been killed in inter-group fighting. A couple of hours later I rang one of my nieces who is a strong supporter of the LTTE to ask what she had to say about the incident. I asked her whether at this rate anything was going to be left of the Tamil nation. I then rang a leading member of the Tamil community for his views and he said that in the current war situation, those who were spies and quislings had to be eliminated. What is the meaning of all these? Are we to go on killing each other? **Dr B.W. Sebaratnam, London.**

A I have no adequate answer to give you. You are right, that whatever the reason for the massacre, the fact remains that 50 of the next generation of Tamils and some potential leaders among them have been wiped out in one fell swoop. Only the other week, the magazine *Sunday* commented that the Indian army believes that without the IPKF check, there is certain to be internecine killings amongst the Tamils. An IPKF staff officer was quoted as saying: "In Sri Lanka, every group is going to try and wipe out the other. This is inevitable and nothing we do can stop it." Whatever our reservations about the IPKF and its appalling record in violating of human rights, there is a great measure of truth in those statements.

Insofar as the specific incident is concerned, the LTTE said that it carried out an attack on a PLOTE camp because the organisation had degenerated into an anarchic group committing atrocities against the Tamils and Muslims. According to an LTTE press release, several LTTE sympathisers were senselessly murdered and two EROS central committee members were brutally hacked to death in Mannar.

TVI COSTS

Dear Rani

I have been a subscriber to TVI from the beginning. It is a good paper,

and has improved throughout the time that it has been in publication. I am concerned that many people who would benefit from reading the paper do not get it, and whether free copies could be sent to them so that people around the world who can be of influence will know of what is happening in Eelam and to Tamils in other parts. **S. Mahendrakumaran, Stockton.**

A Several copies of TVI are indeed sent out free to those who are in positions of influence in government, the media, human rights and other non-governmental organisations. The problem is that production costs are very high despite efforts to minimise them. We are fortunate that most of our correspondents give freely of their services, otherwise the costs would be even greater. We feel that TVI is an important forum for the Tamil people, and hope that our subscribers will make a real effort to increase our readership as we very much need the money in order to keep going.

ANC TACTICS

Dear Rani

The photographs from the World Tamil Conference on the back page of TVI of 15 May (vol 2, no 9) show a speaker from the African National Congress. He says that "the more you ape others, the more you will be rejected." What actions have the ANC taken in its fight against the South African government - is the armed struggle its main focus? **Shevantha Lingam, Lusaka, Zambia.**

A When the ANC was formed in 1912, it adopted the tactics of passive resistance from the Natal Indian Congress formed by Mahatma Gandhi to protest against racial discrimination. The protests took the form of petitions, public meetings and deputations. The failure of this policy was illustrated when apartheid became the official ideology in 1948. In the early 1950s, the ANC launched the "Defiance Campaign" designed to effect political change through mass non-violent disobedience, in the form of strikes and acts of non-cooperation with the authorities.



The President of the ANC Albert Luthuli who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize called for an international boycott of South African goods in 1959, which set in motion the campaign for sanctions against South Africa. Then on 20 March, 1960 at a place called Sharpeville, police opened fire on a peaceful crowd protesting against the pass laws that required Africans to carry passes at all times. Sixty nine protesters were shot dead, the great majority in the back, and 186 others were wounded. In the wake of the shootings, the South African government banned the ANC, forcing it underground and into exile. The outlawed ANC formed a military wing, Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), in December 1961, on the basis that peaceful opposition to white rule was no longer an effective option. The ANC renewed its call for international sanctions but as part of its armed struggle against the South African state.

CANADIAN STYLE CONSTITUTION

Dear Rani

In the columns of your magazine in which I find much useful information, I was interested to read that a proposal being considered in the course of the peace talks in Colombo is a Canadian solution to the problem. Could you please enlighten us further on this development? **B Kanagasunderam, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.**

A I assume that the Canadian solution refers to the considerable autonomy granted to the Province of Quebec. According to a "special arrangement" made in the Canadian constitution in 1987, the French speaking population of Quebec is recognised as a distinct ethnic group within Canada. A large degree of financial and administrative autonomy is granted to Quebec, and French is the official language of the province.

IN THE TIGER'S LAIR

K P Sunil

On February 7, 1989, **Vaiapuri Gopalsamy**, the vociferous DMK member of the Rajya Sabha, crossed the Palk Straits illegally; eluding on his way the naval surveillance and the IPKF patrols. His 24-day clandestine stay in the Tamil areas of the island republic raised a controversy. On the political level, it caused considerable embarrassment to the nascent Karunanidhi government which had been sworn-in only a couple of days earlier.

On the national level, Gopalsamy's trip blew holes into the central government's constant assurances to the Sri Lankan government that the IPKF was in full control in Sri Lanka and that the LTTE, painted as a band of wanton terrorists, was cornered. It also revealed that not only was the LTTE still a force to reckon with, but was also in a position to operate at will. It was also quite obvious that the LTTE was in touch with sympathetic political leaders in India. That explained how the military leaders were able to sail to India and back whenever they wanted, the intensive monitoring by Indian intelligence, customs, navy and the IPKF notwithstanding. That a bunch of about 5,000 armed militants can cock a snook at the mighty Indian Army is a sad commentary on the state of affairs.

February 7, 1989

At about six in the evening, Gopalsamy and a group of nine LTTE men sailed in a motorboat from the South-eastern coast of Tamil Nadu towards Sri Lanka. At around 8.45 pm they were spotted by the IPKF observers from the Sri Lankan coast who used paralights to illuminate the entire stretch of the sea. Intensive shelling followed. Between 400 to 500 rounds were fired. But the expert LTTE sailors successfully steered the vessel away from the firing range into the high seas. A distance of about 300 kilometres was traversed, and a journey that is normally completed in under three hours took over ten. What was astonishing was that the militants were quite prepared for such a lengthy detour considering

that they did not run out of fuel despite the long distance they had to cover.

February 8

At dawn, the boat landed on the northern coast of Sri Lanka. Without much ado, the ten stragglers started their long trek into the jungles to a Tiger camp. A trek that took eight hours through thorny shrubs and trees which lacerated the skin and caused bloody injuries. It was evening when the group reached the camp, where they washed and rested for the rest of the day and night.



February 9

At daybreak, they resumed their journey. There followed ten hours of continuous trekking, slow and often painful. The party had to slash its way through thick vegetation often crawling on all fours to get through. The foliage was so thick that little sunlight filtered through to terra firma. The ground was uneven. Frequently, progress had to be slowed down as the party approached the vicinity of the IPKF camps. Caution had also to be exercised in choosing the path, for the jungles were heavily mined. But the boys were experts and did not flinch. It was late in the evening when they reached another LTTE camp, having walked non-stop, without even stopping for food, sustaining themselves on peanuts filled in their pockets.

February 10 and 11

The routine continued, till another camp was reached. The camps had groups of girls as well who had joined

as militants the movement spearheaded by their supremo Velupillai Prabakaran. The girls slept in separate make-shift sheds. They exercised with the men in the mornings and were quite adept at handling weapons. They had become impervious to the constant rumble of heavy artillery fire which was kept up by the IPKF to flush out the Tigers from their jungle hide-outs. Indiscriminate shelling often set trees afire, burning down entire stretches of lush forest land, killing birds, animals and human beings in the vicinity.

February 12

The trekkers, after hours of crawling through dense forests reached the most important LTTE camp of all, The Tigers' lair, so to speak where Prabakaran stayed with a band of loyal militants including Sathasivam Krishnakumar, Kittu to all who know him, hobbling around on crutches and Mahendrarajah, better known as Mahathiya, now Prabakaran's chief aide ever since Kittu lost his leg in an explosion.

