

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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In the Punjab, women weep and wail for their dear ones wantonly killed in the course of the Sikh struggle for Khalistan. In Eelam, no press photographers are permitted by the Indian 'Peace-keeping' force to capture the anguish of women whose husbands and sons have been slaughtered not for fighting but for just being born Tamil.



**Getting the 'democratic process' moving at the point of a gun !
(A soldier of the IPKF stands guard outside a polling station in the Eastern Province)**

YOUR VOICE

Due to constraint of space, readers are kindly requested to restrict their letters to "Your Voice" to a maximum of 200 words - Ed.

SHY TO SPEAK IN TAMIL

V Ramanan, East Ham

I was present at the Evening of Eelam Music, Dance and Culture organised by the Cultural Committee of the World Federation of Tamils (London). Though I should, as an amateur, concede that the items were uniformly good, I was totally disappointed and exasperated to note that none of those who addressed the gathering at the end of the programme chose to speak in the Tamil language. Though more than ninety per cent of the audience was Tamil, yet all the speeches were in English.

It is a blot on the Cultural Committee of the W.F.T. which has taken upon itself the arduous task of fostering Tamil language and Tamil arts, to have paid such a scant regard for the Tamil language on that day. If we can't make our people speak in Tamil on occasions like this, where else will they?

A NAME FOR YOUR DAUGHTER

By S.K. Nayagam, Malaysia

Permit me through your excellent magazine to convey my thanks to Rohini for her beautiful compilation of the above list. It is very timely and informative as in this jet age the younger of our community seem to favour brevity although proudly adhering to our culture and tradition. Could you, for the benefit of all of us, request Rohini to present to us through your esteemed magazine a similar list of names for our sons and grandsons? I am sure many grandparents-to-be, like me, would be very appreciative. Thank you.

SELECT THE QUESTIONS WISELY

M R Arangan, London

I read with not a little amusement your 'Ask Rani' column in the TVI. It is too early for me to make any comments now. It is good that you have started this feature and I am sure that it would be an attractive part of the TVI. I hope Rani will maintain a high standard in the selection of questions of which she is bound to receive many. Let her not demean the column by accommodating only

questions which titillate or are meant for women's magazines.

WANTON KILLING OF FRANCIS

M K Eelaventhana, T E L F

The killing of Francis, the LTTE leader of the Eastern Province, is not a matter for rejoicing but of profound grief. The facts as reported in the news media show that he was not killed in a confrontation but was tracked down and then mown down. Is this the IPKF's idea of maintaining the peace? When Tamils were slaughtered by successive Sinhalese regimes, since 1956, India felt it was a domestic matter. Nevertheless, when India finally came in, in 1987, the Tamils of Eelam and the whole world thought that the saviours of the Tamils had at last come. Lo and behold! the brutal killings of the Tamils and their leaders have gone on unabated because of the might of India. This is the first time in the history of the world that saviours have turned into marauders. The IPKF appears to have been a Trojan Horse.

When one Francis is killed, ten will emerge. The sooner India realises this and stops hunting the LTTE cadre the better. Otherwise India will go down in history as the destroyers of the Tamil nation of Eelam.

TERRORISTS

R Sivagnanam, Wimbledon

Can't we do something about the use of the word "Terrorists" by the media in the Sri Lankan context? Why are the foreign media so partisan and blind? When will the foreign media stop using the word "terrorists" and instead use the expression "militants" "Combatants" or "Freedom fighters" to describe the Sri Lankan Tamils who have been fighting for justice and equality for more than ten years?

SUPPORT FOR LTTE?

R Srithar, Sussex

Your magazine portrays that the Tamils living in the North and East of Sri Lanka support the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to the hilt. If that were true, how do you account for the media reports that the election for the Provincial Council has been successful and that more than sixty per cent of the people voted at the polls in which LTTE did not participate?

PC ELECTION IN THE N & E; IS IT A FARCE?

K Indran, Seven Sisters

If the reports published in the Daily Telegraph of Nov.20 to the effect that the IPKF were carrying ballot boxes in the nooks and corners of the Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts (like beggars with their begging bowls) forcing all they met on the way to cast their votes are true, do you think that the International Community will dismiss the recent Provincial Council Elections as a farce?

FATE OF EELAM STRUGGLE

S Ratnam, Wembley, UK

With the Indian Government using EPRLF, ENDLF and the TULF to crush the Tamil Eelam struggle, I am afraid that the sacrifice made by the Father of the Tamil Nation, our great leader S J V Chelvanayagam, his trusted deputies like the late Mr Vanniasingham, and our youth with their lives, have all been wasted in vain. The LTTE has stood by its commitments and made Tamils a proud nation. One wonders whether the LTTE has failed to mobilise the support of the expatriate community the world over. May I call upon the LTTE leadership to make all efforts to mobilise the support of the Eelam Tamils scattered all over the world.

ONLY HOPE FOR THE TAMILS OF EELAM

S Sakthy, (age 13) London

The only hope for the Tamils of Eelam is the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The oppressed people of Eelam thought that the Indians were their friends and that they would come to help them. They never thought that Rajiv would sign a worthless accord with the cunning fox J R and betray the poor oppressed Tamils. They never dreamt that Rajiv would send over 100,000 troops under the guise of Peace Keeping Force to kill, rape and torture them. The Tigers have always stood with the Tamils from the start. The young brave boys and girls have sacrificed their lives and are even now sacrificing their lives for the sake of the Tamil people. They are fighting the Indian force. The Tamils should always support the Tigers as they are the only hope for a free Tamil Nation.

THE ROLE OF EPRLF AND OF THE TAMIL CONGRESS

TVI deplores the surrender of EPRLF to the machinations of Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). EPRLF and its allied small bands must realise that RAW possibly is infiltrated by the counter-espionage agents of foreign powers working contrary to the interests of the Eelam Tamils. We cannot envisage EPRLF yet playing the role of Pierre Laval and the Vichy Government in the France that was free of Nazi occupation; however, it was also known that Vichy was a puppet of the Nazis. EPRLF must realise that in the end the patriotic French people rallied behind General de Gaulle and the Free French Movement. EPRLF should have second thoughts on collaborating in a gigantic fraud perpetrated on Eelam Tamils both by Rajiv Gandhi and J R Jayewardene.

There is a word in the English language lent to it by a Norwegian Nazi collaborator during World War II. "Quisling" means "a person co-operating with an enemy who has occupied his country." Why should EPRLF or Tamil Congress co-operate with our national enemies? The Tamil Congress supports Mrs Bandaranaike's presidential candidature. Mrs Bandaranaike has openly declared that she is against a merged Tamil homeland.

TVI appeals to pro-Sinhala or pro-IPKF organisations in Eelam to desist from such sectarian moves to achieve narrow objectives. They do not appear to understand, despite the accumulated experience of 1948 to 1988, that the Sinhala leadership is incapable of throwing up any statesman of moral worth and stature. From D S Senanayake to J R Jayewardene, there has been only cynicism and skilful treachery in dealings with the Tamils. Nor should EPRLF place reliance on IPKF. The best that India can do for us is to "Divide and Quit" as Jinnah told the British. The Tamils of Eelam can negotiate, if that is the Indian wish, a treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship with India.

UNGOVERNABLE SINHALA LANKA

Aid donors, international mediators and peace-keepers may well pause to consider our observations. All that territory which excludes the Northern and Eastern Provinces (Tamil Eelam) is Sinhala. Consider the violence, destruction of State and private property, hartals and strikes that have plagued Sinhala territory since independence. This violence is nationally self-destructive of the interests of the Sinhala inhabitants. The freedom fighters of Tamil Eelam are different. They are engaged in a war of national independence.

Strikes have been the bane of every Sinhala government since 1947 and even before, not infrequently accompanied by violence. The language controversy from 1955 has encouraged Sinhala fascio bands to pogromise the Tamils. Anti-Tamil pogroms have characterised the years 1956, 1958, 1977, 1983. The hartals of 1953, 1966 (against the Tamil Regulations) and those organised by the JVP since 1987 have paralysed governments. The JVP insurrection of 1971 and JVP violence in South Sri Lanka and Colombo since 1986-87 have brought government to a standstill. Political assassinations, including the attempted kidnapping of Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike by the JVP in 1971, have further marred the landscape. The propensity to violence by the state against protest has been typical since 1977. There have been more years of emergency rule since independence than normal government.

The entire record is unprecedented for any state claiming to be democratic. Why has experience in the exercise of the franchise since 1831 not mollified proclivities to violence? Are the Sinhalese prone to violence and if so how can they be saved from themselves? This is their problem. But it impinges on the Tamils. Whatever international aid comes to the Colombo government must therefore be considered in the context of this dismal failure in self-discipline on the part of the Sinhalese.

TAMIL VOICE International

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மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு

Volume 1 No 22

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Contents:

Your voice	2
Editorial	3
Sri Lanka's next president and the Tamils	4
Fortnightly Forum	5
Thirukkural	6
Ask Rani	7
Curfews and chaos on island of fear	8-9
Bharata Natayam and heart attack	9
Rule of the Jungle	10
Gopalsamy exposes Rajiv	11
The role of caste and class in Tamil politics	12
Mockery of democratic elections	13
People and Events	14-15
Eelam News	16
News from Eelam	17
Political, not military leadership must evolve	18
Late SJV's address	19
Amir 'No Asylum'	20

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SRI LANKA'S NEXT PRESIDENT AND THE TAMILS

By our Political Analyst

The two chief candidates for President are Mrs. Bandaranaike and Mr. Premadasa. Of the two, other factors apart, given the Sinhala voters desire for a change in government and the anxiety to utilise the power of the franchise, Mrs. Bandaranaike is the likely winner. We qualify this assumption with a proviso. The last card up President JR's sleeve is to declare martial law if the situation deteriorates between now and the date of the Presidential election, scheduled for December 19. In that event, as in Pakistan and Bangladesh, President Jayewardene may declare himself Chief Martial Law Administrator. He may choose to have for general administrative purposes, as President, Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, who could win in a questionable election. Mr. Premadasa will then have to function under the surveillance of the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The Sinhalese would have a two-headed Executive, not the present single, omnipotent, overmighty Executive President. We will not be surprised however if elections are postponed.



Mrs. Bandaranaike

How does all this bode for the Tamils of Eelam? Mrs. Bandaranaike's plans to handle the problem, if she became President, are indicated in a revealing interview given to Laurent Zecchini of *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (Nov. 6, 1988). She stated "The Indian soldiers will have to go. No one, not even the Tamils, wants them to stay." On the merged North-East Provincial Council, she said, it (the Council)

"can only divide our country a little more." The correspondent added "Mrs. B relies mostly on dialogue to end both the Tamil insurrection and Sinhalese extremism." We must not forget that Mr. Anura Bandaranaike once stated that **all that was needed to put down the Tamil freedom fighters was to ask the Chinese Army to cancel their week-end holiday.**



Mr. Premadasa

Mr. Premadasa has also declared his opposition to the merged North-East Provincial Council. He wants the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord replaced with a treaty. He wants the IPKF withdrawn. **He too has hopes of Chinese intervention.** On the occasion of President Jayewardene's birthday anniversary (17 September), which was the occasion for the formal opening of the Chinese-constructed new Supreme Court complex, Mr. Premadasa, in commending Chinese assistance stated, "it was an example of how powerful countries could win the hearts and minds of people in small nations through genuine friendship and generosity, not by flexing of muscles and aggressive threats." Thus, in the post-election scenario, the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China and High Commissioner Jyotindra Dixit will have to share the role of "Lord Protector" of Sri Lanka's Sinhalese.

