

TAMIL NATION

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"Tamil Nation is nobody's mouthpiece and is proud of its individuality and independence. If an Indian newspaper supports the Palestinian cause, it does not become a PLO mouthpiece does it?"

Mr.S.Sivanayagam, Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation, whose detention without trial by the Indian authorities entered its 115th day on the 1st of November 1991

Social Responsibility and Justice, an agency of the national Assembly of the Uniting Church in Australia says: Political solution to the conflict must be either a

Confederation or Two Independent States

Social Responsibility and Justice, an agency of the national Assembly of Uniting Church in Australia has urged the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth to use its good offices to persuade the Sri Lanka Government to enter into direct negotiations.

Rev Richard Wooton, Director of Social Responsibility and Justice says in his letter to Commonwealth Heads, dated the 30th of September:

"I believe external pressure by the International Community to be vital given the Sri Lankan Government's inclinations to seek a military solution and its reluctance to reciprocate the LTTE's offer of negotiations without any pre conditions

Given the changes sweeping across the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe, this would be an appropriate time for the International Community to intervene and end the conflict in Sri Lanka.

A peaceful resolution of the conflict would not only end the carnage but may well serve as a model for ending similar conflicts in the Indian sub continent.

I am encouraged by the role being played by the European Economic Community in bringing about a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Yugoslavia and would urge that the Australian Government persuade the Commonwealth to play such a role in the conflict in Sri Lanka."

Rev Wooton adds that in Sri Lanka, in the years 1989-91, an estimated 100,000 persons have been killed by Government forces.

"In the South, a popular uprising by Sinhala youth was met with severe brutality. In the North-East, the war on the minority Tamils have continued, with aerial bombardment of Tamil cities with excreta and napalm and economic blockade of Tamil areas. About a million people lost their homes and are in improvised refugee camps; over 100,000 went to India; and thousands have died; others are continuing to die from starvation."

"The horrendous violations of human rights by the Sri Lankan Government have been detailed in reports by the International Commission of Jurists, the European Parliamentary Delegation, Amnesty International, International Alert,

Rev Richard Wooton of the Uniting Church in Australia says:

"The political solution (to the conflict) must recognise the following principles and realities:

- * The Tamils of Sri Lanka are a Nation
- * The Tamil homeland is the region presently designated the North East Province.
- * The Tamil Nation is entitled to Self Determination, by the principles of self-determination and the Legal Title of Tamils to a separate State which in practical terms entails:

- Responsibility for the security and welfare of its people.
- Responsibility for its political, trade and economic systems.
- Responsibility for the development of appropriate structures to ensure coexistence and co-operation with its neighbours.

I am cognisant that the solution exhibiting the above features could be found either through a system of confederation of the Sinhala State in the south and the Tamil State in the north or through the emergence of two independent States representing the Sinhala Nation and the Tamil Nation."

British and Dutch Refugee Councils, the Jesuit and Catholic Refugee Services, the World Council of Churches.

These are collated in the attached "Forty Years of Gross Consistent and Continuing Violations of Human Rights by the Sri Lankan Government."

"Year after year, the International Aid Consortium, IMF, World Bank etc, have donated billions of dollars

to the Sri Lankan Government, allegedly for development. In fact it is this aid which enables Government to purchase sophisticated arms. Large consignments of arms have also come from China. These weapons have been used to kill tens of thousands of civilian people. The food aid to the Tamil areas has been less than 1% of the total requirement.

These donor countries and organisations are also guilty contributors

to the slaying of innocent people in Sri Lanka. It is time to recognise this international complicity in a program of murder, violence, and repression of minorities.

It used to be a defence for non-intervention, that what happens within a country is an internal matter, outside UN scope. When horrendous violations of human rights take place, is it still an internal matter? Is not the international com-

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"time has come to end this long and bloody struggle and for the international community to recognise the need for a Tamil Nationhood and State"

TAMIL NATION

"Truth and knowledge are an idle gleam if they do not bring power to change the world."

Sri Aurobindo

Recognising, that to change anything it is necessary to understand that which we seek to change, the TAMIL NATION is concerned not only with providing information but also with furthering an understanding of the issues that confront the Tamil national movement. Recognising that, in the end, we truly understand anything only to the extent that we have been able to change it, the TAMIL NATION is concerned with changing those material conditions of existence which continue to oppress and discriminate against the people of Tamil Eelam. The TAMIL NATION is rooted in the growing togetherness of the Tamil people and it seeks to participate in the effort to strengthen that togetherness. The TAMIL NATION seeks to focus attention on the unjust relationship between nations without a state and nations that have attained state-hood. And, the TAMIL NATION exists to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary, both amongst the Tamil people and outside, if the struggle of the Tamil people for national self determination is to be won.

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It was the Prussian military theorist Clausewitz, who remarked that war is a continuation of politics by other means. President Premadasa is proving Clausewitz right. The military offensive launched by the Sri Lankan army, two weeks ago, on the LTTE and the Tamil people is a continuation of President Premadasa's political campaign to survive in power in the South.

The impeachment resolution against President Premadasa, though aborted, seriously weakened his grip on power. Ex Ministers Lalith Athulathmudalai and Gamini Disanayake held well attended public meetings in the Sinhala South. The thrust of the UNP rebels' campaign was a naked appeal to Sinhala chauvinism. Lalith Athulathmudalai accused President Premadasa of having supplied arms to the LTTE, 'which arms are being used against our Sinhala soldiers'. Gamini Disanayake asserted that Minister Thondaman's Ceylon Workers Congress was 'slowly eating up the upcountry areas' and warned that there would soon be a temple to temple, village to village campaign by Buddhist monks against the Executive Presidency.

President Premadasa had reason to fear that as the UNP rebel campaign continued, it would attract more and more of the disgruntled and discontented in the Sinhala South. His ruthless campaign against dissidents in the South, during the past two years and more, meant that the reservoir of the disgruntled had been kept well supplied.

Again, the army, with Goigama Buddhists in the upper echelons of power, some with connections with the dissident UNP rebels and pushing for a 'gung ho' approach, had become more difficult to manage.

What better way to counter the opposition Tamil bashing campaign in the South than by starting an army Tamil bashing campaign in the North? Deeds, after all, speak more effectively than words. And, it would not be for the first time, that a Government wracked with internal problems has sought to unite its people behind it, by recourse to an external military adventure.

There was also an external aspect to the political compulsions faced by President Premadasa.

In the run up to 1992 and the lifting of travel restrictions within the European Community, EC members had become increasingly restive about the presence, within their borders, of large numbers of Tamil refugees, amounting to around 200,000. It was in the immediate interest of several European states to secure an early settlement to the conflict in Sri Lanka.

And, as always, human rights was the acceptable way to intervene and influence in what may otherwise be regarded as an internal matter. In a demarche in October 1990, EC Heads of Mission in Colombo urged

Continuation of politics by other means

Sri Lanka to observe its international obligations in the field of human rights and stressed that future aid from EC member states would depend, among other factors, on Sri Lanka's performance on human rights. The same point was made later by nearly all delegations from donor countries at the Sri Lanka Aid Consortium meeting in Paris on the 25th of October.

A Commonwealth mediation initiative was announced in Australia by the Shadow Minister for External Affairs, Senator Robert Hill with the support of Prime Minister Bob Hawke.

President Premadasa's response was cool. He closed the Israeli interests section in Colombo and looked to Libya for arms. The UK High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr.

ty, Prabhakaran declared: "The Liberation Tigers seek to find new answers to the conflict. It is the Sri Lanka government that has failed to learn the lessons from the emergence of the struggles for self determination in several parts of the globe and the innovative structural changes that have taken place".

Elephant Pass had demonstrated that there were two conventional armies in the Island. President Premadasa understood only too well that the establishment of a conventional Tamil National Army was leading to a de facto separate Tamil Eelam state and would strengthen the LTTE's hand in any negotiating process.

Independent commentators, for example in Asiaweek, had begun

ஒரு உயிர் உன்னதமானது
என்பதை நான் அறிவேன்
ஆனால் உயிரிலும் உன்னத
மானது எமது உரிமை, எமது
சுதந்திரம்.
Velupillai Prabhakaran

David Gladstone was expelled in May 1991, in an attempt to stifle British and other Western criticism. In July 1991, Britain withdrew its aid offer of £3 million on the ground that Sri Lanka's human rights performance had not improved significantly since October 1990.

But the recent impeachment effort and the support that the rebels, and in particular, Ex Minister Gamini Disanayake, may have received from sections of the Indian establishment appears to have moved President Premadasa and the United States closer together. Again, the United States without an influx of Tamil refugees, has a perspective which is not altogether identical to that of Europe or for that matter Canada. Furthermore in an emerging multi polar world, lines are not always black and white - they tend to shade into degrees of gray.

Be that all as it may, the conventional wisdom in the international community was that neither Sri Lanka nor the LTTE can win the war and that a settlement of the conflict was a necessary pre condition for economic growth and stability. The question was: what was the settlement that would suffice to bring peace?

It is an open secret that during recent months, many initiatives were taken by interested and concerned individuals and international organisations to mediate in the conflict.

Last month, with the statement of the leader of the Liberation Tigers, Velupillai Prabhakaran, that he was ready for peace talks, the peace initiatives appeared to have matured. At a discussion meeting with students at Jaffna Universi-

dominant Sinhala majority, within the confines of a unitary Constitutional frame. It is farcical to believe that a 'political settlement' within the same unitary frame will resolve the conflict. It will not. Dominance by the permanent Sinhala majority will continue - and so will the conflict. Indeed, the recent pronouncements of the contenders for power in Colombo serve to expose the extent of the cancerous growth of the dominant Sinhala Buddhist mythology in Sri Lanka's body politic.

In a unitary constitution, all effective state power will reside at the centre. Unitary means just that - one and not two. President Premadasa and his advisers know that any 'political solution' within the frame of Sri Lanka's unitary Constitution, will necessarily vest executive power in the Colombo President and legislative power in the Central Parliament. President Premadasa and his advisers know that the Sri Lanka Constitution provides that its unitary character cannot be changed except by the people at a referendum.

The stark constitutional reality is that no Amendment to the Sri Lanka Constitution, whether the 13th Amendment or any other Amendment, can divest power from the Centre, unless that Amendment has the approval of the people at a referendum. And Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism, nurtured by Sinhala politicians for their electoral advantage, during the past forty years, renders any appeal to the Sinhala people by way of referendum, difficult if not impossible. This then, is the bottom line.

In the end, the answer, surprisingly, lies in the eventual good sense of the Sinhala people themselves. It also lies in the emergence of a Sinhala political leadership which is afraid to tell its people that the Tamil struggle for self determination is just and right and that peace will not come to the Island without justice. It lies in the emergence of a Sinhala political leadership which is afraid to say openly that no people can force another people to live together with them, but two peoples may structure a polity where each associates with the other in equality and in freedom.

War may be a continuation of politics by other means. But, as Clausewitz added, it is also true that the object of war is to break your opponent's will. The military offensive launched by President Premadasa has served, instead, to consolidate and strengthen the will of the Tamil people to resist the Sinhala invader of their homelands and Velupillai Prabhakaran and the Liberation Tigers are today, the living symbols of that will. The military offensive launched by President Premadasa has served to underline to the Tamil people, the compelling need for a sovereign state of Tamil Eelam where the Tamil people may live in security and with dignity. There will be no white flag in Tamil Eelam.

One year ago, Deanna Hodgkin, from Insight Magazine visited Sri Lanka. She was appalled by what she saw and heard. On her return she wrote to Congressman Gus Yatron, US Congress Sub Committee on Human Rights. Her letter of the 7th of November 1990 is a moving document and retains its poignant urgency even today. We are privileged to publish it in full in this November 1991 issue of the Tamil Nation. Human Rights is not about having seminars and discussions in the sanitised atmosphere of conference halls in Geneva and elsewhere. Neither is it about a modern growth industry for researchers and lawyers. In the end, as well as in the beginning, Human Rights is about people and a genuine concern for their aspirations to live in freedom and with dignity, and Deanna Hodgkin brings to her writing an honesty and freshness which some non governmental organisations may learn from.

"Congressman, I'm writing to you because I am angry. You should be, too."

"When I volunteered that I had seen many bomb-blasted bodies, and many hundreds of people injured by helicopter strafing and more, the Defence Minister told me it was a pity I had not been shot...I have covered the wars in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Iran and Iraq, and Indian Kashmir. The fighting in Sri Lanka is much worse than the worst of any of these conflicts"

Congressman Gus Yatron,
Subcommittee on Human Rights,
Room B,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Yatron

Because I'm a journalist, some ethicists would tell me I have no place in writing. But because I've recently returned from covering the war in Sri Lanka, where I was detained, shot at by helicopters, and sent out onto mined roads by the Sri Lankan army and have just received news that the bombing has begun again in the North, while the army is negotiating with Libya for more arms - because I have seen these things, and because many friends there are dying while my government does nothing, I am writing to you.

I have covered the wars in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Iran and Iraq, and Indian Kashmir. The fighting in Sri Lanka is much worse than the worst of any of these conflicts, because of the underlying racial hatreds and institutionalized discrimination. I urge you to do anything you can, Congressman Yatron, to convene a special hearing on Human Rights abuses taking place in that country.

Pshaw, you say, how bad can it be? It's so bad, that after travelling 32 hours by boat, bike, bus and car to return to Colombo from the Jaffna Peninsula - where I had spent six days following the late-August operation on Jaffna - I attended a press conference where Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne told the press that there had been no civilian casualties despite heavy bombing. When I volunteered that I had seen many bomb-blasted bodies, and many hundreds of people injured by helicopter strafing and more, the Defence Minister told me it was a pity I had not been shot.

That's the mentality you are dealing with - human rights is not an idea with much currency for the Sri Lankan government. Quiet diplomacy is not an option for our policy in Sri Lanka. The United States government must send a strong message, condemning the bombing, the 30,000-60,000 disappearances of young people in both North and South, and the continuing army blockade of shipments of food stuffs and medical supplies to the North.

Congressman, I'm writing to you because I am angry. You should be, too.

Sincerely

Deanna Hodgkin, Writer, Insight Magazine

"The crimes committed by the Sri Lankan State against the Tamil minority - against its physical security, citizenship rights, and political representation - are of growing gravity for the international community. Other countries across the world, which have had to shelter the thousands of Tamil refugees who have fled and are still fleeing the island, must increasingly bear the cost of the denial of the fundamental political rights of the Tamils of Sri Lanka... Report after report by impartial bodies - by Amnesty International, by the International Commission of Jurists, by parliamentary delegates from the West, by journalists and scholars - have set out clearly the scale of the growing degeneration of the political and physical well being of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka... everyone who possesses an elementary sense of justice has no moral choice but to acquaint himself fully with the plight of the Tamil people. It is an international issue of growing importance. Their cause represents the very essence of the cause of human rights and justice; and to deny it, debases and reduces us all."

- David Selbourne,
Ruskin College, Oxford,
July 1984

Sivanayagam incarceration without trial passes 100th day

On the 1st of November, Mr. Subramaniam Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation, entered his 115th day in an Indian jail.

He has not been charged with any offence and he has been denied his fundamental right to have his case heard in open Court and have judgment delivered according to law. The Indian authorities would have the world believe that Mr. Sivanayagam, a 58 year old diabetic, suffering from hypertension is a threat to the national security of India and should be separated from his wife and two children!

That Mr. Sivanayagam today occupies a jail which once housed C. Rajagopalachari, the Indian National Congress freedom fighter is perhaps symbolic. Like Rajaji, Mr. Sivanayagam too has stood up for that which was right and just, the freedom of his people. It is Subramaniam Sivanayagam's fearlessness and integrity of purpose, which the Indian authorities have sought to punish - perhaps to serve as an example to others who may seek to follow in the same footsteps. They little realise that that which they have done will only serve to consolidate and nurture a growing Tamil national consciousness, which seeks to cry out aloud, in pain and in joy, "Yes, we may live in many lands and even across distant seas, but distress begins to binds us together and thus united we are finding our strength."

Reader Myl Thavarajan from Holland sends us this poem in Tamil on Subramaniam Sivanayagam's detention which he likens to a barbed wire fence being placed around truth and freedom of expression.

"உண்மைக்கு முள்வேலி"
எழுதும், பேசும்
மாலுட உரிமைக்கு!
ஐயோ-
காந்தியின் மண்ணிலா
நீதி அழுதது?

அரசின் அவையிலே
புரவலர் மகிழ்ந்ததும்
புலவர்கள் அறிவுரை
அரசனுக்கிளித்ததும்
பாரதம்புவியிலா?
அங்குதான் -
உண்மையின் காவலன்
'சிவநாயகத்திற்கு'
கிறைவையும் நடந்ததா?

வாளெடுத்தோர் பகை கொள்ளினும்
கோலெடுத்தோர் பகை கொள்ளற்க
என்பதாய் -
தமிழ் வள்ளுவன் சொன்னது
தரணியில் பொய்க்குமோ?