After five days of walking, Gopalsamy met the guerilla leaders, in a camp that was deep in the jungles that it was well nigh unapproachable. The entire area had been mined by the LTTE. And unless one was led by one of the boys, one ran the risk of being blown up by a mine triggered unwittingly.

The camp was large. And, like all the LTTE establishments, had separate living quarters for men and women. Tobacco and alcohol were taboo. Life was spartan and highly egalitarian with all from Prabakaran downwards eating the same food and enjoying the same facilities or lack of them. They ate well when food was available in plenty; when food was in short supply, which was quite often, the entire camp managed with a single meal of rice and dal each day, for months.

The wake-up call sounded at 5 am. And after routine ablutions, the entire camp went through a tough regimen of exercise in a small clear-

ing and a few rounds of weapons practice in cleverly concealed underground target rings. Day and night vigil was maintained at cut-off points by sentries, who kept changing at frequent intervals. Underground bunkers and trenches afforded protection in the event of air-raids.

From this jungle base Prabakaran ran his empire, aided by a highly sophisticated, efficient system of communication. Close watch was maintained over the IPKF camps and their every move was immediately reported, provoking a counter move. A group within the Tigers, called the Black Tigers, which comprised men and women, undertook highly lethal suicide missions when the chips were down. An engineering wing was constantly in operation, fashioning well-camouflaged mines and improving upon existing arms, particularly the large quantities acquired by raiding the IPKF dumps.

For nine days, from February 12 to 21, Gopalsamy was with Prabakaran, discussing with him, learning from him first-hand the ground realities and probing the guerilla leader's mind for a possible opening for the resumption of talks. But Prabakaran was steadfast. The Indian Army had no business fighting the LTTE, he held. India had betrayed the LTTE on several occasions after the July 29, 1987 accord and had lost the confidence of the Tigers as mediators in the ethnic crisis in the island republic. Negotiations, if any, could only be with the Sri Lankan government in the future. If not, the fight would continue till Eelam, an independent Tamil homeland, was realised.

February 21

His mission over, Gopalsamy and his escorts began their long trek back to the shore. The return proved to be tougher and more dangerous than was anticipated. For, by then word had leaked to the Indian media about Gopalsamy's clandestine mission and the IPKF was out to nab him. But his escorts assured him that they would somehow see him through to the safety of Indian shores. "Only then", said Prabakaran, "can you tell the world what is happening here. Your arrival, at the moment, is of

prime importance to us."

For three days they trekked, circumventing IPKF ambush parties, flirting with the danger posed by poisonous snakes and wild animals until they reached the seashore.

February 24

Gopalsamy was all set to sail back to India. But owing to a rare breach in communication, the boat which was to take him back was not ready. After waiting the whole day, they were forced to retreat for the night. As the base camp from which they had set off was too far away, they had to make do in the house of a friendly villager.

February 25

The party transported to another seashore base from where the trip to India was planned.

February 26

The entire LTTE camp was tense. The 26th of every month is considered inauspicious by them. For, on that date, they have suffered the maximum reverses. Normally no activities are undertaken on the 26th. But since transporting the Indian Member of Parliament was top priority, they decided to ignore the jinx.

At 7 a.m. they all had black coffee to start the day. Around 7.20 a.m., as they were strolling along the seashore, they heard the first shots. The IPKF had apparently caught up with them. Immediately, the Tigers grouped together. Twenty-eight boys devoted themselves to the task of escorting Gopalsamy to safety while 30 others diverted the attention of the attackers by engaging them in battle. Sarath, one of the LTTE boys, who picked up Gopalsamy's briefcase which had been left behind in the hurry, jumped into the boat that was waiting ready to sail and single handedly steered it out to sea. That was the last that was seen of Sarath.

Two LTTE boys, who had come specially from Valvettithurai (Prabakaran's hometown) for Gopalsamy's protection, caught hold of him from either side and virtually frogmarched him into safety. While the

battle on the seashore continued, Gopalsamy and his escorts after travelling for eight hours reached the base camp from where they had started off a day earlier.

For three days, February 27, 28 and March 1, the party stayed in the camp as arrangements were made afresh to procure another boat for sailing to India. On March 1, information trickled in that the IPKF had shelled the boat carrying Sarath. The youth had died, laid low by 28 bullets. But, before succumbing to his injuries he had fired back nearly 60 rounds. Nothing was known about Gopalsamy's briefcase which contained the papers and documents which have revealed where the MP was.

March 2

Gopalsamy and his escorts went at about 6pm to the spot from where they were to be picked up. But as there was intensive naval surveillance that day, the boat failed to turn up.

March 3

The boat to India sailed by nightfall with the DMK parliamentarian. Just before it was to set sail, two LTTE boys materialised with Gopalsamy's briefcase. Apparently, Sarath had entrusted it to them just before he took off on his suicidal mission of taking on an IPKF contingent single-handed. On the way back, two of the three engines of the motor launch failed. And progress was considerably slowed down.

March 4

The group touched the Indian shore around 5 a.m. Right through the night the southern coast of Tamilnadu had been subjected to intensive patrolling. But, at daybreak the authorities had called it a day confident that even the Tigers would not attempt a landing in daylight. And that was when the boat came in! By 11 that night, Gopalsamy was back with his family in Madras after 24 days in the Tigers' den. Just around this time the UNI tickers flashed the news that the Indian member of parliament had been taken into custody by the IPKF! So much for the authenticity of military propaganda! By courtesy of *[The Illustrated Weekly of India, May 21, 1989]*

EELAM

thoughts

Kurushetran

If Tarzie Vittachi's violently disturbing book about the May-June 1958 riots ended with the question: **Have the Sinhalese and the Tamils come to the parting of the ways?**, its significance lay in the fact that it was a question raised not by a Tamil, but by a Sinhalese. Vittachi was a distinguished newspaper editor, a man with his ears close to the ground, and one who showed not only a rare sensitivity towards the sufferings that the Tamils underwent during the riots, but also a painful awareness of the emerging currents of anti-Tamil hate among the members of his own community. It was the latter which he feared would ultimately compel the Tamils to seek a parting of the ways.

A territorial division of a country is only the **end** of a story. It has to have its beginning in the human mind first. Those who argue that it is impossible, if not unthinkable, for a minority to break away from a majority-controlled state, fail to realise that the prospect of a division of the country had been a dreaded popular obsession among the Sinhalese long before the Tamils were to accept it in their own minds, or articulate it politically. Two extracts from Mr Vittachi's book provide contrasting insights into the Tamils and Sinhalese psyche in the wake of the riots:-

"... Another Tamil officer working in the same Government department was not so fortunate. The thugs stormed into his house and assaulted his wife and grown-up daughter in the presence of his little child. His mind cracked under the shock. In the French liner LAOS which took the family away to safety in Jaffna, he insisted on reciting large chunks of the **Bagavad Gita** to the captain of the ship. All his formal education - he is a Cambridge scholar - had proved useless to him in the face of disaster. His broken mind reached out for the only solace a man has when his own ingenuity and ability have proved futile..."

That was a characteristic Tamil **Hindu** response to a personal crisis.

