

# TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

# TVI

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## *THE INSEPARABLE TWO*



Two exemplary leaders of the Tamils whose blood the Indian Army of Occupation thirsts to drink. New Delhi has shamelessly indulged in ignominious canards and downright disinformation. Prabaharan is hale and hearty.

*Please see page 17*

## YOUR VOICE

### **EELAM TAMILS**

Arul S Aruliah

I am absolutely astounded to read the letter of my namesake to say the "Tamils are Indians" (TVI, June 15, 1989)! Ceylon is and has been the home of Eelam Tamil people for over two millennia, and this is a long enough period for anyone to identify himself with the land. Today's conflict in Sri Lanka is between the Eelam Tamil people and the Sinhalese Government and it is they, and they alone, who have to come to a settlement at the end of the day.

### **FRESH SOLUTION WITH HONOUR**

N Navamani, Kankasanturai

I believe that the time is opportune for the three parties directly involved - the Sinhalese under President Premadasa, the Tamils led by the Tamil Tigers under the command of Mr Prabaharan, and the Indian government with its army in Sri Lanka - to seek a fresh solution with honour and without loss of face for all concerned.

My suggestion is that people of eminence should take the lead to carry out the exploratory mission which will work outside the glare of publicity to build and reinforce the necessary confidence amongst all parties including Tamils who are not members of the Tamil Tiger movement and Sinhalese who are not part of the government. Negotiations should then proceed which would result in the preparation and adoption of a new constitution that will give a sense of belonging to and participation of all Sri Lankans irrespective of their ethnic, religious or class affiliations or positions.

### **EELAM TAMIL HEART**

K Varan, London

I work at a place where I have the opportunity of meeting politicians, ministers, members of the House of Lords and functionaries of the Red Cross Society. Among these there are a few who are interested in matters affecting Sri Lanka. If you are in a position to supply free copies to these people, please let me know.

Further, there are ample opportunities for you to sell your magazine to the Tamil refugees in Paris and London through Tamil shop keepers. It is regrettable that a journal like TVI, which is the only paper that reflects the Eelam picture and reverberates the Eelam Tamil heart should remain unknown and its real and sincere voice unheard, particularly at a time when mischief makers among the sophisticated Tamils are painting to the uninitiated a picture to the effect that normalcy has returned to Eelam areas.

It may be hard to believe, but the truth is that there are still many who do not know anything about the World Tamil Conference your paper sponsored last year. Nor do they know about the second one. You have to do a lot of propaganda. Your paper alone can do this. Please do it forcefully. I wish you all good luck.

### **ACTION IS WHAT IS WANTED**

Well Wisher - UK

One is sad to learn from your last issue that because of "limited resources of money and manpower" the TVI is to become a monthly. Let us pray that it will revert back to its original position and one day become, at least, an English weekly in Eelam.

You say that 2,000 copies (complimentary) are being sent to people who matter. Surely these gentlemen/ladies could send you their subscriptions after the receipt of one or two issues? Men who matter couldn't be so poor. Have the 2000 shown you in one way or other that they are interested in the struggle and shocked at the injustices perpetrated by the Indians?

Jaffna and Colombo Public Libraries, sister publications, Amnesty International, Human Rights Organisations in Colombo, Jaffna and elsewhere, intellectuals who evince interest may justifiably receive complimentary copies.

Talking and belittling are easy. Action is what is wanted. I assure you that I will introduce as many subscribers as possible.

### **CANARDS GALORE**

Annon, UK

**The Tigers are racialists and Sinhalese-haters:** In an interview with D B S Jeyaraj, published in the Island of 25.10.87 Mahendraraja alias Mahathaya said "We fought the Sinhalese because we wanted to be free. After all the Sinhalese and we belong to this Island. But who are the Indians to come and dictate terms to us? They are aggressors." So why should anyone be surprised by the present talks?

**The Indians trained the LTTE:** Mahathaya at the same interview said, "You know the history of our movement. It was these other groups trained by India that are shamelessly licking India's feet. We only got the help of some Indian Tamil Army officers at the start on a private basis. Afterwards we trained here in our own areas".

**On the Indian Army:** Mahathaya said "We are cyanide capsule guerillas. How can these people who were buying electrical goods and T V sets in Jaffna have the same courage as we have. They have never tasted urban guerilla warfare before".

**The "clumsy manner" in which President Premadasa called for the IPKF withdrawal:** As Prime Minister, Mr Premadasa boycotted the JR-Rajiv Accord, was never present when the Indian Prime Minister was clobbered by a Sinhalese rating, and fought his elections saying he would send the Indians away. In fact over 90% have voted for the sending away of the Indians. So what is clumsy about his call? Is it worse than the brutalities of the Indians against the unfortunate Tamils who did no harm to the Indians?

*Continued on page 15*

## COLOMBO'S FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS AND LTTE

மெல்ல மெல்ல or "Hemin, Hemin" (Slowly, slowly) to use Governor Sir Andrew Caldecott's famous Sinhala words in a different context in 1938 is the advice that we can offer President Premadasa in his present search for a foreign policy. We call it a *search* and not a *policy* because it seems as if Colombo is guessing in the dark as to New Delhi's intentions about withdrawing the IPKF. Before President Premadasa's Batararamulla speech calling for the IPKF withdrawal by July 29, Prime Minister Gandhi had already indicated that he wished to have the *bulk of the IPKF* withdrawn early. The Prime Minister was obviously seeking to salvage whatever wreckage there was from his ill-advised Sri Lanka adventure before facing the Indian electorate. The President on the other hand wished to upstage the JVP by issuing his ultimatum.

There are however two embarrassing questions. Will India submit to pressure from a neighbour on the eve of general elections? Will the President's attempt to outmanoeuvre the JVP stop the latter or even stall it from its determination to obstruct President Premadasa's regime? The answer to both questions is in the negative. The President will by his ultimatum possibly conserve his existing Sinhala base. But Prime Minister Gandhi will most certainly not want to appear weak. We therefore have a deadlock. How can this be broken?

We think that there is a need at this point in time for the President to pause and tread softly (மெல்ல மெல்ல). We have already the information that Colombo is willing to negotiate a phased but quick withdrawal. This can be the best compromise in the given circumstances. The President was signally unfortunate in inheriting a disaster-laden India policy from President Jayewardene who let his island state be Finlandized by permitting Indian troops to enter Eelam. Sri Lanka consequently has no foreign policy options today, not even the freedom to negotiate an internal peace **without** the necessary nod of approval from New Delhi. We must not forget *Occupied Kashmir*. Nor can we afford to **misremember** the fate of Kashmir's famous patriotic leader. After all, the prince of non-alignment, Jawaharlal Nehru, was also the jailor of Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmiri fame. We caution therefore against an open-ended undertaking in the formulation of foreign policy.

The more urgent question is what should the LTTE do in the present context. All eggs should not be placed in one basket, either the Indian or the Sri Lankan. The EPRLF Indian-installed administration is faced with exactly this dilemma. Consequently we hear voices emanating from this quarter of promises that have to be fulfilled by India before any withdrawal. There is the pathetic spectacle of a pseudo-government genuflecting before its foreign patron begging to be shielded from the wrath of the Tamil people. *Reasons of state* which is Machiavellian strategy no doubt, governs the behaviour of states in their pursuit of national self-interest. People and leaders are expendable if the state can gain.

We are in no doubt that the LTTE negotiators have no illusions about *the good intentions* of any state. In the circumstances the wisest course is to follow a pragmatic line. The strategy of opening negotiations with Colombo was therefore well-timed. The next step however is the crucial one. States in the international system immediately concerned with Sri Lanka's affairs have expressed the hope of a **rapprochement** between Colombo, the LTTE and New Delhi. Colombo and the LTTE will have to meet New Delhi's first priority. This is a guaranteed peace which will preserve the *territorial integrity of Ceylon*. New Delhi needs this assurance to satisfy its own security dilemma which is to protect its exposed Southern flanks against hostile powers or a destabilized civil war ridden island. **The way out is for Colombo and the LTTE to reach an understanding which provides for the substance of Tamil Eelam. In effect there can be two nations within one island.** The sooner Colombo realises this and recognises the reality, the easier will it be for Colombo to persuade New Delhi that a quickly phased withdrawal will be the easiest way out of the impasse. This can be the only solution for President Premadasa if he is to avoid Finlandization and the equivalent of an *Occupied Kashmir*.



தமிழர் குரல் பாரிசு வாய்க் கேள்வியை அடிப்படையில்  
மெல்லமெல்ல தன் உணர்வுகளை

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## REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE : THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL AND STATEHOOD OF THE TAMILS IN SRI LANKA

[Summary of an address by Professor A Jeyaratnam Wilson on the occasion of the Open House and Discussion organised by the World Tamil Movement (Ontario) on Saturday July 29 in Toronto]

In his opening remarks, Professor Wilson called attention to the evolution of the most cruel forms of discrimination practised against the Ceylon Tamils by Sinhala governments since Ceylon obtained independence in 1948. These acts of discrimination had been depicted well in the exhibition and he congratulated the organisers for their skill, zeal and enthusiasm. Professor Wilson stated that these Sinhala governments had failed miserably in their attempts to relegate the Tamil people to the status of a subject race.

Professor Wilson made mention of Mr Unnikrishnan's remark at the Second Annual Conference of the World Federation of Tamils held in April this year that there is a threshold of tolerance beyond which a people will refuse to endure oppression. The Tamil people had reached this limit of tolerance and had, in the words of William Shakespeare, decided "to take up arms against a sea of troubles".

Prof Wilson referred to "a turning point" in the historical process. "Today the leaders of the vanguard of the Tamil Liberation Movement, the Tamil Tigers, are negotiating on equal terms with the President of Sri Lanka who is anxious for peace with the Tamil nation". Prof Wilson echoed the words of the then Bishop of Durham in August 1935 when the Bishop in a letter to *The Times* (30 August, 1935) condemned Signor Mussolini's aggression against Abyssinia. The Bishop had stated that "Justice was a higher concern than peace" adding that "while justice can never be abandoned, peace can never be unreservedly pursued". This indeed he said is the position of "we the Tamils".

Prof Wilson thought that Ceylon today as it did then **comprises two separate states**. President Premadasa's task is "to link these two states into **one island nation**". The President he felt could achieve his goal if he followed "the correct path". There were two obstacles, one constituted the **hard core Sinhala Buddhist chauvinists** whose identity had been challenged by the Tamil Tigers. The second were governments on whom we should not place our entire faith, either Sinhala governments or governments of any state. "We run a risk",

Prof Wilson emphasised "of being pawns in a power game. The Accord of July 1987 had failed to meet the just aspirations of the Tamil people".

Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in Prof Wilson's view, had been misled by his advisors who in turn may well indeed have been misdirected by the previous UNP government. The Provincial Councils in Prof Wilson's opinion were like "the house without windows". The fresh air of ventilation was obstructed by the constitutional design. The three lists under the Provincial Councils Act gave supremacy to the central government. The Sri Lankan system is an executive presidential model where execution of legislative acts is in the possession of the Executive President and/or his agent the provincial governor. The provincial councils were therefore dependent on the provincial governor and public officials to have their laws executed. The Indian system was based on the Westminster model of accountability to the legislature. The governor of a state in India has therefore to act on the advice of his chief minister on legislation on powers enumerated in the state list. "The legislature has the whip hand in India, not the executive as in Ceylon" Prof Wilson stressed. Indian governments can be removed by votes of no-confidence. The Executive President and the governor served fixed terms.