இந்த பரந்த உலகின்
கோடானு கோடி
கோல்களை எல்லாம்
குத்தி முறித்ததாய் -
காட்சிகள் உங்கள்
கனவிலும் வருமா?

பொய்மையை என்றும்
'கீர்' ரெனக் கிழிக்கும்
பேனாக் குமிழ்களின்
புனிதப்போர் தொடரும்.
நக்கீரப் பரம்பரையை
நெற்றிக்கண்ணும்
நெருங்க முடியாது!

-மயில் தவராஜன்
நெதர்லாந்து-

FACT Appeals to Indian President

The Federation of Tamil Associations of Canada representing the Eelam Tamil Association of British Columbia, Eelam Tamil Association of Quebec, Senior Tamils Centre, Society for the Aid of Ceylon Minorities, Tamil Co-ordinating Committee of Ottawa, Tamil Eelam Society of Canada, Thamilar Olli Association Inc, World Tamil Movement of Canada (Ontario), World Tamil Movement of Canada (Quebec) has appealed to the Mr. S. Venkatraman, the President of India to intervene and secure the release of the Editor of "Tamil Nation" Mr. Subramaniam Sivanayagam, who is in the custody of Madras Police since 19th July 1991.

In its appeal the Federation says that Mr. Sivanayagam had functioned fearlessly and independently as the Editor of the fortnightly "Tamil Nation" published from London U.K. The appeal which was signed Mr. Sam M. Duraiswamy on behalf of FACT, concluded: "Mr. Sivanayagam is in his late fifties and is suffering from hypertension and acute diabetes. Your Excellency will appreciate that such a person should be in the constant care of his kith and kin. We, therefore very humbly appeal to Your Excellency to intervene and secure the release of Mr. Sivanayagam."

Ana Pararajasingham examines the implications of the Asiaweek Editorial which appeared in the October Tamil Nation issue

Sri Lanka: In Pursuit of a Zero-Sum Game

The prestigious and influential "Asia Week" in its editorial of 13th of September 1991 advocates a confederal solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka, by drawing attention to the emerging new world order.

The editorial dismisses federation (along the Swiss, Indian and Malaysian lines) as a possible solution, on the grounds that such an arrangement is too late given the current status of the conflict. Instead, attention is drawn to the "1990's style alternatives" ranging from "one country two systems" to the Confederation of sovereign Soviet Republics (paying special attention to the Ukraine-Russian relationship).

The editorial then makes a vital point by commenting that it would be psychologically impossible for many Sinhalese to concede such political rights to the Tamil People and that not even the most radical Sinhala politician is likely to accept such a solution (ie Confederation).

These comments underscore the inclination on the part of the Sinhala politician over the last 35 years to persist with "solutions" which concede little or nothing to the Tamil Nation.

In fact it is a trait clearly identified by Mohan Ram the Indian author of "Sri Lanka: The Fractured Island". (Penguin Books in India 1989 - p 138 & 139).

According to Mohan Ram, "The Sinhala majority has all along thought that any Tamil demand can be met only at the cost of its own interests, a zero-sum game (whereas) any solution to the ethnic conflict needs to be radically different and needs to have as its foundation a recognition of Sri Lanka's reality-that it comprises two nations."

This article seeks to examine the Sri Lankan Government's latest attempt to impose a zero-sum solution on the Tamil People by resuming its war in the wake of the IPKF's departure.

AT THE CROSS ROADS

The abdication of the Presidency by Junius Jayawardene (at whose invitation the "Indian Peace Keeping Forces" were engaged in the "disarming" of the Tamil guerrillas) in late 1988, followed by the assumption by Premadasa (who was opposed to the Indian presence not withstanding its commitment to "disarm the Tamils") in early 1989, signalled that the Sri Lankan Government had arrived at the cross roads in respect to its 40 year old conflict with the Tamil Nation.

The new President was not only an outsider to the Sri Lankan establishment but was also known to be a pragmatic politician capable of bold decisions and considered to be somewhat independent of the powerful Colombo based establishment.

Given these assessments, this writer in an article in the "Tamil Voice International" of February 1989 put forward the view that Sri Lanka was at the cross roads and given the inevitable withdrawal of the Indian troops, had the choice of either seeking a political solution which recognized the Tamil Nation's right to self-determination or copying the Indian strategy of pursuing the war with the assistance of the Tamil quisling groups.

Interestingly this prognosis was proved to be accurate with Premadasa offering to "talk" to the LTTE, the LTTE accepting the offer and as a direct consequence, the President seeking the IPKF's withdrawal.

At this point Sri Lanka was indeed at the cross roads. It was soon evident that the Premadasa government had opted for the latter course when senior cabinet ministers suddenly began to insist on participation by the "other Tamil

insurgency program soon saw the JVP on the run and by the end of 1989 had resulted in Rohana Wijeyeweera, the head of the JVP being arrested and murdered by the state forces.

The success of the anti JVP opera-

gan the process of replacing regular policemen in the East with the notorious STF (Special Task Force) in an obvious effort to prepare for its confrontation in the East where the LTTE's defenses were clearly at their weakest. The

madasa, however, had rejected the offer made by Prime Minister Hawke in response to the shadow foreign minister's initiative.

Then there was the offer made on behalf of the Norwegian Government to host negotiations between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Government anywhere outside Sri Lanka. This was not taken up by the Sri Lankan Government. A similar attempt made in April 1991 (according to press reports) by the Malaysian Government to initiate a dialogue but reportedly rejected by the Sri Lankan Government.

Again, in December 1990, the LTTE took the initiative by declaring and observing an unconditional cease-fire while offering to engage in negotiations without any pre conditions. It was an offer rejected by the Sri Lankan Government after having initially observed the cease-fire for a short period.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY:

Given this total lack of political will on the part of the Sri Lankan Government, it is time the International Community exerted pressure to bring about negotiations between the LTTE and an intransigent Sri Lankan Government which is intent on pursuing a zero-sum game.

In the light of the initiative taken by the European Economic Community to bring about a peaceful resolution of the war in Yugoslavia and the successful political restructuring of the Soviet Union now under way, the international Community is certainly in a position to exert pressure on the Sri Lankan Government to negotiate a political solution to its conflict with the Tamil Nation on the basis of self-determination. A political solution to the ongoing conflict in Sri Lanka will not only end the genocidal attacks on the Tamil people but is also bound to serve as a political precedent and model to end similar conflicts within the Indian region where several such conflicts are underway.

All India Radio vs Premadasa

All India Radio correspondent left Colombo after being expelled by the Sri Lanka government for 'misreporting'. 'I am leaving Colombo 24 hours ahead of the deadline given by the government' A. Karuppasamy said before leaving on October 21. New Delhi has protested against the expulsion.

The Indian High Commissioner said that in journalism such errors were not uncommon, and that in democratic countries like India and Sri Lanka there were many such cases. Sri Lanka revoked Karuppasamy's residence permit and ordered him to leave the country within four days after he had filed a wrong report that the Speaker of Parliament, M.H. Mohamed, had tendered his resignation to President Ranasinghe Premadasa. The state owned radio and TV in India had announced this and then retracted the item the following day. The Indian High Commissioner expressed regret over the matter to Mohamed.

Jha said India's protest note took exception to the 'constant sniping campaign of calumny by a section of the local media against the government of India, the Indian press and Indian journalists.' He also said that such activities were not conducive to improving relations between the two countries and that he hoped the campaign would cease.

"The Sinhala majority has all along thought that any Tamil demand can be met only at the cost of its own interests, a zero-sum game (whereas) any solution to the ethnic conflict needs to be radically different and needs to have as its foundation a recognition of Sri Lanka's reality-that it comprises two nations."

Groups" and voicing their concerns about the practicalities of repealing the sixth amendment.

Simultaneously army camps were being re-opened in areas vacated by the IPKF and taken over by the LTTE.

It was soon abundantly clear that the Government had opted to wage war against the Tamil Nation and seek a military solution in line with the Colombo establishment's position, after all

TALKS WITH THE LTTE:

President Premadasa's decision to begin "talks" with the LTTE and his ap-

parent desire to end the war in the Northeast was initiated when the Sinhala Government was confronted by a violent uprising by its own Sinhala constituency from the South spearheaded by the JVP.

This of course meant preparing for a conventional war in the Northeast in view of the complete control the LTTE had assumed in the wake of the IPKF departure.

Premadasa needed time to mount such an operation and began to play for time by delaying the repeal of the sixth amendment and the holding of the Interim

number of army camps in the East were also increased in complete violation of the understanding reached with the LTTE during the 14 month long "negotiations". The Government's actions were so blatantly provocative that even some of the Colombo based journalists were found to warn the Government about it!

"The Government has had promised to dissolve the North East Provincial council and repeal the Sixth Amendment to enable the LTTE to contest. The Tigers went ahead and registered the PFLT as a political party. In all this they expected that



Provincial elections-the two conditions stipulated by the LTTE as pre-conditions for further negotiations. In a miscalculated effort to further prolong the negotiating process the Government also began to express an interest in the inclusion of "other Tamil Groups" which had been totally marginalised with the departure of their patrons-the IPKF.

THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN:

Having decided to wage war it was necessary for the Government to avoid the condemnation by the International community (on which it had to depend for its finances) for having taken the decision.

The Government therefore took upon itself the elaborate task of giving an impression to the international community that the Premadasa Government was genuine in its attempts to solve the Tamil problem.

Accordingly, foreign embassies and consulates were supplied with information meant to convey the view that the Government was prepared to concede everything short of an independent state for the Tamils. Quisling Tamil MPs who had been "elected" to parliament under Indian patronage and who had ceased to be of any significance with the departure of their Indian masters were pressed into serving the Sri Lankan Government and were soon voicing their support for the moves made by the Government.

EELAM WAR TWO:

Simultaneously the Government be-

came the process of replacing regular policemen in the East with the notorious STF (Special Task Force) in an obvious effort to prepare for its confrontation in the East where the LTTE's defenses were clearly at their weakest. The

On the 10th of June 1990 the LTTE and the Government confronted each other with the LTTE initially over-running the Police Stations and the Army camps in the East.

The Sri Lankan Government's determination to pursue the zero sum game has to-date resulted in entire villages in the East being denuded of Tamil presence, a million people being made refugees in their own Homeland and over ten thousand civilians being killed.

PEACE INITIATIVES:

During the first twelve months of the war dubbed "Eelam War Two" by the local media, the Government had consistently rejected offers by the International Community to initiate the peace process

These peace initiatives included a bipartisan approach initiated in August 1990 by the Australian shadow minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Robert Hill, who sought to involve the Commonwealth in mediations between the parties to the conflict-The Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). President Pre-

The Government's brutal counter

Operation Valampuri - a strategy to negate LTTE's conventional military strength

The cheapest way to make one's enemy weak is to cut off his supply lines and limit his mobility. This way a war can be won with a few crucial battles that exhaust the enemy's resources.

Now the Jaffna peninsula, it is claimed, (after the Valampuri Offensive launched on October 19) has been cut off from the mainland. Jaffna had three entry points: the Sangupiddy - Kerthiru causeway and ferry, Elephant Pass, and the Chundikulam Pass. The Sangupiddy to Kerthiru causeway was nearing completion when armed Tamil groups became active after 1983.

There was an Army camp near the 4th mile post of the Mannar-Mulan-gavil-Pooneryn-Sangupiddy road, which could not effectively interdict the movement of the Tamil groups through the causeway. While all movement towards Killinochi to the West of Vavuniya-Jaffna trunk road and to Mullaithivu was through the Chundikkulam area, the access to Mannar and Eastern Killinochi was through Sangupiddy.

Now all these entry points are believed to be sealed off. It has been assumed therefore that the Tigers cannot transport men and material out of Jaffna to Killinochi, Mullaithivu, Mannar and Vavuniya or into Jaffna from these districts, the larger part of which they now control.

The resources of the army are limited. They cannot commit a large number of troops, like the IPKF to holding operations, and they cannot expend extraordinary large stocks of ammunition in massive frontal thrusts.

The army has to cope with these limitations in the face of the most critical feature of Eelam War II - the ability of the Tigers to engage battal-

ion size or larger infantry in the North. Hence the main objective of all operations there had to have as their ultimate objective, the effective negation of LTTE's nascent conventional military strength, to reduce the Tigers into a guerilla organisation with a political manageable nuisance value.

How could this be achieved with minimum of available resources?

The answer to this has lured generals through the ages because it sounds so perfect in theory, and military histories give many an account of its success in practice. The practice is commonsense and standard. Cut off critical lines of supply and engage in a series of intense battles that inevitably sap the enemy's resources faster than what he can afford to expend.

The Jaffna peninsula was fast los-

ing its rear base in Tamil Nadu, after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Therefore it was cut off from the mainland as well. The LTTE would find it difficult to sustain its nascent conventional military potential for long while having to engage the army in a series of intense and inevitable battles - Elephant Pass, Welioya etc.

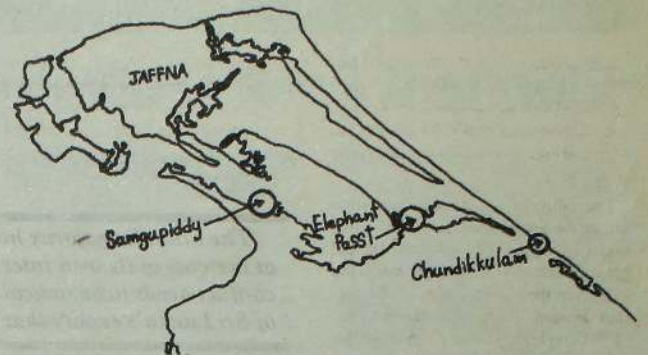
With the capture of Sangupiddy, the army, it would appear, is almost on the verge of negating the conventional military strength of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam; of delivering a fatal blow to Prabhakaran's dream of building up the Tamil national army. And once this happens, the army would be able to move into LTTE territory without fighting intense high cost battles and hold territory, with a smaller number

of troops, which will have to tackle small bands of Tigers roaming the country side.

The first one is that Jaffna is the critical heartland and nerve centre that is indispensable for sustaining the LTTE's current strength.

The second assumption is that Sangupiddy, elephant Pass and Chundikulam are the only vital and feasible entry points to Jaffna.

The third one is that Tamil Nadu is a crucial rear base, both for supplies



pend on moving troops in and out of Jaffna.

There can be a serious problem (for the Army) in trying to move into the Peninsula if the LTTE decentralises its command structure. It could then be in a position to face an army thrust and depend on the advantages of built up areas rather than on supplies from the East and the Wanni. Here, one has to take into account the

fact that as long as the LTTE can control the flow of civilians out of Jaffna with their visa system, and maintain the current level of their intense propaganda, they will be able to raise the required minimum of members to train and throw into battles in the Peninsula.

Assumption Three: Tamil Nadu certainly was a vital rear base but after the IPKF left, the LTTE has been systematically reducing its traditional dependence on Tamil Nadu and has actively promoted military and economic self sufficiency. Whether the level of self sufficiency it has achieved in the last three years is enough to sustain the conventional strength it has now, will be known in the next six or seven months, if the army carries on with its intense and critical battles, meant to draw out and exhaust the resources of the LTTE.

Therefore the capture of Sangupiddy which is the most important feature of operation Valampuri has to be seen first, as a political victory for the army in that it can now control the regular flow of civilians and civilian supplies in the Northern heartland of the Tiger.

On the other hand (Sri Lanka) politicians should exercise caution in taking for granted the theory that seems to underlie the Sangupiddy operation - i.e. that it presages the onset of a glorious, and hence politically useful victory over the Liberation Tigers.

says Taraki

in the Sri Lanka Sunday Island of October 27

and for the treatment of the injured.

Assumption One: After its experience with the IPKF, the LTTE was keen to transfer part of its resources Mullaithivu and Mannar. It is also not certain whether they have to depend on reinforcements from Jaffna because a great part of their manpower comes from the East. When there is pressure on them in a battle-front they get down people from the East.

Only when large and regular military supplies have to be moved to and from the Peninsula, does it become relevant to talk about tactical interdiction.

It remains to be seen whether the LTTE can fight with and without the Peninsula - without having to de-

pend on moving troops in and out of Jaffna.

Assumption Two: Sangupiddy, Elephant Pass and Chundikulam are not the only entry points to Jaffna for the LTTE. These are no doubt points that are indispensable for civilian supplies and transport. The Sangupiddy region and the Chundikulam region, offer many entry points which have been used regularly from 1985. These are open expanses with shrub jungle which cannot be supervised effectively with a camp or two. The Vettikallerny camp which is intend-

Minister Thondaman continues search for dialogue "Government must talk to LTTE - other groups are of no importance"

Minister and CWC leader, Mr S. Thondaman said that the only two parties who could bring about a solution in the present crisis were the LTTE and the Government. He went on to say that a ceasefire was not a condition for talks with the LTTE.