THE INEVITABILITY OF TAMIL EELAM - 6

The riots were after all man-made; but the immediate Hindu impulse is to seek divine explanation for the disaster, not to accept it as a human challenge at a personal level. In contrast, the following extract betrays the Sinhala-Buddhist reaction to the series of tragic events unparalleled in the history of independent Ceylon until then, and in which the Sinhala-Buddhists themselves were clearly the aggressors. The extract comes from a verbatim account of the proceedings of the Government Parliamentary Group meeting held on June 3, 1958, as recorded by one of the M.P.s present:-

..."The M P for Weligama, **Pani Ilangakoon**: "I also want to know why the Federal leaders have not been arrested. All over the country they are saying that the Government is weak. If we cannot govern, then let us get out. The Tamils have worked against us, they have plotted to overthrow this Government, with outside assistance. They will destroy us eventually. Before that happens, I ask that the Tamils be settled once for all. I ask that they be told that Sinhala Only has come to stay - and they must submit. The Government has been too tolerant of these Tamils. The Sinhalese are the laughing stock in the country as a result of the Government's weak stand against the Tamils."

Premier: "Certainly the Federalists and other forces have planned to overthrow the Central Government and set up a separate administration in the east and the north. But I have thwarted that. Their attempts have been quelled."

"My military forces are now in the east and the north. There is military rule in these two provinces, each with a military governor, yes, I say they are military governors. With my army I will see that there is no repeated attempt to set up a different administration in these province."

Several Members of Parliament then asked: "All over the country they are saying that you have acceded to the Federal request for a Federal State by sending the Tamils back to the north and east. The whole country is under the impression that before long they will exist as separate Tamil Federal States."

Premier: "I will never allow that. I will never allow division of this country. What has happened is that the women and children who were living under very unsatisfactory and inconvenient conditions, have been sent, on their own wish, back to the north. That is all. There was no intention, nor is there any intention whatsoever, that the Government is helping by this manner, the creation of a Federal or separate State."

M P for Horana, Mr Sagara Palansuriya: "The Tamils are gaining strength in all parts of the country where they are. Is this Government going to stand for this nonsense? The Sinhalese are in danger of being liquidated by them."

An M P identified as M P for Hambantota, Lakshman Rajapakse: "Destroy them!"

Premier: "Who said that? Are you seriously thinking that the Tamils must be destroyed? This Government has no such intention. I am surprised that there is such talk and stranger still such talk from the M.P for Hambantota, who is wedded to a Tamil, for better or for worse - isn't that so, Lakshman?..."

Tarzie Vittachi comments: "There is a vast gulf, however, between the spoken word and the bleak fact. Premier Bandaranaike had certainly assuaged the apprehensions of many members of his party but there was that vast, amorphous, mute but powerful body of militant Sinhalese opinion which he could not appease so easily. No verbal sops would satiate this racial monster. It had to be offered raw meat. Preparations were accordingly made to put the Federalists under detention..."

After 30 years, the Sinhala attitudes have not changed one bit. More Sinhalese go to bed with Eelam in their thoughts than Tamils! One is forced to think that they would not rest content until by sheer obduracy, through persistent refusal to accommodate any sort of devolution of power to Tamil-majority areas, they themselves bring about the end-result of Tamil Eelam that they so violently object to. In their attempt to strike out a distinctive Sinhala-Buddhist identity in relation to what they consider their exclusive

environment (the only country in the world where Sinhalese is spoken and where Buddhism is preserved in the "purest" form), they have taught themselves to perceive the very Tamil presence in the island as a standing threat. As a result, a sense of corporate alienation which should rightly have occurred among the Tamils, instead gripped the Sinhalese first. This majority-alienation is a peculiar feature of the beginning of the ethnic divide in Ceylon which seemed to have escaped the close attention of most political analysts as well as sociologists. The nearest anyone came to, in grasping this truth, was when one-time U.S Ambassador to Ceylon, Howard Wriggins propounded his belief that the Sinhalese are a majority with a minority complex. But even he failed to understand that the logical sequel to a Sinhalese attempt to keep the country for themselves exclusively, would mean two nations - a pure, Sinhala-Buddhist state, and the other, a Tamil state.

That any concession to Tamils would ultimately result in the chipping away of Sinhala dominance, that 50 million Tamils from just across the sea from the Tamil-populated North would swamp the country some day, that the Sinhalese race itself would become extinct, are certainly genuine fears on the part of the Sinhalese, however irrational it might sound to others. It is this fear psychosis ingrained in them by the part-history, part-mythology of the "Mahavamsa", reported in their school text-books, and constantly reinforced in their memory by careerist politicians in their pursuit of power that led to the regular assaults on Tamil rights from the time of independence. One of the favourite stories from the "Mahavamsa" told to every Sinhala child is the one relating to Prince Gamini, the Sinhala-Buddhist hero who fought the Tamil king Elara and freed the Sinhalese from Tamil rule in the second century before Christ. Gamini's mother saw him lying in bed with his hands and feet drawn in. Says the Mahavamsa:-

The queen came, and caressing Gamini spoke thus: "Why dost thou not lie easily upon thy bed with limbs streched out, my son?"

"Over there beyond the Ganga are the Damilas, here on this side is the Gotha-ocean, how can I lie with outstretched limbs?" he answered.

Prince Gamini was then twelve years old. By "Ganga" is meant the Mahaveli river, and "Damilas" was how Tamils are referred to in Sinhala usage.

It was the same Gamini who, when his father King Kakavanna Tissa forbade him from making war upon the Tamils, saying: "The region on this side of the river is enough", sent a woman's ornament to his parent with the message: "If my father was a man he would not speak thus: therefore shall he put this on." Because he wronged his father thus, he came to be known as Duttha Gamani, "Duttha" meaning wicked. But this apparently has done nothing to lessen the ardour of the Sinhalese people, in whose living tradition the wicked prince remains the biggest hero that the race ever produced. Why do a people have to keep reaching back to 2,000 years in search of a hero anyway? E F C Ludowyk, formerly Professor of English in the University of Ceylon has an interesting observation:-

"...Myths are a liability too. They can on occasion be dangerous. There is a dramatic moment of fine intensity in Brecht's Galileo when the young Sarti, disgusted at Galileo's betrayal of their cause turns on his erstwhile teacher with the words: "Unhappy is the land which has no heroes." To which the old man replies, not without shame at his own inability to live up to his pupil's expectations, "Unhappy is the land which needs heroes."

"The justice of this aphorism might be illustrated by the story of Ceylon, for it would appear that its recorded history repeatedly reflects this need. Not only this, but more significantly, the legendary heroes once created to satisfy old needs are still resorted to in the entirely different circumstances of the present. That cultures have mythical heroes is not surprising, indeed it would be strange if they should lack them. There is a slight distinction to be drawn, however, between this and the need for heroes. Brecht's is a generalisation which might be rephrased in this way: where at any stage in the story of a country, its people have felt

the need for heroes, then it would seem that the country was expressing dissatisfaction with itself. To have invented what was once required is surely the normal and economical satisfaction of desires, to be met with in the history of individuals as of communities. But to insist on satisfying a recurring need at all times in the same old ways is surely an indication of deep-seated malaise. To be, at the present time, dependent on the mythopoeic creativeness of ages long past is to argue an inability to face up to the demands of the contemporaneous. When we continually cry for a cause, for a hero whom we could follow, when we need the sustenance of legendary forefathers, we are most probably showing symptoms, not only of angry unhappiness, but also of retarded adolescence..." (The Story of Ceylon, Navrang, New Delhi, 1985)

Given the Brechtian aphorism - "Unhappy is the land which needs heroes", there is no need to challenge the fact that today the need for heroes is felt by both Sinhalese and Tamils; unhappy peoples both. But what makes the vital difference is that while many Sinhalese continue to rely on a hero dead for 2,000 years, many Tamils feel they have a living hero in Prabakaran.