Prof Wilson did not however think that there were insuperable obstacles. If certain steps were followed a solution could be found. "It is indispensable that a consensus be reached between Colombo, New Delhi and the LTTE". India's security dilemma over its exposed southern flanks must be given due consideration. New Delhi's concern over Sri Lanka's territorial integrity could be satisfied by a modification of Quebec's plan for a sovereignty-association relationship with Ottawa in order to satisfy the aspirations for a Tamil Eelam. For this purpose, Prof Wilson advocated the abandonment of the pretence of providing provincial councils for **all** the provinces of Ceylon. All that was needed was **special status** for the North-East Provincial Council with powers similar to those stated in the White Paper on Quebec dated 1 November 1979,

viz., "to make decisions autonomously without being subject in law to any superior or exterior power" with the proviso that Quebec could thereafter "agree to limit its scope or part of it in certain specific fields". Such limitations are matter for the LTTE negotiators to handle. The White Paper provided for "a common currency, a customs union, free circulation of goods and people - and an elaborate system of agencies with joint Quebec - Canada representation". Such an arrangement was within the realms of negotiability for the Colombo government and the LTTE.

If a lasting settlement of this nature can be negotiated, Prof Wilson felt that India could feel assured that **the island nation** of Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelam can remain stable. India will then have sufficient confidence to withdraw its forces. The way lies ahead and the path is clear concluded Prof Wilson. It was now President Premadasa's task to earn the title of Peacemaker and be recognised as such in the recorded annals of Ceylon's chequered history.

"I am certain" said Prof Wilson, in ending his speech that the objection will be raised that none of these changes can be enacted because the government lacked a two-thirds majority and that the Supreme Court will overrule any proposed amendment or the court might require a referendum. The country faced a grave crisis from within as well as from without, e.g. the refusal of India to withdraw. In such a context, Parliament could declare itself a constituent assembly and the government could enact a new constitution which would incorporate the changes and retain most of the features, of the existing constitution. Such a new constitution need not require a two-thirds majority as when a constitutional amendment must be passed. The fact that parliament had converted itself into a constituent assembly would be adequate reason for a new constitution to be solemnly adopted with the majority at the disposal of the government. A simple majority would suffice given the seriousness of the enveloping crisis.





## THIRUKKURAL

S. Sriskandarajah

ஆவிற் கு நீரென்று இரப்பினும் நாவிற்கு  
இரவின் இனிவந்தது இல்.

“Aavitku Neer Entru Itappinum Naavitku  
Itavin Izhivanthathu Il”. (1066) [Transliteration]

*Even if what is requested be water for the cow, nothing is  
so degrading to the tongue as begging. (Translation)*

The sombre thought of how nice it would be if normalcy returned to Ceylon changed into melancholy as I left room No 2 of the Crypt Court in the High Court of Justice, London after following the proceedings of the case in which the Home Office, having failed to lodge appeal papers within the specified time, were trying to gain a *locus standi* to proceed against the determination of the Adjudicator who had ordered five Sri Lankan Tamils deported to Sri Lanka only to be tortured there to be brought back to London as early as possible.

The thought that we Tamils who prided in denouncing begging and scrounging have willy-nilly been constrained to demeaningly seek asylum and beg benefits from England and other countries made me think of our past and the above kural flashed across my mind. What a noble and ideal view we Tamils had entertained for centuries! What other literature in the world has even dreamt of such a view in life!

I am not sure what the English word “shame” or “disgrace” is capable of encompassing. But the Tamil equivalent of it “Izhivu” means many things. Etymologically “Izhivu” means to come down, from a higher status or pedestal. Even before Thiruvalluvar told us what “shame” is an ancient Tamil poet of the pre-Christian era has told us in unambiguous terms what the term “izhivu” connotes.

Over the years peoples of different ages and climes have considered various things as shameful and degrading. The Britishers had said that it was a shame if their flag was dishonoured; the Germans claimed that it was a disgrace for their country to be bereft of colonies; the Russians said that it was degrading for the workers to work under

those who don't; and the Japanese have felt that it was shameful for Japan not to have a market for its manufactured goods.

But the thinking of the Tamil poet of the 1st century BC was different. An inquisitive person went to the poet and asked him what the poet considered as a shameful act. The poet did not hesitate. Pat came the reply - to ask another person for some favour. The inquisitive Tamilian did not leave the poet at that. He asked the poet whether there was anything more shameful than begging itself and the poet declared that it is more shameful for the “begged” to say no to the person who begged. The poetic lines say thus:

ஈ என இரத்தல் இழிந்தன்று,  
ஈயேன் என்றல் அதனிலும் இழிந்தன்றே  
(முறநானூறு)

The couplet under review shows that Thiruvalluvar has gone further than what the Puranaanooru poet had proclaimed. Thiruvalluvar illustrates his point as follows. Imagine that you are walking along the road and you find a cow on the roadside panting for breath with parched throat. It is suffocating. You feel that the cow can be brought back to life if it could be given some water. You rush to a nearby house and ask for water with a view to reviving the cow which is in the throes of death. Let the imagination stop here. Your intentions are good. But Thiruvalluvar intervenes and says “My dear friend; your motives are altruistic; I know that you need the water not for you, but for the cow; still I don't approve of your begging for water; it is a shame; even if



it may mean some time and effort, go to the well draw the water yourself and help the cow; don't you beg; don't beg from Peter to give to Paul”. Let not Thiruvalluvar be understood in the simple literal sense. Try to understand why Thiruvalluvar says that we should not beg.

Thiruvalluvar says that there is nothing more shameful to the tongue than begging. This is not the only shame begging results in. What is shamed is not only the tongue. Wanting to beg is a shame to the mind; asking one to give is a shame to the mouth; extending the hand to receive is a shame to the hand. These are all shames by implication.

It is unfortunate that a race, an ancient race rich in culture, literature, philosophy and fine arts, which believed in self-reliance and perseverance has perforce been reduced to this status of seeking asylum and assistance from all and sundry. May we Tamils shake off this dust of complacency and lethargy to recover our lost glory and enviable tradition. Let us stop asking for the mercy of others and start fighting relentlessly for our birth right and lost glory while discharging our social and human obligations justly and fairly.



# Ask Rani

## PEACE KEEPING ROLE

Dear Rani

The LTTE says that those who want the IPKF to stay are traitors. The IPKF came to Sri Lanka as a Peace Keeping Force but unfortunately turned aggressors because of Jayewardene's Machiavellian tactics.

What would have happened if they had not come? Also what would be the consequences of their withdrawal by the end of July? Anton J.N. Selvadurai, Stoke-on-Trent.

**A** I would, in the first instance, question whether the IPKF were the unwilling pawns in the hands of Jayewardene, but rather that each used the other to fulfil their own purposes. If the forces had indeed come with the explicit purpose of peace keeping, then no amount of Machiavellian posturing or otherwise on the part of Jayewardene would have proved sufficient to deflect them from that purpose. It is a more likely explanation that when the calculation envisaged in the accord that the LTTE would lay down their weapons "in 72 hours" with the IPKF supervising the surrender went terribly wrong, the IPKF found itself battling the LTTE in a war of attrition. Within days, the liberators thus turned into aggressive oppressors.

It is impossible to speculate as to what would have happened had the IPKF not arrived as there are any number of possible scenarios. One likelihood of course is that the situation would have been much the same, except for the fact that instead of the IPKF, the Sri Lankan forces would have been in occupation. On the other hand, there would have been the probability that the LTTE would be in control in the North, and possibly in the East as well. In fact, Rajiv Gandhi has gone on record as saying that had the IPKF not intervened, Sri Lanka would today be two nations and not one.

As to prognoses on the future, the IPKF is at present the target of the Sri Lankan government, the LTTE and the JVP. Once that perceived common enemy is removed, then the three main actors on the Sri Lankan political scene have to come to terms with each other and seek some form of accommodation possibly under the

leadership of President Premadasa. I doubt, however, that India will willingly relinquish its hold on the island or countenance a political agreement to which it is not party. Rather it will continue to support its surrogates so as to destabilise and destroy any peace that may be achieved between the three parties.

## TAMIL TIMES BIAS

Dear Rani

We are impressed by your replies to the questions from readers. I have a question for you. Is the *Tamil Times* anti-Tamil? What prompted me to ask this question is because of its silence over the Second International Tamil Conference held in London in April this year.

While the TVI published the conference papers in its vol 2, no 8, and comments about the conference appeared in the Indian and Sri Lankan papers, the *Tamil Times* was silent over it - not even a word. Is it because TT was debarred from attending or is it because it is anti-Tamil. Thank you for an early reply. N. Navamany, Jaffna Road, Kankesanthurai.

**A** I try to answer questions to the best of my ability though not always to everyone's satisfaction. I welcome your note of appreciation. Let me assure you that the *Tamil Times* was invited to the conference, and the video recording of the proceedings clearly shows the editor and the circulation manager present. In fact if you turn to the back page of TVI, vol 2, no 9, you will see Mr Rajanayagam and Mr Kandiah in the photograph showing a section of the delegates. I am afraid you will have to address your question on their silence to them. I too will be interested to know their answer though I will add that I very much doubt if the journal is in any way anti-Tamil.

## THE DEFINE DECLENSION IN TAMIL

Dear Madam

I thank you for your reference of the above in TVI, vol 2, no 10. I am sorry to say that the road No S.S 3/36 is not stated, without which I doubt even one letter may reach me. Can this error be corrected please. K. Palasingam, Malayasia.



**A** I beg your pardon for the inadvertent omission.

## INDIAN BOYCOTTS

Dear Rani

Can you tell me please how successful the JVP boycott of Indian goods has been? From what I hear it has received a mixed response, and the threats made by the JVP have proved groundless. Radhika Chellapah, Berks.

**A** One measure of the success of the boycott is that theatres have stopped showing Indian made films, and video parlours have removed popular Hindi and Tamil film cassettes from their racks. Shops put up boards announcing that they had halted trade in Indian goods. Even Indian pharmaceutical products which account for nearly 70 per cent of Sri Lanka's drug imports have disappeared from the market. According to the owner of a medical store, he had received orders from officials asking him not to sell Indian medicines. When dockworkers refused to unload a consignment of Bombay onions, a directive was apparently issued by Minister Athulathmudali that the onions would in future be known as Sri Lanka big onions! On a more serious vein, the Indian community in Sri Lanka has felt deeply threatened as evidenced by the influx of Indians into two heavily guarded Colombo hotels before the launch of the boycott of June 14.

NOTE: I have been asked to comment on two letters written to the editor of *The Hindu*. I regret that I can only answer

# A WAY OUT FOR SRI LANKA.

Dr Brian Senewiratne, Australia

## The framework of a new Accord

On the Tamil side, a basic requirement is a secure homeland with a realistic devolution of power so that they can administer and develop this area without interference from the Sinhalese-dominated government in Colombo. On the Sinhalese side, a basic requirement is that there should not be a division of the country with the establishment of a separate Tamil State.

One possible solution is the establishment of a Federal Tamil State which must be honestly federal, and not a pseudo-federal one where powers are retained by Colombo.

## A Tamil home

The North and East of Sri Lanka are the areas which, for centuries, have been occupied by the Tamils. Even the 1987 Agreement acknowledges this fact (Section 1.4). A minimal Tamil requirement is the merger of the Northern and the Eastern Province as a single administrative unit. It must be an irrevocable merger with no subtle device such as the proposed Referendum in the 1987 Agreement, to disrupt it.

The only question is whether or not this unit should include Amparai. Amparai is beyond question a part of the 'Tamil area' but there has been, over the years, such a massive redeployment of Sinhalese into this area by successive Sinhalese-dominated governments that according to the current (1981) census, the ethnic proportions are 37% Sinhalese, 41.5% Muslims and 20% Tamils. Today (1989), the percentage of Sinhalese is even higher. Under these circumstances it would be more prudent to exclude Amparai from the North-East merger. An attempt to include Amparai in the Tamil State will result in so much opposition from the Sinhalese that the entire possibility of establishing any merger will be in jeopardy.

## The nature of the homeland

A separate Tamil state, Eelam, is not a realistic proposition. Although the author has been a strong supporter of such a state, the dialectics and especially the changing dialectics, of the situation make the establishment of a separate Tamil state almost impossible.

The continuation of Sri Lanka as an undi-

vided country with total political, financial and administrative power in the hands of the Sinhalese is also unlikely. The idea of "separation" and of "liberation from Sinhalese domination" is now too well established among the Tamils in the North and East for it to be abandoned. An attempt to crush such an idea by military strength will only result in an ongoing guerilla war which will destroy Sri Lanka as it is currently doing.

