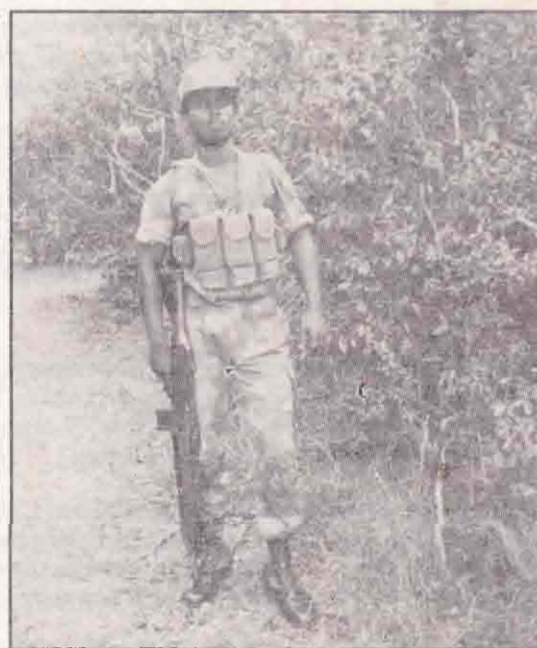


TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

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OUR YOUNG HOPEFULS



THE SUPPLY OF FREEDOM-FIGHTERS IS ASSURED

YOUR VOICE

SHAME ON INDIA

M Punithapandian, Ambur, Tamil Nadu

Now it has been accepted by the Sri Lankan Government that the "Liberation Tigers" are no more terrorists, by inviting them to the negotiating table without any preconditions. They have been treated as genuine citizens and representatives of the Tamil people.

So automatically India's baseless charges against the genuine and sincere "Freedom Fighters" are exposed. The world is no more going to listen to the wild and malicious propaganda of the so called "Peace-Keepers".

The world came to know the truth as soon as the Tigers appeared in camouflage uniform in front of the Sri Lankan Government officials. Even now, India doesn't want to admit its mistake. Instead, day by day it increases its cruelties and mistakes. For instance, in the past India welcomed Amnesty International reports published against the government of Sri Lanka, but when Amnesty International pointed out the atrocities committed by India, it doesn't want to accept it, instead it unnecessarily accuses Amnesty International which is a Nobel prize winner and also a world wide organisation fighting for Humanity.

Anyhow, the world has now realised the true situation and has come to know about the cruel and disgusting role played by India. Really it is a shame on the part of India, the biggest country in South Asia.

At least now, India should admit its grave mistake and try to correct itself by withdrawing its one lakh troops from Tamil Eelam.

HOW FAR CAN WE COMPROMISE?

M K Eelaventhan, Madras

The current negotiations between the Tamils represented by the LTTE and the Sinhalese represented by the Sri Lankan Government are being conducted in an atmosphere of congeniality. Every peace-loving Tamil will welcome this step.

The negotiating teams represent two sovereign states, one being the defacto state of Tamil Eelam and the other being the de jure state of Sri Lanka. Prabaharan has clearly stated that no external force can prevent the restoration of Tamil Eelam state.

However, the joint communique issued at the end of the talks speaks (1) of the larger interests of the country and (2) restoring peace and normalcy in the north and east of Sri Lanka. By using such language Sri Lankan government may have coerced the LTTE delegation to accept Sinhala overloadship over the Tamils. This has been the strategy of successive Sinhala governments in dealing with Tamil representatives.

It is hoped that the LTTE will not fall into any such trap of the Sri Lanka government. LTTE should make it clear to everybody that they represent the people of Tamil Eelam, and will not compromise on that stand any further.

Premadasa's volte-face vis-a-vis the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement is only one of the many examples of the conduct of Sri Lankan

governments in dealing with the Tamil question. According to Premadasa, on July 29, 1989 the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement becomes null & void.

Sri Lanka has repeatedly slapped the face of India during the 40 years of post-independence history. Whether it be Kachatheevu or the plantation Tamils of Indian origin or the Sethu Samudram project, India took a beating and was following a policy of appeasement towards the Sinhalese.

It is time for India to realise who their true friends in the island are. Tamil Eelam boundaries with Sinhala Sri Lanka are the extended boundaries of India in the south. Tamils are the only true friends of India with their historical, cultural and linguistic life close to that of India.

We appeal to India to recognise the state of Tamil Eelam and to enter into a treaty of friendship and co-operate with the Tamils to preserve the security of India. Any more attempt to appease the Sinhalese will only result in total disaster to the permanent interests of India.

LET US NOT FORGET JULY 1987

Siva Muthulingasamy - UK

There is a lot of flag-waving going on among the Tamils and the Sinhalese on the latest Prabaharan-Premadasa initiative. Please let us not forget the lessons learnt from the July 1987 Indian invasion and the euphoria that came with it and the disappointment that followed. It is true that these two leaders have decided to talk direct and bypass India. If the article in the April issue of the *TIME* magazine is anything to go by, then the Indians will try their best to abort this initiative. However, if the Indians want, they could turn this around in their favour by claiming that it was their presence that made this possible. After all, the Sri Lanka government has its back pinned to the wall, no arms are forthcoming from the western sympathisers and also the ever-increasing menace of the Sinhalese terrorists is a direct result of the presence of the Indian army.

Now coming to the subject, can we trust the Sinhalese masses and their leaders? I have my reservations about the Buddhist monks. If they had any spiritual qualities at all they would have put an end to the anti-Tamil rioting on the first day of the 1958 carnage. Their mistrust and hatred towards the Tamils are deep-rooted.

Even with all these fears and reservations I would like to wish both of them the very best. Both Prabaharan and Premadasa have one thing in common, that is they are both down to earth true sons of the soil, unlike Rajiv & JR who are pseudo Asians.

WOUNDS WILL NEVER HEAL

Siva Siva, Jaffna

The Sri Lankan ethnic problem is over 2,000 years old. There was a lull in hostilities only during the period of foreign occupation - by the Portuguese, Dutch and British, since they were common enemies. The British after granting independence to the majority Sinhalese, left the minority Tamils at the mercy of the new rulers. The problem was simmering since the so-called independence and became acute after 1983.

*Editorial***DECENTRALISATION, DELEGATION
AND DEVOLUTION**

Information trickling in from Colombo indicates that the Premadasa-LTTE talks have so far proceeded without a hitch. Somehow the air is filled with a mood of optimistic expectancy. But we cannot afford to be buoyant or to expect too much too soon. To echo Machiavelli, **men** will sooner forgive the loss of their kith and their kin than the loss of their **property**. For **men** we might substitute the militant sections of Sinhala opinion. For **property**, these Sinhala people view the entire island as the real estate of the Sinhala Buddhists.

There are two other sectors that are opposed to change. The Sinhala politicians of course have never had it so good. They and the Sinhala elites which support them look dismally at the prospect of parting with power. It is to the great credit of the Tamil people that they refused to be consigned to the status of second class citizens. The domination of the Tamil people could not therefore be achieved. Coupled with the politicians are the Sinhala bureaucrats. Colombo-centred and crippled by the narrow-mindedness of their fanatic faith that the earth belongs to the Sinhala people, they have sabotaged successfully to date every attempt at the deconcentration of power from the centre (Colombo) to the periphery (the provinces). Together the Sinhala politicians and the administrative apparatus have practised internal colonialism over the Tamil domain. They woke up only when challenged by the LTTE. There is now a creeping consciousness that power must be shared. Or else the stark fact of national disintegration, confusion and anarchy will overtake the island entity.

To avoid the awaiting doom and disaster is the whole purpose of the Premadasa-LTTE talks. The Indians mistake the exercise if they conceive of it as a direct challenge to the presence of the *Indian Army*, a term that the President and the LTTE have rightly chosen for what is pretentiously called the *IPKF*. To overcome the threatened disintegration of Ceylon, various methods of power-sharing are being discussed. We would comment on the concepts being proposed.

Language and territory are one and indivisible. To form a nation, geographical contiguity is indispensable. Without territorial contiguity, the preservation of the Tamil language and Tamil culture is at stake. In effect on a Tamil homeland there can be no compromise. Not to understand this fact is to fail to comprehend the concept of a Tamil nation. But a piece of unbroken territorial space does not constitute the ramifications of its growth and prosperity. That area can still be dominated, as if by a colonial power, small beer though the Sinhala racial apparatus might be.

Self-determination is therefore the means to promote nationhood. Other things being equal, the Tamil people, once upon a time, were willing to consider various constitutional structures which may have preserved and promoted their identity. But it is now past history. To dwell on decentralisation is therefore outdated. Decentralisation involves the retention of power in the metropolis (Colombo) and its day to day administration by locally constituted political structures. The Tamil people now wish to have the substance and the reality of power. Delegation of authority (**common language among the Sinhala people today**) hence by the centre to provincial councils involves form without substance. It means the transference of a measure of authority by an all-pervading Executive Presidency to his provincial satraps who oversee the local legislative body. The satrap will no doubt delegate his power to the local authority. But the giver of power (the President and the Provincial Governor) can take it away. Of what use therefore is delegation?

Devolution can, if so desired, imply the power to make law **without hindrance** over a range of subjects. It can be arranged through a classical-style federal system, a confederation or a sovereignty-association as demanded by the Parti Quebecois. The details can be worked out once the principle is recognised. This is exactly what the Premadasa-LTTE Talks should, in our view, be all about.

**TAMIL
VOICE
International**

எப்பொருள் யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு

Volume 2 No 12

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Contents

Your voice	_____	2
Editorial	_____	3
Indian Govt., IPKF, &		
Tamil Eelam	_____	4
Fortnightly Forum	_____	5
Thirukkural	_____	6
Ask Rani	_____	7
Human Rights: Who Cares	_____	8
Eelam thoughts	_____	10&11
From the media	_____	13
Tamil Eelam News	_____	14
People & Events	_____	15
Sri Lankan News	_____	16
Folk Tales	_____	18
Tamil Page	_____	19
AI appeals	_____	20
Goats, Chickens & IPKF	_____	20

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THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT, THE IPKF AND TAMIL EELAM

[We reproduce a letter by Mr K C Adiathan of Valvettiturai addressed through Mr Mehrotra to the Prime Minister of India]

I refer to the interview given by Shri L L Mehrotra, the new High Commissioner for India to Rohan Gunasekera of *The Island* and which appeared in the Sunday Edition of *The Island* of 14.05.1989.

In answer to a question viz. "How do you assess the situation in the north and east today? What would you say are the results of the IPKF's operations?", the High Commissioner has stated, "Now by any standards I should think the IPKF has done very well. They have brought the LTTE from the towns and villages into the confines of the Vanni jungles and by and large provided a very high sense of security to the people of the province."

As regards the statement that the LTTE has been brought from the towns and villages to the confines of the Vanni jungles, I am sorry to state that you are living in a fool's paradise, you have been sadly misinformed, the intelligence gathering of your RAW has gone haywire. The LTTE is very much in the towns and villages as they were before. On the other hand only the cadres of your stooges EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO are living in or near IPKF camps unable to move about unless accompanied by your soldiers. Even the C V F personnel whom your stooges have recruited and you have trained are only seen here and there and that too in the company of your soldiers.