He said that he had requested LTTE chief Velupillai Prabhakaran to prepare a working paper as a proper basis on which negotiations can be conducted. If Prabhakaran adopts the same attitude as mine, he said, he will go to the Sri Lankan Government. "I am trying to remove the cause of suffering" he said. At this stage it is premature to bring the Government into negotiations but it could become so at the correct time. Minister Thondaman reiterated that the LTTE was the only force fighting for the people in Tamil areas in answer to the ques-

tion as to whether LTTE were terrorists or freedom fighters.

In an exclusive interview to a Tamil paper published in UK, Minister and CWC Chairman Mr S Thondaman added that a political solution was the only answer to the Sri Lankan Tamil problem. A military victory will not solve this crisis. To bring about a political solution, the Government must communicate with the LTTE, not with the other splinter militant groups. India should help achieve a political solution.

One of the Government conditions for talks is that other militant groups must also participate in the talks. This condition is not feasible in the present situation. We must always have our priority concern in mind. Then we would realise that the other groups are of no importance, said the CWC leader.

Srimavo Bandaranaike concludes

"You cannot annihilate the LTTE"

One time Prime Minister of Sri Lanka and the present leader of the Opposition Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike in an interview with a Tamil fortnightly when questioned about the request for a Tamil homeland by the Tamil groups in Colombo, laughed and replied: "Those who cannot go the homelands speak about it and make a lot of noise about a Tamil homeland."

She referred to the TULF, TC, EPRLF, PLOTE, TELO and END-LF and asked "Which of these could go to Jaffna? These groups can function only in the Sinhala areas and not in the North East."

Srimavo Bandaranaike who was Prime Minister for two terms covering a period of 12 years went on:

"The Tamils ask for a separate state because they have realised that they have no protection in the country. The Tamil problem cannot be solved militarily. A political solution is the best. It is not possible to eradicate the LTTE altogether."

Take the JVP for instance. I thought that we had uprooted them in 1971, but 18 years later it grew to full strength. It suffered a major set back in 1989, but it is not destroyed. It is the same with the LTTE. 200 new boys and girls enlist when 100 cadres are killed.

You cannot annihilate the LTTE. A permanent solution to the Tamil conflict can only be found when we can devise a plan which will be acceptable to the LTTE.

Red Cross says Sri Lankan Prisoners captured by LTTE are alive and well

The leader of the ICRC delegation to Sri Lanka, Pierre Wettach, has told the Sri Lanka Sunday Times that 41 Sri Lankan soldiers and policemen reported missing were being held by the LTTE and that they are in good health. The ICRC carried letters from these prisoners to their families.

In answer to allegations that the LTTE confiscated food transported by the ICRC, Mr Wettach said that ICRC operations were continuing without interference, and that they unload food at Pt. Pedro and hand it over to the G.A. for distribution and that the process went on unhindered. Asked why they transported the EROS nominees to Parliament, he said that they were given permission by the Joint Operations Command.

GOGGLES

by C.P.Goliard

Elephant Pass - Revolution - Nehru

Let us see how the verdict of the Battle of Elephant Pass has been presented to the world. The Colombo correspondent of the British weekly Economist (Aug.17) scored it as a victory for the Sri Lankan army. With a caption, 'Elephantine mistake', this anonymous correspondent wrote,

"It is now clear that the Tamil Tigers made a terrible mistake in taking on the Sri Lankan army at Elephant Pass. Guerrillas avoid fighting set-piece battles: every guerrilla leader from Lawrence of Arabia to Che Guevara knew that. The Tigers apparently did not, and were mauled. On August 11th the Sri Lankan government claimed that 2,552 Tigers had been killed in the month-long battle. Even allowing for exaggeration, the Tigers' toll has been huge."

Manik de Silva, writing for the Far Eastern Economic Review (Aug.22) presented a more balanced view of the final outcome. "The conventional military balance between the Sri Lankan army and the separatist LTTE guerrillas has narrowed, despite the Tigers' eventual withdrawal in the face of an onslaught by government forces. Although senior military officers had earlier said the battle for Elephant Pass would be the turning point of the war against the separatists, the LTTE's ability to stretch the security forces - who were deployed to the maximum extent of their resources during the 24-day, 9-km advance - suggested another outcome. As one well informed newspaper columnist said during the height of the battle, the Tigers had established

Historically, goliards were the medieval poets, who wandered from place to place engaging in intellectual duels and bawdy bar room fights. The initials C.P. stands for the place from which this particular goliard comes from - Parithu Thurai/Cotton Port.

that Sri Lanka had two armies. This point was not lost on President Ranasinghe Premadasa...

In my view, many of the expressed opinions (whether delivered by the military analysts, journalists or the diplomats) resemble that of the views, the proverbial five blind men had about the elephant. They could only provide analyses based on the body counts of the fallen Tamil rebels.

But, Jawaharlal Nehru for one, could read the minds of these rebels. Why? because, in an earlier generation, he was one of them. Let me reminisce what Nehru wrote sixty years ago to his 14 year old daughter Indira Priyadarshini (which were later collected into a book as Glimpses of World History) on the revolution then taking place in India.

"As I sat here today to write to you, faint cries, like distant thunder, reached me. Inqilab zindabad! Inqilab zindabad! (Long live revolution). I do not know who they were who shouted our war cry so near us outside the gaol - whether they were men and women from the city, or peasants from the villages...Whoever

they were, they cheered us up, and we sent a silent answer to their greeting and all our good wishes went with it... "We are on the threshold of our Revolution. What has the future will bring we cannot say. But even the present has brought us rich returns for our labours. See the women of India, how proudly they march ahead of all in the struggle!... See also the children - the boys and girls - the Vanar Senas and the Bal and Balika Sabhas. The parents of many of these children may have behaved as cowards or slaves in the past. But who dare doubt that the children of our generation will tolerate no slavery or cowardice? "And so the wheel of change moves on, and those who were down go up and those who were up go down. It was time it moved in our country. But we have given it such a push this time that no one can stop it" (January, 1931).

This was written while Nehru was in prison and 16 years ahead of the independence of India. Even then, he showed optimism that India will be free at last. Similarly, it could be that the Battle of Elephant Pass may be the first stepping stone to the practical reality of Eelam.

Conjuring with Commissions

PROCEEDINGS in the gaggle of Presidential Commissions of Enquiry currently restructuring reality in Sri Lanka continued this month with the first public hearings by the Commission on Involuntary Disappearances.

Hundreds of women in white saris, mourning missing sons and husbands stood in the blazing sun outside the Bandaranaike Memorial Hall while Mrs Piyaseeli Samaraweera told the Commission how a Tangalle police inspector assaulted her and demanded Rs 200,000 (\$5,000) for her son's release. After paying Rs 10,000 for her own release, the mutilated body of her son - a suspected leader of the Marxist insurgent People's Liberation Front (JVP) in Trincomalee was found burning on rubber tyres, two months later.

NGOs HAVE LITTLE FAITH IN THE COMMISSION

Human right NGOs have little faith in the Commission which has no mandate to investigate disappearances before 1 January this year and say it is a smokescreen to deflect international concern. Over 60,000 people have disappeared in southern Sri Lanka since 1987 in the military's brutal contest with the JVP.

The Kakkadicholai Commission investigating the Army's massacre of over 150 eastern Tamils in June, reconvened for a second

Ilankai Thamil Sangam, USA requests President Carter Foundation to mediate

The Ilankai Thamil Sangam, the Association of Tamils of Sri Lanka in U.S.A. has requested the President Carter Foundation to mediate in the Tamil - Sri Lanka conflict. In a memorandum submitted by on its behalf by its President, Mr. J.M. Rajaratnam and its Secretary, Mr. S. Sel-vachandran, the Sangam states:

"This memorandum is about the Civil War in the Island of Sri Lanka. It is being submitted to the Human Rights Division of the President Carter Foundation, by the Ilankai Thamil Sangam USA (The Association of Tamils of Sri Lanka in USA).

At the very outset we wish to state that, our association, in making this submission, does not seek or desire any direct participation in any actions your foundation may take in this matter. We have also not sought or obtained an approval or a consent from either of the warring parties about our decision to petition the President Carter Foundation on this matter.

The situation in Sri Lanka today is very grave. This civil war has resulted in 1.5 million displaced persons. The exact death toll is unknown, but by a conservative estimate at least 40,000 - 45,000 people have perished (in addition to a further 4-0,000 deaths in another insurrection in the Southern part of the island.)

The extent and degrees of physical

and psychological damage and disabilities, the extent of Property destruction, and the magnitude of the destruction of family and social fabric and the infrastructure etc., have not been measured in any real terms, but is believed to be enormous.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), fighting the government for an independent Tamil State, has waged a high intensity war.

The government's security forces, who are recruited exclusively from only one of the two warring communities, strikes members of the other community with impunity, and regardless of whether or not they are combatants.

Well over 90 percent of people killed by the government forces are uninvolved civilians. The legislature in Sri Lanka (dominated by the Sinhalese) has so far passed two motions providing legal immunity for the security forces for their actions. The total number of non-combatants killed by the government security forces far exceeds the deaths at the hands of the guerrillas (estimated to be by a factor of 20).

In addition, there are vigilante groups, popularly believed to be in the government employ, terrorizing civilians. Unarmed civilians are abducted; Dead bodies (some headless, others with burning tire necklaces) are left at street junctions, in areas perceived to be Tamil militant strongholds. There are no estimates of the disappeared, and attempts at assessments have been thwarted by arrests and further deaths of those attempting to collect data.

The two groups are so polarized today that they cannot reach a consensus. If the continuing cycle of this high intensity violence is to be arrested an external mediator is necessary. The government of India intervened in 1987, but this attempt has since failed.

The reasons for the failure of the intervention by India are rather complex. India entered the scene with its own agenda rather than as a mediator. It was mainly concerned with the increasing American and Israeli influence in the island, and this is apparent from the fact that the Indo-Sri Lanka pact of 1987 deals mainly with India's regional security; the reference to the Tamil question in this treaty is rather cursory.

India also did not want Sri Lanka to have a federal structure that would provide greater autonomy to its states than its own. Furthermore, India had armed and trained some of the Tamil rebel groups, and wanted these groups that were loyal to India to gain power in the proposed Tamil regional government. The net result is that the Indian intervention failed.

There are other governments, notably Australia, Canada and Norway, amongst others, that have indicated their willingness to mediate. These efforts unfortunately have not, for a variety of reasons, come to fruition. Our association firmly believes that an independent non-governmental organization such as the President Carter Foundation is better equipped to act as a mediator in a situation such as this, than "governments."

It is our sincere hope that the President Carter Foundation will intervene in a meaningful way that a lasting political solution will be reached and the unnecessary violence, death and destruction in the Island of Sri Lanka will end.

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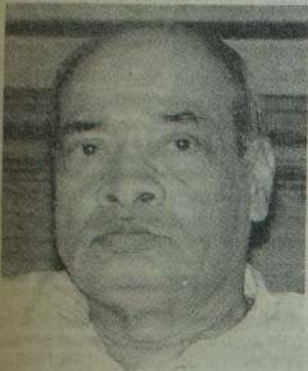
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Indian Region

Successful launch of Indian Satellite



"This reaffirms our pride in being Indian" says Narasimha Rao

A day later, the satellite, the Indian remote sensing satellite IRS-1B, began beaming pictures which jubilant scientists described as of excellent quality.

The remote sensing station near Hyderabad will regularly get from September 10 data in the form of images. These images in the form of high density digital tapes would be converted into image forms after data processing and corrections.

The IRS-1B measures eight meters from one end to the other. It hurtles through space at seven kms a second, making 14 orbits around the earth a day or 5,110 orbits a year. It covers the sub-continent 307 times a year.

The camera on board can beam back images with stunning close-

ups that help scientists to identify underground water resources, mineral deposits, crop yield, and extent of damage caused to the environment by floods and smoke belching out of thermal power stations.

MOVEMENT OF WILDLIFE

The movement of wildlife in various sanctuaries, the presence of fish and data on land use are provided by the satellite. An ISRO communique said India has now joined a select band of nations with an operational space segment for remote sensing on a continuing basis.

To thunderous applause in Parliament, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao said more spectacular space achievements are on the way. He said India will have its

own satellite launching facility within a year. It need no longer be dependent on other countries for it.

He said the Polar Satellite Launching Vehicle (PSLV) is scheduled to be launched from Sriharikota range in 1992 after which the country would have satellite launching facilities.

"India has been receiving cooperation from other countries in space technology and for launching its satellites, but after a year it will be in a position to offer this launching facility to other countries from Sriharikota," he said. Felicitating the scientists, engineers and supporting staff of ISRO for bringing this "great success" to the nation, Rao said, "This reaffirms our pride in being Indian." (Courtesy: India Abroad)

The Tamil national liberation struggle is not taking place in the stratosphere. It is taking place on the ground - and in the Indian region. The political impact of much that happens on the Indian sub continent is also felt by the people of Tamil Eelam.

Militancy in Uttar Pradesh

The sudden spurt in militant activities in wide areas of Uttar Pradesh is causing deep concern. In a weeks time in September, the militants most of them with Punjab connections, have triggered of two powerful blasts in public places in widely separated districts to kill innocents, besides storming a police outpost equipped with sophisticated weapons...

The Punjab militants, it may be noted have shown the entire Terai belt of Uttar Pradesh as being part of the proposed 'Khalistan' in their maps, linking Punjab with Nepal. The districts falling within the wide strip are becoming increasingly vulnerable now with incidents breaking out in one district or the other, keeping the police on their toes.

Militancy in Tripura

Militants in the North Eastern State of Tripura dragged Mr. Mahanama Debbarna, a front ranking Tripura Juba Samiti (TUJS), a coalition partner of the Congress(I) Government, out of his house, tied him to a tree and hacked him to death. (Courtesy: Hindu International Edition)

Militancy in Kashmir

The abduction of the brother in law of the Union Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad, and the Union Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan's offer to hold a dialogue were the important developments in Kashmir last month. Militants launched grenade and rocket attacks on security forces and their vehicles in different parts of Kashmir. Referring to the break up of the Soviet Union, Khalid ul Islam, spokesman of the Jammu and Kashmir People's Liberation League (JKPL) said: "India must now accept reality or face the collapse of the state system." More than 3000 Kashmiris have lost their lives or been detained in the liberation struggle during the past two years.

President's Rule in Meghalaya

President's rule was imposed in Meghalaya on October 11, ending the two month long struggle for political supremacy between the Meghalaya United Parliamentary Party (MUPP) led by the Chief Minister and the Congress backed United Meghalaya Parliamentary Forum.

Militancy in Punjab

Sikh leaders who have been campaigning for an independent Khalistan see the end of the Soviet Empire as a message to one of the Soviet Union's closest friends, the Indian Union

"Just as Mikhail Gorbachev let various states go free without blood shed, so India can let the Sikhs go free and end the struggle quickly" said Jasbir Singh Rode, a calimant to the high priesthood of the Golden Temple in Amritsar of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the militant Sikh who was killed by Indian troops in the temple in 1984. Paramjit Singh Sansara, of the Khalistan Commando Force, said that 'training is given to any militant who crosses the border into Pakistan. On his return, he trains others.' Indian police in Punjab recently displayed hundreds of weapons captured from militants. They include mines, automatic weapons and rocket launchers.

Joint strategy by India and Sri Lanka to crush the Tigers?

According to reports from New Delhi, Sri Lanka and India are planning more joint strategies to corner and crush the Tigers in Tamil Nadu and North East Sri Lanka. Following the talks with the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Harold Herath, India's Home Minister S B Chavan is scheduled to visit Madras to discuss further action against the LTTE. Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Jayalalitha is reported to be demanding modern arms for the Tamil Nadu Police to pursue the Tigers.

Tamil Nadu Government throttling dissident opinion

Speakers at a meeting on 'Threat to freedom of expression in Tamil Nadu' organised by the Citizens Forum for the Defence of Freedom of Expression, on Saturday, October 12, in Madras said that an awareness should be created among the people to fight what they called the increasing intolerance of the Tamil Nadu Government to dissident views. They declared that it was 'attempting to throttle freedom of expression'. They termed the Government ban on a press conference by the advocate, Mr. P.V. Bhakthavatchalam an 'outrageous abuse of law and an attempt to intimidate public opinion.

Mr. N. Ram said the AIADMK Government to be incapable of making a distinction between militants indulging in illegal activities and refugees. Mr. Komal Swaminathan regretted that people in Tamil Nadu did not have the right to criticise the harassment of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees or support the demand for a Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka. The Convener of the Forum, Mr. T.N. Gopalan, complained that when people wanted to organise even hall meetings, police conducted 'vigorous checks on their patriotic antecedents'.

Sri Lanka Navy fires at Tamil Nadu Fishermen

The Sri Lankan Navy fired at four Tamil Nadu fishermen in an Indian fishing boat early on October 15 at about 3 a.m. near Kachathivu. The attack caused a hole in the boat and smashed the glass screen in the cabin room, sources said, adding that a fishing net was also seized by the Sri Lankan Navy.

