

TAMIL NATION



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Towards a Just Peace

The International Federation of Tamils' Seminar, 'Towards a Just Peace', held at the University of London on February 15, called upon the two parties to the armed conflict in the island of Sri Lanka, namely, the Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

1. to express their willingness to accept mediation in the conflict between them and to agree upon a mutually acceptable neutral mediator

2. to express their willingness to commence negotiations with a view to entering into an internationally guaranteed accord to establish an associative structure within which the Sinhala people and the Tamil people may live in peace and in freedom.

full report commencing page 7

P.Nedumaran, leader of Thamilar Thesiya Iyakkam in an exclusive interview with Tamil Nation:

"Action against LTTE leader clearly politically motivated"

Q. Mr. Nedumaran, what are your views on the action taken by the Indian authorities against the leader of the LTTE, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, in connection with Rajiv Gandhi's assassination?

A. It is childish to suggest that Velupillai Prabhakaran, the leader of a great national movement was connected with this murder. It is clear that this is being done with a political motive.

British government could not separate Netaji from the hearts of the Indian people. In the same way, India cannot separate Prabhakaran from the hearts of the Tamil people. India will fail to negate his influence. That much is certain.

Q. It is said in some quarters that the people of Tamil Nadu have turned against the Tamil Eelam struggle. Do you agree?

A. Refugees came to Tamil Nadu, because there was no peace in their homeland, because there was an armed conflict and they feared the actions of the Sri Lankan army and its para military forces. This situation has not changed today. It is only when peace returns that the refugees should go back. To send them from refugee camps in Tamil Nadu to refugee camps in Sri Lanka is a violation of elementary and basic human rights. Tibetan refu-

"authorities have moved outside the normal law, and even before the two Commissions appointed to inquire into the Rajiv Gandhi assassination have come to any findings"

Two Commissions of Inquiry have been appointed to investigate and report on the Rajiv Gandhi assassination. Up to now, these Commissions have not come to any finding. Nor have they accused anybody. But even before these Commissions have come to their conclusions, the Special Investigating Team (SIT) of the Criminal Bureau of Investigation (CBI) has chosen to take action against the LTTE leader and that too, not under the ordinary law but under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act 1987 (TADA). This has been done despite the fact that Tamil Nadu, is not a 'notified area' under TADA, like for instance Haryana. Under TADA, the normal rules of evidence do not apply and alleged confessions made to a police officer by one accused can be used against another accused. Under TADA, the burden of proving the allegations will not be on the prosecution.

These proceedings outside the normal law and under TADA are a deliberate attempt to implicate Prabhakaran and to create a division in the growing unity between the people of Tamil Nadu and the people of Tamil Eelam. But the use of TADA to suppress a freedom struggle will fail in the same way as the use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act failed in Sri Lanka. India's leader Netaji was charged with murder after the second world war, by the colonial ruler. It would appear that India's way is not different from that followed by the colonial ruler. But, the

A. It is an utter falsehood to say that the people of Tamil Nadu have turned against the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle. It is equally false to say that they have turned against the Liberation Tigers. The feelings of the Tamil people continue to smoulder beneath the surface. The present troubled situation will change and once again support for the struggle of their brothers and sisters of Tamil Eelam will emerge in the open.

Q. I wonder whether you would care to comment on the statement by the columnist Taraki in the Sri Lanka Sunday Island that your visit abroad was with a view to seeking asylum in an European country?

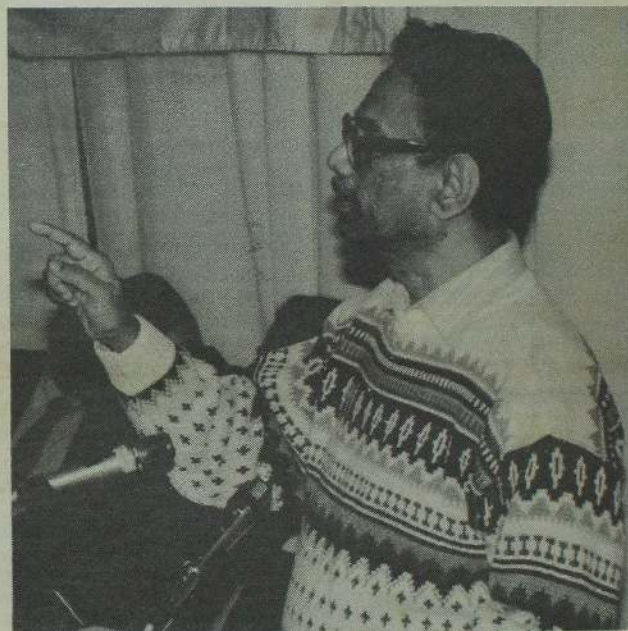
A. I have not sought asylum anywhere. There is no need for me to ask for asylum anywhere. In Tamil Nadu, I am a leader of a political party which has clear views on the Tamil Eelam issue. I have expressed those views openly both inside India and outside. I have at no time felt the need for me to hide my views. After I return to India, I will continue to express these views and carry out my duties as a political leader committed to representative democracy and freedom. If as a result of this, I have to meet oppressive actions, then I will meet them in India itself. In fear of such actions, I have no need to seek asylum in a foreign country.

Q. India is seeking to repatriate Tamil refugees from Tamil Nadu. What are your views?

gees and the Dalai Lama still continue to reside in India. Refugees from Bangladesh, Pakistan and elsewhere continue to reside in India. India has not driven them out. To send out Tamil refugees is to raise doubts about India's motives. If India does not wish to accept responsibility for Tamil refugees then it should hand over the responsibility to the UNHCR. That would be the just way of handling the situation. But to hand over Tamil refugees to the Sinhala government is not very different from sending them to a killing field.

Q. Mr. Nedumaran, Tamil Nation has been greatly concerned about the detention of its founding editor, Mr. Sivanayagam. What were your responses to his arrest?

A. When Mr. Sivanayagam was arrested, I was truly astonished. He was one who had sought asylum in India. He had peacefully carried out his duties as a writer and a journalist. Tamils the world over know him well. Several political leaders and journalists in Tamil Nadu know him well. But his sudden arrest, without any cause whatever, under the National Security Act, was not only an injustice to him but it was a death blow to the cause of press freedom. At no time had he done anything which was subversive or against the security of the Indian state. He was not interested in that. He wrote about his people and their struggle. He wrote to further the understanding of the reading public in India and elsewhere of the issues of the Tamil Eelam



struggle. I personally find it hurtful that Tamil Nadu journalists have failed to condemn this attack on one of their fellow journalists. Everytime that Mr. Sivanayagam is brought to Court, he is manacled - and this inhuman and degrading treatment continues to be meted out to him even today. This reveals the true nature of the justice dispensed to Mr. Sivanayagam. I hate to say this but it is also a reflection of the corruption of Indian democracy. The expatriate Tamil community should raise its voice in support of the moves to free Mr. Sivanayagam.

Q. What do you see as India's role in the Tamil Eelam struggle?

A. In the past, Indira Gandhi's approach was to some extent in favour of the Tamil Eelam cause, but with Rajiv Gandhi this changed completely.

The India which in Nehru's time and in Indira Gandhi's time, supported freedom struggles in many parts of the world - this same India in Rajiv Gandhi's time tried to suppress the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle by sending

"the British government could not separate Netaji from the hearts of the Indian people - India cannot separate Prabhakaran from the hearts of the Tamil people"

Q. Did you find your visit to Europe and Canada useful?

A. My visit to Europe and to Canada, helped me to understand several truths. I have seen the strength of the commitment of the Tamils in these lands to the Tamil Eelam struggle. I have also seen the support given the struggle by the political leaders in the countries I visited.

For instance, the support of fraternal organisations at the London Seminar was heartwarming. The message from the Tamil associations at the London Seminar was: 'Yes, we want peace - but that peace must be with Tamil Eelam'. I see that in the world today, many new structures are emerging within which nations may live in

the IPKF. The wrong direction that Rajiv Gandhi gave led to defeat. Those in the Indian Government should recognise this truth and change their ways. To seek to follow Rajiv Gandhi's wrong lead in the future will only serve to compound the errors that have already been made. To seek to do that will not be in the interest of either India or Tamil Eelam. I know that the people of Tamil Eelam have always sought India's support. I know that even now their hand of friendship remains extended to India. India should not reject that hand - neither should it seek to twist that hand. It should take that hand in friendship. The mistakes of the past should be corrected, not compounded.

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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Please, Mr.Jha, do not give us bull

In an interview with a Sri Lankan newspaper, the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr Narendra Nath Jha, has urged the Sri Lankan people to look at federalism as a solution to the crisis in Sri Lanka. And, not unnaturally, the Tamil Times gave the interview pride of place in its February issue. Mr.Jha said: "The word 'federal' should not scare people away. Indians feel that federalism is not enough for India. They want it to be a looser federalism. One of the ways of resolving this conflict is by having a fresh and close look at the various federal structures". Mr.Jha is a senior diplomat in the Indian Foreign Service, even senior to the present Indian Foreign Secretary Mr.M.Dixit and presumably Mr.Jha should know what he is talking about.

But if that which Mr.Jha now proclaims are truly his Government's views, why did not New Delhi match these proclaimed views with its deeds and secure a federal constitution in the 1987 Accord? Why did it instead foist on the Tamil people the miserable 13th Amendment and an executive Governor appointed by a Sinhala President? Why did it foist on the Tamil people an Executive Governor who held office at the pleasure of the Sinhala President and who also controlled the financial resources of the Provincial Council? We may well ask Mr.Jha: Is that what you call 'federalism'? Please do tell us. We are a reasonable people and we will listen to reason.

Mr.Jha knows, of course, that the real question is whether India recognises that the Tamil people have the right to self determination. The real question is whether India recognises that the armed struggle of the Tamil people arose in response to a systematic and continuing oppression by a permanent Sinhala majority. The real question is whether India recognises that that armed struggle is therefore both just and lawful. And, here we are not unmindful that the Indo Sri Lanka Accord which was signed by the late Mr.Rajiv Gandhi, recognised the Tamil militant movement as 'combatants' in an armed conflict and in this way, India has already recognised the legitimacy of the armed struggle. Will Mr.Jha bow to reason and agree that today, the two parties to that armed conflict are the LTTE and Sri Lanka and that the only way forward is for the two parties to the conflict to talk to each other?

But, whilst the recent Canadian Human Rights Mission calls for talks between the LTTE and Sri Lanka, and the British High Commissioner in Colombo suggests the same, the Government which Mr.Jha represents prefers to act as if the LTTE does not exist. What is worse, recognising the LTTE as the only force which has consistently and steadfastly struggled for the Tamil Eelam cause, New Delhi seeks to annihilate it. At the same time it seeks to nurture an 'alternative leadership' which will do its bidding. New Delhi failed with Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam who was resoundingly rejected by the Tamil people at the Provincial Council polls in December 1988 - a poll which was held under the immediate 'supervision' of the Indian Army. New Delhi failed again with Mr.Varadarajah Perumal even though it sought to prop him up with the direct intervention of the Indian Army - an army which had come to Sri Lanka on a so called 'peace keeping mission.' But, as the recent visit of the TULF to Delhi shows, the Government which Mr.Jha represents continues to persevere in its search for Tamil quislings. It seems that Mr.Dixit seeks to achieve as Foreign Secretary that which he had failed to achieve as the 'Viceroyal' High Commissioner in Colombo.

That the Tamil Times supports New Delhi's efforts to find a so called 'alternative Tamil leadership' comes, of course, as no surprise. However, Mr. Jha will agree, will he not, that the bottom line is in the annexures to the 1987 Indo Sri Lanka Accord? The bottom line is his Government's concern to secure Indian hegemony in the region and secure that broadcasting facilities and naval facilities in Sri Lanka are not given to countries outside the region? That is why Mr. Jha and New Delhi (and Mr.Gamini Dissanyake) seek to keep the 1987 Accord alive and continue to peddle the line that the conflict can be settled within its frame. Given all this, please forgive us, Mr.Jha, if we take the view that New Delhi's current 'talk' of federalism is simply an attempt to 'keep its oar' in the conflict in the face of the initiatives being taken towards 'associative structures' in certain Western countries.

Mr.Jha knows well enough, that the Sri Lanka constitution is an unitary constitution. He knows that the unitary provisions of the Sri Lanka constitution are entrenched. He knows that the Sri Lanka unitary constitution cannot be changed into a federal constitution without holding an island wide referendum - and that the Indo Sri Lanka Accord makes no provision for that. In any case, Mr.Jha also knows that given the belligerent Sinhala chauvinism which is deep rooted in the Sinhala body politic, a referendum has always been a non starter. What then is this 'federalism' that Mr.Jha is talking about - and how is to be achieved?

New Delhi's track record shows that it regards the Eelam Tamils as an expendable commodity - expendable in the altar of its own self interest. The simple political reality is that New Delhi gave limited support to the Tamil militant movement before 1987 with the principal intent of destabilising Colombo and making Colombo move towards New Delhi. The Annexures to the 1987 Accord are proof enough of that intent. But all the time that New Delhi gave this 'limited' support, it knew that young Tamils were giving their lives for Tamil Eelam. It knew that these young Tamils would not give their lives merely to further New Delhi's geo political interests and so, it led these young Tamils to believe that their liberation struggle had New Delhi's support - and that a 'Bangladesh' was around the corner. Herein lay the hypocrisy and the dishonesty of New Delhi's policy and actions.

New Delhi's hands are stained with the blood of thousands of young Tamils who died for Tamil Eelam. Having secured its hegemony through the Annexures to the Accord, New Delhi then turned on the LTTE as it was the only Tamil militant movement which stood dedicated to the memory and the aspirations of the thousands who had given their lives in the Tamil Eelam national liberation struggle. It is said that the wise learn by the experience of others but that fools fail to learn even by their own experience. Please do not take the Tamil people for fools, Mr.Jha. We as a people have suffered much. We are Tamils. We know that as Tamils, we are also Indians. But, please, Mr.Jha, please do not give us bull.

Savitri

Franklin Raviraj, Sri Lanka Sunday Island interviews LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran in Jaffna

"We warn that unless a political settlement is reached under United Nations auspices, any invasion of the Jaffna peninsula will, only lead us to close the doors to peace"

Friday 10th January. I am at the Thandikulam Check Point north of Vavuniya. The last outpost of the Sri Lankan Army before reaching Tiger country. From there it was a two mile bus ride to Nochimottai where security forces personnel and PLOTE cadres man the frontier bunkers. The time is around 2 p.m. when I cross over to "No Man's Land".

A group of LTTE cadres clad in green and yellow striped Tiger uniforms carrying automatic rifles emerge from the bush to escort me to the Liberation Tiger Immigration and Emigration Complex. I ask for Theepan, the LTTE's

"We are not terrorists or racist-war-mongers. We don't consider the Sinhalese people as our enemies or even as our opponents. We recognise the separate existence of the Sinhala nation. We respect the separate culture of the Sinhalese."

Controller of People's Movements. Mr Theepan arrives (dark, short, curly haired) and I explain the purpose of my visit to Jaffna. To meet Tiger Supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran.

The ride to Jaffna costs Rs. 2,000 and I speed away with a young boy named Suresh on his Honda motor bike. We go through Kokavil and Mankulam to reach Paranthan by 1 a.m. on Saturday 11th January. By 9 a.m. we reach Mutharampetty beach by tractor and then proceed by boat and tractor to Jaffna town. I check in at Subash Hotel on Saturday evening and bid adieu to Suresh.

My mission was successful on Saturday January 26th when I met LTTE chief Prabhakaran. I was taken blindfolded from Kondavil at about 7 a.m. and entered a well guarded bunker at about 8 a.m. The vehicle detoured many times to confuse me.

At first the Tigers chief sounded annoyed. Then he smiled and said: "You are also responsible for what goes in your newspaper as their representative. Tell your Editors and Management that we are angry with their attitude."

"Even after the sacrifice of over 40,000 lives and millions worth in property we find that some opportunistic Sinhala politicians and Buddhist clergy oppose a political solution"

"Not only Thondaman, anyone who wants peace can come from the South and they are welcome. We are not terrorists or racist-war-mongers. We don't consider the Sinhalese people as our enemies or even as our opponents. We recognise the separate existence of the Sinhala nation. We respect the separate culture of the Sinhalese. We don't desire to interfere in any way with the national life of the Sinhalese people or their freedom."

"Economic strangulation is the last resort of a weak enemy. By starving our people it is an attempt to weaken their resistance and determination to fight. Our people have an inexhaustible thirst for liberation and will not yield to the pangs of hunger."

We have opened the doors for peace. Some countries thought we are drunk by war. So we told them will the Sinhala government put forward a reasonable set of proposals to the Tamil people who have been cheated for generations with many pacts, accords and agreements.

Even after the sacrifice of over 40,000 lives and millions worth in property

"If we are given no other option by the Sinhalese military they will be forced to learn the lessons of history which we earlier taught the fourth largest army in the world"

we find that some opportunistic Sinhala politicians and Buddhist clergy oppose a political solution without putting forward proposals of their own. They don't have an alternative solution.

