

TAMIL NATION



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Nedumaran arrested by Madras Police - then released

The leader of the Thamilar Thesiya Iyakkam, Mr.P.Nedumaran, was arrested by the Madras Police after a ban was imposed on a conference organised for Sunday March 8 by the 'Viduthalai Kuyilgal' in Madras. Mr. Nedumaran had recently returned from a visit to Europe and Canada where he had addressed meetings in support of the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam. 73 persons including Mr. Nedumaran were arrested. Mr. Nedumaran was later released. Dr. Ramdas of the Pattali Makkal Katchi declared that bans such as these will not prevent similar conferences being organised in the future. (see Comment on page 12)

Swedish Foreign Ministry writes to Professor Peter Schalk

Sweden willing to mediate in conflict between LTTE and Sri Lanka

Swedish Foreign Minister Ms. Margaretha af Ugglas has indicated the willingness of the Swedish government to mediate in the conflict in the island of Sri Lanka provided both parties to the conflict expressly seek Sweden's intervention. In a reply, dated March 6, to Professor Peter Schalk, who had written to the Minister inquiring whether Sweden would mediate, Ms. Eva Heckscher writing on behalf of the Swedish Foreign Minister said:

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs has instructed me to answer your two letters regarding the situation in Sri Lanka... In order to make possible for Sweden to consider to play an active role in the attempt to reach a peace agreement with the fighting parties, it is indeed necessary that both sides turn to the Swedish Government and demand explicitly that it shall engage itself in such a peace process."

SELECT COMMITTEE REJECTS INVITATION FOR TALKS IN JAFFNA

In the meantime in Colombo the all party Select Committee of the Sri Lankan Parliament which was set up to try and find a solution to the conflict in the Island has decided against taking up an offer of direct talks with the LTTE.

The Committee said that the LTTE should first put their own proposals on the table. In this connection it is reported that the Quaker Peace Mission has been active in creating conducive conditions for direct talks.

THILAGAR SPEAKS ON BBC

Mr. Lawrence Thilagar, the European Spokesperson for the LTTE in a interview with the BBC, South Asia Survey on 26 March responded:

"This is unfortunate. The Sri Lanka Government did not want Mr. Thondaman to visit Jaffna. Now the Select Committee also does not want to go to Jaffna. The

mittee have the power to negotiate with the LTTE on behalf of the Government? We believe that there is a possibility of finding structures where two peoples, two nations may coexist and cooperate and work together."

BUDDHIST PRIESTS TO MEET LTTE?

It is also reported in Colombo that a group of Buddhist priests headed

"In so far as the Select Committee is concerned we would like to know its role. Is it simply a body which will make some recommendations to Parliament or does the Select Committee have the power to negotiate with the LTTE on behalf of the Government? We believe that there is a possibility of finding structures where two peoples, two nations may coexist and cooperate and work together." Lawrence Thilagar, European spokesperson for the LTTE

Government did not want to negotiate directly with the LTTE.

Now, it seems that the Government does not want the Select Committee to negotiate with the LTTE either. So far, the Government has not put forward any proposal. It continues to seek a military solution. It continues with its economic blockade. It is using the peace process to find a military solution.

In this context there is no question of the LTTE putting forward any proposal. In so far as the Select Committee is concerned we would like to know its role. Is it simply a body which will make some recommendations to Parliament or does the Select Com-

mittee have the power to negotiate with the LTTE on behalf of the Government? We believe that there is a possibility of finding structures where two peoples, two nations may coexist and cooperate and work together."

by a Mahanayake has sought the assistance of the Red Cross to enable them to go to Jaffna so that they could meet the LTTE leaders. They say that they wish to clear any misunderstanding the LTTE may hold about the Buddhist clergy. They also wish to discuss with the LTTE ways and means of settling the present conflict between the Sinhala people and the Tamil people. They have said that as soon as the Red Cross make the travel arrangements possible, they will go to Jaffna. On their return they intend holding several public meetings in the South where they will explain to the people that they are not the enemy of the Tamils and suggest proposals to resolve the crisis by peaceful means.

TAMIL NEW YEAR

The New Year begins on the day the sun enters the Zodiacal house MEDAM (Aries) in the month CHITHIRAI (April-May). This is the first day of this month. This CHITHIRAI New Year is celebrated by the Tamils. This year, this day falls on April 13.

The Hindu Almanac for the New Year is published at this time and begins its calculations from this day in April. It lays down in detail the positions of the planets and stars on this day and proceeds to give a reading of the significance of these signs. It gives the auspicious times at which New Year celebrations must begin and the times at which various ceremonial duties must be performed. There is a time when the fire should be kindled, the oil bath and the first meal taken and a time for the exchange of presents.

On the previous day the house and compound are given a thorough clean-up and purified. Brass vessels and brass oil lamps in the house are brought out and polished. On New Year day the house-holders get up very early in the morning. The shrine room is laid out for worship. A lamp is lit in front of the picture of the family-deity and a religious text is kept open near it. Fruits, cucumber, flowers and a split coconut are also laid there in offering. The members of the family, as soon as they are up, without opening their eyes, are led to this shrine before which they open their eyes for the first time and worship there. Some children make it a point to see their parents first on this day as they get up for this is also considered auspicious.

The 'oil bath' is the next important item on this day. Here the orthodox would smear the head and body with a special medicament prepared from certain leaves, flowers, saffron and milk. After the bath, everyone gets into new clothes. The men wear white vestis and the women sarees of the prescribed auspicious colour. There is a more elaborate worship at the shrine and then the first meal is taken at the auspicious time. Then many people visit the nearest temple where there will be special poojas. In some temples there is a procession where the deity is carried round the outer court.

The rest of the day is devoted to visiting friends and exchanging New Year greetings. Generally non-vegetarian food is prohibited on this day and only vegetarian meals are cooked and eaten.

A popular custom is the exchange of money. When one visits a friend's house, he is entertained and presented with money enclosed in betel leaves. This money is first placed before the deity and sanctified. Sometimes people honour their elders by presenting betel with money in it. The receiving of gifts of money on this day from a 'good' person is held to bring good luck to the receiver. It is also a form of charity and needy neighbours who visit receive gifts of money. This giving is known as KAIVISHESHAM.

New Year's day is a day for prayer and reflection. It is also a day for thanksgiving and celebration.

Tamil Nation wishes all its readers a peaceful and contented New Year

TAMIL NATION

India, US and the Calibrated Approach

"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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TAMIL NATION

The ending of the cold war signalled also the end of India's 'non aligned' world role. Today, instead of seeking to lead the non aligned in a bipolar world, New Delhi aspires to be a 'big power' in the emerging multi polar world - with, possibly, a permanent seat in the UN Security Council as the badge of that status. India is going for gold.

Nowhere is India's changed foreign policy stance, more self evident that in relation to the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty.

That should not come as a surprise. After all, nuclear non proliferation is the major plank of US foreign policy in the 1990s. The Gulf conflict showed that, if pushed, the US was willing to go to war to stop nuclear 'proliferation'. The recently 'leaked' Pentagon papers (see back page) examining the strategic options that are open, says, clinically, that the US "may be faced with the question of whether to take military steps to prevent the development or use of weapons of mass destruction".

India has responded to US pressures to sign on the dotted line, by continuing to insist that the NPT, is discriminatory, because the Treaty divides the world into the nuclear haves and have-nots. But, though India's policy pre-dates the 1974 explosion of India's nuclear "device" (said by India to be for peaceful purposes, but reckoned by the outside world to have been part of India's nuclear-weapons programme), the nuances of New Delhi's approach have changed with the end of the cold war.

Now, whilst declaring that the NPT is discriminatory, India is also letting it be known that it does not expect the big five powers (i.e. US, UK, France, Russia & China, who as the victors of World War Two have permanent seats on the UN Security Council and who in addition are the major nuclear powers today) to disarm. Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit declared recently: 'India does not expect the big five to disarm... If they did disarm, any tin pot dictator with a couple of bombs could be a world power'.

The implication was clear: Rather than tear up the NPT, India wants to redefine the number of world powers to include itself. The cry about nuclear haves and have nots is a negotiating chip to secure admission to the 'big power club' - once that is achieved, India will be willing to sign the NPT.

Given this approach, of going for gold, India has been lukewarm towards the proposal for five power talks, between India, Pakistan, the United States, China and Russia, leading to a non nuclear pact between India and Pakistan of the kind agreed by Argentina and Brazil.

This proposal was initially made by Pakistan last year. It was then 'taken over' by the US and enthusiastically recommended to India by UK Foreign Secretary Hurd. Whether the idea was originally Pakistan's alone remains a moot point. India's lukewarm response was for

more than one reason. It was not only that China is an acknowledged nuclear power and Pakistan is, by India's measure, ahead of India. (Some American officials reckon it would take Pakistan 15 hours to assemble a bomb. There is no such estimate for India. Reports that India has a number of bombs already assembled are denied in Delhi.)

India's General Sunith Francis Rodrigues' response to the Five Power talks, (in an interview published in the Pioneer newspaper on March 14) was blunt to the point of being rude: "Washington was pressing India to negotiate a regional accord against building nuclear arsenals. When you have a regional grouping, what is the role of these three bandicoots? You have two protagonists and three supervisors. Are they supervisors, are they guarantors, or are they part of this whole arrangement?"

The India Abroad report of March 20 commented that the General was 'apparently referring to reports that the US, Russia and China might oversee an anti nuclear pact between India and Pakistan.' India's Defence Minister, Pawar who has aspirations to lead the country, was careful in his choice of words to describe the General's outburst: "I have discussed the matter with the General. I am satisfied with the General's explanation. However I feel that such interviews by serving officers are best avoided. I wish he had resisted the temptation."

Informed sources suggest that multi-lateral talks of the kind proposed by Pakistan, US and UK are a non starter - at any rate at this stage of the game play.

It seems that India's negotiating ploy is to 'talk about talks' whilst in the meantime opening a security dialogue with the US to make the Indian region a 'nuclear safer' zone (not necessarily a nuclear free zone). Such a 'dialogue' it is said, will explore, on a bilateral basis, what the Bush administration would expect of Pakistan, China and Russia if five power talks were to begin. The very fact of such bilateral talks with the US will help to raise New Delhi's world status and give it greater space to manoeuvre.

The process has to be taken step by step, says Dixit who spoke about 'a calibrated interaction' between India and the US. Some reports say that Mr. Dixit, during his recent Washington visit, gave 'mixed' signals. It was, perhaps, his way of managing and hopefully influencing the end results of the 'calibrated' interaction with the US.

But 'mixed signals' is of course, a game at which two can play. When a super power plays the game, it is usually called the carrot and stick approach - a super power usually has a large number of carrots and sticks, after all it is this which makes it a super power in the first instance. The leaking of the first draft of the Pentagon Strategic Plan served the useful purpose, whether intended or not, of letting New Delhi know something about the 'sticks' in the US armoury.

The statements in the leaked plan that the US "should discourage Indian hegemonic aspirations over the other states in South Asia and on the Indian Ocean." and that "with regard to Pakistan, a constructive US-Pakistani military relationship will be an important element in US strategy to promote stable security conditions in Southwest Asia and Central Asia" would not

have gone unnoticed by Foreign Secretary Dixit.

That is not to say that, the US will not prefer to manage its relationship with India without actual resort to force. Clearly, the US would be willing to offer 'carrots', provided New Delhi 'plays ball'. The bottom line is that India should not become too big for its shoes. Closer economic, and military ties may help to create what is called euphemistically, an 'atmosphere of mutual confidence' - but which in truth will all be apart of the 'calibrated approach'. Amongst other matters, the US will also be looking for movement from India in respect of the vexed 'intellectual property rights' question and informed sources say that the dialogue with the Bush administration will start in May in Delhi.

Again, the proposed joint naval exercises and additional IMF/World Bank support in the coming months will further enable the two countries to explore, in a measured, 'calibrated' way, areas of cooperation.

Mr. Dixit, during his recent visit to Washington, was noticeably coy about specifying the exact location of the joint naval exercises. "Not in the middle of the Indian Ocean, otherwise they will say too near and that it is Indian hegemony. It is somewhere in the coastal area." He did not however say who might complain about Indian hegemony. Asked whether such exercises were not contrary to India's professed views that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace, Dixit said: "Why do we discuss in speculation? Who is maintaining the peace there? The Americans, the Russians, the Chinese submarines - so why do we go by nebulous concepts?" The implication that the 'holy cow' of the Indian Ocean Peace Zone was now regarded as a 'nebulous concept' was a signal that would have been duly received in Washington and elsewhere.

New Delhi's foreign policy has also not been unmindful of the warning expressed in the leaked Pentagon plan, "that if Pakistan is forsaken by the US, it could become radicalized and also develop a closer reliance on either Iran or China, or both for its security needs".

India has recognised for sometime that to the extent it mends its fences with China, the China-Pakistan axis will not solidify and this in turn will give it greater flexibility to deal with its US relationship. The Brahmins of the Indian foreign policy establishment have always prided themselves about the sophisticated nature of their thinking.

It is reported that India's talks with China on the border dispute between the two countries have been proceeding well. Both sides realise that demarcation of the border is not going to be achieved quickly but each has its own interest in improving relations. So they will concentrate on issues that can be dealt with easily, such as trade and better political relations. The overall improvement will eventually help to resolve the border issue says Dixit. It seems clear that this will consist of small adjustments to the existing line of control. The future of Tibet may well be an item for a horse deal at an appropriate stage.

But for India to aspire to Big Power status is one thing. To

achieve it is another. The Big Five are not about to freely give away their dominant position. It is true that as the US begins to use the United Nations as a suitable and convenient vehicle (as it did in the case of the Gulf War) to secure 'common' objectives, it will become increasingly difficult to resist pressures from Japan and Germany for permanent seats on the UN Security Council and a UN voice in determining those 'common' objectives.

But, India does not have the economic clout of either Germany or Japan. It may seek to use its nuclear power - in - waiting status to find a place at the High Table. But there are many nuclear powers-in-waiting including North Korea, South Africa, South Korea, Brazil, Argentina and Iran, not to mention Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

However, even apart from the external constraints, India's central problem is internal. Even with, say, US support, Narasimha Rao may end up becoming a Gorbachev - a powerless spectator of a disintegrating Indian Union. It is not that the US seeks the disintegration of the Indian Union. US preference would be for an undivided but manageable India just as much as its preference was for an undivided but manageable Soviet Union - or for that matter, an undivided but weak Iraq. But the US probably recognises that, in the longer term, it cannot disregard the political force generated by struggles for national self determination - increasingly so, as the decade unfolds.

The political reality is that the peoples of India are as different from one another as, for instance, the peoples of Europe. Whilst it is true that they share a common heritage, it will be idle to pretend that the separate national identities of the Indian Union will not grow and solidify in the years ahead. The opening out of the Indian economy will hasten this process rather than diminish it. In 1977, President J.R. Jayawardene opened out the Sri Lanka economy and it was thought that the separate national identities of the Tamil people and the Sinhala people, would somehow disappear in the melting pot of private enterprise and the free market. But the opposite happened. National aspirations are usually reinforced by 'economic freedom'. In the third world, the free market 'pot' is not big enough for thousands of years old 'ethnic identities' to melt.

US policy towards New Delhi will be influenced by its recognition that whatever may be the short term calibrated 'adjustments', in the longer term, stability will be achieved in the Indian region only on the basis of some sort of confederal union of the separate nations of the sub continent. It may therefore seek to build up influence within struggles for national self determination both as a way of monitoring and managing them and also as a useful addition to its armoury in managing New Delhi. It is within this matrix of power balances that any national liberation struggle in the Indian region would have to adopt its own calibrated approach, both towards New Delhi and Washington.

Savitri

"Can't isolate the LTTE from the Tamil people" says Thondaman



Minister and CWC leader, S.Thondaman breaking a long-silence on the ethnic issue has appealed that Sri Lanka should see the light and come to its senses just as South Africa did this week. In an interview with Roshan Pieris in the Sri Lanka Sunday Times on 23 March, Mr. Thondaman spoke out strongly, saying that there is no way in which the LTTE can be isolated from the Tamil people.

Q. There is much speculation as to

"They (the LTTE) have their lapses. Who does not? But whether one likes it or not, the Tigers have emerged as freedom fighters. They have not been found wanting in their dedication to their cause or as fighters. All other Tamil parties are either tired of fighting or of action or else have not been able to keep up with their goals."

why you are so silent these days. Is there any reason?

A. I am not silent, but I do not speak about my proposals now, since a memo was sent asking us not to go public on the peace proposals which are before the Select Committee. Besides I am a member of the Select Committee, so I am silent.

Q. India appears to be opposed to any talks with the LTTE and is asking for Prabakaran's extradition. How do you view this situation?

A. We are an independent country. We have to face our problems in the context of our national interest. All other interests are secondary. Good relations with India are necessary but our national interests are paramount.

Q. There is a section of vocal opinion that suggests that the LTTE be defeated or weakened before holding talks. What are your views on this?

A. If you mean defeating the LTTE, it could in my opinion be equated to defeating every single Tamil in the North-East. One thing is clear. You cannot isolate the LTTE from the rest of the Tamil people. Wiping out the LTTE means wiping out the Tamils. Until there are Tamils, there is going to be an LTTE hardcore. Remember that the LTTE, right or otherwise, is seeking to express the aspirations of the Tamil people.