The establishment of a Federal Tamil state is the minimum that the Sinhalese can get away with and the maximum the Tamils can hope for. What is needed is a secure area where the Tamils can live with equality, without discrimination and without fear of being ravaged by Sinhalese hoodlums and the overwhelmingly Sinhalese 'security forces'. These requirements can be met by the establishment of an honestly Federal State but one which does not threaten the sovereignty, territorial integrity or the development of Sri Lanka as a whole.

## Autonomy for the Federal State

It is not intended here to detail out a Federal Constitution but only to outline the essential requirements, especially those that are relevant to the Sri Lankan situation. However, a detailed draft of the Constitution of the Federal State is essential before any new Agreement is finalised. This will have to be done by constitutional lawyers from Sri Lanka (both Sinhalese and Tamils), from India and perhaps from countries such as Britain where there still are people who have some knowledge of the politics, ethno-religious ramifications and history of Sri Lanka.

## Head of the Federal State

One essential requirement is that the Head of the Federal State, if he is to have executive powers, must be elected by the people of the State and not be an appointee of the central government in Colombo. Any other arrangement will make nonsense of federal autonomy as is the situation in the Indian States.

## Parliament and Prime Minister

The Federal State will be run by a Parliament and Prime Minister (who may or may not be the same as the Head of State) elected by the people of the area. There

must also be another elected body responsible to the State parliament but located in Colombo, that looks after the interests of the State in the Central government (the equivalent of the Federal MPs as distinct from the State MPs in the Australian set up).

The State parliament and Prime Minister/Head of State will have complete control over the running of the State without the ability of the Central government to take over such control.

## Land

Land has been a key issue in this conflict. Any renegotiated settlement must ensure that land within the demarcated area cannot be annexed or used by the Central government without the agreement of the State government.

## Finance

If the proposed Federal State is to get off the ground, the financial arrangements for the running of this State must be satisfactory. Adequate representation of the State in the Central Finance Committee is a mandatory requirement.

## Administration

There must be a statutory declaration that the Central government cannot interfere with the administration of the State. The State must be free to decide on administrative policy, including the language or languages of administration and to appoint its own administrative staff.

## Law and Order. Internal Security

These are matters that must be left in the hands of the State. If the administrative Head of the State does not have complete authority over his senior internal security officers, an unworkable situation will quickly develop.

## Education

Education has been a central issue in the ethnic conflict. The Federal State must be free to organise its educational programme including the medium of instruction in schools and universities.

## Development

The developmental projects in the Federal State must be planned and executed by the local authority without obstruction from



the central government. Since the periphery of Sri Lanka is unlikely to develop without foreign loans, it would be preferable if the State authority is permitted to negotiate with foreign governments and non-governmental organisations for such assistance without the need to have these channelled through the Central government.

### Trade

As is the situation with the States in Australia, it must be permissible for the Federal State to trade directly with external agencies without the need to go through the Central government.

### Who Negotiates With Whom?

Those at the negotiating table should be (1) those affected by the division i.e the Tamil people and the Sinhalese people, (2) those who are in a position to wreck the Agreement i.e the militant Tamil youths, the militant Sinhalese youths and the Buddhist clergy, (3) those whose regional interests are affected i.e India and (4) those who are in a position to see that the proposals are implemented i.e the Plantation Tamils and India (the Central government and South India). This in effect means that the following must be represented. (1) the Sri Lankan (essentially Sinhala) government, (2) the Sri Lankan (essentially Sinhala) Opposition, (3) the Tamil people, (4) the militant Tamil youths, (5) the militant Sinhalese youths, (6) the Buddhist clergy, (7) the Plantation Tamils, (8) the Indian government, (9) the Indian opposition, (10) the South Indian government. This seems a formidable list and it can be questioned whether such a body will achieve anything. However, the exclusion of any one of them could result in either a sabotage or a non-implementation of the Agreement.

#### (1) The Sri Lankan Government

There must be representatives from a properly elected government, not from one that has overstayed its mandate or rigged an election. Not only must the government be properly elected, but the intentions of the government must be genuine.

#### (2) The Sri Lankan Opposition

Since a change of government at each election has been a feature of Sri Lankan politics, there must be representatives from the alternative Sinhala party. Unless this is done, an Agreement signed with one

government may well be abrogated by the next.

#### (3) The Tamil People

There must be properly elected representatives of the Tamil people of the north and the east since they are the people most affected by this conflict. Given the realities of the present situation of an ongoing war and a total breakdown of law and order in these areas, it may be impossible to have meaningful elections. Under these circumstances, there may well be no alternative but to have the leaders of the militant Tamils represent the Tamil people until elections can be held.

#### (4) The Militant Tamil Youths

Liberation movements are completely authentic and there is a long tradition of recognising such movements before they have state power. The various groups of Tamil militants must be represented, with the hegemonistic presence being that of the LTTE, the largest and most powerful group. In addition to being the largest group, there is reasonably good evidence that they do have substantial support from the Tamil people of the north and east.

#### (5) The Militant Sinhalese Youths

The militant Sinhalese group, the JVP, does not have the same 'right' to sit at the negotiating table as do the militant Tamil groups, in that they have not been part of the conflict, will not be affected by the solution, and do not represent the vast majority of the Sinhala people. However, it is an unpalatable fact that today it is the man with the gun, the extremist, and the terrorist who calls the tune.

#### (6) The Buddhist Clergy

The bigoted sections of the politically powerful Buddhist clergy have wrecked previous agreements (the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact, the Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact) or attempts at agreements (the 1984 All Party Conference). If excluded, they will most certainly wreck the proposed Agreement. On the other hand, to include them in any discussions on solving the ethnic problem would be to invite the Buddhist clergy and accept the undoubted risk that they would obstruct the progress of the conference. It is the price Sri Lanka has to pay for the introduction of religious extremism into politics.

#### (7) The Plantation Tamils

The Plantation Tamils who are not part of the current conflict, must be represented in any discussion on the future of Sri Lanka. Aside from dealing with a long overdue problem and wiping out a blot on Sri Lankan history, this economically crucial group holds the key to the non-violent implementation of any agreement.

#### (8) The Indian Government

India has moved from being an honest broker to become part of the conflict. India will, therefore, have to be a part of the solution. It is obvious that India is very concerned about her security. This is not only understandable but the destruction of Indian security will be a major threat to world politics of the region in particular will be thrown into utter chaos. Hence, the presence of India at the negotiating table is essential to ensure a strong and secure India.

On the more positive side, an Agreement underwritten by India has a somewhat better chance of being implemented than one which reduces India to that of an interested spectator.

#### (9) The Indian Opposition

With the replacement of the relatively stable politics of Nehru and Indira Gandhi by the confused and unstable politics of Rajiv Gandhi, India can expect an oscillation of political power akin to that in Sri Lanka. It is as necessary to include the Indian Opposition in any discussion on Sri Lanka as it is to include the Sri Lankan Opposition, if the Indian role referred to above is to be meaningful.

#### (10) The South Indian Government

The people of Tamil Nadu and their government have been deeply involved in this conflict and have also had to pay a price in terms of accepting refugees. Aside from this, it is the 50 million ethnically-related Tamils of Tamil Nadu who can pressure the relatively disinterested Delhi government to act.

### ESSENTIAL GROUNDWORK

#### The Sinhalese and the Tamil People

The complexity of the Sri Lankan problem is such, the polarisation so extreme, and the division between the Sinhala and Tamil people now so wide, that if anything is to be achieved the people themselves will have to be involved with the produc-

tion and implementation of a solution. For this to happen, both the Sinhala people and the Tamil people will have to be properly informed of the problems faced by the other side, the impossibility of implementing extreme solutions, and most importantly, the need for peace if the country as a whole is to survive. There must be a dialogue restarted between the Tamil people and the Sinhala people, not necessarily the government. In order to start an inter-ethnic dialogue and an understanding of each other's problems, the propagation of ethnic chauvinism and extremism must end. Attempts to replace this crucial dialogue by fire power, a crime which both sides are now guilty of, must also end.

It must be emphasised to both ethnic groups that there are two major groups in Sri Lanka called the Sinhalese and the Tamils who have been in the country for over two thousand years and, whether they like it or not, they will have to learn to live with each other. The alternative is a total destructive war which will not be confined to one area but must necessarily involve the other.

### The Indian people

An 'information offensive' in India (both in the North and the South) is less necessary but desirable. Considering the size of India, it is not surprising that the vast majority of Indians have no clear idea of what is going on in the neighbouring island. Deliberate Indian government policy has also prevented them from appreciating that over a thousand Indian lives and billions of Indian rupees have already been lost in this conflict. The people of India must be made aware of the dangers to India of an ongoing war on her doorstep, especially with hostile forces, in particular Pakistan, getting involved militarily.

There is much work to be done even in South India where the initial sense of horror and outrage as to what is happening in Sri Lanka has now given way to apathy and disinterest. It cannot be over-emphasised that unless the people of Tamil Nadu put pressure on their politicians they will not act, and unless the Tamil Nadu politicians pressure the central government in Delhi, India will not act.

### INDIAN POLITICIANS

#### (a) The Indian Prime Minister

One of the most important steps is to lobby the Indian Prime Minister and get him to realise the role that India can construc-

tively play even today, in helping to solve the Sri Lankan problem. He must be made aware of the mistakes that have been made and the damage done both to Sri Lanka and India. There is little doubt that if the Indian Prime Minister firmly tells the Sri Lankan President that the Tamil minority must be given a fair deal, the chance that the Sri Lankan President will act is high.

#### (b) The Indian Parliament

There must be a powerful information offensive on members of the Indian parliament. Apart from a very few, the vast majority of Indian politicians have shown little interest in the Indian parliament as to what is going on in Sri Lanka. Part of this may be apathy and part ignorance of the importance to India of not allowing a conflict on its doorstep to get out of control.

#### The Position of the Indian Army

Where the immediate problem of the Indian military involvement in Sri Lanka is concerned, it is important, both where India's national interests are concerned and where the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is concerned, that India withdraws from the Sri Lankan mess. If it does not, it will become, like the United States in Latin America, a country that sponsors and supports meaningless dictatorships in the name of democracy. India has too much to lose by doing so. If India is to maintain her position as a major regional power, she should not sponsor dubious and highly repressive regimes in Sri Lanka. In addition to damage done to India's prestige, the continued presence of the Indian military in Sri Lanka will generate more and more Sinhala hostility which will make a solution to the Sri Lankan ethnic problem impossible.

### Peace Institutes

There is an urgent need to set up institutes in Sri Lanka for the pursuit of peace. There are today in Sri Lanka a few centres that are exploring the possibility of opening a dialogue between the Sinhala people and the Tamil people with the object of understanding each other's problems and of evolving programmes for co-existence. These groups must be strengthened so that they are in a position to advise the government on the alternatives that exist to settle the ethnic problem. There are also several centres outside Sri Lanka whose help must be sought.

### Expatriate Sinhalese and Tamils

Expatriate Tamils, and to a lesser extent Sinhalese, have played an important role in this conflict. Tamil expatriate groups have played a crucial role in bringing to the attention of the world the serious situation in Sri Lanka. Sinhalese expatriate groups have struggled to maintain the good name of Sri Lanka in the face of devastating reports from human rights groups and the international media. The role of the expatriates should be to promote a dialogue between the Sinhala and the Tamil people.