"Sri Lankan military analysts think in the same terms as India did, that we speak from a position of weakness and that they can crush us through military force."

We warn that unless a political settlement is reached under United Nations auspices any large scale invasion of the Jaffna peninsula will, only lead us to close the doors to peace. This would motivate us towards permanent separation, as our main objective in the past was Tamil Eelam.

"If we are given no other option by the Sinhalese military they will be forced to learn the lessons of history which we earlier taught the fourth largest army in the world. Our determination is unshakeable."

Catholic Mission to Jaffna

"We are now in Tiger land" a nun whispered to me

A Catholic delegation comprising the heads of several religious orders including Fr. Alexander of the Blessed Sacrament, Sister Anastasia of the Sisters of Charity, Fr. Noel Dias of the Bethany Community, Bro. Clement of the De La Salle Brothers, and Sr. Josephine of Holy Family Convent, went on a goodwill mission to Jaffna on 21st January. They met the LTTE leaders Anton Balasingham, Mathaya and Yogi, ICRC officials, members of the Citizens' Committee, representatives of several NGOs, academics, clergymen including the Bishop of Jaffna and civilians during their four day stay in the North.

Mr Anton Balasingham informed the delegation that the transformation of the North East into a separate state was inevitable unless a peaceful solution was reached soon. He said "We have already established a police service to maintain law and order and the next step would be to set up a legal system of our own. The LTTE is prepared for discussion with the Government, but the Government has not come up with anything substantial. Some of Mr Thondaman's proposals are constructive and meaningful and offered something concrete to resolve the long drawn national conflict. It is strange that the Sinhalese people have rejected these proposals wholesale. Jaffna is not a forbidden land for the Sinhalese. We invite the Buddhist clergy to visit the North at any time. The journalists should visit Jaffna and see the real situation here."

In this report to Sri Lanka Sunday Times, an eye witness recounts the full story of the four-day visit from January 21 - 24 and the climax of the mission on a dark still night.

"It was a strange experience. My journey to Jaffna, filled with awe and curiosity came my way by a surprise turn of events. It was my first visit to Jaffna. The memories of this journey will linger for a long time.

Landmines, aerial bombings, shellings, mortar attacks, the thought of these shook me a bit. When I decided to go I kept it a secret from my home folks.

The journey began on January 21 at 4.50 a.m. Twelve of us set off in a Delica van. We had our first stop at Anuradhapura for breakfast at the Holy Family Convent, there.

Around noon we reached Vavuniya. We produced the permit issued by the Joint Operations Command in Colombo. The officers who appeared to be cheerful, checked our bags. Then, they sealed the fuel tank of our vehicle. It was a clean quick job.

On the other side of the barrier we could see Colombo-bound lorries parked. Meanwhile the officer who accompanied us took leave of us. With that clearance we entered what is called the No Man's Land. The army camp gradually faded out of our sight. We had covered about 200 to 250 metres, when suddenly we were ordered to stop. A young man, signalled with his finger and ordered one of us to come forward. We tactfully sent a Tamil priest who was among us.

"We are now in Tiger land," a nun whispered to me. Then we saw three to

four youths. They were unarmed. The young Tiger walked up to the van with the priest. He scanned the whole vehicle, the bags, and the people.

He asked in Tamil, "All are new faces, where are you from?" A few yards ahead we saw a motorcycle.

We travelled another 300 metres and came to an LTTE checkpoint. The youths were heavily armed. We were in the thick jungle. Seated on either side of the road were men who seemed to be vendors. They intently observed our movements. "These are their men, informants," the Tamil nun told me.

A little while later we obtained a red card with the Tiger emblem from one of their camps. Surprisingly, they did not rummage our belongings. This was the form throughout the journey, including the encounter with the LTTE theoretician, Anton Balasingham and LTTE's deputy leader, Mahendraraj alias Mahattaya, in their Tiger camps. The Tiger leaders were informed beforehand by the priest in Jaffna about our visit. We were asked to get our permit endorsed by Tigers before we check out of Jaffna.

It is worth telling something of this road. According to people this route was never used before. With the closure of the main road to Elephant Pass people were compelled to trek this route. We chose a tractor for our journey. Then we came to know that the Tigers had prohibited the use of this route after 6.00 p.m.

By now, news of the massive explosion in China Bay had reached us. If it triggered a backlash by troops, we might have been the first victims. Somehow we had to get out of the place. It was not a place for resting either. After a tedious journey we neared the bay.

Carrying our haversacks, we waded nearly 100 metres across the bay till we reached the quarry. From there, we started the two hour journey by boat. It was the most enthralling experience during the journey. As we alighted on the river bank we were confronted by women Tigers. Two of them were earnestly trying to ignite a motor bicycle. While attending to their task they fixed a sharp gaze upon us. As we approached they sped by on their bikes.

From there we went a couple of metres on foot until we spotted the special vehicle that was stationed to pick us. Fr. Chandrakanthan and a nun drove us to the place where we were to spend the night. The males lodged at the Jaffna Cathedral. The nuns were taken to convents. It was past midnight. Only then did we realise that the whole peninsula was without electricity. With the aid of candles and flickering lamps we managed to find our way to the rooms. We enjoyed sound sleep during the remaining hours.

The next day, to start our mission, we met Jaffna's Bishop Theogupillai. We gathered a lot of information from him. He highlighted the human aspect of the conflict and said that lack of basic amenities had aggravated the pathetic situation of the innocent people. He said on several occasions he had written to the President regarding the miserable situation. On the same day we called on the ICRC representative Claudio Baransi.

The next day we decided to see Jaffna with our own eyes. Schools were running at the usual pace. Post offices and banks functions to some extent. The people's common mode of transport seemed to be the bicycle.

Given the price of fuel, people could not have their own vehicles. One litre of petrol fetched between Rs.2,000 and 3,000. Now vehicles run on kerosene. A



Tamil Eelam Police on Parade

few days ago the cost of a litre of kerosene had shot up to Rs. 250 or 300. Now, it is down to Rs. 30 a litre. Vehicles are owned either by the LTTE or some NGO

The Jaffna Fort has become insignificant. Its walls are scattered here and there. Scrubs and creepers clung to them as if to claw them down. Inside, female Tigers were busy. In pairs, they trooped down to the beach carrying gunny bags on sticks placed on their shoulders. A long stretch of sacks covering a height of 6 feet gave protection to them.

The Mandathivu army camp is situated two miles off this strip of ocean. "Do not walk towards the camp in groups, you will be vulnerable to their targets", a priest warned us. Sporadic shelling by the army continued in this area. In here, the Tigers were at large. We hoisted an ICRC flag atop our vehicle.

The Tiger girls were cheerful. They say 'poittuwaren' which is the Tamil equivalent of 'see you later.' One of our brothers posed for a photograph with some women Tigers.

The Jaffna hospital and the surrounding areas have been declared a peace zone by the ICRC. No one is allowed to carry arms into the hospital premises. We saw the wonderful commitment and dedication of the nurses and doctors working amidst a terrible war.

After meeting NGO officials, university dons, we came to the climax of our visit - the encounter with the LTTE leaders. There was tight security. Armed Tigers sauntered around the camp. Anton Balasingham and Mahattaya had already taken their seats when we entered the camp. Discussions continued for more than 11/2 hours. They were cordial. As we were about to set out we met Yogi and Mahattaya who assured us a safe return. On January 24 at 7.00 p.m. we said goodbye to Jaffna. We knew we had a long way to go. Our weariness was overcome by the depth of the experience we had. Our duty done, we know now something good will emerge."

Liberation Tigers respond to observations in Reports by Amnesty & UN Working Group on Disappearances

"Rule of law will be secured in the Tamil homeland"

In a Press Release dated 3 February, the International Secretariat of the LTTE states: "The International Secretariat of the LTTE has taken note of the observations in the Sri Lanka Amnesty Report of September 1991, and in the recent report by the Working Group on Disappearances of United Nations Commission on Human Rights as well as the concerns of some other non governmental organisations, about violations of human rights, in areas within the control of the Sri Lanka government and to a lesser extent in areas within the control of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

In so far as the alleged violations of human rights in areas within the control of the LTTE are concerned, we would like to point out, at the outset, that whilst it is true that the LTTE is in control of territory in the Northeast, the extent and nature of that control is not the same in all parts of the Northeast.

In some areas, the control exercised by the LTTE is not exclusive and in certain areas, control changes from day to night - and sometimes from day to day. Further, even in those areas within the control of the LTTE, the character of the control exercised by a guerrilla organisation, which is in the process of establishing an administrative structure, cannot be equated to the control exercised in a well established state structure, such as Sri Lankan state, in areas within the latter's control.

The reality on the ground is that the lawful armed struggle of the Tamil people is taking place under conditions of unbelievable hardship. On the one hand the Sri Lanka Army seeks to occupy the Tamil homeland by launching offensive operations and planned massacres of civilians, which has assumed genocidal proportions. The Air Force continues with its indiscriminate bombardment.

On the other hand, an economic blockade has been imposed to secure military ends. Again, emergency regulations which prohibit the transport of 'soya based food, sweets and confectionery' to LTTE controlled areas on the ground that such items are 'capable of being used in a manner harmful to national security' have been stringently enforced. The conclusion is inescapable that the Sri Lanka Government is engaged in a determined effort to starve out the Tamil people and bend them to its will.

Well armed Sinhala settlers have been brought into border areas and housed in fortified settlements. Sinhala and Muslim 'Home Guards' have been trained and armed by the Government and function as a para military force.

The attacks by the LTTE on these para military forces and armed settlers are then sometimes falsely described as attacks on 'civilians'. Some Tamil groups are actively engaged along with the Government forces and have been sent to infiltrate the areas within LTTE control and gather intelligence and it has become necessary to apprehend such spies.

However, despite these conditions of hardship, in several areas the LTTE has succeeded in establishing a stable civil administration and helped to provide the necessary infra structure for agriculture, fishing and small scale industrial activities. Education and cultural activities have also been cared for.

Adequate law enforcement machinery has been put in place. Prisons have been established. Prison guards have been recruited. Prisoners will be permitted visits by relatives and by human rights and humanitarian organisations. Prisoners are kept in custody under conditions which accord with both local and international law and they will at all times be treated humanely.

In June last year, a Tamil Eelam Police force started functioning. The Tamil Eelam Police headed by its Chief of Police, Mr. Nadesan, is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the Tamil homeland. The police force includes both men and women. The main office of the Tamil Eelam Police is situated in Jaffna and six other branch police stations, including one at Chunnakam have been established. Complaints made by individuals are investigated and action taken according to law. Traffic control is one of the routine functions of the police force.

The rule of law will be secured in the Tamil homeland. The LTTE has taken steps to ensure that the fundamental principles of natural justice are followed in all matters relating to punishment. Permanent courts and tribunals for administering justice are in the process of being set up. Persons arrested for committing a crime will be entitled to a fair trial in accordance with international legal standards.

In 1988, the LTTE pledged to abide by the Geneva Conventions relating to armed conflict, and its Additional Protocols. The LTTE is mindful of its obligations as a combatant in an armed conflict which has won recognition in international law and the LTTE does recognise the importance of acting, at all times, in accordance with the humanitarian law of armed conflict. It has taken care to instruct its cadres accordingly and breaches in this regard are inquired into and suitable punishment meted out.

Sri Lanka spent 16.7 billion rupees on defence in 1991 says US Professor

According to a study done by Prof. Richardson of the American University in Washington DC, a conservative estimate of the total economic cost of the conflict in Sri Lanka from 1983 to 1987 is about 144.3 billion rupees (4.4 billion US dollars). In 1981 the Sri Lankan Govts' defence expenditure was only 1.1 billion rupees which is 1.6 per cent of the GDP and 2.9 per cent of the Govt. expenditure, whereas the combined expenditure on health and education was 2.9 billion rupees which is 3.7 per cent of the GDP and 9.9 per cent of the Govt. expenditure.

By 1991 however defence expenditure had shot up to Rs 16.7 billion claiming 5.5 per cent of the GDP and 20 per cent of the Govt. expenditure. The expenditure on health and education in 1990 amounted to 11.8 billion rupees ie 4.1 per cent of the GDP and 11.8 per cent of the Govt. expenditure.

Some of it on Dud Tanks?

In the meantime, it was recently reported that Sri Lanka has spent valuable foreign exchange on buying dud tanks. Several of the Warsaw Pact battle tanks purchased by the Sri Lankan Army at a cost of 80,000 US dollars each, have been found to be defective and cannot be used for operations!

Amnesty accuses British companies of trading in terror equipment

According to a report released on January 15th by Amnesty International entitled "Repression Trade UK Ltd.", British companies have been accused of trading in terror equipment and expertise, thus assisting many peoples of the world towards violating human rights. The report cites many instances of British firms exporting equipment such as leg irons, electronic horror chambers and gallows and highlights how armed opposition groups around the world have been trained by British forces in mine laying and other techniques.

From the Battlefield

On 10th January, Tigers sailed across the lagoon, landed on the far end of the Pannalai causeway, attacked a navy bunker killing eight Navy personnel and wounding six.

On 16th January, the Tigers ambushed a Sri Lankan army unit moving out of the Nanattau camp and killed nine soldiers.

On 22nd January twenty soldiers on a foot patrol were wiped out by a large force of Tigers at Kuchchaveli. Five were seriously wounded. The Tigers blasted a Navy dinghy patrolling the Elephant Pass lagoon killing three Navy personnel and a soldier. Over 30 Sri Lankan soldiers died in Amparai District on 26th January as a result of a land mine explosion.

On 29th January, a group of between 50 to 75 Tigers ambushed a road clearing patrol at Sinhapura in the Welikanda area and killed 13 soldiers. Eight soldiers were wounded. Three more soldiers were killed in an LTTE ambush at Katupotha on the Anuradhapura-Mannar border.

On 1st February, seven Sri Lankan soldiers were killed when a large group of Tigers attacked army forward defence lines at Vankalai in Mannar.

On 8th February, two TELO members were killed in a fire fight with the LTTE at Arapattai, south of Batticaloa.

On 21st January, at 11 a.m. a massive explosion at the Air Force base in China Bay in Trincomalee, shook the entire area and the report was heard several miles away. Over 100, fifty kilogram bombs exploded causing extensive damage. Twenty-five buildings in the China Bay complex were destroyed beyond repair, including the armoury building, Telecom, Power House and Water Works buildings.

The full extent of the death toll is not known but many people including several armed service personnel may have died. It is thought that several bodies may be buried beneath the debris of the destroyed buildings. One Bell helicopter was destroyed and another one damaged beyond repair and seven aeroplanes were either completely destroyed or damaged beyond repair. Foreign reporters who had assembled in Trincomalee to cover the story of the 614 refugees returning from Tamil Nadu were not allowed to visit and photograph the site of the explosion. They were warned by the Sri Lankan authorities that if they ventured near the site of the explosion, they would be detained and prevented from leaving Trincomalee.

On 10th February, in the very early hours the Tigers attacked six Sri Lankan Army Defence Fortifications spread around the Mullaitivu District killing eleven Sri Lankan soldiers, including one commander, and seriously wounding 15 others.

On 15th February, a 72 hour curfew in the Jaffna peninsula was clamped down by the Sri Lankan Armed Forces from 6 a.m. on Saturday to 6 a.m. on Tuesday the 18th. According to a military official at the Joint Operations Command there was a possibility of the curfew being extended at the end of this period.

GOGGLES

by C.P. Goliard

The Assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Rajiv Gandhi

The recently released Oliver Stone's new movie 'JFK', starring Kevin Costner had rekindled the suspicions American public had entertained for almost 28 years that the true story behind President John F. Kennedy's assassination is yet to be told.

This movie is based on the book, 'On the trail of the assassins', authored by Jim Garrison, who served as the District Attorney of New Orleans from 1962 to 1974. While reading this book, I was surprised, I was surprised by the many parallels between the assassinations of Kennedy and Rajiv Gandhi. Let me list some of them.

(1) At death, John F. Kennedy was the President of the USA. Rajiv had served one term as the prime minister of India and was awaiting a favourable election verdict to regain that position.

(2) Both Kennedy and Rajiv were 46 years old, at the time of their tragic deaths.

(3) Both died in one of the southern states of their countries. Kennedy, in Dallas, Texas; Rajiv, in Sri Perumbudur, Tamil Nadu.

(4) Reason for the visit to the southern states: Kennedy went to Texas, to prepare for his 1964 re-election. Rajiv was in Tamil Nadu, to campaign for the 1991 general election, to be re-elected as the prime minister.

Sinhala lion wakes up - yet again?

Gamini Jayasuriya, former Sri Lankan UNP Cabinet Minister in an interview to the BBC World Service broadcast on 22nd January said "When the Sinhala Arakshaka Sanvidanaya was formed, the sleeping Sinhalese lion woke up and it won't be easy to tame that lion."

Eleven years ago, in July 1981, Mr. W.J.M. Lokubandara, UNP M.P. declared in Sri Lanka's Parliament: "It would be advisable for the Tamils not to disturb the sleeping Sinhala brother. Everybody knows that lions when disturbed are not peaceful."