There is an oft-repeated platitude usually expressed by well-meaning peace-makers and by those who like to sound reasonable, namely, that the Sinhalese and Tamils have lived together in peace for centuries. Which is not just true. At best, it is only a half-truth. The fact that two peoples lived in the same island for 2,000 years or more did not mean that they lived under the same polity or under one common organised state. Before the western invaders came, there were separate kingdoms. Even during the near 450 years of European rule, by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British, only the British exercised control over the whole island. And even under British rule, the Sinhalese and Tamil areas were administered separately until 1833. The unified administration that came into being since then meant only that both Sinhalese

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THE LTTE-SRI LANKAN NEGOTIATIONS

Prospects for success - By Wakeley Paul

While our hearts flutter with hope and our minds tingle with expectation over the pending negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE, one must focus one's attention on the parameters within which agreements must be sought. The LTTE has obviously compromised on its demand for Eelam during the negotiations. The government in turn, at the very lowest, must be ready to concede a greater deal of Regional Autonomy than was done under the Thirteenth Amendment.

The foundation upon which the concessions under the 13th Amendment were made was that Sri Lanka is a unitary as opposed to a federal state, and that any devolution of power to any legislative body must remain under parliamentary control. This means also that *he who giveth can also take away*. This in turn means that the residents of the north-east province would remain vassals of those who control the central parliament and be subject to their changing moods. Our earlier analyses of the 13th Amendment amply demonstrated this, and does not warrant repetition here.

The question that is fundamental to these negotiations is whether President Premadasa and his cohorts in parliament have the political clout to withstand the rabble-rousing cries of their opponents that any further concessions would be a sell-out to the Tamils, and whether they themselves have the stomach to recognise the Tamil need to be free of discrimination from the centre. As long as the government continues to insist, for whatever combination of reasons, that the concept of a unitary state with a unitary constitution cannot be abandoned, **the chances for agreement are slim indeed**. In this regard, the government negotiators must realise that no self respecting representative of the Tamil people - and least of all the LTTE who have been most steadfast in protecting their interests - can ever again succumb to central Sinhala control over their fate in such crucial areas as land control, economic development, law and law enforcement, education and the like.

Can then the government concede first the immediate need for the creation of a federal state, and does it have the power to effectuate such a

change constitutionally? If such a change is not possible, what alternative accommodation can be made to ensure that the Tamils and Muslims will not be slaves in their own kingdom. This smacks of Eelam, critics will cry, when in fact clearly defined autonomous regional power over designated topics is a far cry from a separate independent state.

The sad truth is that the majority must recognise the crucial need to make radical departures from past assumptions. The Sinhala insistence that control of the whole island is crucial to their security from Indian invasion must be replaced (based on recent experience) by the realisation that the **Tamils fought outside intervention better than the best of them**, and have no desire to oust the Sinhalese from their strongholds with or without outside help. The Sinhala determination not to give up past gains of incursion into Tamil territory by colonisation must yield to the realisation that such insistence will forever remain a thorn in their flesh. The majority's idea that a unitary state is in the best economic interests of all must be weighed against the severe interruptions to economic development that have

taken place by clinging to that notion. **The political conviction that the fate of the Sinhalese is best advanced by giving them political and economic advantage over their non-Sinhalese counterparts must wither** at the thought at the devastation it has wrought by the hate and division it has engendered. All of this in short, enforces the reality that what was once a feasible multi-ethnic national entity has now died on the vine. Ethnic strife has killed any life there was.

Can the government acknowledge that reality for all to hear? Can the Sinhalese people be made to realise the wanton waste of making war, the tragic loss of thousands of precious lives and the destruction of the livelihoods of countless people, Sinhalese, Tamils, and Muslims, by sticking to the outmoded dogma that power cannot be shared.

The failure of these talks (if failure there be) will stem not from some one item such as the need to abolish the referendum, but rather from the inability to fight to change from a unitary to a federal model. **The failure to recognise this will once again lead us to reassert our demand for "Eelam."**

EELAM THOUGHTS

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and Tamils had to serve a common master. But even this commonality was sustained by a slender thread, first by an elite composed of a tiny fraction of the two societies, later by a small growing middle class from both communities whose interaction was confined largely to metropolitan Colombo, linked by a common language, English. When one takes into account the fact that not more than 5 to 6 per cent of the Ceylonese population were literate in English even after 150 years of British rule, it becomes clear that the assumed Sinhala-Tamil unity did not touch even more than a fringe of either society. The two populations lived their own lives, independent of each other, and insulated from each other by the once-dense

tropical jungle that covered the north-central region of the island in the north and the Mahaveli river in the east. The only interaction between the vast mass of the Sinhala and Tamil people occurred when a handful of Sinhalese carried on business as bakers in the north-east and a few Tamils set up small "cigar boutiques" in the south-west, familiarising themselves with each other's language. This of course was of marginal significance. Tarzie Vitachi's comment about "parting of the ways" has therefore to be understood in the background of the first eight years of independence, from 1948 to 1956, when the Tamil leadership of that time failed to offer a major challenge to attempted Sinhala dominance.

(To continue)

MURDER OF MRS ANNAPOORANAM CANAGANAYAGAM

Women march to IPKF camp in protest

(An edited version of a letter addressed by several women of Pannagam Chulipuram to President Premadasa with copies to Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Mr A Amirthalingam, Mr Varatharajaperumal, Dr M Karunanidhi and Mr Rajiv Gandhi is reproduced. Murders by the occupation army continue unabated. - Ed)

It is with a deep sense of remorse, disillusionment and anguish that we the law-abiding and peace-loving citizens wish to regretfully voice our feelings of sorrow and strong protest against a totally inhuman and brutal killing of a middle-aged woman named Mrs Annapooranam Canaganayagam, mother of two children aged 13 and 8, by the IPKF personnel.

It was Friday the 21st April at about 1.30 p.m when the inhabitants of Pannagam South became panic-stricken with dreadful fear over the violent house-to-house searches and raids conducted by the IPKF. In this operation, a few of them intruded into the house of Mr Canaganayagam who happened to be away in Colombo on a personal errand which fact the IPKF men had clearly learnt as soon as they got into that house. Mrs Canaganayagam, her two little children and her widowed mother were the only inmates present there. In a few seconds, reports of gun shots in that house ripped through the whole village causing unpleasant surprises, serious concern, fear and anxiety among the villagers. Immediately the whole place in and around that house was cordoned off by the IPKF men who at the same time had set fire and burned down the fences of the houses around Canaganayagam's house and prevented people from going into that house. But a few relatives of the Canaganayagams, so daring they had become and concluding something woeful had happened, rushed into the house totally ignoring what might come upon them, only to find in utter disgust and agony that the house-wife, Mrs Canaganayagam, was brutally gunned down by an IPKF **beast** and lying in a pool of blood. Her two little children and mother, according to the latter's version, had been distracted and kept elsewhere in the house when this barbarous and wicked crime was committed. Were there tigers or any questionable characters? No, definitely not. Incidentally, some relatives of the deceased wanted to take the remains to the hospital but the IPKF personnel prevented them from doing so. Later, seeing that the people were getting agitated and hostile, the IPKF men just turned a blind eye, and left the place unmindful of what they had

done. An autopsy was held and a verdict of homicide, 'death due to gun shot injuries', was pronounced by the Acting Magistrate.

Immediately after she was gunned down, the soldiers had entered the room where jewellery worth over Rs 300,000 and other valuable belongings were kept in a strong almyrah, broke it open and robbed its contents wholesale.