As regards the statement that the IPKF has by and large provided a very high sense of security to the people of the province, I am sorry to state that this is absolutely untrue. Unable to apprehend the Tigers, your **thoroughly indisciplined** soldiers are now apprehending LTTE supporters. Because of this we feel a very high sense of **insecurity**. We did not have this very high sense of insecurity even during the

days the Sri Lankan Security Forces were on the prowl. I quote an example. Just three weeks back, a family of 4 persons consisting of a mother, her two sons and her son-in-law were picked up by your indisciplined soldiers at dead of night alleging that they were supporters of the LTTE. All four were tortured by your soldiers. We are all supporters of the LTTE and I have made this point very clear to the former Commander of the IPKF in Vadamarachy, Brig. Samay Ram, whom I met on two occasions.

You may be surprised to learn that even small boys and girls of the age of 10 are **voluntarily** (no coercion or force is used) joining the LTTE and swelling its ranks after hearing about the atrocities and human right violations that your indisciplined soldiers are committing in Tamil Eelam? When this is the situation here, do you seriously believe that you can annihilate the LTTE even if you bring the whole Indian Army to Tamil Eelam. You cannot stifle our determination to establish Tamil Eelam. I would therefore request you to give up this **mad and foolish adventure** and withdraw your Innocent People Killing Force from Tamil Eelam immediately.

You state again and again that your soldiers are disciplined, that they do not commit atrocities, that they do not violate human rights etc. I can disprove this as will be seen from the following extracts obtained from sworn affidavits from those who had suffered at the hands of your **indisciplined** army. These incidents happened recently:

Affidavit 'A': I was made to lie on the ground and while some soldiers sat on my hands, legs, head, chest, abdomen, some others placed a wet cloth on my nose and poured water into my mouth making it difficult for me to breathe. When I pulled my

hands, the soldiers bent my fingers backwards and caused severe pain to my fingers. The soldiers forcibly raised my legs and hit both heels with wooden planks. I was assaulted with broomsticks, pipes, and wooden planks. I suffered injuries, abrasions, contusions and swellings all over my body.

Affidavit 'B': I was locked up in a room with my hands tied for the rest of the night. They assaulted me with broom sticks, pipes and iron rods, while asking me whether I knew about the LTTE. They stuffed my mouth with cloth and poured water down my nose. They held electric current against my two ears, my nose and testicles. They trampled on my chest. When I shouted and cried that my body was paining three or four soldiers wearing boots trampled me.

Affidavit 'C': As I was feeling thirsty that night, I asked the soldiers for water. They asked me, "Do you want water, do you want knife, should we give you electric current shock?" I was assaulted by the soldiers off and on the following day. They held me upside down and immersed my head in water. They made me lie down, stuffed my mouth with pieces of cloth and poured water down my nose. I am an asthma patient and as a result suffered immensely gasping for breath. The soldiers trampled all over my body. One soldier wearing boots also trampled me.

Affidavit 'D': by a female. While going through a compound, I struck an obstacle and fell down. As I had undergone three operations on my abdomen, it got hurt as a result of the fall and I was finding it difficult to get up. A Sikh soldier raised me by pulling me by my hair. He pulled me by my hair till I reached the spot where the trucks were halted and

continued on page 12

FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

The second round of talks between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government began on June 16. The LTTE delegation comprises Mr Balasingam, Mr Yogaratnam Yogi, Mr Lawrence Thilakar, Mr Paramu Moorthy, Mr Shamoon Hassan, Mr Sivagnanam Karikalan, Mr M Abubakkar Ibrahim and Mr Panchadcharam Lawrence. Although Mrs Balasingam who is also present in Colombo and paid a courtesy call on the President is not named as an official delegate, questions continue to be raised in the expatriate Tamil community about her role. Objections have been raised on her suitability as a representative to negotiate the future of the Tamil people, and the point made that there is ample talent in the Tamil community itself. Without knowing the thinking of the LTTE leadership on the subject, one can only offer some speculative explanations. One is that the LTTE likes Mrs Balasingam, is comfortable with her and sees no reason why she cannot be present. Another is that her participation is one of tactics - it is a guarantee of greater security and publicity. Yet another reason is that as a non-Tamil she may bring a different perspective. The fact that she may not be familiar with the nuances of Tamil feelings is not critical as she is part of a team. Most importantly, she can be controlled by the LTTE. These points may not of course reflect the LTTE's views or be accepted as adequate by the Tamil community, but they bear some thinking over.

LARGE SCALE CONSCRIPTION

The LTTE delegation has drawn the attention of the Sri Lankan government to the large scale conscription taking place in the Eastern province. They said that over 4500 young schoolboys and youths have been forcibly taken out of their homes by the EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO and enlisted for military training by the IPKF against the wishes of their parents. The government delegation responded that it would verify this development and take appropriate action as soon as possible.

ANTI-INDIAN WAVES

The virulent anti-IPKF feeling in Sri Lanka appears to be rampant. At a massive rally organised by the Inter University Federation and other organisations demanding the ouster of the IPKF, an effigy of an Indian soldier was burnt. The JVP hartal called on 14 June saw, amongst other events, hundreds of "scooter wallahs" who ride Indian three-wheeled scooters forced off the streets of Colombo. Shops, offices and transport all came to a halt, and Sri Lankan security forces were put on full alert guarding Indian buildings and banks in Colombo. Hundreds of Indian families fled from their homes and moved into guarded hotels in the city in response to the JVP's promise to mount a "patriotic war" against Indians in Sri Lanka. The JVP's fears of "India's imperialist intentions" were not put to rest by the statement from New Delhi that the withdrawal of the IPKF could only come about through "mutual consultation and not unilateral deadline," and that the troops would leave only when India decided their job was done. That may well be, but India should bear in mind that an accord is between two governments, and that the Premadasa government has not, as yet, entered into any accord with the Rajiv government. *The Illustrated Weekly of India* of June 11-17 is wrong in referring to the accord as the "Rajiv-Jayawardene treaty" because there is a world of difference between a treaty and an accord. Perhaps President Premadasa should ask the International Court of Justice to adjudicate on the matter.

PREMADASA'S GROWING PAINS

President Premadasa has responded to the mounting pressures with a stirring television appeal for national unity, and called the IPKF a "foreign army" which has brought fresh trouble and not peace. To compound his problems there are signs of a severe economic crisis. It is understood that substantial Japanese investment has been deterred by economic and political uncertainties. The IMF is

expected to demand an immediate and substantial devaluation which will inevitably lead to inflation. In order to contain inflation, governmental expenditure as a proportion of GDP will have to be reduced from 34 per cent to around 28 per cent. Such a move will affect the Janasaviya poverty alleviation programme, already cut down from 1.5 million families to 300,000, and the introduction of which has been postponed from April to July. The programme has overcome earlier criticism, and is now seen as an important way of quietening the unrest in the villages on which the JVP has been able to capitalise.

A CHANGE OF TUNE

The overlapping pressures have produced, according to the *Guardian*, near paranoia in Colombo and some remarkable rethinking of entrenched prejudices to the extent that "the pro-government press has discovered a new sympathy for the Tamil Tigers." Indeed the Sri Lankan *Sunday Observer*, carried as the main story on page one, the allegation made by the LTTE that New Delhi is out to sabotage its talks with the Sri Lankan government. The LTTE should be well pleased with this turn-around.

POST-IPKF SCENARIOS

Political pundits are offering all manner of prognoses on what will happen when the IPKF leaves. According to one observer, "Both the LTTE and the Sinhalese think that they will be able to finish the other off if only the Indians would leave. The astounding success of Operation Liberation is still fresh in Sri Lankan minds. And the LTTE has gained confidence from the way it has held the Indian army at bay. Both might be looking for a fight to the finish when the IPKF leaves." Whether this will happen seems unlikely if Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne is to be believed. When asked what demands had been made by the LTTE he reportedly answered that there are no demands between friends, only requests.



THIRUKKURAL

S. Sriskandarajah

உண்ணற்க கள்ளை உணில் உண்க சான்றோரான்
எண்ணப் படவேண்டா தார்.

"Unnatka Kallai Unil Unka Saantrotaal
Ennappada Verndaathaar" (922) [Transliteration]

*Let no one drink liquor. Only those who don't want to be
recognized by the virtuous may drink it. (Translation)*

A news item that appeared in The Guardian of 20th June, 1989 made interesting reading and that dictated the selection of the above kural for discussion. The news item started as follows:-

"One person in two starts drinking alcohol before the age of 18 years, according to a survey carried out for the Health Education Authority and published today to mark the National Drinkwise Day"

Like in many other matters affecting morality, western countries are trying to lock the stable door after the horse has bolted. But it is a consolation that they still have faith in the saying "Better late than never".

Thiruvalluvar is one of the many ancient sages and seers who have rejected and denounced liquor. Lord Buddha, Jesus Christ, Prophet Mohammed, Guru Nanak and Mahatma Gandhi have all condemned the drinking habit in no uncertain terms.

The views of Thiruvalluvar on liquor were very strong and he felt it necessary to stamp out the habit tooth and nail and so has devoted a full chapter to prohibition. According to him, drinking is bad for whatever reason it is consumed and whoever the person be that recommends it. The sense of well-being which alcohol is supposed to give to the tippler is highly deceptive. Euphoria is sometimes euphemistically used to denote unconsciousness. Thiruvalluvar says that it is the height of folly to spend money to buy unconsciousness. (*Kai Ariyaamai Udaitthey Porul Koduththu Meyyariyaamai Kolal - 925*).

We should pause for a while to ask

ourselves why tippling is denounced by the wise and the virtuous. It is perhaps because liquor deprives one of his senses. The moment one loses his senses he lowers himself to the level of an animal, thus becoming a menace to himself and to society.

The ancient Tamils had singled out five vices as major ones which they called "Pancha Maa Paathakangal". Lying, Murdering, Tippling, Thieving and Lust. It is significant to note that although Thiruvalluvar has despised gambling also in his great work, yet the sagacious ancient Tamils have thought it fit to leave it out of the classified major vices. This fact goes to show that tippling has been considered worse than gambling.

It is generally thought that a mother is very tolerant and always turns a blind eye to the faults of her children however serious they may be. But even such a mother will not tolerate a child who drinks liquor, says Thiruvalluvar. If a mother is intolerant of a child who drinks, it is because she considers as does Thiruvalluvar, that "those who drink are like those who eat poison and are comparable to the dead". It is because a mother does not want her child to die, she gets wild with a child who drinks.