Thondaman in Delhi

Tourism and Rural Development Minister S Thondaman paid a short unofficial visit to New Delhi. His visit to Delhi was made two weeks after the LTTE offered to resume talks with the Sri Lankan Government and accepted Mr Thondaman as the negotiator. He was scheduled to meet Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao before leaving for Colombo.

Militancy in Assam

The Assam Chief Minister, Mr. Hiteswar Saikia has said negotiations with the United Liberation Front of Assam on freeing hostages has stopped in view of the tough stand taken by the Centre. The Chief Minister also said it was 'very difficult' to negotiate with the ULFA as it wanted Assam to secede from India...

Reiterating that the ULFA leaders were trying to establish contacts with Pakistan, China and some leaders in the United Kingdom, he said that the evidence from the diaries seized from top ULFA leaders indicated that they have camps in Manipuri Bustee in Adampur besides some places in Bangladesh.

The ULFA, he said, also had links with the JKLF in Kashmir and some groups in Punjab. He said that the ULFA has collected crores of rupees through extortion and was buying arms in Lucknow, Kanpur and even in Siliguri. Most of these arms have American, German or Chinese markings.

In mid September the Army launched 'Operation Rhino' in an attempt to defeat the guerillas of the ULFA who have recently intensified their separatist campaign after an unpopular Congress I government came into power in April.

Assam is India's main oil producing state and also grows about 60% of its tea.

Golda Meir's Address to the Council of Jewish Federations in Chicago on January 2, 1948

The speech that made Israel possible

In January, 1948, Mrs. Golda Meir flew to the United States to raise funds for the arms that were urgently needed to defend the 700,000 Jews in Palestine who were threatened with concerted Arab attacks. She made an unscheduled appearance before the Council of Jewish Federations in Chicago on January 2, 1948. Her speech came from her heart. But hers was not a mindless emotion. She welded heart and mind together and moved thousands to give more. The Israeli Prime Minister, Ben-Gurion described the result of her mission: "Someday when history will be written, it will be said that there was a Jewish woman who got the money which made the state possible."

TEXT OF SPEECH

I have had the privilege of representing Palestine Jewry in this country and in other countries when the problems that we faced were those of building more kibbutzim, of bringing in more Jews in spite of political obstacles and Arab riots.

We always had faith that in the end we would win, that everything we were doing in the country led to

are bearing the burden of what is happening in the country with a spirit that no words can describe. You see these youngsters in open cars—not armoured cars—in convoys going from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, knowing that every time they start out from Tel Aviv or from Jerusalem there are probably Arabs behind the orange groves or the hills, waiting to ambush the convoy.

These boys and girls have accepted the task of bringing Jews over these roads in safety as naturally as though they were going out to their daily work or to their classes in the university.

We must ask the Jews the world over to see us as the front line. All we ask of Jews the world over, and mainly of the Jews in the United States, is to give us the possibility of going on with the struggle.

When trouble started, we asked young people from the age of seventeen to twenty-five who were not members of Haganah, to volunteer. Up to the day that I left home on Thursday morning, when the registration of this age group was still going on, over 20,000 young men and women had signed up. As of now we have about 9,000 people mobilized in the various parts of the

the United States today not to save 700,000 Jews. During the last few years the Jewish people lost 6,000–10,000 Jews, and it would be audacity on our part to worry the Jewish people throughout the world because a few hundred thousand more Jews were in danger.

That is not the issue. The issue is that if these 700,000 Jews in Palestine can remain alive, then the Jewish people as such is alive and Jewish independence is assured.

"The issue is that if these 700,000 Jews in Palestine can remain alive, then the Jewish people as such is alive and Jewish independence is assured. If these 700,000 people are killed off, then for many centuries, we are through with this dream of a Jewish people and a Jewish homeland".



If these 700,000 people are killed off, then for many centuries, we are through with this dream of a Jewish people and a Jewish homeland.

My friends, we are at war. There is no Jew in Palestine who does not believe that finally we will be victorious. That is the spirit of the country. We have known Arab riots since 1921 and '29 and '36. We know what happened to the Jews of Europe during this last war. And

Is it possible that time should decide the issue not because Palestinian Jews are cowards, not because they are incapable, but merely because they lack the material means to carry on?

I have come to the United States, and I hope you will understand me if I say that it is not an easy matter for any of us to leave home at present—to my sorrow I am not in the front line. I am not with my daughter in the Negev or with other sons and daughters in the trenches. But I have a job to do.

We must see that our economy is intact.

I want you to understand that there is no despair in the Yishuv. This is true not only of the young people. I have travelled the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and other roads quite a bit. I have seen these dangerous buses filled not only with young Haganah men and girls, but with old people travelling the roads as a matter of course.

"You cannot decide whether we should fight or not. We will. The Jewish community in Palestine will raise no white flag for the Mufti. That decision is taken. Nobody can change it. You can only decide one thing: whether we shall be victorious in this fight or whether the Mufti will be victorious".

the independence of the Jewish people and to a Jewish state.

IF WE HAD THE CHOICE, WE WOULD HAVE CHOSEN PEACE

Long before we had dared pronounce that word, we knew what was in store for us.

Today we have reached a point when the nations of the world have given us their decision—the establishment of a Jewish state in a part of Palestine. Now in Palestine we are fighting to make this resolution of the United Nations a reality, not because we wanted to fight. If we had the choice, we would have chosen peace to build in peace.

WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE

Friends, we have no alternative in Palestine. The Mufti and his men have declared war upon us. We have to fight for our lives, for our safety, and for what we have accomplished in Palestine, and perhaps above all, we must fight for Jewish honour and Jewish independence. Without exaggeration, I can tell you that the Jewish community in Palestine is doing this well. Many of you have visited Palestine; all of you have read about our young people and have a notion as to what our youth is like. I have known this generation for the last twenty-seven years. I thought I knew them. I realize now that even I did not. These young boys and girls, many in their teens,

country. We must triple this number within the next few days.

We have to maintain these men. No government sends its soldiers to the front and expects them to take along from their homes the most elementary requirements—blankets, bedding, clothing. A people that is fighting for its very life knows how to supply the men they send to the front lines. We too must do the same.

Thirty-five of our boys, unable to go by car on the road to besieged Kfar Etzion to bring help, set out by foot through the hills; they knew the road, the Arab villages on that road, and the danger they would have to face. Some of the finest youngsters we have in the country were in that group, and they were all killed, every one of them. We have a description from an Arab of how they fought to the end for over seven hours against hundreds of Arabs. According to this Arab, the last boy killed, with no more ammunition left, died with a stone in his hand.

WE WILL FIGHT TO THE END

I want to say to you, friends, that the Jewish community in Palestine is going to fight to the very end. If we have arms to fight with, we will fight with those, and if not, we will fight with stones in our hands.

I want you to believe me when I say that I came on this special mission to

every Jew in the country also knows that within a few months a Jewish state in Palestine will be established.

We knew that the price we would have to pay would be the best of our people. There are over 300 killed by now. There will be more. There is no doubt that there will be more. But there is also no doubt that the spirit of our young people is such that no matter how many Arabs invade the country, their spirit will not falter. However, this valiant spirit alone cannot face rifles and machine guns. Rifles and machine guns without spirit are not worth very much, but spirit

"I want to say to you, friends, that the Jewish community in Palestine is going to fight to the very end. If we have arms to fight with, we will fight with those, and if not, we will fight with stones in our hands."

it without arms can in time be broken with the body.

Much must be prepared now so that we can hold out. There are unlimited opportunities, but are we going to get the necessary means? Considering myself not as a guest, but as one of you, I say that the question before each one is simply whether the Yishuv, and the youngsters that are in the front line, will have to fail because money that should have reached Palestine today will reach it in a month or two months from now?

on so that our economy remains intact. Our factories must go on. Our settlements must not be broken up

I have come here to try to impress Jews in the United States with the fact that within a very short period, a couple of weeks, we must have in cash between twenty-five and thirty million dollars. In the next two or three weeks we can establish ourselves. Of that we are convinced, and you must have faith; we are sure that we can carry on.

I said before that the Yishuv will give, is giving of its means. But please remember that even while shooting is going on, we must carry

When you go to Tel Aviv now, you will find the city full of life; only the shooting that you hear on the outskirts of Tel Aviv and Jaffa reminds one that the situation in the country is not normal. But it would be a crime on my part not to describe the situation to you exactly as it is.

Merely with our ten fingers and merely with spirit and sacrifice, we cannot carry on this battle, and the only hinterland that we have is you. The Mufti has the Arab states—not all so enthusiastic about helping him but states with government budgets.

The Egyptian government can vote

on so that our economy remains intact. Our factories must go on. Our settlements must not be broken up

We know that this battle is being waged for those not yet in the country. There are 30,000 Jews detained right next door to Palestine in Cyprus. I believe that within a very short period, within the next two or three months at most, these 30,000 will be with us, among them thousands of infants and young children. We must now think of preparing means of absorbing them. We know that within the very near future, hundreds of thousands more will be com-

a budget to aid our antagonists. The Syrian government can do the same

WE HAVE NO GOVERNMENT BUT WE HAVE MILLIONS OF JEWS IN THE DIASPORA

We have no government. But we have millions of Jews in the Diaspora, and exactly as we have faith in our youngsters in Palestine I have faith in Jews in the

continued page 13

TIME Magazine Reports on Inside the Mind of the Tiger

Elephant Pass may one day be remembered as the key battle in the long running war of the Tamil Tigers to gain an independent homeland in Sri Lanka. But for which side?

equipped armies of Sri Lanka, and in the late '80s, India.... The Tigers remain visibly popular among Tamil civilians, despite the fact that the guerillas tolerate no dissent. Firm resolve is instilled during intense

To the death determination has been the Tigers' most effective weapon in their struggle against the bigger and better equipped armies of Sri Lanka, and in the late '80s, India.

After 24 days of fighting, last July, government troops carried the day, but the Tigers' defeat only hardened support among the Island's Tamils for the fanatical guerilla fighters who refuse to give up the struggle. If nothing else, the battle of Elephant Pass marked a new level of fury in a war that has already claimed 18,000 lives and is likely to take many more.

For eight years, the Tigers had kept the armies of Sri Lanka - and between 1987 and 1990, India - at bay with the classic guerilla tactics of ambush and evasion.

Two months ago, they tried something new: a conventional assault on a well entrenched army detachment at the head of Elephant Pass, a narrow 2 km stretch of dunes and marsh that connects the Sri Lankan mainland to the Jaffna peninsula, a Tiger stronghold. The guerillas intended to over run the base and regain control of the causeway, a decision that gave the army to fight the elusive Tigers in the open, where its artillery and attack helicopters could be better used.

The battle lasted more than three weeks. Despite months of preparation, the Tigers failed to capture the army base. Senior officers assumed the set back had thrown the Tigers off balance and rushed to follow up on their advantage. Such confidence looks premature given the Tiger's history of quick recovery from set backs and the broad backing they enjoy among Sri Lanka's 2.4 million Tamils.

Discipline is effective because the Tigers' cause, in the minds of the young Tamils they recruit, is just.

In Jaffna, a peninsula of 700,000 troops, support for the guerillas grew after the defeat at Elephant Pass; many people concluded that only the Tigers stood between them and an avenging army composed almost entirely of ethnic Sinhalese.

Tigers do what they are told, whether on guard duty or in battle. The ultimate symbol is the vial of cyanide dangling on a string around the sentry's neck - a vial carried by all the fighters, including their leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran. Rather than be captured, more than 600 of the guerillas have committed suicide by taking poison. To the death determination has been the Tigers' most effective weapon in their struggle against the bigger and better

training and indoctrination. Tigers are expected to live austere. They have no personal possessions except their weapon and a change of clothes. A Tigers weapon, usually an AK 47 becomes the most important object in his life. The guerillas are warned never to let the rifle touch the ground; they are told that at least 10n comrades might have died in the effort to capture it. Says Anton Balasingham, a spokesman for the guerillas: "We teach them to transcend their egos and material pleasure, to subordinate their lives to a noble cause."

Discipline is effective because the Tigers' cause, in the minds of the typically poor and middle class young Tamils they recruit, is just. The Tigers demand the creation of Eelam; they are convinced that the ethnic Sinhalese who dominate Sri Lanka's population and government will not give the Tamil minority a fair share in education, jobs and government.

The Tigers develop a passionate veneration of Prabhakaran, their 36 year old political and military leader. There is Prabhakaran the war hero, who led the now famous ambush of a Sri Lankan army patrol in 1983 that touched off the Tamil-Sinhalese war. There is Prabhakaran the incorruptible, who refuses to deviate from his goal of Eelam despite military pressure from India, despite offers of money and power from Colombo and New Delhi that turned the heads of less resolute Tamil lead-

ers. There is also Prabhakaran who embodies the spirit of a glorious Tamil past, especially the Chola dynasty, a line of belligerent Kings in southern India who in the 11th century invaded what is now northern India, Java, Sumatra and Sri Lanka. Prabhakaran plays on such history in political classes; he borrowed the Tiger symbol from the Cholas' imperial crest. It is in the end, Prabhakaran whose will binds the Tigers. His followers call him Annai or elder brother, and talk of him with wide eyed awe, their only fear the possibility that they might let him down. Government soldiers tell of a badly wounded female Tiger they captured at Elephant Pass. Her dying words were not a call for mother but for "Annai, Annai". (Courtesy: Time, Sept 16)

வாழ்வதன் சவாலை
எதிர்கொள்ளும்
அணிவகுப்பில்,
நேசம் மிகுந்த
உங்களை இழந்தோம்.

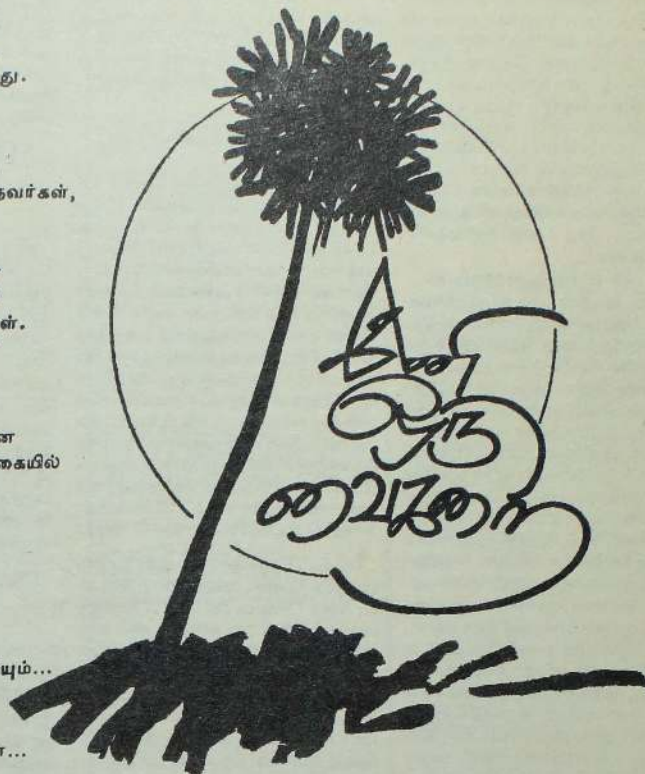
தோழர்களே, தோழர்களே,
தேசமெனும் வார்த்தைக்கு
கனம் ஏற்றினீர்கள்...
செயல் என்பதனை
வீரியமாக்கினீர்கள்...
உங்களால்
நேசம் வளப்புற்றது.
மரணம் மகிமையுற்றது.

நீங்கள்,
மிடுக்குடன் திரண்ட
அடம்பன் கொடிகள்.
மலைகளையே கமத்தவர்கள்,
உடைத்தவர்கள்.

ஓலைக் குடிசைகளின்
துவாரங்கள் தோறும்
இறங்கும் ஒளிக்கதிர்கள்.
'மோப்பக் குழையும்'
அனிச்சமலர்கள்.

எங்கெங்காயினும்
இலங்கைத் தமிழரென
எமது நெஞ்சு நிமிர்கையில்
பெருமிதமென
நீயிர் ஒளிர்வீர்.
உங்களில் தெறித்த
பொறிகள்
பெருந்தீயென
மூண்டெரிகிறது.
எரியும்... எரியும்...
அது இன்னமும் எரியும்...
எதிர் கொள்ளும்
அணிவகுப்பில்
உங்கள் நேசத்துடன்...

சி.வி. விபுலாநந்தன்



Centenary Year — Swami Vipulananda

Swami Vipulananda a great Tamil scholar who did much for Tamil art and literary life was born in Karaitivu in the Amparai District. Mylveganam, as he was known before joining the Ramakrishna Mission Monks, was a brilliant scholar. He graduated in science but spent his life as a prolific writer and poet in Tamil. His greatest contribution is on research in music - he revealed that in the ancient Tamil country there was a musical instrument called the "Yarl". In fact, there seem to have been various forms of Yarl played by the musicians of very early times. He produced "Yarl Nool", the fruit of his extensive research studies in relation to this instrument. Tamils throughout the world hailed and acclaimed this book as a masterpiece and up till now is the only work of its kind. Swami Vipulananda chaired the Tamil Department of the Ceylon University. Arrangements are being made in Jaffna to celebrate the great scholar and researchers' centenary which falls this year.