### The International Community

The international community has a role to play in pressuring both the Indian and Sri Lankan authorities to settle the problem. This pressure is best exerted by an International Pressure Group (such as that which was led by Malcolm Fraser, the former Australian Prime Minister, to South Africa). This International Pressure Group can collaborate with similar pressure groups set up both in India and in Sri Lanka. [Excerpts from a lengthy paper.Ed]



## MEDIA REPORTS

### THE BEST WAY OUT

New Delhi now has a golden opportunity to steer away from a collision course with Sri Lanka and settle the issue of completing the withdrawal of the Indian troops from that country with grace. The opportunity has been provided by Mr S Thondaman, a member of the Sri Lankan cabinet, and what is no less important, a long recognised leader of the lakhs of Sri Lankan Tamils settled in the central highlands region. After talks with Mr Rajiv Gandhi, he has stressed the need to avoid further deterioration in the Indo-Sri Lankan relations and has, with this end in view, proposed a mutual agreement on the withdrawal time table. There is reason to believe that he is acting as an intermediary with the knowledge and blessings of President Premadasa. It will not do for India merely to express nice sentiments in response. Nor will it carry conviction by continuing its pathetic attempts to strike self-righteous poses and to lay the blame for the current tension at the Sri Lankan President's door. Even granting for the sake of argument that Mr Premadasa had erred in peremptorily demanding the withdrawal of the IPKF by July 29, it did not behove a big country to react with petulance. In retaliation India not only suspended the ongoing withdrawal, it started a legal disputation of questionable merit. No one, for instance, will disagree with Mr Premadasa that the Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord does not confer a mandatory role on the Government of India or its armed forces in providing due security to the Tamils in the north-eastern region or in completing the process of devolution of powers to this region.

Instead of digressing into sterile legalism, New Delhi should have been guided primarily by an adequate understanding of the wounded pride of the Sri Lankans. They have hated the presence of the Indian troops on Sri Lankan soil. That the troops have done so much to uphold the integrity of Sri Lanka has in no way diminished the unhappiness of its people over the induction of the IPKF in the first place. As Mr Thondaman has stated, India had gone out of its way to resolve the dispute over Kachchativu island as well as the issue of Indian settlers to Colombo's satisfaction. Today, that episode serves to emphasise the untenability of our stand on the IPKF withdrawal. We must see that if we stick to the position which has now been put

forward by the Indian government - namely, that the IPKF will stay there till powers have been devolved in a manner satisfactory to India - we will get sucked into the quicksand of the internal turmoil in Sri Lanka. It would thus be both honourable and prudent to seize upon Mr Thondaman's suggestions and reach out to the Sri Lankan Government. [Editorial-*Indian Express*, Tuesday July 11, 1989]

### LTTE FOR TALKS WITH INDIA WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has said it would be prepared to talk to India "officially on a proper political level, without any preconditions."

Asking for a "radical" change in India's perspective on the LTTE, Mr Anton Balasingham, LTTE theoretician, who is heading the militant delegation at the ongoing peace talks, said in an interview: "They should not conceive of us as a hostile force to India."

"We know very well that the Indian view on the LTTE is totally wrong," he said suggesting that a discussion between the militants and the Indian authorities at a proper level could remove misconceptions and mutual mistrusts.

"For the past two years, Mr Prabaharan had been pleading with India that he wanted to talk to them without any conditions officially on a proper political level, but that was systematically rejected," Mr Balasingham said referring to the last round of talks held in Madras at the "unofficial" level conducted by the officials of an Indian intelligence organisation.

He held the Indian authorities responsible for the ultimate failure of the Madras talks because of "their unreasonable attitude to force certain things on the LTTE".

Mr Balasingham said the "serious mistake" made by the Government of India on the Sri Lankan Tamils issue was that it had failed to work out "an adequate political framework with effective devolution of power" for the Tamils before signing the Accord. After two years of signing the Accord, India now accepted that the devolution was not enough. The "unfortunate" confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE could have been avoided if India had sorted out the problem properly before signing the Accord, the LTTE spokesman said.

On the issue of the IPKF withdrawal, he said India should respond positively to the Sri Lankan request for a cease-fire in view of the declaration of cessation of hostilities between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Government. He said the LTTE delegation at the ongoing talks with the Government had clarified that the cessation of hostilities was not only against the Sri Lankan Government but also against all Sri Lankans, including different Tamil groups.

The declaration of a cease-fire by India along side working out a time-frame for the IPKF withdrawal in consultation with the Sri Lankan Government would help restore normality in the North-East which in turn would help in finding a solution to the ethnic problem, he said. Though for a different reason as compared to other Tamil groups, the LTTE also did not want a vacuum in the security situation in the Tamil areas after the withdrawal of the IPKF, the LTTE looked forward to playing an important and crucial role in a "credible" set-up in the area after the IPKF pullout, he added.

"Since we had been fighting for the security of the Tamils for so many years, definitely they (Sri Lankan Government) have to agree to provide this role to the LTTE." About the reported move by some pro-accord Tamil groups, including the EPRLF (ruling party in the North-Eastern provincial Government) for a unilateral declaration of independence, he said if they did so, North-Eastern Sri Lanka would become "an Indian protectorate and not a sovereign state." India should not encourage such a move, ignoring the most important national movement (LTTE) fighting a guerilla war for the last 15 years. There would be serious resistance (to this move). This concept is totally unacceptable," Mr Balasingham said. "If India is genuine in securing the interest of Sri Lankan Tamils, it should explicitly state that it is not supporting such ideas."

On the laying down of arms, Mr Balasingham said it was "unfair on the part of India to demand this from the LTTE while leaving other groups in the area with arms. Indian obligation under the Accord is to disarm all armed groups," he said adding that the LTTE was prepared to enter the democratic political process. [*The Hindu*, July 8, 1989]

# EELAM

## thoughts

Kurushetran

72 hours after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi characterised it as a major landmark in the four decades of India's freedom. He told a Marina beach audience in Madras: "I am told that no such agreement has been signed by any country in the world, at least in this century. It does not have a parallel in the world".

*(Readers are requested to please rise up and observe two minutes' silence in memory of the Agreement)*

Thank you. If that agreement was an unparalleled event of the century, we may describe the LTTE-Premadasa "agreement", with more credibility and greater modesty as *the demarche of the decade!* And while President Premadasa has been hogging the headlines by running rings round the New Delhi decision-makers, the interesting point must not be missed that there has been more talk about Tamil Eelam these past few weeks than ever before during the two year accord period; and surprisingly, coming not from those who had always stood for it, but from those who either opposed the idea or those who deserted it - like Chief Minister Perumal who had even taken an oath not to talk about it. Does it therefore mean that there has been a sudden *volte face* on that question? No. It is the sheer instinctive gut feeling that Tamil Eelam is inevitable that makes even the conscious objectors unable to leave the subject well alone, either to use it as a handy weapon or to devalue the whole concept by upholding it themselves. A New Delhi weekly, *INDIA WEEK*, carried this curious report in its "Intelligence" column (June 16-22):-

*"EPRLF secretary-general Padmanabha has shifted his base from Madras to Trincomalee, apparently as part of a strategy by South Block to revive the Eelam demand to counter the embarrassing Sri Lankan stand on the IPKF. Padmanabha has been instructed to propagate the idea of India's commitment to Eelam in the event of the IPKF being forced to withdraw. Doordashan is to chip in, too.*

## THE INEVITABILITY OF TAMIL EELAM - 8

*Special correspondent Thirunavukarasu has been assigned to give prominence to EPRLF activities on the tube. So, every other day Thirunavukarasu crosses the Palk Strait to interview EPRLF prisoners in the IPKF camp". (emphasis ours).*

Curious, as we said. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Tamil Eelam word is getting around. It was of course Mr Dixit who in the course of his swan song as High Commissioner in Colombo who set the trend. "The logic of a Tamil Eelam might become relevant again, if...", he said, at a farewell function on April 7. By May, the EPRLF had begun threatening Mr Premadasa (and we presume the Tamil people also) that they would have no option but to go in for a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI); not that they expected the world to believe them, but with the only purpose of pushing the LTTE into a situation where it will be seen as defending Sri Lanka's territorial integrity. Now, in July, the Indian establishment wants to know whether the LTTE announcement on cessation of hostilities means that it had renounced the demand for Tamil Eelam (*The Hindu*, July 1). Cessation of hostilities means just that (cessation meaning "ceasing, pause", hostilities meaning "acts of warfare" - Concise Oxford Dictionary). Let alone the renouncing of Tamil Eelam, it does not even mean surrender of arms! And what is more, Mr Premadasa himself had not made that tender inquiry that New Delhi has. He has a better right to it.

A struggle for independence does not always move on a straight line. **When Mahatma Gandhi went all the way to London, the seat of British Imperialism, for the Second Round Table Conference in 1931, did it mean that he had renounced India's goal of freedom?** When this was preceded by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact which brought about a truce between the Congress and the British government, and the discontinuation of the Civil Disobedience Movement, did it mean that India had given up her struggle for Freedom? It is a pity that no one seems to be studying Indian history in New Delhi! Mahatma Gandhi suspended his Civil Disobedience Movement not once, but

several times during the freedom struggle. He did it in 1922, 1931, 1934... and when in 1935, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act giving a measure of provincial autonomy, and when general elections were held all over India in 1937 under this Act, the Congress which was spearheading the cause of Indian freedom did not only participate in the elections, but also accepted office as ministers in various provincial legislatures! Did it mean the end of the independence struggle?

In fact, tracing the various stages in India's journey to freedom during the 20 years between 1927 when the Congress first resolved for national independence at the Madras sessions, and 1947 when India achieved the goal, we could see how similar is the course of history everywhere (including Tamil Eelam); how governments intent on crushing the will of a people behave, how the people respond with varying kinds of resilience to changing circumstances. Indeed, history often repeats itself, except that we do not recognise it because of the change of cast. Because the hero takes on the part of the villain, we do not see that the drama is the same. If the story is the same, how can the ending of the story be any different?

Until India invaded Sri Lanka's air space and forced Jayewardene's hands into accepting Indian military intervention, the armed struggle carried on by the Liberation Tigers for an independent Tamil homeland was a straight issue between the Tamil people and the Sri Lanka establishment. Once India interposed herself on behalf of Sri Lanka in crushing the Tamil armed struggle, the situation naturally became complex; and after all, complex situations call for complex strategies. How effective they could be has already been proved by the combined LTTE-Premadasa DEMARCHE in announcing a cessation of hostilities, pushing India herself into a state of not mere complexity, but perplexity! In this bewildered search for new options, the Indian media has been floating what is being called "the Cyprus solution". One leading Indian newspaper which had been valiantly trying to toe the

official line - *The Times of India* - has tied itself into knots. Under the bold headline - **A Cyprus in Sri Lanka?**, it ran a brave editorial (June 20) where it said: "... In plain words, New Delhi should prepare itself for a "Cyprus solution" in Sri Lanka regardless of the costs involved...This would not be unwelcome to Mr Gandhi in an election year..." Ten days later (June 30), it had done a complete somersault. No one knows why - whether it is simply the result of its own confused thinking, or whether it had been warned by the Establishment to "pipe down" on the Cyprus solution talk. Anyway this is what it says: **"...It is in India's interest to ensure that the President's actions do not lead either to a Cyprus-like solution of the ethnic crisis or to the Lebanonisation of his beleaguered country. A partitioned Sri Lanka, like a Sri Lanka in the vortex of violent upheavals, can only spell serious trouble for this country.**" The prestigious news magazine *India Today* in the course of a cover story on Sri Lanka (July 15) refers to the current situation as "pregnant with unpredictable consequences that could even lead to a Cyprus-style division of the country which, ironically India has been trying to prevent by sending in the IPKF". What then is this "Cyprus solution" and "Cyprus-like division" that is being talked about? Let us examine the parallels, the similarities and dissimilarities.