It seems that Sinhala chauvinism is running short of belligerent metaphors and has taken to repeating itself. In the meantime, not to be outdone by the UNP in the chauvinism stakes, an organisation called the "Hela Urumaya" (National Heritage) has emerged from within the SLFP. The Hela Urumaya has been launched according to it to "focus attention on the threat posed to the Sinhalese by Mr Thondaman whose aim is to coerce the political parties to accept his proposals on the strength of the power of the minority vote".

(5) Both suffered instant deaths; Kennedy, due to gun-shot wounds; Rajiv, due to bomb-blast.

(6) Kennedy's assassin was a 24-year old male, who was shot to death in an unexpected fashion inside the Dallas police station within 48 hours of his victim's death. Details about Rajiv's assassin, a female, is sketchy. Her age has been noted as "24 years", and she met instant death like that of her victims.

(7) Because the assassins did not survive longer, the attention was focused onto the person with "secrets". In the case of Kennedy, it was Jack Ruby, whose real name was Jacob Rubenstein.

He was seen close to the location of crime (eye witness evidence) and on Nov 24 1963 (two days after the assassination of Kennedy), Ruby shot and killed Kennedy's assassin. According to official records, Ruby dies as a prisoner on Jan 3 1967, due to "prostrate cancer". In Rajiv's assassination, the person with "secrets" was one "Sivarajan", whose real name has been traced by one journalist as Packiyachandran. He was also seen at the location of crime (photo evidence). According to the Indian police personnel, he committed suicide on Aug 20, 1991.

(8) The relationship of Jack Ruby with Mafia and Federal Bureau of Intelligence (FBI) has been probed from surviving documents. "Sivarajan", who had been identified as the member of TELO till 1986, would have had contacts with the Indian intelligence agencies. This lead has not been pursued in detail yet.

(9) The Warren Commission which investigated the murder of Kennedy concluded that a lone gunman Lee Harvey Oswald killed the president. The federal institutions (military establishment, FBI and CIA) and the mafia were exonerated from the conspiracy. But the American public distrust this conclusion. In the case of Rajiv's assassination, the Indian press and the investigating agencies (CBI, SIT and RAW) have alleged LTTE's involvement. However,

"the politicians, bureaucrats, academics and semi-official journalists who represent India's political status quo" (according to Steve Coll, in the International Herald Tribune of June 15, 1991) believe that "the CIA agents probably organized the plot to kill the former prime minister".

We should note that at least in the case of John F. Kennedy's assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, so much personal information is known now. But, how about the female assassin of Rajiv Gandhi? Nine months have passed since May 21 of last year, yet nothing is known about her. The Indian press has given her a name, "Dhanu". And the Dec 15 1991 issue of the 'India Today', reported that the Special Investigation Team (SIT) had located 'letter leads' which 'would prove that the assassination was ordered by Pirabhakaran'. According to this news report, which was unashamedly republished by the 'Tamil Times' later, "Dhanu, wrote to Pirabhakaran on May 10, 1991, from the LTTE's Kodungaiyur hide-out. Thanking Pirabhakaran for entrusting her with the important task".

The humour in the "letter lead" is that, the SIT and other Indian sleuths have yet to identify who this "Dhanu" is. When was she born? Where was she born? Where did she live? Who are her kith and kin? Was she unmarried, married, divorced, separated? Nothing is known yet. She is not in the police files of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka.

Without knowing answers to all these vital questions, how did the SIT identify the purported letter the assassin has written as really an authentic one? To prove the veracity of this letter, they should first have in their hands other written documents which pre-date this purported May 10 letter. The SIT has not revealed how and where they obtained these authenticating documents, without identifying the person. If they truly succeeded in doing this, certainly the Indian sleuths can even bring Rajiv Gandhi back to life.

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Trouble brewing in the Thotams



There's trouble brewing in the hills. Arrests... disappearances... road blocks... checkpoints... search operations... the spectre of LTTE infiltration and looming trade union action.

Police commandos have been placed under the DIG of the Uva Province to track down the killers of the estate superintendent and police constable in the recent million rupee payroll robbery.

A conference of all senior police officers in the Uva and adjacent regions was summoned recently by the Joint Operations Command to discuss the security situation in the central hills.

In the east, the Special Task Force has blocked all entry points to the region from the highlands in case the armed gang which snatched the estate payroll tries to escape in that direction.

Tension is mounting, say trade union workers with an ear to the ground. Not so, say the authorities.

S. Thondaman, the towering CWC leader, who controls the destiny of an influential number of estate Tamils is away in India. Meanwhile Indian firms prepare to take over the management of state-owned estates dozens of which have been allocated for takeover by 22 private companies under the government's proposed privatisation scheme.

At the same time a proposal to create condominiums for the estate Tamils who have been living in line rooms all their lives has run into stiff opposition despite the idea's merits.

The recent discovery of an underground arms cache on an estate (where it was said that 20 automatics were removed just before the police raid) and reports of estate Tamil youth receiving arms training are seen by intelligence officers as the first faint tick...tick...tick... of a time bomb waiting to explode is not defused soon.

Arrests, disappearances and harassment of plantation workers began long before the payroll robbery, according to representatives of trade unions which have some following on the tea estates. Since the robbery 59 people (including five women) almost all Tamils, have been detained. One person is reported missing.

The unions protested because they found it hard to continue membership recruitment under the circumstances. Labourers were scared and reluctant to organise and attend meetings, trade union activists have complained of being followed and kept under surveillance.

But they were told arrests were being made because of reports of LTTE infiltration of the estates, the significance of which cannot be lost on anyone consid-

ering the island's degree of dependence on tea export earnings.

Warns Dr Sunil Ratnapriya, the co-ordinator of the Joint Committee of Plantation Sector Associations which held its first meeting on December 9: "This has now created a terror situation which if not properly handled will ultimately lead to a Jaffna type situation!"

But the reports of rising tension in the hills were dismissed by a senior police

Tamil youth rounded up in Uva Province

Following the attack that took place at Ella in the Uva Province on 10th January which led to the killing of an estate superintendent and a policeman and the theft of 1.6 million rupees, police commandos swooped down on several areas in the province and arrested several residents. Many plantations were raided and a large number of estate youths were arrested. People from several villages in the province began to take refuge in the jungle as a result of this police action.

officer in the region who explained that the new security measures like road blocks and searches were introduced as a deterrence.

He glossed over the tremors of subterranean LTTE activity in the hills. LTTE suspects who were arrested in connection with the arms cache were still being held while others taken into custody were released after questioning, he added.

According to those with some knowledge of the plantations the possibility of LTTE infiltration of the tea estates is confined mostly to the Uva areas where the CWC's giant, Thondaman is said to be weakest.

In any case the CWC controls only 23 per cent of the total hill country estate workforce. The CWC stands so tall because the other unions are divided.

That may not be true for long. Jolted by the sudden threat of privatization hanging over their heads like the Sword of Damocles, and what is widely perceived as the accompanying large scale retrenchment, these unions are contemplating joint action against the common enemy.

Activists trying to shape a force against privatization are trying to get together 15 trade unions among which are the United Plantations Services Union, the

United Workers Union, the Ceylon Estate Staff Union, the East Estate Services Union and the Lanka Jathika Eksath Workers Union.

The main fear is that of retrenchment. The unions estimate that some 40 per cent of the 4,000 people in the staff grades will be laid off after being declared as excess staff. Apparently, lists of such people are already being prepared.

An estimated 200,000 of the one million labourers may also lose their jobs, according to the unions.

The other main issue is the proposed condominium system mooted by Thondaman. Under this scheme estate labourers will be given land outside the estates and will live in their own villages.

One the face of it, the proposal has its merits. The workers will own their land and be free of bonded labour.

But in actual fact, say the unions, the estates will then be free of any obligations to the labourers such as the provision of health and school facilities which they have to do now.

The security of the Tamil workers is another problem. On the line rooms, inside the estates they were at least safe. Out in the proposed condominiums, they would be exposed to attack in any sort of communal conflagration.

A related problem would be the hostility of up-country Sinhalese peasants to the grant of land to the estate Tamils. At issue is the government's stand that privatization will make the estates more efficient and profitable.

The trade unions argue that the same goals could be achieved by giving more autonomy to estates and de-centralizing decision making (including finance) and employing more professionals to resolve management inefficiency, and better dialogue and collective agreements with the union. (Courtesy: Sri Lanka Island)

Colombo bans Indian tea firms

A sustained campaign against allowing India into the Sri Lankan tea industry has forced the Sri Lanka Government to back track on its earlier open policy and restrict management of tea estates to Sri Lankan firms. All the large Indian tea companies had expressed interest in running Sri Lankan estates and put in bids. Many of these companies reportedly passed the initial pre qualification screening but were not invited to bid for the contracts. It is felt that the backlash against Indian participation could have repercussions in the context of the Government's commitment to the World Bank and the IMF to privatise Government ventures and throw the economy open to foreign capital. (Hindu, 23 February)

Tigers looking westwards?

India has formally sought to seal the political future of Velupillai Prabhakaran. The decision of the special court set up under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act in Madras, unequivocally reflects, apart from the natural course of law, a political decision. Although the court order does not mention specific charges against the Tiger leader, it has said that he has been declared an offender under the TADA.

Whether the prosecution would be able to establish and secure a verdict that Prabhakaran was directly involved in the case is not the question.

What will Court Order's impact be on the idea entertained thus far by the government that the LTTE has to be a partner to a peace in the north area? India can now officially object to any move by Colombo to bring Prabhakaran into a peace process.

Therefore it is clear that in the future any revival of its role as co-guarantor of peace for the Tamils in the North and East, India will have to essentially include a project to apprehend or terminate Prabhakaran; and as long as the LTTE remains a powerful armed group in the north and east India will have to turn a blind eye to what it used to call "the legitimate political aspirations of the Tamil people."

"The politics of the Tamil refugee populations in the western donor countries will determine the success of India's objective of terminating Prabhakaran's career as the leader of the most powerful Tamil group in this part of the world"

Delhi's unequivocal stand, as reflected in the SIT's position, on the political future of Prabhakaran, will no doubt give additional clout to the final objective of the security forces.

The problem however for, both India as well as Sri Lanka is this. As long as the LTTE is able to retain its manpower and fire power and assert itself as a central and dominant force, even after being reduced to a guerrilla organization, pressure can emanate from the west to consider the LTTE despite Prabhakaran's - status vis a vis India - as a necessary partner to any negotiated settlement.

The LTTE lobbies in the west will step up their propaganda among the expatriate Tamil population and their governments that India cannot perform its legal role as co-guarantor of peace under the terms of the Indo-Lanka accord. The LTTE on the other hand will try its best to convince that section of the Tamils in Jaffna who still believe India will come to their rescue, that the Tamils have to look to other countries other than India to find peace.

The current trend in the LTTE which is fast becoming the dominant one, is to play up the role of donor countries where there are sizeable Tamil expatriate communities, in brokering peace in Sri Lanka. The propaganda and ideological network that India crushed with great vehemence in Tamil Nadu is being rapidly and effectively rebuilt in the west. Even a brief survey of the pro-LTTE or pro-Tamil liberation tabloids and magazines will reveal the geo-political dimensions of this trend.

The World Tamil Movement of the LTTE based in Canada has taken upon itself the Pan-Tamil cultural political crusade. Prabhakaran's man in Tamil Nadu, and secessionist leader Nedumaran was invited by them to Canada to address meetings, which were held in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Winnipeg and several other places.

On January 2 - according to a report in a Canadian Tamil fortnightly - Balasingham speaking at a meeting in Kurunagar Jaffna had said "the world is unable to recognize our right of self determination because India is against it. There are Tamil people living in 54 countries of the world. We have their support". How will the west respond?

The LTTE knows that a Tamil refugee exodus to the donor countries will increase the diplomatic, political and moral leverage of those countries in the Sri Lankan conflict.

It has to see that it remains and presents itself as a necessary factor in any resolution of the conflict. India, it is quite clear will use the court's ruling to deny the LTTE the political legitimacy it needs to play such a role. It remains to be seen whether it can negate the legitimacy that the LTTE is now bound to seek through the Tamil refugee populations in western donor countries. The politics of the Tamil refugee populations in the western donor countries will determine the success of India's objective of terminating Prabhakaran's career as the leader of the most powerful Tamil group in this part of the world. (Courtesy: Taraki, Sunday Island)

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Release Sivanayagam Fund



On the 1st of March 1992, Mr. S. Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation entered his 225th day of incarceration, without trial, in an Indian jail. A Release Sivanayagam Fund to help defray the legal and other expenses connected with the campaign to release Mr. Sivanayagam was launched by Tamil Forum Ltd in October 1991. Contributions drawn in favour of Release Sivanayagam Fund may be sent to Dr. Rajan Namasivayam, P.O. Box 373, Croydon, Surrey CR9 6AB, United Kingdom. Each contribution will be individually and gratefully acknowledged.

Sivanayagam incarceration without trial enters 225th day

Ajit Samaranayake writing in the Sri Lanka Sunday Island says

"His detention cannot enhance the reputation of the Indian Government - he should be released"

The man who masterminded the Tamil propaganda thrust into the world in the wake of the anti Tamil riots of July 1983 has been languishing in an Indian jail for six months now. S. Sivanayagam founder editor of the Saturday Review, Jaffna, Editor in Chief of the Tamil Information Centre from 1983 to 1987 and founder editor of the Tamil Nation is sixty and a diabetic. Yet he has been held incommunicado in the jail at Vellore since July last year. Every two weeks he is brought manacled to the Saidepet Magistrates Court and taken back. His wife and two children have no access to him.

Subramaniam Sivanayagam, Siva to all his friends, is the most notable victim of the Indian Government's attitude towards Sri Lankan Tamils in Madras after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Whilst many Tamil activists went under ground, Siva was there as a sitting duck. He was back in his element editing the Tamil Nation after a period of inactivity after the Indo Sri Lanka Agreement. So they swooped on him at his modest flat in Besant Nagar and took him away. They charged him with overstaying his visa and illegally publishing a newspaper among other things.

It is not as if either the officials of the Tamil Nadu State Government or the Indian Union Government were previously unaware of Sivanayagam's activities. Since September 1983, he had been bombarding the world with Tamil propaganda literature, first from Mahalingapuram and then Besant Nagar, a pleasant suburb of Madras with large leafy trees and residential avenues. Visiting journalists, both Sri Lanka and foreign never failed to make the pilgrimage to Besant Nagar to swap notes with him. All this he did with or without a visa and all this was public knowledge for eight long years while the war dragged on in the Northeast of Sri Lanka and the diplomatic propaganda battle was fought in the chancelleries and tribunals of the world.

It is not necessary to agree with Sivanayagam's views to tell the Indian Government that all the offences he is charged with are bailable offences and that a 60 year old journalist is hardly threat enough to the Indian Union to be manacled to criminals in the Vellore Jail and be kept cut away from his emotional and intellectual sources of sustenance. Sivanayagam can be charged or even deported but it is hardly humanitarian for the Indian Government to treat like a criminal.

In a commemoration volume to K. Kanthasamy, the organiser of the Tamil Information Centres in Madras and London and founder of Saturday Review who disappeared

in June 1988, Siva wrote about his own involvement in the Tamil cause:

"I was hardly seven months in my new job at the Colombo Plan Office when I had a message that Mr. Kanthasamy wanted to meet me on a matter of urgency. A man of few words, he came to the point straight away: the Tamil people cannot go on without an English language newspaper to articulate their grievances. Even the burning of the Jaffna Library was suppressed by the Colombo papers. Our issue had to be internationalised, he said. Would I accept the responsibility and the risk of editing such a paper? It was also necessary that such a paper should have its physical roots in Tamil soil if we are to reflect authentically the heart beats of the people whose cause it was meant to espouse. Having crossed a life time of fifty years in which quick decisions were my forte, and with a history of three resignations to my credit, this was one of the quickest decisions I made. It also meant my moving back to Jaffna after a near 30 year work spell in Colombo. I was happy to go back to my roots. I was getting sick of Colombo anyway..."

Two of those three resignations would have been from the Times of Ceylon and the Ceylon Tourist Board where he was the Editor of its publications. In fact it was then that I first met Siva as a reporter on the Observer, covering a Tourist Board press conference to introduce some Scandinavian tour promoters at the Hotel Intercontinental somewhere in 1976. It was twilight of the United FRONT Government and we talked of many things but hardly about the Tamil problem as I recall. Siva was very much the Jaffna Tamil long domiciled in Colombo and quite at home in media and official circles in the capital. The LTTE was still in the womb and it was almost possible to imagine that all was right with the world.

But when I met Sivanayagam in Madras in October 1987, we had both left behind long ago that insular little world. He had pulled up his roots, gone to Jaffna and begun the Saturday Review which had a spectacular effect on the petrified media world. His hard hitting editorials from Chapel Street, Jaffna had a volcanic effect on the media world in Colombo. Then in July 1983 like many others he was compelled to flee across the Palk Straits. In September he resumed his collaboration with Kanthasamy at the Tamil Information Centre.