Confederation or two Independent States

Continued from page 1

munity committed to the protection of human rights of all people? Furthermore is it not a fiction that the war in Sri Lanka is an internal matter, when the Government side receives such massive external aid?

Tamils have lived in Sri Lanka from time immemorial. Proximity to South India enabled proto-Tamils to walk across during the last Ice Age, 10,000 years ago and later Tamils to sail and settle along the western, northern and eastern sea coasts. South Indian Tamil Kings ruled Ceylon for long periods of 40-60 years. Tamils and Sinhalese have coexisted for two thousand years, with a Tamil kingdom in North and East, and Sinhalese in the Centre and South-West. European Conquests began in fifteenth century, with the Portuguese, followed by Dutch and British. The Portuguese and Dutch administrated Tamil and Sinhalese areas as separate Units. In 1833, the

British unified the two administrations into one British Crown colony.

The British left in 1948 after constitutional arrangements were agreed to by all sections of the population. However, the Sinhala majority went back on agreements, disenfranchised Indian Tamils, misused Parliament to discriminate against Tamils, organised periodic programs of murder and arson, and terrorised the Tamil areas with an army of occupation. After years of peaceful negotiations had failed, Tamils set as objective a separate State for North and East. Tamil youth took to arms to defend homes and homeland. In the General Elections of 1977 the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) won all 14 seats in the North and East for a separate State.

It is usual for tyrannical governments to describe rebels and patriots as terrorists. The Sri Lankan Government has publicised to the world that the militant Tamil LTTE Group is a terrorist group.

I am concerned by some reports of LTTE's killings of civilians. However, I am also conscious that but for LTTE's defence, many more Tamils would have been killed by the Sri Lankan army.

There are certain considerations before a people could be regarded as a nation. Tamils had for centuries a flourishing kingdom. They have a recognisable identity, an ancient heritage and way of life, a common language with much literary tradition, a tradition of learning, religion and democratic life, a traditional homeland which is economically viable, with scope for industrial, agricultural and maritime development, technical personnel with access to technical knowledge. They have also reacted to recent oppression with a common urge and consensus for their own sovereignty.

It is my view that the time has come to end this long and bloody struggle and for the international community to recognise the need for a Tamil Nationhood and State.

NEWS WATCH

SRI LANKA RECOGNISES BALTIC STATES

Sri Lanka recognises and expresses its support for the now independent Baltic States, State Minister of Foreign Affairs John Amararatunga said. Sri Lanka explicitly recognises the independence and sovereignty of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, he said. The Minister stated that Sri Lanka would support their admission to the UN. What about looking closer home and recognising Tamil Eelam, Mr Amararatunga?

SKELETONS IN WELLS IN MANDAITU

Several skeletons of residents of Mandaitu, reported missing between June - October 1990, were found in closed wells in Mandaitu. Sixteen skeletons were found in one well in August 1991. Eighteen more were found in three wells on 12th September - seventeen of them in two wells and one in a third. All these wells had been in use for drawing water up to the time the Sri Lankan army entered Mandaitu en route to Jaffna Fort in June 1990, in its attempt to free besieged Sri Lankan soldiers in Jaffna Fort. Many villagers fled at the approach of the army, but some were caught and nothing was known of their whereabouts. When the people returned to their villages, after the Sri Lankan army withdrew, they found many of the wells closed. They opened the wells with a view to irrigating their fields. The skeletons were then found beneath stones and rubbish heaped in these wells.

TANKS FROM CHINA AND POLAND FOR THE SRI LANKAN ARMY

The Sri Lankan army has purchased several dozen tanks from China and Poland to strengthen its armoured corps. This was disclosed by sources of the Defence Ministry. These vehicles will be used to provide heavy gunfire support for the troops conducting military operations in the North and East. These will be in addition to the Saladin and Saracen armoured vehicles which were used in the Elephant Pass battle. It is reported that the Chinese tanks are brand new while the Polish ones are reconditioned vehicles.

TELEPHONE SERVICE TO MANNAR RESTORED

After a period of more than a year, telephone service has been restored in Mannar, initially to serve the Government Departments in the various provinces. It is expected that lines to private houses too will be connected soon.

LTTE FORMS CHARLES ANTHONY REGIMENT

The LTTE has formed a special regiment named after one of the early martyrs of the LTTE, Charles Anthony. Eight years ago in 1983, he preferred to choose death to being captured by the Sri Lankan Police, when they surrounded his camp at Meesalai. The new regiment is under the leadership of Commander Balraj, who led the successful capture of the Sri Lankan army camps at Kokavil and Mankulam. This special new regiment will function as a regular conventional army.

LTTE STRIKES

On 22nd September 1991, the LTTE blew up an inshore patrol craft while it was on its way to Karainagar from Nainathion, killing at least seven navy personnel including two officers. The dead officers were identified as a commander and a lieutenant commander. The destruction of the craft shook the security forces badly. On 24th September 1991, the LTTE fired at an air force patrol at Morawewain Eastern Trincomalee killing three men and wounding eight others. The wounded included Squadron

Leader Therija Cooray. The LTTE scored a significant victory when they wounded an army officer, at Kiran in Eastern Batticaloa District, who was involved in military intelligence work in the East.

IN THE EAST

Despite the much publicised Sri Lankan Government claim that they have restored state control in the East, the LTTE smashed through police defences and overran the Sittandy police post in Batticaloa District in the early hours of Thursday 12th September. In the daring assault armed with machine guns they attacked the policemen killing two and wounding seventeen others. They fired at Sri Lankan army detachments in the area and prevented soldiers from coming out to help the besieged policemen. According to police sources several sophisticated weapons and equipment were removed by the LTTE including T-56s, SLRs, and 84S rifles.

The LTTE attacked two vehicles carrying Sri Lankan soldiers near Wakaneri Army Camp on the 22nd of September and killed one officer, nine non-commissioned officers and injured four others in a gun battle lasting ninety minutes. The dead and wounded soldiers were from the second battalion of the Ceylon Light Infantry, one of the oldest fighting regiments in the Sri Lankan Army.

SHELLING FROM NAVY CAMPS IN KARAINAGAR

The villages Ponnalai, Moolai, Chulipuram, Chitankerni and Chankanaai have been shelled nightly by the Sri Lankan forces from the Navy camp at Karainagar. People are being injured and at least ten of the more seriously hurt are being taken for treatment to the General Hospital Jaffna every week since the shelling started.

SRI LANKAN CUSTOMS MEN HOPE TO TAME THE TIGER

A consignment of books, imported by a book seller, from Tiger Books International of London, UK, arrived in Sri Lanka. It contained a wide range of reading materials from Mother Goose Nursery Rhymes, Cooking with Spices, Flower Arranging, Predicting the Future to Journey through India plus some "dangerous" titles such as Battle of the Great Commanders, Modern Combat Aircraft and Modern Helicopters. The customs officers' curiosity was aroused by the name of the publisher - Tiger Books International. They had to read through a representative sample of the books before release. The customs officers would not let anything slip through their fingers even though some of the books were ordered by the armed forces themselves. So it was a good read for the customs men who were hoping to find a Tiger hiding under every book.

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE - A WAR CRIME

In the past all food and essential commodities were brought from Colombo to Jaffna by private traders, multi purpose cooperative societies and government establishments using road and rail transport. But since an economic embargo was placed over a year ago, these commodities are very hard to come by. In order to avoid pressure from foreign countries, the Sri Lankan Government started sending some food by sea as a mere eyewash. The food so far received is just 20% of the normal requirements. Some of the consignments of food were found to be stale and unfit for human consumption. While the Government is attempting to show the rest of the world

that it is regularly sending food, it is in fact attempting to kill the people by starvation. The humanitarian law of armed conflict requires the parties to an armed conflict to refrain from attacking civilians. The economic blockade is a war crime.

NLSSP'S APPEAL TO SEND FUEL AND FOOD TO THE NORTH

Mr V Thirunavelsarasm, a member of the NLSSP, has written to Mr P Dataratne, Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation requesting him to make arrangements to send as a matter of priority, food and fuel to the North, where people are starving and forced to live a life of misery because of the shortage of these commodities. He requested that the Sri Lankan security forces at Thandikulam, in Vavuniya, allow 25 lorries a day carrying food, which is the minimum requirement if starvation is to be prevented, to travel to the North.

USAID FUNDED PT. PEDRO JETTY CONSTRUCTION STOPPED

The work in connection with the construction of the jetty at Pt. Pedro, funded by USAID, has come to a standstill because the Joint Operations Command of the Sri Lankan armed forces has refused permission for further work. A 40 feet extension of the jetty has still to be completed, but no work is being done as the JOC has not approved the work. Because the Trincomalee and Kanke-santhurai ports are under the control of the Sri Lankan army, arrangements were made with ICRC participation to use the port at Pt. Pedro for shipping traffic.

SHIPS CARRYING MEDICINE FOR JAFFNA

A team of doctors from Jaffna visited Colombo and met the Presidential Advisor Mr Bradman Weerakone and the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, General Cyril Ranatunge and explained to them the acute shortage of medicine in all the hospitals in Jaffna District, including the General Hospital, Jaffna and pointed out the tremendous suffering the patients endure because of this shortage. As a result of this visit, General Ranatunge has agreed to ship the necessary medical supplies to Kanke-santhurai, from where it will be handed over to the ICRC for distribution to the hospitals in the Jaffna District.

REPORT FROM VAVUNIYA

1. "Peace talks may take place on one hand, at the same time our liberation struggle will continue. No one should think that we have given up our freedom struggle. If the Tamils want to live with self respect, in their own homeland, we need the continued support of the people in our liberation struggle" said LTTE spokesmen at several meetings conducted by the LTTE in the North.

2. A large number of traders and householders have arrived in Vavuniya to purchase food and medicine to be taken to the Jaffna Peninsula where these items are in short supply; but the Sri Lankan Army at Thandikulam has not lifted the blockade on food and medicine being taken to the North.

3. In an attack by the LTTE on the PLOTE camp at Niochchimodai on 24 September 1991, three PLOTE cadres were killed. They are Jebamalai Rayappu, Rajalingam Rajan and Kandasamy Inparajah.

Tamil Activist M.K.Eelaventhan writing from Madras asks Will India follow recognition of Baltic States by recognising Tamil Eelam?

The adage "better late than never" is applicable both in individual human relations and as well as in collective international relations. Thus India's recognition of the Independence of the Baltic States is not only a step in the right direction but also a commendable and courageous position taken by India considering her present domestic pressures and well known rigid attitudes of the Delhi policy makers who are not prone to read the writings on the wall.

The rapid changes that are taking place in Europe have lessons for all state systems all over the world. Political expressions, ideological concepts and expressions used in practical relations will go on changing yielding to new realities. Thus many old expressions like 'monarchy', 'colonialism', 'imperialism', 'balance of power', 'buffer states', 'spheres of influence', have all become outmoded expressions. Today, expressions like 'unitary constitutions', 'strong unions', 'centralised authorities', are becoming rapidly old fashioned. All those interested in leading a civilized life will have to learn lessons at some stage or other. Unfortunately by the time the lessons are fully digested the cost in terms of human lives and properties earned over long years of sacrifices, services and sufferings will be reduced to rubble. That is what is exactly happening in Tamil Eelam today.

Will India have the same wisdom and display the same courage in recognising an Independent Eelam? This will be to the greater advantage of India. After all Eelam refugees are a burden on Indian economy whereas there are no Baltic refugees in India. Surely, Baltic States do not count in the geopolitical interests of India more than Eelam.

Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils (FACT) Appeals to India

The following resolution was unanimously passed at Montreal, Quebec, Canada on 31st. August, 1991 at the Special Meeting of the Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils (FACT) in which almost all the leading associations of the expatriate Tamils of Canada are constituent members.

The Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils (FACT) representing Canadian Tamils, met on the 31st day of August, 1991 in Montreal (Province of Ontario, Quebec, Canada) to consider and review the gravity and seriousness of the current Civil, Military, Political, Economic and Social situation in the North and East of Sri Lanka, particularly the most recent happenings viz:

1. The Tamils living in the North and East of Sri Lanka are under siege and are undergoing untold sufferings without any relief or intervention from either inside or outside the country to alleviate their pathetic and deplorable conditions,
2. Even the Refugee Camps in Sri Lanka are bombed and attacked and refugees are indiscriminately and forcibly removed by the Sri Lankan Security Forces and Para Military Forces as well as Vigilante groups and are Raped, Tortured and Killed and this is confirmed by the World Media as well as Non Governmental Organisations, Citizens' Committees and Religious Organisations, and

RESOLVED

That the Federation should appeal to the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly of Tamil Nadu . (1) Not to send back the Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees against their wishes as this will result in a Genocidal Massacre (2). But to take steps to find a Rational, Sustainable and Lasting Political Solution to the vexed ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.



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Refugees in their own Homeland - Tamils from East to North



Asylum Deal at Community Summit?

A German plan to pass responsibility for immigration matters to the European level looks like a formidable obstacle to agreement at the European Community summit at Maastricht, though all member states are keen to check recent steep increases in numbers of refugees.

Until recently, the plan was for each state to set about this work in its own way. Ministers of the interior agreed to a draft convention in Luxembourg in July which was understood to establish a common visa policy to allow non EC nationals to move around the community without having to get fresh permits at each border. The British Home Minister had thought he had solved the sovereignty worry with clauses allowing Britain to maintain frontier controls to check against the import of drugs and terrorist supplies. But the issue is becoming snarled by Germany's desire to escape from national responsibility for asylum control. Clauses in its post Nazi constitution gave refugees exceptionally strong legal protection against removal without exhaustive appeal rights. The simplest way of circumventing them is to pass the policy to European institutions. Immigrant support groups say that this approach would move immigration and asylum policy from secret ministerial cabals. It would give a leading role to the Brussels commission and the European Parliament could debate the subject. Any move to reduce a member state's right to determine who should be admitted would threaten sovereignty. (Courtesy: Guardian)

Sue Shaw writes in the New Internationalist about

Asylum by ordeal

Television viewers in Britain may recall seeing 64 Tamils stripping off at Heathrow Airport three years ago to protest at their threatened deportations. The men were carried onto the aircraft in their underpants and stood on the seats so the pilot refused to take off. Forty-five minutes after the plane's scheduled departure, British lawyers managed to obtain a High Court injunction preventing it from leaving.

The Tamils were seeking asylum from their native war-torn Sri Lanka, where some 25,000 Tamils have been killed since 1983.

Among the protesters was Ravi Sundaralingam, who had already seen his elder brother shot by Government forces, and had himself been tortured many times by soldiers who blindfolded him, suspended him upside down by his ankles and beat him with iron bars and plastic pipes filled with sand. Once they also lit a fire under his head.

On his release his father had paid extortionate sums to secure him a forged passport and visa. And on February 13 1987 he arrived at Heathrow Airport with 63 other Tamils to beg for political asylum.

After a 40-minute interview via an interpreter, the Home Office announced that Ravi was lying. The Minister of State for the Home Office, David Waddington, declared that the Tamils' claims were 'so clearly bogus' that he disallowed MPs their customary right to intervene and the Home Office bussed the Tamils off to the airport for immediate expulsion. Ravi and the others then staged their protest.

It secured them a temporary reprieve; Ravi was granted another interview. Immigration officers concluded 'that he was in no greater danger than the rest of the young Tamil population...' And on February 1 1988, the then Home Secretary Douglas Hurd said that the Tamils had failed to prove that they had 'a justifiable fear of persecution in terms of the 1951 UN Convention.' In February 12 1988, Ravi was returned to Sri Lanka in handcuffs.

Shortly afterwards he was arrested by the Indian Peace Keeping Force, held for seven months and tortured as before, once every four or five days. The electric shocks on his genitals left him unable to urinate for several days after each session and caused medical problems from which he still suffers. His father managed to get him released by bribing the army unit. But he was re-arrested within a month and tortured again. Once more his parents bought his release and this time he went into hiding.

Meanwhile his appeal was about to succeed in Britain. In March 1989 the Immigration Appeals Adjudicator ruled that Ravi had been entitled to political asylum at the time of his expulsion from the UK and ordered the Home Office to bring him back as quickly as possible. Even then the Home Office took six months to comply, quibbling about who should pay the air fare. Of five young Tamils (Ravi among them) returned to Sri Lanka in 1988, three were detained and tortured. More than 80 others later expelled by the Home Office, simply vanished without trace into the killing fields of Sri Lanka.