Q. There are a large number of Tamil people, even Tamil political parties that do not accept the LTTE as leaders of the Tamil people. How do you explain this?

A. In the context of the Tamil people it is ultimately only the LTTE that is holding the fort.

Q. What about their lapses?

A. They have their lapses. Who does not? But whether one likes it or not, the Tigers have emerged as freedom fighters. They have not been found wanting in their dedication to their cause or as fighters. All other Tamil parties are either tired of fighting or of action or else have not been able to keep up with their goals."

Mr. Thondaman in another interview in Colombo said: "The Hela Urumaya and other chauvinistic organisations were not interested in the rights of the Sinhala people. They just wanted to whip up anti-Tamil feelings and capture power by claiming that the survival of the Sinhala race was threatened. History will one day show who tried to divide the country and who tried to unite the country he said." Explaining his peace plan he said that he had never asked for a cease fire and that it was up to the Government to bring about peace and that he could only make his suggestions.

Minister Thondaman reiterated his views at a meeting at the Midland Estate, Rattote. He said that the peace proposals put forward by him were not favourable to the LTTE. If the Sinhalese people do not realise the reality of the present situation, then it is a downward slope to disintegration of the land he affirmed. He added that his proposals would find a peaceful solution to end the ethnic conflict and the ongoing war in the North east. Opportunist politicians have unfortunately used these proposals to arouse unfounded fear in the Sinhalese people and these politicians are against any peaceful solution. This will lead to rivers of blood flowing in the country once again he said.

The London Times comments editorially

"Finding ways to integrate national groups into federal and confederal constitutions is absorbing countries as diverse as Russia, Spain, South Africa and the United States. There is no impossibility about this, no mystery."

The London Times in an Editorial on Scotland and Wales commented on March 20: "Why is nationalism relevant in Anglo-Brussels relations but not in Anglo-Scottish or Anglo-Welsh ones? Why are further steps to European political union anathema while resistance to any devolution within the United Kingdom is a "vital national interest"? Yesterday saw the publication of separatist manifestoes from the Scottish and Welsh nationalist parties. The questions they raise will not vanish from the British political agenda, for they are speaking to a reasonable desire on the part of sub-national groups within Britain for greater respect...."

The British government supported "national" self-determination for Croatia and Slovenia, for the Baltic states and for other members of the former Soviet Union. It is easy to deride the Scots and Welsh as "not proper countries", but thus did the Yugoslavs and the apparatchiks of Moscow deride their subordinate peoples. Scotland and Wales have distinct cultural identities, rooted in language, history and geography. Speeches by London politicians implying otherwise merely reinforce the distinction.... Attempts to suppress national identity only lead to stronger, often violent, eruptions of self-determination.... Finding ways to integrate national groups into federal and confederal constitutions is absorbing countries as diverse as Russia, Spain, South Africa and the United States. There is no impossibility about this, no mystery."

Veeramani lashes out at the 'Brahmin' Hindu

Mr.K.Veeramani, General Secretary of Dravida Kalagam in a reasoned indictment on the Hindu editorial of 24 February on the LTTE said: "When the Hindu which is the voice of the Brahmin establishment, the Mount Road Vishnu, goes against its customary style, and launches a blistering frontal attack in its editorial of the 24th February, entitled "Bring LTTE to Justice", we do not regard this outburst as simply the thoughts of the Hindu editorial writer. We understand it as the joint expression of the views of Cho, Subramania Swamy, Thinamani, Thinamalar, Express, the Brahmin establishment and others opposed to the Dravida Kalagam which is rooted in the anti Brahmin Tamil national movement of Ramasamy Naicker.

We do not write this to support anybody who has been accused in the Rajiv case. We write to expose the plans, the thoughts, the understanding of the Brahmin establishment and its capacity to inject political poison. Let us look at some parts of this intemperate Hindu editorial:

It says: "The conclusion that the Tigers killed Rajiv Gandhi is based on incontrovertible and detailed evidence, which the Special Investigative Team is now shaping into a charge-sheet to be filed in a month's time."

The investigation is secret. The statements made by the witnesses and the record of the investigation is not even made available to those accused in the Special Court. This Special Court functions under the notorious Terrorism and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act and the rights under the normal Criminal law have been taken away from those representing accused in this Special Court. We ask: In these circumstances, how did the editorial writer of the Hindu come to have access to the record of the investigation and, the statements of witnesses to conclude that the evidence was 'incontrovertible'?

The editorial says: "The investigation of the murder of Rajiv Gandhi also helped unearth the horrifying stranglehold that the LTTE militants had on the State of Tamil Nadu."

But the combatants in the struggle for Tamil Eelam, including the LTTE were supported by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Chief Minister M.G.Ramachandran for several years. They were given training in camps all over India. They were given millions of rupees. RAW was almost in daily contact with them. Not only during Indira Gandhi's time. Even in Rajiv Gandhi's time money was given. Did not the Hindu give space in its columns over the years to the LTTE and to its leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran. But, now, the Hindu tries to make out that somehow, it was only after the Rajiv assassination, that it became known that Tamil Nadu had become a base for LTTE activities. This is like trying to hide a whole pumpkin in a plate of rice.

Instead of treating the Rajiv murder case as a case under the ordinary criminal law, the Hindu seeks to transform it into a treason case and in this way suppress those who support the Tamil cause in Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu is not yet like Punjab, Assam and Kashmir where militancy has come out into open. Indeed, it is not even like Andhra Pradesh. It would appear that it is to change this that the Brahmin establishment is sharpening its weapons. History shows that no movement can be destroyed by seeking to suppress it. By charging Thambi Prabhakaran, the Hindu believes that the LTTE will be suppressed. In South Africa, Nelson Mandela was jailed for 26 years but that did not end the ANC.

The Dravida Kalagam condemns the attempt of the Brahmin establishment to use the Rajiv Gandhi assassination as an excuse to kill off Tamil nationalism. We believe that whether it be the murder of one who was

continued on page 12

Bofors will not go away

Solanki pushed to resign

India's Foreign Minister, Madavasingh Solanki has become the latest victim of the Bofors scandal. His resignation on March 31 came after he had admitted to Parliament that he had in early February, passed on a note to his Swiss counterpart, which note suggested that the Swiss inquiries into various shady bank accounts should be put on hold until the Bofors related court cases in India were resolved. The Guardian reports that Mr.Solanki said in Parliament that he had not read the note himself and that it had come from an Indian lawyer whose name he could not remember. The Minister was at pains to stress that he had acted on his own, without consulting his colleagues.

Recently a senior executive of Sweden's Bofors Company admitted for the first time that direct payments were made to leading Indian politicians in connection with the Bofors arms deal six years ago. The executive who asked to remain anonymous said in a newspaper interview that the payments of commissions to Rajiv Gandhi was a prerequisite for Sweden winning the arms deal which at that time was the biggest ever export order. 32 million pounds were paid using numbered accounts in Swiss Banks. The allegations appeared recently in Sweden's most respected morning paper the Tagens Nietter.

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Indian High Commissioner Jha on the Voice of America in Sri Lanka

"The Broadcasting station does not make us unhappy - what it may get used for can make us unhappy - India's position is incorporated in the letters appended to the 1987 Indo Sri Lanka Agreement, and that Agreement has not lapsed"

In an interview reported in the Sri Lanka Sunday Island, India's High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, Mr. Narendranath Jha delivered himself of some home truths about the Indo Sri Lanka Agreement and its relevance to New Delhi's geo political interests. His was a frank and revealing expose of the underlying purpose of the Agreement which had little to do with addressing the issues raised by the Tamil national liberation struggle but had every thing to do with securing for New Delhi its hegemonistic role in the Indian ocean region.

SI - What is India's position on the proposed high powered transmitting station of VOA at Chilaw?

IH - Our position remains the same as ever. That is incorporated in the letters exchanged in July 1987. The follow up letters appended to the document of Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 1987. No change from that. What gives you the impression we may have changed our position?

SI - That is - you all are not happy with the establishment of the station?

IH - No. The Broadcasting station does not make us unhappy. What it may, I'm not saying what it will, what it may get used for if at all used connectively is something that can make us unhappy. Just setting up a broadcasting station per se doesn't bother us. Any number of broadcasting station around the world - one mores does not bother.

SI - Both the US and Sri Lankan Governments have given assurances that it would not be used for gathering intelligence or any other activity that could be harmful to India?

IH - Well, we hope these assurances will be kept and the close dialogue, our cooperation or the exchange of views we had with Sri Lanka Government on this will be continued.

SI - Now there are reports that Sri Lanka has asked India that we nullify these letters of exchange between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and former President Jayewardene?

IH - These reports have been denied. They have been ascribed to Bradman Weerakoon during his visit to New Delhi. One of the Indian papers carried it and he categorically told me that he made no such remark.

SI - Does India still consider the Indo-Lanka Agreement to be applicable?

IH - Yes indeed. It has not lapsed by any means.

Democracy, Sri Lankan Style?

ELECTION COMMISSIONER'S INDICTMENT.

In a report released recently by the Sri Lankan Elections Commissioner Mr. Chandrananda de Silva, the Commissioner described in detail how the 1991 General Election was marred by thuggery, intimidation, terrorism, ballot rigging and many other abuses.

The Elections Commissioner pointed out that he lacks the power to enforce election laws. The hundreds of complaints made to the Elections Commissioner and his officials were brought to the notice of the police and security forces but apparently no action was taken because of political interference, the report said. **Stuff the ballot boxes?**

UNP DISSIDENTS TELEPHONES 'TEMPORARILY OUT OF ORDER'

The telephones of the UNP dissidents and former ministers Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake have been out of order for the past several weeks. Callers trying to get their numbers have been only hearing a recorded voice saying that these telephones are temporarily out of order. **How temporary is 'temporary'?**

OPPOSITION MPs TURN UP IN PARLIAMENT WITH MATS AND PILLOWS

Members of Parliament who could not be found accommodation in the MPs' hostel in Sravasti were paid housing allowances of Rs 6750. The Government has now ceased paying this allowance. The Opposition MPs staged a dramatic protest against the non payment of the housing allowance by appearing in Parliament with mats and pillows. Angry Opposition MPs claimed that while the Government MPs had been provided with houses in Colombo, they were left homeless. **Poor chaps! Charity begins at home, no doubt.**

WHILST YOUTHS CONTINUE IN DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

The Lawyers for Human Rights and Democracy in a report to the Chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Human Rights has pointed out that large number of youths arrested under emergency regulations are still in detention, though the police have sought the approval from the Defence Ministry for their release. The LHRD has also questioned the figures published by the Task Force. According to these figures there are supposed to be 4475 persons in ten rehabilitation camps and six detention camps. The LHRD has pointed out that it has received information about people held in detention in police stations, army camps and the sixth floor of the police headquarters, and that based on this information, the number of detainees is much more. The lawyers also say that they have information about a large number of persons detained for long periods without charges against them. It affirms that hundreds of people have written to them about the torture and degrading treatment they had to undergo at police stations or army camps. **Institutionalised violence has its own dynamics?**

GOGGLES

by C.P.Goliard

The Madras Hindu and the Brahmin Establishment

Let me present a scenario in the vast Dravidian land, known for its antiquity and conservatism. A non-conformist revolutionary who espoused agitational techniques unfamiliar to the entrenched ruling class gets a cold shoulder.

The ruling class consists of two types: (1) The Establishment, who are aliens to the Dravidian land, but garbed with military and intelligence arm; (2) The Brahmin Brown Sahibs, who control the press and other law enforcement agencies.

The non-conformist revolutionary was born to a "class", considered as 'low-caste' by the Brahmin Brown Sahibs. The revolutionary's idea of agitational techniques receive only a rebuke from the majority in the Madras land. Only about 120 people identify with the revolutionary and provide the founding, emotional support to him. To make matters worse, this revolutionary never stood for any election and canvassed for votes like an ordinary politician.

No, I am not writing about 1992 and Velupillai Prabhakaran. I refer to the year 1919, and a revolutionary (with the name Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi) who came to Madras Presidency for soliciting support for his agitational technique - civil disobedience. The Brahmin Brown Sahibs, who did not mind Gandhi then (and who don't mind Prabhakaran now) are the same - the owners of the Madras Hindu establishment.

At the beginning of 1919, Mahatma Gandhi was an "outsider to India's political establishment". Though his satyagraha campaigns against the British in South Africa did make Gandhi a recognizable figure, the highest Congress Party leaders had yet to admit him into their cabal. Gandhi, a non-conformist, did not wait in line for a formal admission. He captured the leadership from the lethargic bosses of the Congress Party, using his organizational skills.

On March 17, 1919, Gandhi arrived in Madras city to campaign for his opposition against the Rowlatt Bills. He went on a tour to five towns - Tanjavur, Tiruchi, Madurai, Tuticorin and Nagapatnam. And when he left Madras on March 28, only 120 people in the whole Madras Presidency did sign his satyagraha pledge. Only 120 people out of a total population of the then 20 million. Compared to the LTTE's current support in Tamil Nadu, Gandhi was in a worse situation then.

According to David Arnold's 1977 book, The Congress in Tamil Nad; Nationalist Politics in South India, 1919-1937, while Madras, "Gandhi had suggested that a proscribed book should be printed and circulated to the satyagrahis in defiance of the law". When the publishers of the Hindu were requested to undertake this effort, "they protested that they have invested one or two lakhs in

their presses and that confiscation would ruin them". David Arnold had further observed that, "The Gandhians had limited access to the press in Tamilnad. Of the four principal English dailies in 1920-21, three - Mail, Justice and New India - were persistent, often vociferous, opponents of non-cooperation. The fourth, the Hindu ... would not risk government displeasure and the possible confiscation by too daring an editorial policy".

Gandhi had hoped that after the Nagpur Congress in Dec. 1920, "the Hindu would swing over to non-cooperation, for it was an extremely influential paper among the western-educated in the Presidency, but its support was never more than lukewarm", according to David Arnold.

Well, if the then ownership of the Hindu could not come to grips with Gandhi's ideals then, it is no wonder that it cannot agree with the message of LTTE. Not only that, the management of the Hindu, is at pains now to paint the LTTE as a "foreign terrorist group". Let me comment on what the Hindu had stated editorially in its Feb 29 International edition.

1. The Hindu: "Unless Tamil Nadu comes to terms with the painful reality that the picture of the LTTE militants as brave freedom-fighters and martyrs is a grotesque distortion of reality, the shadow of the Tiger will never lift from his shore".

Comment: The Hindu acknowledges indirectly that despite its concerted campaign to discredit the LTTE militants as "terrorists ad fascists", the Tamil Nadu people are not buying this line.

2. The Hindu: "India cannot afford to appear indifferent to the implications of the horrifying conclusion that the Tigers killed Rajiv Gandhi. The sense of outrage over this appears conspicuously lacking ..."

Comment: It seems, that only the Hindu has concluded that "Tigers killed Rajiv Gandhi", while

the rest are not really sure about this. The Hindu itself acknowledges that "the sense of outrage ... appears to be conspicuously lacking". I wonder why? Is it because, the public are not so dumb as to believe what is printed in the Hindu? The identity of the female assassin is not yet revealed. Without this basic information, the malicious conclusion of the Hindu that "Tigers killed Rajiv Gandhi" is just a journalistic equivalent of the old Indian rope trick.

3. The Hindu: "The LTTE maimed India when they killed Rajiv Gandhi".

Comment: Holy cow! India was not maimed by the selfish motives of petty politicians who had thrived by uttering homilies to the revered name Mahatma Gandhi, but by the LTTE, according to the Hindu. In the same Feb 29th issue, the Hindu ran a commentary entitled, "True democracy eludes Cong(I)". Another feature, in the same issue told the recent revelation in the Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter, that an executive of the Bofors Company had acknowledged the kickback payments made to Rajiv Gandhi for arms selling contracts. It appears the Hindu is oblivious to the maiming of India carried out so effectively by Congress Party politicians and the stench emanating from Rajiv Gandhi's questionable deals.

One may confront me by saying that the Hindu is right in opposing the LTTE, because the Tigers are espousing violence, in their freedom struggle. If this be the case, then how can one explain the opposition of the Hindu to Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence campaigns, in its early phases? Isn't it nothing but hypocrisy?

At least, in one aspect, we can identify the similarity between Mahatma Gandhi and Prabhakaran. Both came from outside the Brahmin class, and to the Brahmin leadership by non-Brahmin talent is an anathema.

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"In a carefully planned move, the LTTE have sought legitimization for their surveillance, judicial and penal apparatus"

The Sri Lankan Sunday Island Columnist, Taraki, in a comment in March, says that the Tigers, have sought legitimization in a carefully planned move, for their surveillance, judicial and penal apparatus. He adds: "This is a new and crucial phase in their strategy for developing and establishing their authority in the north. How do they hope to secure the legitimization they seek for their nascent and experimental state structures?"

Prior to 1987 the Sri Lankan state was solely held responsible for indiscriminate arrest, unacknowledged detention and torture, including summary executions. These are considered human rights violations precisely because the idea of a modern state is postulated on its structural ability to ensure that the fundamental principles of natural justice are followed in administering justice to its people.