None of these stories, dialogues and Chinese military assistance (which in any case is, from our point of view, an intervention which could cause adverse reactions in New Delhi and Moscow), provide any tangible answer to the question of Eelam. Neither candidate is even willing to let the

grievances of the Tamils be aired. The Welioya colonisation scheme which results in the robbery of our traditional territory has not even been given passing attention.

The Eelam Tamils stand exposed more than ever before to the armed might not only of the Indian Army but now also of the People's Liberation Army of China. A way must be found. We appeal to the United Nations Secretary General to organise a permanent ceasefire, send a UN Peace-keeping Force and arrange for proximity talks between the Sinhalese and Eelam Tamil leaders. In the interim, a provisional government must be set up in the merged province to undertake the rehabilitation of our people (education, health, housing, transport and development of our economy). Our compatriots in the Western world must exercise pressure towards this end.

LTTE DENIES THE MASSACRE OF SINHALESE CIVILIANS

The Political Committee of the LTTE has issued the following statement from its headquarters in Jaffna on Nov 14, 1988, denying any involvement in the alleged massacre of Sinhalese civilians in the Trincomalee district.

"This is malicious propaganda carried out by the Sri Lankan Govt. to tarnish the image of our organisation. This massacre could have been the dirty work of the Indian-backed Tamil terrorist groups to drive a wedge between the LTTE and the Sinhalese political movements who are seeking an understanding with our organisation", the statement concluded.

PLO RECOGNIZED BY SEVENTY NATIONS

The Palestinian Liberation Organisation, which recently declared the creation of a Palestinian State, expects at least 70 nations to recognize their State. Already more than thirty one (31) countries have recognized the nationhood of Palestine.

FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

FALTERING DEMOCRACY OR TOTAL ANARCHY?

So Emperor Jayewardene fiddles while Sri Lanka burns. In the first Presidential elections as such, the two major candidates are pandering to mob rule. In the grand tradition of Sri Lankan politics, both are beating the drum for Sinhala supremacy and seem, according to *Asiaweek* "in thrall to a chauvinist underground 'student' gang that proposes to create a desert and call it peace." The survival of democracy, if one could call it that, is under severe test as the JVP intends to intensify its campaign of violence. On November 10, in the worst day of clashes in the current JVP onslaught, at least 15 people were shot dead and more than 25 injured by security forces in three separate incidents during anti-government demonstrations. In so doing, the Government stood by its declaration the previous day that demonstrators would be shot on sight.

As the election campaign entered its final stage with the acceptance of nominations of three candidates - Mrs Bandaranaike, Mr Premadasa and Mr Ossie Abeygoonesekera - the JVP ordered a nationwide hartal which closed businesses, shops and even government offices. Few doubt that Sri Lanka faces its most serious political crisis yet since independence. The extent of the JVP's influence was displayed when its call brought much of the country to a standstill. The strike came after three days of JVP-sponsored walkouts which affected Colombo port where naval ratings had to help clear 21 ships waiting to sail, and the army called upon to manage the country's telecommunications system and the transport sector. The JVP in its leaflets has called for the present series of strikes and disruption to continue "to the end." This has been taken to mean until the government is at last overthrown. In a desperate attempt to halt a slide into anarchy, Emperor Jayewardene has temporarily stopped fiddling and instead decided to play god by approving a series of emergency measures.

THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES

The new laws called the Prevention of Threat of Death Regulations, state that anyone who possesses or prints any document containing a statement or picture that constitutes a threat of death will be guilty of an offence. The offender, if convicted by a court, is liable for the death penalty. The same applies to anyone who publishes or distributes such documents. Moreover this penalty will be meted out to anyone who threatens with death another person to resign from a political party, trade union, or induces government workers to stop work.

The Emperor has also re-enacted existing regulations allowing the security forces to take possession of bodies and to bury them or cremate them without inquests. The directive, gazetted on November 9, was last enacted during the riots following the signing of the Accord. Observers in Colombo say that the move is designed to allow the government to remove quickly the evidence of shootings on the streets and to control information on numbers killed or wounded. In addition it restricts the JVP from turning those shot by the security forces into political martyrs.

The text of the regulations warns those who have any doubts about the determination of the government that: "These regulations will be strictly enforced in the interests of the welfare of the people of this country." The welfare of which people, one may well ask.

THE PRICE OF POWER

Such action is not without consequences. Tourists who contribute much needed foreign currency to the crumbling economy were evacuated in their thousands. There were more than 8000 tourists - mainly Swiss, French German, Italians and a few British - holidaying on the island. For the first time in years, hotels in Colombo were filled near to capacity when the holidaymakers were moved from south-west resorts, and others

who had arrived with plans to head south were advised not to do so. The Ceylon Tourist Board's recommendation that the tourists return home is a real blow to the trade already crippled by the closure of the industry in the north and the east.

In other developments, two ministers resigned from the Emperor's court. The Justice Minister, Dr Nissanka Wijeyeratna claimed that he was resigning for personal reasons. It is well known, however, that he and his colleague Deputy Justice Minister Shelton Ranaraja have resigned as a protest at the Emperor's failure to abide by his earlier decision to dissolve Parliament.

MALDIVIVE UPDATE

Mohan Ram writing in *India Abroad* says that the attempted Maldivian coup speaks of the failure of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). The mercenary invasion was a shock to India's intelligence agencies. Delhi was taken by surprise by the events in Male despite an active RAW presence in all the capitals that matter to India's geostrategic interests. The forces behind the coup still remain a matter of speculation and conjecture. A Sri Lankan official in Washington was quoted as suggesting a payment of \$2 million to the LTTE by the sponsors of the coup. But it seems unlikely that the LTTE would have lent itself to a mercenary operation. Assuming LTTE involvement negates the IPKF's claim to have broken the back of the movement and the effectiveness of RAW's negotiations until mid-September with the LTTE on India's behalf.

The involvement of Tamil militant mercenaries in the abortive coup, however, cannot be dismissed out of hand. Several militants outside of the LTTE have been unemployed since the IPKF disarmed them. Some of them could well have been recruited by the sponsors of the coup. As Ram notes: "But such a possibility does little credit to the IPKF and RAW which together claim to be on top of the situation in Sri Lanka's Tamil areas."

THIRUKKURAL

S.Sriskandarajah

வழுத்தினாள் தும்மினே ஓக அழித்தமுதான்
யாருள்ளித் தும்மினீர் என்று.

"Vazhuththinaal Thumminein Aaha Azhiththazhuthaal
Yaar Ullith Thummineer Enru" - Transliteration

When I sneezed she blessed me, but at once changed her mind and wept,
asking "At the thought of whom did you sneeze?" - Translation

Once again we are discussing a Kural from **Kaamaththuppaal** which subtly and succinctly portrays the difficulty in explaining the innermost emotional feelings of a lass or girl who is inescapably gripped by the tentacles of love.

Thiruvalluvar says that sulking adds delight to love-making; and hastens to say further that it should be like the pinch of salt which is sprinkled on our food. If sulking is not in the appropriate proportion, it could not only make life insipid but could also wreck life. Dishes without a dash of salt are bland and tasteless; but if added in excess it could lead to blood pressure also!

As love is tenderer and more delicate than the softest of flowers, Thiruvalluvar has taken great pains at every point to stress the need for and importance of sulking. The Kural that is being discussed tells us of one of the several subtle ways in which sulking may be initiated by a lover. The present style of sulking, as spoken of in this Kural, is based on the Tamil traditional belief that women are very possessive and selfish, and that they continue to harp on the age-old theory that men are biologically promiscuous or at least more promiscuous than women.

Let us now see the contextual setting of this Kural. As scheduled, the girl and the boy friend dated and courted at the appointed place. They exchanged pleasantries and spoke on odds and ends of things including the question of breaking the news of their love affair formally to their respective parents. As this conversation was in progress umpteen number of thoughts criss-crossed the mind of the boy and he had occasion to sneeze somewhat violently. The care and concern of the girl for the boy was such that even before he ceased sneezing she wished him "Noorul" (long life). But not a fraction of a second passed before she entertained funny and unwholesome suspicions for which her society is responsible.

There is a belief almost bordering superstition that sneezing is generated in a person when somebody dear and near to that person living far away or even close by thinks or speaks or refers to the one sneezing. The girl in our episode, being a creature of the society that moulded and brought her up, was naturally disturbed when her boy friend, whom she had entrapped, sneezed. Immediately her imagination took wings and ran riot. She came to the conclusion that even as her lover was trying to pacify her, another girl-friend of his has thought or spoken of him and that was why he sneezed. So, without second thoughts she asked him crudely "Who is that fair lady who is right now pining for you so as to spark off a sneeze in you?"

The boy who was quite innocent and devoted solely to this girl used all his powers of persuasion to convince his lover that she was wrong and that she was doggedly holding fast to a superstition concocted by her forebears and that such superstition has no scientific basis. But the girl wouldn't agree and continued to pout. As the boy was making further efforts to convince the girl that she was the only girl to whom he had surrendered his heart and soul, he felt that another lightning-like sneeze was on its way and he strenuously made all efforts to suppress it. Who on earth can stop a sneeze which is reckoned as the fastest natural thing in the world, having a speed of about 167 kilometres per hour! The girl who was astoundingly observant, was quick to react. Even as the boy struggled to prevent the sneeze at its primordial stage, the girl, quite unkindly, cut in and said, almost sobbingly, "I know; I know well now. Some other fortunate girl is thinking of you right now and because you want to hide that you are in love with another pretty girl you are unsuccessfully striving to contain your sneeze. It is useless trying to hide your infidelity. Come on, speak the truth;

who is that girl?"

What can the poor boy do? How can he drive his faithfulness and purity into the head of this girl who is seizing every opportunity to find fault with him and continue with her sulking?

When he sneezed she fumed and feigned anger. When he tried to control the sneezing also she exploded. Such is the nature of possessive women! They are cruelly possessive and their love can indeed be cruel. Thiruvalluvar who knows the vagaries and ways of the world has magnificently succeeded in picturesquely presenting the tender and fragile feelings of women torn and tormented by love.

In which other literature of the world can you find such grandeur of style in the expression and exposition of the intricate and noble human feelings and emotions?

UNP'S RULE MAY BE EXTENDED;

Mrs. Bandaranaike appealed to all sections that have taken to arms not to disrupt the elections and ensure a longer stay in office for the UNP, thereby destroying the hopes of the people and of a nation. The Indian forces were already on the alert; and not to give an opportunity to invite them to rule the rest of the country as they now do in the North and East, she said. "Everyone is asking for a dissolution of Parliament but the Prime Minister says 'no'. The President also went back on his assurance. At the request of the Mahanayakes I went and met the President. He agreed to implement the 10 proposals placed before him and that Parliament would be dissolved the following day. However, within 90 minutes of my returning home, he telephoned me and said he cannot implement the proposals because the Prime Minister and some Ministers were opposing it." The same problem had been encountered by the TULF leadership, she said. "They told me that they could have no faith in the word of the President or this government. This was what aggravated the Northern situation and now the government is doing the same to the rest of the country." "Expect the worse and prepare yourselves", she said.