Cyprus, like Sri Lanka is an island, **almost one-seventh the size of Sri Lanka**, but already a divided island. (3,572 sq. miles as against Sri Lanka's 25,332 sq. miles). So there is the answer for those who say that Sri Lanka is "too small" a country to be divided. Like in Sri Lanka, it is a question of North-South divide. The ethnic composition is roughly similar to Sri Lanka, the majority Greek Cypriots comprising 81% and the Turkish Cypriots 19%, as against the 72% Sinhalese and 20.5% Tamils, not counting the Tamil-speaking Muslims. Cyprus is physically closer to Turkey than to Greece, but the problem between the two communities began soon after the island became a British Crown colony in 1929, with the majority Greek Cypriots demanding union with Greece (ENOSIS). In 1955, a Greek Cypriot guerilla organisation, EOKA, led by Gen. George Grivas, and supported by Archbishop Makarios began an armed campaign against Britain. Once that was put down, negotiations for the island's independence began in 1960, and a govern-

ment formed under Archbishop Makarios. Like what happened in Sri Lanka, independence only brought majority discrimination, against the Turkish Cypriots, and clashes occurred frequently. In 1974, after a Greek interference involving a coup attempt against the Makarios government, Turkish forces invaded the island, and remained in occupation of 40 percent of the island's area in the north. On 15th November, 1983 the Turkish Cypriots unilaterally declared full independence, under the leadership of Rauf Denktash. Turkey recognised the new state, and until now, it is the only country to do so. A two-way shift of population took place and Cyprus remains a divided island in a condition of wary armed truce, with a United Nations Peace Keeping Force on the border, maintaining peace.

While there was world-wide condemnation of the UDI, and the Security Council of the UN held the declaration as "legally invalid", what is relevant to us here is the Indian government's attitude to the partitioning of Cyprus. "The world cannot accept a *fait accompli* of the kind attempted", India's permanent representative to the UN, Mr N Krishnan, declared in a statement yesterday re-affirming his government's solidarity with the Republic of Cyprus "at this critical time". He urged that no legitimacy or support through recognition or other means be given by any member-state of the UN to the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus that was being sought to be created.... "The path to a solution of the Cyprus question remains through dialogue, not through such unilateral actions", Mr Krishnan said (*The Hindu* Nov 19, 1983). In an editorial comment the same day, *The Hindu* said: "The Turks should not be allowed to get away with the blatantly illegal action". Such being the strong Indian stand on the question of UDI in distant Cyprus, it is hardly likely that India could do a U-turn and really back a UDI in her own backyard, however strong the temptation may be. Anyway, Perumal is no Denktash, and no Eelam Tamil would want an **imposed UDI**.

But if one wants to know what **peace-keeping** is all about, here is a refreshing model in Cyprus. A United Nations Peace Keeping Force patrols the cease-fire line which has separated the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities since 1974. There are **eight** nations represented in the force, and guess the total strength? **Two thousand two hundred (2,200)** military

personnel and 300 civilian employees! That makes all the difference between a Peace Keeping Force and an Occupation Force. Accepting the Nobel Peace Prize for 1988 on their behalf, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar said: "They are soldiers without enemies. Their duty is to remain above the conflict. Representing the will of the international community, their presence is often the essential prerequisite for peace".

**REFUGEES** - the magazine published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recently interviewed the commander of the peace-keeping force, Major-General Gunther Greindl. Here are some excerpts from that interview:-

*"Peace-keeping operations take their orders from the Secretary General, based on resolutions of the Security Council, and from no one else. So they are politically supervised and cannot go astray. They are based under a unified rather than any national command, and they are based on the principle of consent by the host country. We work under the principles of strict impartiality and the use of force for self-defence only.*

*"I can envisage a mixed force (military and civilians), but I cannot envisage an entirely civilian one. If you are talking about conflict situation, you need military personnel to deal with the military. On the other hand, soldiers are not well suited to dealing with civilians. That is why we are so happy to have a civilian UN police force in Cyprus. If we have a problem with civilians we send police officers who don't carry arms, who are more mature, and who know how to talk to the people...*

*"Contrary to popular belief, soldiers do not want to fight wars, because they would be the first ones to be killed. They like the situation, where they are seen by the civilian community and by world opinion as doing something very useful - trying to build peace rather than destroy it".*

With such a healing process going on in Cyprus, it is not difficult to understand why the UN is yet hopeful of reunifying a divided island. It is equally not difficult to see - given the 4-way confrontation in Sri Lanka, JVP vs Government, JVP vs. India, India vs. LTTE, and India vs. Sri Lanka - why no unification is possible and why Tamil Eelam is inevitable.

# INDIA'S EXPANSIONISM

## *Dangerous or Tolerable?*

Wakeley Paul

INDIA has always been an enigma, but what kind of problem does it pose to the super and not so super powers outside its borders?

When India attained independence from Britain in 1947 the western world was closing its ranks against a new foe, the Soviet Union. The Marshall Plan was designed to bolster their economies while NATO strengthened their defences. A similar project SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organisation) was formed to deter Soviet expansion in that region.

India was first regarded as an obvious ally of the west against the Soviets. It had just emerged from 150 years of British rule, was bestowed with a British style democratic constitution; was structured with British administration and institutions; and ruled by an English speaking elite steeped in British education. Its ruling Congress Party numbered among its opponents a small and ineffective Communist party. They had little or no affinity with the Soviets and were viewed as one of the prime nations for SEATO membership against Soviet expansion.

Nehru shocked the western leaders when he vowed to keep away Super Power rivalries by proclaiming to be neutral and 'Non Aligned'. This struggling giant, in dire need of western finance and technology, with its daunting problems of poverty and over population, was being naive in imagining it could go it alone. It needed apart from economic help for its upliftment, arms to protect them from Pakistan (with whom they had an ongoing struggle over Kashmir) and from obvious Soviet designs on the region. This pose of distancing themselves from the war mongering super powers was regarded as moral posturing by a novice in world affairs that would leave them penniless, powerless and defenceless.

India not to be outdone by Pakistan that had joined SEATO, and not to be left dangling on account of the cold shoulder treatment particularly from the United States, turned to the Soviets for help, and the Soviets were more than happy to step into the breach. It could afford them an ideal bed in which to sow the seeds of a

communist upheaval, with its vast segment of very poor ranged against a small affluent ruling class.

While the world press did view India in those terms, they seemed to ignore the existence of about 100 million middle class citizens who were to have a great influence in fashioning India's future. They comprised the small businessmen, the minor bureaucrats and local politicians, who far from being separated from their poorer, less educated counterparts, were looked upon as their representatives. It was important for this subculture to protect their interests by shielding India from outside interference on the one hand, and preventing India from internal disintegration on the other. They were united by common bonds of the English language, trade, and interdependence. They sought to keep India united and prevent it from disintegrating due to the religious, language and cultural differences that were rooted in and divided the lower classes. It was the gel that protected India from the lure of foreign economic and political theories because they valued India's adherence to tradition and religion as being more important than the magic solutions offered for instance by communist politicians. They also provided the inspiration for the value of individual entrepreneurship.

The west also did not understand that the ex-colonial countries were struggling to prove their independence from their former rulers. Russia to them, far from being the threat as the west saw them, was seen as a nation like them who resisted the overbearing influence of these western powers.

Furthermore, was India moral posturing as a new naive entrant into world affairs, or was it bent on consolidating its own power in the region from the outset? The press ignored the fact that Nehru had used Lord Louis Mountbatten to bully the independent fiefdoms ruled by the Indian princes to succumb and become part of the Indian Republic by threatening them that India could choke their land-locked kingdoms out of existence if they did not. India did not stop there in its efforts to consolidate its position on the sub-continent.

In 1949 they persuaded the monarch of Sikkim to appoint one of their proteges as prime minister only to have him ousted two weeks later and replaced with an Indian appointed chief executive from India who was to rule in the name of the monarch. In 1975 they became part of India.

In Nepal in order to restore a puppet king to power they let the democrat congress of that nation operate from bases in India to attack those who held the king hostage. Once the king was installed, they ditched the party in favour of the king who was easier to manipulate. To this day the king is struggling to exert his independence from India, having virtually signed away that right in a treaty of friendship in 1949. That same year Bhutan agreed to be guided by India in its external relations. The Portuguese colony of Goa was taken over in 1960. They helped East Pakistan break away and become Bangladesh thus weakening Pakistan and creating a new obligated neighbour. To this day the leaders of Bangladesh are begging India for a more equitable right to the waters of the Ganges and Brahmaputra.

Up to the 1980's India had sought to maintain its supremacy in the sub-continent, even engaging in a border war with China to protect its boundaries from Chinese encroachment.

During this period and even up to the present India, despite its close economic and defence ties to the Soviets, never became their satellites like the nations of eastern Europe or Afghanistan did. During this period it had led a motley group of powerless third world nations called the "Non Aligned Bloc" and engineered these nations to make pious pronouncements and declarations such as making the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace. During this period super powers had refrained from exercising a naval or military presence near the sub-continent. (The closest US Naval Base is in Diego Garcia whose advantages are few compared to Trincomalee discussed later.)

1987 marked a turning point in India's foreign policy in that for the first time they lowered their claws and expanded their presence from the sub-continent into the

ally beginning to be controlled by India as is evidenced by their entry into Sri Lanka where they presently have tens of thousand troops actively engaged in violent "peace keeping" activities in the North-East province of the island.

They entered the island on the strength of an accord with a government promising to underwrite efforts to bring about peace between the dissatisfied minority (who controlled that province) and the government. They soon distanced themselves from the most supported amongst the minority militant groups and sponsored as surrogates quisling elements amongst them who were struggling for power. They armed and trained them, and vowed to form para military groups to combat the principled minority party, while they were locked in peace negotiations with the government in the capital in the south of the island. They showed their displeasure at not being included in the negotiations by doing all in their power to sow dissension in the minority province while the peace talks were in progress.

What one could obviously ask is their interest in this island, to which the answer is Trincomalee Harbour. This, one of the five largest natural deep water harbours in the world, is an ideal haven for a modern nuclear fleet, blessed as it is with many hidden harbours within it. Since the Sri Lankan government had showed signs of veering away from its non-aligned posture by getting the US government to consent to housing the Israeli Mossad in their embassy, to advise the Sri Lankan armed forces on how to handle the minority militants; by permitting the Voice of America to operate a station on its territory; and contracting with a US firm with Pentagon connections to restore and operate the Oil Tank Farm in the harbour; the Indians attached a condition to the Accord in letters attached to it, allowing them to control Sri Lanka's destiny in these areas.

Thus, Trincomalee Harbour and other ports were not to be made available for the military purposes of any nation that would be prejudicial to India's (not Sri Lanka's) interest. The restoration of the Harbour's Oil Tank Farm was to be a joint Indo-Sri Lankan operation. The use of foreign intelligence and military personnel will be reviewed so as not to injure Indo-Sri Lankan relations. India will take over the supply and training of Sri Lanka's security forces, while agreements with foreign

broadcasters shall be reviewed to ensure they are not used for foreign military and intelligence purposes. In short, India would exert considerable powers over Sri Lanka's security arrangements, with the harbour being locked out to any that India did not approve of. That which was declared to be a Zone of Peace was being turned into an Indian sphere of influence.

In late 1988 the Prime Minister of Australia had occasion to express concern over the speed and efficiency with which India responded with aerial and naval help to the Maldive Islands, to thwart a military coup that was in progress. "For a nation that proclaimed no territorial ambitions, they demonstrated a remarkable state of readiness to respond to a crisis in the area."

One then wonders whether the assessment of India as a do gooder in the international scene should give way to Henry Kissinger's assessment that India is "Already the prominent military country in the region" and "has shown no hesitation to use its power to achieve its national interests...It judges issues on a very cold blooded calculation of its own interests".

Does one take the Vernon Walters' view that there are no regional powers because there are only super powers, or do we come to grips with the realities that surround us. India like all nations will justify its external adventures on high principled grounds, like those that support dictatorships in the cause of freedom. There is no consistency to be expected, because like all foreign policy, it is founded on the raw ingredient of self interest rather than high principle.

In sum India needs watching. Its acts and actions, its human rights violations, its desire to over-ride and dominate its neighbours are matters for constant scrutiny. It could allow Russia concessions detrimental to American interests or vice versa. It could, with super power help or without it, command aerial and naval control of the Indian Ocean from the Middle East to Singapore and beyond. America's and Russia's abilities to combat these dangers are a matter for their respective press to raise. The super powers are confronted with a regional presence of consequence that cannot be allowed to lose its head; a regional presence whose human rights violations overseas, to attain their goals, could be seen as an indicator of the depth of their designs.