In the opinion of Thiruvalluvar there is another good reason why one should never get intoxicated. Words can be put into the ears of any evil doer; he may not heed but certainly will fall on his ears. But that will not be the case with one who drinks and becomes inebriated. Because the brain of the intoxicated person becomes blunted and benumbed, whatever said is not received by the brain to be acted upon. Thiruvalluvar uses a classic comparison to illustrate the difficulty of advis-



ing an intoxicated man. That comparison is contained in the 929th Kural the translation of which is as follows:- "Behold the man who argueth with one who is intoxicated and endeavoureth to convince him of the evils of drink; he is like a man who searcheth torch in hand for one who is immersed in water." Let me paraphrase it. It is useless to attempt to advise a man who is under the influence of drink. Because it is like searching for a drowned man with the help of a blazing torch. No sooner the torch is taken into the water than the torch will be put off. Even the advice that is proffered to a drunken man will be lost as soon as it is spoken. This then is the reason why Thiruvalluvar thinks that a person who is drunk is incorrigible.

Let us therefore pay heed to Thiruvalluvar and remain teetotalers for ever. The ignominy and disgrace that today envelopes Ben Johnson of Olympics fame will engulf us if we neglect the sterling advice of Thiruvalluvar.

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

According to a joint statement issued by the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE on June 28, the parties have agreed to transform the ceasefire that exists between them into a cessation of hostilities. The delegations representing the two parties agreed that all communities and groups should rally around the President and secure the withdrawal of the Indian forces, and settle whatever problems they have through consultation, compromise and consensus.

Ask Rani

DOES HE QUALIFY?

Dear Rani

Could you please clarify something about Mr Anton Balasingam of the LTTE. Various newspapers that I have read refer to him as Dr Anton Balasingam, Prof Anton Balasingam and so forth. One of the Indian weekly magazines wrote a few years back that Mr Anton Balasingam was a professor of Political Science at the University of London. But when I was in Tamil Eelam a few years back, one of the cadres of the LTTE said that he was working as an accountant in London.

So could you please let me know in your "Ask Rani" column whether he is a "Dr" or a "Professor". And also tell me if he was a professor at the University of London, in which institute or college he was a professor. If he is a "Dr" tell me the subject of his doctorate and from which university he obtained it. Hope to hear from you soon. Thayalan, Hounslow, Middlesex.

A I was reluctant at first to answer your letter on the basis that I do not wish to provide a "Who's who" service. I was persuaded by others whom I consulted, however, that given Anton Balasingam's prominent role at the talks in Colombo, I was duty bound to answer questions about a leading representative of the Tamil people.

The academic information section of the University of London informs me that there has been no one by the name of Anton Balasingam or Stanislaus as he was formerly known, on the teaching staff since 1965. Neither does the University central registry have a record of him having obtained a doctorate since 1969. As I am sure you are well aware rumours abound about people, and therefore I have written to Anton Balasingam asking him to clarify the points raised in your letter, as only he is in a position to do so.

And a note about professors. Some universities, most notably the United States, tend to use the term professor in relation to most of their academic staff, but this is

qualified by the addition of assistant, associate etc. To put it another way, those called lecturers in British universities, for instance, are called assistant professors. Then there are those who call themselves professors on the basis that they have been visiting professors. By British standards those who are full professors are the only ones who can call themselves professors. But I have seen many in the Tamil community and elsewhere grant themselves the title on the basis of visiting professorships, assistant professorships and what not. It is really their problem, not mine or yours, for if a piece of information is incorrect then it is up to the person concerned to correct it.

AN INDIAN COUP IN THE OFFING?

Dear Rani

An interesting point for consideration. My friends were discussing politics and from their dialogue I gathered the following facts: They said that President Premadasa would soon be "eliminated" by RAW (you know how!), and that Gamini Dissanayake would be installed in his place. You know he is the pet of the "Old Fox" who is still alive and kicking, and active behind the scenes.

In trying to weigh in my mind, this shocking piece of loose talk I feel that it is not an improbability. What is going to be the position of the Tamils thereafter? You know, Tamils and Sinhalese don't like the IPKF; conversely, the IPKF, its quislings and RAW don't like the Tiger Tamils and Mr Premadasa. N. Raj Seshan, Thirunelvely, Sri Lanka.

A In the first place I wonder whether the facts are indeed facts or loose talk as you say. Even if they are indeed facts thanks to the intelligence gathering of your friends, President Premadasa's demise by fair means or foul would dramatically alter the situation, and the fate of Tamils will very much depend on his successor. Getting rid of President Premadasa, however, is not going to change by one iota the



animosity of Tamils and Sinhalese to the IPKF presence.

INDO-LANKA RELATIONS IN JEOPARDY

Dear Rani

The way is being paved in Sri Lanka for the Indian forces to claim more legitimacy for their occupation of the N and E, and even to spread their tentacles to the South. Recent events there, not excluding the President's earnest desire to send back the Indian troops before the end of July, and the current threat of violence by the JVP on all that is "Indian" including citizens resident in Sri Lanka, will easily enable the Indian authorities to realise their long-standing ambition to bring Sri Lanka under their control as evidenced by the string of activities carried out by them for a decade or two.

Could you please tell your readers what is going to be the situation there in the immediate future in the light of the fast deteriorating relationship between the two countries? V. Suntha, Enfield, UK.

A You ask a curly question so I will answer it with a quote from the Economist's recent criticism of India's efforts to police South Asia reproduced in the Illustrated Weekly of India. "India is even bigger than it looks. Its soldiers control a large part of Sri Lanka and keep order in the Maldives. It treats Bangladesh as a supplicant. It leans arrogantly across Pakistan to give support to the Afghan government in Kabul, which is Pakistan's enemy. Now it is trying to turn Nepal into a vassal. Unfashionably, Asia appears to be giving birth to an embryo superpower with expansionist ambitions at a time when the real superpowers of the world are at least trying to look less menacing."

HUMAN RIGHTS: WHO CARES

by Tavleen Singh

Our High Commission in Colombo has reacted in high dudgeon to the 'unwarranted aspersions' being cast on the role of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka. The 'aspersions' came from Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam ideologue, Anton Balasingham, during his recent peace talks with the Sri Lanka government. Our irritation arises out of his description of the IPKF as an army of occupation. What appears to have irritated us even more is the fact that the LTTE's view was duly reported in the Sri Lankan government's communiques on the talks without anyone bothering to put in a kind word for our boys in uniform. "The High Commission notes that these communiques make no reference to the circumstances in which the IPKF came to the country, the mandate that has been given to it jointly by the governments of India and Sri Lanka, the immense difficulties of its task and the enormous sacrifices it has been making in an attempt to preserve the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka."

Apparently the Sri Lankan government has not been adequately briefed on just how much of a sacred cow the Indian Army is. The last time that there was even the slightest hint of criticism it came from former Internal Security Minister, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, and he was soundly upbraided for even daring to suggest that the IPKF could possibly have been responsible for the sort of excesses that Sri Lanka's own security forces have long been charged with. Other soldiers? Yes. After all soldiers will be soldiers and rape, torture and pillage are very much the spoils of war. But our own army? Never!

So, for years our troops did what they liked (and still do) in our north-eastern states and the tales of torture and cold-blooded murder were dismissed or ignored even by the press. In an age when narrow chauvinism passes for patriotism it is easy for everyone (journalists included) to believe that to criticise the Indian Army amounts almost to treason. Then came Punjab and Operations

Bluestar and Woodrose, and children, as young as nine, who told of torture by soldiers. This time, some attention had to be paid to what was being said if only because Punjab is closer to Delhi than Mizoram. But Sri Lanka is really a very long way away and everyone knows that the Tigers are killers anyway, so, once again, public opinion has tended to be on the side of the army.

This has been done sometimes by deliberately refusing to see things that stared us in the face. I was with a group of journalists which was taken by the army to watch the fall of Jaffna in October 1987. The fighting was technically over but there was still curfew and the roads were empty and unsafe but for one which led from IPKF headquarters to the hospital. In the general ward we met the only Sri Lankans we were to meet that day - old women and children, with broken limbs and gunshot injuries. They had no hesitation in telling us that they had been "bombed by the Indian Army". At that point the IPKF was not admitting that they had, in fact, used helicopters to shoot from (we must not call them helicopter gunships, only Sri Lanka uses those). So the stories were emphatically denied and almost nobody reported what we had heard till Indian journalists produced evidence of aerial bombing. Ever since then the stories of IPKF excesses have been few and far between.

It is possibly out of the same misguided notions of patriotism that the Amnesty International report on Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka has been largely ignored whereas similar reports about excesses by Sri Lanka's security forces, in pre-accord times, received considerable attention from the government and the press.

The report provides a grim and detailed account of some of the methods that the IPKF has employed in its attempts to destroy the Tigers and if we continue to close our eyes to what has been going on, we do so at our own risk.

The report has dealt separately with the activities of the Sri Lankan security forces and the IPKF but, in fact, there is little difference between the methods being employed to deal with the JVP threat in southern Sri Lanka and the LTTE threat in the north-east. Indiscriminate arrests of suspects, illegal custody, torture and the extra judicial murder of suspects and ordinary civilians, is very much the order of the day whether it is the IPKF or Sri Lanka's own security-force which is in charge.

"Aspersions"?

What concerns us more in India is the role of the IPKF and whether the "aspersions" that have been recently cast by the LTTE are justified or not. According to the Amnesty report, "In the north and east, hundreds of people were apprehended by the IPKF and screened for links with the LTTE. Hundreds of LTTE suspects, and some alleged members of other militant Tamil groups remain in IPKF 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".

Among the specific examples of torture and deaths in custody listed in the report are the following statements: Said a man who was arrested in mid-February 1988 and kept at an IPKF camp in the premises of Hotel Paradise, Jaffna. "On the night of February 18, 1988 at about 10.30 pm my hands were tied together. I was then tied on to the window bars of a window, my feet were pressed down with the booted leg of an IPKF personnel. Clothes were taken off my body and an electric current was passed through my body.

"The current was being generated from a device looking like a telephone which was continuously wound by one man, this instrument was generating the current. From this instrument two wires were led one end of which

was placed on the navel of my body, the other lead was placed on the end of my penis... on this particular night electric current was passed thrice into my body... I nearly lost consciousness every time and to revive me they kept on beating."

Jude Chandrakumar Zacharias, a 17 year old organist of Jaffna Cathedral, is listed among those who have died in IPKF custody. "He was arrested on November 26, 1988 by the IPKF following a shoot-out in the compound of the cathedral between two armed groups, one of which is believed to have been the LTTE. According to two independent sources, he had hidden himself in the church during the shooting and was taken away by IPKF personnel who came to the scene shortly afterwards. He was allegedly taken to the IPKF Camp at Jaffna Railway Station around 1.30 pm. Around 5 pm that day, eye-witnesses say they saw him thrown on the platform of the station inside the IPKF camp. When relatives

requested permission to see Chandrakumar, they were asked to return the next day. However, early next morning, his dead body was found near his home, bearing gunshot injuries. A post-mortem report concluded that Jude Chandrakumar "died due to the injuries suffered by the brain subsequent to the gunshot and due to shock and primary damage following fire arm injury."