Ask Rani

TO EAT OR NOT TO EAT

Dear Rani,

My parents are strict vegetarians. I know other Hindus who eat meat. I feel out of place with my English friends and can't even think of inviting them for a meal as I would be embarrassed. My mother wouldn't listen to me when I try to tell her that being a vegetarian is old-fashioned and not done in England. What is wrong with eating meat? - Radha, East Ham.

Rani replies:

As a former flesh eater, I naturally find your letter puzzling. People are vegetarians or vegans (those who do not eat any animal products whatsoever, including milk, cheese, etc.) for a number of reasons. I stopped eating meat and fish because I realised that bloodshed was totally unnecessary for my sustenance. Others are vegetarians because their religion forbids eating all or some particular flesh. Some forsake flesh for purely health reasons, others for reasons of cost. Whatever the reason, one thing is for sure; vegetarianism is on the rise in Western countries. If you don't believe me look at the range of vegetarian food that is now available in supermarkets. It might interest you to know that among Westerners who have advocated vegetarianism for ethical reasons are Pythagoras, Leonardo da Vinci, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, Benjamin Franklin, Percy Shelly, Leo Tolstoy, H.G.Wells and George Bernard Shaw. So you are in good company!

HONOUR THY FATHER AND MOTHER

Dear Rani,

My parents live with us. My husband and I find it difficult living with them in our small house. They try to help look after the children but they are more of a nuisance than anything else. As a result there is a lot of tension. My husband shouts at me about them (his parents are both dead), but what can I do? Also, who can tell me if

I can get any assistance? - Aruni, Notts.

Rani replies:

I am saddened to read your letter. Your problem is becoming increasingly common among Asian families. Without knowing more details my advice can only be of a very general nature. Talk over the problems with your husband, your parents, and then if possible with the three together. It may be that there are minor things that can be corrected. For instance, you should tell your parents kindly and firmly that they are being a nuisance with the children. There may be matters that your parents do not like, but have been unable to say so. Talk things over, and in the meantime contact your local Citizens' Advice Bureau for assistance.

RIGHT TO PRIVACY

Dear Rani,

My father thinks that he must read any letters that I receive or write. So, I don't have any friends as I haven't written any letters. When I complained about it, he said that at my age that is what should be expected (I am 14). My uncles say the same thing and that it was worse when they were young. I don't have any privacy in my room either. My family walk in and out as they please and disturb me in the middle of my school-work. I can't even keep a diary because I know that it will be read. When I suggested a lock-up diary, my father said that I had no need to write anything private. Please tell me what you think. -Shanthi, Edinburgh

Rani replies:

I believe that everyone is entitled to a certain degree of privacy. The amount, however, will vary according to individual families. My parents for example never opened my letters or each other's, but I often open my husband's letters. You should explain to your father that you feel restrained in writing to your friends, and as a result now find yourself with hardly any. I am sure he will realise your need for



privacy and respect that right. By the same token you should not use the lack of privacy as an excuse for not making friends. I doubt if you need to correspond with friends made at school. Instead of keeping a diary, why not write your experiences in essay form in a note-book? Personal space is very much a part of culture, custom and circumstances. Extended families living in the same house have been the norm in Tamil culture. Houses back home often have rooms that open into one another. It is to be expected, therefore, that people would not regard a room as their private space. You should appreciate that you are in the fortunate position of having a room all to yourself. You could suggest to your family that they knock before entering your room. Explain that interrupting you in the middle of school-work will affect your performance. Every Tamil family understands the importance of educational achievement!

SMOKING IS OFFENSIVE

Dear Rani,

Do you think smoking is a bad habit? I see a lot of Tamil men smoking, and sometimes Tamil women too. So, I wonder whether it is as bad as some people say smoking is. -Menaka, Leeds.

Rani replies:

Smoking damages not only the health of the smoker but that of others who are effectively forced into becoming passive smokers. It is with distress that I have watched the increasing numbers of women who smoke. I find anyone smoking, male or female, in whatever attire, offensive; women in saree even more so.

MEDIA REPORTS

CURFEWS AND CHAOS ON ISLAND OF FEAR

Peter Hillmore, Colombo

THE ATTACK came without warning. The political meeting had been going on for some time and, like political meetings everywhere, it was becoming boring as we waited for the main speaker. Then hand grenades were thrown into the crowd from the darkness, one rolling along the tin roof of the stage where the presidential candidate was waiting to make his speech. His security chief rushed forward and fell on the bomb, covering it with his body before it exploded. When the smoke and tear gas fired by nervous police cleared, four people were lying dead and about 50 were injured, some seriously, blood covering their clothes. Another bomb was later found under the platform. When I went to talk to one of the speakers next day, there were steel shutters at the entrance to his office and an old revolver on his desk.

The outrage took place in the middle of Colombo, the Sri Lankan capital, but it didn't seem to be reported in the government-controlled newspapers next day. The main item on the television news was the riveting fact that the Prime Minister, Ranasinghe Premadasa - another presidential candidate - had opened a new folk art centre. This could be because the candidate at the rally came from an opposition group. Or I could have missed the item among all the other reports of terror. There were a total of 18 separate deaths reported on that day alone: four bus drivers here, a postman there, a couple of government officials, several shopkeepers and other ordinary civilians.

Sri Lanka is in total chaos. Things have fallen apart, the political centre has long since failed to hold and anarchy is now loosed upon the island. If tourists had not been advised by the authorities to leave, they would be holidaying amid three-day curfews, power cuts and blackout, fuel shortages, and fear. Many hospitals have to use standby generators. Few buses are running, and the railway lines have been blown up in several places. The historic town of Kandy was without water and petrol. Last week, many resort hotels were forced to close. Schools have been

shut for almost a month, and government offices are closed.

The government has all but declared a state of emergency, and introduced martial law. Apart from the almost permanent curfew in some areas, police and soldiers are now empowered to shoot curfew-breakers on sight and they are allowed to take away bodies and bury them without inquest. The printing of 'subversive' literature is punishable by imprisonment, even death. In the north of the island, terrorists fighting for a separate Tamil homeland and keeping 50,000 Indian troops at bay last week ambushed a bus and killed 27 people. There were provisional elections in the area yesterday. Because the voting is being boycotted by the main Tamil group, the Tigers, polling booths had to be manned by officials flown in from other parts of the island and guarded by Indian soldiers. The boycott means that the elections will be meaningless, doing nothing more than fulfilling a pledge made when Indian troops arrived a year ago.

North and South are not geographical definitions in Sri Lanka, but political. North is where the Tamils, who make up 17 per cent of the population, live. All the rest, most of the island, is the home of the Sinhalese and is termed South. There is trouble here too, from the underground JVP or People's Liberation Front movement (once Marxist-inspired, now seemingly fascist controlled).

While the Tamil Tigers are easily recognisable in the North - they carry guns openly and any villager will put you in touch with them - the JVP, once a political party, is now an underground terrorist movement. Though reckoned small in numbers, it wields an alarming degree of influence on the presidential election set for next month. The Prime Minister has studiously avoided outright condemnation of the JVP in his campaign speeches, claiming disingenuously that there is no hard evidence it is responsible for daily murders. His main rival, Mrs Bandaranaike, put out tentative feelers to the terrorists when forming her coalition, but discussions broke down.

It is not entirely clear what the nihilistic JVP actually wants. Its myriad demands also seemed to call for the wholesale dismantling of the constitution. But it is clear what effect its brutal policy is having, terrorising the country. The JVP flourishes in the villages of Sri Lanka, with people too terrified to disobey its commands. [Courtesy: *Observer* (London) November 20, 1988]

**IT'S NOW THE SOUTH'S
TURN TO BURN**

Thirty people have been killed in 36 hours in various parts of Sri Lanka by southern Sinhalese insurgents. The victims included a provincial journalist and two policemen.

Security forces said yesterday they had killed six suspected rebels and taken hundreds into custody.

The Sinhalese People's Liberation Front (JVP) rebels have also damaged 45 transformers and sub-stations and destroyed high-tension electrical cables, plunging hospitals and thousands of homes and business places into darkness for more than a week.

Operations in at least 150 hospitals have had to be postponed because of power and water shortages.

Workmen and technical staff attending to repairs do so only in day time and under protection by the armed services. They say that the rebels have warned them against repairing the damaged facilities.

Many railway tracks have been blown up at key points, and an important rail-road bridge at Gintota in the extreme south has been damaged, disrupting public transport and supplies of food and fuel. Food shortages have become acute in several areas.

There was talk of intervention by India (already involved over the conflict with Sri Lanka's Tamil separatists) or the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation, and Sri Lanka's long awaited election was in danger of being sabotaged.

The People's Liberation Front, which is Marxist, has violently opposed the Indo-Lanka peace accord of 1987 designed to end ethnic violence. [Courtesy - 'The Daily Telegraph' - Nov.23, 1988]

BHARATA NATYAM AND HEART ATTACK

By
Kate de Selincourt

Asians need completely different advice on cutting heart disease risk from the white population as the 50 per cent excess risk in this community seems to be entirely due to disturbed insulin metabolism.

A study recently published in the BMJ of four Asian communities in London showed that Asian middle-aged men and women were at significantly higher risk of dying from heart disease than both their local communities as a whole and the nation. But the reason for this was a mystery because smoking was rare, and blood pressure and blood cholesterol was well below national average rates.

A follow-up to the same study published in this month's British Heart Journal by Dr. Paul McKeigue and Professor Michael Marmot at the department of community medicine at University College Hospital has now found that Asians showed a very high prevalence of maturity-onset diabetes and of so-called insulin resistance. "It seems that in this pop-



ulation it is very common for the body to need to produce extra insulin to keep the blood glucose down; the tissues resist taking up glucose at normal insulin levels, hence the term insulin resistance. We don't know if the causes are genetic, environmental or both", said Dr. McKeigue. "We estimate that the prevalence of insulin resistance is of around the right order to account for the excess heart disease seen in the Asian compared to the indigenous community."

Dr. McKeigue warned that standard 'life-style' advice on cutting heart risk

is useless to the Asian community. "We found very low levels of smoking, very low blood cholesterol - lower than the target for the population as a whole - and blood pressures on average 10 mm Hg below the national levels. What is more likely to be helpful is individual counselling about weight control and exercise. It is too early to advocate a national publicity campaign as we do not know enough about this community's health beliefs", he said.

The Health Education Authority is taking the plunge and offering life-style advice to Asians. In a video just launched in five Asian languages, viewers are advised to stick to the high-fibre, low-fat Asian diet, and to eschew western habits like smoking and eating hamburgers.