In October 1987, however, Siva was dismantling the Centre in the wake of the Indo Sri Lanka agreement, at the Besant Nagar office they were packing the stuff into large boxes and removing the posters from the walls. Siva was undecided what

to do, whether to remain in Madras, return to Sri Lanka or go to London. Meanwhile he was listening to cricket commentaries on a transistor, I forgot the match. During the course of a long, drowsy Madras afternoon, he talked to me about his days as a young journalist at Lake House and the Times, his boarding house at Wellawatte, getting up late after a late night's work, a beer at noon at the Savoy Hotel, the leisurely ride on the top of the double decker to Lake House for another late night's work as a sub editor. Here was a man displaced from familiar sights and settings, looking back with profound nostalgia to his days of innocence and a world irrevocably extinguished by forces which the human heart has no control over. These familiar images had been displaced long ago by gunfire. But he was human enough to pine for them.

At 60, S. Sivanayagam is a journalist with an international reputation and whatever his views (which are held passionately) a man whom both Sri Lanka and India can be proud of. His detention cannot enhance the reputation of the Indian Government. He should be released.

Peace Offensive by the LTTE

A voluntary organisation from Norway visited Jaffna in the second week of February. In their talks with LTTE leaders, Anton Balesinghau and Mathaya (Mabendarajah) expressed their support for Mr Thondaman's proposals.

The LTTE also had talks with Quaker Peace Organisation which visited Jaffna on February 13th and told them that they would extend an invitation to the Parliamentary Select Committee and hold talks with them in an effort to find a solution to the National question.

Democracy, Sri Lankan Style

One time National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali has complained that the Sri Lankan Government is conducting covert surveillance operations on him and the other UNP dissidents, by making use of a surveillance team lead by a senior National Intelligence Bureau officer who is an intelligence specialist on the LTTE. Lalith would know would'nt he?

Now, Tell me Something ...

Minister Thondaman has reiterated that the peace proposal was his own idea. But he would not travel to the Jaffna Peninsula even though the LTTE had invited him to visit the Peninsula and get some first hand knowledge.

Friends of Colombo in Paris have decided to give foreign aid to Sri Lanka, though this will be for a lesser amount than in the previous year.

The Sri Lankan military has stepped up their attack on the peninsula not towards a just peace, but towards a military solution. Jaffna is under curfew!

Sinhala parties and Buddhist organisations have called for an uprising against the Thondaman proposals.

Even the governing UNP (with whom Mr. Thondaman's CWC has always been bed mates in Sri Lankan politics) has distanced itself from his Peace Proposals.

Now, would somebody or other please tell me...

Did Mr. Thondaman knowingly play his part in a make-believe peace scenario to win the confidence and the subsequent foreign Aid of the Friends of Colombo? Was he the stethoscope of the Premadasa government to check the pulse of the LTTE and, of course the other Sinhala parties and Buddhist organisations - to carry out the real peace process should the attempt to find a military solution fail?

Also, please tell me something now...

Or... did Mr. Thondaman unknowingly play his part in the peace farce and did President Premadasa by distancing himself from the peace proposals throw Mr. Thondaman to the wolves of Sinhala chauvinism?

Did President Premadasa seek to down grade CWC influence in the Sri Lankan political frame, and make Mr. Thondaman even more dependent on President Premadasa for his survival rather than the other way about?

Oh! do tell me please....

Bala, Germany

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London Seminar calls upon Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers to express their willingness to

- accept mediation in the conflict
- enter into an internationally guaranteed accord to establish an associative structure

Around 160 persons participated in the whole-day London Seminar, Towards a Just Peace, convened by the International Federation of Tamils on 15 February at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

The Seminar was opened by Mr.P.Nedumaran, the leader of the Tamil National Movement and Organiser of the Tamil Eelam Supporters Coordinating Committee in Tamil Nadu.

Dr.N.Satchithanandan, General Secretary of the Federation of Tamil Associations of the United Kingdom delivered the key note address.

The seminar examined the issues that confronted the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam and the steps to be taken to secure a just peace in the island of Sri Lanka. 18 papers were presented and around two and a half hours were devoted to a panel discussion.

The Seminar concluded that the subjective political consciousness of the Tamils taken together with their objective conditions of existence in Tamil Eelam, including in particular their relationship to a defined historical territory, constituted them a 'people'.

It was felt that as a 'people' they were entitled to be free of domination by any other people and that they were entitled to assert their right to self determination. The Seminar took the view that a people are entitled, in law and in justice, to resort to an armed struggle to free themselves from a continuing and oppressive domination by another people and recognised that the armed struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam was both lawful and just.

The morning session of the Seminar was chaired by Dr.N.Satchithanandan and the afternoon session by Mr.Arjuna Sittampalam. Mr.A.C.Shanthan and a team of helpers from the IFT were responsible for the Seminar arrangements.

The paper presenters were Mr.S.J.-Fatimaharan, Mr.P.Sangaravelu, Professor Kopan Mahadeva, Dr.S.Jegarajah, Dr.Shanmugadasan and Mr.Eduardo Marino. The Discussants were Mr.C.Sithamparapillai, Mr.W.S.Rajagopal, Mr.M.Nemianathan, Mr.P.Shanthikumar, and Miss.E.P.Mann.

Mr.Nadesan Satyendra functioned as Seminar Chairman and chaired the Panel Discussions. The panelists included Mr.P.Nagulesan, Mr.S.Ramachandran, Mr.K.Kuhachandran and Mr.James Karunakaran.



Towards a Just Peace

Seminar Conclusion

This London Seminar convened by the International Federation of Tamils in association with the Bolton Tamil Association, The Essex and London Eelam Tamil Association, the Federation of Tamil Associations of the United Kingdom, the International Tamil Foundation, the London Tamil Forum, the Tamil Refugee Action Group, the Tamil Refugee Housing Association and the Walthamstow Tamil Sangam

Recognising that a people have the right to be free of domination by another people;

Recognising that the right of self determination of a people is a peremptory norm of the law of nations;

Recognising that the subjective political consciousness of the Tamils taken together with their objective conditions of existence in Tamil Eelam, including in particular their relationship to a defined historical territory, constitutes them a 'people';

Recognising that the people of Tamil Eelam have the right to self determination and the right to freely choose their political status, including the right to freely associate with or disassociate from, other people;

Recognising that a people are entitled, in law and in justice, to resort to an armed struggle to free themselves from a continuing and oppressive domination by another people and recognising that the armed struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is lawful and just;

Recognising the desire of the people of Tamil Eelam for peace and believing that justice and peace are inseparable;

Recognising the emergence, today, of many long subjugated peoples into a new world order of free and equal nations; and

Being determined to respond to the challenge of history in forging a peaceful future for the Tamil and Sinhala peoples in the island of Sri Lanka

Calls upon the two parties to the conflict, the Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

1. to express their willingness to accept mediation in the conflict between them and to agree upon a mutually acceptable neutral mediator

2. to express their willingness to commence negotiations with a view to entering into an internationally guaranteed accord to establish an associative structure within which the Sinhala people and the Tamil people may live in peace and in freedom.



Mr.P.Nedumaran, leader of Tamil National Movement opening the Seminar by lighting the traditional lamp. Right alongside: Mrs. M.Sriskandarajah at the opening, singing "Chirudai Senthamil Mahal Valeer....."



Keynote address by Dr.N.Satchithanandan

Dr. N. Satchithanandan, delivering the key note address at the Seminar said: "There seems to be some confusion as to whether we Tamils are serious about peace in Sri Lanka. This is indeed surprising, in view of the fact that it is common knowledge that it is we who suffer most and there is a persistent assault on the Tamil people by Sri Lankan government to preserve Sinhala Buddhist hegemony in that Island of ours.



It is when this brutality of state terrorism became intolerable that the law abiding Tamils who encouraged their sons and daughters to a life of industry, education, and civic consciousness turned on them to take up arms to defend their territory their right and their honour. The Tamils of the island of Sri Lanka are one of the most literate groupings in the world. The armed struggle of the eighties and all its manifestations symbolise the will and determination of a law abiding patient and industrious people.

The western democracies seem to buy every propaganda that comes out of Sri Lankan government. I often wonder whether this is because of their predilection to tea and cricket? They host, employ and listen to the English educated so called liberal minded Sinhalese. I had the privilege of listening to one of them in one of the most august of places in Oslo last year. He was sponsored and sent by one of the most respected institutions in the Western world to report on the internal conflict in Sri Lanka. I watched with horror the presentation of his report to an awaiting audience of western intellectuals. It was like a trade exhibition counter for the Sri Lankan government. A year has elapsed. The horror is still in place in Sri Lanka, and the good old liberal English educated Sinhala gentleman is now serving as the Ambassador to government of Sri Lanka.

Indiscriminate bombing irrespective of civilian areas is the order of the day. The economic blockade conducted in the north eastern parts of Sri Lanka is so extensive and inhumane. Medical supplies are denied to the sick and the suffering. Water, electricity transport and everything else that is conducive to normal living is denied. This was what Hitler attempted during the second world war and in the language of Churchill the Sri Lankan government misreads the will and resolve of our people. Peace relieves us of this immense suffering and we do thirst for a just and durable peace. It does not need much intelligence to know this. It is equally important to know that we are prepared to struggle and suffer until we reach that just and durable peace.

The alternative to a just peace is Hell. We know this by experience, we have had forty years of it in successive pogroms unleashed on us during the days we defenceless. The Tamil people cannot now, and will never in the future, be able to trust their security with a majority Sinhala Government.... disarming ourselves is not an alternative. We will resist it with all determination we can muster. Any peace proposals which lays a precondition that we should disarm is not on. Even turkeys won't vote for a Christmas. Having suffered as we have, it is not an option that we will entertain. Our arms are our shield against tyranny.

We believe that our carrying arms will be the deterrent to future conflict in Sri Lanka. Is this not common sense?! Two strong armies generally do not go to war they say. Is this not the intellectual foundation on which detente is based? Any meaningful peace proposal cannot escape this fundamental argument.

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At the London Seminar: Towards a Just Peace...



Mr. Arujna Sittampalam, International Tamil Foundation, chairing the afternoon session of the Seminar: "The 'international community' is not a monolithic structure. There is a need for us to pay attention to the different segments of that community."



Mr. C. Sithamparapillai, Chairman, Tamil Refugee Action Group discussing the paper on the Tamil Right to Self Determination: "When a social group characterised by distinct objective elements such as a common language and a common struggle, acquires subjective elements such as a sense of solidarity, of sameness or oneness and has a relationship to a defined territory, such a group clearly constitutes a people and is entitled to self determination. In Sri Lanka, the inhabitants in the Northern and Eastern provinces are united by a number of objective factors such as the Tamil language, a common past in which they shared a struggle against assimilation by successive Sinhala governments. They are also united by their shared aspirations to freedom and independence, which was manifested in the 1977 general election, and is also proven by the support enjoyed by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam which is committed to the Tamils' right to self determination."



Mr. M. Neminathan discussing the paper on 'Tamil Eelam - A Reversion to Sovereignty': "Apart from the Tamil right to self determination on the ground that they constitute a 'people', the formulation of Tamil Eelam may also be justified in international law under the concept of reversion of sovereignty. The Northeast coincides with the historic boundaries of the Tamil kingdom prior to the advent of the Portuguese. The authochthonous 1972 Sri Lanka constitution broke the legal continuity with the past and resuscitated the Tamil sovereignty which had lain dormant."



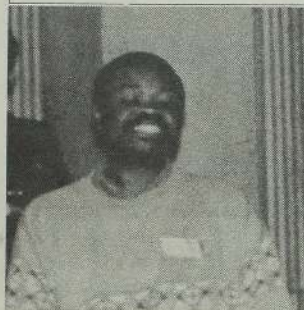
Mr. P. Shanthikumar, Walhamstow Tamil Sangam discussing the paper on "The Legitimacy of the Armed Struggle of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam": "The armed struggle of the Tamil people is both just and lawful because the rule of law for the Tamil people had ceased to exist; because the Government of Sri Lanka had become a racist government; and because the oppressed people of that racist government were compelled to resort to arms to defend themselves against that oppression. Based on reason and international law, and coupled with the absence of any internal or external machinery to realise the Tamil right to self determination, the Tamil resistance evolved from peaceful agitation to armed struggle."



Mr. S. J. Fatimaharan, Tamil Refugee Training & Employment Centre presenting the paper on 'Eelam Tamils - Nation or Ethnic Minority' in Tamil: "The Tamil identity in Eelam is not simply an ethnic identity. Where a people have been oppressed and their cultural identity made relevant to the way in which power is distributed and exercised in a polity of which they were a part, that ethnic group acquires a political consciousness, and in the context of a relationship with a traditional homeland, this political consciousness grows into a national consciousness".



Mr. Eduardo Marino, Independent Field Researcher & Campaigner on War and Human Rights, presenting his paper on 'The Armed Component of the Conflict in Sri Lanka': "The armed struggle of the Tamil people is lawful. At the same time it is important that the armed struggle is carried out in a lawful manner. Apart from anything else, in this way, you will reduce the number of your enemies"



Mr. Kiwisi, (picture on left) from the African Refugee Housing Association: "I have come to express my solidarity with your struggle. In the end, a struggle for liberation must be won by the people themselves. This is the lesson of Zim-

bwe, Namibia, Algeria and Eritrea. Self determination in Croatia is one thing. But self determination of the Tamil people is another. It is all a question of the 'interest' that the 'international community' has in the struggle, whether economic or otherwise. Do not rely too much on the 'international community'. It is only in nursery stories and children's fables that you can cross a river on the back of a crocodile."

Miss E. P. Mann, Tamil Refugee Action Group, presenting the paper on "Ceasefire and the Peace Process": "The terms of a ceasefire cannot be dealt with in isolation. It is important to secure that the ceasefire does not result in either covertly or overtly weakening the liberation movement. Any realistic person must recognise that neither side is going to be willing to give up at the conference table what it was not willing to give up in the battle field. The best agreements are those in which every body has a stake in maintaining. No one can ask the other side to agree to a political settlement that leads to its destruction."



"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."

Velupillai Prabhakaran, Leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam



Mr. P. Sangaravelu, presenting his paper on "Muslims in the North-East": "The Muslims in the Northeast constitute a distinct ethnic group with a religious identity. Their fundamental rights as a minority ethnic group will be protected and secured in Tamil Eelam."



Professor Kopan Mahadeva, presenting his paper on "Towards a Lasting Peace": "Under today's circumstances, an acceptable model would be of two autonomous states, one for the Tamils, with its territory as Tamil Eelam and another for the Sinhalese, again with full autonomy, loosely linked at the Centre."



Dr. S. Jegarajah, Bolton Tamil Association, on the "The Tamil Eelam Ideal": "We have no alternative but to proclaim with a stamp of finality that we alone shall rule over the land which our forefathers ruled. Our armed struggle is the historical product of a continued national oppression."



Dr. Shanmugadasan speaking on "The Diplomatic Processes": "The Thondaman proposals were killed off in the foetus stage. Let us knock on the doors where power lies. Expatriate Tamils have much to contribute - but we should be facilitators, not mediators"



Mr. P. Nagulesan, discussing paper on "Settlement of the Conflict through an Accord": "The offer of the Sri Lankan government to bring about constitutional changes recognising the rights of the Tamils must be seen as a mere charade. The Sri Lankan government cannot constitutionally make the offer of 'federalism' through amendments to the present Constitution. The Unitary character of the Constitution is entrenched and cannot be changed without a referendum. The only way in which the existing conflict may be settled is through an accord or treaty between the Tamil nation and the Sinhala nation. The idea of such an accord between two peoples or nations is not a novel one. The Swiss Confederation was achieved on the basis of such an understanding between the cantons, each of which contained different peoples. There are more recent examples. The Agreement on the Basic Law on Hongkong creates Hongkong as an autonomous region. Another example is the Treaty of the Union of Sovereign States of Russia and its neighbours. In the contemporary world, the making of such accords between nations is an accepted way of settling a conflict between them. Constitutional Pacts made in the past in Sri Lanka, such as the B-C Pact and the Senanayake-Chelvanayagam Pact have been scuttled by Sinhala chauvinism. The Tamils who have sacrificed much are in no mood to accept pacts such as these any more. Only an accord, based on the notion that they are a distinct people can provide a lasting solution. Its working and its validity will not depend on any internal constitutional changes that the Sinhala government has to make. Neither will, inability to make such changes provide an excuse for putting off its implementation."



Mr. G. Muortat-Mayen, Former Minister of Works, Sudan, Former President, Nile Provisional Government and Chairman of the Anyanya Patriotic Front: "We extend to you our fraternal greetings. We support your struggle."



Mr. M. Banda, Representative of the Kurdish Workers Association: "Both Kurds and the Tamils are peoples under alien domination. We express our solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam."



Dr.N.Satchithanandan's Keynote Address

Continued from page 7

Our homelands in the North and East of Sri Lanka need to be secured under our jurisdiction and administration if there is to be a lasting peace. No peace proposal can ignore this reality.