Therefore when a state is accused of human rights violations it means that it has deliberately misused, overstepped or suppressed its credible penal and judicial system in dealing with its subjects.

The distinction between crime and human rights violation is that the former is related to non state parties whereas the latter is related to states. The prevention of crime is attempted through reform and punishment by means of the judicial and penal system of a country. The prevention of human rights violation is primarily attempted through improvements to and reform of a state's judicial and penal system.

A state endeavours to make itself acceptable in international fora (particularly in the new world order where human rights issues have acquired a more than merely humanitarian - instrumental value) by pleading its case in terms of structural improvements and new mechanisms aimed at rectifying those aspects of the state which made violations possible, and by accepting the recommendations made by international bodies (in part or whole).

The state also pleads the attenuating circumstances which make full implementation difficult. (In many cases, geopolitics may make it easier for a state to justify tardy reform in view of such special circumstances).

Now this is what the government has done at the 48th session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in responding to the report by the Working Group on Disappearances of the commission on February 27 (statement of Bradman Weerakoon).

But the most significant turn of events is that the LTTE which figures as the other human rights violator in this report and the Sri Lankan amnesty report of January 1991, has presented its case exactly in the manner of a state, by speaking of improving the human rights situation in its areas, in terms of a better judicial and penal system. And like the government delegation it has also pleaded the special conditions in which it has to carry out reforms and introduce new mechanisms.

The LTTE's International Secretariat in London issued a statement on February 18 six days after Ambassador Nev-

ille Jeyaweera addressed the chairman of the commission.

It said the International Secretariat of the LTTE has taken note of the observations in the Sri Lanka Amnesty reports of September 1991 and January 1992, and in the recent report by the Working Group on Disappearances of United Nations Commission on Human Rights which is in progress now in Geneva as well as the concerns of some other non-governmental organisations, about violations of human rights, in areas within the control of the Sri Lankan 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 Northern and Eastern parts of the island, the extent and nature of that control is not the same in all parts of the Northeast.

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 infrastructure 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.

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."

The Tigers are able to respond in this fashion because the charge of human rights violation essentially posits malfunctioning or distorted state structures rather than the crimes of an individual or group.

The zeal to condemn the LTTE as a gross human rights violator in Sri Lanka, has given rise to a paradox which suits the Tigers but confounds its accusers. The paradox is this: If you say it is a human rights violator it legitimizes its nascent state structures, for reasons given above.

If you want to deny that legitimacy you will have to stop talking about its misdeeds in terms of human rights violations. But when you do that the LTTE's nascent state structures gain legitimacy by virtue of the fact that no human rights group talks about violations they engender.

This paradox makes one thing clear in dealing with the LTTE. That is the war to control it, is not a technical matter confined to the north. The international diplomatic dimension of the LTTE's goals is still an important front despite the efforts of India in international fora. (Courtesy: Taraki, Sri Lanka Sunday Island, 8 March)

Sri Lankan State Controlled Press abuses Canada

The Sri Lankan State controlled Sunday Observer, ignored diplomatic niceties with gung ho, no holds barred, editorial against Canada and the recent Canadian Human Rights Mission which had made a strong denunciation of Sri Lanka's human rights record. It alleged that "the report of the Canadian human rights delegation was written in their minds long before they arrived here."

In tones reminiscent of the Sri Lankan Defence Minister, the late Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne when he called Amnesty International a terrorist organisation, the Sunday Observer editorial said:

"Canada which never fails to posture before the world as a self righteous moral guardian of universal human rights, is now facing the embarrassing question of whether they are playing a double game on this sensitive issue of human rights. Take for instance their role in Sri Lanka. On the one hand, it despatched hastily an instant delegation to investigate the current state of human rights in Sri Lanka, essentially as a tactical move to justify their attempts to cut aid to Sri Lanka when the Aid Group met in Paris in early February. And on the other, Tamil Tigers, whose activities have been the main cause for the violation of human rights in Sri Lanka, are allowed to operate with impunity, under the very noses of Canadian authorities..."

Perhaps it is no coincidence that while the Tamil expatriate lobby gathered in Paris was demonstrating outside, the Canadian delegation inside was lobbying against giving aid to Sri Lanka....

Canada, incidentally, was a lone voice with Japan, USA and Britain leading the way to give maximum support to Sri Lanka. Cutting or suspending aid has been the prime objective of all anti Sri Lankan lobbies abroad, particularly those led by the Tamil separatist lobby.

When Canada echoed the demand of this anti Sri Lankan lobby at the last Aid Group meeting, its bona fides came under severe suspicion. This in one sense revealed Canada's hand. Canada may have been prompted to take this stance because it has to appease a powerful Tamil lobby backed by certain sections of some Christian denominations... Against this background, it is obvious that the report of the Canadian human rights delegation was written in their minds long before they arrived here."

Tigers set up anti tank squads

The LTTE have set up anti tank squads to fight the Army's new armour, T-55 Main Battle Tanks (MBTs) and T-85 tracked Infantry Fighting Vehicles. "They knew exactly where to aim" one Sri Lankan tank officer who took part in last week's armour attacks (March 22) remarked referring to the Tiger's efforts to destroy the tanks. One rocket propelled grenade fired by Tiger anti tank unit entered through the commanders cupola on the tank and went right through the vehicle killing one soldier. All the occupants inside the vehicle, which was hastily abandoned, Officers said some of the Tigers wore a peculiar headdress made of helmets and gunny bags suffered burn injuries. (Sri Lanka Sunday Island, March 22)

Now Tell Me Something....

About 11,000 Haitians fled their homeland after President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was deposed last year. They were being held at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo bay in Cuba.

Over hundred thousand Tamils fled their homeland, after Sinhala mobs and Sri Lankan military and para military forces attacked them. They have been living in Tamil Nadu and in other parts of India.

In both cases, the refugees expected protection and fair treatment. They only had their goodwill to offer to the country they sought asylum in.

On 31 January 1992, the US Supreme Court cleared the way for the repatriation of the Haitian asylum seekers back to Haiti. The Indian government has also decided to repatriate the Tamil refugees back to Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan government has welcomed the repatriation.

The US government is repatriating about 500 Haitians a day. But it allows media members to interview and photograph the Haitians.

The Indian government has been repatriating about 600 Tamils per ship load but telling the world that the repatriation is voluntary! But at the same time, it will not allow members of the media to go anywhere near the refugees.

Now, would somebody or other, please tell me

Is India the biggest democracy in the world?

Doesn't President Bush's new world order include the Haitians or the Tamils?

Is this part of the strategic cooperation between India and the US in the third world? Oh, do tell me please....

Bala, Germany

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Sivanayagam imprisonment without trial passes 250th day



On the 1st of April 1992, Mr.S.Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation entered his 256th day of incarceration, without trial, in an Indian jail. The detention order served on Mr. Sivanayagam was under the National Security Act and there is no appeal to the High Court. The Courts however, have a general power to review administrative acts and Mr. Sivanayagam sought to invoke this power by making a writ application to the Madras High Court to quash the detention order. In a judgment delivered last month, the Madras High Court held that it could not say that there was no material on which the administrative authority could have made the order detaining Mr.Sivanayagam and on

this ground, it rejected Mr.Sivanayagam's application. The High Court did not have appellate power in respect of the detention order and therefore did not rule on the merits of the case as to whether the detention order was justified or as to whether Mr.Sivanayagam was a threat to national security. Though the power of the Courts to intervene is very limited, it was felt that every avenue should be explored and an application is being made to the Supreme Court in New Delhi to quash the detention order. 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 CR96AB, United Kingdom. Each contribution will be individually and gratefully acknowledged.

New Delhi attack on Press & Intellectuals

The editors of two widely read Guwahati based Assamese weeklies, Mr.Parag Kumar Das of Budhbar and Mr.Ajit Kumar Bhuyan of Sadin were arrested from their residences around midnight on March 5. Like Mr.Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation, both Mr.Das and Mr.Bhuyan are being held under the national Security Act which allows imprisonment without trial for one year. Mr.Bhuyan is also the joint convener of the Manav Adhikar Suraksha Samiti (MASS), a human rights organisation in Assam. On March 2, police had detained Mr.Niloy Dutta, a Guwahati advocate and convener of MASS. The arrests came on the eve of a state level MASS convention in Guwahati and amidst reports of an impending crackdown by New Delhi on intellectual sympathisers of the ULFA, especially in the media.

In the meantime, in an interview from the jail in which they have been detained, two Sikh leaders, Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Simranjit Singh Mann demanded the lifting of censorship imposed on the Jamnu and Kashmir press.

Amnesty International reports:

"Torture occurs routinely in every Indian state"

The Indian government blandly dismissed a horrifying catalogue of police tortures, rapes and murders compiled by Amnesty International. The 195 page report includes a list of 415 people who died in police custody since 1985. Amnesty which has announced a worldwide initiative to pressure the Delhi government says that torture occurs routinely in every Indian state.

"A major cause of the persistence of widespread torture is the failure or unwillingness of leading government officials and representatives to acknowledge that torture even exists, let alone that it needs to be vigorously tackled"

Amnesty says abuses are particularly bad in areas of armed insurgency such as Punjab, Kashmir and Assam where special laws giving the security forces immunity from prosecution were seen as a 'license to torture and kill.'

The Report says: "Many hundreds, if not thousands, of people have been tortured to death during the last decade... A major cause of the persistence of widespread torture is the failure or unwillingness of leading government officials and representatives to acknowledge that torture even exists, let alone that it needs to be vigorously tackled." That point was underlined by the indignant denunciation of the Report by India's Deputy High Commissioner in London, K.V.Rajan. He said India was disappointed with the Report. "In fact it gives the impression of being a campaign against India rather than a report." Mr.Rajan also objected to the scheduled appearance at an Amnesty news conference of a Calcutta headmistress, Archana Guha, partially paralysed since spending three years in jail without charge.

Taraki writing in the Sunday Islands says: Sri Lanka dreams of an easy military victory - but it will be a long haul

The latest issue of the LTTE's official organ "Viduthalai Pulihal" carries a message from Mathaya to the people of Jaffna headlined "we shall resolve to defeat the invasion".

The message is about an impending army offensive into Jaffna, the L.T.T.E's current position on war and peace and what the people of Jaffna should do by way of preparing for facing the battles of the offensive. The message says "we keep the doors of peace wide open. But the Sri Lankan government keeps on beating the drums of war. The government doesn't appear to be interested in talks now."

"They dream of an easy military victory. The government's present position is to carry out military operations till the Tigers are weak and sizeable territory is captured and then drag them into negotiations and impose solutions. This is why the government is making preparations to launch a massive invasion into the Peninsula. It knows that as long as the LTTE is strong it cannot impose inadequate solutions... therefore the destruction of the Tigers' power is equal to the suppression of the Tamil struggle. We have to defeat the invasion of the enemy. Our fighters are preparing to face this military invasion of the Sinhala government. If the Sinhala army comes into the Peninsula it will be a battle bigger than all the battles in the past. Hence we have to immediately start making massive preparations to counter it. When we say massive preparation we will need manpower on a large scale. This cannot be supplied by the Tigers alone. The people will have to turn Tigers to meet this need.

In the battles for the Elephant Pass and Manalauru (Weli-Oya) the role played by the people has given us encouragement. History will proudly record the work done outside those battle fields by the people.

A similar role is expected of the people in the coming battle as well. In this battle the self-defence of the people is intertwined with the back-up work for the war front... Preventive measures and duties: Volunteer corps should be set-up in every village, bunkers should be dug everywhere; dry rations should be collected and saved; rumours should be controlled and needless displacement of people be prevented; information co-ordinators will have to be appointed to every village to avoid rumours and displacement; a force has to be formed to donate blood and look after the wounded; Vigilante groups should be created in certain areas: above all young boys and girls should join our army to replace our army to replace our fighters who die in the battle."

According to the 'Viduthalai Pulihal' (p.3) the LTTE thinks that the army will launch simultaneous attacks on several fronts or points on the Peninsula's periphery - which would be aimed at the heartland of the Peninsula. This assessment of the army's strategy by the LTTE might put the Tiger commanders in some difficulties.

In his lengthy discussions on bad strategic choices by the commanders, General Jomini observed that many military leaders, in attempting to defend territory or a weaker army let the adversary take the advantage of deciding where, when and how to attack. He also noted such commanders, in the history of west-

ern warfare, invariably courted disaster when they, uncertain how to protect or exploit several natural lines of operations hedged their bets by dispersing their forces among several possibilities.

WRONG CHOICES

In a first glance scenario it would appear that the Tiger leadership has got itself into a situation where it would be compelled inevitably to make precisely those bad strategic choices described by Jomini. Firstly it would seem that - if one were to go by Mathaya's message - in their attempt to defend the Peninsula they have let the army take the necessary advantage of deciding when, where and how to strike with superior force. Secondly that, uncertain of the army's

But the crucial question is - has the troop movements and the publicity related to 'the' impending battle for Jaffna's control, pushed the LTTE into making bad strategic choices? One can have an inkling of the LTTE military future in Jaffna if one considers two things. The one, the nature of the 'decisive points' on the Peninsula's periphery. The other, the inner compulsions and imperatives of the LTTE itself.

If one were to go by the LTTE assessment of the 'impending' battle for Jaffna, there are five points on the Peninsula's periphery at which offensives to break into the Tiger held interior might be directed. They are A: the Pooneryn-Kerathivu-Chavakacheri zone. B: Id-

aikadu - Thondarna-naru - Vadamaradchi interior. C: Valipuram-Nagarkoil-Thalayadi coast - Vadamaradchi interior. D. Ponnalaimeolai-Chulipuram-Mathagal coast and hinterland. E: Arali Jetty-Pommaiveli - Jaffna Town - Ariyalai-Poompuhar.

After almost 2 months of intense war in the north the army has now secured three

strategic zones to the south, south west of the Peninsula's periphery. Offensives into Jaffna's heartland in the red soil region and Vadamaradchi-interior can be launched and sustained from these zones. The South-South western zone comprising Kayts and Pooneryn have made points A and E vulnerable. The north western zone comprising of Karanagar island and Palaly-K.K.S. area has made points B and D vulnerable. The considerable amphibious capability demonstrated by the S.L.A. in Vetti-laikerny makes point C penetrable.

If this were to be the case, by the transfer and manoeuvring of the mass of its northern forces in the past two months so as to threaten the decisive points in the Peninsula's defence, the army should now have dispersed the Tigers troops strength among all these points. And then the army will have to hurl all available forces against only a fraction of the Tigers thus dispersed defending some of these points, and thereby technically establish a military dominant presence in the Peninsula.

The problem is that all major operations from the south and south western zone have to include a substantial

continued on page 11

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Rohana Gunasekera in Sri Lanka Sunday Island on

Dud Tanks, Raw Sinhala Recruits and Low Morale

The controversy over the unfortunate T-85 tank affair continues with the Army Commander Lt. General Cecil Waidyaratne, calling for an inquiry into how they were bought without any inspection and spares guarantee, according to tank officers in Anuradhapura where the Army has its armoured warfare training centre. These sources say the machines are of inferior quality, break down frequently and need a massive spares backing which has not been provided for in the contract. Armoured corps officers are critical of the vehicle saying its 73 smooth bore gun has a range of only 850 yards compared to the 2,000 yard range of the 100mm main gun on the T-55 main battle tank (MBT).

Some say it would have been better to buy more MBTs, which were acquired from Czechoslovakia for the stunningly cheap price of Rs. 3.4 million each, while the T-85 IFV cost Rs. 12 million each. In fact some feel it would have been better to have used the US\$ million spent on the T-85 IFV deal to buy more main battle tanks. For the kind of money about 70 MBTs could have been acquired from the Czechs instead of the small number that was actually bought.

Meanwhile, the tremendous task of revamping Army training to suit Tiger tactics and reduce casualties was brought sharply into focus by Friday's ferocious Tiger ambush.

The military has found that they are taking so many casualties due to lack of proper training. Recent recruits have received only six weeks training because of the urgent need for manpower whereas originally a soldier's training took three to six months. Lack of training produces poor quality soldiers. And when they take casualties its bad for morale. The Army is now old enough to know what the Tiger tactics are: they operate in small groups and disperse after each attack; they have tremendous patience and watch the soldiers for a long time waiting for a weak moment. The Army's own practices sometimes leave them vulnerable to the Tigers; troops are deployed in one place for a long time with no relief in the line.

This leads to monotony, over-confidence and a lowering of the guard. From the first week of March training teams will fan out to army centres to improve training methods and eventually produce quality soldiers, who will be indispensable for the tough battles ahead.

From the Battlefield

JOC CHIEF ON THE LTTE

"We reckon the LTTE as the best guerilla organisation in the world, with the best training and discipline" JOC Chief Lt. Gen. Hamilton Wanasinghe. The ranks of Tuscany could scarce forbear to cheer?

On 14th March two policemen were killed and three seriously injured as a result of an LTTE attack on a police van at the Batticaloa-Ampara Street

On 7th March two Sri Lankan soldiers were the victims of an LTTE attack on a security post north-west of Elephants Pass

On 6th March, the LTTE, using RPG mortars and other heavy weaponry killed seven army men and wounded five others seriously. When they attacked a Sri Lankan army post in Janakapuram in Welis Oya, according to a report issued by the Joint Operations Command (JOC).