Actually, Ravi and the four other Tamils were lucky. They are currently in the UK, awaiting results of

Tamil Refugee Action Group Meeting

The Tamil Refugee Action Group (TRAG) held its Annual General Meeting on the 19th of October at the Walthamstow Asian Centre in London. The Chairperson of TRAG, Miss E.P.Mann presided.

The Mayor of Waltham Forest and his wife were the Chief Guests at the function. The Mayor in his speech stressed the multicultural richness of the Borough and the need for a caring approach to the problems facing applicants for asylum.

Mr. Neil Gerrard, the Prospective Labour Candidate for Walthamstow, said there was a great need for community based organisations such as TRAG. He rejected the suggestion that most applicants for asylum were 'economic refugees'. 'This is not true' he said and the Labour Party will fight this charge.

The Directors of TRAG for the year 1990/91 were Miss E.P.Mann, Mr. S. Thirunathan, Mr. S. Nagendra (Secretary), Mr. R. Pathmanabha Iyer, Mr. S. R. Pasupathy (Treasurer), Mr. A. K. Vairamuthu, Mr. C. Sithamparapillai, Mr. V. E. Cherubim, Mr. T. Sri Pathmanathan, Mr. A. V. Sakthivel and Mr. P. Nanthacumar.

their appeals to the European Court of Human Rights for refugee status (Note by Interim Editor: The European Court of Justice rejected the appeal in a judgment delivered on October 30 - a judgment which has been condemned by lawyers appearing for the Tamils as having been swayed by a political climate of hostility to refugees and migrants which has spread across Europe).

Others are less fortunate. Since 1987 things have become more difficult for people seeking political asylum in the UK. During the last two years immigration officers have illegally removed asylum-seekers, in one case using violence. Moreover, asylum-seekers are now usually expected to carry visas from their country of origin, forcing them to ask their persecuting governments for permission to leave: a bit like asking lambs to ask the lion if they may leave its den.

And airlines face severe fines for carrying passengers without valid visas. They have kept many asylum-seekers out of the country - including torture victims and on one occasion a six-year-old child - and are causing airline staff to make their own unauthorized and often brutal removals. Asylum seekers have been tricked into believing they were moving from one airport to another when they were actually being sent home. They have been denied food and drink given to other passengers, and even access to the toilets. They have wept and pleaded with airline staff. And one 17-year-old torture victim was dragged onto the plane by airline staff who subsequently waved and laughed as they called out 'bye-bye'. (Courtesy - New Internationalist - September 1991)

O, MY LAND

A Refugee's Lament:
For Chitra of Oberhausen

In dim cells of solitude
memories gush in waves
like volcanic outbursts.

The sun and snow
shower and allure
in slow succession

Light-skinned folk
with artless hearts
oblige with friendly talk.

I often wonder
how they endure
worry and anger
as if those aren't there.

The unreality
of my acceptance
of lifes superficiality.

The real meaning
of this artificiality
eludes clarity.

Severed love-bands
give birth to beginnings
of life in strange lands.

Far, from one's flesh
love drip-drops blood
when life's gentle ticks
get tread-milled by time.

O, Sweet land of Mine
through holes in prison walls
did I hear You call.

But how, how can I --
the one who flew away
return and face you, say?

My mangled heart
in silence probes
the seas of loneliness.

Then, meanings sawn
like dreams of souls
outlasting weeps and wails,

and thoughts sprout
new buds of spring
in holes of dried up rock,

with waves of floating chimes
faintly tuning in
towards brighter times

Professor Kopan Mahadeva,
October 1991

Letter from the United Arab Emirates

Dear Sir,

What is the meaning of 'PLOTE'? Originally it stood for Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam. But now its members are mercenaries used to kill other Tamils. The organisation will make itself more convincing and less ridiculous, if it dropped the 'E' that stands for Eelam, and just call itself a 'PLOT'. I enclose herewith an extract from the Colombo Letter Column by T.B.-Peramunetilleke in the Khaleej Times of 18th July 1991:

"Sri Lanka's main rival Tamil militant group opposed to the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) has asked President Ranasinghe Premadasa for more arms and military hardware to fight the Tigers in the north and east, political sources said

The Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) which works closely with government troops in their battle against the LTTE wants additional war equipment to move 2000 of their cadres to the north-east war front, PLOTE sources have said.

Already PLOTE has deployed 1000 militants in the east, the movement's Vice President, Karavi Kanadasamy said. He added: 'We will be asking the President for more arm and heavy weapons including five Zero guns mounted on trucks so that we may, with the deployment of 2000 additional cadres, play a more active role in stamping out the LTTE threat.

PLOTE has also joined three other anti LTTE Tamil groups - the EPDP, TELO, and the EPLF - in mounting a surveillance operation in Colombo to ensure that LTTE cadres did not infiltrate the city.

Members of these four Tamil groups are manning certain entry points with the military and are also assisting the police to identify LTTE cadres from among those already rounded up from hotels, boarding houses etc in Colombo and the suburbs, PLOTE sources said."

Your's truly, S.Eela Venthan
P.O.Box 15645, Al Ain, U.A.E.

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YOUR FUTURE IS OUR CONCERN

The Emerging Multipolar World

Ana Pararajasingham's Letter to the Editor in the Far Eastern Economic Review of October 3

Tamils in the new world order

Don't Try to Rule World, France Cautions the U.S.

RAMATUELLE, France - France cautioned the United States against trying to rule the world and said the United Nations and Europe should counterbalance the influence of the only superpower left after the Soviet collapse. "America might reign without balancing weight," Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said. Speaking to a meeting of the governing Socialist Party in this southern resort, he added, "I am telling our American friends: they must realize that being the world's top power creates not only possibilities and rights, but also duties." Jacques Delors, the French resident of the European Commission, also told the seminar that Washington could not take charge of the whole world. Both Mr. Dumas and Mr. Delors said the United Nations and the European Community should counterbalance American influence. They added that East Europe should join EC nations in a confederation. "If Europe wants to share the world's leadership," Mr. Delors said, "it must equip itself to do so."

(Courtesy: International Herald Tribune)

ASEAN Turns to Japan and not to US

At a meeting in Jakarta on September 26, the six member Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), consisting of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, approved a proposal by Malaysia to establish an East Asia Economic Grouping (EAEG) together with Japan.

ASEAN is waiting to hear Japan's response. It is learnt that this approach to Japan has not pleased the Bush administration which fears that the US may be excluded from an important 'common market'. US has indicated that such a grouping will conflict with the US proposal for an Asia-Pacific Economic Community (APEC) which will include all Pacific rim states. The US (APEC) proposal has Australia's strong backing. Informed sources say that the Malaysian proposal ran into initial opposition from the Indonesians but that they were later persuaded to change their minds. The Malaysians have tried to overcome US opposition by saying that EAEG would not be a 'common market' as such but would be an organisation to represent the region within the larger Asia Pacific Community and that EAEG would be a first step towards setting up the larger community. It is reported that President Bush's trade representative Carla Hills was not impressed.

No Western aid to nations violating Human Rights, says UK

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, has written to the European Community advocating a curb in aid to all Third World countries where Human Rights are violated and who reject democracy. Mr John Major, the Prime Minister supported this and said that he would take up the issue at the Commonwealth Conference in Zimbabwe in October. The Overseas Development Minister was one hundred per cent behind this new line and stated that "Poverty neither excuses nor justifies torture, tyranny or corruption." In this connection, Sudan, Somalia and Burma were named as countries which have lost almost all British aid and Sri Lanka and Ethiopia as countries to which British aid has been suspended.

But India opposes human rights - foreign aid linkage

The Commonwealth summit of 43 nations in Zimbabwe called for promotion of democracy, human rights and rule of law among member nations as a top priority for the 1990s but did not link these issues with foreign aid as proposed by the Western democracies. Bowing to objections from India, Malaysia and Zimbabwe, United Kingdom and Canada dropped their insistence on linking foreign aid with democratic reforms and human rights. Indian officials were happy about the text of the Harare declaration. Britain was isolated as it tried to turn the agenda of the week long summit upside down by giving primacy to democratic reforms and human rights over development aid. Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao opposed the linkage of foreign aid to human rights and said the summit that the Commonwealth countries would never accept it. (Courtesy: India Abroad, October 25)

And US Aids Sri Lanka?

State owned media in Sri Lanka recently reported that US Congress spokesman on Asian and Pacific Affairs Mr Solarz had applied pressure on President Premadasa on behalf of the Government of Israel after Sri Lanka decided to shut down the Israeli Interests Section. The Sri Lankan Ambassador in Washington, Mr Stanley Kalpage observed that Mr Solarz had proposed legislation to make cuts in aid to Sri Lanka because of alleged human rights violations, but had now changed his attitude after meeting some Sri Lankan officials. The Finance Ministry revealed that Sri Lanka will request more training facilities in US for Sri Lankan security personnel and the possibility of purchasing "non lethal" equipment for the Sri Lankan armed forces. The military assistance will include export licences and funds to buy several other defence equipment. A US delegation consisting of Democratic and Republican representatives have been invited to Sri Lanka and one four-man team visited Sri Lanka in late August. Finance Ministry sources say increased co-operation has been possible after the US Government was briefed on the current war situation.

"...it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law..."

Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948

PROSTITUTES IN MEDICAL LITERATURE
An Annotated Bibliography compiled by Sachi Sri Kantha
Bibliographies and Indexes in Medical Studies, No. 6

PRICE \$49.95 ISBN 0-313-27491-6. 256 pages. July 1991. The book may be ordered with a credit card by calling: 1-800-225-5800. Review copies are available by calling (203) 226-3571

This annotated work represents the first bibliography since the AIDS epidemic began to unite scientific literature about prostitutes. The annotated entries cover works on prostitutes published in English in both major and obscure bio-medical journals between 1900 and 1990, and include literature concerning the relationship between prostitutes and AIDS. Some papers published in European and Asian languages are also included. The entries were compiled from published, original papers and other types of editorial material in scientific journals, abstracts, books and chapters, doctoral dissertations, and research reports from agencies and commissions. Significant literature on the relationship between prostitution and AIDS is covered. Of the 1,440 entries, 226 are from non-English language sources. This reference work will be valuable to professionals in the medical and social sciences, law enforcement, psychology, public health, anthropology, and women's studies.

CONTENTS: Preface; General and Historical; Anthropology and Sociology; sexuality of Prostitutes and Clients; Psychology and Mental Health; Public Health; Sexually Transmitted Diseases; Other Diseases; Prostitutes of Specific Categories; Legislation and Jurisprudence; Author Index; Subject Index.

Sachi Srikantha is a Research Associate for the Department of Physiology and Biochemistry at the Medical College of Pennsylvania. He has published numerous articles in medical journals.

I refer to your article on the liberation struggle being waged by the Tamils of Sri Lanka led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) - "the world's most effective guerilla force" [12 Sept.] I am intrigued by the following comments which the article attributes to a Colombo Tamil: "They have not absorbed the transformations in the rest of the world," and "They are not concerned how they relate to international opinion."

In reality the emergence of Eelam Tamil Nationalism is in keeping with the transformation now taking place in the Baltics, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and needs to be regarded as part of the emerging new world order based on self-determination for smaller nations. "In this connection I would like to draw your attention to a research conference held at the California State University and cosponsored by the International Federation of Tamils in July this year which dealt with the question of Eelam Tamil Nationalism in the international context.

As for the allegation that the LTTE is unconcerned with international opinion, one could only refer to the considerable resources of the Sri Lankan and Indian governments in conducting the propaganda war and to the success with which established governments have historically been able to pursue their propaganda war against guerilla armies as in Zimbabwe, Algeria and Vietnam. It ought to be pointed out that this inability of the Eelam Tamil diaspora to counter the propaganda war was also a subject taken up at the above conference.

Given the constant exposure to the intense anti-LTTE Propaganda by the local media - both state-owned and independent - this Colombo Tamil is clearly unable to perceive the international dimensions of the national liberation struggle of the Tamils of Eelam.

Sri Lanka - US Agree on Trade

After six years' negotiations here in Colombo, Sri Lanka and the United States have signed a treaty that calls for the "encouragement and reciprocal protection of investment." With a view to providing further comprehensive legal guarantees for investment, both governments also signed a protocol to the treaty on avoiding double taxation and protecting intellectual property right. The treaty provides full protection and security as well as fair and equitable treatment for investment. Mutual guarantees are provided for non-expropriation of investment, repatriation of profits and settlement of investment disputes through international arbitration. The agreement on intellectual property rights gives protection to patents, trademarks, industrial design and copyrights. Sri Lankan Ambassador Susantha de Alwis said that coming after the International Monetary Fund's \$455 million grant last month for extended structural adjustment, "it is a clear signal to the international community that Sri Lanka deserves its support." He pointed out that hitherto investment in Sri Lanka has come largely from the Far East and Western Europe.

India - US Disagree on Trade

Discussions between US Trade Representative Carla Hills and the visiting Indian Commerce Minister P Chidambaram failed to achieve tangible progress on the issue of intellectual property rights. US trade officials said that

in view of Chidambaram's inability to offer solid assurances that American intellectual property would be protected in India, Hills made it clear she would have to keep India on Washington's Special 301 "hit list."

Under a special Section 301 provision of the 1988 Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act, on April 26 Hills identified India, China and Thailand as "priority foreign countries whose problems with intellectual property protection are particularly acute."

"We are using our trade laws," she said, "to advance our goals of opening foreign markets to American exporters and assuring the protection of American know-how and technology abroad."

On March 29 Hills' "Foreign Trade Barriers" report, said that India's trademark policies discriminated against foreign companies and that Delhi devoted "insufficient resources to enforcement of copyright protection."

India has indicated that it might be willing to make concessions to halt copyright violations. But where patents on food, pharmaceuticals and chemicals are concerned, India has refused to budge, saying "they are exceptions because the country is at a different stage of development from other industrialized countries."

Democracy - Sri Lankan Style

In March 1986, Senator A.L. Missen, Chairman, Australian Parliamentary Group of Amnesty International, declared in the Australian Senate: "Democracy in Sri Lanka does not exist in any real sense. The democracy of Sri Lanka has been described in the following terms, terms which are a fair and accurate description: 'The reluctance to hold general elections, the muzzling of the opposition press, the continued reliance on extraordinary powers unknown to a free democracy, arbitrary detention without access to lawyers or relations, torture of detainees on a systematic basis, the intimidation of the judiciary by the executive, the disenfranchisement of the opposition, and the continued subjugation of the Tamil people by a permanent Sinhala majority, within the confines of a unitary constitutional frame, constitute the reality of 'democracy', Sri Lankan style.'" In the five years since 1986, Democracy, Sri Lankan Style has continued to grow from strength to strength.

PANDEMONIUM DURING CEREMONIAL OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

Applause and allegations, cheers and jeers marked the ceremonial opening of the Sri Lanka Parliament on 24th September 1991.

Crowds lined the Jayawardenapura Road to express their loyalty to President Premadasa. The Presidential welcome at the steps of Parliament was conducted with pomp and pageantry.

But within the chambers a rude welcome awaited the President. The main opposition parties - SLFP, MEP, USA and EPRLF were not present when the President was ceremoniously escorted in. Thereafter they made a noisy entrance. They protested loudly that their seats were smeared with charmed oil and began to wipe their chairs and desks clean.

When the microphones of the opposition MPs were switched off, they produced photographs of Casino King Joe Smith's activities and sang protest verses. As the President started his address one by one the opposition MPs rose from their seats and hurled allegations and accusations against him in a well orchestrated protest. In spite of all the charges hurled against the President, he made his address from a prepared text. From the fourth row of the Govern-

ment benches, the Rebel UNPERS gazed at the proceedings in thoughtful silence. The opposition walked out immediately after the Presidential address, but before the President had left the House.

EROS MOVES IN

The Leader of the Eelavar Democratic Front, the political wing of EROS, Mr Edward Sebastianpillai has submitted nomination papers to fill the six vacancies in Parliament caused by the resignation of MPs of his group in June 1990. The names of the would-be MPs are: Kandiah Sivagnanam, V Sellathamby, V Subramaniam, Velupillai Sivanadiyar, K Selvanayagam and Kailasapillai Vellupillai. Mr Sebastianpillai met the Elections Commissioner accompanied by the former Jaffna Municipal Commissioner, Mr K Sivagnanam. Later they called on the President to discuss matters concerning their security in Colombo after they take their oaths on October 8th.

EPRLF LEADER FEARS SWORD OVER PARLIAMENT

Mr S Premachandran, EPRLF leader is seriously worried that the six new EROS MPs from Jaffna are linked with the LTTE. He thinks the Sword of Damocles hangs over the lives of other Tamil politicians in

Colombo. He attributes the arrival of the MPs to the fact that the Government needs more MPs to support it in Parliament. If there are LTTE parliamentarians, their cadres will also begin to visit them he says. This poses a threat to the lives of the other Tamil politicians, according to him.