It must be clear by now that in emphasising our right to having an organised army and our determination to protect our homeland and our people, we are asserting our separate identity and our nationhood, and by these, our right to self determination. Any proposal to a lasting peace should take account of this assertion.

The Sinhala nation has wasted human and financial resources in their efforts to destroy others... Peace requires them to re-assess their priorities and attitudes. In their requirement to travel this path to peace a change in attitude would become inevitable. It would require them to treat the Tamil nation as their equals. This change in attitude itself would be an enormous benefit to the Sinhala people and their nation. Peace would enable them to harness all this wasted energy and redirect it into creative economic and cultural activity. There is a considerable economic dividend arising out of peace.

A secure Sri Lanka where both the Tamil nation and the Sinhala nation co-exist peacefully, helping each other, would create dependency on each other. This new relationship as equals would create the conditions for wealth creation and prosperity. The requirement to secure our Island borders would be a common and a spontaneous endeavour.

Peace benefits all. The benefit to the International community is both economic and political. Refugees from Sri Lanka are now fleeing to all parts of the world in spite of the severe obstacles placed in their path. This has created political strains in the host countries. Peace in Sri Lanka would bring to an end the need of the refugees to seek asylum elsewhere. Apart from this, the international community has an obligation to create the conditions that facilitate peace.

We say emphatically that durable peace is only possible if both the Tamil and Sinhala nation can co-exist as equals in that Island of ours. Let us examine this concept a little more to discover its attractions. In fact this would be the concept of national configurations of the future.

We human beings need smaller organised configurations in order to fulfil our emotional and psychological needs. From families to extended families, from hamlets to villages, from towns to cities there seems to be a natural barrier when we cross the barrier of nationality. This seems to be the largest organised national configuration that can support the emotional, psychological and spiritual needs of human being.

We see these eruptions of nation states gravitating towards national configurations when the first suitable opportunity arise. This has been the trend of the nineteenth century. Empires fragmented and this process of fragmentation has not yet fully settled. If we take the British Empire it certainly has. The process has not stopped there. We experience enormous

strains in Africa, India and even in Britain, where the national configuration has not yet settled. Where these larger configurations have been held together by force, the fragmentation is of volcanic proportions as we have recently witnessed in the break up of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. Sri Lanka would come under this category.

The modern human beings need for material well-being and comfort and the multi-national nature of production and supply have posed problems for these smaller national configurations.

There seems to be a need to pool resources into larger configurations without the loss of national identity. We are witnessing this process today in the development of the European economic community. This phenomenon is not isolated to Europe alone. We are beginning to see this development become global. Spain and Portugal wanted to join the European community and are now a part of it. What is crucial here is the voluntary nature of these associations and the separateness of their identity and national configuration.

We live during exciting times. We are witnessing national formations and voluntary associations. We have a wealth of information and experiences of other nations who have gone through this process. All the materials that we need are there for us. We can exist as two nations and still associate for mutual benefit in many areas of our activity. We have many suggestions to make in many areas for voluntary co-operation and administration between the Sinhala and Tamil nations.

However this is certainly not the place that. We should discuss this without acrimony around the table. This is an inescapable challenge if both the Sinhala and Tamil nations are to prosper and develop. For our part we are eager to get on with it.

Now let us look at the single most important factor in the path to peace. That single factor must be to dislodge the intransigence and the fixation of the Sri Lankan government to Sinhala hegemony over Tamils. Left to itself we see no way for this change.

If one were to read the statements of senior Sinhala politicians, the Buddhist clergy, and the so called liberal minded English educated Sinhala intellectuals to the Thondamans proposals, nothing seems to have changed from the fifties. However, this crucial factor has nevertheless to be addressed. The International community has an important role to play and their efforts can minimise all this bloodshed and thrust Sri Lanka to a greater future.

The recognition of our right to self determination by international community stands alone as the path way through which we can provide this shift. Then a durable peace where both nations live and function with their separate identities and still co-operate in the activities that are mutually beneficial can be found.

For our part, by our armed struggle we have demonstrated our determination for this to succeed. For without this armed struggle nothing would have changed and the Tamils would have faced annihilation.

NEWS WATCH

ROHANA' WIFE DETAINED

The JVP leader Somawansa Amarasinghe has accused the Sri Lankan Govt. of detaining the wife and five children of the former JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera and demanded their immediate release.

VILLAGERS ORDERED OUT

The Government Agent of Vavuniya has issued an order asking all the families of Therkavathai, on the outskirts of Vavuniya town to move out of the village. It is believed that houses are to be erected in that village for Government servants from Vavuniya. The villages have submitted petition to the MP for Vavuniya and the Minister of Education Mrs Rajamanohari Pulendran to rescind the order.

HOSPITAL TREATMENT.

In 1991 over 800 000 persons received treatment at the General Hospital, Jaffna. According to the hospital authorities, the majority of the patients admitted had sustained their injuries from the bombing and shelling of the Sri Lankan armed forces. Of the 800 000, 591 023 had to be admitted to the wards for treatment and the rest were OPD cases.

111 SECURITY FORCES'DIE

The Joint Operations Command has reported that in 1991, 1111 members of the Sri Lankan armed forces died as a result of the war: 968 from the Army, 25 the Navy, 8 the Air Force, 108 the Police and 7, the Special Task Force. (this total makes 1,116 !)

REINFORCEMENT FOR PALALY

The Sri Lankan Armed Forces are reinforcing the Palaly Army Camp bringing in Army personnel and war machinery. Several flights a day are seen landing at the camp.

EVACUATE JAFFNA LEAFLETS

The Sri Lankan Air Force are dropping thousands of notice leaflets over the Jaffna Peninsula ordering all the civilians to evacuate the peninsula. The warning on the notice states that death of all the civilians will be the result if they fail to comply with the order.

NUCLEAR REACTOR

Sri Lanka has made an informal request to the Indian Government, for help in setting up an experimental nuclear reactor.

UNNATURAL INCREASE.

In 1948, the Sinhalese population in the Trincomalee district was just 4%. It has shot up now to 33% - surely not a feat of natural increase!

EROS MPs LOSE THEIR SEATS

The nine Jaffna District Parliamentarians nominated by the EROS group led by Mr Edward Sebastiampillai, have lost their seats in Parliament as they failed to attend Parliament within three months from the date their names were gazetted. The Elections Commissioner Chandra de Silva said that he would inform Mr Sebastiampillai of this situation and ask him to re-nominate his candidates to the Parliament

LTTE ADMINISTRATION

The LTTE has set up separate departments in the North to administer Agriculture, Fisheries, Education, Transport, Cooperatives, handicraft to culture. Experts in these fields have been appointed in a supervisory capacity. They have also opened up seven Police Stations in the Jaffna district, at Jaffna, Chunnakam, Chaukanai, Kopai, Chavakachchen, Pt. Pedro and Valvettithurai..

TRINCOMALEE HOSPITAL

There is an acute shortage of medicines and doctors in the Trincomalee hospital. At the moment they haven't got the drugs to treat the outbreak of typhoid. They cannot do any blood tests as they haven't the necessary equipment. Typhoid patients are being sent to Private clinics where they are charged Rs 40 for a blood test. It is regrettable that drugs like Piriton which have to be taken daily are not available. In addition there are no Eye, ENT, and Paediatric doctors and even the X-ray equipment is not functioning.

IMF TEAM TO MONITOR

A high powered International Monetary Fund team headed by economist Brijan Agevila arrived in Sri

Lanka, to monitor the conditions laid down by the lending agencies for continuing assistance to Sri Lanka. Among the areas to be probed are the huge monetary expansion (25% growth), the rise in the inflation from 9% in December 91 to 12% in January 92, budget deficit and the decision by Air Lanka to purchase six new planes.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS CASE

A fundamental rights petition filed by Mr Malinda Rajapalese, the SLFP MP for Hambantota, challenging his arrest and detention at Katunayake airport on the 11th of Sept, 1990 and the seizure of 552 documents and 30 photographs relating to missing persons whole on his way to attend the 31st session of the United Nations Working group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances in Geneva, comes up for hearing at the Supreme Court on June 18th.

EXTRADITION TREATY

The British Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd on a visit to India in January announced that Britain and India will enter in the near future into an extradition treaty and pact to confiscate the assets of terrorists.

GERMAN-TAMIL DICTIONARY

Mr Kanagasatapatry Saravenapavan of Trincomalee, who is at present living in Germany, has compiled a German-Tamil dictionary. It has 300 pages and contains 20,000 words.

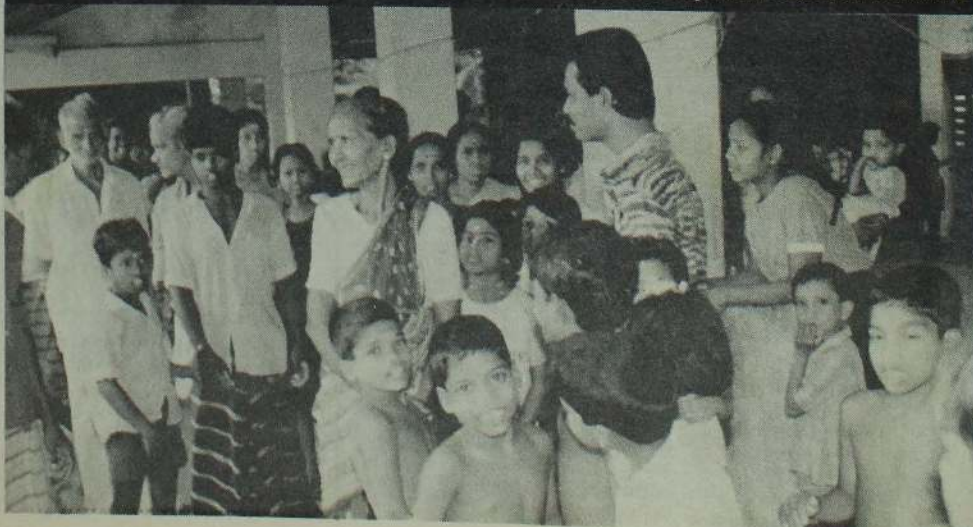
ORDER TO REGISTER ONCE AGAIN

Within a fortnight beginning from the 13th of February, all temporary residents in the Western Province have been ordered to register at the nearest Police Stations. Those failing to do so will be charged and prosecuted under Emergency Regulations.

CHINESE GUN BOAT REPAIR

A four member Chinese technical team arrived in Sri Lanka on 15th January and travelled to Trincomalee to discover the reasons for the engine failure in three Chinese gunboats supplied to the Sri Lankan Navy with a view to reinforce the aircraft supplied to it by South Korea and Israel.

LTTE Rehabilitation Officer meets displaced Tamils at a Camp in the Jaffna Peninsula



Tamil refugees arrive in Trincomalee

614 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees from Tamil Nadu arrived in Trincomalee on the ship *my AKBAR* on 21st January. Even as the refugee ship was nearing Trincomalee, news of the shattering explosion at China Bay sent shock waves among the returning refugees who began to panic and wanted to be taken back to Tamil Nadu. They were persuaded to disembark by the Sri Lankan officials present to "welcome" the refugees.

In the meantime, the Canadian Human Rights Mission which returned from a visit to Sri Lanka in late January has recommended that (a) Canada should continue to give high priority to both the short term and long term needs of internally displaced refugees in Sri Lanka, and (b) The government of India should be urged to ratify the United Nations Convention on refugees in order that the UNHCR might have access to Sri Lankan refugees in India.

Sources in Geneva say that UNHCR has expressed concern to India about reports in the Madras press which give the impression that the repatriation has the support of UNHCR. UNHCR has made clear that it opposes the repatriation of Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka. At the same time, it feels that it should take steps to offer those sent back some measure of relief. The fact that it is engaged in such relief work does not mean that it concurs with the decision to repatriate. It is learnt that India has informed UNHCR that the original number of 30,000 repatriates has now come down to 15,000. This was largely due to UNHCR insisting that the earlier declarations signed by the refugees expressing their willingness to return, should not be acted upon because the documents had been in English. Fresh documents were thereafter issued in Tamil. It is learnt that UNHCR may itself seek to ascertain the voluntary nature of the repatriation by itself having a presence in Tamil Nadu. India has refused to accede to this request as yet. At the same time Tamil organisations have made representations to UNHCR and pointed out that in the light of UNHCR's stated position that India should not repatriate at the present time, because of the conditions prevailing in the Northeast, the presumption must surely be that refugees too think in the same way as UNHCR and would not want to go back voluntarily to such conditions. Fears have been expressed that the action taken by India taken together with the UNHCR response of helping to set up camps in Trincomalee may result in a de facto transfer of refugees to camps in Sri Lanka. This may even provide a model for the transfer Tamil asylum seekers from countries in Europe as well.

American Human Rights groups condemn repatriation of Eelam refugees

Two American Human Rights organisations, The United States Committee for Refugees and Asia Watch, a Washington based human rights body, have condemned the decision of the Indian Government to send back Tamil refugees to war torn North East. They blame the Indian Government of forcing the refugees to go back on pain of losing their ration.

The United States Committee for Refugees says that due to widespread violence and human rights violations prevailing in Sri Lanka, the repatriation of Tamil refugees at this time is disastrous.

Asia Watch has accused India of using force in the repatriation. An Asia Watch fact finding mission under a former US Ambassador, Harry Barnes, has appealed to the Indian Government to halt the repatriation and to grant the UNHCR access to Tamil Nadu, to oversee directly, the on-going repatriation.

Canadian Human Rights Mission

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participate in talks but is unlikely to compromise on a number of key issues. The government has shown a willingness to talk about possible solutions through the establishment of the Select Parliamentary Committee but party politics appear to effectively eliminate any real movement towards placing a concrete proposal on the table.

Given that there is little real internal will for a negotiated settlement, many in Sri Lanka and the team members felt that only strong external pressure will bring the parties to negotiations...

Contributing to the problems in Sri Lanka is a climate of repression. Electronic media is state controlled. The print media is largely used to a significant extent to promote the government point of view or give voice to Buddhist chauvinistic opinions. There seemed to be little public participation in the political process.

The ongoing cost of the conflict is devastating. In the North, there are serious shortages of food, medical supplies and fuel. Should military activity in the North increase the situation there would quickly become desperate. The means of livelihood for most of the population in the North and much of those in the

East is destroyed. Normal life is not possible.

Official figures indicate that over one and half million people internally displaced in Sri Lanka. Approximately 250,000 live in overcrowded and under-serviced refugee camps...

People in the North and East asserted strongly that overseas development assistance does not reach the most affected sectors of the population except in the form of relief. Some analysts pointed to the terms of foreign debt repayment and the Structural Adjustment Programs associated with loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as contributing to the gap between the rich and the poor.

The work of non-governmental organizations was seen as being constructive but the ongoing conflict on the North and East limits the capacity of even NGOs to address basic socioeconomic conditions in these areas.

Many people argued that conditions tying human rights to levels of overseas development assistance, particularly in a concerted manner, by donor nations and international financial institutions could usefully influence the government to end human rights abuses and take concrete measures towards a negotiated political settlement.

Official report finds Sri Lanka military guilty of killing civilians

Christopher Morris reporting in the Guardian of 31 January says:

"A report commissioned by President Ranasinghe Premadasa of Sri Lanka has found members of the Sri Lankan army guilty of deliberately killing 67 civilians in a village in the east of the country last June.

It is the first time the government has investigated alleged atrocities by its own troops so thoroughly. Details of the report have been published a week before Sri Lanka's Western aid donors meet to decide annual financial aid.

The report said there was no evidence that there have been an exchange of fire between the army and members of the Tamil Tigers separatist movement, as an army lieutenant had alleged to the inquiry. The report found that soldiers from the Kokkadichcholai detachment, in the Batticaloa district, went on the rampage against civilians after two of their colleagues were killed by a landmine planted by the Tigers.

Men, women and children were among the dead. Many houses were destroyed and possessions were stolen. Five soldiers are in custody in connection with the massacre. Victims are to be compensated.

Sources in Batticaloa allege the report has not acknowledged the full facts of the massacre. Dozens of people are still missing and the figure of 67 dead is said to refer only to the number of bodies recovered.

It seems unlikely that any senior military officers will be held responsible for the actions of their subordinates. The result is continued fear that a similar massacre could occur in future."

Canadian Mission says: Remandate the Inquiry

In the meantime, the Canadian Human Rights Mission which visited Sri Lanka during end January has recommended that the Presidential Commission of Inquiry investigating the massacre at Kokkadichcholai must be remanded, with power to compel witnesses to give evidence subject to full safeguards against self incrimination, to allow for a full and independent investigation into the circumstances of the incident.

Red Cross helps in civilian switch

The ICRC helped in a civilian switch between the Jaffna Peninsula and the Delft Island in January. About 140 people from Delft who were stranded in Jaffna and about 40 people from the peninsula who were stranded in Delft were helped to get back to their respective homes by the ICRC.