The report also talks of a shadowy "Three Star" group which connives with the IPKF to kill persons taken into army custody. Vaithy Daniel, a factory worker from the Kankesanthurai Cement factory, was arrested by members of the IPKF from Tellipalai Camp on February 5, 1988, in front of several eye-witnesses but his body was found early next morning tied to a lamp-post with a bullet in his head. A doctor who examined the body said there were wounds on several parts of the body and that he believed he had been killed elsewhere before being tied to the lamp post and shot. When

relatives tried to make inquiries with the IPKF, they were told that Daniel had been released the evening before his body was found.

According to Amnesty, people simply continue to disappear once they are taken into IPKF custody. A total of 72 "disappearances" are recorded since June, 1988, of which 31 concern people taken away by the IPKF in Jaffna district. There is evidence that many of those who have "disappeared" have died as a result of torture and their bodies have been secretly disposed of.

The Indian government's attitude to Amnesty International has always been slightly confused. We listen to it when it tells us about South Africa or Latin America and ignore it if it says anything about Punjab, Maliana or Sri Lanka. We can ignore what is being said about the IPKF but the world will not. [Courtesy: *Indian Express* - June 1, 1989]

YOUR VOICE

continued from page 2

During "Operation Liberation", Sinhalese, land, air and naval forces totalling about 10,000 were unleashed in the Vadamardchi area, 7 miles long and 5 miles wide. Cowardly, brutal and inhuman were the indiscriminate air strikes by the Air Force, in which scores of civilians died. Nearly 1,000 Tamils - children, men and women - perished, hundreds of houses were reduced to rubble and more than a lakh of people became refugees. On May 28, 1987 Rajiv Gandhi said, "From rubble and ashes, there can only arise the total alienation of an entire people, a more determined militancy, more extreme options."

Events moved fast. To help Jayewardene, the IPKF commenced the attack by blasting the "Eelamurasu" and "Murasoli" printing machines on 10th October, 1987 at about 5 a.m. The next day they aimed their artillery at the "Uthayan" press but only civilians died. The 4th largest Army in the world, their artillery firing at random, gunships and bombers attacking from the air, naval boats shelling from sea devastated North-Eastern Sri Lanka. The Tamils saw the second coming of the "HOLOCAUST" in all its ferocity. Said the Indian Prime Minister in November 1987, "This should be a short, sharp exercise and our boys should be back soon". How short is short?

"Operation Pawan" resulted in the decimation of entire families. In Urumpirai a mother and five children were killed. Subsequently "In Memoriam" insertions appeared in the "Uthayan". The "New Saturday Review" recently published a photograph of an entire family shot dead inside an air raid shelter and the hideous and unbearable part is the mutilation of the genitals of the mother. In Tamil villages, generally after raping women, the Indians shot them and disfigured their

organs to cover up tell-tale marks. All Jaffna knows this though some expatriates may refuse to believe.

We the Tamils of Eelam have suffered more than or as much as the Palestinians, Namibians and the sons of South Africa. We have lost our kith and kin. Our buildings, as already said by the Indian Prime Minister, have been reduced to "rubble and ashes", public amenities demolished, our fishermen cannot go fishing (they have to face the guns of the Indian and Sinhalese navies), our farmers cannot cultivate, job openings are not there for the young, on the other hand their problem is to get past sentry points and spotters, and more than anything - WE LIVE IN FEAR. Arbitrary arrest, torture, that midnight knock and that shooting at random.

We have lost a whole generation. The wounds will never heal. Everybody is talking of human rights. The UN too does. Tamils have appealed to the UN. But what has it done? The UN must intervene, not a minute later, to salvage the Tamils of Eelam from their deplorable, pathetic, helpless and crushed position. Will some nation like Argentina give us a helping hand? Rupavahini, Dhoordharshan, SLBC, All India Radio, the Colombo media and most of the Indian papers black out what is happening to us Tamils in Sri Lanka. Oh GOD! please help us.

Premadasa Mediates

President Premadasa has requested Prime minister Gandhi to cease hostilities against the LTTE.

EELAM

thoughts

Kurushefran

THE INEVITABILITY OF TAMIL EELAM - 7

It seems sometimes that even knowledgeable and sympathetic Indians fail to see the historical inevitability of Tamil Eelam, or even accept the justification for it, because they tend to confuse their history with ours: the Indian mind cannot yet reconcile itself to it. That is understandable because the partition of India did not come as a result of a nationalistic urge for a separate Islamic state but through an imperial nation's decision to dismantle its empire quickly. The demand for Pakistan was not born, unlike in the case of Tamil Eelam, on any well-founded, collective grievance. It was born out of the mental quirk of one tuberculosis-afflicted man, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, the bruised egos of the Nehrus and Patels, their personal distaste for sharing power with Jinnah, and the anxiety of the Attlee government in Britain to rid itself quickly of the burden of its pre-war empire. Weary of five decades of a freedom struggle, fearful of a threat of civil war, everyone was impatient to get somewhere, and partition did not seem at that time too big a price to pay for freedom. When the idea of Pakistan was first mooted, one of India's influential leaders C. Rajagopalachari saw in the concept "the sign of a diseased mentality". He called it "absurd and impracticable" (as some people today say of Tamil Eelam). Yet it was the same Rajagopalachari who told the Allahabad sessions of the All-India Congress Committee a few years later: "Let us give the Mussalmans what they are asking!"

Sometime in November 1983 I happened to meet the veteran Indian journalist Kuldip Nayar in New Delhi. He had just come back after a 5 day visit to Sri Lanka, including a day's stay in Jaffna, in the company of another distinguished journalist-author M J Akbar. At some point in the discussion I offered the comment that

I did not see any other lasting solution to the problem we faced in Sri Lanka except Tamil separation. A man of mild demeanour, Nayar quickly reacted with a certain animation. He spread his hands high, waved them at me and said: "Oh no, no, not that. Do you know what we in India went through during partition? What horror, what bloodshed, what massive uprooting of populations.... You are a small people, you cannot afford to go through such a cataclysm...", or words to that effect. I told him I appreciated his concern, but what I wanted from him was his assessment of the situation - his own perceptions as an experienced journalist who had been on the spot, and who had the advantage of talking to several people there who mattered. When pressed thus, he brooded for a moment, "Oh well", he said, "it seems that separation is inevitable", and added "I would say that you are today roughly in the situation where we in India were at the time of the Lahore Resolution". He meant the 1940 resolution adopted by the Muslim League at Lahore that set out the charter of demand for Pakistan. It was at Lahore that Mohamed Ali Jinnah said: "It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can evolve a common nationality" - a declaration that was received with abhorrence by every majority Hindu leader. And yet partition did come seven years after the Lahore Resolution; and Pakistan became a reality at the end of a near 15-year "dream".

The point to remember here is that apart from the basic commonality that both Pakistan and Tamil Eelam are minority demands resisted by the majority, the parallel begins and ends there. The rationale behind the call for Tamil Eelam is as totally different from the imperatives that brought about Pakistan as chalk is from cheese. The Pakistan demand was born out of a minority mistrust of the

majority as a precondition for independence. The Tamil Eelam call came after a 30-year failure in trying to sustain the fig-leaf of a common nationality; during which time every attempt by the minority to live as equal citizens with self-respect and honour, was thwarted by the majority.

In India, the majority was composed of Hindus, and in Sri Lanka the Tamil Hindus formed a minority. To Hindus, whose religion is eclectic with its capacity to accommodate other faiths, the concept of secularism comes easy. It was therefore possible for the Indian Hindu leaders to enshrine it in the constitution itself and negate, as a matter of policy, all attempts to propagate Hindu fundamentalism. The para-military Hindu organisation - the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) - was in fact banned by the Nehru government within one year of independence. Although the ban was lifted later, the activities of this militant Hindu outfit have been kept in check in a country where power is in the hands of the Hindus, and the population of which is over 85% Hindu. In Sri Lanka, in contrast, power is effectively in the hands of the Sinhala Buddhists, a 70% majority, whose special privileges are sanctified by the Constitution itself. Sinhala, despite the recent cosmetic attempt to give Tamil a place of equality, continues to be the official language of the country for all purposes.

Unlike in India, where the departing British ruler gave away a whole new country to the minority Muslims, power in Ceylon was handed over to the Sinhala Buddhist majority under a constitution that did not even embody a guarantee of fundamental rights. Even the little safeguard of minority rights in the Soulbury Constitution, Section 29 (b), was not only trod upon by the Official Language

Act of 1956 with impunity, but was thrown out altogether in the 1972 constitution. Both major Sinhala parties, the SLFP and the UNP, despite their mutual antagonism, were united on one thing - the giving of a hegemonic role in the country for the Sinhala language and Buddhism, as is seen in the 1972 constitution framed by the SLFP and the 1978 constitution introduced by the UNP. In India, even after the bitter experience of partition, the 12% Muslims cannot complain of State discrimination, in the way the 20% Tamils have been subjected to in Sri Lanka. India today (in the post-Bangladesh period) remains the country with the second largest population of Muslims in the world, next to Indonesia. In fact an outside observer often gets the impression that in Hindu-majority secular India, it is the minorities who are pampered by the State, not the majority; whereas in Sri Lanka, the minority Tamils have throughout independence been victims of not only State discrimination, but also of State terror for over a decade.

Sriramulu's Death Fast

Pakistan was created on the mistaken belief that Religion can be a founding force for a nation. The birth of Bangladesh proved how mistaken the notion was. But Language can. It was the imposition of the Urdu language that gave rise to the emergence of East Pakistan Bengali nationalism. When poor Jinnah who himself did not know Urdu declared before a University gathering in Dhaka in East Pakistan in 1948: "Make no mistake about it. There can be only one state language... and that can only be Urdu", he could have hardly realised that he was laying the foundation stone for the dismemberment of the very nation that he created. S W R D Bandaranaike said almost the same thing when he enthroned Sinhala in 1956. So much for vision and wisdom on the part of national leaders: India in the past, and Canada provide two examples of how wise leaderships can stem the tide of separatism. In India, it was the prudent acceptance of the principle of linguistic states that was able to contain the various fissi-

parous forces in that vast country. Even Nehru who wavered for a time despite the Congress commitment to the formation of linguistic states was shocked into action by a death fast undertaken by one man - POTTI SRIRAMULU - who said his fast would end either in his death or the creation of a separate Andhra state. He died on the 58th day of the fast on December 15, 1952, and extensive rioting broke out all over the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. Within three days, the Nehru government took the decision to form a separate Andhra state. Since governments generally are more amenable to violence than to non-violence, the colossal damage caused by the rioting could have influenced the government decision as much as Sriramulu's fast. Nevertheless it was an example of how governments which show sensitivity to a people's feelings can alter the course of history, and to the larger benefit of the country.

In Tamil Nadu (the Madras Presidency of the time), the secessionist cry for a separate Tamil state which began with E V Ramasamy Naicker (Periyar) and later sustained by C N Annadurai had Language as its core demand. It was an unexpected, extraneous factor - the humiliation that the country underwent as a result of the Chinese invasion and withdrawal of 1962 - that ended the growing separatist agitation. The government quickly amended the constitution banning secessionist parties from engaging in electoral politics.