On 6th March the chief of the JOC, Lt. Gen. Hamilton Wanasinghe issued a communique that 21 Sri Lankan soldiers were killed in a battle between the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE at Thoppokalai on the border between Batticaloa and Polonnarywa.

On 5th March, according to a report issued by the Joint Operations Command, an officer and 17 soldiers were killed at Mulliyankovil near Vettalaikkerni beach in a battle between the Sri Lankan Army and the Tigers. Ten Tigers are also reported to have been killed in this operation.

15 AIRMEN DIE IN TIGER AMBUSH

The Tigers ambushed an Air Force foot patrol in Morawewa on 21st February. They detonated claymore mines and fired machine guns killing 15 airmen and six national guards. The Tigers withdrew with the weapons and telecommunication equipment they carried.

PLOTE IN JOINT OPERATION WITH THE SRI LANKAN ARMY

A PLOTE spokesman said that some 200 PLOTE men will join the Sri Lankan armed forces in their new offensive in the North. He said that their cadres operating in Trincomalee and Ampara would be deployed in Vavuniya to beef up the military offensive and that some of the PLOTE men will be in the front lines.

ARMED FORCES RETREAT FROM KARATIVU

The SL Armed Forces attempted to land in Kerativu travelling in a large fleet of dinghies. Their landing on the beaches of Kerativu was thwarted and were forced to beat a hasty retreat as they came together under severe attack by the Tigers.

WESTERN ROUTE FROM ELEPHANT PASS TOP BE CLOSED

The Sri Lankan Army in its radio broadcast from Palaly Army Camp announced that the route from the west of Elephant Pass to the Jaffna peninsula will be closed. This action will in its wake increase the already severe hardship endured by passengers travelling to and from the peninsula to the south.

3000 SRI LANKAN SOLDIERS DESERT

The SLFP MP - Mr DM Jayaratne said in Parliament on 20th February, that 3000 soldiers have deserted the Sri Lankan Army, either because they do not subscribe to the continued escalation of the war or because they fear for their lives. The Sri Lankan Army and the Government are in the process of apprehending the deserters and making them rejoin. Mr Jayaratne said that the Sri Lankan Government should desist from such action as this is tantamount to sending cattle to the abattoir.

Arjun Katoch, Commander of a Battalion in the IPKF, writes on

Need for a Balanced Assessment of the Liberation Tigers

As long as the issue of control over land in the north east provinces of Sri Lanka remains unresolved, the LTTE will continue to have the support of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

Public perception of the LTTE in India has shown several sharp shifts as events in the northern portion of the subcontinent unfolded. The pre-1987 perception was that of sympathy for this underdog Tamil outfit bravely fighting the Sri Lankan army and keeping it at bay. The post-Accord 1987 period saw the LTTE portrayed as lungi clad upstarts who bit the hand that fed them, who dared defy the might of the Indian state and who would soon be taught a lesson by the Indian army.

By 1990, 4,000 IPKF casualties later and after many dubious claims by the IPKF Commander Lt. Gen. Kalkat, the LTTE came to be regarded with a mixture of grudging admira-

constant companions, and the antagonists got to know each other's strengths and weaknesses well.

It is a cruel irony that the Indian public's perception of the LTTE's popular support and capabilities should have been based on press handouts and conducted tours for journalists organised by IPKF HQ which was physically and mentally distanced from reality and whose views were shaped more by what they thought South Block wanted to hear than by facts as they existed on the ground.

This deception was exposed at least once when the BBC announced in September 1988 that the camp claimed to have been destroyed by IPKF was a fake and the weapons supposedly captured there had actually been flown in from Madras.

This revelation, incidentally, was the result of a slip by an inebriated Special forces colonel captivated by the charms of a comely Indian reporter. As was to

"Having had the privilege of commanding a battalion of pars commandos through the battle of Jaffna, the clearing of Batticaloa, the retaking of Vavuniya Mankulam, Mullaitivu and the initial attempts to clear the Alampil jungles (then and current HQs of the LTTE), this writer feels that perhaps a more realistic view of the LTTE as he saw it would help in a better understanding of the organisation."

the Tamils by methods that, if no gloss were to be put on it, could best be described as genocidal. When few in India outside of RAW had heard of it, the LTTE for many long years acted as an effective shield between the depredations - of the Sri Lankan army and the Tamils. When the IPKF came into Jaffna it was rapturously welcomed by the

"The fierce battles at Elephant Pass and in the Mullaitivu jungles around the 14 Base (so called because 14 is the radio call signal of Prabhakaran on the LTTE radio net) have now brought home to the Sri Lankan army that the best they can hope for is a bloody stalemate in the north-east of the island."

tion and condescension: as an organisation that had fought well but was critically weakened and confined to the jungles of Vavuniya, and which would soon be mopped up by the Sri Lankan army.

The Sri Lankan army, as professionals, should have known better but for the decimation of the JVP under its belt and Ranjan Wijeratne to back them. In the event it soon lost Jaffna Fort, Mankulam Camp and more men in six or seven months than the IPKF had in three years. The fierce battles at Elephant Pass and in the Mullaitivu jungles around the 14 Base (so called because 14 is the radio call signal of Prabhakaran on the LTTE radio net) have now brought home to the Sri Lankan army that the best they can hope for is a bloody stalemate in the north-east of the island.

Our media, fed this time on Sri Lankan rather than Indian defence ministry press releases, started blaming the LTTE for the latest round of fighting and for the suffering.

be expected the Indian army top brass were very upset and ordered an inquiry into the incident. But amour in Vavuniya was hard to prove, and the colonel, is now a Brigadier.

The actual ground realities were too well known to the brave, uncomplaining, dirty, tired infantry soldier who was solely responsible for what success the IPKF had and who was in regular contact with the LTTE as well as the local population.

Having had the privilege of commanding a battalion of pars commandos through the battle of Jaffna, the clearing of Batticaloa, the retaking of Vavuniya Mankulam, Mullaitivu and the initial attempts to clear the Alampil jungles (then and current HQs of the LTTE), this writer feels that perhaps a more realistic view of the LTTE as he saw it would help in a better understanding of the organisation.

To begin with, if the LTTE are the ogres that they are made out to be, how

local population who thought it had come to help get the Sri Lankan army off their backs.

October 10, 1987 the day the IPKF was ordered to commence hostilities against the LTTE placed it in a no-win situation. While the perception of our command structure might have been otherwise popular support was in fact with the LTTE, the proven protectors of the Tamils. And no army can easily destroy an organized force like the LTTE go long as the people whole-heartedly support it. The Sri Lankans have currently relearned this lesson of military history at great cost at Elephant Pass and Mullaitivu. Countless villagers told us that we would leave sooner or later and then only the LTTE would save them and their land from the Sinhalese.

The next question that comes to mind is: why can we not insulate the state of Tamil Nadu from the activities of the LTTE? Our navy during the IPKF operations periodically claimed to, have

"why can we not insulate the state of Tamil Nadu from the activities of the LTTE?..the fact of the matter is that with the ships the Indian Navy has at present, it is physically impossible to prevent ingress, and it is professional hypocrisy to claim that it can be done."

Consequently, the public perception of the LTTE again started turning negative... Not many people sat back to think that in all these years of stories of LTTE atrocities the views aired in our media has been based largely on hearsay; that few Indians other than officers and men of the IPKF infantry battalion have had occasion to interact with the LTTE over and length of time and were in a position to assess as to why this organisation had not only survived under extremely adverse circumstances but continued to flourish.

During the period the IPKF was in Sri Lanka, two worlds existed in the by lanes of Jaffna and the jungles of Vavuniya and Batticaloa. One was the safe antiseptic world of headquarters, maps, staff officers, and helicopters flying above the jungle canopy, which rarely had any contact with a militant. The other was the hot, humid, tension-filled world of infantry in close combat, below the jungle canopy and in the by-lanes. Here no quarter was asked for or given; death, injury and privation were

is that they have lasted so long? Terror alone can not explain the unending stream of volunteers from amongst the Tamil youth, their dedication to their cause and willingness to die for it. Any one who walked in 1987 was instantly struck by the devastation inflicted on the Tamils by the Sri Lankan army (which should really be called a Sinhala army as it is 98 per cent Sinhalese; the entire army's senior most Tamil officer in 1987 was a Lt. Col. posted on administrative duties in Colombo).

It is not generally understood that the political fight between the Tamils and the Sinhalese is routed primarily in a tussle for land. The Sri Lankan government considered all land as crown or government land and allotted large tracts of Tamil domiciled lands to Sinhala settlers, backed by the army. A deliberate attempt was made to change the ethnic balance so as to break the link between the north and east provinces of Sri Lanka by settling Sinhalese. When the Tamils protested, the Sri Lankan army went about their task of pacifying

sealed off north-east Sri Lanka from the sea. The Coast Guard, occasionally, with less conviction, makes that claim now. The fact of the matter is that with the ships the Navy has at present, it is physically impossible to prevent ingress, and it is professional hypocrisy to claim that it can be done.

The coastal areas of Tamil Nadu and Jaffna and Mannar are separated by the Palk Straits which are a maze of shallow water and rocks. At their narrowest they are about 40 km apart. The LTTE uses fibreglass fishing boats with hardly any draught and up to three outboard motors mounded in tandem. These boats have no radar signature worth the name and can do the trip between the two coasts at 60 knots or in 25-30 minutes. The navy has much larger ships, meant for a blue water role, which can not move freely in these waters and can not achieve even half the speeds the LTTE boats can.

So the unpalatable truth is that the LTTE always could, and will continue

continued on page 10

International Womens Day

"Women are the last colony - and theirs is a case of unfinished decolonisation"

In a Press Release on the occasion of the International Womens Day 1992, on March 8, the Women's Front of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam declared *"Women are the last colony - and theirs is a case of unfinished decolonisation. As a national liberation movement concerned with freeing the Tamil people from an alien domination, and liberating them from oppressive structures of every kind, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam expresses on this International Women's Day its solidarity with, and support for, the aspirations of women through out the world, for true equality and for freedom from male dominance."* Full text of the press release follows:

"The women's movement of today is a world-wide phenomenon rooted in the efforts to right the injustice of centuries of male domination and to secure equal rights, not simply in theory but also in practice, for human beings everywhere, regardless of sex. It has been said that women are the last colony - and that theirs is a case of unfinished decolonisation. As a national liberation movement concerned with freeing the Tamil people from an alien domination, and liberating them from oppressive structures of every kind, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam expresses on this International Women's Day its solidarity with, and support for, the aspirations of women through out the world, for true equality and for freedom from male dominance.

The past several years has witnessed an increasing involvement of the women of Tamil Eelam in our national liberation struggle. It is not without significance that though the armed resistance campaign of the Liberation Tigers has a history extending to 19 years, the women's wing traces its origins to around 8 years ago. The conservative nature of our social formation; its oppressive structures in relation to women evidenced for, instance, by the pernicious dowry system; its pervasive gender discrimination, which was often legitimised by so called 'cultural traditions'; and its male dominance, which was justified by tales from mythology - all contributed to the delayed development of Tamil Eelam women's participatory role in our struggle.

The genocidal onslaught on the Tamil people in the island of Sri Lanka in July 1983 and the systematic and sustained repression that followed gave a fresh impetus to our people to resist. It was revolutionary awakening which moved the women of Tamil Eelam as well. It was during this turbulent period that young radical women came forward to join our armed struggle for national liberation.

"The conservative nature of our social formation; its oppressive structures in relation to women evidenced for, instance, by the pernicious dowry system; its pervasive gender discrimination, which was often legitimised by so called 'cultural traditions'; and its male dominance, which was justified by tales from mythology - all contributed to the delayed development of Tamil Eelam women's participatory role in our struggle."

At the initial stages our women cadres were mainly involved in the task of political propaganda. Later, since around mid 1984, well organised women guerilla units have functioned as an integral part of our resistance movement. The armed cadres of our women's wing have also been involved in the task of politicisation, in campaigning against social discrimination and in emphasising the need for women's emancipation. Our women's wing has worked closely with grass roots women organisations, trade unions, industrial training centres, health and welfare associations and educational institutions. In protest meetings, in demonstrations, in boycotts and in all forms of mass agitation launched by the LTTE, it was the women of Tamil Eelam who participated in increasingly large numbers and have often played a lead mobilising role.

On the one hand, the women's wing of our liberation movement has contributed substantially and directly to advance the lawful and just struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam for national liberation. On the other hand, the courage, determination and heroism of our women fighters has served to awaken their sisters and brothers, break down centuries old social barriers and ways of thinking and behaving, and restructure Tamil society on a free and equal basis.

The International Women's Day is, therefore, a day of special significance to us and on this Women's Day of 1992, the Liberation Tigers rededicate themselves to the struggle for the emancipation of women and the removal of all discrimination against women, in Tamil Eelam as well as in all parts of the globe.



Four years ago - Kanapathipillai Poopathy, the First Woman to Fast to Death for Freedom

The history of the Tamil struggle for national self-determination is a history of extraordinary examples of courage, determination and sacrifice. In 1987, Thileepan, the senior LTTE cadre fasted to death demanding the fulfilment of promises made by the Indian government to the LTTE leadership. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Bobby Sands went without food during their fast, but Thileepan refused both food and fluids. Amongst those whose courage and determination will be remembered by the Tamil people will also be a 56 year old mother of ten children and a grandmother, Mrs Kanapathipillai Poopathy. Mother Poopathy, as this extraordinary woman has come to be affectionately known, went without food and fluids for thirty days before her death on 19th April 1988, four years ago.

When Annamuthu and his wife Periyapillai from the ancient Tamil village of Kiran in Batticaloa looked down affectionately on their baby daughter Poopathy on 3rd November 1932 it would never have entered their minds that this child would grow up to become a legendary political figure, the first woman in political history to fast to death for a cause; they did not know their daughter would be venerated by thousands of people.

There is nothing extraordinary in Poopathy's childhood. Her biography reflects the history of her times. She was one girl among three, with two brothers. The best interests for a girl the family held was to fulfil the ideal type of life that prevailed at that time. Thus Poopathy, with basic literacy skills, was withdrawn from school and married at the age of twelve. Two sons were born from this union. At a very young age Poopathy soon developed the emotions of a matured woman. Married at twelve years of age, twice a mother and widowed all within a short span of life. But Poopathy married

again to Mr Kanapathipillai, a widower with two sons and a daughter. Her family then expanded. Two more sons and two daughters resulted from this marriage and Poopathy became a mother of ten children. Poopathy struggled to raise a family in the face of shrinking opportunities for Tamil and Muslim children and mounting Sinhala State oppression. The young men of Poopathy's children's generation were targets of the military operations by the Sri Lankan armed forces. Indiscriminate killings, 'disappearances' and torture confronted the generation of her children. Eventually the horror and pain of military operations came to her doorstep. Poopathy's 28 year old son was shot

Poopathy knew that her experiences were the experiences of countless numbers of women. She came into contact with the Mother's Front in Navatkerni and through this organisation was able to support, help and inspire other women who were going through the same traumas as she herself had been. Poopathy amma as a member of the Mother's Front, became a vociferous critic of the military operations and widespread violation of human rights by the Sri Lankan armed forces. Undeterred by the armed forces potential for killing and maiming, Poopathy protested against the military atrocities of the Sri Lankan troops. She often went to the army camp to enquire about the disappearance of husbands and sons.

"Our people are our mountains... Today, we cherish the memory of a great martyr and salute her supreme sacrifice. Mother Poopathy has earned our people's highest esteem as one of the noble martyrs who have become legends in the history of our liberation struggle."

As a woman, as a mother, as the maternal head of the family, Poopathy amma transcended her ordinary life and the bonds of existential attachment in sacrificing her life for the emancipation of her nation. Her act of sacrifice is unprecedented and her death symbolised the collective upsurge of the women of Tamil Eelam." -Velupillai Prabhakaran, Leader of Tamil Eelam

dead by the Sri Lankan army. She tried to remove her family from the area of military operations by shifting to Navatkerni near Batticaloa. Again however, her eldest son by the second marriage was randomly shot dead by the Special Task Force. Another son, arrested during round up operations, was held in Boosa army camp and subjected to severe torture.

Poopathy's response to the death and pain of her children was grief and sadness. But grief and sadness, rather than weighing her down in perpetual morbidity, turned to rage and selflessness. Poopathy amma transformed depressing, individual emotions into positive social action.

The height of Poopathy amma's political campaign against the oppression of the Tamil and Muslim people and the violation of human rights came during the occupation of the north and east by the Indian army. The outbreak of war between the Indian army and the LTTE and the subsequent death and atrocities perpetrated against innocent Tamil and Muslim people horrified Poopathy amma. Poopathy amma, with grave risk to herself from a ruthless army of occupation, was determined to lodge her protest against the war and the consequent death and mayhem caused by the Indian army. When political activity was banned by the Indian army, Poopathy boldly ignored the orders and organised demonstrations and protests against the atrocities perpetrated by them.