Nine years ago on March 1, 1983

"Allegations are made that we are asking for separation, that we are trying to divide the country. When were we undivided after all? Our traditional land captured by the European invaders has never been restored to us. We have not even mortgaged our land at any time to anyone in the name of one country. Our land has changed hands off and on under various regimes, and that is what has happened. We have yet to reach a stage when we can have our land for ourselves. What we ask for is not division but freedom. Why we ask this is not because of narrow thinking. What we hope to achieve is not only the emancipation of the Tamil people but the greater good of the Sinhalese people themselves. Why? because, thereafter, the so-called Tamil problem will cease to be a livelihood for opportunistic Sinhalese politicians. That will provide a chance for the Sinhalese people to free themselves from the political, social and economic shackles that bind them today and realize where their true slavery lies. There is no testament in the world that declares that a People who fight to recover their own rights or work for their self-determination are guilty of sedition or terrorism. Had you endorsed our basic human rights at the very beginning this situation would not have arisen. You had not only not recognised our rights but for the purpose of clinging on to political seats of power you had been injecting into the poor innocent Sinhalese people hate and venom over the past 35 years...We are not lovers of violence nor victims of mental disorders. We are honest fighters belonging to an organization that is struggling to liberate a people. To those noble souls who keep on prating "terrorism, terrorism" we have something to say. Did you not get frightened of terrorism when hundreds of Tamils were massacred in cold blood, when racist hate spread like fire in this country of yours? Did terrorism mean nothing to you when Tamil women were raped? When cultural treasures were set on fire? When hundreds and hundreds of Tamil homes were looted? Why in 1977 alone 400 Tamils lost their lives reddening the sky above with their splattered blood - did you not see any terrorism then? Did your thoughts and feelings become deadened when it concerned Tamil lives and Tamil property or are your minds unable to conceive the very idea of Tamil suffering?...We will not flinch from embracing death or spending the rest of our lives in jail, content as we are that we have done our duty. All these are merely commonplace incidents in the history of a nation's struggle for freedom. These tribulations are a boon bestowed by God to purify us. The final victory is ours. Long Live Tamil Eelam!" (Nadarajah Thangathurai, speaking from the dock on March 1, 1983, at his trial under the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act. He together with Kuttimuni and Jegan were later murdered in a high security prison whilst in the custody of the Sri Lankan government. All three have been recognised by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as national heroes of the Tamil liberation struggle.)

Tamil Refugee Action Group, Tamil Refugee Housing Association and Tamil Refugee Training & Employment Centre write to UNHCR:

"We deplore the action of the Indian Government in deciding to remove Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka"

We the undersigned Tamil community organisations jointly deplore the proposed action of the Indian Government in deciding to remove the Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka involuntarily.

We understand that the decision had been made by the respective Governments without consulting UNHCR or obtain the views of the Refugee organisations functioning in India. This clearly demonstrates the lack of good faith and utter disregard for consultation process before such a vital decision is made.

You are no doubt aware of the tense situation that exists now in the Tamil Homelands in Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan Government is carrying out a genocidal war against the Tamils by attacking them by air, land and sea. Thousands of houses have been destroyed by aerial attack let alone the death and injuries caused to innocent civilians including women and children.

Thousands of civilians have been displaced from their houses and sought refuge in camps, temples, churches and other public buildings. It is reported that several innocent civilians have disappeared who sought refuge in the camps and particularly camps within the control of the Sri Lankan Government. Hence any move to return the Tamil refugees by the Indian Government at this juncture would be in violation of the International Law obligation relating to refugees and above all flagrant violation of humanitarian laws. There would be no security or safety for the refugees particularly in the context when they cannot be settled in places from where they fled for fear of death. Fear still continues and several camps exist in these areas which is within your personal knowledge. The action of sending the refugees back to Tamil homeland is nothing short of condemning people to death.

Naturally, we as organisations looking after the welfare of the Tamil refugees, are concerned about this unacceptable decision to involuntarily repatriate Tamil refugees.

Accordingly, we appeal to you to use your good offices and prevail upon the Indian Government to reconsider its decision and at least postpone the implementation until situation exist which would be safe for the refugees to be returned. If India decided to send other countries particularly the European countries would follow suite which would have adverse effect on the refugees whose interest we look after.

Yours sincerely, C Sithamparapillai on behalf of Tamil Refugee Action Group; K Kuhachandran on behalf of Tamil Refugee Housing Association; S J Fatimaharan on behalf of Tamil Refugee Training & Employment Centre

The Tamil national liberation struggle is not taking place in outer space. 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. Though reports of the disintegration of the Indian Union are often greatly exaggerated, events in the Soviet Union show that empires do crumble, if they do not recognise, well in time, the political force of emergent nationalisms, and take steps to restructure in a genuine and meaningful way. And for the Indian Union the time is now. Unity will emerge only when the different nations of the Indian Union are recognised as equals, not when it is sought to deny their existence. Unity will emerge only when New Delhi acquires the vision and the strength to constitute a confederal commonwealth of free and equal nations. It will be futile for New Delhi, Canute like, to order the rising tide of emergent nationalism to recede. The rising tide of Sikh nationalism will not recede in the years to come. Neither will Kashmiri nationalism recede. Nor will Assamese nationalism. Nor for that matter will Tamil nationalism recede in the years to come. On the contrary, these nationalisms will grow from year to year. The words of Lord Avebury, in an article published in the December 1991 issue of the Tamil Nation, are apposite: "There are momentous changes beginning to take shape all over the world, and India cannot insulate herself from the new dispensation."

Militants in Andhra Pradesh

Gajula Shankaraiah, the President of the Keshavapatnam Mandala Praja Parishad (MPP) in Karimnagar District in Andhra Pradesh, who was kidnapped by the Peoples War Group (PWG) on February 6, was shot dead. The militants had left a note demanding that alleged fake encounters and harassment of rural people be ended and police camps closed down.

and Naxalites in Karnataka

The naxalite influence is gradually spreading in Karnataka. For the past five to six years, an organisation called the Karantaka Ryot Cooli Sangha (KRCS) has been quietly working among the poor, downtrodden and the oppressed to secure justice. The KRCS has made its presence felt in more than a dozen villages and the growing influence is reflected in the manner in which the red flags flutter in some of these villages and the reverential tone in which the Scheduled castes and the agricultural labourers talk about the organisation. That the movement has caught the imagination of the poor and the downtrodden was evident in the overwhelming response to the annual convention held in May in Bidar. Over the years the entire belt of the State bordering Andhra Pradesh from Bidar in the North to the Kolar in the South has been generally regarded in administrative parlance as a naxalite prone area. There may or may not be any direct links with the militant units operating in Andhra Pradesh but it is clear that the KRCS has been mainly influenced by the Andhra Pradesh phenomenon. The only difference is that the activities on the Karnatak side are on a low key. (Courtesy Hindu International)

"Manmohan Singh is turning out to be another Gorbachev who may destroy the Congress Party"

With prices going up in India and whispers of recession and hard times doing the rounds of industrial circles, a vague sense of restlessness is afflicting partymen in Congress (I). And some of them have decided to make the Prime Minister's new economic policy the target of their attack. Says a Congress (I) M.P. from Madhya Pradesh: "Manmohan Singh is turning out to be another Gorbachev who may destroy the Congress Party."

Some political analysts see the Narasimha Rao government as a staging post for the eventual arrival of the BJP, at mid term elections, with a naked appeal to Hindu-Hindi chauvinism and the so called free market economy. During his recent visit to the US, BJP leader L.K. Advani left his party's indelible teeth mark on the Americans: It was Advani's message - mostly directly delivered - that his party is the one with which Uncle Sam can do business. It has a history of anti communism, being soft on Israel, worshipping private enterprise, opposing Nehruvian socialism and staunchly resisting fundamentalist Islamic groupings. This was particularly welcome to some American ears at a time when images of a new Islamic bloc, armed with a nuke, are exercising the minds of policy planners in Washington. At the same time there is concern that BJP's appeal to Hindu-Hindi chauvinism will serve to alienate non Hindu-Hindi opinion and quicken the process of India's disintegration. Despite the recent patha yatra, BJP's support in the non Hindi speaking belt is minimal to the extent of being negligible.

JKLF leader Javed Mir says

"It is now difficult to differentiate between India and Pakistan - but the people of Kashmir are with us"

The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front's (JKLF) attempt to organise a march across the Line of Actual Control between Pakistan held Azad Kashmir and Indian controlled Kashmir, on 11 February was foiled by the joint efforts of the Indian and Pakistani governments. JKLF seeks to establish a separate Kashmir state, independent of both Pakistan and India.

The Indian Army was put on alert and senior officers rushed to strategic positions at observation posts along the border. With the Indian Air Force also on high alert, the army carried out selective mining along the border and erected barbed wire and barricades to prevent any possible entry. In the event, the attempts made by JKLF activists to cross the border were stopped by the

Pakistani riot police and Pakistani troops inside Azad Kashmir. However the real action was on the diplomatic front with pressure being applied by India through letters to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and other countries of the European Community. It is learnt that the EC countries headed by Britain, in turn exerted pressure on Pakistan to prevent attempts to cross the border.

There was also the additional circumstance that no political group in Pakistan, whether the ruling coalition or the opposition backed the JKLF. The PPP leader, Benazir Bhutto was critical of the march. Sardar Abdul Qayyum, Prime Minister of Pakistan held Azad Kashmir was caught on the horns of a dilemma. "We do not recognise the Line of Actual Control but this not the time or the method to cross it" he said. It was clear that he was worried by the prospect of the JKLF cutting into his party's support amongst the Kashmiris.

It is widely believed that despite the set backs, the JKLF has succeeded in getting mileage from the march. Kashmiris in curfew bound Srinagar in India held Kashmir, regarded the JKLF attempt as a major victory against those groups who prefer accession to Pakistan rather than independence which is JKLF's objective. JKLF commander in chief, Javed Mir is reported as having said: "It is now very difficult for us to differentiate between India and Pakistan. But the people of Kashmir are with us." The concerted attempts of both India and Pakistan, backed, in this instance by the European Community, to preserve existing territorial boundaries served only to high light the growing force of the separate national identities in the region - and the need to recognise their existence, and not seek to suppress them.

The Australian in Sydney reports

Separate Indian States no longer a taboo subject

The hitherto almost taboo question of whether India would be better off split into independent or increasingly autonomous states has been pushed out of the closet by the break-up of the Soviet Union.

Now openly debated in the country's newspapers, those arguing the country with its 850 million people of different ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds should break up no longer face condemnation as traitors.

Politicians of all hues and at all levels have been quick to point to the disintegration of the Soviet Union - some as a threat but others as a lesson that India should decentralise before it is too late. "Soviet-style disintegration if India does not treat Harijans (untouchables) better," ran one typical headline this week. "Form a Commonwealth to protect religious identities," said another.

Then a two-page spread titled "Should India Break Up" appeared in last Sunday's Observer newspaper, detailing the pros and cons of a commonwealth similar to that being formed by most former Soviet republics. The debate would have been unthinkable even a year ago. The trauma of the subcontinent's violent 1947 partition into India and Pakistan was seen by many as the basis for much of India's policy of preserving the union at all costs.

But there are serious splits in the country. The most obvious candidates for secession are Punjab, Kashmir and Assam, States where bloody independence struggles have kept 50 per cent of the Indian army, by its own admission, tied down for the past year.

Significantly, it was a Sikh politician, Mr Prakash Badal, who called for the Government to convert India into a commonwealth of autonomous States along the lines of the former Soviet Union.

In the Sunday Observer debate, former minister Mr Ram Vilas Paswan said unless the Government became more responsive to minority needs and less dominated by Brahmins - the highest Hindu caste - there would be caste, communal and separatist violence.

"In the academic sense, India was not a country before, but then, is there any country in the world which was a country before," Congress centrist thinker Mr MJ Akbar replied to arguments that India was an artificial British invention.

"Of course, India should remain one," said historian Mr Ravinder Kumar, adding a break-up would lead to widespread violence. However, he agreed with communist MP Mr Subhashini Ali, who said that, while it should not break up, "if India is to stay one it will have to loosen up. Otherwise, I see serious fissures widening."

Calcutta editor Mr Swapan Gasgupta said most Indians wanted the country to stay united but felt the need for change. It is "overcentralisation which makes people in Assam join the ULFA (the separatist United Liberation Front of Assam), because they do not feel any sense of belonging to the power structure", he said.

Even Mr Rao, the septuagenarian Prime Minister who stunned the country this year by starting to reverse decades of socialist policies, appears to have caught on to the mood for change. During the weekend, he sent the State governors home after a two-day meeting here with the words: "Tell me what the States need, don't ask what the centre asks." (Courtesy: Australian, 31.12.91)

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Anton Balasingham, Political Adviser to the LTTE tells the Colombo Tamil Daily Veerakesari:

"Our proposal to settle the National conflict has always been Tamil Eelam"

Extracts from a recent interview given by Anton Balasingham to a reporter from Veerakesari follow: Reporter (R): Why doesn't the LTTE which desires to settle the National conflict put forward its own peace proposals, rather than expecting proposals from other quarters?

Anton Balasingham (B): Our proposal to settle the National conflict has always been Tamil Eelam. Since the Sri Lanka Government is opposed to the creation of Tamil Eelam, we are prepared to examine any alternative proposals put forward by the Government

R: Peace talks are taking place to settle the long drawn conflict in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations. Why doesn't the LTTE seek UN assistance to settle the National conflict?

B: We welcome any peace effort not only from the United Nations but also from any other International organisation. It is the Sri Lankan Government which refuses any form of mediation. The Governments of Canada, Australia, Norway and Switzerland have in the past shown their willingness to negotiate a just peace settlement to the National conflict. Due to the intransigence of the Sri Lankan Government these peace moves have been abandoned. The Sri Lankan Government does not want the National Conflict to be internationalised and publicised.

R: The Sri Lankan Armed Forces are about to launch a major offensive to wrest control of the Jaffna peninsula from the LTTE. Can the LTTE withstand such a massive assault?

B: If the Sri Lankan Army enters the Jaffna peninsula, the LTTE is fully prepared and on maximum alert to fight them. We will fight for every inch of our land.

R: From reports issues periodically, by the LTTE, in the past few weeks it appears that the LTTE is prepared for peace. Is it because they are military weak?

B: At present there are 300,000 refugees in the Jaffna peninsula. Even all the other civilians in the peninsula have been undergoing untold hardships. In this situation if the Sri Lankan Armed Forces undertake offensive action in the peninsula the people will be subjected to intolerable hardship and loss. It is in order to avoid this, the LTTE is trying to negotiate a just peace leading to a ceasefire.

R: Why doesn't the LTTE facilitate travel between Jaffna and Colombo?

B: Considering the long term interests of the people we have closed the Elephant Pass route. There are land mines buried all around the Elephant Pass area. Unless the Government promises not to invade the peninsula, the Elephant Pass route will remain closed. On the other hand, we'll reconsider our decision when a ceasefire is arranged.



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New Delhi, TULF and the Art of Cheque Book Diplomacy

The Sri Lankan Sunday Times of 23 February says: "The Indian government, gunning for the LTTE, seems to be unveiling a new thrust in its policy towards Sri Lanka. The Indian Express reported last week that the TULF would receive Rs 50 lakhs from India after a TULF delegation held talks in New Delhi with External Affairs Minister Madhavsinh Solanki, Foreign Secretary, J.N. Dixit and others.

Excerpts from the Indian Express report: "New Delhi Feb.16: The Indian Government held secret talks with the TULF and decided to give Rs 50 lakhs to help them. As a result of this, there is a

ary 13. The members were party President M. Sivasithamparam, Vice President R. Sambanthan, A. Thangathurai, S. Anandasaangari, and I.

Q.What was the purpose of your visit?

A.It was not an official visit. Nor was it political. We went for two main reasons; there was an undercurrent of feeling in both the Indian and the Sri Lankan governments that the TULF was not adequately active in securing the rights of the Tamils. One purpose of this visit was to tell both governments that we are politically active and we do work for the benefit of all, particularly

alingam. We saw a possibility of continuing ties with the Indian government through this visit.

Q.What was your itinerary in New Delhi? Whom did you meet?

A.We stayed at a hotel in the city. We were given a programme by Indian Foreign Ministry officials. We met them several times and held discussions with Foreign Minister Madansinh Solanki, Foreign Secretary, J.N. Dixit, Joint Secretary, Abeyanka, and N. Parthasarathy.

Q:But in the present situation with increasing attention an antipathy direct-

"We want everyone to know that we are one hundred percent behind President Premadasa and believe that a solution to the ethnic problem will either come from him or from some other internal force, not from any other country." - TULF

change in the policy so far adopted by the Indian Government. The TULF leader Sivasithamparam had been called to New Delhi secretly. Mr Senathiraja, MP and P. Joseph accompanied the TULF leader. Officials of the Indian Foreign Ministry received them on their arrival at Delhi's Palam airport and put them up in a secret place. Thereafter they were brought to the "South Block" Building where the Foreign Ministry is located.