JVP SUPPORTS THE MOVE AGAINST PREMADASA

Mr S. Amarasinghe, the JVP leader now in India, in a telephone interview to the BBC External Service, said that the Executive Presidency was imposed on the people of Sri Lanka and that was why his group began an armed struggle against the system. He added that the Sri Lankans had been through a subtle dictatorship under the guise of an executive presidency. In reply to a question whether the JVP had fizzled out as a political alternative in Sri Lankan politics, he said that the same question had cropped up in the aftermath of the 1971 insurrection but the people saw the re-emergence of the JVP. Because of the Government's oppressing attitude to destroy his party, they had to wage an armed struggle against the Government as a means of self defence.

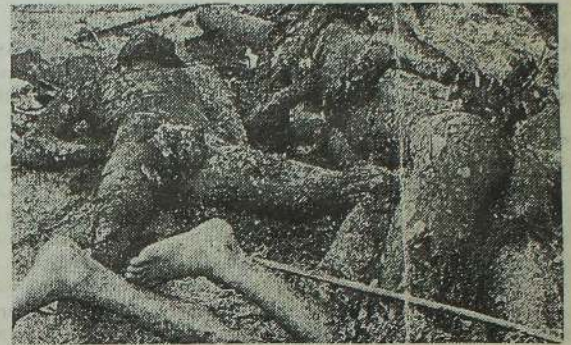
UNP MP OFFERED ONE MILLION RUPEES TO WITHDRAW

Mr Premaratne Gunasekera, UNP MP said that he had supported the move to impeach the President as

Advertisement in Amnesty Sri Lanka Campaign -
London Observer 23rd September 1990

**If this picture
disgusts you, you're
free to complain
to the Sri Lankan
government.**

**40,000
Sri Lankans aren't.**



the MPs were not given their freedom to express their views in the Government. He alleged that he was offered one million rupees by a well known Mudalali to withdraw his signature from the impeachment motion, but he declined the offer as his principles were not for sale. Hear, hear.

LANKA BECOMING A POLICE STATE SAY FORMER UNP MINISTERS

The CID has begun visiting and interrogating associates of the UNP dissident leaders after their move to impeach President Premadasa. Mr Gamini Dissanayake said that his security officers' home had been visited by four men claiming to be from the Security Forces at midnight on 12th September. Mr Athulathumudali says that one of his supporters, a lady from Maligawatte had been assaulted with sticks and hospitalised with fracture. They said that the night visits on their associates confirm that Sri Lanka was fast becoming a police state. It has taken some a long time to learn something that many Tamils have known for a long time!

LALITH'S HANDS ARE CLEAN

The former Minister of Education and Higher Education, Lalith Athulathumudali, speaking at a public meeting opened his hands out to the people present and said that those hands were not stained by doing "dirty deeds" nor with the blood of the people. He stated that he had not got people murdered and "cremated" on tyres.

BACK TO BUDDHISM?

UNP revisionist leader Gamini Dissanayake said on 13th September that there would soon be a temple-to-temple, village-to-village campaign by Buddhist monks for the abolition of the Executive Presidency and the restoration of Parliamentary Supremacy. He told that a majority of the monks in the up-country were fully in support of the abolition of the Executive Presidency.

WHAT'S INDIA'S GAME?

It is reported in the Press that the Government of India has urged some Tamil MPs in Sri Lanka to support the motion to impeach President Premadasa. Assuming that the press reports are not entirely baseless, (after all, as the saying goes, there is no smoke without fire) what game is India up to?

There are reports that the motion for impeachment was conceived in India. The former Chief Minister of the North East is maintained in India at a great cost to the Indian taxpayer. He is moved from one safe haven to another, from one state to another. It must be remembered that this Chief Minister was a creation of the IPKF which completely controlled the election process in the North East. India seems to want a "dummy" Government in North East of Sri Lanka which would function under her overlordship.

The IPKF stay in Sri Lanka cost India 925 million US Dollars and took a toll of about 2,000 soldiers, not forgetting the 6 to 7 thousand innocent Tamil civilian lives lost.

SURESH PREMACHANDRA SITS DOWN

In a speech made in Parliament, on the motion to extend the Emergency, Mr Wijetunge, the Prime Minister rejected allegations that the Government had given arms, vehicles, funds and other equipment to the LTTE. There is no truth in this he said. At this point EPRLF member Suresh Premachandra leaping to his feet interrupted the Prime Minister and cried, "This is not the facts." The PM retorted "It may not be the facts, but you sit down." The member promptly obliged!

After two days of sitting, the extension of the Emergency motion was passed by 131 to 72. Revisionists UNPERS, SLMC, EDF and TELLO were among those who voted with the Government to extend the Emergency. The same evening, the opposition MPs gave notice of a no confidence motion in the Government.

The speech that made Israel possible

continued from page 8

United States; I believe that they will realize the peril of our situation and will do what they have to do.

NOT MONEY BUT BLOOD AND MONEY

I know that we are not asking for something easy. I myself have sometimes been active in various campaigns and fund collections, and I know that collecting at once a sum such as I ask is not simple.

But I have seen our people at home. I have seen them come from the offices to the clinics when we called the community to give their blood for a blood bank to treat the wounded. I have seen them lined up for hours, waiting so that some of their blood can be added to this bank. It is blood plus money that is being given in Palestine.

I know that many of you would be as anxious as our people to be on the very front line. I do not doubt that there are many young people among the Jewish community in the United States who would do exactly what our young people are doing in Palestine.

We are not a better breed; we are not the best Jews of the Jewish people. It so happened that we are there and you are here. I am certain that if you were in Palestine and we were in the United States, you would be doing what we are doing there, and you would ask us here to do what you will have to do.

I want to close with paraphrasing one of the greatest speeches that was made during the Second World War—the words of Churchill. I am not exaggerating when I say that the Yishuv in Palestine will fight in the Negev and will fight in Galilee and will fight on the outskirts of Jerusalem until the very end.

You cannot decide whether we should fight or not. We will. The Jewish community in Palestine will raise no white flag for the Mufti. That decision is taken. Nobody can change it. You can only decide one thing: whether we shall be victorious in this fight or whether the Mufti will be victorious. That decision American

Jews can make. It has to be made quickly within hours, within days.

And I beg of you—don't be too late. Don't be bitterly sorry three months from now for what you failed to do today. The time is now.

I have spoken to you without a grain of exaggeration. I have not tried to paint the picture in false colours. It consists of spirit and certainty of our victory on the one hand, and dire necessity for carrying on the battle on the other.

I want to thank you again for having given me the opportunity at a conference that I am certain has a full agenda to say these few words to you. I leave the platform without any doubt in my mind or my heart that the decision that will be taken by American Jewry will be the same as that which was taken by the Jewish community in Palestine, so that within a few months from now we will all be able to participate not only in the joy of resolving to establish a Jewish state, but in the joy of laying the cornerstone of the Jewish state.

BOOK REVIEW

The tragedy of the Eelam Tamils that they have cared little for the life and work of Thanthai Chelva. He was no ordinary man. He spoke and wrote little and was slow in action. But everything he did was meticulously measured out. Indeed his life was a beacon light to all Eelam Tamils.

Yet, even 13 years after his death no definitive account of his life is available. Some years ago, Dr. Jayaratnam Wilson, Chelva's son in law delivered a talk on Chelva's crisis management and this was later printed. But, though this was highly perceptive, it had a limited appeal.

Volumes have appeared on Gandhi, Nehru, Periyar and Anna. A magnificent book on the life of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan has come

Chelva - Father of Tamil Eelam by M.K. Eelaventhan, 24pp; Indian Rupees Two, Sri Lanka Rupees 4, £1- available from 4, Munirathnam Road, Aminikarai, Madras 29, Tamil Nadu, India

come from the pen Vaithilingam. The TULF which lived on the name and fame of Chelva has not cared to publish a collection of the careful and analytical speeches that he delivered in the Sri Lankan Parliament.

This modest effort of M.K. Eelaventhan is timely and brings within the reach of every Tamil, the highlights of the father of the Eelam Tamil nation. During the last decade of Chelva's life, Eelaventhan functioned as Thanthai Chelva's eyes, ears and spokesman. Hence there is a very personal touch to his life story of Thanthai Chelva. Within a limited space, Eelaventhan covers a large

field and places Chelva's life in a proper perspective in relation to the Eelam Tamil freedom struggle and Tamil national politics.

The Forewords by Tamilkudimagan, the Former Speaker of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly and by Veeramani, the leader of the Dravida Kalagam give a well deserved recognition to Eelaventhan's efforts. Eelaventhan's booklet serves as a reminder to all of us of the noble life of Thanthai Chelva - a reminder that is particularly relevant in our troubled times.

S.A.David

London Tamils mark 175 Anniversary of American Ceylon Mission

The 175th anniversary of the American Ceylon Mission (predecessor of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India) was celebrated by Jaffna Christians in London. A service of Thanksgiving was held on 21st September at the Putney Methodist Church. This was followed by a Public Meeting and fellowship tea. The service, attended by over 150 dedicated D.C.S.I. members, was led by Rev J Samraj, a minister of the Vellore Diocese, currently posted in London, assisted by Rev Xavier Soosainayagam. The message was delivered by the Rt Rev Leslie Newbiggin, retired bishop of Madurai and later of Madras. It was appropriate that he should peak as the pioneering work in the Madurai Diocese was started by the same American Board that sent missionaries to Jaffna.

Dr Daniel Poor, who founded Jaffna College, subsequently also established the American College in Madurai. There is also a link with the Vellore Diocese in that Dr John Scudder, who started medical work in Pandeteruppa, later proceeded to Vellore and it was his grand-daughter, Dr da Scudder, who founded the Christian Medical College there. Bishop Newbiggin pointed out the sad fact that although the work of these missionaries was being remembered with gratitude in the countries they went to, the countries that they came from were now describing them as misguided imperialists who destroyed many indigenous cultures. In losing, the Bishop urged Tamil Christians to reciprocate by witnessing to their faith in Britain, which he considered was now a 'pagan land.' Though he reached in English, it was evident from his lapses into Tamil that he had lost nothing of his mastery of the language

The Morning Star - One hundred and fifty years old

The Morning Star (publication of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India) celebrates 150 years of its existence this year. It was first published in 1841 as a bilingual (Tamil and English) weekly paper by the early American missionaries. This makes it the oldest Tamil publication in the world and only the second oldest paper in Sri Lanka.

In the early years, as it was the only paper available, it was not only a source of news, but had an educative aim publishing features on natural history, science and geography. Today its continued publication in the face of adversity is a testament to the resilience of the Church and people. Annual subscription £10.00 Those interested should write to: Dr D C Ambalavanar, 1 Constable Close, Mill Road, Colchester, Essex C04 5EZ

leaves behind his wife and daughter, Mrs R. Kanagasingham, 3 The Willows, Whitecroft, St Albans Tel: 0727 865649

Mrs. Amirthamma Sivasubramaniam of Kalviyankadu, Jaffna, beloved mother of Mrs. Sivamalar Thillainadarajan, Yogeewaran (Belgium), Thanajeyan, Shyamala, Mrs. Yasotha Renganathan, Sivakumar (Canada) and sister of Somasunderam, Annalingam (Canada) and Mrs. Kamaleswary Thavaloganthan, expired on 16th September 1991.

Dr. Thambirajah Kopalsingham, J.P., 24/1, Old Quarry Road, Mt. Lavinia

Kathirgathamby Sithambara Udayar, 35, Edmonton Road, Colombo 6

Arulanandan Kanagaratnam, 72543 Ndola, Zambia

N. Ramachandran, 14, Malika Lane, Wellawatte

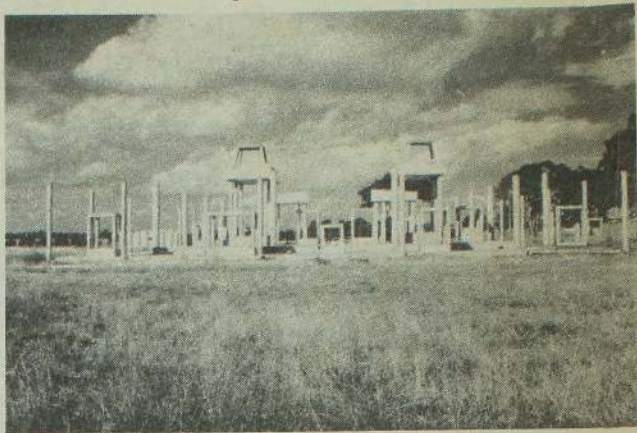
Panchacharam Suppiah, 89, Tenynson Drive, Nanuet, New York 10954, USA

Dr. C. Pathmanathan, Ripas Hospital, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei

K. Nithyanantharajah, 221 Peradeniya Road, Kandy

V. Sivapragasam, 4/10 Stanley Street, Campsie, Sydney, NSW 2194

A Hindu Temple rises in Melbourne



A magnificent temple is taking shape at Carrum Downs, a suburb of Melbourne - a temple which will accommodate Shiva, Vishnu, Ganesh, Subramaniam, Ambal and the other deities associated with Hindu worship. The venture is being undertaken by the Hindu Society of Victoria (Australia). Early in 1982, a small group of dedicated Hindus, living in Melbourne, felt the need for a regular place of worship for the increasing number of Hindus among the recent migrants to Australia. This pioneering group formalised its existence by forming the Hindu Society of Victoria on June 21, 1984. Today, the Society has a membership of over 1200 members, consisting of Hindus originating from India, Tamil Eelam, Malaysia, Singapore, Fiji, South Africa and other parts of the world.

In 1985, the Society purchased 14 acres of land at Carrum Downs, on the outskirts of Melbourne at a cost of \$75,000. The architectural and engineering talents available among its own members was harnessed to plan a suitable building. The Springvale City Council was enthusiastic and had no hesitation in granting permission for the project.

The building with a floor area of about 1400 square metres (42m x 34m) will have 17 shrines to house the deities. Two main shrines (Shiva and Vishnu) with Gopurams rising to a height of 11 metres will project about 4 metres above the roof level. When completed the building will adorn the landscape of Melbourne.

Foundation stones were laid in 1988 and the first stage has been completed. The Society has already spent about \$400,000 utilising donations from its membership. The remaining stages of the project will cost a further \$800,000. Several pledges have been made by the membership for further donations. The vast outlay required may delay completion. Assistance from the Hindu public outside Victoria would help the Society in achieving its objectives.

C.P.

Fourth Hindu Temple in London

A group of Sri Lankan Tamils residing in West London met in August to inaugurate the Shri Kannaga Thurkai Amman Temple. Poojas and Bhajans are held every Friday (7.00 pm to 10.00 pm) at Shackleton Hall, Shackleton Road, Southall, Middx. Enquiries: 081 863 9090; 081 868 0429; 0895 636797 (Chairman of Trustees Mr A Thevasagayam)

There are already three well-established temples, Shree Ganapathy Temple in Effra Road, Wimbledon; London Sri Murugan Temple in Browning Road, East Ham; Highgate Murugan Temple in Archway Road, London N6 - all serving the religious, cultural and social needs of Saivite Hindus in the Greater London area. The planned Thurkai Amman Temple will be a great boon to the thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils living in West London.

DEATHS

Dr Saravanamuttu Paramanathan

Born 24th June 1918, Died 26th September 1991 - Husband of Vallambikai, father of Lohini Ganesharatnam, Mohini Ratnasabapathy, Dr W W Paramanathan. Brother of the late Mrs A omasundaram, the late Mrs P Sabaratnam, Miss K Charavanamuthu, Dr S thanabalasingham and Mrs J Navaratnarajah. He served in several Government hospitals in Sri Lanka, and was Medical Officer in charge, Maharajasa Cancer Institute prior to his retirement. He came to London in October 1990. His funeral took place at theolders Green Crematorium on 29th September 1991. 30 The Ridgeway, Centon, Harrow HA3 0LL

Kanmani Kanagaratnam - The crea-

tion took place in South West London of Kanmani, beloved wife of the late Dr K Kanagaratnam (Retired Medical Supt., Colombo Group of Hospitals), daughter of the late V S S Kumarswamy (Kandarmadam, Jaffna) loving mother of Dr Ganesan (USA), Sriskandan (UK), Arichandran (USA), Meenambikai (UK), Sivancheyal (UK), Dr Jivathondan (UK) and Dr Mangayath-

karasy (USA), Mother-in-law of Rajeswary, Dorothy, Sushila, Dr T Selvarajah, G M Yoganandan, Dr Yasothai and Dr Shanthan Williams. 13 Ruskin Way, London SW19 1UO

E D J Emerson - Born 21st March 1926, Died 27th September 1991 - The remains of, Daniel Emerson, dental surgeon, who died suddenly of a heart attack were laid to rest at the Hendon Cemetery, London NW4 on 3rd October. Danny, as he was affectionately called by friends, relations and patients alike, was a voracious reader and a lover of classical music. He was a witty and cultured man, and would often quote poetry.

He leaves behind his wife Gunamala (nee Vallipuram), four children - Nirmal, Adrian, Nira and Darrell, sisters Lollita Thambapillai (Sri Lanka) and Nellita Ponniah (UK), and a brother Stanley (Canada). 31 Nant Road, Childs Hill, London NW2.