Ultimately the Women's Front decided that it would use the weapon of fasting to express its disapproval of the war against the people. Two Tamil women, Mrs Annammah David and Mrs Nesammah Vadivel commenced a fast unto death. The occupying Indian army severely embarrassed by the determination of Tamil

continued on page 9

Stephen Levitt writes in the Lanka Guardian about

Adele Balasingham - Freedom Fighter

Journey of conscience from humanitarian nurse to gun-toting guerilla



Adele Balasingham, wearing a black shirt, cradles her Chinese-made automatic rifle. "This is my home now I must defend it," she says of the city of Jaffna in the north of war-torn Sri Lanka. Her Australian accent is clipped by years spent abroad.

Balasingham is an Australian-born legend in the making; a heroic and potentially tragic legend. Born Adele Wilby in Warragul, Victoria, she trained as a triple-certificate nurse in Melbourne and Perth before her sense of adventure took her out into the world in 1972. Now, she is on a journey of conscience which has taken her from humanitarian nurse to gun-toting guerilla.

"Yesterday, I was with a girl who lost her leg while attacking the government stronghold at Elephant Pass. She's learning how to work on a wooden leg so she can get back into the fight."

She took her first step along the road to liberation fighter (or terrorist) in England in 1975. While she was studying at the South Bank Polytechnic College, she married her social science tutor, Anton Balasingham - a Tamil and spokesman for the Tamil Tiger (or LTTE - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), the guerilla group locked in a vicious civil war of secession from the Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lankan government.

Locating the Balasinghams in the war zone was a challenge. The Sri Lankan armed forces and 70,000 Indian soldiers had failed to find them, but it turned out to be relatively simple.

The Sri Lankan military supplied me with a three-day permit to visit Jaffna, the island's northern-most city and the headquarters of the Tamil Tigers. The most dangerous part of the trip was crossing the 3km stretch of no-man's land in north-central Sri Lanka that separates the government checkpoint from the first Tigers' checkpoint.

I travelled by night to avoid the government helicopters which strafe rebels-held road during the day. My journey ended when a battle-scarred ferry, weighed down to the waterline with people, crossed a wide neck of tidal water and deposited me on the out-skirts of the blacked-out city of Jaffna, where nothing moves without the Tigers' knowledge.

Anton was as I expected: a thoughtful-looking, middle-aged academic,

bespectacled and with a goatee beard. Adele exuded a shy vitality, her short brown hair and gangling, boyish frame making her appear younger than her 41 years. They would not stand out in a crowd - except Adele carries her rifle as some women carry a handbag and both carry capsules of potassium cyanide (the trade-mark of the Tigers) as insurance against capture.

Adele and Anton showed up at my hotel in a battered white van, accompanied by their dog and some young fighters. Except for the guns, we could have been a family off on a picnic. Instead, we headed for a guerilla training camp on the outskirts of town. Jaffna rolled by like a painting from the Apocalypse. Buildings tilted at crazy angles, roofs balanced precariously on steel girders bent like ribbons by the heat of the incendiary bombs. Houses, shops, churches and libraries lay shattered, their

brickwork bullet riddled and blasted.

"After the Indians left last year, the war started again," Adele says. "The Tigers re-took the city and much of the north and east of the island. The Sri Lankan Air Force retaliated by bombing Jaffna, targeting civilians to promote terror in the Tamil community for supporting the Tigers. Two-thirds of the city was reduced to rubble."

Among the broken bones of the city, life goes on. School-girls in white tunics bicycle to class like

"Adele and I had a liberal Western education and, although we are spiritually opposed to violence, we can justify it morally to defend freedom and our existence." - Anton Balasingham

flock of chattering doves. There is a noticeable absence of boys and young men. They have either fled to the refugee camps in the south, been killed or are fighting with the Tigers. Vehicles are also sparse.

When we arrive, the camp is preparing for an attack. A monument to dead fighters dominates its centre. Adele points to a large painting of a handsome young man dressed in the Tigers' striped camouflage. He nurses a child on his shoulders.

"He was a commander and he died in a recent battle," she says. "His wife is also a fighter - a commander. She has just given birth to his second child. I'm afraid she's finding it hard to cope. When you're outnumbered; as we are, you have to have a victory-

or-death mentality. These people are highly motivated. Yesterday, I was with a girl who lost her leg while attacking the government stronghold at Elephant Pass. She's learning how to work on a wooden leg so she can get back into the fight."

The Balasinghams are shy when it comes to talking about themselves.

"Everyone was asked, 'Have you seen a white lady in the area?' But the people all supported us: no one gave us away."

Anton looks on as Adele speaks of the early days of their relationship. "We were two human beings who, on the surface, seemed to be different when we looked at the cultures we came from," she says. "But looking deeper into our souls, we found we had similar sensibilities, feelings, approaches, and outlook... We were open to the needs of the world, together."

Anton picks up the thread: "London in the post-Vietnam early '70s was a place for liberation groups. When we were a young couple, we spent a lot of time with exiled revolutionaries, attending meetings and protest marches. We supported the African National Congress and the Palestinians. Slowly, we found we had developed a mental attitude to use our knowledge for oppressed people. Because I'm a Tamil, we became involved with the problems in Sri Lanka. This was an adventure we saw we could share together."

Adele expresses her sympathy with the Tamil people. "When you work with people, you build trust and with the trust comes responsibility. Because I feel so strongly for these people, I came to terms with armed struggle early in 1978 after the anti-Tamil riots in Sri Lanka."

At that stage, we had begun to visit India regularly where we trained in Tiger-run military camps in Tamil Nadu.

"Then in the July of 1983, after a massacre of Tamils in Sri Lanka by rioting Sinhalese (sparked by an attack on a Sri Lankan Army patrol in Jaffna by the Tigers), the leader of the Tigers, Prabhakaran, asked us to become full-time cadres and we moved to Jaffna. Here, we're involved in the political training of the fighters, among others things."

The more emotionally involved I become with the people, the more sympathy I feel for their oppression. First it was the Sinhalese, then it was the Indians."

In an attempt to broker a peace agreement between the Tigers and the Sri Lankan government, the Indian government under Gandhi sent a peace-keeping force to Sri Lanka in 1987. For a while the ceasefire held. But relations between the Indian Army and the Tigers soon deteriorated. The Tigers declared war on the Indian troops which, rather blood-

ied, withdrew in 1990.

Adele recalls those dangerous times which cemented her resolve: "When the war broke out between the Tigers and the Indians, the Indians fired into a crowded marketplace. All the casualties came to the hospital where I was staying. Dozens of civilians came in with injuries from mortar fire as well as bullets from the Indian helicopters. There were rows of injured people."

"As I worked, I became aware of a noise like a tap dripping and I look down to see it was the sound of people bleeding to death. I remember all the young people torn apart, old people coming in with no legs, bodies cut in half, people bleeding to death, brain injuries... it was a massacre. I was furious, I thought, how dare they come here and do this to innocent people?"

Anton explains the argument from the Tamil point of view: "When genocide is forced upon you, if you don't fight back you will be wiped out. Adele and I had a liberal Western education and, although we are spiritually opposed to violence, we can justify it morally to defend freedom and our existence."

Adele continues: "The Indian Army singled out the area where it knew the leaders were. It came to know we were in the area and saturated it with soldiers looking for us. Everyone was asked, 'Have you seen a white lady in the area?' But the people all supported us: no one gave us away. I used to travel around covered from head to foot."

"We would lie low during the day. Then, at night, we would move from house to house. Sometimes, we would not have a house to stay in. More often than not, we would sleep in the paddy fields. We often went without food for days."

"Several times we escaped death by sheer luck. One night our house was surrounded by the army and we climbed the fence and hid in a field. We lay there, holding our breath, as the torches of the searchers swept by us. I don't know how they missed us but they did."

"On another occasion we were in a house which had been surrounded. I was lying under a blanket because we had been sleeping in a field and had just come in. We could hear the soldiers outside the window, searching. I put the blanket over my head and told Anton: 'Tell me when they come.' I was expecting them to enter and shoot us dead."

"We can't think about ourselves; we only think about what we can do for the people. When death comes, we're prepared for it. In a revolutionary situation, you have to think like that; otherwise you will always be worrying, panicking and mentally unstable. The stresses we've been through have brought us closer together. You can't erase those bonds."

"Fortunately, the village people strong supporters yelled to the army captain that they had seen us running down the path. The soldiers left and we ran into a rice field to hide. It was raining and we had to lie in the water with rats and snakes. Later, the army returned and surrounded the area. We took a risk and left the field before dawn because we knew the helicopter would spot us in the light. We made it back to the house and were just drifting off to sleep when the people started calling, 'It's the army!'"

"The village women covered me in clothing and then called us into an alley. They had staged themselves every 50 metres or so and called us on where the way was clear. In that way, we escaped the three circles of soldiers who had surrounded the area."

The Balasinghams escaped death by a whisker several times as they slipped through military nets. Then Adele asked for a gun and cyanide. As she preaches sacrifice to others, she cannot be sparing on herself: "We can't think about ourselves; we only think about what we can do for the people. When death comes, we're prepared for it. In a revolutionary situation, you have to think like that; otherwise you will always be worrying, panicking and mentally unstable. The stresses we've been through have brought us closer together. You can't erase those bonds."

Kanapathipillai Poopathy's Fast...

continued from page 8

women to demonstrate their dislike of the presence of the troops broke up the hunger strike.

Poopathy amma, however, outraged by this impingement on political freedoms and determined to protest to the world the injustice of the war, resolved to carry on the hunger strike to achieve her political goals.

On 19th March 1988 Poopathy amma took up residence at Mahamangam Pillayar temple and commenced her fast. She put forward two demands: (1) An immediate unconditional ceasefire between the LTTE and the IPKF. (2) Unconditional talks between the LTTE and the Indian government.

The sacrifice made by Poopathy amma is a unique phenomenon in the history of the Tamil liberation struggle.

It does not simply express the angry protest of a single woman, rather it symbolised the collective outrage of the entire population against the senselessness and irrationality of the war unleashed by India on a small nation of friendly, innocent people who looked upon India as their saviour. Poopathy amma's sacrifice was a spiritual protest against the degeneration of India's moral heritage and its descent into inhuman militarism.

International Tamil Foundation writes to the Tamil Times

Mr. N. Sidamparapillai, Secretary General of International Tamil Foundation wrote on its behalf to the Tamil Times on the 6th of November 1991. He has sent us a copy of the letter with a request that it be published by us in view of the failure of the Tamil Times to publish the same. The letter appears below:

The Editor, Tamil Times.

Dear Sir,

Publications have individual characters. This is inevitable as the publication is nothing more than the printed manifestation of the opinions of its contributors and more particularly of its editor. Persons of like mind will tend to subscribe to and contribute to a publication that reflects and supports their own opinions. In this way the character of the publication is gradually reinforced.

That this is the case is clearly evidenced by the press of the United Kingdom. It is an open secret that newspapers such as the "Telegraph", "Daily Mirror" and "Sun" have overt political biases and agendas. When one reads a report from one of these publications, one would naturally bear in mind and would temper one's belief in the material published.

In this country we are fortunate that there are a very great number of information sources, each with its own varied version of the "truth" and that to a considerable extent we are in the midst of that which is being reported on and so we can augment the statements of these publications with the evidence of our own eyes and ears and experiences.

Publications such as Tamil Times and Tamil Nation do by their very titles declare a special interest. It is their aim to inform a readership of the events affecting Sri Lanka from a Tamil point of view. This readership is largely but not solely taken from the expatriate Tamil community.

Publications such as these are very few and for many provide the only source of information concerning affairs in Sri Lanka. Thus these publications wield considerable power. Their statements are not easily verified either by reference to a plethora of other information sources nor by personal experience of the reader. For want of any general contradiction their statements assume the status of "facts" and become fertile ground for careless or for deliberate disinformation.

The "Tamil Times" quotes Voltaire on its front page: "I do not agree with a word of what you say, but I will defend to death your right to say it."

A news paper has the right to disseminate its opinions whether or not we agree with them. It is arguable that a newspaper even has the right to resort to innuendo and even falsehoods in order to achieve its strategies. Whether or not ends justify means is a separate debate that shall not be entered into here.

However let us assume that Tamil Times does not have a hidden agenda. That its ambition is to publish news and comment on the situation in Sri Lanka from a Tamil point of view without resort to innuendo and falsehood. We take this opportunity to note a considerable degree of editorial carelessness in the issue of 15th September 1991 regarding the reporting of the aftermath of the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

1. Title page - "The Final End to the Assassins" implying that one Sivarasn and one Subha are proved assassins of Rajiv Gandhi.

2. Page 5 - "The end of the road". An article from an unattributed source implying that Sivarasan, Subha and LTTE were the acknowledged assassins.

3. Page 6 - "Who is Sivarasan" It is stated as fact an LTTE team was responsible for the murders of the EPRLF leadership as well as Rajiv Gandhi on the basis of the alleged confession of one Shanthan.

The responsibility for the murder of Rajiv Gandhi is yet to be proved. It is certain that there were several parties for whom a motive have existed including the LTTE, but it is careless and misleading for you to report the culpability of individuals and thereby of the LTTE as being proven fact.

If the LTTE involvement and guilt is proved then you should report it and if it is your editorial policy condemn it but until then it does not reflect well upon you to make such statements if you are indeed as previously assumed a newspaper with no hidden agenda of your own.

Your's sincerely, sgd. N. Sidamparapillai, for the International Tamil Foundation

NEWS WATCH

UNLOADING OF FOOD AT KKS.

The LTTE has sent a message to the Government Agent, Jaffna that they would permit the unloading of food at Kankesanthurai harbour from March 8th and also facilitate the distribution of food in and around the area by removing land mines planted there.

CWC GOES ON ITS OWN

At the last General Election, the Ceylon Workers Congress contested the parliamentary elections on the UNP ticket. A proposal with far reaching political implications is likely to come up at the annual sessions of the CWC to be held in Nuwara Eliya. A motion is to be presented that in future, CWC members should contest parliamentary seats on its own party ticket.

SRI LANKAN STATE BANKS INSOLVENT

According to the Sri Lankan Prime Minister and Finance Minister Mr. DB Wijetunge, the two premier Sri Lankan State Banks, the Bank of Ceylon and the Peoples Bank, were declared insolvent. The SLFP is to demand that a Special Presidential Commission be appointed to inquire into the affairs of the two State Banks.

SECURITY FORCES 'BUTCHER' TAMIL FISHERMEN

Four fishermen from Arumugathan Colony in Eravur who went fishing on 7th March were hacked to death by the Sri Lankan security forces. Gandhi suspects made to confess under duress.

Seven LTTE suspects taken into custody in Tamil Nadu in connection with the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case have filed affidavits stating that all confessions made by them had been made under duress.

They assert that confessions were made by them under threats and pressure by members of the Special Investigation Team.

ESTATE UNIONS DEMAND THE RELEASE OF CHANDRASEKARAN

A group of 16 plantation sector trade unions have protested against the continued detention of Mr. P. Chandrasekaran, the leader of the Up Country Workers' Front. They demand that either he be released or brought before courts if there are charges against him. The statement has been signed by Dr. Ranil Ratnapriya, the Joint Plantation Sector Trade Union head.

PEACE POSTERS IN COLOMBO

Amidst reports and rumours of an imminent war in Jaffna peninsula, peace posters appeared all over Colombo on 7th March proclaiming 'NOTO WAR' in Sinhalese, Tamil and English. The Posters also warned of a colossal refugee problem if an all out war broke out in the peninsula.

EROS WANT TO ENTER PARLIAMENT.

Nine EROS members who contested the last parliamentary elections as independent candidates, including their leader, Mr Edward Sebastiampillai to initiate necessary steps to provide them transport to Colombo, accommodation and security to enable them to enter parliament.

SENIOR JAFFNA PHYSICIAN SUBMITS PEACE PROPOSALS

Dr. S. Sivakumaran, the senior physician at the Jaffna General Hospital, travelled to Colombo with a four member delegation and submitted peace proposals to the Parliamentary Select Committee. He also met

the Chairman of the Select Committee, Mr. Managala Moonesinghe on 12th March 1991, but declined to give verbal submissions to the Select Committee saying that the atmosphere was not conducive to such submissions.

LIBERALISATION OF EXCHANGE CONTROL FOR FOREIGN STUDY

According to the Governor of the Sri Lankan Central Bank, Mr. HNS Karunatilaka, exchange would be released for all types of education including secondary and primary education abroad. Upto now educational allowances were granted only for undergraduates and post graduate studies.

DEFAMATION SUIT

Upali Newspapers Ltd is suing the Lake House for Rs 70 million in damages for the publication of two editorials in the "Daily Observer" of February 6th and the "Sunday Observer" of February 9th.

The plaint states that the editorials contain allegations and imputations which are false, malicious and defamatory of Upali Newspapers Ltd. Among other things they give the reading public the impression that Upali Newspapers Ltd had avoided paying tax, that it is dishonest, hypocritical and that its employees are living on ill-gotten gains.

WIJEWEERA'S FAMILY MOVED TO MILITARY BASE

The widow and five children of the former JVP leader, the late Rohana Wijeweera who are said to be in the 'protective' custody of the Sri Lankan army are to be transferred to a maximum security military base. The decision was made after the Government rejected a demand by the London branch of the JVP to send the Wijeweera family to Britain.

Need for a Balanced Assessment of the Liberation Tigers

continued from page 7

to be able to, move between the coasts with relative impunity and ease. Unless a number of small, fast boats of the type acquired by Sri Lanka from Israel, the state of affairs is unlikely to change.