It is believed that the TULF delegation had requested assistance to the tune of Rs 50 lakhs. They conveyed this to the Foreign Secretary, J.N. Dixit and Foreign Minister Mr Solanki. The meeting took place on February 11th and it is believed the Indian government had agreed to comply with this request.

It may be recalled that Mr Dixit was accused of being responsible for the failure of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord owing to his personal animosity against the LTTE. It was only at that time he had arranged to publish in the international press a report stating that the Government of India had given up to Rs 5 crores to the LTTE. The disclosure by Mr Dixit that India would grant Rs 50 lakhs might create new problems. It has been announced that this money would be utilised for the re-organisation of TULF units in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

Excerpts from an interview that TULF member Mr. Pararajasingham Joseph, who was in the TULF delegation to New Delhi, gave to Shermal Wijewardene of the Sri Lanka Sunday Time follow:

Q.Who went to New Delhi and when?

A.Our delegation left for New Delhi on February 11 and returned on Febru-

Super star Rajanikanth vows - "I'll defend the Tamils"

The Tamil film industry's foremost actor, superstar Rajanikanth has declared unequivocally that he'll go all the way to protect the Tamils in Karunataka. He added that he'll give asylum in his house to the Tamil refugees from Karunataka and if this undemocratic action continues he himself will lead an army from Tamil Nadu to Karunataka and come back victorious. "If any Tamil is in danger, I cannot bear to see it, I'll do all I can to save them" he said.

the Tamils.

The TULF was in the forefront of negotiations between India and Sri Lanka before the signing of the Indo-Lanka pact; especially with regard to the North-East issue and the devolution package, it was the TULF which was responsible for having deliberations with both the Sri Lankan and the Indian government. We wish to show that we are as concerned and as active now as then.

The second object of our visit was to renew old party links with India. The TULF was in exile in India from 1983-87. During that time we had many close ties and friendships with Indian officials which had not been renewed since the demise of our leader Appapillai Amirth-

ed towards Minister Thondaman's proposal by various organisations don't you think a prominent Tamil party visiting India might arouse suspicion and even communal passions?

A.No, I don't think so. In any case it should not. Our objective was not political, it was personal and amicable. We want everyone to know that we are one hundred percent behind President Premadasa and believe that a solution to the ethnic problem will either come from him or from some other internal force, not from any other country. The Party Politburo, will meet soon to discuss all these things. We submitted our peace proposals to the Select Committee around February 4.

Delhi stumped at Davos

India Today reporting the World Economic Forum meetings at Davos in Switzerland in January says: "Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's briefing topic was 'India: Changing course for Globalisation'. The attendance (at the briefing session) was excellent. But India had blundered. Rao should never have taken the briefing session - as the questions quite predictably required detailed knowledge about the economy which Rao confessed he was not an expert on. When asked about privatising telecommunications he declared: 'Don't ask me nitty gritty details. I have so many things on my mind. While I am talking to you my mind is in the South of India (Cauvery).' Not very inspirational for a foreign investor. It was followed by a question on when would the rupee become convertible, and distinctly uncomfortable, he leafed through a folder and read out an answer related to the latest amendments to FERA. The Pakistani finance minister quietly chuckled and said: 'He is reading the wrong answer''. In answer to one question on foreign publishing ventures, he said from the dais to Principal Secretary, A.N.Verma, 'Ab isko kya bolna hai?' (Now, what is to be said to this?) and Verma had to give the answer. So the session went downhill till it ended 20 minutes early, unheard of at the World Economic Forum.



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When ex Mossad officer Victor Ostrovski's book *By Way of Deception* was first published in September 1990, it created a tremor of international proportions.

The Time magazine (Sept. 24, 1990) captioned the story as, "The Spy who spilled the Beans; Israel attempts to quash a Mossad agent's book" and noted that due to Israel's unsuccessful attempt to block its publication and resultant publicity, the publisher had to "increase the print run from 50,000 copies to 200,000, practically guaranteeing that it will be high on the best-seller list".

The Newsweek magazine (Sept. 24, 1990) rather unusually devoted two pages to divulge some important facts included in the book. Why did 'By Way of Deception' attract such attention? The Newsweek report had it in its first sentence: "In the short but eventful history of the Mossad, no full-fledged officer had ever broken its vow of silence". But, Victor Ostrovski (son of a Canadian father and Israeli mother), who according to Israel's law-suit had been employed by the Mossad between December 30, 1984 and March 9, 1986, had decided to break his silence.

Ostrovski begins his book, with description about the "Operation Sphinx" of Mossad, which culminated successfully on June 7, 1981 when Israel destroyed the Iraq's nuclear complex located in the periphery of Baghdad. This was achieved from the information obtained from the Iraq's nuclear scientist (identified as Butrus Eben Halim) in Paris. Ostrovski also informs that two individuals (an Egyptian atomic engineer named Meshad, who was close to senior Iraqi military and civilian authorities, and a French prostitute Marie-Claude Magal who was patronised by Halim and Meshad) were murdered by Mossad in June and July of 1980.

Then, Ostrovski provides explanation for the two types of murders. Prostitute Magal's murder comes in the "category of an operational emer-

BOOK REVIEW

By Way of Deception; The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer by Victor Ostrovsky and Claire Hoy, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1990, 361 pp, \$22.95; paperback, 1991, 396 pp, \$5.99.

gency, the sort of situation that arises during operations". Scientist Meshad's murder belongs to the "formal execution list, and requiring the personal approval of the prime minister of Israel". According to Ostrovski, "the number of names on that list varies considerably, from just one or two up to 100 or so, depending upon the extent of anti-Israeli terrorist activities".

After describing how an adversary's name is included in the execution list and the due processes which take place within the Mossad to complete the hit, Ostrovski notes that, "one of the first duties of any new Israeli prime minister is to read the execution list and decide whether or not to initial each name on it". If this is true, the Nobel peace prize committee has definitely blundered in making Menachem Begin a laureate in 1978.

The book is divided into three parts. The first two parts (consisting of a total of 8 chapters) provides descriptions about Ostrovski's experience with Mossad as a trainee and case officer from October 1982 to March 1986, when he was dismissed as scapegoat for an operation which became an embarrassment to the Israeli politicians. The third part (consisting of nine chapters) provides case histories related to Mossad's engagements with the Black September rebels, Carlos Ramirez and Yasser Arafat. Also included are the events related to Israel's 1982 invasion in Lebanon and "Operation Moses" (the 1985 rescue of thousands of Black Ethiopian Jews to Israel) and the 1985 sinking of PLO ships in Tripoli harbour.

In the chapters related to training by Mossad, Ostrovski provides details about lessons taught on self-

defence, forgery of documents (especially passports), recruitment of bodlim ("people who operate as messengers between safehouses and the embassy, or between the various safehouses"), evaluation and tackling of a still object or a building, importance of liaison, sending and receiving secret communications and so forth.

On self-defence, Ostrovski writes, "You were taught that if your brain does (his emphasis) signal your hand to draw the weapon, you go to kill. Your head has to say the guy in front of you is dead. It's him or you... When you do have to shoot, you fire as many bullets as possible into your target. When he's on the ground you walk up to him, put your gun to his temple, and fire one more time. That way, you're sure". Certainly Jesus and Gandhi are pariahs in the dictionary of Mossad.

On passport forgery by Mossad, Ostrovski notes, "Mossad had a small factory and chemical laboratory in the basement of the Academy that actually made various kinds of passport paper. Chemists analyzed the papers of genuine passports and worked out the exact formula to produce sheets of paper that duplicated what they needed". Mossad also gathers genuine passports of other countries from immigrants to Israel on the pretext of "saving the Jews". These genuine passports are studied to prepare fake passports.

Ostrovski identifies four kinds of passports used by Mossad for their operations; "top quality, second quality, field operation and throwaway". The low quality throwaway kind is mostly stolen from others and put in use when "needed only to flash them". They are not used for identification, since it cannot withstand

through scrutiny. The field operation kind is "used for quick work in a foreign country, but not used when crossing borders". The second quality passport is a perfect one, "without no real persons behind" the details provided in it. The top-quality passport is the perfect kind, "which could stand up completely to any official scrutiny, including a check by the country of origin". The motto of Mossad in such delicate forgery is that, "no operation should be bungled by a bad document".

Other tit-bits offered by Ostrovski relating to the operation of Mossad are quite interesting.

1) "The Mossad's main computer contained more than 1.5 million names in memory.

2) The London station of Mossad "owns more than 100 safe houses and rents another 50".

3) "In London alone, there are about 2,000 active sayanim (Jewish volunteer helpers) who are active, and another 5,000 on the list".

4) Margaret Thatcher was always called inside the Mossad as "the bitch", because "they had her tagged as anti-Semite".

5) For a long time since 1977, Mossad has hired "Durak Kasim, (Yasser) Arafat's driver and personal bodyguard" as their agent, and "he was reporting to them almost daily, sending messages through a burst radio communications system, receiving \$2,000 a report. He also telephoned information and mailed it periodical-ly..."

Now, let me focus on the material related to Sri Lanka, which made Ostrovski a recognizable name in the government and military circles in Colombo now. Ostrovski's disclosures on the deals made by the military and political power-brokers of the ruling UNP and the Mossad had been published in excerpts in the Tamil Nation of Oct. 15, 1990. What shocked the Sinhalese ruling establishment and the journalists (including the editor of Lanka Guardian, Mervyn de Silva) was the revelation of Ostrovski that Mossad had trained the

Sinhalese military personnel and "a group of Tamil guerrilla factions" simultaneously. Based on the meagre details provided by Ostrovski, these power-brokers and opinion-makers had identified LTTE as the beneficiary of Mossad's patronage.

To me, this sounds too premature and incorrect. Let me repeat what Ostrovski had written on this topic. "Around 1983, a group of Tamil guerrilla factions, collectively known as the Tamil Tigers, began an armed struggle to create a Tamil homeland in the north called Eelam - an on-going battle that has claimed thousands of lives on both sides". This is the only sentence in the book, where a vague reference is made to the Tamil Tigers. The time-frame Ostrovski had written about was "mid-July 1984", when he was still a trainee at the Mossad Academy. He had not mentioned LTTE by name anywhere in the book. At that time, all the militant groups fighting for Eelam (LTTE, TELO, EPRLF, EROS and PLOTE) were identified as "Tamil Tigers". This point need be stressed. The authors of Broken Palmyra also clearly state this fact in page 72 of their book: "Up to this time (April 1985), the Tamil population had hardly differentiated between rival groups. They were all referred to as boys and even Tigers".

Again the fact is that as reported in the Economist of August 3, 1985, in its coverage on the five Tamil militant groups, LTTE was identified as receiving training from the PLO in Lebanon.

Ostrovski has noted that in mid-July 1984, "nearly 50" Sri Lankan army personnel arrived for training in Israel. These training sessions were not offered free. According to Ostrovski, "A unit of 60 trainees would cost about \$300 each day (per trainee), for a total of \$18,000. For a three-month course, that would be \$1.6 million. On top of that, they would be charged \$5,000 to \$6,000 an hour for helicopter rental, and as many as 15 helicopters could be used in a training exercise. Add to that the cost of special ammunition used in training: a bazooka shell, for example, cost about \$220 a unit, while heavy mortars were about \$1000 each..."

Ostrovski should be credited for exposing the deals Sri Lankan government had with Mossad, through the Mahaveli River Diversion Project. Apart from exposing how the Sri Lankan authorities diverted foreign-aid funds they received from unsuspecting donors, Ostrovski also has pricked the bloated egos of the Sri Lankan military personnel by divulging how Mossad had fooled them.

Sachi Sri Kantha

Gurunathan writes from Australia

Whither Astrological predictions?

Sir, Whither Astrological predictions? Time and time again, many Sri Lankan astrologers have been making various predictions on all matters under the sun and Prof. Lo Wa Nandasena too has had his share of predictions in early 1991. Speaking to Dinesh Watawana of The Sunday Times of 31 March, 1991, Professor Nandasena predicted:

- (1) Death of a powerful UNP politician before November '91 on account of illness.
- (2) LTTE would be crushed by Government forces before August '91 and elusive Prabhakaran would be captured alive.
- (3) Final victory (for Government forces) before August '91 and death of a very senior military official (or officer) in a bomb blast. The only senior officer who died was Major General Devanayagam which was due to a domestic dispute.
- (4) A devastating railway or airline accident before December '91 owing to a terrorist act or accident. What was more shocking about this accident was that it would go down in the history as a horrifying tragedy.

To add credence to his predictions, which he claimed was based on science, he said he had predicted the death of late Mr Ranjan Wijeratne which had come true. I would like to leave these predictions to readers of Tamil Nation to decide whether they were true or not.

The latest bloomer in astronomical predictions was the decision to change the name of Sri Lanka to Shri Lanka. According to The Island (Sunday) Edition of 25 December '91, the letter configurations in the words SRI LANKA and the numerological summations synchronised malefically with the number thirteen. (My Island on Sunday Column by Amita Abayasekera). In getting the final total thirteen, alphabet A has been given 1, B-2, C-3, D-4 and so on with Y getting 25 and Z-27. One is at a loss to understand the basis on which those alphabets were allocated the respective numbers. For example, Pandit Sethuraman in his book on Numerology, has given A-1, B-2, C-3, ..., W-6, Z-7 etc.

Only time will tell whether the new name Shri Lanka will usher in peace and prosperity to S(h?)ri Lanka.

Thanking you, Yours truly, S Gurunathan, Canterbury, Australia

DEATHS

Bishop Sabapathy Kulendran (91) in Vaddukoddai. A fuller report will appear in our April issue.

Ranee Sathianadhan nee Paul, widow of the late Canon Victor Sathianadhan, mother of Sneha Appadurai, sister of the late Grace Paul, late Prof Robert Paul, late Prof Samuel Paul and retired Vice-Principal of Methodist College, Colombo, died, 13 College Avenue, Mt Lavinia.

Beatrice Rajamani Cooke nee Wilson, wife of Oliver Vijayam Cooke and sister of Prof A.J. Wilson, former Principal of St Clare's College, Wellawatte and a teacher in the UK for over 20 years, died 24th January, Hammersmith Hospital, Funeral 6th February, 23 Harewood Avenue, Northolt, Middx.

Seenivasagam (Dhanabalasingam) former Electrical Engineer Ceylon Electricity Board. Dearly beloved husband of Rajeswary, loving father of Bhavani (USA), Sasiharani (UK), Kumudha (UK), Sudharshan and Nirupa, brother of Selvamani Prameswary. Cremation took place on Saturday 18th January 1992 at Kohuwala Cemetery, 4.30 pm.

Tail piece

I am not a Red or a Black or a White or a Yellow. I am not a Christian or a Jew or a Mohammedan, a Mormon, Polygamist, Homosexual, Anarchist or Boxer.

I embrace my wife because I love her and desire her and not because I happen to have a marriage certificate or because I am sexually starved.

I do not beat children, I do not fish and do not shoot deer or rabbits. But I am a good shot and like to hit the bulls eye.

I do not play bridge and do not give parties in order to spread my theories. If my teachings are correct they will spread by themselves.

I strictly observe every law when it makes sense, but I fight it when it is obsolete or senseless.

I do not believe that in order to be religious in the good and genuine sense of the word, one has to ruin one's love life and has to become rigid and shrunken in body and soul.

I know that what you call God actually exists, but in a different way from what you think: as the primal cosmic energy in the universe, as your love in your body, as your honesty and your feeling of nature in you and around you. (Wihelm Reich in Listen Little Man, 1948)

PEOPLE & EVENTS

Dharshini Wignarajah's Bharatha Natya Arangetram in Melbourne



Eelam Tamil, Dharshini Wignarajah's Bharatha Natya Arangetram was staged at the Nunawading Arts Centre on the 22nd of February, before a large gathering of art lovers, both Tamils and non Tamils.

Dharshini has been a disciple of the distinguished Eelam Tamil exponent, choreographer and teacher of Bharatha Natyam, Shanthi Rajendram for the past ten years. Shanthi heads the Nrithakshetra Dance School which was founded in 1974 and moved to Melbourne in 1980.

Dharshini exhibited a natural grace which was a delight to watch. Her movements were neat and precise and her sense of rhythm was distinctive.

Shanthi Rajendram, who holds post graduate professional qualifications from Kalakshetra says of Dharshini: "A dedicated student with talent is a cherished source of pleasure to any teacher. Dharshini is one such student and

Eelam Tamil Wimal Sockanathan presents Tamil radio programme



A new Tamil Broadcast on a very powerful frequency FM 100.8 started in Croydon, South London on Thursday, 13 February. The Tamil broadcast will be beamed out twice a week on Mondays and Thursdays from 10.00 p.m. to 11 p.m. It will include news, popular Tamil songs, dramas and interviews. Eelam Tamil broadcaster, Mr. Wimal Sockanathan will produce and present the Tamil programme in this ambitious project "Eastern FM Radio".

her arangetram was an occasion of fulfilment to me as a teacher." Vocal was by Dr. Rama Rao, Mridangam by Mr. M. Ravi-chandra and Veena by Mr. Ramnath. Nesa Eliezer was the compere.