## YOUR VOICE

*continued from page 2*

**IPKF peace keeping:** All unbiased persons, many of them reputed foreign reporters, write the term "peacekeeping" within inverted commas. Even General Sundarji suggested that the term IPKF should be changed to "Accord Keeping Force"! Let any historian show a single instance where "peace keeping" as in North-East Sri Lanka has been done in the brutal and savage manner it has been.

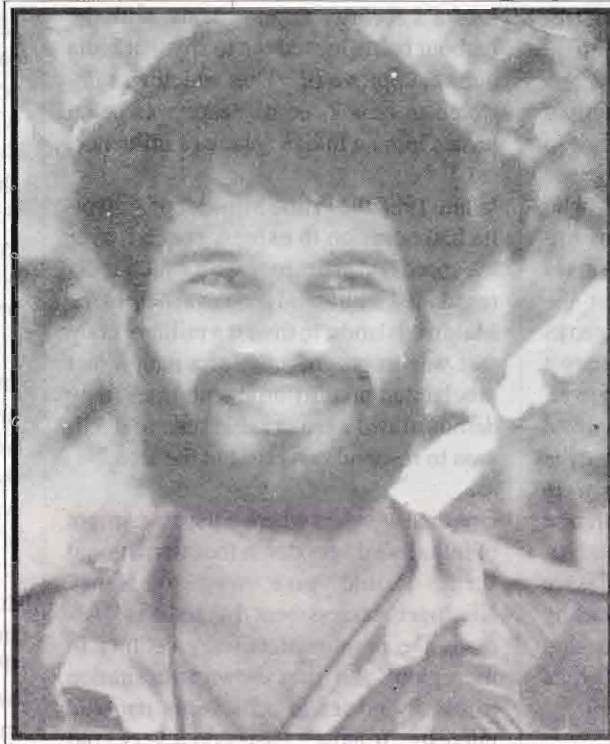
**Indian troops are "far too disciplined and professional":** Have the Indian troops, leave alone Sri Lanka, even in their own homelands followed the rules of war? Are they accountable for the deaths of Tamils (men, women, young and old) in NE Sri Lanka? for the items they steal during cordon and search? the items they snatch at sentry points? At least after the IPKF arrived, do courts and the Police have anything to do with "law and order" in NE Sri Lanka? Is it not the rule of the jungle that prevails in these parts?

**All groups excepting the LTTE have handed over arms to the IPKF:** This is the lie of the century. All groups are fully armed by the Indians and help in Tiger-hunting - not only tigers, anyone suspected as pro tigers, intellectual or student or farmer or shop-keeper. It does not matter. Suspected "houses" are also dynamited and in some instances taken over.

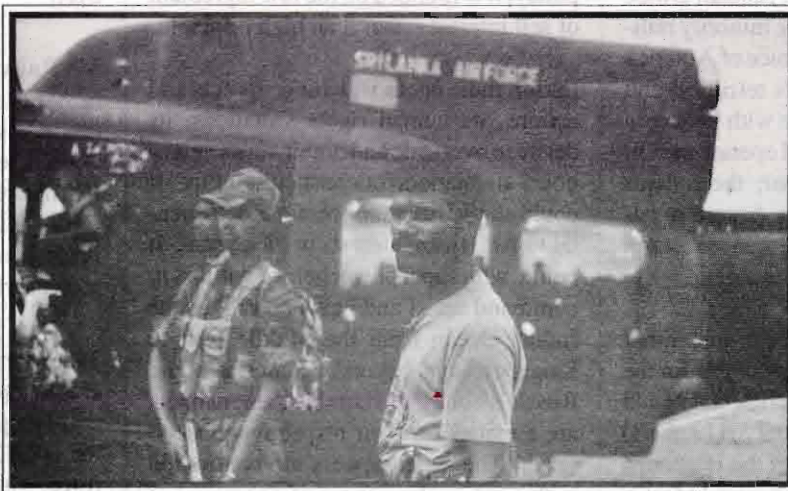
**Mr Rajiv Gandhi's word:** Many a time he has said earlier that India respects Sri Lanka's sovereignty and unitary form of government and that the President (then JR) has just to say "go" and the Indian forces will quit. Now it refuses to go and is fostering separation for the good of its mercenaries. Let the world judge.

**Tigers are refusing to enter the "democratic" process:** Let the Indian forces quit and the quislings be disarmed, even the LTTE. But a genuine peacekeeping force, without partisans, should take over the maintenance of "law and order" and hold elections. Let the people, without fear, vote in the Provincial Council they want. Once stability and calm returns, let the Peace-keeping force return. Let my country stop crying thereafter.

# OUR HOMAGE TO A GREAT MARTYR.



**THE GREAT WAR VETERAN Lt. Col. NAVAM WHO KEPT THE INDIAN FORCES AT BAY IN MULLAITIVU AND PROTECTED THE TAMIL LAND AND ITS PEOPLE UNTIL THE DAY AFTER HE SAW THE LTTE DELEGATES OFF TO COLOMBO WHEN HE WAS GUNNED DOWN BY THE INDIAN FORCES.**



**NAVAM OVERSEEING SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS OF LTTE DELEGATES TO COLOMBO TALKS.**



continued from page 11

## SRI LANKA - A BITTER LESSON

If Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi thinks Sri Lanka is another Cyprus, he had better think again. And soon. While in ethnically divided Cyprus all Turks were for Turkey's intervention, in Sri Lanka, also ethnically divided, all Tamils are no longer for India's intervention. The most militant and powerful group among them, the LTTE, is now as keen as the Sinhalese majority that the IPKF should pull out. Rajiv Gandhi would do well to draw a lesson from Vietnam and Afghanistan and not Cyprus. The US had to withdraw from the first and the Soviet Union from the second, both in ignominy. It was a bitter and costly lesson that they learnt. But both were courageous enough to admit their folly and were willing to make a clean departure from the past.

For New Delhi too, it will be a bitter lesson. But it has to be learnt. With UNP, the Opposition, the LTTE, and the JVP wanting the IPKF to withdraw, India should no longer drag its feet. India is justified in saying that the devolution of powers to the North-East council comprising Tamil areas has not taken place. But no nation can support the theory that an out-

side power has the right to insist on being guardian to a section of its people when the country concerned does not want it to do so. Rajiv Gandhi's observation that India would continue to protect the Tamils in Sri Lanka makes a mockery of that country's sovereignty. The Tamils in Sri Lanka are Sri Lankans, however ethnically they may be near to Tamil Nadu. We have not sent our forces to protect Indians in South Africa even after knowing what a persecuted lot they are.

President Premadasa has asked Rajiv Gandhi to withdraw the IPKF by July 29, the day when the accord between India and Sri Lanka was signed two years ago. At the time of inviting the Indian forces to help him in curbing insurgents, Jayewardene had said that the forces would go back whenever his government asked for their withdrawal. This was an understanding which India cannot violate without being accused of having ulterior motives. From the timing of Premadasa's statement it is clear that the withdrawal of the IPKF was the LTTE's precondition for serious talks. Apparently, he feels encouraged by the first round of talks he has had with the LTTE, which in one of its press releases has said that the solution sought should be "in the interest of the country". Obviously, Premadasa cannot test the sincerity of the LTTE unless he has fulfilled its first de-

mand, which is withdrawal of the IPKF.

New Delhi's 'No' will only make the support open and substantial. The anti-India feeling which is sweeping the island - extremist Sinhalese of the JVP and saffron-clad Buddhist monks are having a field day - will only increase. And the IPKF will be reduced to the status of an occupation army. Our entire policy on Sri Lanka has been faulty. Mrs Indira Gandhi was wrong in training and arming the Tamils from across Sri Lanka. In fact, the IPKF has found to its chagrin the LTTE using the same training and weapons against it. Somehow the ruling party thought that its electoral strategy would be better served by supporting the LTTE. No doubt, Jayewardene was wrong in denying the Tamils their due in Jaffna and other areas and settling the Sinhalese on the Tamil lands in the North. But fighting him surreptitiously, through raids into Sri Lanka from Indian soil, was equally wrong.

Now there is no sane option but to withdraw our forces straightaway. If we do not do so, we will be considered one of the few imperialist powers left in the world. Sending troops abroad is too serious a matter to be left solely to one man, be it President or Prime Minister. [Kuldip Nayar - *The Island*, Sunday 16th July, 1989]

## MALICIOUS PROPAGANDA

The Tigers are not unaware that they are not invincible and that they are not immortal. We are also aware of these eternal truths of natural phenomena. Even so, the news items that appeared in *The Times* (London) rocked the Tamil community in the world and wrenched the hearts of Tiger sympathisers.

It was hard to believe. But because it appeared in a newspaper of the stature of *The Times* many had to believe and in fact believed it. That the news and story which appeared in *The Times* as well as in *The Daily Telegraph* was a diabolic and mischievous attempt on the part of the discredited Rajiv Government was proved beyond doubt when in the forenoon the LTTE issued a press release refuting the Rajiv canard that appeared in the papers.

*The Times* should have taken all pains and precautions to avoid even the least of embarrassment to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and its supporters. This is not just a lapse on the part of the London papers; it is a serious offence for which the papers

merit to be brought before the courts of justice. It does not behove for a paper of *The Times'* standing to throw overboard all norms of journalistic rectitude and to indulge in gimmicks and dirty tricks of this kind to prostitute truth and confuse the gullible readers.

*The Times* and other London newspapers that have stooped down to the mean level of the ordinary tabloids should forthwith offer an apology to the Tamil community as a whole for the seemingly intentional damage they have done through their insensitivity to the feelings of the Tamil community.

They must take note that the Political Committee of the LTTE has denied these baseless reports that the LTTE has split up and that Prabaharan has been assassinated.

The London media also should note that the unfounded reports in the Indian media are malicious lies deliberately fabricated by the Rajiv regime to discredit the LTTE which continues to enjoy the full support of the Tamil people of Eelam in spite of the nominal

existence of the puppet provincial council of the EPRLF installed in power by the discredited IPKF. May we remind the media of the west that the government of India has launched a high powered and malicious disinformation campaign against the LTTE ever since the Sri Lankan government called the LTTE for peace talks. At the same time the Delhi government has also intensified its military offensive against the LTTE in the Tamil areas.

If the western countries and media sincerely believe that there should be peace in Sri Lanka and that the fundamental rights of the human beings should be upheld let them first refrain from publishing poisonous rubbish like the one they published on July 24 and secondly demand the western and other governments to refrain from supplying arms, ammunition and trained personnel to countries like Indian and Sri Lanka who care not too hoots for human rights. To rave and rant otherwise and to make blank proclamations are useless.

A. Visva Eeswaran, London

## PRESIDENT BUSH AND ACCORD

Political analysts had opined for a long time that USA was behind the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and USSR supported the Accord at a later stage to avoid the displeasure of India. The Indian Opposition Front leader, V P Singh, recently submitted a report in this connection. The report revealed that President Bush, when he was in charge of American Defence in 1987, advised Prime Minister Gandhi as to how he should handle the Sri Lankan problem. Thus, Mr Gandhi has been messed up not only by his loyal advisers but also by those who wanted India disintegrated, it is said in the report.

## TWO MORE INDIAN BATTALIONS

At least two more battalions have arrived in Tamil Eelam recently according to informed government sources. They have been identified as the 'Gurkha' regiment.

## RAW INCIDENT

Two wanted militants belonging to TELO were spotted by the Sri Lankan army officers before Indian General A S Kalkat's arrival at Colombo's Taj Samudra hotel to meet the Indian nationals who had booked into the hotel due to JVP's boycott campaign. While they were interrogated by the Sri Lankan Army, the Indian army officials dashed in and said "These men need not answer any questions to the Sri Lankan Army", and whisked them away. These two men are believed to be 'decoys' from the Indian Intelligence, the RAW.

## EPRLF SHOT DEAD BY IPKF

A member of the EPRLF with arms was shot dead by the IPKF at Komari in Eastern district when he attempted to flee ignoring the order to stop.

## RUPAVAHINI STOPS TAMIL TELECASTS

Rupavahini, the T.V station in Sri Lanka, has stopped broadcasting Tamil programmes. Many people have begun to wonder whether Rupavahini has fallen victim to the current wave of anti-Tamilism which has been generated by the anti-government elements.