As for the image of the average LTTE militant being brainwashed killer ready to die at the whims of his leaders, nothing could be farther from the truth. Jaffna is the most literate part of Sri Lanka with almost total literacy. Jaffna University, the prime recruiting ground of the LTTE, is considered a hallowed center of Tamil learning. One of the main reasons why the LTTE are explosive experts is that they are all educated and most of the explosive experts are science graduates. The LTTE militants understand the theory of the use of explosives and their means of detonation. Add to this their native ingenuity and years of practice and you get the 'mines' that so shocked the IPKF. These in fact were not mines at all but basically buried explosives triggered electrically.

In the jungles of Vavuniya, the infantrymen and especially the para commandos developed a healthy profession-

al respect for the LTTE fighter, man or woman. The LTTE did not ill-treat their prisoners. In their radio reporting to their superiors (which was often intercepted by us) they were extremely accurate and precise. Sadly, one wishes the same could be said about the reports emanating from IPKF headquarters in Madras. Whereas the generals deluded

terrorists, but with equal certainty they are, and always have been, the Sri Lankan Tamil's freedom fighters.

To conclude with the basic rationale behind the LTTE's continued presence against heavy odds - and to repeat a point made earlier - the whole struggle is for land. The logic behind

"one man's terrorist, they say is another's freedom fighter - the logic behind the LTTE's popularity is that they are trying to protect their homeland from incursions by settlers from the south, under the protection of the Sri Lankan army"

the LTTE's popularity in the Tamil speaking part of Sri Lanka is that they are trying to protect what they consider to be their homeland from incursions by settlers from the south, under the Protection of the Sri Lankan army. This fact must be understood for a balanced assessment of their durability and influence in the Sri Lanka imbroglio. At present it appears that the only politician, Indian or Sri Lankan, who understands this reality is president Premadasa, possibly because he does not belong to the ruling elite class. Unfortunately, however, recent political developments in that country do not make it likely that he will be in a position to have any significant parleys with the LTTE for some time to come.

It is not the purpose of this article to defend or glorify the LTTE. But one man's terrorist, they say is another's freedom fighter. Currently, despite the fuss over the Sri Lankan army and LTTE fighting together in 1989 to eliminate the TNA, the LTTE are no doubt the Indian and the Sri Lankan governments'

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Tamil Eelam Students demonstrate at Jaffna University



Vice Chancellor of Jaffna University to lecture in Sweden

Professor Alagaiah Thurairajah, Vice Chancellor of the University of Yalppanam (Jaffna) is scheduled to give a public lecture on 'Studies and Research University of Yalppanam' on Friday, April 10 at 3.15 p.m. at the Department for the History of Religions, Uppsala University in Sweden.

Refugee Report

REFUGEE'S TALE OF WOE

Refugees returning by ship from Tamil Nadu to Batticaloa complained that the Sri Lankan Government had not done anything to alleviate their sufferings and that they were starving as there was no food. They were given only a small amount of money when they landed at Trincomalee. After that they left us to sink or swim, they complained.

ARRIVAL OF THE UNHCR TEAM

On 14th March a three member team from the international refugee agency UNHCR came from Geneva and travelled to Thalaimannar, to make an on the spot investigation and prepare a report about the conditions of the Tamil refugees who have been re-

turned to Mannar and Trincomalee from Tamil Nadu.

CLOSURE OF REFUGEE CAMP

The refugee camp at the Methodist Central College, Batticaloa has been closed, and refugees from there have been moved to camps in Eravuy and Kattankudi.

Araly citizen's demonstrate

Araly and its environs have been the target of many days of bombing and shelling by the Sri Lankan armed forces. The citizens of these areas had had enough and demonstrated this in a march to the Jaffna Kachcheri, and presented a petition the GA Jaffna, Mr. K. Manickavasager to be passed on to President Ranasinghe Premadasa.

Eelam Tamil activist M.K. Eelaventhana says:

"Tamil refugees could not hope to live in safety in areas under Sinhala occupation"

Eelam Tamil activist, M.K. Eelaventhana in a statement reported in the Indian Express, called for a review of India's policy of returning Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka at the present time. Citing the bomb blast at Trincomalee and impending confrontation between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan forces' he said that the repatriation of refugees by India could encourage other states to follow suit, aggravating the problem. The refugees could not hope to live in safety in the areas under Sinhala occupation, he added. He asked: 'If the refugees were going back on their own accord, why should the Tamil Nadu authorities prevent workers from talking to them.' If India could not handle the burden of the refugees, it should hand them over to the UNHCR, he demanded.

AFTA writes to Australian Senate.....

continued from back page:

world order and suggests that the Conflict in Sri Lanka could be resolved through a range of alternatives from "one country two systems" to a "confederal union of sovereign states".

In its appeal dated 30th September 1991 to the Heads of Commonwealth Governments, the Social Responsibility and Justice Commission of the Uniting Church of Australia has stated that a solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka could be found either through a system of confederation between a Sinhala State in the south and a Tamil State in the north or through the emergence of two independent states.

In a letter to the President of the Canberra Tamil Association, Senator Powell of the Australian Democrats has put forward the view that the resolution of the conflict in Sri Lanka should involve

the "establishment of a quasi state in the north-east of the country". Mohan Ram, the Indian author of the book Sri Lanka: The Fractured Island" (Penguin Books India, 1989) concludes that "any solution to the ethnic conflict needs to be radically different and have as its foundation a recognition of Sri Lanka's reality-that it comprises two nations".

The views expressed above support the Australasian Federation of Tamil Association's position that any political solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka must be based on the reality that the island is home to two nations and that each of these nations are in occupation of well defined regions of the island.

We suggest that the Department of Foreign Affairs takes this into account in developing its policies in relation to Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka dreams of an easy military victory....

continued from page 6

amphibious component because of the shallow sea that separates Kayts and Pooneryn from the mainland.

Resource constraints can arise if there has to be more than one large scale amphibious operation. Unlike in Vettalaikerny where Tiger defences, as they themselves acknowledged later, had to fall in the open spaces of the region, all areas that lie on the mainland have built up areas near the coast. The Kerathivu-Chavakacheri road and the Arali-Jetty-Pommaveli road lie in open spaces but the hinterland in both cases has dense buildings and an intricate network of by-lanes.

RED SOIL REGION

On the other hand the north-north western military zone lies by Jaffna's densely populated red soil region. The zone was substantially expanded into the interior last year with little resistance from the Tigers, up to Kurumbacuity and Kadduvan in the south east interior of the red-soil heartland and up to the environs of Atchuvely and Idaikadu on the coast towards Thondamanar.

But there are very few or no civilians in this expanded military zone. People start vacating their villages as soon as there is an indication of a major military move. The control of territory sans its civilian population makes the final political objective meaningless. Hence avoiding large scale civilian displacement while advancing against the LTTE defences can be a problem in the hinterland of this zone if the army is thinking in terms of wresting civilian control also from the LTTE.

Finally, the Vallipuram-Thalayadi coast is most vulnerable because of the vast open spaces of its hinterland.

So the LTTE which according to its official org an expects simultaneous offensives through decisive points on the Peninsula's periphery into its heartland, has to distribute its troop strength, resources and fire power at least among the five points described here which lie exposed to the army's three launching zones and an amphibious assault from the sea.

In attempting to defend Jaffna with their troops which do not have the crucial artillery support, they now have no other choice but let the army decide when, where and how. And the Tigers in these circumstances, have to hedge their bets by dispersing troop strength.

For General Jomini this is the inevitable recipe for disaster in the long history of conventional war. But the fact that all the anticipated points on Jaffna's periphery which can be supplied easily from its heartland which has a highly developed infrastructure and an intricate net work of roads and bylanes, introduces a qualifying dimension to Jomini's battle tested recipe.

The problem of Vallaveli's vast open space separating Vadamardchi from the rest of Jaffna has been surmounted by the LTTE due to their setting-up of Vadamardchi and non-Vadamardchi commands for Jaffna. This means the Tigers might have enough time to relocate resources and troops to a point by the time it becomes certain that the real thrust is directed at that point. But if there is a two pronged attack one supplementing the other the LTTE will have to loose some part or parts of the Peninsula.

The most important aspect of LTTE's military response however will be determined by the number of their boys and girls, they are prepared to throw into the battle or battles to defend Jaffna.

I think that there is a definite and decisive internal compulsion in the LTTE to minimize casualties and save manpower as much as possible. According to their own statistics from October to December last year they have lost only 86 members but claim to have recovered 155 weapons and killed 256 army personnel. They now say that its going to be a long haul. So this trend will be decisive.

The twin objective of defending Jaffna and saving up man-power: How can they do it? The conditionality which centrally underpins Mathaya's message and all their public statements provides the answer. The battle for Jaffna - the Tigers may hope - will be defensive and hence low on casualties but civilian

involvement and youthful emotions roused by the "greatest of all battles" may swell their ranks immensely. And with that they may prepare for the long haul.

All this will depend finally on how many troops the government is prepared to commit for holding operations in the Peninsula and how much civilian control can be taken from the LTTE. If the Tigers demonstrate an ability to sustain a massive fire power in the battle for Jaffna the government would do well to discard the belief that Indian action in Tamilnadu and the Palk Strait is a sufficient condition for weakening the Tiger.

The Arul 89 which was assumed to be out of production because of the closure of Tamil Nadu supply points, was recently fired at the army near Mattuvilnadu in Pooneryn according to Eelanatham (15.1.92) and then an Indian government official said this week that they had reliable information that a large consignment of explosives and ammunitions for the LTTE's heavy machine guns and recoilless rifles had slipped through their surveillance in the bay of Bengal and reached Jaffna.

An anti-LTTE group close to the military intelligence confirmed that the Tigers have in the past few weeks began re-using the RCL and the .50 calibre. Another anti-LTTE source close to Delhi had reason to complain on Friday that the Indians were unable to touch 'J' the founder and boss of a powerful multi-national corp in an important South East Asian country who allegedly handles the arms shipments of the LTTE. He is said to be a close associate of 'K.P.' - Prabhakaran's elusive arms purchaser.

Therefore, if it is going to be one long haul after the battle for Jaffna the war will then be determined by how much of its manpower that the LTTE would be able to retain after the battle and how many troops that the government can afford to use for holding Jaffna.

RED CROSS IN JAFFNA

ICRC CHIEF'S FACT FINDING MISSION TO JAFFNA.

Mr P Watson, the ICRC Chief in Sri Lanka, returned to Colombo after a fact finding mission to Jaffna. He made a personal study of the real situation in the peninsula. He met LTTE leaders, officials of non-governmental organisations and administrators of the Jaffna University and discussed about and acquainted himself first hand with the true situation in Jaffna. He assured these leaders and officials that he will put forward and discuss with senior government officials the exact picture in the peninsula and the miserable plight of the Tamil people.

ICRC TAKES SEVERELY ILL PATIENTS TO COLOMBO.

Civilians suffering from serious health problems in the Jaffna peninsula are being taken by the ICRC to Colombo in batches of about 80 once a month. These are patients who are according to the doctors at the Jaffna Hospital need urgent medical care and could not be treated in Jaffna. Once their medical treatment was complete, the ICRC bring them back to Jaffna

Pray, Mr. High Commissioner...

In a recent letter to Mr. Win Griffiths, M.P., General D.S. Attygalle, Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in London says: "The hysteria about an impending catastrophe by an attack on the Jaffna peninsula has been built up by the media and they keep on continuing to do so. The facts are quite different however and I cannot of course detail out to you any military plans, except to state that there are two sides to every story that comes out or allegation that is being made."

Pray, Mr. Sri Lanka High Commissioner, what was the other side to the story about the Kokkadicholai massacre where a Commission appointed by your own Government found that the Sri Lankan Army went on a rampage and massacred civilians simply because they were Tamils? Was that an act of state terrorism, or did it fall into the category of 'military plans' that you 'cannot, of course detail'? And, Mr. High Commissioner was there another side to that massacre? Please do tell us. We are a reasonable people and we will listen to reason.

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."

Impeachment of Election Commissioner

The National Front and Left Front in Parliament began on March 4 the process for the impeachment of the Chief Election Commissioner Mr. T.N.Seshan. A delegation of leaders called on the Lok Sabha Speaker and submitted a notice signed by 122 MPs seeking to move a motion for impeachment. The notice has contended that the Chief Election Commissioner was motivated by 'spite' against the Janata Dal for having removed him from the post of Cabinet Secretary during the National Front Government. It charges Mr. Seshan with being motivated by his desire to create difficulties for non-Congress(I) governments. About Tripura the notice said the Chief Election Commissioner condoned the reign of terror unleashed against the Opposition parties.

The Indian Region

Comment

Mr. Madan Mohan Rao and the Politics of the Cuckoos Nest

Mr. Madan Mohan Rao is concerned about the views expressed by the Tamil Nation. We do not know about Mr. Madan Mohan Rao, except of course that he is the author of an article entitled "Tigers in Tamil Nadu: Politics of cuckoos nest" which appeared in the Sri Lanka government controlled Sunday Times on March 15.

The reference to the "cuckoos nest" was to the conference organised by the "Viduthalai Kuyilgal" in Madras on March 8 which was banned by the Police. Mr. Mohan Rao is worried that "Tamil separatists have become bolder by the day in Tamil Nadu". He says and we quote him: '

'The LTTE's mouthpiece, Tamil Nation now published from London, highlights news from Indian states such as Punjab, Kashmir and Assam, where separatist struggles are on. It repeated an anti-Indian editorial warning of India's disintegration. The editorial in question says: 'Though reports of disintegration of the Indian Union are often great 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 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 to order the rising tide of emergent nationalisms 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. There are momentous changes beginning to take shape all over the world and India cannot insulate herself from the new dispensation.'

We are grateful to Mr. Rao for the extensive coverage given to our views, though, unfortunately, he has omitted our reference to Canute - but perhaps he does not care for King Canute and Shakespeare. More seriously, Mr. Rao has also omitted the reference in our comment to Lord Avebury, who incidentally is the Chairperson of the UK Parliamentary Human Rights Group. This is what we said and continue to say: "The words of Lord Avebury, in an article published in the December 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.'" It seems that Mr. Rao does not care for Lord Avebury either and so Mr. Rao chooses to carefully censor him out - no doubt, in the true spirit of press freedom.

Instead of screaming in fear about 'separatists' becoming bolder day by day, Mr. Mohan Rao and his ilk will better serve the cause of Indian unity, which they endeavour to espouse, if they wake up to the reality that Pramatha Chaudury, the famous Bengali patriot and writer, saw in the 1920s when he wrote in Bengali: "You have accused me of Bengali patriotism. I feel bound to reply. If it is a crime for a Bengali to harbour and encourage Bengali patriotism in his mind, then I am guilty. But I ask you: what other patriotism do you expect from a Bengali writer?... If self determination is not suited to us, then it is not suited at all to Europe. No people in Europe are as different, one from another, as our people. There is not that much difference between England and Holland as there is between Madras and Bengal. Even France and Germany are not that far apart. If some of our politicians shudder at the mention of provincial patriotism, it is because their beliefs smack of narrow national selfishness... To be united due to outside pressure and to unite through mutual regard are not the same..."

Let us reassure Mr. Rao that the Tamil Nation is not anti Indian. We believe that the 1990s will demonstrate that the unity of India will not be achieved by suppressing the national aspirations of the different peoples of India. We repeat our belief that "unity will emerge only when New Delhi acquires the vision and the strength to constitute a confederal commonwealth of free and equal nations" and we are confident that the coming years will prove us right. If confederation is denied, separation and division are inevitable and to say that and to believe that is not to be anti Indian. Self-determination is not a dirty word. On the contrary, it is a word which encapsulates the single most powerful political force of this decade. To deny that is to talk about not the politics of the cuckoos nest but about the politics of cloud cuckooland.

As for the Tamil Nation being an LTTE mouthpiece, the fact that Mr. Rao writes to the Sri Lankan Government controlled Sunday Times from Madras, should not prevent him from recognising the force of the words of our Founding Editor who today languishes in an Indian jail, for standing up for that which he believes: "Tamil Nation is nobody's mouthpiece and is proud of its individuality and independence. If an Indian newspaper supports the Palestinian cause, it does not become a PLO mouthpiece, does it?" We repeat, Tamil Nation is nobody's mouthpiece. It was and is fiercely independent. It also fearlessly supports the Tamil struggle for national self determination. If all that makes the Tamil Nation a tiger, then so be it.



Indian Foreign Secretary, J.N. Dixit at a Press Conference in Washington during his recent visit to the US - Delhi Seeks Big Power Status - Story in Savitiri column in page 2

UK - India Togetherness?

Britain's relations with India will be vital in the months ahead, not just bilaterally but also for India's relations with all Europe. Britain will preside over the European Community for six months starting in mid 1992. The Tory government has come around to a sympathetic view of the problems faced by New Delhi in dealing with 'terrorist' violence. But the Indian Government continues to be worried about the position on Kashmir that might be taken by a Labour Government if it comes to power in the elections scheduled for April 9. Efforts are therefore underway to get a new extradition treaty signed by the two countries before the British elections. (Courtesy: India Abroad, March 20)

'Self Imposed' Conditions for World Bank Aid!