According to the Coronary Prevention Group, which scripted the video, viewers are also advised to take regular exercise, perhaps joining in traditional Indian dancing or Kabaddi wrestling. (Courtesy: GP News - November, 1988)

A MOCKERY OF DEMOCRACY - THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

by Sundari

Indian troops carried ballot boxes down the streets to force people to vote during the Provincial Council elections on November 19. National identity cards were taken away from the people in their homes by the IPKF and they were directed to vote and thereafter collect their cards on showing the indelible ink mark on their fingers as evidence of having voted. Others were marched to election booths where Indian army personnel functioned as election officers. This exercise in "democracy" became necessary because Sri Lankan officials simply refused to man polling stations in spite of the presence of a massive 65,000 IPKF operation in the Eastern province to oversee the elections. Colombo had promised to provide 2000 officials; fewer than 600, mostly non-Tamil speaking, arrived to take charge of 363 (out of 587) polling stations. Consequently, in some places people had to wait up to six hours to vote. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there are claims of massive rigging, and the reported voter turn-out figures of nearly 65 per cent in Batticaloa, and 52 per cent in Trincomalee, appear highly dubious. A more realistic estimate is in Amparai where, in the face of JVP threats of rep-

risals, less than six per cent voted.

High level Indian sources alleged that Colombo did its best to ensure that the election misfired. Polling cards, for instance, were not distributed to voters, and petrol supplies "mysteriously disappeared" in Tamil areas. Nevertheless, the Indian-funded EPRLF and ENDLF have gained control of the new council:

EPRLF	41 (24 uncontested)
ENDLF	12 (12 uncontested)
Sri Lanka	
Muslim Congress	17
UNP	1
TOTAL	71

The LTTE, which had called for a boycott of the elections, protested that the Government of India by "utilising the method of military threat, blackmail and intimidation to force the Tamil population to vote" had done "a grave injustice to the Tamil speaking people by imposing upon them a defective political framework at the point of a gun." The hartal called for by the LTTE was clearly effective. *The Daily Telegraph* correspondent observed: "Driving around Trincomalee and Batticaloa, I saw no shops or offices open apart from a few small kiosks. The only vehicles moving were

Indian army jeeps."

Now that the elections, managed by India are over, it may be hoped that India will slide out of what has been called its Vietnam. The likelihood of Indian withdrawal seems unlikely, however, given the Sri Lankan army's commitment in the south. It is overstretched and all its resources are devoted to destroying the JVP. In the weekend of the elections, the power to pass the death sentence without jury trial for inciting people to strike was added to the power to shoot on sight and bury without inquest. The rule of law has ceased to be, and as many as 20 people a day are now said to be killed by soldiers firing on demonstrators, or hustling off suspected JVP members and supporters.

The Provincial Council was supposed to be part of a framework to answer some of the demands for Tamil autonomy. But the election, in many eyes, was little more than window dressing for an accord which has failed to bring peace. The new council is almost inoperable because of the absence of funding and enabling legislation. More importantly, as the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent concluded, "without Tiger support it is an embarrassment."

FROM THE EDITORIALS

RULE OF THE JUNGLE

**Indian Army like
Keystone Kops**

It's election time in Sri Lanka. Break out the bunting and balloons. Come fill the cups and raise a toast to freedom, the exercise of the people's voice and choice. On second thought, leave the cups and balloons where they are, for whatever the island chooses in weeks ahead seems bound to leave them and much else in Sri Lanka's fragile civilisation irreparably smashed. In the first presidential contest since ethnic strife erupted into a raging blood-feud five years ago, Sri Lanka's two major candidates are both pandering to the logic of the mob and the constituency of the gun. Both oppose the fifteen-month-old pact with New Delhi under which Indian peace-keeping troops have trespassed on the sanctity of their blessed isle. Each seems to be in thrall to a chauvinist underground "student" gang that proposes to create a desert and call it peace. Meanwhile, **the Indian Army is stumbling around the combat zone of the Tamil north-east like Keystone Kops, shooting the purpose of their mission in the foot and alienating the very people who could preserve the nation. This is democracy-plus; ballots and bullets.**

**Doing what comes
naturally**

In the grand tradition of Sri Lankan politics, of course, the two presidential candidates are only doing what comes naturally; beating the drum for Sinhalese supremacy, and damn the consequences. So why should there be an election at all? President Jayewardene, who has prolonged his parliament under special authority, has ample grounds to consider the circumstances surrounding his own office an even greater emergency. But Mr. Jayewardene, just turned 82, has had to face a harder truth. He was able to negotiate his deal last year with the Indian prime minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, on the strength of his remaining above politics. If it seemed that he was citing this accord now as an excuse for staying in power, all support for it is likely to vanish. So he is retiring and hoping that his peace plan will survive the crucible of a vote to replace him.

**Only over her
dead body**

On its face, the wisdom is unassailable. No peace, even such as it is, can endure if public opinion isn't behind it. **The trouble, however, is that "public opinion" is hardly a philosopher's touchstone in Sri Lanka.** It has been shaped and crippled by a climate of fear-mongering that has never given the merits of tolerance and power-sharing a chance. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the rabble-rousing former prime minister, refused all attempts to form an all-party consensus on answering Tamil grievances right up to the point of Mr. Jayewardene's desperate remedy, which she promptly labelled a "sell-out." Though she is a bit less militant towards India's middleman role now, **Mrs. Bandaranaike still sounds as though Tamils would get a meaningful form of provincial autonomy only over her dead body.** At least everyone knew what to expect from her, however. More astonishing has been the campaign of erosion within Mr. Jayewardene's party by his own long-serving prime minister, Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, now the party's presidential nominee. Opposed to the deal from its outset, Mr. Premadasa is campaigning on behalf of a complete withdrawal of the Indian troops - which, given their record, they may be only too happy to do.

**"Peace-keepers"
use rival Tamil
guerillas as proxies**

When the Indian forces swarmed ashore in Jaffna last year, their brief was to disarm the Tamil Tigers and other separatist guerillas in preparation for a devolution of power to the Tamil-heavy Northern and Eastern Provinces. Mr. Gandhi apparently thought that all he needed to do was collect a few guns, watch over a couple of polls, and then the jawans could come marching home. He didn't reckon on one thing; the Tigers never had any intention of surrendering their weapons or goals. Though India had long championed the guerillas, the IOUs Mr. Gandhi undertook to call in were simply torn up. Even though the Indians mounted an all-out siege of Jaffna, the Tigers only melted into the countryside, regrouped and carried on their

arms smuggling and terrorism with impunity. The "peace-keepers" then turned pragmatic. **Rather than ship home their own boys in body bags, they began to use rival Tamil guerillas as proxies, arming them and licensing their habit of "taxing" travellers and raiding homes-eaders.** Ordinary Tamils now feel abused and betrayed by the saviours from across the water. And with machine-gunning badmashes still running wild, hurry-up provincial elections are doomed to failure. No moderate wants to contest a poll whose likely outcome is death.

**Presidential
candidates vying
to be endorsed by
jingoistic Sinhalese
bomb-throwers**

Such has been what Mr. Gandhi has wrought in struggling to avoid "India's Vietnam" - a spectacle in which New Delhi has serially played the roles of Hanoi and Washington. **India wanted to get involved, of course, to advertise South Asia as its sphere of influence.** It may think again in future. Now that the troops are there, though, it would be fatal to withdraw them precipitately. Colombo's forces have their hands full in the south trying to fend off Sinhalese terrorists who oppose giving the island's mostly decent Tamils anything suggestive of a fair share. The Sri Lankan armed forces were never any model outfit in the first place, and they can scarcely fight two wars at once - especially since the Tigers are not going to be declawed until their own people, average Tamils, get the sympathy and support needed to stand up to them. What a thing it would be if Sinhalese politicians gave such people that. Instead, the mutiny within Mr. Jayewardene's own party, Colombo's winking at the Indian Army's proxy game, the presidential candidates' vying to be endorsed by jingoistic Sinhalese bomb-throwers - all these high-minded tactics condemn them to further bloodshed and unconscionable waste. **India hasn't won any stars in its bid to become the subcontinent's exclusive policeman.** But democracy as usual in Sri Lanka isn't much to celebrate, either. Mr. Premadasa and Mrs. Bandaranaike could help save this tragedy overnight by showing people that heroism does not come out of the barrel of a gun. [By courtesy - Editorial of 'Asiaweek' - Oct. 28, 1988]

GOPALSAMY EXPOSES RAJIV IN RAJYA SABHA

(Edited extracts from Debate on November 3 & 4, 1988)

KITTU AND OTHER LTTE CADRES

Shri V.Gopalsamy: It is a well-established fact that these 157 LTTE members along with their former Jaffna commander, Mr.Kittu, most of whom were wounded, were brought here by our own Indian military helicopters. First they were arrested under the Passport Act. Subsequently this detention order was served on them. I would like to know from the Government whether Mr.Kittu, on 3rd October 1988, from his detention cell in Madras jail, wrote a letter to the Hon.Prime Minister of India, copies of which were sent to the President of India and also to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.Just because you got this letter from Kittu they (the LTTE supporters) were expelled from India.

Shri Santosh Mohan Dev: These 157 persons entered India without any passport or visa in a clandestine manner. They were arrested and kept in jail. Foreigners, whenever they are arrested, are expelled from the country. These people were expelled and taken to Sri Lanka which is their original country.

Shri V.Gopalsamy: I am very much distressed by the reply of the Hon. Minister. May I know from the Hon. Minister whether the top brass of the Research and Analysis Wing of the Government of India were holding talks with Mr.Kittu and the LTTE until the second week of July this year? For what reasons did you suddenly stop talks and put them behind bars? They have been taken to Sri Lanka, but only Kittu and 7 others have been released. May I know what happened to the remaining 149? May I know whether it is part of your programme to appease the blood-thirsty Government of Sri Lanka to butcher and annihilate the liberation movement of Tamil Eelam?

Shri Santosh Mohan Dev: So far as I am concerned, I cannot answer for the RAW. The RAW does not belong to my Ministry. It belongs to the Cabinet Secretariat. Even the IPKF comes under the Defence Ministry. How can I answer for them?

Shri V.Gopalsamy: They are still in an IPKF prison. The Government of India has to clarify this, it is the duty of the Government. I pray for your

protection.

Mr.Chairman: All of you understand, as he (Mr Gopalsamy) himself said, they are under detention by the IPKF. Now, naturally the IPKF does not come under the Minister. So, the question cannot be addressed to him.

Shri V.Gopalsamy: They were arrested under National Security Act. It is for the Home Minister to clarify.

Mr.Chairman: I hold that it is not for the Home Minister to answer.

Prof.C.Lakshmanan: Mr.Chairman, I would like to know from him (the Minister) as to when they came to know that there were 157 persons including Mr.Kittu in India. What has been the attitude of the Government of India with regard to these 157 persons who were in India long before they were detected? What were the interactions they have had with them? I would like to know from the Minister further. When did they come to realise that these persons who had come earlier have not been identified as such? When was this decision taken? What is the basis for taking this decision? Why was this decision not taken earlier?