The Canaganayagams are a family of sound moral character commanding high respect and regard in the village. The IPKF villain of the peace that day had certainly other intentions for it transpired that he had made improper advances towards the young lady. This is the truth and the outcome was her tragic end. The tale of horror enacted in broad daylight keeping at bay the passers-by and the relatives, met with such vehement and strong protests, hatred and serious concern particularly among the women folk in our village that they, numbering about three hundred, marched in protest to the nearest IPKF camp, voiced their serious concern and demanded an explanation for this brutal killing. The

response, totally unpleasant, puerile and even disgusting, was the cynical but humiliating answer that it was a 'misfire' and the protesters were requested by the army camp commandant to invoke the blessings of the Goddess Mariamman, seeking consolation for the bereaved family and rest in peace of the deceased's soul.

Lastly, we call upon the powers that be, with Your Excellency's benign intervention, to look into this episode closely and compensate the bereaved family, treating our humble representation as a matter of urgency on humanitarian grounds and at the same time condemning these acts of immorality and misconduct, and atrocities of the so-called peace-makers, in order to restore lasting peace and tranquillity in our areas. We also urge that in the event of the Indians trying to take vengeance on us for our making representations for justice and fair-play, they should necessarily be contained in the name of democracy which Your Excellency is endeavouring to restore in this land. The perpetrator of this gruesome murder must be sought out and dealt with suitably to meet the ends of justice.

NORTH-EAST SCENARIO TAKING SHAPE IN TEA ESTATES?

Following the recent raid by the security forces on an estate in Nanu Oya in search of arms and weapons tensed situation is prevailing in the Nuwara-Elia and Maskeliya districts. Workers are living in fear of similar raids and harassment as the one that occurred at Somerset estate on May 28 and are concerned whether peace and tranquillity in their estates would be shattered.

The security forces descended upon the line rooms of the Somerset estate at 3.30 a.m and woke the inmates of the line rooms shouting and banging on the door of the houses. They called out all inmates to come out of their houses, asked one elderly member to stand in front of each house, chased away all other members and searched each room.

A number of young men were assaulted and a few were taken into custody. The security forces were alleged to have removed cash and other valuables from various houses. One Nallamma 45 who is a resident at Kirimeti with her husband 49 and three sons aged 25, 19 and 16 years has complained that her son Nadarajah 25 was taken into custody and the other two sons were assaulted. According to her, her house was searched twice and nothing was found, but the security forces claimed to have recovered a gun on the third search and Nadarajah was taken into custody.

The people are disturbed that a situation similar to the one in the North-east is being created in this part of the country too.

THE HOUR OF HUMILIATION

Justice V R Krishna Iyer, Cochin

The Sri Lankan Tamils, militants and others, were being crushed by Colombo since 1948 by escalating the Ku Klux Klan tactics, discriminatory policies and State terrorism. India sought to secure ethnic justice for them in vain and even gave weapons to the militants to fight back Sinhala terrorism. Then came the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement which, in its Preamble, promised home land and home rule, subject to the island's sovereignty and integrity; but its ill-drafted clauses were vague, tantalising and halfhearted. Mr J R Jayewardene, whose militarism had been rebuffed by the Jaffna boys, outwitted Rajiv and wheedled him into launching an expansive and expensive military adventure to keep peace, as it turned out, against the Tamil militants.

Our Prime Minister, with mulish insistence, demanded of the LTTE the surrender of their only self-defence, their weapons, and ordered their decimation until they yielded. This bravado was only against the Tamils. When it came to the ethnic essence of their claim for home rule and United Provinces of North and East, Delhi retreated in a cowardly fashion and failed to force Colombo to give autonomy beyond that of a municipality and a joinder of North and East beyond the precarious Presidential proceedings, not a constitutional amendment.

The IPKF was given only one mission: Operation Liquidation of every one it thought was a Tamil Tiger! By perversity of fate this was Indian martial law in Sri Lanka which killed the only friends India had in the island - the Tamils. Several thousand innocent civilians were shot and, in militant at times indefensibly brutal reprisal, a thousand jawans were sent to the grave. Neither the Indians nor the Sri Lankan Constitution, nor even the World Legal Order, justified these lethal operations euphemistically called peace-keeping!

And, on top of these unhappy events, many members of the Indian Forces suffered from the Occupation Army syndrome of lawless loot and violent sex. I lament my inability to be

patriotic enough not to protest against Indian jawans in a foreign land if they rob or rape, torture or practise gun culture. If one loves human rights, one must condemn this praxis. Heavily censored media minimise and distort this and both Colombo and Delhi are experts at the art. I had heard in London and New York so much about jawan excesses and been given heaps of statements of these happenings, that the least human justice Indians owe to humanity is to demand a national commission to inquire into the alleged IPKF excesses.

Many of our jawans have died and I weep for them. They carried out commands under unexpectedly hostile conditions. Their ghosts will claim justice from the political High Command for having dispatched them for no patriotic cause, no national security but for tracking down LTTE cadres and wipe out civilian suspects. I am shocked that so many humble jawans have been sacrificed for a mini-war with no national stakes for India! And Colombo exploited the IPKF, and saved its soldiers.

Now the shameful climax of President Premadasa asking India to withdraw the IPKF and by-passing Delhi to negotiate with LTTE. The hour of humiliation - "hands off" and "get out" - is coming close. I plead

with Mr Nair and men of his ilk to diagnose objectively the tragedy of Indian militarist diplomacy in the island which has cost us so much money which we can so ill-afford, and most tragic of all, innocent jawans killing and getting killed for what they know not. Delhi hails, in its desperate failure to destroy the Tigers, the peace talks between Premadasa and Prabaharan!

My heart goes out to every member of the IPKF for suffering unspeakable ordeals, to advance what great national cause they do not know. My tears for the mothers and wives of jawans who laid their lives, for what patriotic purpose they never knew. The Indian Army is not meant for pulling Colombo's chestnuts out of the fire. We must insist on a national accountability for this calamity and not deceive ourselves by acquiescence in culpable leadership.

If *Satyameva Jayate* is our motto and if dialectical analysis of the politico-ethnic fundamentals is necessary for diplomacy, we must admit that what the supremo in North Block has done is not a mere crime, it is a costly blunder. [A clarification in response to a letter from S Nair, Air Commodore (Retd) which appeared in *The Hindu* of May 5. Courtesy: *The Hindu* - May 16, 1989]

PULL OUT IPKF, Indian opinion

59.6 per cent say "yes." That is the result of a poll conducted for *India Week* on "Would you like to see the IPKF out of Sri Lanka?" in four major metros of India, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. In Bombay 63.4% of those interviewed wanted the IPKF to be out of the Island. In Delhi 62.6%, Calcutta 57.5% and in Madras 55.0% wanted the IPKF to pull out. So, the IPKF is there against the wishes of the people of both countries.

GET OUT - JVP TELLS INDIANS

According to a warning issued by the JVP on May 14, all Indians in the island should leave the country by June 14. Besides, all Indian business establishments, banks, lending agencies, insurance companies and other commercial establishments should be closed down by the same date. "Or else, face death." The warning is also meant to those who, according to JVP, "obtained honorary citizenship of Sri Lanka by bribing the present UNP government or the erstwhile SLFP government."

The statement was signed by Rohana Wijeweera, Chairman of the JVP.

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

MAY DAY WITH A DIFFERENCE



More than 2,000 Tamils demonstrated along the streets of Paris chanting LTTE slogans, joining hands with the French people and the oppressed working class people of other countries. Each one of the participants carried a Tiger flag. While about 30 children paraded in front with red Tiger flags, ten people carried a large portrait of Prabaharan following the Tiger flags. "Kavadi" and traditional music attracted the interest of large crowds. Similar demonstrations were held by Tamils in other European capitals also.