It is reported that India will receive \$600 millions from the World Bank in the early part of this year to continue its economic reforms. Finance Minister Manmohan Singh said in New Delhi on March 8 that India was hopeful of getting an additional \$3 billion from the International Monetary Fund and that if it did, the success of the restructuring programme would be assured. "I have lined up support with the IMF, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. So the real question is whether we will stay the course, so that the arrangement we have with the IMF and others will be carried out." He added: "The truth is that these institutions have come to our assistance when no one else was willing to lend us money." Asked about the reported letter written by the World Bank President, Lewis Preston setting forth 25 points or conditions attached to the structural adjustment loan, a Bank official told the Hindu on March 6 that no such letter had been addressed to the Government. The 25 points were articulated by the Government in discussions with the Bank in discussions with the Bank in relation to the structural loan and not set by the Bank. (!)

"It is Khalistan or nothing" says Sikh leader Tohra

In an interview whilst being detained in a jail in Nadampur, Punjab, Sikh leader Mr. Gurcharan Singh Tohra said on March 5: "It is Khalistan or nothing at all. All this talk of a package for Punjab is hog wash. The Sikhs are now not struggling for Chandigarh or the river waters; they are struggling for a separate nation." He added, "Whether over language, Chandigarh or the river waters, the Punjabi Hindu has always taken a different line from the Sikhs. By voting a Congress(I) government into power in Punjab in direct opposition to the stand of the Sikhs the Hindus have pushed the Sikh masses into the struggle for Khalistan. It was in India's interest to create Khalistan as a buffer against the Muslim world. The Indian Government should simply follow the example of the Soviet Union and peacefully allow the Sikhs to fulfil their dream. We have already taken over the countryside and it won't be long before we take over the towns. Events of the Chinese revolution, in which the people from the rural areas surrounded the towns and took over power can also be repeated in Punjab. The longer that Beant Singh, Punjab's Chief Minister and Delhi's subedar in Punjab, the stronger we will get."

Veeramani lashes out continued from page 3

described as the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, or of one who was a serving Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi or of one who was a Congress leader, Rajiv Gandhi, due process must prevail.

Investigation is one stage. The next stage is the charge and the indictment. Thereafter, a court of competent jurisdiction must hear evidence and deliver judgment. The filing of an appeal by those who may be found guilty and a hearing of that appeal by a higher court is yet another stage. It is only then that the accused become convicts and are punished. These are the safeguards of due process in any civilised society.

Not all those who are taken into custody during the investigation of an offence are served with charge sheets. Some who are taken in for questioning may be released without an indictment. Again, even where a charge is laid before an accused person, an accused may be found not guilty by the Court. Even those found guilty may have that finding set aside in an appeal to the higher Court.

The Hindu Editorial does not concern itself with all these procedural steps which safeguard the administration of justice. It prefers, for whatever ends it may have, to conclude that because accusations have been made against an individual at the investigation stage, that individual is guilty, that the organisation to which he belongs should be banned and that those who support that organisation are 'traitors to India' and must be punished as such.

The Hindu is not concerned with justice, it is not concerned with the fundamental rule that one shall be presumed to be innocent until found guilty by an impartial judge after inquiry according to law. It prefers instead the language of the lynch mobs of Brahmin supremacy. It seeks to hang even before a charge has been laid and a fair inquiry commenced in a Court of Law. Its actions, serve to thwart due process.

The Emerging Multipolar World

Arms trade and foreign policy

It is reported that the German government will disregard protests from China and allow the sale of German built warships to Taiwan. France and America are also interested in supplying the potentially big Taiwanese demand for arms. A German Consortium headed by Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft reached an agreement with Taiwan last year for the supply of ten submarines and ten frigates worth DM20 billion. The German government's first reaction was negative. After a personal intervention by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, however, the government is taking another look.

Kohl's intervention reflects growing concern over the financial difficulties facing German shipyards. The Taiwanese deal would give them a much needed boost. If the deal goes through, China may break off negotiations for the purchase of three German built container ships but the value of this contract is nowhere near that for the warships.

Replete with ready cash and planning to spend some \$40 billion on arms over the next decade, Taiwan is an irresistible lure to hard pressed arms manufacturers looking for new and lucrative post cold war markets. Taiwan is not an easy customer however. Arms manufacturers have found that it wants to import high technology in order to make its own equipment. There is apparently no truth in the rumour that Taiwan wishes to buy Soviet arms. But Taiwan does want to obtain the American F16. So far the Bush administration has politely said no. Eventually however, the administration may yield to the pressure of American manufacturers and of America's 49.8 billion trade deficit with Taiwan last year.

Confrontation in ex Soviet Union sooner rather than later

On Monday March 16, President Boris Yeltsin ordered the creation of a separate Russian Ministry of Defense and named himself acting Defense Minister, thus taking the first step towards the establishment of a powerful Russian army. Previously Russia had pressed for a unified command over conventional forces. Russia is now following a trend that became apparent shortly after the new Commonwealth of Independent States was formed last year when Ukraine, Moldavia and Azerbaijan declared their intention to maintain independent armies.

Reliable sources say that almost every western intelligence service believes that confrontation in the ex-Soviet Union will come sooner rather than later. They expect the breakdown of the Commonwealth of Independent States within the next three months and fear that serious trouble is brewing between Russia and Ukraine after the anticipated fall from power of Boris Yeltsin. In the meantime, it seems that Western governments are arguing about tactics for short-term palliatives. Their strategy is one of damage limitation. This amounts to a combination of aid offers and the creation of a security zone to prevent violence within the ex Soviet Union spreading to the heart of Europe.

Intelligence sources say that not much can be done until Yeltsin sacks his top bankers (some of whom have deliberately undermined the price reforms), creates a clearly identifiable zone where strong rouble can circulate, and joins the International Monetary Fund. Ukraine recently repudiated the Soviet debt-servicing arrangements mainly because the Russians had seized the former empire's central reserves. Although this has met with ostensible calm in the West, the Germans, who hold much of the debt, are pressing the Ukrainians hard for a new repayment schedule.

The Soviet Union's former East European satellites are extremely anxious. It is reported that Poland's security services recently warned President Lech Walesa to expect serious fighting on his eastern borders and that Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel had a similar message for the American secretary of state, James Baker. Clearly, it has now become a matter of urgency for Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, to belong to a western security alliance.

The United States and Britain would of course like to tie the Central Europeans more closely to NATO. But, France and, to a lesser degree Germany are, opposed to a simple NATO link and prefer the creation of a purely European defence structure. Though Western states have advocated the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as the best platform for the 'Central-Europeans' needs, this has failed to persuade anybody. It did little to bring peace in Yugoslavia.

NATO has created a "co-operation council" which it is declared is open to all East European states. But it is admitted privately that the council is a facade for serious concentration on the needs of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Anyway, since the Council was created, the CSCE has begun to fade. Political analysts say that everybody knows that Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary cannot, on their own, contribute to the stability of the ex Soviet Union. The short term strategy seems to be that they should form a security zone in the heart of the continent that will seal off the rest of Europe from the expected turmoil in the Commonwealth of Independent States, and from Russia in particular.

Nuclear Non Proliferation - Major Plank of US Foreign Policy in the 1990s

In 1983, Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's former National Security Adviser, wrote in his autobiography Power and Principle: "The combination of democratic pressures and political unrest will generate, particularly in the Third World, increasing unrest and violence. Moreover, it is almost a certainty that an increasing number of Third World states will come to possess nuclear weapons.. The problems confronting Washington in assuring US national security will become increasingly complex." Brzezinski was perceptive and many political observers have noted that a major plank of US foreign policy today is to cajole, persuade and pressure more and more to sign the non proliferation treaty. America and Britain are said to be discreetly coordinating a diplomatic campaign against nuclear weapons in South Asia and the former Soviet Union. It is reported that at a meeting on January 19th in Kiev the capital of Ukraine, America's undersecretary of State for international security affairs, Reginald Bartholomew discussed both strategy and tactics with Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. It appears that there are two obstacles to the Anglo American campaign. The first is the feeling in the non Russian republics of the Commonwealth that the longer that they have nuclear weapons the greater their bargaining power for economic aid from the West and political respect from Russia. The second obstacle is the feeling in India and Pakistan that signing the NPT will require potentially serious military and political concessions. The Anglo American view is that these obstacles will be reduced if the West's emphasis on the NPT is seen to be united. But President Mitterand's proposal to put France's nuclear arsenal at the disposal of a future unified European defence system has thrown a spanner in the works. France is keen on a common European defence because it fears that Germany may in the future seek to match its present economic clout with military power. Political analysts believe that Mitterand is looking beyond NATO to the time when Germany will have to be dealt with by other Europeans. After all German firms already have the knowhow to make nuclear weapons themselves.

Russia, Bulgaria, electronic surveillance, leaked treaties and the stuff of modern diplomacy

It is reported that Bulgaria is reverting to its historical role as the centre for secret operations in the Balkans, especially by the Russians. Bulgarian officials admit that they are unlikely to escape from the reach of Russian spies for some time to come. This is because Russian secret services, especially military intelligence (the former GRU) have been revived after being paralysed by the collapse of the Warsaw Pact.

Infomed sources say that Bulgarians have difficulties over secret communications. As elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the new government inherited two secret networks. One is a telephone circuit with four digit numbers which was operated under Soviet supervision and was for the exclusive use of top Communist leaders. Hungary closed its system quickly and tried, to sell it to foreign banks in the country (no takers yet). Bulgaria wants to do the but does not know where to begin.

Then there is the system of high-frequency scrambled radio communications linking Sofia to Bulgarian embassies (and ex Soviet ones) in Eastern Europe and to Moscow. The Bulgarians know that Moscow can still monitor most of their diplomatic traffic. The foreign minister, Stoyan Ganev, knows he must make communications more secure. But he has neither the money nor the technology to do so.

The Bulgarians are also worried about the draft "friendship" treaty that the Russians recently sent them. Bulgaria successfully resisted signing such a treaty before the collapse of the Soviet Union. Under the new draft sent by Russia, Bulgaria would promise not to let its territory be used for any "hostile act" against Russia and would also preserve Russian "monuments and culture". The concept of a hostile act is flexible, and would be up to the Russians to interpret. Fearing Russia's desire to maintain its strong influence in Sofia, the Bulgarians leaked the draft treaty to NATO in the hope that its members would lean on President Boris Yeltsin. Nothing has happened.

Bulgaria's security strategy is also directly linked to the future of the breakaway Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. Historically and ethnically it belonged to Bulgaria. There is at present no question of Bulgaria uniting with Macedonia. But such a step would be hugely popular in Bulgaria. On the other hand Greece and Serbia would hate that. Greek forces have been sent to the Macedonian border. The Serbs are said to be plotting against Macedonia's government'. It is reported that Greek and Serbian prime ministers are co-operating closely.

It is reported that Bulgaria has developed a two-pronged strategy. To counter Russian influence, it is cultivating closer relations with neighbouring Ukraine, which would like to be Russia's rival. To offset Greece and Serbia, it is befriending its old adversary and neighbour, Turkey, which is also no friend of Greece or Serbia. In the meantime, Russia despite its economic chaos, is reportedly listening in on all these developments!

In the 1930s, Mohamed Ali Jinnah remarked that the demand for Pakistan was a national question - and that therefore it was an inter-national question. Ever since the Thimpu talks in 1985, the international dimension of the Tamil national liberation struggle has become increasingly open and manifest. The bottom line is that Sinhala chauvinism cannot succeed in its attempt to subjugate the Tamil people without aid and support from the international community. It is also true that, in the end, Tamil Eelam itself will need to secure broad international recognition. To address the international frame within which the Tamil national liberation struggle must perform take shape, is therefore, not a matter of self indulgent luxury but a matter of immediate, direct and practical significance. The new balances that are being struck in the emerging multipolar world are not without relevance to the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam. Again, if the 1950s and the 1960s were the decades of the anti colonial liberation movements, the 1990s will prove to be the decade of the post colonial national liberation movements. Self determination is not a mere phrase. Neither is it a dirty word. The political force that it generates has begun to prevail over the power of many existing state structures.

Islam rises in Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan borders on Afghanistan. Although Uzbekistan still looks like a communist state, Islam is on the rise, helped by popular feeling against the old Communist regime which is still clinging to power. Mosques are being built and renovated. It is reported that there are now more than 1,000 in the republic, at least 50 of them in the capital, Tashkent. In some parts of Tashkent the mosques are so crowded on Fridays that people have to pray in the streets outside. Discontent with the regime is becoming widespread and though the Islamic Renaissance Party is banned, the youth are rallying around it. The Imam Khatib Sobitkhan, the IRP's ideological leader in Tashkent says: 'Uzbekistan is an Islamic Republic. The world should not be afraid of Islam: we are for democracy.'

BOOK REVIEW

There is a story, probably apocryphal, about the successful mission of Swami Vivekananda to Chicago in 1893. One American industrialist invited Swami to visit his newly built meat-processing plant. The massive plant had been designed with a huge inlet with a diameter of 15 ft on one extreme and four smaller outlets with a diameter of 2 ft on the other extreme. The industrialist boasted to Swami: "We push live cattle into the inlet at this end and in 10 minutes, we get clean meat, bones, hide and waste material separately in the four outlets from that end. What do you think of this production line?" Without missing a beat, the great Swami delivered the kicker: "That's fine. But, if you send back the clean meat, bones, hide and the waste material from that end, can you retrieve the live cattle at this end?"

The overall theme of the book, *Broken Palmyra*, reflects the concern Swami Vivekananda had for the live cattle in this story. In essence, "What went wrong? Had we been led by a casual acceptance of violence as a tool to disregard the value of all life?" (p.184).

The Broken Palmyra; The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka, by Rajan Hoole. Daya Somasundaram, K. Sriharan and Rajani Thiraganuna, The Sri Lanka Studies Institute, Claremont, California, 1990, 464pp, Sri Lanka Rs. 200/US\$ 12.00.

One can also equate the symbolism of the meat-processing plant of the Chicago industrialist to the lives of youth who happened to be in the Jaffna peninsula in the 1980s decade. All had been pushed into the meat-processing plant (equated to the Eelam struggle) and the products which were delivered in the outlets seem to be of diverse categories; some meat, some bones, some hide and some waste material.

In the preface, while acknowledging that they "are not professional writers or historians" authors note that their main purpose of writing the book was to "face the truth in all its nakedness, both about ourselves and about all those who purported to be our saviours".

The book consists of a total of 16 chapters, excluding the concluding sections entitled, 'epilogue' and 'postscript'. The first nine chapters consisting the volume 1 of the book provide a historical background to the current Tamil ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka. Of these, coverage of the political events of the post-1983 period is the major contribution of this book. These include the birth and growth of the Tamil militancy, the excesses of Sinhalese military on Tamil civilians, the Vadamarachy Campaign of 1987, Rajiv-Jayewardene Peace Accord and Indian army's entry into Eelam. The six chapters in the volume 2 section covers the Indo LTTE war and its consequences. The penultimate chapter is entitled, 'A perspective on Non-violence'. The text is supplemented with six useful appendices.

Thumb-nail character sketches of the LTTE Leaders, scattered in the book makes some revelational reading;

1) Prabhakaran: "Using unpromising material his will forged together a force, the LTTE, which made the world sit up. A government in Co-

lombo which treated the Tamil problem with derision in 1978 and savagery in 1983 was shaken to its foundations. In time, New Delhi too became unsure. Washington took a keen interest. Where lesser mortals would have chosen to call it off, Prabhakaran persisted..."

2) Mahattaya: He "had a childhood steeped in want. He is very much a loner and is not much of a public man... Those who befriended him in old times can perhaps claim a hint of loyalty that did not quite approach friendship."

3) Kittu: "He had dispatched tens of (foreign) agents in his time, without giving it any more thought that he would in deciding to have a cup of tea... Amongst his men, there were those who resented his flamboyance. But in battle, they trusted his leadership as few others was trusted".

4) Anton Balasingam "a former British High Commission employee, who later wrote a doctoral thesis on Hegel, was a teacher of Political science at a British polytechnic. He could also converse ably on philosophical subjects. After July 1983 he moved to Madras with his Australian wife Adele to be

full-time spokesman for the LTTE."

Since the book is a collective endeavour of four academics (who held positions in the Departments of Anatomy, Psychiatry and Mathematics of the University of Jaffna), an uneven flow of the narration in the text could be easily noticed. It is a mixture of chronological summary of events and lecture notes in psychiatry, interspersed with "sermonizing to the sinners". Also, one could perceive a subtle sarcastic tone by the authors about the use (and interpreted abuse) of Hindu religious symbols by the LTTE militants in Jaffna. It is my opinion that this sarcastic tone emanates from the "You are all sinners" attitude taken by one author, who "subscribes to the view that the ills of society come from a loss of moral commitment or a failure to obey the voice of God".

In the search for their "truth in all its nakedness", authors point accusing fingers on everyone for creating "the tragic mess" in Sri Lanka; Tamil political leadership from S.J.V. Chelvanayakam to A. Amirthalingam, Tamil militants (all the groups which originally identified with the Eelam movement, including the LTTE), expatriate Tamils, Tamil intelligentsia, Sinhalese power-brokers, Sri Lankan (Sinhalese) army, Indian politicians, Indian army, Research and Analysis Wing (the Indian Intelligence Service) and last but not the least, the Tamil society as a whole. This is like giving equal punishment to the mass murderer, rapist, petty thief, con artist and the victim!