Canadian Separatism

Quebec, one of Canada's 10 provinces, with its history of separatism as well as terrorism dating back to the 60s, provides another example of how wise leadership at the national level had enabled the problem to be contained within manageable limits. Quebec is a province which is predominantly French-speaking, predominantly Catholic as distinct from the rest of Canada and jealous of its distinctive culture and identity, and assertive of the right of the Quebecois to be "masters in our own house".

Substitute the word "Tamil Eelam" for Quebec, "Tamil-speaking" for French-speaking, "Hindu" for Catholic, and you have a similar picture in Sri Lanka. But the fact that Quebec yet remains within the Canadian polity contains several lessons for the Sri Lankan government and the Sinhala people, and should not be mistakenly interpreted as a failure of separatism. Canada, unlike Sri Lanka, is a federal state, and unlike India, is genuinely federal in its functioning. Each of the 10 provinces is largely self-governing, "While the federal government deals with matters of national and international importance, the provincial governments have, to a degree that can astonish foreigners, a wide measure of autonomy over such matters as natural resources, education, health and law. Each province has the right to maintain legations in foreign countries: at least one of them - French-speaking Quebec - has effectively been operating a foreign policy of its own choosing in terms of cultural and linguistic ties if not of defence" (CANADA, *Library of Nations, TIME-LIFE Books, Amsterdam*). All these, obviously are a far cry from what "autonomy" the Tamils have in the North-East as at present. Since 1969, through an Act of Parliament, French has been the second official language for all Canada. One of the most colourful leaders in Canada's history, Pierre Trudeau is himself a Quebecois. Was it possible to imagine during the over 40 years of independent Sri Lanka a Tamil from the northeast becoming the Prime Minister or President of the country? Is it possible to visualize now or ever, a federal set-up in Sri Lanka? Can any government wielding authority in Colombo ever be in a position to act free from the vice-like grip of Sinhala chauvinism, even if it is in a frame of mind to devolve more power than what is possible under the terms of the Rajiv-Jayawardene Accord now on its death-bed?

When the separatist leader Rene Levesque came to power in Quebec at the 1976 elections, it stunned the Canadian government. It seemed that all was lost and that Quebec

continued on page 12

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.....

continued from page 4

threw me into the truck. The soldiers blind-folded me, tied my hands behind and told me to walk about. While walking, I fell down a number of times striking obstacles. Then they put me in a jeep. As the jeep was travelling, my abdomen started paining and as a result I was undergoing immense suffering. I was lying in it in a semi-conscious state.

Affidavit 'E': An army officer came to the place where I was detained and asked me, "Where is puppy? Are you a supporter of LTTE? Did you give food to LTTE on April 20?" As he was asking these questions other soldiers assaulted me with broomsticks and wooden rods. Then they tied both my hands together with nylon ropes and tied the other end of the rope to a window. Then they tied my legs together with nylon rope

and tied other end of the rope to another window and made me swing in the air. As I was swinging in the air I was assaulted more severely. Before assaulting me, the soldiers blind-folded me and also tied a piece of cloth covering my mouth. They left me in this position and tortured me for about 4 hours. They made very shallow incisions on my hands, abdomen and thighs with a knife. Blood was oozing from my body and legs. I was not given any treatment at all. On the 4th day, i.e. on 10.5.89, I was blind-folded and taken out. On 11.5.89, I was dressed in an army uniform and taken all over Valvettiturai in a jeep. Later they marched me from the Valvettiturai army camp to the Polikandy army camp, a distance of about 4 kilo-meters.

Affidavit 'F': At the camp, I was severely assaulted with rifle butts and pieces of rope. I was also kicked

by the soldiers who were wearing boots. They alleged that I was a member of the LTTE. When I denied this allegation, they threatened to shoot me if I did not tell them the whereabouts of LTTE members. The Commander of the camp was one of those who ill-treated me. After some time the soldiers stuffed my mouth with cloth and poured water down my nostrils making me gasp for breath and thereby causing unbearable agony to me. After doing this for some time they made me lie on a bench and pulled both my legs around the bench and beat me mercilessly. I was tied with ropes and kept in this position till 9 a.m the following day. Both my brothers received similar treatment.

EELAM THOUGHTS

continued from page 11

might break away. Levesque held the threat of a referendum for four tense years, during which period Trudeau wore himself out in trying to hold the country together, and lost his own position as Prime Minister at the 1979 elections. By the time he emerged back into power as Liberal Party leader the following year as a result of the dismal fall of the Conservative administration, after nine months, Quebecois themselves by a vote of 59.5% rejected secession; not because they were less concerned with their separate identity but because economic realities at that point of time were apparently uppermost in their minds. But that was not the end of the story. Unlike in Sri Lanka, there has been a constant striving on the part of the government at the centre in Ottawa to devise fresh formulas to maintain the unity of the country, and the latest attempt in that direction was what has come to be

known as the MEECH LAKE DOCUMENT of 1987 which has gone further than ever before in not only granting more power to the provinces, but also a voice in the running of the federal government itself. The Agreement goes further to give Quebec constitutional status as a distinct society within Canada. Since under the Document, any constitutional amendment will have to gain approval from all provincial governments, Quebec will be in a position to block any legislation introduced in Ottawa if it feels that it is adverse to its own interests. Granted this amount of latitude, many foreign observers wonder why it would be necessary for Quebec to think of secession again. Former Prime Minister Trudeau himself was known to have expressed his opinion in 1987 that the Meech Lake Document could lead to a balkanization of the country. Although the Quebec parliament has ratified the



document, it remains to be seen whether all ten provinces would do so within the 3-year time-frame ending in 1990; and what reactions there would be in Quebec if they do not. The fact that the Quebecois have achieved so much without any armed struggle as in Tamil Eelam, and that it is impossible to achieve such a conciliation through such constitutional means in the Sri Lankan context, makes it easy to understand why Tamil Eelam is inevitable.

FROM THE MEDIA (Excerpts)

SRI LANKA CASE
BEFORE UN & ICJ

Authoritative sources in Colombo assert that a powerful non-partisan lobby of leading legal personalities in the country would submit arguments legally defensible in the International Court of Justice and at the United Nations to prove that India has

- (i) Violated the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord,
- (ii) Overstepped the boundaries of its commitments under the provisions of the Accord in a manner that violates the independence and sovereignty of Sri Lanka,
- (iii) Forced the accord on Sri Lanka through the inherent and implicit military threats carried in the infamous 'Food Drop' in the Northern Peninsula in 1987,
- (iv) Violated our airspace with fighter aircraft which is deemed to be an "absolute and definite" manoeuvre of an offensive military nature aimed at brow-beating the Sri Lankan Government into signing the Accord, and
- (v) Ultimately pushed through that military objective to subvert Sri Lanka's right to an independent foreign policy, violated its sovereignty and integrity.

The case made out by the lobby of legal personalities after an in-depth study of international treaty law will demonstrate that India has also now at this stage violated the treaty for what it was ever worth by keeping the IPKF in Sri Lanka under that same connotation of duress far beyond the stage at which it should have been withdrawn from the country.

The least of the explanations made out to support this stance is that Sri Lanka has fully discharged its duties and obligations under the Accord and hence India should have begun pulling back its troops when requested to do so by the President of the country instead of prevaricating on the issue in an attempt to buy time to justify its retention, the sources said.

NO ACCORD EXISTED

A separate case made out for submis-

sion to the United Nations Security Council also argues that "there is and has never been an Indo-Lanka Accord by dint of fact that the so-called Accord was forced on Sri Lanka under very serious military and invasion threats at a time when the country was struggling to stamp out a secessionist movement that was trained and financed by India's intelligence organisation, the RAW".

INDIA CONTINUES TO DESTABILISE

It will argue in the document to be presented to the UN that India is also further continuing to immensely destabilise Sri Lanka economically, socially and politically by continuing to retain the IPKF in Sri Lanka with the full knowledge that its presence maintains the antagonisms of all political parties against the incumbent government of the country. It thereby pre-empted the possibility of national reconciliation and political stability urgently needed to enable Sri Lanka to get on with the task of resuscitating its economy with the objective of ushering peace and restoring its sovereignty and independence, the same source said.

Special mention will be made about the fact that the Accord and the presence of the IPKF largely contribute to the vast destabilisation and constant antagonism and violence let loose by the JVP in the country while student and worker agitation is psychologically fuelled by these factors, the source added. [Gleaned from: *The Island*, Sunday June 18, 1989]

PRESSURE GROWS FOR
TAMIL BREAKAWAY

Derek Brown in Colombo

Tamil groups, locked in murderous rivalry with the Tigers, now believe independence, with Indian support, is their best hope of political and physical survival.

The only faction in the island which wholeheartedly supports the Indian presence - indeed relies on it for survival - is the EPRLF. Yesterday, one of the party's leading supporters

in the national parliament, Mr Sam Tambimuttu, said the government's attempts to do a deal with the Tigers could have dire consequences.

Mr Gandhi indicated that a move to involve the UN would not change his refusal to withdraw his troops before the end of July. "We are the guarantors of peace in the island," he was quoted as saying. Mr Gandhi has said a pullout must be decided mutually and depend on the satisfactory devolution of power to an elected provincial council in the Tamil dominated north-east. [*The Guardian*, Tuesday June 20, 1989]

PERIL IN LANKA

New Delhi is in danger of being completely isolated from all the parties concerned in its stand over the IPKF issue. The Sri Lankan President, Premadasa, has reiterated his demand that the Indian troops should pull out of his country by July 29. His call has been backed by both the JVP and the LTTE.

Though the IPKF has in the two years that it has been in Sri Lanka considerably weakened the LTTE it is still the most feared and powerful of the various groups in the north and north east. Hence, what it has to say in the present situation cannot be ignored. It is clearly a thorn in the side of the IPKF and, needless to say, an embarrassment for the Indian government.

The Sri Lankan president probably calculates that with the IPKF gone, he will be able to deal with the JVP more easily. But that is a calculation that could easily go wrong. Then, there is the LTTE. If it has been able to keep 50,000 Indian troops virtually at bay for two years, would the ill disciplined Sri Lankan army have any better luck? It would seem not.

No self-respecting sovereign nation can tolerate an alien armed presence on its soil indefinitely and New Delhi must appreciate the compulsions behind President Premadasa's demand. What is more, his demand is bound to have the support of other members of SAARC. At the same

LTTE UNCOVERS PLANS FOR SABOTAGE

A statement of the LTTE dated June 16 declares, "The LTTE's military intelligence has uncovered a notorious plot hatched by the Indian military authorities in collusion with its quisling armed groups to sabotage the current peace talks between the LTTE and Government of Sri Lanka and to discredit the integrity of our organisation.

"A treacherous scheme has been worked out by the Indian army to launch attacks on Sinhala villages or on Sri Lankan army camps in the North and East. The objective is to cause heavy casualties among the Sinhalese and to lay the blame on the LTTE. According to LTTE's military intelligence the Indian plan is to plant evidence, i.e. depositing captured LTTE weapons, ammunition, cyanide capsules etc. at the site of the incident.