INTERVENTION IN THE MALDIVES

Shri V.Gopalsamy: Prime Minister was jubilant in his speech as if we had come victorious after a very challenging battle. Sir, I would like to know from the Hon. Prime Minister whether India has assumed the role of the custodian of democracy for the South Asian countries. Sir, tomorrow, if something happens in Burma or in Pakistan and if the victims of insurrection or public revolt make an appeal or request to this Government, will this Government take such a step sending troops to that country? Our Prime Minister has just now applauded the role of Indian troops and their highest traditions. We are very much concerned about the peace in our region. What type of peace does he mean? Peace of the graveyard because you have already sent troops, more than a lakh of them, to Sri Lanka. Now you have sent troops to the Maldives. At that time, you created your own quagmire in Sri Lanka and our troops are caught there. Every day 15 to 20 IPKF

soldiers are getting killed in Sri Lanka. This is the concern of the country! This is a problem you created. Today you have made a statement that Mr.Gopalsamy made a request to this Government to send the troops and you sent them there. Just like that Jayewardene made a request to this country. But, now Mr.Premadasa ... (interruptions). Therefore you have bungled in Sri Lanka by sending troops there. You are killing Tamils with our own army. Therefore, I would like to know from this Government whether this Government will send our troops to every country turning the Indian army into a mercenary force.

I cannot blame the Forces. But I put the blame on the policy-makers, the Government, and the Prime Minister. He is responsible for sending the troops. Now you are making the same mistake again.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi: We take our own decisions; we will continue to take our own decisions and our decisions will not be influenced by what others feel.

CORRECTION KNOW YOUR FACTS

North-Eastern Province Area in Square Miles DISTRICTS

Jaffna	440.5
Kilinochchi	538.0
Mullaitivu	1,023.0
Vavunia	807.0
Mannar	725.0

TOTAL - N.P. 3,533.5

Trincomalee	1,048.0
Batticaloa	1,016.0
Amparai	1,778.0

TOTAL E.P. 3,842.0

TOTAL 7,375.5

We regret: The area is shown as 2,111 square miles at page 15 of TVI Vol 1, No.18.

We thank: Mr S. Kugathan of Madras for pointing out the error and supplying the above details. We also thank the few others who pointed out the error. (Editor)

THE ROLE OF CASTE AND CLASS IN TAMIL POLITICS IN SRI LANKA

(Abridged from a discussion paper presented by veteran journalist S P Amarasingam at the International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo.)

Tamil politics in the first phase of British rule revolved around one family - that of Coomaraswamy Pulle who in 1835 became the first Tamil to be appointed to the Legislative Council established soon after the Colebrook Commission of 1830. His son, Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy was nominated to the Council in 1861, followed on his death by his nephew Sir Ponnampalam Ramanathan who was appointed in 1879. This position was held by Ramanathan and his brother Coomaraswamy until 1898. The third brother Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam was in the Legislative Council as an alternate official member from 1907 to 1913. The only time this family monopoly was broken was when Governor West Ridgeway nominated Dr. John Rockwood to the Legislative Council for a term.

The first warnings of the role of class, caste and religion in the politics of the country came when the elective principle was introduced in 1910-11, and Sir Ponnampalam Ramanathan was elected to the Educated Ceylonese seat in the Legislative Council of 1912-21. The extension of the elective principle for the Legislative Council of 1921-24, and the enlargement of the Council of 1924-31 introduced wider groups of Tamils into politics. From 1921 onwards, Tamils outside the charmed circle of the Ramanathan family - known as the 'Ponklar set' - began to enter Tamil politics. The 1924-31 Legislative Council also had two seats for "Indians" and one for a "Muhammedan." The granting of adult franchise in 1931 brought qualitative and quantitative changes in Tamil politics.

At that time the Tamils who mattered to the British lived in Colombo and the Western Province. Coomaraswamy Pulle and his immediate descendants who sprang from a trading stock, were amongst the first Tamils to profit from a knowledge of the English language. They were not from the hierarchical caste structure in the Tamil North or East; they were really a new class spawned by the British. Some have been tempted to use the term "*compradore bourgeoisie*" to describe this new class which quickly assumed the rights and privileges of a high Hindu caste. In a short time they were also able through marriage to penetrate the ranks of those who claimed to be in the higher echelons of the Hindu caste structure in Jaffna.

It was perhaps through the influence of the Ramanathan family that many from Jaffna were able to establish themselves in the public, professional

and business sectors. In the first part of this century, these people emerged in Tamil politics as Colombo Tamils and even demanded a reserved seat for Ceylon Tamils in the Western Province. This caste-cum-class of Colombo Tamils was a jumbled conglomerate of the older Hindu caste groups, an influential coterie of Tamil Christian converts, and a new class of Tamils churned out by commerce on the one hand, the public service and the professions on the other.

Tamils in all parts of the island were of the same ethnic stock; the majority were Hindus although there was a powerful minority of Christians. In the post-Donoughmore and independence era, these Hindu and Christian leaders were responsible for the negative policies that led Tamil politics into a cul-de-sac from which the Tamils could not be extricated even by armed militancy. Owing to the acts of commission and omission on the part of these, Indian Tamils in the plantations and those of Tamil ethnic stock belonging to the Muslim faith developed separate "politics" of their own. Though Tamil-speaking, the latter group, from earliest British times, has regarded itself as a separate entity. The fact that Ramanathan had sided with the Sinhalese in the 1915 riots continues to be regarded by the Muslims as one of the reasons for the permanent rupture between the two groups. In the case of Tamils of recent Indian origin, they had been given restricted franchise under the Donoughmore dispensation. Some Ceylon Tamil MPs voted for the discriminatory laws which deprived the 'Indian Tamils' of citizenship and franchise rights.

During the Portuguese and Dutch periods, conversions to Christianity and privileged employment under foreign rulers brought changes to the caste structure in Jaffna and the Eastern Province. Under the British, caste was further eroded with extended missionary activity and conversions, the privileges that came with a knowledge of the English language, and the employment provided by the British.

According to the rules of the Hindu caste system, conversion to Christianity made a Hindu an outcast. Yet many of the older caste groups absorbed the new rich without inhibition about their caste origins. What was left by the first quarter of this century was hence only a caricature of the original structure as new classes and groups of uncertain caste began to merge with the older high caste families. By the time of independence, the Ceylon Tamil caste

structure was not what it had been 100 or even 50 years earlier.

Dr. Jeyaratnam Wilson, in his book 'Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-73' oversimplifies the caste issue by dividing the castes in Jaffna into two major categories: "clean" and "unclean." *"Among the Ceylon Tamils, there are the clean castes comprising the Brahmins, the Vellalas (cultivators) who form the majority in the same way as the Goigamas among the Sinhalese, the Karayars and Mukkuvars (fisher folk) and the Koviars whose traditional occupation is being cooks and domestics to the Vellalas in that order. There are then the various craftsmen caste such as the Thattaar (goldsmiths), Nadduwar (musicians), Vannar (laundrymen), etc. There is finally a category of 'unclean' caste also referred to as 'depressed' castes or minority Tamils."* This distinction is only possible because non-Vellala castes had in the British period, through conversion, trade, employment and marriage, been able to merge with the Vellalas.

The 'unclean' castes have from the time of adult franchise formed between 30-40 per cent of the population of the Jaffna peninsula. They were denied separate representation, not because as Dr. Wilson suggests they are not concentrated in sufficient strength in any sizeable area to warrant their separate representation in Parliament, but because the leaders of the 'clean' castes, in collaboration with the Sinhalese leaders, were able to persuade every Delimitation Commission to demarcate electorates in such a way that the 'unclean' castes were kept a minority in every constituency.

An examination of the caste and class origins of Tamil leaders shows that they were from the 'clean' castes. It was only in 1977 that the TULF fielded a candidate from an 'unclean' caste. The endeavours of Left political parties to promote some members of the 'unclean' caste has met with little success. Some Left political activists attempted to show that, had the delimitation boundaries been drawn differently, the 'unclean' castes would have been in a majority in about three electorates. The Federal Party, which had a vested interest in the 'clean' caste confederation, countered that any changes would play into the hands of the Communists and other Left groups. Indeed a study of the caste origins and class connections of political leaders of the 'clean' caste era from 1930-1980 would throw a great deal of light on Tamil politics.

MOCKERY OF DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

S.S.Maniam, Jaffna

The concept of both Democracy and Socialism has been distorted to unrecognisable levels in this country, in the recent past. Except that the two major political parties that governed this country since independence have promulgated constitutions, wherein the country's nomenclature has varied, namely Socialist Democracy and Democratic Socialist, the true principles of these two words have been grossly violated, from time to time. Amendments to the constitution and subsidiary legislation have been enacted, to enable extension of the tenure of the Parliament, automatic change of designation from Prime Minister to Executive President and procedure to fill vacancies in the Parliament, to suit the whims and fancies of the ruling party.

Since the people elect a government or a member of parliament for a specific period, on the basis of political parties, it is improper to deny the people the right to reaffirm or rescind their previous verdict. There is a vast difference between a General Election and a referendum because **the people should be afforded the opportunity not only to decide on the party that should govern, but also the elected members constituting such a government.**

Apart from such ostensibly democratic actions there had also been instances of gross violation of the law itself. Such glaring violations of the election law took place during the Development Council elections held in 1981. To point out a specific instance, in Jaffna peninsula, the ballot boxes were brought to the polling stations and polling commenced only around 12-30 pm, and polling was closed around 3-30 pm. Out of the total number of ballot boxes, two ballot boxes were missing and the counting of votes was done; and the results were declared without tracing the missing ballot boxes. The fact that the political party that won all ten seats in the election shamefully accepted the results without a hum, is a different aspect altogether.

The manner in which nominations were accepted to the North-East Provincial Council between the 3rd and

10th October this year, is the latest mockery of fundamental rights of the voter in this country. The fact that both the majority and the major-minority communities are opposed to these elections (although for different reasons) is a different question. What prevailed was the adamant, irrational and domineering attitudes of both the Sri Lankan and the Indian governments. What these two countries are trying hard to do at present is to regain their 'Paradise Lost' and 'Prestige Lost' in that order. How far these aspirations will be fulfilled is to be seen. But, what is obvious at this juncture is that the two governments are dirtying their hands further, perhaps in desperation.

The source from which the concept of Provincial Councils emanated is the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of July 1987. The Accord was opposed at the time, not only by the majority community, but also by the major-minority community. However, there existed a ray of hope that this Accord might bring back peace to this former 'paradise'. Although the Provincial Council concept was meant mainly to solve the ethnic problem, it is ironical that these councils have been "thrust" on a people who were not interested in such a system, but not yet constituted in areas where it is meant to solve the problem.

As regards the PC elections in the North and East, the majority of the people and most of the political parties and militant groups have clearly indicated either expressly or impliedly that conditions are not conducive to hold these elections. Even high-ranking government officials in the area have expressed this view. It has been generally accepted that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) is the militant group which has the capacity and the backing of the people, to make or mar the implementation of the Accord in the North and East. Therefore, any election without the participation of the LTTE is virtually a mockery.