BHARATHA NATYA ARANGETRAM ANUSHA VARATHALINGAM



Anusha's Bharatha Natya debut took place on 30th April at the Old Town Hall, West Ham, London. The occasion which was more than recreational had attracted a good gathering of dance lovers, well wishers and friends. Professor Marr of the School of Oriental and African

Studies who is an acclaimed connoisseur graced the occasion as the Chief Guest.

Classical dance in India is an aesthetic expression and experience. It may be described as a passionate representation of the birth, evolution, the death and the rebirth of the human soul. Bharatha Natyam is considered as the oldest form of classical dancing. The essential elements of Bharatha Natyam are *bhavam* (expression) *ragam* (melody) *Thalam*, (rhythm) and *natyam* (dramatic element). All these elements combine in appropriate mixture to make Bharatha Natyam complete and beautiful.

To those that watched Anusha dance that day it was evident that she is possessed of all that are necessary to make her dance complete and beautiful. Though this was her first official public performance yet she has on several earlier occasions performed before large audiences in London. Her Guru Padmini Gunaseelan did the Nattuvangam and directed the Arangetram. It was a joyous moment and a memorable day for Padmini because Anusha is the first student who has graduated from her institute of dancing. Renuka Sriyananda sang the songs for the occasion and her choice of Tamil songs for the performance added colour and glamour to the dance. Adayar Balu on the Miruthangam maintained the tempo and rhythm from the start to the finish. Mrs Kalaivani Indrakumar on the violin and Dr Nirmalaraj on the flute contributed in great measure to make the occasion a great success.

Having regard to the fact that Anusha is barely 10 years, her arangetram performance was brilliant. Her palpebral beauty coupled with her wonderful eye movement and faultless foot work are hall marks of an accomplished dancer. It is hoped that the parents of Anusha would bear in mind that they are blessed with a child who is endowed with a rare talent in great measure and do their very best to foster and promote her dancing skill. Arangetram is just the beginning and let them remember

that perfection comes through practice. We wish the budding dancer a bright future.

By R R Thillaikootan

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

16.6.89	Pirathosha Viratham
8.6.89	Pourami Viratham
30.6.89	Pirathosha Viratham
30.6.89	Kaarthikai Utsavam

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

July 1 - Annual General Meeting of the Tamil Refugee Action Group at the London School of Economics and Political Science, New Theatre, East Building, Houghton Street, London WC2 - Commencing at 2.30 p m

July 22 - Jaffna College Alumni Association Anniversary Dinner at Action Town Hall

September 16 - Chundikuli-St Johns Past Pupils UK Association A G M & Dinner at Finchley Manor Hill School, Summers Lane, Finchley, London N12

OBITUARIES

N D SELVARATNAM, born April 26, 1922, breathed his last in the Northumberland hospital on May 21 1989 after a long illness, bravely and cheerfully borne. His funeral took place in the presence of a large number of friends and relations at the Morpeth crematorium. He leaves behind his wife, Chandra (younger daughter of the late Mr & Mrs A M K Kumarasamy), daughters Shymala Harasgama and Dushyanthy Smoker and an only son Hiran who now resides in Australia. For most of his working life Donald held high office in the Shell Co in Colombo, finishing his distinguished career as Managing Director of Lankam Ltd

R C MANMATHARAYAN J P, Proprietary Planter and a former Member and Deputy Mayor of the Jaffna Municipality, Founder Member and Honorary Secretary of the North Ceylon Music Sabha, Trustee of Shri Arumuga Navalar Trust, Honorary Manager of the Jaffna Hindu Organ, collapsed and died while he was speaking at a meeting in the

continued on page 18

FROM THE MEDIA (EXCERPTS)

COLOMBO NEEDS TO BE CAUTIOUS

It is necessary for the President to tackle the JVP and check Sinhala chauvinism it represents; this in turn could create a greater sense of security for the Tamils living in Sri Lanka. The President also might achieve more by granting greater autonomy to the Tamils. He might achieve more this way. [*The Hindustan Times*]

One can only laugh at what the Prime Minister said at the Army Commanders' meet recently about the withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka. He said that India had "to think seriously of getting back the bulk of the IPKF as soon as practicable." And when is "as soon as practicable"? He said, "We should consider the process of handing over (charge) to the elected local Government, so that they could protect themselves against any destabilisation that might arise."

It means that the duty of the IPKF is to protect the recently elected Government in the Tamil majority areas. The elections were boycotted by the militant Tamil group LTTE and the Tamil democratic party, TULF. Only some splinter groups of the militants, known as the EPRLF and EROS, took part in the elections and, naturally, won. Now, it is the duty of the IPKF to protect the EPRLF Government, according to the Prime Minister. Then as soon as

President Premadasa's announcement last week that the IPKF must leave Sri Lanka before July 31 took the entire diplomatic community in Colombo by surprise and annoyed the Indians, who feel that they should have been consulted on a bilateral issue.

JVP had already launched its "boycott India" campaign which was to reach its climax on June 14, the JVP's 25th anniversary. Although the JVP has only asked all patriotic Sri Lankans to boycott Indian shops, banks and business establishments and not to use Indian goods, the campaign has taken a violent turn and several Indian buses and lorries have been set on fire in the deep south, the

PRABAHARAN NATIONAL LEADER -JVP

The patriotic people are called on to wage an anti-imperialist struggle to liberate the motherland from the foreign enemy and their local stooges like the EPRLF and USA. The JVP has their reasons for not attacking the LTTE, says a JVP'er of 1971 vintage who still maintains links with the party's political wing. "Cultivating the Tigers to try and get land-mines and other sophisticated war equipments

is the only reason why JVP remains silent on the activities of the LTTE. Deep within they have a great respect for Prabaharan as the only national leader among the Tamils who has stood up to the Indians. What the JVP would like is to get together with the LTTE and wage a joint struggle," he said. [*From Tigers and Subversives by Romesh Fernando*]

INDIA'S VIETNAM

the EPRLF Government is able to protect itself, the IPKF would be withdrawn.

However, the facts on the ground show an entirely different picture. Not only the LTTE but also the Sri Lankan Government as well as the Sri Lankan militant organisation, JVP, are out to destabilise the EPRLF Ministry and isolate the IPKF. It is with this object that the mutual adversaries, the LTTE and President Premadasa, are going to hold talks. Will the IPKF act against the wishes of the Sri Lankan Central Government to protect the Tamil Provincial Government of Perumal?

The Indian soldiers are dying by the hundreds in Sri Lanka in an undeclared war against the people of Indian origin. The only way out from this trap is to admit the mistake and withdraw, to avoid further damage, as the USA did in Vietnam and the Russians in Afghanistan. Sinhalese and Tamils may fight each other for supremacy, but they are united

against the Indians. That is what the talks between President Premadasa and the LTTE prove.

Another accord has gone down the hill like Rajiv's all other previous accords. [*Alive - May 25, 1989*]

DOMINANT QUESTION

At bottom the question is one of human dignity. Every man and woman, whatever his or her community, desires to live in equality with fellow men and women in an environment which guarantees his or her right to achieve self-fulfillment. It is the duty of Governments to provide such an environment. How that climate can be created in Sri Lanka on the basis of the dignity of all individuals within the parameters of a unitary Sri Lanka state, is the dominant question which still faces the country after decades of the ethnic problem. [*Editorial - The Island, 14.5.89*]

SRI LANKA TAKES A GAMBLE

JVP stronghold.