"While forewarning of such an eventuality, our organisation outrightly condemns the sinister scheme aimed to disrupt our sincere effort to bring peace to our people."

LANKA A LOST CAUSE FOR INDIA

According to an article in *Sunday* 14-20 May by Indranil Banerjee, the Indian army is now convinced that the conflict in Sri Lanka is a lost cause. Silently, unobtrusively, India has begun pulling out. Sources of the Southern Army Command disclose that earlier reported pull-outs were fake. The politics of the Tamils of Lanka, humid jungles, intractable opposition of the LTTE and wrong assumptions of India's Sri Lanka policy have all contributed to confusing the army. Reports of routine killings by the LTTE and Indian casualties trickling into military hospitals testify to military failure and not success.

Army officers estimate that it will take another decade for the IPKF to completely wipe out the LTTE. Indian policy makers have few illusions about the viability of the provincial government led by Varatharaja Perumal. It will not survive a single day without IPKF support.

LTTE GAINS

LTTE has made the following gains by its ongoing talks with the government of Sri Lanka: (1) It has placed its case before the President and his top Ministerial advisers and aides for the first time. (2) It has improved its image, locally and internationally - locally, the Tigers are "our boys", meaning Sri Lankans, compared to foreign forces. (3) Has scored a major success in its main tactical objective - isolate and hammer the IPKF politically, by mobilising government and

Sinhala opinion against the IPKF, and put the two governments at cross-purposes. (4) Thus it proved its political maturity to its critics.

15,000 TAMIL YOUTHS ARRESTED

The Indian military authorities in collusion with their quisling armed groups have launched a program of mass conscription of Tamil youths to be trained and armed as a Citizens Voluntary Force. Over 15,000 young men, mostly school teenage boys, have been rounded up and taken by force to various Indian army camps in the Eastern province. This mass arrest against the wishes of the recruits and their parents has caused anxiety and panic among the Tamil population. In Kilinochchi, the Indian army opened fire on a crowd of parents who approached the camp to seek the release of their children. Two parents have been seriously injured by the firing which took place on June 18.

NEW INDIAN ARMY CAMPS

Indian military authorities have set up new army camps in Kalmunai, Kaluvankerni and Punnanaai.

SECOND ROUND OF TALKS

The LTTE delegation comprising Mr and Mrs Balasingam, Mr Yogaratanam Yogi, Mr Lawrence Thilakar, Mr Paramu Moorthy, Mr Shamoon Hassan and Mr Panchadcharam Lawrence, made a courtesy call on the President on June 15 and appraised him of the situation in the North-Eastern region.

The second round of talks commenced on the 16th and the LTTE delegation welcomed the steps taken by the President to expedite the withdrawal of the IPKF. The two sides agreed that the IPKF came at the request of the then President and should leave when requested to do so. LTTE views the signature campaign and forced participation in protest meetings in support of the continued presence of the IPKF do not reflect the true sentiments of the people of the North-East, and that there is a general consensus among all the communities concerned that the IPKF should leave the country.

Mr Sivagnanam Karikalan and Mr M Abubakkar Ibrahim from the East were airlifted to join the LTTE delegation. The Sri Lankan delegation said that a few interested groups who have no support among the people and cannot actively participate in the democratic process are now raising the bogey of "danger to the Tamil-speaking people when the IPKF leaves". They said that the Tamil-speaking people should not be misled by these dangerous slogans packed with sinister motives. They added that the President is determined to find a lasting solution to the ethnic



problem.

The LTTE delegation said that it would certainly consider extending the ceasefire to the IPKF if a definite time frame is agreed upon for their withdrawal provided the IPKF ceases armed hostilities against the LTTE.

It appears that the two sides are coming closer and some kind of understanding will be reached.

TORTURE OF SCHOOL BOYS

The EPRLF with the help of the IPKF is torturing school boys even aged 10 years, accusing them as Tigers. This is going on all over the North-East after an announcement was made by the Sri Lankan President for the withdrawal of the IPKF.

IPKF ISSUE AT UN SECURITY COUNCIL

The Sri Lankan government has threatened to take the matter to the UN and ICJ if the IPKF does not leave by the end of July. President Premadasa indicated that the IPKF should be confined to barracks after the end of July if it has any difficulty in moving out by then.

INDIAN FORCES LOSE HEAVILY

LTTE has inflicted such heavy losses on the Indian forces during the last two weeks that the jawans move out of their camps only in large numbers or are confined to their barracks in several areas in the North. More than 1,000 members of the LTTE have been operating in the peninsula and are reported to be seen with arms in the open everywhere.

10 Indian soldiers and 4 members of the EPRLF and ENDLF were killed by the LTTE in clashes in the North on June 25. At Thirunagar near Kilinochchi, 8 Indian soldiers, 3 ENDLF and 1 EPRLF members were killed, while at Manthikai, near Pt Pedro, an Indian soldier was killed and another seriously wounded in one incident and another

continued on page 16

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

DEATHS

**SARAVANAMUTHU
THANGARAJAH, B.A., B.Sc.**
Born October 12, 1900
Died May 29, 1989

A legendary figure in the field of education and very unconventional in his ways, this most revered of a distinguished but fast disappearing breed of schoolmasters departed this life after a brief illness, in his home at 52 College St, Kotahena, Colombo 13. After graduating first in Arts and later in Science from the old Ceylon University College, he taught for a while at Hartley College, Point Pedro which he attended as a boy, and then joined the staff of St Thomas College, Mt Lavinia where he was a very sought-after teacher of Mathematics and Physics. He taught there for 12 years where among his pupils were Duley Senanayake (Ceylon's second Prime Minister) and C P de Silva (civil servant and later cabinet minister).

He resigned from St Thomas College on a point of principle. Father Le Goc, Rector of St Joseph's College and himself an outstanding scientist, was only too happy to take Mr Thangarajah to his staff at Darley Road, Maradana. Once again, Mr Thangarajah excelled himself in coaching pupils for public examinations, especially the London Intermediate in Science and the University Entrance Scholarship. Among some of his brilliant performers were K Kandiah, the Cambridge atomic scientist and Prof C Jeyaratnam Eliezer. He left St Josephs College to take up an appointment as Head of Mathematics at the Govt Training College, Maharagama. On retirement from the Ceylon education service he proceeded to Brunei in 1958 where for 16 years he was Education Officer, SOAS College. His wife Ranjana, the celebrated Bharata Natya dancer, whom he married in 1942 died five years ago.

He leaves behind four sons Arjuna (film producer-Madras), Hariram (Colombo), Vishnupriya (San Sebastian, Spain), Kamalakumaran (London) and an only daughter Valli Dharmarajah (journalist - Colombo)

THIRAVIAM ARUMUGAM
(1918 - 1989)



Thiraviam, youngest daughter of the Malayan planter and philanthropist Sithiavan Kanapathipillai and Sinnammah, was born on 19th November 1918. After a long and distinguished career at the Uduvil Girls High School, where she was elected the School Head Girl, she proceeded to Colombo and matriculated from St Bridget's Convent. She was married to Dr S Suppiah in 1942. At his early demise at the age of 49 years she became a widow. There was no issue. Later, she married Engineer S Arumugam in 1965 and accepted the responsibility of bringing up the seven children of her deceased sister Ratnam. Dr G Chelvadoray, the widely known Physician of Moolai Cooperative Hospital and sports enthusiast, was her elder brother and Mrs Ratnam Arumugam her elder sister.
19 Donnington Road, Kenton, Harrow

PERSONAL

Dr Ravi Pillai (38) elder son of Dr C Perumal Pillai, FAO Consultant till recently and former Professor of Veterinary Science, University of Ceylon and of Mrs Pillai of Gregory's Road, Colombo 7 has been appointed Consultant Surgeon (Open Heart Surgery) at the Radcliffe Teaching Hospital, Oxford.

Dr Henry RAJARATNAM MD (Ceylon) MRCP (Lond) has been elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. He is a brother of Mr Noel Rajaratnam, FCA of Malvern Avenue, Harrow, Middx. Dr Rajaratnam is a Consultant Physician, Colombo Group of Hospitals.

12 year old dance prodigy
Vasuky Sriskandarajah



Vasuky's scintillating performance at the Merton Civic Hall, Wimbledon, under patronage of Dr John R Marr of the School of Oriental and African Studies and Mrs Marr, on Sunday 4th June, and before a very large and appreciative audience, has been the talk of the growing circle of connoisseurs of Bharata Natyam in London. For one so young, Vasuki displayed supreme confidence and great agility. There is indeed a promising future for this very talented dancer. Much of the credit naturally goes to her Guru, Subathra Sivadasan of the Ganapathy Temple Arts School in Effra Road, Wimbledon. Vasuky's Arangetram was Shrimathi Sivadasan's first London presentation. A word of praise is also due to her devoted parents, Dr & Mrs Sriskandarajah of New Malden, Surrey.

MARRIAGES

Jayaranjan AMBALAVANAR, younger son of Mr & Mrs S Ambalavanar of 2, Dukes Close, Ashford, Middx and Vasuki VAMADEVA, daughter of Mr & Mrs T Vamadeva of 62A Chaplin Road Wembley, Middx were married at Highgate Murugan Temple on Saturday, June 17.

RANJINI SPENCER and **DEVA ARASASINGHAM** at Barkingside Methodist Church on June 3, 1989. 60 Springfield Drive, Barkingside, Ilford, Essex.

SRI LANKAN NEWS

COLOMBO ON THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE

Everywhere there is talk of economic collapse, of pogroms and riots, of violence and civil war. There are fears of Indian intervention, of political plots and military coups, of UDI by the Tamils, of open insurrection in the streets. Though the Tigers are still talking to the government, the Sinhalese rebels are apparently hell-bent on revolution.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

There is growing resentment of the much-trumpeted policy of giving 2,500 rupees a month to selected families in the poorest sections of society. Demands for 2,500 rupees a month minimum pay have multiplied. For days a strike by bus workers has created nation-wide disruption, preventing many people from getting to work and forcing almost every school to close. Train drivers staged a one day stoppage. Colombo Port, which handles some 94 per cent of the country's imports, is clogged by vessels which dockworkers refuse to unload. Several ships have left, fully laden, and others are at anchor outside the crowded harbour.

Any business which relies on transport is taking a mauling. The tourist trade, already depressed, came to a full stop last winter. The once booming garment industry is losing orders. There is said to be a massive haemorrhage of capital, an almost total lack of new investment, and rampaging inflation. The effect of all this has been to compound a shockingly deep economic crisis.

Officially, the inflation rate is 13.7 per cent. At street level, for food and other essentials, it is at least 20 per cent. Last week, the inter-bank lending rate hit 30 per cent. Forecasts for inflation by the year-end are as high as 60 per cent.