The 'uncontested' election of 36 members to the Northern Province and the election of Nov.19 to elect 35 members to the Eastern Province is

not fiction. However, the following facts will reveal that the last nail has been driven into the coffin of the system of democratic elections in this country:

1. The legality of holding this election is based on Emergency laws.
2. The voters and prospective candidates were not in a mood to take part.
3. Neither an official announcement was made nor sufficient publicity given regarding the place where nominations would be accepted. (Earlier, the Govt. Agents refused to officiate in their own Kachcheries).
4. Officials from Colombo and candidates moulded to suit the IPKF designs were airlifted to the appointed places where nominations were 'accepted'. (On the day of the drama, all roads leading to this mysterious place were closed to the public).
5. Having got the EPRLF and ENDLF to file nominations on the fifth day fixed for nominations, on the succeeding three days up to the closing date, an atmosphere was created (i.e. unofficial curfew and search operations) so that any other groups who wished to file nominations were prevented. It is a fact, and a relevant fact, that people travelling to Jaffna up to the 10th were searched, and those with money sufficient enough to pay election deposits were not allowed in the vicinity.
6. No officials or others were provided an opportunity to scrutinise defective nominations, if any.
7. When it is said the 36 members to the Northern Province have been elected uncontested, the official declaration of such elections has not been made so far.
8. The announcement that the UNP nominations for Trincomalee were rejected, because these were filed after closing time on the last day, cannot be genuine because a governing party could not have possibly committed such a blunder.
9. The number of polling stations in the Eastern Province has been reduced.
10. Permitting a voter to cast the vote at any place of his choice is a unique deviation from the hitherto-practised election procedure.

Isn't this a mockery of 'democratic' elections?

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

DEATHS

KANDIAH - on Nov.6, peacefully after a long illness,

Kanagai, widow of V.Kandiah (Thun-lalai) and dearly loved mother of Vignesvararajah (formerly of Ceylon Customs), Dr.Somasundara Rajah, Poopalarajah and Pushparanee Balasothy. 58 Farquhar Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

SENTHINATHAN, Sinniah - Suddenly on Nov.9, in his home at 4 Martin's Lane, Hardingstone, Northampton. Born in Manipay, he had his early education in Veemankamam and later at Mahajana College, Tellipalai.



His high academic achievements include a B.Sc. Hons. degree in Mech.Eng.(Univ.of Peradeniya), Dip. in Statistics (Univ.of Strathclyde) and M.A. in Operational Research (Univ.of Manchester). At the time of his untimely death he was working as Credit Research Manager at Barclay Card in Northampton. He leaves behind his wife Natguneswary and five children - Bruntha, Sangeetha, Abitha, Kalaradha and Sumetha.

THIAGARAJAH - Kanthimathy. Wife of late S.K.Thiagarajah (late Trustee Mariamman Kovil), beloved mother of Thiru Thiagarajah and Brintha Sivakumaran (Australia) expired November 19. 65/98 Vystwyke Road, Colombo 15

RASIAH - Mrs. Matilda Kamalam, formerly of Campbell Place, Dehiwala, Widow of the late Dr. A.W. Rasiah, mother of Balu (Former Consultant Anaesthetist, General Hospital, Colombo, and presently of New Zealand), Saraswathy (Australia) and

Lak (U.S.A.) in New Zealand on 29th October. 34 Paradise Place, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

LOURDES-MALAR. Beloved wife of S.P. Muthiah - Exports Manager (Batas), daughter of late Ariyaratnam and Claramma, mother of Adrian (Holland), Rohan (Germany), Jeevan, Ranjan (U.S.A.), Ravi (Canada), Niormala Vijekumar (Mack Int. Ltd.), sister of Jesuthasan, Jeyaraja (Australia) and Rane Ponrajah. Thum-palai - Point Pedro

MARRIAGES

PAGE - MATHER



The marriage took place on October 29 at South Harrow Methodist Church of Charles Mohan, son of Mr & Mrs Gunaratnam Page, and Renuka, daughter of Mr & Mrs Sundera Mather of 135 Wemborough Road, Stanmore, Middlesex.

The marriage was solemnized by the Revs.Shanta Rao and Swaminathan Jacob. Both Mohan and Renuka are Accountants in the city.

RAJARATNAM - PABLA



The marriage took place recently in

New York, USA, of Rajkumar (son of Mr & Mrs J.M.Rajaratnam) and Asha (daughter of Dr & Mrs Pabla). After graduating in Operations Research from Sussex University, Rajkumar did his MBA at the Wharton School of Finance, Philadelphia. He is now Managing Director of a Wall St. firm of investment bankers. Asha graduated in Interior Decorating: her parents, formerly of India, now live in Maryland. Mr.J.M.Rajaratnam retired last year from the Singer Co. of America of which he was a Vice-President and is now a Consultant to the World Bank. He is active in the Tamil Sangam of the USA being its current Vice-President.

VIYAYANATHAN - RADHIKA

The marriage took place on October 23 at Sri Murugan Temple, Manor Park, London E.12 of Viyayanathan, son of late Mr & Mrs P.Arumugam (Ilavali), and Radhika, daughter of Mr & Mrs N.Sivanesan. Mr.Sivanesan was a prominent member of the Tamil Congress and stood for the Manipay seat in the 1970 Parliamentary Elections.

We also offer our best wishes to the following couples on their recent marriages:-

* **Dr.Bernie PAYNE and Shanthi JACOB** at Kenton Methodist Church, Harrow, on August 20.

* **Elagupillai SIVANANTHAN and Kamaleswari RAJARATNAM** at Dewan Orang Ramai, Jln Reko, Kajang, Selangor on August 22.

* **Chelvakumar NILES and Dilhani SABAPATHY** at United West Ellesmere Church, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada, on August 27.

* **Hugh JACKSON and Indra THIAGARAJAH** at Bletchley, Milton Keynes, on August 27.

* **Selvarajan THILEEPAN and Gowri SIVAGNANAM** at Highgate Murugan Temple, London N.6, on November 6.

TAMILS ABROAD SHANMUGAM ARUMUGAM

(Born August 31, 1905)



Shanmugam Arumugam, B.Sc. (Lond), B.Sc.(Eng.), F.I.C.E., F.I.E., was born into an orthodox Hindu family at Nallur, Jaffna. After qualifying in the U.K., he worked as an Irrigation Engineer for 32 years at several stations in Sri Lanka, rising to the top. He was Director of the Water Resources Board for six years and was President of the Institution of Engineers during 1966-67. He is the author of several technical publications including a monumental work (of 326 pages) on the "Development of Water Resources of Ceylon."

Like his father, who was an active member of the Saiva Paripaalana Sabai, Jaffna, during 1894-1900, Arumugam also takes keen interest in Hindu matters and Tamil culture. His name has been closely associated with the restoration of Palavi Theertham and rebuilding Thiruketheeswaram. He is a Founder Member of the Thiruketheeswaram Temple Restoration Society of which he is now a Vice-President.

In his retirement, he spends his time writing from notes and observations made during his active years. In 1980, he published a book on "Some Ancient Hindu Temples of Sri Lanka" which was reprinted in 1982. A book on Thiruketheeswaram (172 pages) was published in 1981.

Since 1983, he has been residing in the U.K. and continues to work on his writings. The manuscripts of Koneswaram and Munneswaram are ready for printing.

He is now working on the story of Nallur, the Capital City 1215- 1618 A.D., and is compiling a Dictionary of Biographies of the Tamils.

MATRIMONIAL SERVICE

(In response to requests from our readers we are now offering a MATRIMONIAL SERVICE.

Please write to TVI, P O Box 228, Wembley, Middlesex. HA9 8SZ)

* Jaffna Hindu parents seek working partner in UK for their professional Engineer son, British citizen, 31 years, working in London. Please write with full particulars - Box MS.4 C/o TVI

* Parents settled in London seek qualified bridegroom for daughter, Jaffna Hindu, UK citizen, 29 years old, in good secure employment. Please send chart with other details - Box MS.5 C/o TVI

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

December 4: Social Evening with Dr.E.S.Thevasagayam, Principal, St.John's College, Jaffna, from 5 p.m. in Putney Methodist Church Hall, Gwendolen Ave., London SW.15. St.John's Old Boys and spouses cordially invited. Please confirm attendance. President C.Sathiyamoorthy 024541-5692; Secretary M. Sebaratnam 0727-59614; Treasurer S.Sivasubramaniam 0702- 524661; R.A.Samuel 01-393.9163

December 11: London Tamil Congregation Carol Service, Putney Methodist Church, 3.45 p.m. Special choir will be in attendance and the Preacher will be Rev. Charles Watson (Co-ordinator, All Asia Christian Committee)

December 26: Inter-denominational Prayer & Vigil for Peace in Sri Lanka. Putney Methodist Church 11 a.m. - 4 p.m. Sponsored jointly by London Tamil Congregation, East Ham Emmanuel Fellowship and North London Tamil Christian Fellowship.

December 31: London Tamil Congregation Watch-Night Service - Putney Methodist Church, 10.45 p.m. Preacher Rev.Dr.S.Wesley Ariarajah. The service will be conducted by Rev.S.S.Karunairajah of the Jaffna District Methodist Church.

PERSONAL

Mr.T.T.Alagaratnam, FRCS, has been recently promoted to the post of Reader in Surgery at the University of Hong Kong.

Dr.Premi Mahendra, who has been successful in the recent MRCP (London) examination is now Registrar in Medicine & Haematology at the Edgware General Hospital. She is a daughter of Dr.C.C.Mahendra, G.P., in Lewisham in South East London and of Dr.Meena Mahendra, Consultant Microbiologist, West Middlesex Hospital, Isleworth.

The Rev.Dr.S.Wesley Ariarajah presently with the World Council of Churches as Director of the Commission on Dialogue, has been awarded a Doctorate in Philosophy by the University of London for his thesis on the subject "Dialogue between peoples of different faiths." Rev.Ariarajah is an old boy of Jaffna Central College and a Minister of the Methodist Church in Sri Lanka.

Dr.S.Jebanesan has been appointed Principal of Jaffna College, Vaddukkoddai. Jaffna College is one of the oldest educational institutions in South Asia. Dr.Jebanesan, an old boy of Jaffna College, entered the University of Ceylon to read for his B.A. and Diploma in Education. Later he entered Serampore University to read for his B.D. followed by an M.A.(Philosophy) at Madurai. Later he obtained an M.A. degree from the University of Ceylon (Peradeniya). He obtained his Doctorate from the Jaffna University on his thesis on "Batticota Seminary." (Batticota Seminary was the First Educational Institution started by the Christian Missionaries at Vaddukkoddai). Dr. Jebanesan is a son of the late Rev. & Mrs.Subramaniam of Chavakachcheri and a grand nephew of the late Rev.E.K.Yesuthasan, a well-known Tamil Scholar. Dr.Jebanesan was installed at a special service held at the Cathedral Church, Vaddukkoddai, on the 29th October, 1988.

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

05.12.1988 3rd Somawara Viratham
06.12.1988 Prathosa Viratham
08.12.1988 Amavasai Viratham
12.12.1988 4th Somawara Viratham
14.12.1988 Vinayaga Shsti Viratham
15.12.1988 Thiruvembha Utchavam Starts
19.12.1988 Vaikunda Ekathasi Viratham
20.12.1988 Karthigai Viratham
22.12.1988 Full Moon Day
24.12.1988 Ahurthira Dharsanam

EELAM NEWS

NEW PARAMILITARY FORCE FOR N-E

The Indian Army is to form a paramilitary force in the north-eastern province with local personnel to assist the regular Sri Lanka police, Indian military sources based in the East said.

According to the sources, the Sri Lankan Government has given the Indian army approval to form a paramilitary force to assist the regular law enforcement personnel.

A top Indian army officer based in Batticaloa, addressing a group of prominent Tamil citizens last week said that the IPKF will recruit and train 300 youths from the Batticaloa area only. According to the IPKF, these youths will perform the role of home guards, who had been earlier deployed to guard Sinhala and Muslim areas in the North and East.