Indian goods have been pulled out of shops and special police protection has been given to prominent Sri Lankan citizens of Indian origin. On a request from the Indian High Commission, banks, hotels and buildings identified as Indian-owned or managed are guarded by armed police.

Premadasa has given another reason for his decision: Colombo will host the South Asian Group conference later this year. To do while foreign troops are present in Sri Lanka, "will be a slur on our self-respect," he said. One theory is that Mr Premadasa has made a secret deal with the Tigers. He may be ready to hand over the North-east provincial council, now controlled

by the pro-Indian EPRLF Tamil group, to the Tigers who are anxious to get the Indians off their back.

Two days of talks between the two governments in Delhi ended with Sri Lanka setting a more flexible timetable than last week's demand by President Premadasa. Sri Lankan diplomats said that Mr Bernard Tilakaratne, the Sri Lankan Foreign Secretary had told Delhi that the Indian Troops would have to be out by October. After the talks, an Indian Foreign Office spokesman said that India virtually ruled out a withdrawal of its remaining 50,000 troops by end of July but reiterates its desire to pull out its forces at "an early date." [*The Sunday Times - June 2, 1989*]

A REPORT ON JAFFNA

Marshall R Singer

[A summary of a report made by the author, from University of Pittsburgh, after his visit to Jaffna in March.]

1. I was surprised by the degree of support I found for the LTTE. Although the sample of people I surveyed was in no way scientific, I estimate that perhaps 80%-90% of the population of the peninsula support the LTTE for some reason.
2. I was surprised by the degree to which the EPRLF, TELO and ENDLF depend for their existence, physically as well as financially, on the IPKF. I think EROS is different.
3. Eelam is not necessary, but **real** devolution of powers on important matters is essential.
4. At least in the North, the LTTE must be brought into the political process. No solution is possible without that. **They are in a position analogous to the PLO in Palestine.** (How this can be done is difficult to say, except that I am told Prabakaran may trust President Premadasa more than he does the Indians.)
5. **New colonisation must stop.** Again, it is like Palestine. Colonisation is bitterly resented.
6. A referendum on the merger now cannot produce anything good. I was told repeatedly that fighting will start in the North if Tamils lose. For now, Tamil government is wooing the Sinhalese and Muslims of the East.
7. EPRLF is going to need to use donor money to build support by offering "patronage" jobs to people.
8. IPKF - which is hated - will probably have to stay for some time. A blood-bath would probably follow if they left now.
9. This is a "Honeymoon Period" in which people are hopeful that President Premadasa is sincere and will settle the problem peacefully.
10. Simple thing like printing all forms in Sinhalese, Tamil and English - with replies permissible in all - would go a long way toward increasing the new Sri Lankan government's ability to settle the problem equitably.

OCCUPYING FORCES WILL NOT QUIT

Indian Government has, it is understood, adopted a firm tone and expressed surprise and puzzlement about the call for the withdrawal of the IPKF in a short time. Indian Government is finding excuses to stay, while pretending that they would like to get out as soon as possible. India's stooges in the North-East are obtaining signatures, under duress, from the Tamil people against the withdrawal of the troops. That will be used to justify their continued stay. Tamils feel that the Indian forces will not go.

ARMS TO LTTE

The LTTE has denied that the Sri Lankan Government supplied arms to it, stating that it is a fabricated story forming part of the malicious campaign by the EPRLF and PLOTE.

ANTI-IPKF DEMO BY MUSLIMS

A demonstration by Muslims shouting anti-IPKF slogans along Deans Road, Colombo on May 26 was tear-gassed by the police and dispersed. Banners called for security of the Muslims of the east and the issue of arms to the Muslims.

N & E SHUN JOINING ARMY

The response from youths in the North-East to the Sri Lankan government's call to join the Army has been very poor and the Army will re-advertise in the Tamil newspapers calling for applications, according to Army sources.

DON'T TRUST INDIAN ARMY

In parliament, while Anura Bandaranaike (SLFP) said not to trust the Indian Army, Minister of Trade and Shipping A R Munsoor said that law and order broke down after the IPKF came to the East.

SUPER SHOPPING COMPLEX

A super shopping complex manned by IPKF personnel is said to be having a brisk sale in Indian manufactured goods despite the prevailing tension there. Popular textiles, including saris, cosmetics, groceries and even bottled beer, all of Indian origin, are on sale at this store located opposite the Uduvil Girls High School. Prices are said to be very cheap being available at duty free prices.

LTTE INTENSIFIES ITS OPERATIONS

The LTTE has intensified its military operations, from the first week of June, against the occupying forces in Batticaloa and Amparai districts



**TAMIL
EELAM
NEWS**

where, according to the LTTE sources, these forces and their quisling groups have unleashed violence on the innocent people. Heavy casualty is said to have been inflicted on the occupying forces and the other groups at various locations in these districts.

TEN INNOCENT CIVILIANS KILLED

Ten innocent civilians who were arrested by the Indian occupying forces were killed by them by shooting through their heads. Over 20 civilians escaped with injuries in the search operations. The LTTE cadres which confronted them at one stage killed 5 Indian soldiers and lost Lt Sankili, 2nd Lt Karnan, Aarath and Umainsan. The incident took place in Puttur on June 5.

PARENTS OF LTTE CADRES KILLED

Fathers of 4 members of the LTTE were killed on May 29, in the Chunakam area by the EPRLF with the help of the Indian occupying forces. On the same day 2 civilians were killed at Neerveli.

FATHER COMMITS SUICIDE

While the body of 19 year-old Thuraisingam Uthayakumar who was taken into custody on May 28 at Puttur along with five others by the IPKF was recovered, the father of Chandradevi (one of those taken), committed suicide after desperately trying to locate where the girl was taken by the IPKF. The fate of the five are not known.

SECOND ROUND OF TALKS

The LTTE negotiating team that was led by Mr Yogaratnam Yogi returned to its base for consultation with the Leadership, while Mr Anton Balasingam returned to London. Mr Balasingam has gone back to Colombo for the second round of talks. Other members of the LTTE team are expected to join him.

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People and Events

continued from page 15

Education Office, Jaffna on May 15, 1989

Miss Pavalam Rebecca Snell, born April 24, 1923, died on June 7 was educated at Uduvil Girls School and later at Women's Christian College, Madras. She taught first at Uduvi and later at Girls High School, Kandy. She left for Nigeria in the 60's and worked in Eastern Nigeria and later in Lagos as Head of Biology, Queen's College.

She was a very friendly, generous and fun-loving lady and her untimely death from a sudden heart attack will be a sad loss. She was a sister of late Rev Wilfred Snell, Alfred Snell and

Mrs W R C Paul. Mrs Kirubai Rajaratnam is now the only surviving member of the family. 15, Boswell Place, Wellawatte

Dr Sambanthar PONNIAH (93) was suptd of Health Services, Matara at the time of his retirement 30 years ago. His wife Gladys is the eldest of the large and distinguished Kathiravetpillai family of Araly. He leaves behind, besides his wife, three daughters Vathana Thambar, Pooshana Jehoratnam and Sobana - and a son, Thasan. Another son, Gnana, pre-deceased him many years ago. Dr Ponniah and wife celebrated their 60th wedding anniversary on April 24 this year.

34, Clemesha St, Keperra, Brisbane 4054

TAMIL BUSINESS DIRECTORY

TVI is in the process of compiling a Directory, for publication, of Businesses owned by Tamils outside India and Eelam.