STATE OF EMERGENCY

The JVP demonstrated its muscle in the heart of the Capital by ordering motor-rickshaw drivers to take their diminutive vehicles to Galle Face Green. Some 200 to 300 obeyed, and were escorted by JVP

activists on motor bikes.

The government declared a state of emergency, giving the army virtually unlimited powers of arrest and detention in its battle against the JVP. Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of State and Defence, announced that the state of emergency would take immediate effect "to protect people providing essential services and to maintain the rule of law." He added that, if necessary, the emergency measures would be applied even more severely than during the election campaign when scores of people were killed most nights, or even during the JVP uprising of 1971, when some 15,000 rebels and suspects were killed. "There will be no inquests and no post-mortems. If the need arises we will shoot anyone who is harming the people, and there will be indemnity for all members of the security forces," he said.

Mr Wijeratne, said that since President Premadasa lifted the last state of emergency six months ago there had been a total of 1,705 political assassinations. The announcement received the unanimous backing of President Premadasa's parliamentary group, as well as that of Chief Ministers of most provinces. The main target of the new anti-terrorist drive will be the JVP which is now so powerful that it can operate practically at will in large tracts of the south.

DESSOLATION OF PARLIAMENT

Having failed to persuade the JVP to call off its bloody campaign, the President is widely thought to be considering a desolation of Parliament. Such a move would allow him to build an interim government, possibly with JVP involvement. Speculation along these lines has caused disquiet among MPs, who were elected only last December in the first national parliamentary poll for more than 10 years.

WITHIN THE UNP

President Premadasa is deeply suspicious of potential rivals. He has surrounded himself with cronies, relegating the "old guard" to almost humiliatingly minor positions. The outstanding examples are Mr Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini

Dissanaike who are part of the Govigama high caste Buddhist elite, effectively dispossessed for the first time in the country's history by the elevation of Premadasa. The main opposition party, the SLFP is also dominated by Govigama caste members.

Diplomat circles believe that the military, which is generally non-political and lacks any dominant leader, might seek to replace President Premadasa with somebody it believes can restore confidence. A return by former President Jayewardene, well into his eighties, is being mentioned although regarded as an outside possibility.

MP SHOT

Mr Anura Daniel of the UNP was killed on June 25 while he was talking to constituents at Hewaheta by three men who disguised themselves as soldiers, entered and opened fire. Police blamed the attack on the People's Liberation Front.

TAMIL EELAM NEWS

continued from page 14

Indian soldier was killed in Pt Pedro. Three Indian military trucks were destroyed in the first incident. Lt Daniel of the LTTE too was killed in the fighting.

Fifteen Indian soldiers were killed and several wounded in a clash on June 27 at Alampil in the Mullaitivu district. LTTE fighters successfully ambushed an Indian military patrol and captured several pieces of weapons. One of the LTTE fighters, Mathan, was killed.

EROS LOSES PARLIAMENTARY SEATS

All 11 EROS members who were elected to parliament in the last elections, have lost their seats as they did not attend parliament during the past three months. The MPs have been agitating for certain demands before they could enter parliament.

MILITANTS FIGHT NEAR NURSERY

Infants and teachers in a nursery school in Karainagar had to lie flat on the floor for two hours due to exchange of gun fire by two militant groups near the school. Infants have become familiar with such incidents in the North and the East.

FROM THE MEDIA (Excerpts)*continued from page 13*

time, however, the departure of the IPKF should not leave a vacuum behind. In the circumstances, the best way out would be for the Indian government to state unequivocally that it is ready to pull out its troops from the island but that the two governments should simultaneously sit down to see how this can be done in the smoothest way possible, without causing further ethnic strife. That would reassure the Sri Lankan government. However, such a scenario requires a degree of humility and a certain give-and-take from both Rajiv and Premadasa - qualities which have unfortunately not been evident in the present stand-off between the two men. India, as the senior partner, should take the lead. [Editorial: *The Sunday Observer*, Bombay June 22, 1989]

PRABA AND PREMA GETTING CLOSER

Christopher Thomas, Colombo

Tamil guerrilla leaders believe they

are on the verge of a breakthrough in peace talks with the Sri Lankan Government of Premadasa. The Government, too, is optimistic that it is moving rapidly towards a political settlement with the LTTE.

Mr Anton Balasingam said that the talks so far were "positive" and that a key issue under discussion was the ending of "colonisation" of Tamil areas by Sinhalese settlers, one of the most explosive issues in Sri Lanka's ethnic rivalries.

Mr Balasingam, aged 51, said he had given up "orthodox Marxism" and now favoured democratic socialism. Tigers wanted peace. EPRLF believes that the Government will dissolve the Indian-backed Provincial Council in the North-East, give the Tigers control of an interim administration, and allow them to wipe out the other groups while agreeing not to harm Sinhalese and Muslim civilians.

Mr Balasingam said the Tigers had no intention of wiping out the Liberation

Front. "Once Indian troops are withdrawn, we would be prepared to enter the mainstream of politics. In that democratic process everybody will be allowed to participate." He denied that the Tigers were suing for peace because they had been weakened by the onslaught of Indian troops over the two years. "We have put up effective resistance against one of the most formidable armies in South Asia. The Indian Army failed to disarm the Tigers. We have not come here because we are divided or weakened. We have come because our people have suffered a lot. We are prepared to negotiate a political settlement," he said. [*The Times*, London 26.6.89]

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any of them. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It has room for the least among God's creations, but it is proof against insolent pride of race, religion or colour".

*Mahatma Gandhi***FROM FORTNIGHTLY TO MONTHLY****To All Subscribers,**

Consequent to the decision taken at the Second International Tamil Conference to establish a Centre for Tamil Affairs, a Human Rights Commission of Tamil Eelam, and a Tamil Eelam Cultural Centre and because of our limited resources of money and manpower, it has become necessary to change the frequency of TVI's appearance to one issue per month. This decision has been taken after very careful consideration not only to ensure continuous publication of our journal but also to enable the WFT to establish other organs.

We would like to remind our readers that over 2,000 copies of TVI are being issued on a complimentary basis to people who matter and who should be aware of our cause, the atrocities being committed on Eelam Tamils and the misinformation put out against us.

From Vol 2, No.13 the issues will appear on the 1st of each month and the subscription for a year reduced to £10.00 for UK, India and Sri Lanka, and £15.00 (U.S\$ 30.00) for all other countries. Reasonable credit will be made for those who have paid a subscription beyond 1st July 1989. They will be individually informed of the date of renewal of subscription.

We are really sorry for the change and hope you will bear with us. However, if our readers will come forward with further support for TVI, we should be pleased to reverse the present decision. There will be an increase in the number of pages from our next issue. We assure you that the quality will be maintained and more features introduced.

We are pleased to announce that the Centre for Tamil Affairs has been temporarily housed at 33, Rydal Gar-

dens, Wembley, Middlesex - HA9 8SA, UK and members of the WFT and members of associations affiliated to the WFT are welcome to use the facilities available. The office will be open from 10.00 a.m to 12.00 noon and from 5.00 p.m to 9.00 p.m on all week days. Newspapers and periodicals from Ceylon and India are available at the library. All who are interested in assisting in running the Centre, particularly by donating books for the library, are kindly requested to contact the office. The Centre will function directly under the Secretary-General for the time being.

The Tamil Eelam Cultural Centre has also been established. Those interested are kindly requested to get in touch with Mr S Sriskandaram on (01) 514 2186 outside working hours.

Managing Editor

FOLK TALES AND HISTORICAL STORIES

By Thaatha

THE BEGINNINGS

Once upon a time, the God of the Winds and the God of the Rain were engaged in mighty combat. They wanted to decide who was more powerful.

The Wind blew furiously and the rain poured incessantly. Everyone thought it was the end of the world. There was utter confusion and chaos, even the Devas ran for shelter.

In that deluge, the top of Mt. Mehru was wrenched off and flung southwards into the ocean. A three cornered cliff stuck to it on the North-East.

At length the Gods were pacified, the winds abated, the rains ceased and calm was restored. To the South was found a green terrain and on it was the rock cliff Tri (three) Kona (cornered) Malai (hill). The Puranas declare that because Siva made his

abode on the hill, it became known as Thiru (holy) Kona Malai.

Science refers to this deluge as "Oceanic Upheaval" ("Piralayam" in Tamil), when continents were severed and mountain tops levelled.

To this day the rock cliff in the North-East of the Island of Sri Lanka is called Thiru Kona Malai or Trincomalee.

A SEA-BABY JUMPED INTO HER LAP

Along the north-eastern coast of the Jaffna peninsula, there was once a fishing village; the village folk maintained a tradition that God Vishnu frequented their beach, rising from the depths of the ocean (Vishnu Lokam).

To this village came a pious lady called Lavalli Ammaiyar; due to a curse, she had no children. She had been advised to seek this place and

beg Vishnu to pardon her sins. She would sit daily on the beach facing the sea with open arms. She hoped that one day God Vishnu would come to her, rising from the sea.

One day when the fisher folk were bringing their catch to the coast, an unusually large fish was very boisterous; as they started unloading, this fish jumped straight into the lap of Lavalli. She clasped it; as she fondled it, to everybody's surprise, the fish turned into a human baby. All the villagers said a miracle had happened.

They took Lavalli and the Sea-Infant in procession to the village. They were very happy; the talk soon went round that God Vishnu had really appeared in the village. Soon afterwards a temple was built there.

You can see the temple even today; it is called "Vallipura Alvar Kovil", and it is near Pt. Pedro.



"Under no circumstances will the EPRLF-dominated Provincial Government abdicate responsibility for ensuring law and order.

"We call on EROS and its ally LTTE to subordinate their narrow parochial interest to the wider interests of our people and join hands with all forces that stand for Peace, Democracy and Unity."

"We also propose the setting-up of a tribunal within the ambit of the proposed National Council to look into all charges that may be levelled against

RECENT REMARKS OF OUR "RULERS"

any Tamil organisation."

"As far as we are concerned, we have no objection to the withdrawal of the IPKF and would also gladly relinquish the unenviable task of running the provincial government, provided we are convinced that it is in the wider and long-term interests of our people. We, however, are not convinced."

"The Sri Lankan government has shown reluctance to even issue uniforms to the CVF personnel."

"Our EPRLF Government has been elected democratically. If the Sri Lankan Government takes steps contravening the rule of law and norms of democracy and affecting the people's interests, we will fight politically and, if necessary, militarily."

"The happenings of the last six

months show very definitely that the LTTE is finished."

"EPRLF who now form the Tamil government pledged in its election manifesto to insist on an impartial enquiry into all the killings, and to ensure that those responsible were punished."

"There would be no rationality at all in the drama of uncompromising fighters for Tamil Eelam repairing to the abode of their national enemy in the openly expressed hope of doing a deal at the expense of India and its perfectly legal and legitimate role, ensured by a bilateral agreement, which cannot be changed or altered unilaterally."