KALKHAT GLOATS

Lieutenant General A.S.Kalkhat, the officer in charge of the IPKF in Sri Lanka, is reported to have said that the people of the East had turned out in large numbers to cast their votes at the recent election in spite of the call of the Sinhala and Tamil militant organisations to boycott the elections.

LIONEL FERNANDO AS NORTH-EAST GOVERNOR

Mr.Lionel Fernando who has been functioning as the Secretary of Civil Security Ministry took oaths as the Governor of North - East Province on the 21st of November. Mr.Fernando had worked as the Government Agent of Jaffna a decade ago.

INDIAN POLICE WOMEN

Mr.K.C.Pant, Indian Defence Minister has said that Indian police women have been brought into Sri Lanka in connection with the recently concluded Provincial Council Election for the north and the east. This information has been confirmed by an All India Radio broadcast. Observers are of the view that these "imported women police" will remain in Sri Lanka until the conclusion of the Presidential Election, and

perhaps the General Election.

UMA NO MORE PLOTE SECRETARY

Uma Maheswaran, the founder of the Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam, is reported to have said that he has ceased to be the general secretary of the organisation. Mannikkam Dasan, the former Vanni leader of PLOTE is its current general secretary.

LTTE ACCUSES INDIA OF MALICIOUS PROPAGANDA

The Political Committee of the LTTE, in a statement released from its headquarters in Jaffna on November 17, accused the Government of India of a malicious disinformation campaign in a desperate effort to stage-manage the so called "Provincial Council" election in the Eastern province.

"The propaganda machinery of the Government of India has fabricated a fantastic story that the LTTE is presently holding discussions with the EPRLF to share power in the provincial councils. This false propaganda is aimed at confusing the Tamil speaking people of the Eastern province. The attempt by the Government of India to impose a defective political model on the Tamil people by means of military terror and false propaganda will lead to further chaos and disaster, and will not resolve the problems of our people.

The Tamil terrorist groups who function as agents and mercenaries of the Government of India, and are appointed for the provincial council as representatives of India can only be described as traitors and will never be forgiven" says the statement.

MURUNGAN POLICE STATION ATTACKED

According to reports reaching London, Murungan Police Station came under heavy attack by the LTTE on November 19. It is reported that IPKF rushed to its assistance, though the worst damage had been wrought to the police station by the time the IPKF reached the scene.

TAMILS NEED PSYCHIATRIC CARE

(Experts say the Sri Lankan war is affecting them. By courtesy of 'Arab News' - October 31, 1988)

Ravi Ranjani, 27, a mother of two who flees whenever she sees a soldier on the streets, is one of an increasing number of civilians seeking psychiatric help due to violence in Sri Lanka's Tamil areas. Ranjani said she had been afraid of men in uniform ever since an Indian soldier harassed her while her husband was away from home. "Now whenever I see soldiers, I am frightened", she said in an interview at the government hospital here.

Doctors said they had given the house-wife, who has been in the hospital for more than a week, one round of shock treatment and said she would be under observation for some time. "There is a heavy rush, and it is increasing", said Dr.S.Pathmanathan, Director of a hospital in northern Jaffna peninsula. Its psychiatric unit, with 62 beds, is the biggest in the island's northern and eastern provinces, where India has some 49,000 troops under a 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord.

Another patient here, Mrs.Kanagaratnam, who is in her 40s and in failing health, wails for her husband and two children who died in a Sri Lankan army shell attack two years ago. "Why should I live? Why should I live?", she screams throughout an interview.

Years of fighting between Tamil separatists and Sri Lankan forces, bloody internal feuds among the guerrillas, and now military operations by India to put down Tamil separatism have reportedly led to a sharp increase in psychiatric cases. Red Cross officials said nearly 400 psychiatric patients were reported some 10 years ago in Jaffna. The figure has since shot up four-fold.

A 23-year-old man, Thavachelvam, said he was picked up by Indian troops three months ago on suspicion of being linked to the LTTE. He said he was hung upside down, at an army camp, and beaten with rifle butts, before being freed. Now he thinks that soldiers are out to kill him.

continued on page 18

Sri Lankan News

HISTORIC MEETING OF JR AND SIRIMAVO

The ten points raised by Mrs. Bandaranaike at the dramatic meeting of JR and Srimavo on November 5, initiated by the Mahanayakas are believed to be:

- (1) the release of all political prisoners;
- (2) the release of all students held in custody;
- (3) immediate end to all military operations (including those of the IPKF) directed at the civilian population;
- (4) immediate dissolution of Parliament and the immediate end to the state of emergency;
- (5) announcement of the dates for the Presidential and Parliamentary elections;
- (6) appointment of an interim council of representatives of recognised political parties to govern the country until the conclusion of both elections;
- (7) suspension of the North-East Provincial Council elections;
- (8) disbanding of all paramilitary organisations;
- (9) suspension of all powers of the Provincial Councils until after the conclusion of the elections;
- (10) dissolution of all local bodies whose terms have been arbitrarily extended.

The four Mahanayakas had earlier written to the President calling upon him to dissolve Parliament and hold a Parliamentary General election and a Presidential election under a caretaker government.

The meeting had not produced any fruit.

BHIKKUS INVITE JVP LEADER TO PEACE TALKS

The Venerable Maduluwawe Sobitha Thero and Muruthettuwa Ananda Thero have extended an open invitation to Rohana Wijeweera, leader of the JVP, or his representative, to take part in a dialogue with them to pull the country out of the present situation. The monks have offered to meet him at any venue suitable to the JVP.

INDIA SENDS ITS ARMY TO COLOMBO

According to a report, India is sending a battalion of the Indian Territorial Army to assist Sri Lankan authorities in keeping the essential services functioning.

The Indian Government was quoted as saying that it ruled out any further military commitment in the current crisis in Sri Lanka as such a commitment would be politically useless and militarily ineffective. It was felt that the crisis gripping Sri Lanka had its roots in the recent political history of the Island, and the need of the hour was a government of national reconciliation, rather than any attempt to worsen the already bad situation by committing Indian forces, which would only inflame the situation. The President, the report said, should take all necessary steps to defuse the crisis through political means, and that India would not like to pick itself for combat with the JVP in what would be a no-win situation.

PRISONERS LAUNCH DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN

Prisoners in several jails throughout the country continued to press for their demands in their disobedience campaign. Officials said that inmates at prisons in Bogambara, Negombo, and Welikada were in control of the internal administration.

PRESIDENT WARNS AGAINST OVERTHROWING GOVERNMENT

Addressing a special meeting summoned to mobilise support for the candidature of Mr. Premadasa for the Presidency, President J.R. Jayewardene said, at the Sugathadasa Indoor Stadium, Colombo, on Nov. 6, that if there was an attempt to topple the legally-elected government of Sri Lanka, neighbouring India would come to our assistance as she did in the Maldives last week. As a member of SAARC powerful India would join other major countries like the USA, USSR, China and Pakistan to crush any attempt to topple the government elected by the people in Sri Lanka. He appealed to Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and other political parties to join hands with the government to crush terrorism and overcome the current situation in the country. "Otherwise we are all finished. If terrorism won, democracy and Parliamentary system of government would all be destroyed. There would not be elections or any opposition parties. It is the duty of a democratic political party to help the government in its battle to safeguard the country's freedom, sovereignty and integrity", he added.

POLICE POWERS ON "DEAD BODIES"

According to a special gazette notification issued by the President, any officer above the rank of Assistant Superintendant of Police or any other person authorised by him on his behalf is authorised to dispose of dead bodies without an inquest.

SIX PARTY PROPOSAL TO LTTE

The six-party opposition alliance has proposed the formation of three administrative districts in the country termed Decentralised Government Units instead of the nine Provincial Councils to solve the ethnic crisis. The units will be divided into Sinhala, Tamil, and Muslim areas depending on the ethnic composition. It is said that the proposal has been submitted to the LTTE.

RAILWAY BRIDGE BLASTED

A railway bridge at Peradeniya is reported to have been blasted by the JVP disrupting the railway services in the Central province. In the South 3 UNP supporters are reported killed by the JVP.

MP FOR POLGAHAWELA CONVICTED

UNP MP for Polgahawela and 17 others are said to have been found guilty by Chilaw magistrate and sentenced to 8 years imprisonment and a fine of Rs 1000/- for having attacked SLFP members during the 1982 Presidential elections.

TAMIL DETAINEES FAST UNTO DEATH

The Tamil detainees in the magazine prison in Colombo are staging a fast unto death as their appeal to the Sri Lankan authorities to release them has not been heeded.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WON'T BE POSTPONED - PM

Addressing a public rally at Bandaragama, Mr. Premadasa said that under no circumstances would the Presidential elections be postponed. He said that the people are now asking why hasn't the "common candidate" not put forward her manifesto and policies. The SLFP never expected that the UNP would ever nominate him for the Presidential elections. "The seven party alliance had seven different policies regarding language, economy and on the IPKF", he added.

POLITICAL, NOT MILITARY, LEADERSHIP MUST EVOLVE

Dr Brian Seneviratne, Australia

It is interesting to see one's efforts appreciated and ridiculed on a single page of your October 15 issue. To Mr Siva of Thirumalai, let me say "Thank you. It is good to know that one's meagre efforts in distant Australia are appreciated in far off Trincomalee."

Mr.Thangavelu of Canada merits a more detailed reply. When I first read what he wrote about me I thought he was a Sinhalese since some of the statements he has made have often come from illiterate Sinhalese chauvinists who do not know what this struggle is all about. Mr. Thangavelu refers to "the learned doctor's tirade against his own people." For the benefit of Mr.Thangavelu and the scores of rabid Sinhala 'patriots' who hate my guts, let me explain what I stand for and what I am against.

1. I am not against the Sinhalese people but I am against that small bunch of vicious Sinhalese chauvinists who feel that Sri Lanka belongs to the Sinhalese and that the Tamils have no right to equal treatment.

2. I am also totally opposed to the centralisation of power in Colombo and feel that if the Sri Lankan problem (both in the North and in the South) is ever to be settled, a total devolution of power to the periphery is a mandatory requirement.

3. I am neither for the LTTE (or Mr.Prabaharan) nor against them. All I said was that the Tamils must evolve political (not military) leaders. If the Tamils already have such men who can find the support of the people without the use of a gun, that's great. If they are also capable of delivering the political, as distinct from the military goods, that's even greater. Where the LTTE is concerned, I salute them because they have had the courage, honesty, and integrity to oppose Jayewardene's barbarism and Gandhi's dishonesty. I have said so in clear simple English in my booklet on the October 1987 Indian military offensive. The LTTE is indisputably the hegemonic group among the militant Tamils and anyone who does not accept this is in a world of his own. Miserable groups

like Tristar are no more than an embarrassment and a liability. However, the LTTE are not the ONLY representatives of the Tamil people and the current expatriate Tamil obsession to make them so will be very damaging in the long term. Fortunately the LTTE back home do not have these grandiose delusions. I note from Mr.Kittu's recent letter to Rajiv Gandhi that "the LTTE is willing to lift the ban imposed on other militant groups facilitating them to participate in the political process."