## V P SINGH WELCOMES LTTE-LANKA AGREEMENT

The leader of India's joint opposition National Front Mr V P Singh has welcomed the agreement reached between the

LTTE and the Sri Lankan government to settle the conflict by negotiation. He has stated that the IPKF should be brought back with dignity and due respect. The full responsibility of ensuring security for Tamils and Indian citizens in Sri Lanka once the Indian troops are withdrawn would be that of the Sri Lankan government, he has declared.

## TAMIL YOUTHS CONSCRIPTED

Thousands of Tamil youths in Tamil Eelam are being forcibly conscripted by EPRLF backed by IPKF. They have been given short haircuts and their eyebrows shaven to prevent them from escaping from the camps where they are being trained. The "forced shaves" would help to identify those who escape from the camps, it is said.

## FORCED ARMS TRAINING

Public servants in the Batticaloa district have been asked to report for arms training by armed EPRLF and ENDLF cadres. The ENDLF has warned them that they would be taken by force if they kept away from training.

## EROS TAKES OATHS

Representatives of EROS have taken their oaths in the Sri Lankan Parliament on July 21 making them the largest group representing the Tamil community in the House. EROS now goes under the name of Eelavar Democratic Front (EDF).

## UMA KILLED

Mr Uma Maheswaran, former leader of the PLOTE, was assassinated in Colombo. He was said to have masterminded last year's coup attempt in the Maldives. He is believed to have arrived secretly in Colombo under an assumed name, carrying a forged passport. A section of the PLOTE is said to be responsible for the murder.

## RAW, IPKF IN EELAM PLOT

It is believed that Indian agencies are actively assisting the EPRLF's move to declare a separate state, in case the Provincial Council in the North and East is dissolved. RAW is alleged to be co-ordinating covert operations with the IPKF and the EPRLF for the creation of another, much larger force designated Additional Citizens Volunteer Force (ACVF). ACVF is projected to be a 12,000 strong quasi-



## TAMIL EELAM NEWS

Army, and is being raised in undercover RAW/IPKF camps in the North and East. Both EPRLF and IPKF officials maintain that the creation of such a force is necessary to enable the EPRLF to resist the LTTE.

## AMERICAN & ISRAELI FORCES

According to an All India Radio broadcast, the EPRLF has alleged that Sri Lanka was trying to instigate American and Israeli forces to annihilate the Tamils in the North-east. The US embassy in Colombo and the Israeli Interests Section have described the allegation as nonsense.

## TAMILS FLEE TO COLOMBO

Due to the mass scale forced conscription of Tamil youth by the EPRLF with the support of the Indian military forces boys above the age of 12 are reported to be fleeing Eelam seeking shelter in Colombo. EPRLF has issued death threats to parents in certain villages to get their children back. Parents are also fleeing for safety. These people are faced with extreme hardship without accommodation and food. Government has opened a welfare centre at Colombo Hindu College to provide temporary accommodation for them.

## 93 INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED

According to the LTTE 93 Indian soldiers were killed and 35 seriously wounded in the confrontation between the two parties, in the month of June. The LTTE lost 51 of their cadres in the same month.

## ALL-OUT ASSAULT ON LTTE

An all-out assault on the LTTE was launched on July 2 by the Indian forces using heavy military hardware including tanks, heavy artillery and mortars. Curfew was declared in Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi and Jaffna areas to suppress information on civilian casualties.

Maximum air power is being used during the operation. Russian made M-24 helicopter gunships are pounding villages with 250 kilo bombs. This action of the Indian government is in total disregard to the appeal made by President Premadasa to Prime Minister Gandhi to cease all offensive operations against the LTTE. It is guessed that it is aimed at disrupting the talks between the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka.

Scores of Tamil civilians have been killed and wounded, several villages were destroyed and economic life has come to a halt in the Mullaitivu and Vavuniya districts. Hundreds of families have fled the villages and taken shelter in the jungles.

### AMIR AND YOGES KILLED

Mr Amirthalingam, former TULF Secretary General, and Mr Yogeswaran who succeeded him as Secretary General were killed and Mr Sivasithamparam, the former TULF President, was wounded when they were shot at by three assassins who were in turn killed by the body guards of Amirthalingam. The incident took place at about 7 p m on Thursday, the 13th July at their residential flat at Bullers Road. The President has directed the IGP to personally direct inquiries. No one claimed responsibility. It is suspected that at least one of the assassins was an ex-member of the LTTE. The LTTE has expressed 'deep distress' and is understood to have launched an investigation of their own.

Mr Sivasithamparam is said to be improving. It is hoped that he would throw light as to whether the murders were premeditated or decided on the spur of the moment, whether the assassins were known to the TULF previously and if so, from where they came and what their mission was.

### LTTE ATTACK ON CONVOY OF 20

An LTTE unit launched a frontal attack on an Indian Army convoy of 20 armoured vehicles near Karuvelan Kandal in Mullaitivu District on July 15. At least 5 Indian soldiers were confirmed killed and casualties are said to be very high. Major Gnanavel was killed on the LTTE side.

### TDP DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL

The Telugu Desam Parliamentary Party has said that further continuance of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka would pose serious problems, "leading to complications resulting in damage to the

country's honour." The party has demanded the immediate withdrawal of the IPKF. The party leader Mr P Upendra, said that "the basic fact is that we are not wanted there, and there is no point in saying we will stay. This is not a correct stand because it will provide a handle to Sri Lanka to internationalise the situation."

Thirty six out of the 40 MPs of the Telugu Desam attended the meeting presided by the Chief Minister and Party President Mr N T Rama Rao.

### LTTE'S VIEWS

Mr Anton Balasingham, Spokesman for the LTTE clarifies:

**Q** Rajiv Gandhi has linked the withdrawal with devolution. This will finally benefit the Tamil people. So why are you opposing the call for more devolution?

**A** The two issues are not linked. This is only a ploy by India to keep her army in Sri Lanka. Their concern for devolution should have been shown two years ago, when we kept asking Delhi to take up the matter with the Sri Lankan government.

**Q** What would be your reaction if the EPRLF government declared Eelam?

**A** We are fighting for a Tamil Eelam, not an Indian Eelam. An EPRLF Eelam would mean carving out a part of Sri Lanka into an Indian protectorate.

**Q** As the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government have decided not to fight each other and resolve all problems peacefully, why won't you surrender arms?

**A** Arms are the only bargaining power to secure the rights of the Tamil people. Once we surrender our arms, who will listen to us? We are not weakened militarily, on the contrary, we have strengthened ourselves with valuable experience in the last two years.

We took up the President's invitation for direct talks because of the way our people were suffering. These last two years have been terrible for them. The Indians have killed over 5000 Tamils.

**Q** There is fear that once the IPKF pulls out from the North-East there will be a bloodbath as the LTTE and other groups fight out each other.

**A** We have no plans whatsoever to wipe

out any other group. We call upon all groups to stop violence and prepare for fair elections.

### CHO ATTACKED

Unidentified attackers hurled acid bombs at an Indian Tamil politician who opposes a Sri Lankan demand for the withdrawal of troops from the island, but failed to injure him, reports said on July 14.

Several men flung acid-filled bulbs, mudballs and rocks at Cho Ramaswamy, a politician and journalist, in a town in the Southern State of Tamil Nadu while he was addressing a meeting, the Press Trust of India said.

This incident occurred two days after the politician said New Delhi should not withdraw its troops from Sri Lanka immediately.

The news agency said the incident triggered panic at the venue of the meeting as the attackers surrounded the area and chanted slogans against Mr Ramaswamy. Editor of the satirical magazine Tughlaq and a prominent playwright.

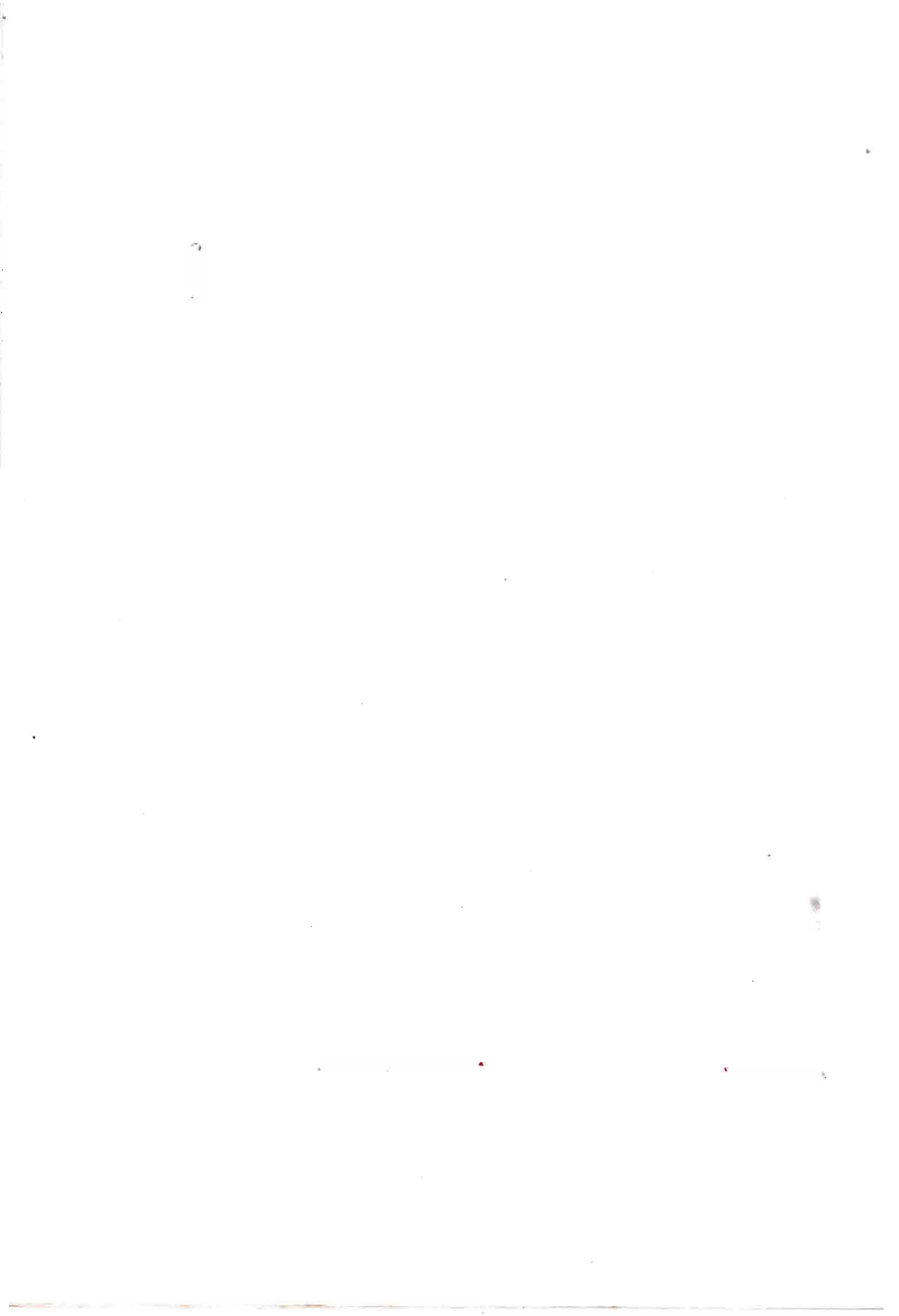
### NO UDI

The Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) announced on July 15 that it has no intention of proclaiming unilateral declaration of Eelam.

### IPKF PULL OUT

Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, threatened to evict India if it refused to pull out its troops by July 29. Being an election year for the Indian Prime Minister, whatever he does in Sri Lanka will be politically damaging. India is aware that the real objective of such a stand is political and not military and is clearly digging for an indefinite stay. Hence, the pretext of India's concern - Has the LTTE renounced violence against the ethnic communities, in particular other Tamil groups? Has it committed itself to the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and the democratic process?