[Statements made by the Indian-backed rulers of the North-East Provincial Council. Ed]

இலக்கியக் காட்சி (2)

யானை புகுந்த நெல்வயல்

பழந்தமிழ் நாட்டிலே ஓர் அரசன் இருந்தான். அவனுடைய நாடு வளமான நாடுதான். மழை ஒழுங்காகப் பெய்தது; நிலமும் குளிர்ந்தது; பயிரும் வளர்ந்தது; பயனும் தந்தது. ஆகவே நாடு செழிப்பாக இருந்தது. நாடு செழிப்பாக இருந்தும் அந்தச் செழிப்பின் பயனை மக்கள் அனுபவிக்க முடியவில்லை. வருவாயிலும் கூடுதலாகச் செலவழித்தான் அரசன். மந்திரிமார் அவனுக்குப் புத்தி புகட்டினர். வருவாய் குறைவாக இருந்தாலும் பரவாயில்லை, போவாய் குறைவாக இருக்க வேண்டும் என்று வள்ளுவர் வழத்திச் சொல்லியிருக்கின்றார் என்று சொல்லிப் பார்த்தார்கள். ஓட்டைக் கையான அரசனுக்கு அது விளங்கவில்லை. எனவே நாட்டின் செழிப்புக் குறையத் தொடங்கியது. தனது செலவுக்குத் தேவையான பணம் இல்லாது போனவுடன் அரசன் மக்களிடம் கூடுதலான வரியை அறவிடத் தொடங்கினான். அப்படி இருந்தும் அவனுக்குத் தேவையான பணம் திரளவில்லை. எனவே வரித்தொகையை இரட்டிப்பாக்கித் தருமாறு மக்களுக்கு ஆணையிட்டான். மக்கள் விழித்தனர்; முழித்தனர்; வரிப்பாரம் தாங்க முடியாமல் தவித்தனர். தமது துன்பத்தை மன்னனுக்கு எடுத்துச் சொல்லத் தயங்கினர்.

மக்களின் துன்பத்தைக் கண்டார் பிசிராந்தையார் என்ற புலவர். நேரே அரசனின் மாளிகைக்குப் போனார். புலவரைக் கண்ட அரசன் மகிழ்ந்தான். வந்த காரணத்தை அறியலாமோ என்று கேட்டான் அரசன். புலவர் சுற்றி வளைத்துச் சொன்னார். 'உன்னுடைய காட்டுப்புறத்து வயலிலே கண்ட ஒரு காட்சி என்னைக் கவர்ந்தது. அந்தக் காட்சியை உனக்கு விவரித்துக் கூற வேண்டும் என்று கொஞ்ச நாட்களாக ஆசைப்பட்டேன். இன்றுதான் நேரம் கிடைத்தது. உனது காட்டுப்புறத்து வயலிலே நிரம்ப நெல் விளைகின்றது. சென்ற மாதம் அந்த மணிக்கதிர்களைப் பார்த்து இரசித்தேன். போன கிழமை அந்தப்பக்கம் போனபோது இரண்டு யானைகள் அந்த வயலுக்குள்ளே போய் நெற்கதிர்களைத் தின்றதைக் கண்டேன். அந்த யானைகள் ஓரிடத்தில் நிற்கவில்லை. அங்கும் இங்குமாக நடந்து அசைந்து அசைந்து தின்றன. அதனால் அவை தின்றதைக் காட்டிலும் அவற்றின் காலுக்குள் அகப்பட்டு அழிந்த கதிர்களை அதிகம். இனிமேல் அந்த வயலுக்குப் போய் அந்த யானைகள் எவற்றையும் சாப்பிட முடியாது. ஏனென்றால் கதிர்கள் எல்லாம் காலுக்குள் மிதிபட்டுச் சேற்றுக்குள் புதைந்து விட்டன. அதே வயலுக்குள் விளைந்திருந்த கதிர்களை அறுத்துச்சென்று அளவளவாக அந்த யானைகளுக்கு ஊட்டியிருந்தால் அந்தக் கதிர்கள் அந்த யானைகளுக்கு மாதக்கணக்கில் போதுமானவையாக இருந்திருக்கும். ஆனால் அந்த யானைகள் அந்த வயலுக்குள் புகுந்து ஒரேநாளில் உண்ண முயன்றதால் அவ்வளவு நெல்லும் ஒரே நாளில் அழிந்தது. இப்படியான ஒரு செயலைத்தான் நீயும் செய்கிறாய். குடிமக்களிடமிருந்து நீ பெறுகின்ற வரி அளவானதாக, நியாயமானதாக இருந்தால் அவர்கள் சலிப்பில்லாமல் தொடர்ந்து தந்து கொண்டிருப்பார்கள். நீயும் மகிழ்ச்சியாய் வாழலாம்; அவர்களும் அமைதியாய் வாழலாம். அதை விடுத்து, பெருந்தொகையான வரியை அறவிட முயன்றால் அவர்கள் வறுமைப்பட்டு வாழமுடியாமல் போய் வரி செலுத்த இயலாத நிலையை அடைந்து விடுவார்கள். அப்படியான நிலை ஏற்பட்டு விட்டால் உனக்கு வரி இல்லாமல் போய் விடும். அத்தோடு மக்களின் அமைதியும் குலைந்து விடும். இப்படியான நிலை ஏற்படுதல் உனக்கும் நல்லதல்ல; நாட்டுக்கும் நல்லதல்ல. எனவே மக்களிடம் நீ அறவிடுகின்ற தொகையை உடனடியாகக் குறைத்து மக்களுக்கு மகிழ்வுட்டு' என்றார்.

யானை புகுந்த வயலுக்கு ஏற்பட்ட நிலையைக் கேள்விப்பட்ட மன்னன் புலவரின் அறிவைப் பாராட்டி அன்றே குடிமக்களின் வரிப்பளுவைக் குறைத்தான் என்று இலக்கியம் கூறுகின்றது. இதோ அந்தப் பாடல்:

'காய்நெல் அறுத்துக் கவளம் கொளினே
மாநிறைவு இல்லதும் பலநாட்கு ஆகும்
நூறு செறு ஆயினும், தமிழ்துப்புக்கு உணினே
வாய் புகுவதனினும் கால் பெரிது கெடுக்கும்
அறிவுடை வேந்தன் நெறி அறிந்து கொளினே
கோடியாத்து நாடு பெரிது நந்தும்;
மெல்லியன் கிழவன் ஆகி வைகலும்
வரிசை அறியாக் கல்லென் சுற்றமொடு
பரிவு தப எடுக்கும் பிண்டம் நச்சின்
யானை புக்க புலம் போல

செ திருமுருகன்

தானும் உண்ணுன் உலகமும் கெடுமே' (புறநானூறு 184)

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

Amnesty International has adopted, as one of its prisoners of conscience, 10 year old **Kayathiri Vino Sangaralingam** from Nallur, Jaffna who "disappeared" after her arrest in 1987. AI adopts its prisoners of conscience on the basis that they have neither used nor advocated violence, and that their continuing detention is a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. International appeals help to secure the release of these prisoners or to improve their detention conditions. AI states that, in the interests of the prisoners, letters to the authorities should be worded carefully and courteously. It also states that those writing letters should stress that their concern for human rights is not in any way politically partisan. Under no circumstances should communications be sent to the prisoner.

If after having read the report below you wish to put pen to paper, then AI requests that you please write, expressing concern about the arrest of the child and appealing for an impartial investigation to establish the family's whereabouts, to President Premadasa, Presidential Secre-

tariat, Republic Square, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka. Please send a copy to The High Commissioner of India in Sri Lanka, 3rd



Floor, State Bank of India Building, Sri Baron Jayatilleke Mawatha, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka.

"According to eye-witnesses, Kayathiri Sangaralingam was arrested on 12 November 1987 together with her mother and two older sisters by members of the IPKF stationed in Sri Lanka. They were apparently suspected of being sympathizers of the LTTE, an armed seces-

sionist group.

A relative who inquired after the family at an IPKF camp on the same day was briefly detained herself, and said she saw Kayathiri in detention although she could not speak to her. However, the IPKF authorities have repeatedly denied that Kayathiri or her family are in their custody, and relatives' appeals to Sri Lankan and Indian authorities have brought no response.

Since 1983, AI has recorded over 800 cases of "disappearance" in Sri Lanka. The vast majority involve people reportedly arrested and kept in unacknowledged detention by the Sri Lankan security forces, but since the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord in July 1987 the IPKF are also alleged to have been responsible in several dozen cases. In a recent case in which a writ of habeas corpus was filed on behalf of a "disappeared" person, the IPKF officer named has refused to appear in court."

GOATS, CHICKENS & THE IPKF!

"Meat on hoof" is a major item in the jawan's daily rations. Unlike the Navy, which consumes tons of tinned meat, the Army prefers its contractors to supply meat on hoof - jargon for live goats or sheep. It has been noticed that Army jawans skip the *handi* if there is tinned meat in it. However, meat on hoof presents logistic problems; it requires train bookings, unloading facilities, fodder, weighing scales, vets and butchers.

Last year, the generals in New Delhi decided that 70,000 IPKF jawans in Sri Lanka must get meat on hoof and "fowl live" (chicken) in their rations. Poor *Konkan Sevak*, the passenger ship plying between Goa and Bombay, was dispatched to Madras as a freighter for meat on hoof.

The contractors had a field day; goats, sheep and chickens were rounded up in far-flung markets in UP, MP, Bihar and Maharashtra and dispatched to Madras. The rip-off started from the time the ani-

mals boarded the railway wagons; throughout the journey they were kept thirsty and fed with salt. Naturally the poor creatures, once unloaded at Madras port, drank water in gallons and their weight suddenly increased between 3 and 5 kg. Then came the turn to weigh them; before marching them to the army weighing scales the animals were sprayed with water-hoses. That brought the desired result for the contractors - another 1 or 2 kg addition to the beast's weight. By the time it boarded the ship to Sri Lanka the beast weighed 6 to 8 kg extra.

What happened to the animals on their way to Sri Lanka is another story. But the army slaughter-houses in the island were in for a surprise. The meat on hoof "shrank" by 15 to 20 per cent and the kitchen-in-charge wouldn't accept anything less than what the scales showed. The IPKF faced a massive accounting problem.

Chickens had a better fate, though. They

travelled by air, in Antanov-32s - the IAF's flying freighters. On one occasion the pilot of the "Chicken Express" was approached by a breathless army officer; he wanted a general accommodated on board, to Sri Lanka. "No place sir!" the flier replied, "I have chickens fore and aft". But after a while he agreed, provided the general sat in a chair placed in the rear of the aircraft. Quickly the chicken coops were pushed forward and a chair placed on board. A beaming general thanked the pilot, he wasn't too unhappy travelling with the birds.

At the air-base in Sri Lanka the top Army brass was waiting for the general. The pilot lowered the plane's rear hatch, and suddenly hell broke loose. A few dozen chickens escaped from the plane and out stepped the general covered with chicken feathers and droppings. He growled and that confused the jawans standing at attention on the tarmac. Instead of helping the General Sahib clean up, they ran helter skelter to nab the escaping rations. [By courtesy: *Times of India*]