Please assist by providing details such as name, address, nature etc. to:

**TVI Business Directory,
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Middlesex HA9 8SA U.K.**

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பாரதம் தந்த பாடம்

சீதையை எடுக்க வந்தார் சிறை
சிதைத்தது ஒன்றே மிச்சம்
அழகுறும் ஈழ நாட்டை
அக்கினி ஆக்கிவிட்டார்
ஆயிரம் சீதையர்கள்
அனாதையாய் தெருவில் நின்று
அழுதிடும் நிலைமை வைத்தார்
அநியாயம் செய்து விட்டார்!

குங்குமம் நிறைந்த நெற்றி
குருதியில் நனைந்து போக
எஞ்சிய தாலி சேலை
எல்லாமே எடுத்து விட்டார்
கதறிடும் மழலையோடு
கன்னியர் இளைஞர் எல்லாம்
குதறியே எறிந்து விட்டார்
கொடுமைகள் செய்தார் பாவம்!

பொருதிய களத்தில் நின்று
புறமுதுகு காட்டா வீரன்
புலி என மானம் சேர்த்து
புறப்பட்டான் இனத்தைக் காக்க
வானரம் என்ன இங்கு
வான் படை வந்த போதும்
மண்டியா இட்டான் எங்கள்
வளமுறும் இலங்கைத் தமிழன்!

ஆயிரம் படைகள் வந்து
அரும் வனம் சூழ்ந்த போதும்
அடிமை வாழ்தல் விட்டு
ஆயுதத்தோடு வந்தான்: தம்பி
சங்கிலி மன்னன் பின்னால்
சரித்திரம் படைத்த கதையை
படித்திட வேண்டும் எல்லாம்
பாரதம் தந்த பாடம்!

- பாசி, மட்டுநகர் -

விடிவு எங்கே?

இருட்டறையில் இருக்குதலா உலகம் - நீதி
இருக்கிறது என்பானும் இருக்கின்றனவே
விடிந்தவுடன் வெளிநாடு போவதற்காய்
கிடைப்பதெல்லாம் சுருட்டுகின்றார் 'சூளைமேட்டார்'*

புரட்சியிலே போலி இவர் மறைவதெந்நாள்
வேசமிடும் இவர் தம்மை வேரறுக்க
விடுதலைப் புலிகள் கூட்டமது இல்லையாயின்
விடுதலையும் கெடுதலையும் ஒன்றையாகும்!

- பிரம்ம புத்திரன் -
மட்டுநகர்

'ஒரு தமிழ்க் கைதியின் குமுறல்'

அமைதியின் காவலர்களே!
காற்றுக்கும் ஆசை வந்து
நீங்கள் கட்டியிருக்கும்
வெள்ளாடைகளை தொட்டு விளையாடும்!

சிறைக்குள் நாங்கள்
விட்ட பெருமூச்சு
போர்க்களம் போயிருந்தால்
உங்கள் வண்டிகள் பல
வான் மேகம் போயிருக்கும்.

- பிரம்ம புத்திரன் -

*'சூளைமேட்டார்': தமிழக பட்டதாரி தமிழ் இளைஞனை இந்திய மண்ணில் சூளைமேடு என்றசென்னையிலுள்ள ஒரு கிராமத்தில் சுட்டுக் கொன்றதனால் EPRLF இனருக்கு கிடைத்த காரணப் பெயர்.

IPKF MENACE IN JAFFNA

A Senior Citizen, Jaffna

They are everywhere like ants. They have destroyed the sanctity of Hindu homes and that too of the conservative Tamil families of all classes and levels. The Gurkha soldier accompanied by the EPRLF cadres (in Indian Army uniform) enters a house at will, penetrate the bedrooms, women's quarters and the kitchen. When questioned, they say that they are searching for "puli" (Tigers). They "goggle" women and want to enquire if men are at home, so that they may relax a while fondling young girls.

The Jaffna man lives in compounded houses with fences separating their individual homes, similar to those in other highly populated areas of Sri Lanka. In fact the Jaffna people

live much like Kerala people.

IPKF orders people to cut down their separating fences so that they can spot a "puli" from their ambush. This occupying army is slowly converting the Jaffna man to live in "clusters of homes" like the Tamil Nadu or in Gurkhaland. I think the strategy of saturating the Jaffna peninsula with soldiers is the same as the one adopted by Indian Army to put down the Naga and Mizoram rebels fighting a guerilla war with Indian troops. It may be that some of the same soldiers have come to the North.

What the LTTE negotiating team is placing before the Government about the sufferings of the Tamils is very much true and timely. At least

the LTTE has done this great service to a people who have lost their "spirit and voice" in matters affecting their self respect and human dignity. At first, it was the Sri Lankan Army - Tamil militants conflict, and now it is IPKF - LTTE militant conflict. The other parts of Sri Lanka do not know what is happening in North-East Province. The world is completely blacked out of events in the North-East Sri Lanka because journalists are not allowed to travel freely and record the activities of IPKF.

The IPKF field post officers want comfortable and safe houses for them and their jawans to stay. They are worried about the "suicide squads" of LTTE guerillas which had been deployed in the Peninsula. Recently there was an incident at Tinnaveley where a car loaded with bombs exploded on the Palaly-Jaffna road (airport road), narrowly missed blowing up a "Citizens Volunteer Force" camp but destroying not less than 10 high quality houses. These centres are manned by a contingent of IPKF and EPRLF personnel under a major.

When IPKF officers take over houses, they apply all kinds of pressure tactics, including slapping, digging with rifle butt ends and giving ultimatums to occupants to leave their houses on an appointed day. Finally they would want these owners, to sign that they have given the houses voluntarily. Peace keeping force is not meant to "commandeer" houses.

It is our prayer that the on-going LTTE-Government dialogue will at least result in a ceasefire between IPKF and LTTE forces and a speedy withdrawal of Indian troops to camps occupied by them in August 1987, pending final withdrawal. This will at once ease the pressure on the people. Otherwise, the situation is so fast deteriorating that people will rise and engulf whole of Jaffna in flames. It is my hope that it will not be a case of NERO fiddling, while ROME is burning.

LTTE CITES AMNESTY REPORT

The continuous violations of human rights by the IPKF in the North-East province have been emphasised by the LTTE in their first round of talks with the Sri Lankan Government. They have cited the most recent report by the Amnesty International released three weeks back, in setting out the problems faced by the Tamils in these areas.

The 45 page report said that hundreds of people were arrested by the IPKF and screened for links with the LTTE and hundreds of suspects still remain in custody. "It is not clear under which legislation - Sri Lankan or Indian - these prisoners are held, since the Indian authorities have not disclosed this. There are no reports of charges being brought against them nor of any trials" the report said. It has cited reports that those who act as informers were members of the "Three Star" and the EPRLF.

"Amnesty International has also received statements from people who do not belong to these groups who allege that they were forced to act as informers by members of the IPKF and compelled to point out "suspects" even though they know nothing about them. According to these accounts, those identified as suspects

were later tortured, it said.

Several reports also indicated that IPKF troops have killed unarmed civilians in reprisal for the death of their own men in encounter with the LTTE. Since June 1988, AI has recorded 72 disappearances, 31 of which concern people taken away by the IPKF in Jaffna district on suspicion of being members or sympathisers of the LTTE, it said.

"AI has received reports that detainees are frequently beaten by the members of the IPKF, often resulting in broken bones and that electric shock treatment is often inflicted on suspects during interrogation. It has also received reports of deaths while in IPKF custody apparently as a result of torture" it said. A man arrested in mid-February and kept at an IPKF camp in the premises of Hotel Paradise, Jaffna has recounted the electric treatment inflicted on him and said a cloth was pressed over his mouth everytime the current was passed to prevent him from shouting, according to the report.

"Some detainees were so severely tortured by IPKF personnel during interrogation that they died" it said.