According to the latest news received at the time of going to press, President Premadasa has agreed for a phased out withdrawal of the troops. Thus the confrontation with India is avoided. But, when will Indian troops leave, if at all, is what is in the minds of majority of the Tamils of the North-east.



## FOLK TALES AND HISTORICAL STORIES

By Thaatha

### HOW A TORTOISE SCARED THE WHOLE VILLAGE

Samputhurai was an ancient sea-port in the north of Jaffna. There was a village in the neighbourhood. Once upon a time the fishermen of the village, one day, caught a large tortoise when they cast their nets for fish. Bringing it ashore, they went into the village to call for more hands to carry the tortoise. On their return, they found to their surprise, that the tortoise had turned into a stone. The sky turned scarlet red radiating golden rays.

The elderly folks of the village attributed this to the advent of Sri Devi (Goddess Maha Lakshmi). They said that the "Golden Rays" were from the golden chariot of Indra. Even today, tradition has it that Maha Vishnu had graced the village in the form of a tortoise (Koorma Avataram). (The chariot took him back to "Indralokam".)

The tortoise-like precious stone was taken to the village and a temple was built around it. Later it was re-built as a large structure with seven praharas and a golden dome. It also became known as "Pon-Alayam" (The Golden Temple).

### HOW THE SQUIRREL GOT ITS STRIPES

Rama wanted to take his army from India to Lanka. They had to cross the sea. For that a bridge had to be built.

All the animals joined to help Rama in the bridge building work. The monkeys fetched large stones; other animals placed them in a row. There was a little squirrel that was given the task of filling the crevices in between the stones with sand. The Seven Sister birds had to walk all over and supervise.

The Squirrel would roll on the sandy beach; he would then come and roll on the stones filling all the holes among them with sand. It was hot and the

squirrel soon felt tired. He went to a corner and curling his tail, he fell asleep.

At length the bridge was completed; but to everybody's dismay it was found to be leaking. An inquiry was held. It was revealed that the squirrel had defaulted in his task. For that, he was punished with three stripes drawn all along his back. This is why squirrels have the three indelible stripes, even to this day.

The seven sister birds were also punished for failing to supervise. They cannot walk any more, they may hop and fly.

Remnants of the bridge are found even today; it is marked on the Indian maps as "Adam's Bridge".

### RAMA LEGENDS OF JAFFNA

#### 1. The Sacred Foot-Impression

Legend has it that there exists a firm impression of a Foot on the sea bed, off the Northern coast of Jaffna.

Hence that place is known as "Thiru Adi Nilayam", or the place where the impression of the sacred foot is found. The waters in the sea at this location are believed to be holy; many people perform their ablutionary bathing here daily to wash away their sins.

The Jaffna folks believe the impression to be that of Sri Rama. Long long ago he crossed over from India to Lankapuram, in search of his Queen Sita Devi.

#### 2. Where the Mighty Bow was Planted

There is a legendary bathing tank, within the city of Jaffna. It is on the Manipay Road, close to the Fort.

Many folks believe that Sri Rama Baghavan, passed this way on his journey to Lankapuram. Legends narrate

how when he planted his mighty bow there, water gushed out. He and his retinue were then able to perform their ablutionary bathing there.

Today the spot has been named "Vil-lundi Theertham", or the sacred bath where the Mighty Bow was planted. Attractive bathing pools have been built and many people bathe there now.

### "UNDER THE TAMARIND TREE"

A Dravidian Prince, Ellalan ruled with exemplary justice at Anuradhapura, for forty five years, from 204 B.C to 160 B.C.

One day a blind bard came from his native land in Thondai Nadu, to meet him. The bard played on his musical instrument, the "Yaal", and sang enchantingly. The Prince was highly pleased. He bequeathed on "Yaal Padi" the blind bard, the Northern Territory of Lanka.

The bard was taken in a palanquin from Anuradhapura to the North. The distance was over a hundred miles. On this long journey the party would stop at intervals. The palanquin bearers were only too anxious to stop; so they kept on asking, "Evadam Evadam," (Where, where to halt); but the bard would like to pause only under a good shady tree (he had to perform rituals and have his rest); but being blind he could not see; so he would respond, "Puli Adi, Puli Adi" (Under a tamarind tree, Under a tamarind tree).

To this day, this incident in Jaffna history is remembered in a children's game called "Evadam, Evadam - Puli adi Puli adi". One child blindfolds another and leads him about, asking "Evadam, Evadam" and the other responds, "Puli adi, Puli adi" etc.

The Northern region colonised by the blind bard "Yaal Paadi", became to be known as "Yal Paddanam, or Yalpanam", hence Jaffna.

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# ராஜீவின் அமைதிப்படை உடனடியாக நாடு திரும்ப

## வேண்டும்!

இன்று இலங்கையில் இந்திய அமைதிப் படைக்கு நண்பர்கள் எவருமே இல்லை. வடக்கில் தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகளும், தெற்கில் ஐனதாவிமுக்தி பெருமுனையும், நடுவில் இலங்கை அரசும் ஏதாவது ஒரு விசயத்தில் ஒற்றுமையைக் காண்பிக்கிறார்கள் என்றால் அது இந்தியப்படை கூடிய விரைவில் இலங்கையை விட்டு வெளியேறவேண்டும் என்பதில் தான். இக்கோரிக்கையை இவர்கள் அனைவரும் மறைக்காமல் கூறிவருவது இந்தியாவுக்குப் பிடிக்காமல் இருக்கலாம். ஆனால் இந்த நிலைக்கு இலங்கையிலுள்ளவர்களைக் குறை கூறுவதைவிட நாம் அங்கு எதற்காகச் சென்றோம், இப்போது அங்கே என்ன செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறோம் என்று நம்மையே கேட்டுக் கொண்டால் தெளிவு பிறக்கும்.

போதாக்குறைக்கு இந்தியப்படையின் பாதுகாப்பில் உயிர்வாழ்ந்துவரும் வடகிழக்கு மாகாண அரசுகூட இந்தியப்படையினருக்கு எதிராக சமூக மாணவர்களும், ஆசிரியர்களும் நடத்திவரும் கிளர்ச்சியை ஆதரித்து ஒரு தீர்மானம் நிறைவேற்றிவிட்டது. காற்று எந்தப்பக்கம் அடிக்கிறது என்று இந்தியத் தூதுவருக்கு இப்பொழுதாவது தெரிந்திருக்கும் என்று நம்பலாமா?

இலங்கையின் ஒற்றுமைப் பிரச்சினையை அந்த நாட்டின் அரசியல் தலைவர்களிடம் ஒப்படைத்துவிட்டு, அந்த நாட்டின் இறையாண்மையை மதிக்கும் வகையில் இந்தியா தன் துருப்புக்களை அங்கிருந்து கூடியவிரைவில் விலக்கிக்கொள்வது அனைவருக்கும் திருப்தியளிப்பதாகவும் இருக்கும்; தெற்காசியாவில் சமாதானத்தை நிலைநிறுத்தவும் வழிவகுக்கும்.

—தினமணி தலையங்கத்திலிருந்து, 20-6-89

தமிழீழச் சிக்கலில் இருந்து இந்தியப் பேரரசு மாட்டிக்கொண்டு விழிக்கும் நிலையை எண்ணிப் பார்த்தால் நமக்குப் பரிசுபமாக இருக்கிறது. ஆம் மாட்டிக்கொண்டு திண்டாடுவது வெறும் இந்திய அரசோ, இந்திய அரசின் அமைதிக்காக்கும் படையோ அன்று. மாறாக இந்திய அரசின் ஏகாதிபத்தியச் சிந்தனையும் அதன் அடிப்படையான மதோன்மத்தச் செயற்பாடும் தான். எனவே தான் இந்திய அரசு என்று கூறாமல் "இந்தியப் பேரரசு" என்று கூறுகிறோம்.

அண்டை அயல்நாடுகளுடன் அன்பு செலுத்தும் அன்னையாக இந்தியா இருக்கலாம். அதை ஆதரிப்போம். அறிவு கொளுத்தும் ஆசானாக இந்தியா இருக்கலாம். அதை வரவேற்போம். ஆனால், அண்டை நாட்டின் செல்லாக்காக அரசியல்வாதிகளுடன் மக்கள் விரோத உடன்பாடுகளைக் கையொப்பப்பட்டுக் கொண்டு தனது படைகளைக் கொண்டுபோய் அங்கு குவித்து மக்களை காக்காய்க் குருவி போலச் சுட்டுக் குவித்துக் கொண்டிருப்பதை வால்பிடிக்க முடியுமா? வழிமொழிய முடியுமா?

—தினமணி தலையங்கத்திலிருந்து, 13-6-89

சந்திரன் ஒரு முறை தேய்ந்து வளர்வதற்குள் சரித்திரம் படைத்துவிட்டுச் சடுதியில் தாயகம் திரும்பிவிடும் என்ற நம்பிக்கையோடு சென்ற இந்திய இராணுவம் இன்றுவரை முழுதாகத் திரும்பவில்லை.

தமிழ் சமூகம் என்ற தாரகமந்திரத்தையும், இயந்திரத் துப்பாக்கிகளையும் ஆயுதங்களாக்கிக் கொண்ட பிரபாகரனின் புலிகள் விடுதலை அல்லது வீரமரணம் என்றிருந்த போது, மற்ற தமிழ்ப் போராளிகளின் துணையோடு தேர்தலை நடத்தி, அமைதி அங்கே திரும்பி விட்டதாக வெற்றிபெற்ற வரதராஜப் பெருமாளே சொன்னபோதும், அதில் அத்தனை பேருக்கும் நம்பிக்கை ஏற்படவில்லை.

இன்னும் விடுதலைப் புலிகள் காட்டிலேயே பாதுகாப்பு இருப்பதாலும், ஆட்சிக்கு வந்த தமிழர் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு இந்தியப் படையைத் திரும்ப அனுப்பும் தைரியம் வராததாலும், வடக்கு கிழக்கு மாநிலங்களில் வாழும் தமிழர்களுக்குச் சிங்கள இராணுவத்தின் மீது முழுமையான நம்பிக்கை ஏற்படாததாலும், அமைதி ஒரு கிளவிக்குறியாகவே இருந்து வருகிறது.

அமைதி காக்கும் படை இந்தியா திரும்பி விட்டால், அமைதி மேலும் காத்திருக்காமல் பூலங்கைக்குத் திரும்பிவிடும்.

—சாவி 26-4-89

பேசாமல் உடனே இந்தியத் துருப்புகளை இலங்கையிலிருந்து வாபஸ் பெறுவதே நல்லது! என்ன செய்வது...? வியட்நாமிலிருந்து அமெரிக்கத் துருப்புகளும், ஆப்கானிஸ்தானிலிருந்து ரஷ்யத் துருப்புகளும் வாபஸ் ஆனதுபோல நமது துருப்புகளும் திரும்பி வருவதுதான் ஒரே வழி. Sooner, the Better!

—ஜூனியர் போஸ்ட் தலையங்கத்திலிருந்து 16-6-89

அந்நிய மண்ணில், அந்த நாட்டு அரசின் அனுமதியின்றி நமது படைகள் இருந்தால் ஆக்கிரமிப்பாளராகத்தான் நம்மை உலகம் கருதும்!

விடுதலைப் புலிகளுடன் நமது படைகளை மோதச் செய்ததும், வடகிழக்கு மாகாணக் கவுன்சிலுக்கு ஒரு பொம்மை அரசு அமைத்ததும் எதிர் விளைவுகளை எண்ணிப் பார்க்காமல் இந்திய அரசு அடுத்தடுத்துச் செய்த தவறான காரியங்கள்!

வெறும் வீம்புக்காகத் தொடர்ந்து தவறுகளைச் செய்யப்போகிறோமா அல்லது விவேகத்துடன் உண்மை நிலையைப் புரிந்து கொண்டு செயல்படப்போகிறோமா? இதுதான் இன்றைய மிகப் பெரிய கேள்வி.

—ஆளந்தவிகடன் தலையங்கத்திலிருந்து, 25-6-89

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