A. Rasiyah A. Rasiyah (93), retired PWD overseer, died 25th September, Cremated St Albans 27th September. He

PEOPLE & EVENTS

Vijayambigai Indra Kumar dances at Sri Murugan Temple

Vijayambigai Indra Kumar and her troupe of ten dancers from Vijayanarthanalaya, her dancing school, kept their audience captivated for well over three hours at East London recently, with a variety of Indian dances including Bhrata Natyam, Kuchipudi, Mohini Allam and folk dances. The programme took place at the newly acquired Wedding Hall of the London Sri Murugan Temple, towards whose refurbishment the proceeds were dedicated.

Vijayambigai, celebrating a rare achievement of 21 years dedicated to dancing as a performer, choreographer and teacher gave a delightful exhibition of dancing of the various Indian traditions. Notable among the other dancers who excelled as well was Vijayambigai's 10 year old daughter, Venothini, who drew rounds and rounds of applause, living up to the promise she has consistently shown over the last few years.

It was only two weeks earlier that both Vijayambigai and Venothini had returned from Denmark, having accepted an invitation from the Danish Tamil Friendship Association for a dance tour. Their last performance on tour was the climax of a two day Cultural Festival organised at the city of Herning and attended by a capacity crowd of Danes and expatriate Tamils, in addition to the Mayor and leading councillors of the city. It was a dance performance, the likes of which Herning audiences had not seen before and Venothini, sharing the repertoire equally with her mother, proved to be a source of inspiration to the expatriate Tamil children present on the occasion.



Venothini Indrakumar dancing to fame in Denmark

Themathurath Tamil Osai on Sydney Radio

On the 9th of September, the Tamil Service of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) in Sydney broadcast a Villupattu entitled 'Themathurath Tamil Osai'. It was presented by students from the Wentworthville Tamil School of the Tamil Study Centre in Sydney. The programme was an instant success and the Melbourne Tamil Radio plans to broadcast it on its weekly broadcast as well. (Courtesy: Victor Rajakulendran)

Mira Balachandram - Gopul Dances for West London Tamil School Benefit

Acton Town Hall saw the London debut of the Manchester-based Bharatha Natya dancer, Mira Balachandram - Gopul, at a benefit performance in aid of the West London Tamil School, Greenford & Wembley, on 28th September. The accompanists were mostly members of the teaching staff of the school, headed by Sri Karaikkudi Krishnamurthy (Miruthangam) and Smit Ambika Thamootheram (Vocal).

The dance recital was followed by a Percussion Ensemble. The programme was devised by Dr T Nimalraj, Arts Governor and Teacher of Flute in the school.

Weddings

The marriage of Ajit, son of the late Mr. Mano Kadirgamar and Mrs. Rance Kadirgamar and Ganga, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Narayan M.K. Patel took place at the Methodist Church, Walton Avenue, South Harrow, Middlesex on Saturday 26th October. 33, The Glen, Village Way, Pinner, Middlesex.

LOOKING AHEAD

NOVEMBER

15 Friday
5th Sukkhiraw Viratham
18 Monday
1st Somawar Viratham
21 Thursday
Sarvalaya Deepam
22 Friday
Vinayaga Viratham starts
23 Saturday
Bhagwan Sathiya Sai Baba
Jayanthy Day
24 Sunday
London Tamil Congregation
Youth Service - 4pm Putney
Methodist Church
30 Saturday
Sir P Ramanathan - Remembrance Day

DECEMBER

2 Monday
3rd Somawar Viratham
9 Monday
4th Somawar Viratham
11 Wednesday
Maha Kavi Bharathiyar Jayanthy Day
12 Thursday
Vinayagar Viratham ends
13 Friday
Thiruvembavai Viratham Starts
Sithamparam, Karainagar
Sivan Temple (Kodi) Flag Festival
14 Saturday
George Washington Remembrance Day
15 Sunday
3.30pm Christmas Carol Service
- Preacher: Dr Preman Niles -
Putney Methodist Church
17 Tuesday
Swakkavayil Ekathasi Viratham
18 Wednesday
Arumuga Navalar's Birthday
19 Thursday
Pradhosha Viratham
21 Saturday
Arudra Abishekam
22 Sunday
Arudra Dharshan
25 Wednesday
Christmas Day
30 Monday
Manicka Nayakkar Remembrance Day
31 Tuesday
Ekaadhasi Viratham
10.30pm Watch Night Service -
Putney Methodist Church

AT THE BHAVAN

Tel: 071 381 3086

Saturday 9th November
7.00 pm

"Temple Bells" Bharatanatyam
by Prakash Ya Dagudde with
live music by Sivasakti
Sivanesan and other Bhavan's
Teachers

Sunday 17th November
6.30 pm

Karnatic Vocal - Salem
Jayalakshmi

Saturday 14th December
7.00 pm

Bharathanatyam - Kumari Nina
with Musicians at the Bhavan

Chundikuli - St. Johns Past Pupils UK Association

The annual re-union of this flourishing association was held on 21st September at Woodhouse Hall, Friern Barnet, London N12.

The outgoing President, Mrs Siron Gnanamuthu, thanked members for their unstinted support and appealed for even bigger contributions to the Chundikuli Trust Fund which now stands at over 7,000. She also sought similar backing for the St John's Fund. Dr Lawrence Ratnam, popular GP from Birmingham, was elected President for the ensuing year and Mrs Anoja Abraham as the Secretary. Mr S Sivasubramaniam of 148 Green Lane, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex was re-elected Treasurer.

Girija Varothayasingham - Nadesha Samarpanam

Girija Varothayasingham's Nadesha Samarpanam, in pure Vazhuvoor style, rarely seen in Melbourne, captivated the large audience at the Monash Secondary College Music Auditorium in Melbourne Australia on the 11th of August 1991.

The performance was organised by the Tamils Rehabilitation Organisation and the proceeds were donated to refugee work in Tamil Eelam.

Vocal by Dr. Rama Rao and Dr. Joay Maheswaran, Mridangam by Mr. M. Ravichandran, Veena by Mr. S. Ramnath, Jaw Harp by Dr. S. Selvendra, Thalam by Mrs. N. Shivanath, all from Melbourne and Flute by Mr. Girithar from Sydney. Girija is the conductor of the Nadana Braman School of Dancing in London where she carefully maintains and develops the Vazhuvoor tradition.



THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION OF SYDNEY TAMILS

The Catholic Association of Sydney Tamils celebrated St. Mary's birthday on the 8th of September at the St. Lurde's Shrine at Mulgoa in Sydney, Australia. Fr. Pankiras from Mannar, Sri Lanka who is currently in Australia celebrated High Mass in Tamil followed by benediction. Tamils from other religious groups also attended. After mass, the participants enjoyed a rice curry lunch provided by the Association.

HOME BUSH TAMIL SCHOOL

On October 5th, parents, teachers and students from the Homebush Tamil School gathered for their annual dinner in the Homebush Primary School Hall, Sydney, Australia. Several Sydney Tamil youngsters who have been active for the last few years, as an organised cultural group, provided musical entertainment. The programme which was well received by the audience, started with a devotional song to Ganapathy and ended with a few of the latest Tamil pop hits.

Eelam Tamil Poet



Eelam Tamil, Professor Kopan Mahadeva is aiming to take poetry to the people. The 58 year old industrial consultant has just published 'Vying for Greatness and Later Poems', his second volume of varied verse. His previous poetic works include a volume entitled 'The Pearly Island and Older Poems'. The Ceylon born poet said "Poetry is becoming a full time hobby". He is hoping that his works and subjects will broaden the appeal of poetry who would not normally read it. Prof. Mahadeva's latest volume is available at £ 3.75 from all major bookshops. (Courtesy: Sutton Coldfield Observer)

UDUPPIDY WELFARE ASSOCIATION

A programme of lively dance and catchy music was presented by the UWA on 26th October at the Rutland Boys School Hall, Wimbledon. The Dance recital was presented jointly by Ragini Rajagopal and Mathini Sriskandarajah who themselves conducted Nattuvangam and singing respectively, accompanied by Mridhangam, violin and Morsing. Music recital was by M. Yogeswaran with accompaniments. The Uduppiddy Welfare Association, London (address 141 Merton Hall Road, London SW19 3PY Tel: 081 540 7509 - Registered Charity No: 803532) was established in 1988 and has already remitted £ 4,000 to needy causes in Vadamaradchi (Details may be obtained from Mr Ramachandran or Mr Kandasamy)

TAMIL NATION

India - U.S. defence tie-up

India has formally signalled consent in principle to the Kicklighter proposals advanced by the U.S. for military cooperation between the two countries in the context of the changing global scenario, it is understood.

Until now the discussion has been limited to involving the armies of the two countries with each other in a spirit of enhanced cooperation on an institutional basis. Named after Lt. Gen. Claude Kicklighter, the recently retired Army Commander of the U.S. Forces in the Pacific, in whose jurisdiction fall both the Pacific and the Indian oceans, the U.S. proposals for military cooperation were presented to India in April this year.

While India has agreed to enter into a relationship of military cooperation with the U.S., itself a landmark event in the light of the history of the past 40 years, sources believe it has chosen to advance into the relationship at its own pace, and with caution.

The pace is to be guided in the executive Steering Council on which the Indian side is to be represented by the Army Vice-Chief, and the U.S. by the American Army Commander of the Pacific Forces. The position is currently held by Lt Gen. Johnny Combs who is slated to visit India in January next. That is when the Steering Council is expected to be inaugurated.

"STABILITY," THE AIM

It is explicitly stated here that joint patrolling, offer of bases and military aid, including purchase of American defence equipment do not constitute the purpose of the proposed new relationship. The wider purpose is the furtherance of the objective of "stability" through expanded cooperation in all fields, not only military.

The expectation here is that shared goals and values of stability between the U.S. and certain other international players would itself be a factor that should induce international stability. India has been targeted by the U.S. along with China, Japan and Germany, besides Soviet Union/Russia, and of course, itself, as the world and regional players which should share common goals.

As far as the Army to Army ties (possibly to be expanded to include the air force and the navies) are concerned, the stated purpose of the new deal is to provide for regular exchanges at various levels, the holding of periodic symposia relating to security doctrines, and common training and observer programmes.

The question of joint training programmes is believed to be wide open, though this is within the realm of possibility. A point of worry here is the likely cultural impact on the Indian soldiery of being brought face-to-face with its American counterpart.

ECONOMIC & POLITICAL TIES

The military and the political establishment here believe that entering into a re-oriented relationship with the U.S. would provide India the opportunity to establish an opening in critical U.S. departments, particularly Pentagon and State, which have traditionally been fairly hostile.

The proposed military ties are a component of a wider-deck relationship which includes economic as well as political ties. At the political level, the Government believes the U.S. has already been supportive in the recent past on Kashmir and on terrorism. (Courtesy: Hindu International Edition)

What is a nation?

"... what is a nation? Many great thinkers have applied their minds to this. Many answers have been given, often conflicting, and usually confusing. One of the truest and most moving descriptions I know was contained in a short essay by a little known professor of Ohio University. About 40 years ago Professor Taylor wrote: 'Where and what is a nation? Is there such a thing? You would answer that the nation exists only in the minds and hearts of men. It is an idea. It is therefore more real than its courts and armies; more real than its cities, its mines, its cattle; more real than you and I are, for it existed in our fathers and will exist in our children. It is an idea, it is an imagination, it is a spirit, it is human art. Who will deny that the nation lives?' (Achmed Sukarno : Address to The National Press Club - 1956 Department of State Bulletin)

Riding to power on the back of Sinhala Chauvinism?

Former Minister, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake in a recent speech at Kalutara is reported to have said that the country is ruled by three Ps - Premadasa, Prabhakaran and Paskaralingam. Prabhakaran rules in the North and East and Mr. Premadasa dances to the tune of Mr. Paskaralingam he said. The whole upcountry has been handed over to Mr. S. Thondaman who rules supreme there. He added: "The Ceylon Workers Congress is slowly eating up the upcountry areas under the patronage of their leader Mr. S. Thondaman".

Julian West reporting in the Independent says FEAR AND LOATHING IN COLOMBO AS 'COUP' FAILS

A French woman who has lived in Sri Lanka for five years, said recently at a party. "People don't talk about politics any more. Everybody has become too afraid to say anything." Her remark was extraordinary in a rural area where political gossip is the spice of life, but it was accurate.

DEATH SQUADS

The climate of fear, of death squads and disappearances was widespread in the rural areas two years ago, as the security forces moved against Sinhalese militants in the south. Later the same methods were used against Tamil separatists in the north and east. In Colombo, meanwhile, government critics were silenced or harassed; the chattering classes began whispering.

That was until six weeks ago, when news broke of a motion, supported by many MPs of the ruling party, to impeach the man presiding over this atmosphere, President Ranasinghe Premadasa. Scandal sheets accusing the President of arming the Tamil Tigers, press releases from rebel MPs, even copies of the impeachment motion containing allegations of wire-tapping, corruption, abuse of power and delusions of grandeur, flew around Colombo.

The conspirators used mobile telephones to avoid tapping, and held midnight meetings in Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo's Belgravia, to lobby support.

They accused the President of black magic practices, bribery and bolstering his support by enlisting Tiger-backed MPs. Mr Premadasa, a man of humble origins, responded by accusing them of corruption and the creation of an aristocratic cabal.

Villagers far from Colombo, hearing little but Mr Premadasa's proclamations on state radio and television, struggled to understand the situation. But when news filtered through, many Sri Lankans, scared and disgruntled at the rising cost of living, were said to support impeachment.

But last week in a parliament packed with onlookers, the revolt fell apart leaving a number of frightened and angry MPs.

Under pressure from what some claimed were threats or bribes, all but eight of the 47 rebel government MPs who signed the impeachment motion scurried back to the fold, dutifully voting against

an opposition motion of no confidence in the Muslim Speaker, Haniffa Mohammed. The motion was defeated by 48 votes. Mr Premadasa had turned the tables.

From the day in August when the President was confronted by the impeachment motion, he had gone on the attack.

Posters urged people "not to cut off the hand that feeds you" and vilified the rebel MPs. Mr Premadasa suspended sittings in parliament.

Mr Mohammed had to decide whether the impeachment motion should go forward; when he rejected it, the opposition swiftly replaced a motion of no confidence in the government with one of no confidence in the Speaker. They accused him of having been offered a bribe of 10m rupees (about £ 150,000). "He is a traitor," said one opposition MP.

SPEAKER: EITHER THIS OR SUICIDE

But another claimed the Speaker had no choice. "He told me this week, 'It's either this or suicide'. The old man was terrified, I don't know what happened to him." Parliamentary jargon masked the main issue - Mr Premadasa's style. Under his predecessor, Junius Jayawardene, the presidency was given almost unlimited powers at the expense of parliament. The rebels accused Mr Premadasa of being "Bonapartist". Cabinet Ministers said he treated them like children. Backbench MPs were said to be angry about his annexation of their power bases.

Ordinary Sri Lankans took heart from Mr Premadasa's misfortunes, and found the courage to speak out. Politicians are less confident. "MPs who signed the motion are mortally scared," said an opposition member. "They will be fixed like a fillet."

Truth will out

Former President J.R. Jayawardene in a thinly veiled attack on President Premadasa says in a recent interview with a Colombo daily that he is troubled that so many Sinhala people were killed and attributed this to the decision to send off the IPKF.

He said: "On June 3rd 1987, Indian planes dropped food parcels over Jaffna. I sent Ranil Wickremasinghe, Minister of Education to China and Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security to Pakistan, U.K. and U.S.A. asking for military aid. They came back with the same answer: 'We must not make enemies with India, but go along with her'. It was in this situation that the Indian High Commissioner unveiled the Peace Accord. I still feel that it was right to sign the Accord with Rajiv Gandhi".

"Having in mind LTTE's assertion that India did not come to Sri Lanka to help the Tamils but came to further her own geo political interests I once asked the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Dixit: 'Who benefited by the Peace Accord?'. After a good look around, Mr. Dixit asked: 'Do you want the truth?', and when I replied 'Yes', he said 'India stands to gain most, not Sri Lanka, nor the Tamils.' To the question that I put to Mr. Dixit 'Why did India take such an interest in the Tamil problem?', his reply was: 'The shores of India and Sri Lanka are only 21 miles apart. If they were 500 miles apart, India would not have bothered that much.' Dixit went on to say: 'New Delhi is concerned only with the interests of India; not the welfare of the Tamils. If the interest of India and the Tamils are the same, we help each other. India's first priority is to further her own interests.'"

Asked why he tried to get the 14 Tigers captured at sea, in September 1987, transported to Colombo, which action was against the tenets of the Accord, J.R. smiled and replied, that Lalith Athulathmudali and the General of the Armed Forces forced (!) him to get them down to Colombo for interrogation. The thought that J.R. was forced by anybody does raise a smile.