Regarding the question of Eelam, I have for years strongly supported such a goal. However, it is now obvious that the establishment of an independent sovereign state, however desirable, will be almost impossible and the best that can be achieved is (honestly) a federal set up. The fear is that the Tamils may not achieve even this, not even with the loss of another 20,000 lives. People like Mr.Thangavelu who have distanced themselves both physically and mentally from reality may not be able to appreciate this. It is easy for him to cry "Eelam and nothing else" since he, sitting in Canada, does not have to pay the price. The expatriate Tamils have been an excellent support group in this struggle to free the Tamils from Sinhalese domination. They must now not become part of the problem by advocating the impossible which those on the battle-field simply cannot deliver and which will set the people in the North and East on a suicidal course.

Mr.Thangavelu, safely installed in Canada, advocating "an armed revolutionary struggle" is one thing, the poor Tamil living in Jaffna and Batticaloa and experiencing the horrors of war is another. What I am advocating is that this pursuit of a military solution, and a politically impossible one at that, be abandoned in favour of a politically realistic goal. Politics is the art of the possible. With the realism of the JVP terror, any Sinhalese leader who agrees to a separate sovereign state will not survive politically or even physically. What is more, no country, not even India, will back such a solution. The

only people who might be able to change the situation are the economically crucial Plantation Tamils who stand to gain nothing from Eelam. Until you find political leaders among the Tamils who can appreciate this and back solutions that will also benefit this vital group who are in a position to bring Sinhala extremists and Sinhala governments to their senses, the conflict will go on.

Mr.Thangavelu claims that I am demanding a high price from the Tamils. I demand no price. All I suggest is pursuing a course that is less likely to result in the decimation of the people in the North and East. It is easy for Mr.Thangavelu to take a lunge at Krishna Iyer, myself and others who strongly support the Tamil cause, to warn 'unsuspecting Tamils' of imaginary dangers and feel that he has done a great job. I am comfortably settled in medicine and have nothing to gain (and much to lose) by getting involved in this struggle. If Mr.Thangavelu wants to look for enemies of the Tamil people, he will find them among the political opportunists in the UNP and the SLFP, the racial bigots among the Buddhist hierarchy and the extremists in the JVP. Antagonising sincere supporters of the Tamil cause will achieve nothing.

Tamils Need Psychiatric Care

continued from page 16

Another Tamil youth said he had suffered from paranoia for five years, ever since he was imprisoned for some three months for allegedly backing the campaign for a Tamil homeland called Eelam.

Doctors said most patients suffered from headaches, dizziness, breathing problems, palpitations, indigestion and similar ailments for which there was no apparent organic cause. Grief reaction, hysterical behaviour, hallucinations, and loss of appetite were also common, they said.

(We hope this moving story will catch the attention of the scores of Tamil psychiatrists working in this country. We are told that nearly one-third of Tamil NHS consultants are in this field. May we please know your views on this serious question of psychiatric rehabilitation of our nation. Ed)

“எத்துன்பங்களைச் சந்திக்க நேரிடினும் சுதந்திரப்பாதையில் செல்வோம்” -

அமரர் தந்தை செல்வா (20-11-75ல் தேசிய அரசுப்பேரவையில்)

‘தமிழர்கள் தங்கள் நிலை பற்றிச் சிந்தித்து ஒரு முடிவுக்கு வந்து விட்டார்கள். ஒரு விஷயம் மிகவும் தெளிவானது. தமிழர்கள் இந்நாட்டில் ஆளப்படும் இனமாக வாழும் நிலையை ஒரு போதுமே ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளமாட்டார்கள். அவர்கள் அடிமைத்தனத்துக்கு எதிராகப் புரட்சியிலிறங்குவார்கள். எங்கள் முன்னோர்களைப் போல, எமக்கென ஒரு தனித்தமிழ்நாட்டினை மீண்டும் உருவாக்கிக் கொள்வதே எம்மை எதிர்நோக்கும் பிரச்சினைகளுக்குத்தீர்வு காண ஒரே வழியென்று கருதுகிறோம்.

எங்கள் இனத்தின் சுதந்திரத்திற்கும் இறைமைக்கும் நாங்கள் போராடுகிறோம். இது மிகவும் வில்லங்கமான காரியம்தான் என்றாலும், நாங்கள் சிங்கள இனத்தினால் விழுங்கப்பட்டு விடாமற் தடுப்பதற்கு இந்தப்பாதையிற் செல்வதைத்தவிர எங்களுக்கு வேறு வழியில்லை!

எங்கள் இனம் அழிக்கப்படுவதை நாம் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்க முடியாது. நாம் எல்லா முயற்சிகளையும் மேற்கொண்டு ஒரு தனித்தமிழ்நாட்டை இங்கு நிறுவினே தீருவோம்! இந்தக் கொள்கையையே எங்கள் இயக்கத்தின் கொள்கையாகவும் மிகவிசுவாசம் மாற்றியமைக்கவிருக்கிறோம்.

சிங்களம் மட்டும் சட்டம் வந்தபோது, இத்தச் சபையிற் பேசிய டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா ‘ஒரு மொழியை மட்டுமே உத்தியோக மொழியாக்கினால் இங்கு இரண்டு நாடுகள் உருவாகும்’ என்று கூறியிருந்தார். இப்போது நாங்கள் தனித்தமிழ் நாட்டுக்காகப் போராடுகிறோம். இதைப்பற்றி இந்தச் சபைக்கும் நாம் ஏற்கெனவே முன்னறிவித்தல் கொடுத்திருக்கிறோம்.

எங்கள் வழியில் நாங்கள் சந்திக்க வேண்டிய துன்பங்களைப்பற்றி நாம் உணராமல் இல்லை. ஆனால் எவ்வளவு தான் துன்பங்களைச் சந்திக்க நேரிடினும், சுயமரியாதையுள்ள மக்களாக வாழ்வதற்கு எங்களுக்கு இதைவிட வேறு வழியே இல்லை!

தமிழ் மக்களின் குரலாக நின்று இச்சபையில் நான் இதைக் கூறிவைக்கிறேன். ஒருதனித்தமிழ் ஈழத்தை அமைப்பதற்கு இயக்கங்களை நாம் நடத்துவோம் என்பதை சகலருக்கும் அறியத்தருகிறேன்.’



LTTE BANS CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

According to a statement issued from its headquarters on November 22, the LTTE has banned the functioning of civil administration in the North and East of Sri Lanka. It has accused the Indian Government of enforcing its might and conducting the P.C. elections employing unfair tactics to make anti-social quislings become members of the P.C. despite repeated calls of the Tamil people not to hold elections until normalcy is restored by enforcing ceasefire.

The LTTE has also condemned the Sri Lankan government for endeavouring (under the guise of restoring democracy, peace and rehabilitation) to undermine the efforts and sacrifice of the Tamil people and the militants.

According to this statement, all government departments and corporations other than those concerning Health, Co-operatives, Electricity, Transport, Irrigation, Schools and Agriculture will not be allowed to function on Mondays, Fridays and Saturdays. In the Kachcheries, only the departments of Food, Pension and Social Services will be allowed to function on the three working days.

Law courts and Police service are completely banned from functioning, it said.

NO ASYLUM FOR ME - SAYS AMIR

"Why should I want asylum?" asked Mr A Amirthalingam angrily when interviewed by *TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL* in London on 17 November. He said that over the years he had given letters of introduction to thousands of Tamils which had enabled them to gain asylum in countries all over Europe. Had he so wanted, he too could have sought asylum years ago, but chose not to. Thus Mr Amirthalingam, Secretary General of the TULF who has been living in Madras since 1983, discounted rumours that he was seeking asylum in Britain.

In a wide ranging interview Mr Amirthalingam gave TVI the essence of his accumulated wisdom.

OF THE LTTE

"One doesn't in any way underestimate the sacrifice that the Tigers have made. But what we feel is, I think that we have a right to express that feeling, that the mistake they made was in going back on that agreement with regard to the interim administration. The subsequent chain of events which took place has resulted in the tragedy of the Indian army having to fight the Tamil militants and to kill Tamil people, destroy the property of Tamil people, all those developments took place from their going back on the agreement which they signed with the Indian government accepting the interim administration."

ON ARMING THE OTHER MILITANT GROUPS

"It was a very wrong thing, we don't endorse that action. They brought some of the members of the other militant groups along with them to identify and help them. What is reported to me is, in the villages in Jaffna the IPKF goes and surrounds a village and then the EPRLF men are also there and they go and identify the LTTE members or supporters and they are shooting some of them. I am not trying to justify some of the methods adopted by the Indian army once the fighting started."

ON THE PRESENCE OF THE IPKF

"Our view is Indian presence will

continue and must continue. We are telling India not to get out even if the President-elect asks them to get out. Because we feel particularly in the eastern province, there will be a terrible massacre of the Tamil people if the Indian army gets out. By the Sinhala army, Sinhala police, Sinhala homeguards. All of them in Trincomalee are being held at bay by the presence of the Indian army. Till we have our own police force or our own reserve force who can provide the security to our people. We can never have the Sinhala police, Sinhala army in our areas maintaining law and order."

ON ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE IPKF

"We did not want to scandalize the Indian army who came as our friend at our request. That would not have served any purpose. By mistake on our part that army had been turned into an army fighting our people. Do you expect me to broadcast to the world that army is massacring our people? I can only take it up with the Indian government and I did take it up with the Indian government. That is all that can be done."



ON THE 13th AMENDMENT

"The Indian government itself gave ten points on which they wanted amendments in the legislation. Nawar Singh told us that they had got a firm commitment from Jayewardene that changes will be made in the law, but the timing of the changes we will have to leave it to him in view of the situation in Sri Lanka.....There are enormous shortcomings. But this is the best we have got so far."

ON INDIAN TALKS WITH LTTE

"Talking at a political level would have been much better (rather than with RAW). Even Chidambaram has been sidelined. Lots of mistakes were made by India in the process, between 1983 and now. They have dropped G.Parthasarathy from the key role he exercised in the Tamil problem. After the death of Indra Gandhi lots of things like that took place. Romesh Bandari, I think, completely misled Rajiv Gandhi at a certain stage".

ON THE ROLE OF EXPATRIATE TAMILS

"You people sit here in your armchairs and you laugh at what is happening and you want to dictate to us as to what we should do. You are fanning the whirlwind. This is what you people are doing here."

ON TULF SUPPORT TO EPRLF

Mr Amirthalingam denied recent Colombo reports of close collaboration with the EPRLF but supported its decision in coming forward to contest the elections. He added that even after he came to London he had been contacted by an ENDLF leader.

ON THE 1977 MANIFESTO - A SEPARATE STATE FOR THE TAMILS

"We have taken a different position from 1978 onwards. We have said if a viable alternative is offered by the Sri Lankan government we will place it before our people and implement it with their approval. Particularly in 1983, after India's involvement, that is the decision we took and at the all party conference in 1984 January we have publicly said that."

WHEN ASKED FOR A PROGNOSIS

"I think there will be a Cyprus type situation. If the new President elected in Sri Lanka wants them (IPKF) to go but the Tamil people don't want them to go and in order to honour their promise to the Tamil people, they will continue to stay and it will be a Cyprus situation without an invasion. I expect that to happen."