International Tamil Foundation

Forum on "Second Generation of Tamils in Britain"

A panel of speakers will speak on various aspects of life as young Tamils leading to a general discussion among all present. Subjects will include attitudes towards Tamil culture and traditions, conflicts between Western and Eastern aspirations, assimilation into British society and the continued links with the ancestral land.

5 p.m. Saturday,
21 March 1992

Putney Methodist Church
Hall, Gwendolen Avenue,
London SW 15.

LOOKING AHEAD

March

12 Thursday
China Republican Day
14 Saturday
Karl Marx Remembrance Day
West London Tamil School
presents Natya Gana Brindham
- a dance extravaganza in aid of
the School, Greenford and
Wembley. 6.15pm Acton
Town Hall

16 Monday
Piradosha Viratham
19 Thursday
David Livingston Birthday
20 Friday
Isaac Newton Remembrance
Day Bharatha Nrtiya by Dr
Padma Subramanyam with her
Troupe from India 7.45pm
Tel: 081 381 3086

21 Saturday
Karaikal Ammayar Kurupooja
Panel Discussion - Second
Generation Tamils in Britain
- Forum under aegis of
International Tamil Founda-
tion at Putney Methodist
Church Hall 5 pm
Tel: 081 567 3221

23 Monday
Pakistan National Day
24 Tuesday
Sangeetha Vidvan Seergali
Govindarajan
Remembrance Day
25 Wednesday
Greece National Day
26 Thursday
Bangladesh National Day
28 Saturday
Eelam Maruthady Vinayagar
Kodi (Flag festival)
29 Sunday
Ekathasi Viratham
31 Tuesday
C. Kathiravetpillai
Remembrance Day

April

5 Sunday
Bharatha Natyam -
Prakash Yada Gudde 6.30 pm
Vocal Sivasakthi Violin
Chandrasekar Mridangam
Bhavani Shakar Tel: 081 381
3086 for tickets
6 Monday
Karthigai Viratham
7 Tuesday
Nadhaswara Vidwan
Karaikurichi Arunasalam
Remembrance Day
8 Wednesday
Shashdi Viratham
12 Sunday
Yogar Swami Kurupoojah

Panguni Uttiram

This festival occurs on the full moon day of the Tamil month. Panguni (March - April.) On this day the moon is in the asterism Uttiram. This is an auspicious day for worship. This day is celebrated by Hindus because it commemorates celestial marriages.

It is also known therefore as Kalyana Viratham (Marriage Festival.) It is the day on which Lord Siva married Goddess Meenakshi, an incarnation of Parvati, at Madurai. This story is one of the 64 divine sports (Thiruvilaiyadal) or religious acts for the edification of the devotees engaged in by Lord Siva at the city of Madurai.

They form the subject of a well known Tamil religious text written by Paranjothi Munivar. According to this story, the divine consort of Siva was once born as a child at Madurai, and became Queen of that Kingdom. While she was on a world tour, Lord Siva blessed her and promised to go to Madurai and marry her. When Queen Meenakshi returned to Madurai, Siva went there and married her at the famous Meenakshi Amman temple.

The festival also celebrated the marriage of Lord Subramaniya to Theivani. In gratitude for his services as commander-in-chief of the gods in their victory over the Asura Soorapathman, Indra King of the gods gave him his adopted daughter Theivani in marriage. The marriage of Subramaniya is celebrated on this occasion when his image, with that of his consort, decked with ornaments and garlands as at a wedding, is taken in procession. Because of this marriage significance, the festival is considered important for young men and women.

Weddings

Roy, son of Mr & Mrs A Jaya-veerasingham of Chundikuli Girls' College, and Nalayini, daughter of Dr & Mrs I. Selvadurai of Tasmania, were married at Stratfield, Sydney on 24 January 1992. The service was conducted by Rev Lance Johnston and Rev A.J.C. Selvaratnam, and the homily was preached by Bishop Mervyn Stanton. The attesting witnesses were Mr Justice Vincent Thamotheram and Mr A Selvaratnam, J.P. of Shropshire and an uncle of the bridegroom.

Ramesh, son of Mrs Rajendran, and Ratnajothy, daughter of Mrs Selvaratnam, were married at the Ganapathy Temple, Wimbledon, Surrey on 26th January 1992.

Manoharan, youngest son of the late Mr. C.N. Thiagarajah and Mrs. Saraswathy Thiagarajah and Suriyakala, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. M. Sivarajah of Colombo 6, were married at the New Kathiresan Temple, Colombo on 30 January 1992.

Eelam Tamil awarded Ph.D in Leeds

Sasikala Kirupakara has been awarded a doctorate in Philosophy by the University of Leeds, in UK. Sasikala is an old girl of Jaffna Hindu Ladies College. She obtained a first class Chemistry Honours degree from the University of Jaffna and proceeded to Leeds on a scholarship awarded by the British Govt. She is the daughter of Mr & Mrs Sivagnanam of Jaffna.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENT

Matrimonial

Strict vegetarian, teetotaler, non smoker, London Transport employee, seeks working bride, vegetarian, Hindu. Please write with details to K103, Tamil Forum Ltd, P.O. Box 373, Croydon, Surrey CR9 6AB

Letter from Canada

Dear Sir, I would appreciate very much if you would publish the following information in your newspaper. BBC's Tamil Osai radio programs are beamed towards India, Sri Lanka etc. but can be clearly heard in Alberta and other parts of Canada and also in California and other parts of USA. Tamil Osai radio program can be heard in Alberta from 8.45 am to 9.15 am Alberta time.

1. BBC - Tamil Osai from 1545 to 1615 GMT (UTC) (Monday to Saturday) on 7105, 9605, 11955 KHz (42.22, 31.23, 25.09 meters respectively). Good amount of news about Sri Lanka, India etc. are given in this program. This 30 minutes program is worth listening to.

2. BBC - South Asia Survey in English from 1700 to 1715 GMT (UTC) (Monday to Friday) on 11750 KHz (25.53 meters). This program gives news about Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Maldives. Alberta time from 10 am to 10.15 am.

3. Radio Veritas (Philippines). Tamil Christian religious program and news about Sri Lanka, India etc. from 1400 to 1430 GMT (UTC) (Monday to Saturday) on 9520 KHz (31.51 meters).

4. Radio Veritas (Philippines). Telugu Christian religious program and news about Sri Lanka, India etc. from 1430 to 1500 GMT (UTC) (Monday to Saturday) on 9520 KHz (31.51 meters). The Telugu songs have tunes similar to tunes of Tamil songs.

I would appreciate very much if your readers will let me know whether they are able to hear the above programs in the places (Canada & USA) where they live by writing to me at PO Box 1131, Medicine Hat, Alberta, Canada T1A 7H3. Good listening. Thank you. Yours truly, VT Saravanapavan, Alberta, Canada

Eelam Tamil Venothini Indrakumar retains Brent Dance Challenge Trophy



Ten year old Miss Venothini Indra Kumar won the Challenge Trophy for the best dancer at the South Indian Dance Competitions in the Festival of Brent, London, for the second year in succession. Venothini, daughter of the well known dancer, Mrs. Vijayambikai Indrakumar, entered the competition in the under 11 years age group for solo dancing along with 9 year old Veshanthini Ravindran, also a student of Vijayambikai. The Challenge Trophy for the best dancer of the event was awarded jointly to Venothini and Veshanthini. At the 105th Stratford & East London Dance Festival held in 1991, dancing jointly, both girls had won Gold Medals in the Indian dance section. Another student of Vijayambikai, Miss Shona Kundu, recently won a Silver Medal in the open age group for solo dancing. (Picture shows Competition Adjudicator, Alpna Sengupta, Veshanthini and Venothini with the Challenge Trophy)

TAMIL NATION

New Delhi attempts to sabotage Western Peace efforts

In a statement broadcast over the 'Voice of Tigers', the Liberation Tigers' radio in Tamil Eelam, LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran said that India had decided to indict him in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case to sabotage western peace efforts to resolve the conflict in the island. 'India wanted to destroy the LTTE because India is interested in putting its puppet organisations into power in the northeast. India decided to blame the LTTE for the assassination of the former Prime Minister, despite our repeated denials, because we refused to become a puppet in the hands of the Indian authorities,' Prabhakaran said.

He charged that India did not want the current efforts backed by the European states to succeed because that would end India's plans to have a firm control over the northeast through pro Indian Tamil groups. He said that those groups did not have the support of the Tamil people. 'Indian conspiracy will not succeed because the Tamil people are with the LTTE', Prabhakaran said.

Meanwhile, it is learnt that the International Quakers Movement has sent a delegation to Colombo to mediate between the government and the LTTE.

Further, in a separate interview with the Sri Lanka Sunday Observer, LTTE's political spokesman Mr. Anton Balasingham said: 'The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam did not believe it was imperative for India to be involved in any resolution of the conflict in Sri Lanka by virtue of its geo political position.'

On the other hand, he said, India should allow other 'extra territorial powers' to intervene and help to resolve Sri Lanka's festering problem.

'India intervened diplomatically, politically and finally militarily and it has disastrously failed to find a lasting solution. It is time for India to allow other extra territorial powers to intervene to solve the problem because it is posing tremendous refugee problems not only to India but to European countries as well. So naturally, European countries are also interested in mediating and solving the problem,' Balasingham said.

He said that India had decided to indict Velupillai Prabhakaran in the Rajiv Gandhi murder case to 'undermine our movement internationally and to undermine the current peace process undertaken by some western states.' 'Some countries, including Canada, Australia, some Scandinavian countries and the Commonwealth are involved in the current peace process' he said. 'And India is extremely unhappy that the issue had been taken beyond the sub continent. India did not want the issue internationalised. It did not want the peace process to succeed because it was opposed to any interference by extra territorial powers in the Indian sub continent.'

He said that the LTTE was not surprised or shocked over the Indian decision. 'We have been anticipating that India will bring charges against our leader. But at the same time I would like to tell you that expatriate Tamils are also taking steps to charge the New Delhi authorities for the large scale massacre of over 8,000 Tamil civilians by the IPKF. (Courtesy: India Abroad, 14, 21 February)

What is a nation?

"Nationalism has proved an uncomfortable anomaly for Marxist theory and precisely for that reason, has been largely elided, rather than confronted. How else to account for the use, for over, a century of the concept of the 'national bourgeoisie' without any serious attempt to justify theoretically the relevance of the adjective? Why this segmentation of the bourgeoisie - a world class in so far as it is defined in terms of the relations of production - theoretically significant?... A nation is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. These deaths brings us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism: what makes shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? I believe that the beginnings of an answer lie in the cultural roots of nationalism." Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1983

British High Commissioner says Sri Lanka & LTTE should talk

The British High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, travelled to Kandy and paid a courtesy call on the Mahanayake Thero of Malwatte. He told the Mahanayake Thero that the only way by which the North East crisis can be settled is for both the warring sides, the Sri Lanka Government and the LTTE, to talk to each other and work out a peaceful solution. He added that as this is an internal affair, it is better to be settled by the Sri Lanka and the LTTE and that foreign intervention alone could not solve the problem nor was that feasible. The North East conflict has gone on for a very long time, he continued and expressed the hope that an end to the crisis will soon be found so that there is peace and prosperity in the island.

Canadian Human Rights Mission Calls for Immediate Arms Embargo, & Negotiations between LTTE and Sri Lanka

At a Press Conference on 5 February in Ottawa, a group of prominent Canadians called upon the government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to agree to an immediate internationally monitored cease fire and a move towards a negotiated peace settlement.

Attending the Press Conference were the Very Reverend Dr Lois Wilson, former Moderator of the United Church of Canada and past president of the World Council of Churches; Beryl Gaffney, MP for Nepean; Peter McCreath, MP for South Shore, NS; and Svend Robinson, MP for Burnaby-Kingsway, BC; immigration lawyer Pierre Duquette; and broadcaster/journalist Marian Botsford Fraser.

All were members of a group who travelled to Sri Lanka 22 January, on a nine day visit, to study the impact of that country's eight-year civil war on

The Canadian delegation will deliver its final report on February 21, 1992, with more than 40 recommendations to the Canadian and Sri Lankan governments. The most urgent recommendations were presented at the Press Conference on February 5, 1992.

The recommendations included the following:

"The Sri Lankan government and the LTTE must agree to an immediate, internationally monitored cease fire leading to a negotiated settlement. The international community must apply pressure to achieve these objectives."

Under no circumstances should the government of Sri Lanka resort to a military offensive in an effort to end the conflict through military means, particularly in the Jaffna peninsula.

Canada should take the lead to facilitate international mediation of the conflict through the United Nations,

diately allocate the necessary resources to achieve this objective."

During their eight days in Sri Lanka, the Canadian delegation met with government officials, political leaders, NGO spokespersons, church leaders, community representatives and members of various human rights task forces. The group heard representations from all sides of the ethnic conflict, including the LTTE and found clear evidence of continuing disappearances, unlawful detentions by security forces and numerous unrecorded deaths. Says Mr McCreath, "The people of Sri Lanka are still subject to arbitrary and undocumented arrest, confinement without charge in unofficial detention centres and in some cases, torture and death. This is unacceptable."

The report added: "Team members of the Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka were alarmed by the extent of human rights violations and

"It was apparent to team members that many Tamils are genuinely grateful for the protection provided to them by the LTTE"

the Sri Lankan people.

Prior to their nine day tour of Sri Lanka the team met with a group of Eelam Tamil activists at the office of the Canadian International Development Agency in Ontario on 10th January. Tamil Nation also learns that the Human Rights team, on their way back to Canada on 30 January, met with a representative of the Liberation Tigers at Amsterdam.

While in Sri Lanka, the Canadian team investigated continuing reports of human rights abuses and growing concern that a full-scale military offensive is likely to be mounted in the Jaffna peninsula.

In Colombo, the delegation had an hour long discussion with Mr Thondaman on his peace proposals which had triggered off violent protests from the Sinhalese community. Mr Thondaman indicated clearly the need to resume negotiations between the two sides to the conflict in a bid to find a lasting political solution to the ten year old war.

The Sri Lankans with whom the team met urged the team members to increase external economic pressure on the Sri Lankan government to end these abuses. "The ethnic conflict will not be resolved by a military offensive, and the loss of life would be massive and inexcusable," said the Very Rev Dr Lois Wilson. "We are profoundly disturbed by the lack of political will to move with urgency towards a negotiated settlement."

The Canadian team met on 5 February with Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) officials, urging them to step up the discussion of human rights and the level of economic assistance provided to Sri Lanka at the meeting of the Sri Lanka Donors Consortium in Paris on February 7.

the Commonwealth, or another appropriate multilateral body.

Canada should ensure the complete embargo on all arms exports to Sri Lanka.

Canada should call on the international community to impose a complete embargo on all arms to Sri Lanka. Canada should suspend the part of Canadian bilateral assistance that is channelled to Sri Lankan government projects. These funds should be re-allocated to other programs in Sri Lanka.

Canada should intensify its leadership role within the donor community and urge international financial institutions (such as the World Bank) to relate levels of aid to an improvement in the human rights situation.

The government of Sri Lanka should repeal the Indemnity (Amendment) Act as an indication that perpetrators of human rights abuses will not be shielded from prosecution.

All efforts should be made to ensure adequate provision of food, medical supplies and fuel to the Northern Province of Sri Lanka.

Canada should give high priority to providing funding and logistical support to ensure that humanitarian needs of the population in the North and East, with particular attention to those in Jaffna district, are adequately met.

An international observer team should monitor the adequacy of humanitarian assistance in the North. Given the current state of civil war in Sri Lanka, Canada should refrain from the involuntary removal of Sri Lankans who have claimed refugee status in Canada.

Canada should establish appropriate quota levels to allow for the reunification within two months of spouses and dependent children once a refugee claimant has been recognized as a refugee in Canada. Canada should immediately

the enormous human cost of the conflict. Equally distressing was the fact that the severity of the situation is so little known or addressed by the international community...

Human rights violations continue to occur in Sri Lanka at an alarming rate. Team members were approached throughout their visit by persons who sought assistance with individual cases of extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests and detentions and disappearances. The team received written documentation regarding hundreds of such cases. Most distressing was the failure of the government to acknowledge the level of human rights abuses occurring in the country...

It was apparent to team members that many Tamils are genuinely grateful for the protection provided to them by the LTTE. In the East there is wide support by the Muslim community for the role of the Sri Lankan security forces. However, the armed conflict provides the context and the rationale for ongoing serious human rights abuses and further polarizes the situation.

Notwithstanding the military stalemate there is considerable offensive actions by both security forces and the LTTE. Considerable anxiety was expressed regarding potential loss of civilian life should the security forces move with an offensive to regain control of the North. An internationally monitored cease-fire is an urgent step towards creating conditions conducive to negotiating a political settlement.

A negotiated political settlement to the conflict is an urgent need. Regrettably the team members found themselves pessimistic regarding the likelihood of such a settlement. There appears to be a complete lack of political leadership or resolve by either the government or the LTTE to take steps that would lead to negotiations. The LTTE has indicated a willingness to

continued on page 11