Regarding the intellectual drought currently experienced in Sri Lanka, authors state in one sentence: "Where the use of English has declined and wholesome alternative reading in the local languages is hard to come by, opportunities abound for charlatans within and without the universities who can throw around some big words and big names from the West" (p.390). I wonder whether the authors themselves stand accused of "drowning around some big words and big names from the West". The book is splattered with lengthy quotes from western intellectuals such as Len-

in, Arnold Toynbee, Sigmund Freud, Eric Fromm, T.S. Elliot, Gene Sharp and Martin Luther King Jr.

Authors also agonise about the inability of many Tamil militant groups to unite under one leadership. This is a valid point and all the peace-loving Eelam Tamils also ponder about this disunity. But one should also ask whether only Tamils suffer from this malady. In reality, many factions exist in the PLO and in-fighting does occur between the camps of Nelson Mandela and Inkatha chief Buthelezi. Even the great Mahatma Gandhi could not bring all the freedom-fighters in India under one wing. Once he lamented; "If we Indians could only spit in unison, we would form a puddle big enough to drown 300,000 Englishmen". And some like Jinnah and Subhas Chandra Bose did refuse to 'spit in unison' with Gandhi. This being the case, I feel that the authors have been too harsh in their criticism on the disunity among the Tamil rebels.

In one of their conclusions, authors also infer: "Non violence would have been far less costly, if the Tamils had been voluntarily prepared to suffer even a little of what they underwent during the war. More importantly we would have come out a united and strengthened community" (p.384).

This inference reveals the ignorance or amnesia of the authors to the historical realities of the freedom movement in India (see Gandhi's 'spitting in unison' quote mentioned above) and the non-violent campaigns led by S.J.V. Chelvanayakam for two decades between 1956 and 1976. Even when Chelvanayakam led the non-violence movement, the Tamil community could not come out "united". Why?

Furthermore, Mahatma Gandhi himself had explained that violence does have a place in Society. In the Young India of Nov.4, 1926, Gandhi wrote, "Taking life may be a duty. We do destroy as much life as we think necessary for sustaining our body. Thus for food we take life, vegetable and other, and for health we destroy mosquitoes and the like by the use of disinfectants, etc., and we do not think that we are guilty of irreligion in doing so... for the benefit of the species, we kill carnivorous beasts... Even man-slaughter may be necessary in certain cases. Suppose a man run amuck and goes furiously about, sword in hand, and killing anyone that comes in his way and no one dares to capture him alive. Anyone who despatches this lunatic will earn the gratitude of the community and be regarded as a benevolent man".

On how many occasions, not even a man but the whole army had "run amuck...and killing anyone that comes its way" in Eelam? It seems that the authors have tried their best not to logically explain that the emergence of the LTTE among Tamils after two decades of support to non-violent campaigns by Chelvanayakam was due to an adversary's army "running amuck and killing anyone that comes its way"

Overall, I do applaud the authors for providing an excellent chronological synopsis of events which happened in the Jaffna peninsula from 1983 to 1989. This is the most notable contribution of this book to the history of Eelam Tamils. However, I find it difficult to agree with their sociological and psychological interpretations relating to the development of the Liberation Tigers.

Sachi Sri Kantha

Rupavahini suspends Tamil programme

The Tamil programmes shown on Sri Lanka's State owned Rupavahini from 2.00 to 3.00pm on Sundays, 7.00 to 7.30pm on Mondays and a Tamil film once a month on Fridays have been suspended. Tourism Minister S Thondaman has lashed out at Rupavahini for arbitrarily suspending the Tamil programmes without informing the viewers or making alternate arrangements.

Letter from Madras

Dear Editor, Let me congratulate you for the part you are playing in our freedom struggle. The world must understand the justice of our freedom struggle and your editorials and commentaries in the Tamil Nation serve our purpose well. You are performing your task against heavy odds and we feel indebted to the Tamil Nation for having come forward in this hour of crisis. We wish you well in your noble task. On the 24th of February, the Hindu wrote a nasty editorial against the struggle. An effective reply was given by the Dravida Kalagam leader, Mr. Veeramani. Regards, Tamil Activist, Madras

Obituary

The late Bishop Sabapathy Kulendran B.A.(Lond) B.D. (Serampore) - Minister, American Ceylon Mission, Jaffna Council of the South India United Church and the First Bishop of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India passed away at the age of 91 in Vaddukodai on 16.2.92. He was consecrated Bishop in September 1947 at St. Georges Cathedral, Madras and installed as Bishop of the J.D.C.S.I in Vaddukodai. He retired in December 1970. Bishop Kulendran was a renowned theologian and deeply spiritual. He was very committed to the Tamil cause and was a supporter of the Federal Party. He served on the independent Commission that inquired into the 1974 incident when several Tamils died in the stampede at the International Tamil Conference held in Jaffna after the Sinhala Police had intervened to stop the proceedings. He had an acerbic wit and a dry sense of humour. There is an interesting story told about him by the late Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe. Following the 1977 riots, Bishop Kulendran was a guest of Bishop Wickremasinghe. The latter had invited several local Sinhalese politicians and Buddhist clergy for a dialogue. After they had held forth with pro-Government views they turned to Bishop Kulendran and asked what he and the Tamils wanted. "Just leave us alone" was his brief response. - C.J.T.

A service of thanksgiving for the life and work of the late Rt Rev Sabapathy Kulendran, Bishop of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India, will be held at Putney Methodist Church on Saturday, 11th April at 3pm. Guest speaker will be Rt Rev Dr Leslie Newbiggin, former Bishop of Madurai and later of Madras.

Doctor of Divinity, University of Jaffna

Rt. Rev. Father Anton Mathias was awarded a doctorate by the University of Jaffna for his thesis dealing with the history and development of the Catholic Church in the Jaffna Diocese in the late 19th and early 20th Century.

Fr. Mathias is the Director of St. Martin's Seminary, Jaffna and is also the Administrator of the Catholic Press, Jaffna. He is on the academic staff of the University of Jaffna as lecturer in theology. He was educated at St. Benedict's College, Kotahena and St. Patrick's College, Jaffna. He completed his theological studies at Propaganda College, Rome.

Tail piece

"...each experience in your life is a classroom...each experience is created and born of your own strength...any lesser experience would have meant little better than nothing to you because no lesson would have been derived from it...when we go to kindergarten we are taught gently...when we go to the university, we are taught in the language of the university...the teachings of life only come to us in a way in which we can best understand and benefit from them...and experience is a strict instructor....start with all the experiences that you feel were unjust and upsetting...discover within your subconscious mind one memory of an injustice or painful experience that you are still troubled by...get a clear mental picture of the experience and the reactions it caused you...do not analyse...simply be a witness, an observer..look at your own past, with all its joys and sorrows, and fully accept that every single experience was needed to bring you to where you are today...thus when you have cleared your subconscious mind of them, through forgiveness and understanding, the greater lesson will be learned from the experience...in this process you will begin to unfold your inner sight...knowledge awakened from within you is experiential knowledge, and when memorised builds a new intellect from deep within...when your subconscious mind has been fully reconciled to everything that has happened in your life until now, and when you have fully realised that everything you have gone through is nothing less, or more, than just an experience, and that each experience is really a classroom, you will have then absorbed within yourself all the negative reactions to all the experiences of the past and be at peace..." - Sivaya Subramaniaswami, Saiva Siddhanta Church, Hawaii.

PEOPLE & EVENTS

Melbourne Mellisai Kuzhu's
Innisai Malai
 in aid of Tamils Rehabilitation Organisation



The Melbourne Mellisai Kuzhu played to packed audiences at the Nunawading Arts Centre in Melbourne on the 7th and 8th of March. The three hour music programme was in aid of rehabilitation of orphans in Tamil Eelam and the net proceeds were donated to the Tamils Rehabilitation Organisation. The music programme titled 'Innisai Malai - Nenjil Nirainthavai' opened with a song by ten year old Mridula Subramaniam. (photo below right) The Music Director and lead singer was Joay Mahesh (photo above). The other vocalists included Shanthi, Rama Rao, Dominic, Ravi Krishna, Raveendran, Krishna, Sarath, Nithya, Pushpa and Chelven. Ravichandhira was on Mridangam, Apirami on the Veena, Sashi on the Violin. Janarthana was on drums, Vicki on the Key Boards, Rohan on Base Guitar and Achilingam on the Tabla.



The programme was jointly sponsored by the Dravida Cultural Association of Victoria and the Eelam Tamil Association of New South Wales. Over the years, the Melbourne Mellisai Kuzhu has earned a reputation as a group that provides quality entertainment and which at the same time identifies itself with the cause of the people of Tamil Eelam. The group will be playing at Sydney on the 4th of April.

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LOOKING AHEAD

April

11 Saturday

8.30 p.m. at Sri Murugan Temple, London E12, to celebrate Sri Rama Navami, Lava Kusa (children of Rama & Sita), a double act dance by Selvi Venothini Indra Kumar & Selvi Veshanthini Ravindran, choreographed and produced by Smt. Vijayambikai Indrakumar.
 Admission Free

13 Monday
 Hindu New Year

16 Thursday
 Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan Birthday
 17 Friday
 Good Friday
 Benjamin Franklin Remembrance Day

18 Saturday
 Tellipallai Kasi Vinayagar Flag Festival

Jaffna Hindu College OBA(UK) Cultural Evening in aid of School Funds at 6p.m. at Acton Town Hall, High Street, Acton, London W3 including dance by Selvi Venothini Indra Kumar, Flute by A.Thayaparan and Vocal by M.Yogeswaran
 Particulars from :081 204 4623
 Or 081 330 6120

19 Sunday
 3.45 p.m. Easter Service L.T.C. Putney Methodist Church

21 Tuesday
 Sathoorthy Viratham Poet Bharathidasan Remembrance Day

23 Thursday
 Sashdi Viratham Navali Chintamani Pilayar Flag Festival

24 Friday
 Tamil Scholar Rev G.U. Pope Birthday

25 Saturday
 R.P.Sethupillai Remembrance Day

26 Sunday
 S.J.V.Chelvanayagam Remembrance Day

27 Monday
 Thirunavukarasu Nayanar Guru Poosai

28 Tuesday
 Ekathasi Viratham

May

1 Friday
 May Day

4 Monday
 Sir Mutucumarasamy Remembrance Day

8 Friday
 Muthamizh Pulavar M. Nallatham Remembrance Day

11 Monday
 Suddhananda Bharathiyar Birthday

12 Tuesday
 Ekathasi Viratham

International Tamil Foundation

The President, Director and Secretary sincerely thank all who participated in the youth discussion on the "Second Generation of Tamil abroad" on March 21, all who helped with organising the speakers, everyone who provided refreshments and Mr. Kumaradas who made the public address system available. We hope that what began on a spring equinox evening may grow to fulfilment.

International Tamil Foundation will hold its 4th Anniversary Lunch and Panel Discussion at 12 noon on Sunday 21 June. Further information from the President (081) 567 3221 or Secretary (0734 429467.

Bharatha Natyam and Pannisai

The West London Tamil school, set up in 1978 for the children of the London Tamil Community, presented an evening of song and dance, Natya Gana Brindham, at Acton Town Hall on Saturday, 14 March. It was a production of professional standard. The School is lucky in having on its staff, Mrs. Vijayambikai Indrakumar, Bharata Natyam dance teacher and choreographer of repute. She and Mrs. Paranthaman, an experienced musician specialising in Tamil devotional songs, also on the School's staff, worked together, with the help of a group of guest artistes (photo below) and a group of students, to put together an unusual dance drama, inspired by the compositions of the Tamil poet, saint Manikkavasagar.

Manikkavasagar's poems are usually sung in temples at dawn to wake up the Lord. They are not usually danced. The poems can be treated choreographically as if they were individual 'padams' - a typical Bharata Natyam composition - but whilst it is possible for a single dancer to incorporate the ten hymns in a recital, it is extremely challenging to use the songs for a dance drama, which involves several dancers with an overall story line. Vijayambikai proved to be highly imaginative. A talented young student, Vathani Varadarajan, was cast in the role of the Tamil poet-saint. Vathani was a key character as she was the one who brought cohesion to the whole. Eight different dancers in full Bharata Natya costume - each one of a different colour - interpreted the songs: they represented the poetic soul of the saint.

The abhinaya was subtle and never overstated; the dancers, all professionally trained, danced well together and no one outshone the others. This was essential, as the dance drama had to have unity of execution and this was a credit to the choreographers skills. Young Vathani attired as an ascetic interpreted three of the songs. At the end of the programme, Shiva, the Lord of Dance, had awakened and pleased with his devotee, dances the Tandava. The pure dance portions were full of exciting footwork and daring movement patterns. Vijayambikai repeatedly challenged the abilities of her dancers and had clearly drawn as much as she could from them. It was altogether an exhilarating group performance. It is a credit to the West London Tamil School and its Head, Mr. C.J.T. Thamotheram that its students teachers and parents were able join together to stage such an outstanding performance. Reviewed by Dr. Alessandra Iyer, Ph.D. (London) (Note by Interim Editor: Natya Gana Brindham has been acclaimed by many as unusual and innovative. A fuller review by Wimal Sockanathan will appear in our May issue.)



Arangetrams

The Bharata Natya Arangtram of Mr & Mrs Loganathan, daughter of Surulikka Loganathan, daughter of Mr & Mrs Loganathan of 6 Walpole Road, Colliers Wood, London, SW19 and disciple of Vinothini Shunmuganathan was staged, at the Battersea Town Hall, London on 22nd March 1992.

The Miridanga Arangteram of Ranjith, son of Mr & Mrs S.Kanagasundaram took place on Sunday 29th March 4.30 pm at South London Tamil School.

Deaths

Cumarasamy BALASINGHAM 71 (Blue Ribbon - Jaffna), son of late Hon. K. Balasingham, husband of Ganesh nee Thiagarajah, father of Lakshmi Balakrishnan (Canada), Pria Shepherd (UK) and Arjuna Balasingham (UK). Died after a heart attack on 19th March, 11 Broadlands Drive, Waldersdale, Chatham, Kent ME5 8HH.

Sebamanie Florence TAMB-YRAJAH, wife of Robin Tambyrajah, sister of the late Rev. S.W. Arasaratnam and S.L. Gunaratnam, mother of Christine, Anton, Bertram, Wilson, Arthur, William, Evelyn and Robina, died in Peterborough, aged 78 years. After teacher training at Thurstan Road, Colombo, under distinguished educationalists like H.S. Perera and K.S. Arulnandhy, she taught at Wolfendhal Girls School, Kotaheva during which time (1942) she married Robin. In 1958 the whole family came over to England, to live in Putney. Manic taught in Peckham for almost 25 year. 19 Bramall Court, Netherpton, Peterborough.

Marriages

SAMBANTHAR - CHELLIAH

The marriage took place in Kuala Lumpur on 21st March, of Mathavakumar, son of Mr & Mrs A.T. Sambanthar of 3 Jalan Hassan, 30100 Ipoh, Malaysia and Shanti, daughter of Mr & Mrs K.V. Chelliah, formerly of Paranthan and now of 59 Broughton St, Kiribilli, NSW 2061, Australia.

SARVESWARAN - HEMA

The marriage took place of Sarveswaran (son of Mr & Mrs S. Sinnathamby) and Hema (daughter of the late James Kumaravelu and of Mrs Saraswathy Kumaravelu) on 29th March at London Sri Murugan Temple, East Ham, London, E17.

Dr Selvarajah CROSETTE-THAMBIAH, son of the late Mr & Mrs G. Crosette-Thambiah and husband of Sheila nee Aiyathurai, and father of George, Jeet and Sushil. 145 Park Road, Colombo 5.

TAMIL NATION

"Vicious campaign of disinformation by New Delhi against Prabhakaran" say Sikh leaders

The Sikh Akali leaders, Mr. Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann, have criticised New Delhi for its attempt to put the blame of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination on the LTTE leader, Prabhakaran. Speaking to the Madras Hindu in Nadampur, Punjab on March 5, they said that the 'vicious campaign of disinformation against the LTTE leader was part of the Centre's design to crush the aspirations of minorities everywhere.'

AFTA writes to Australian Senate Standing Committee:

Develop a policy which reflects the reality that in the Island of Sri Lanka there are two nations

Mr. Ana Pararajasingham, Secretary of the Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations recently addressed the Australian Senate Standing Committee on Finance & Public Administration on Australia's policy formulations in relation to the conflict in the Island of Sri Lanka. Excerpts from its letter follow:

"... we wish draw the attention of the Senate Standing Committee to the following matters in respect of the ongoing conflict in Sri Lanka between the Government (which represents the

numerically stronger Sinhala Nation) and the smaller Tamil Nation. We believe these matters to be of significance to the Department of Foreign Affairs in advancing Australia's foreign policy interests.

The mechanism for the gathering of reliable information in regard to the events in the North-East of Sri Lanka:

Given that a large proportion of the Sri Lankan media is either Government Controlled (Radio, TV and large sections of the Print Media) or control-

led by Sinhala businessmen (Most of the independent Print Media), the "news" reported is highly biased and often slanted to influence the international community in favour of the Sri Lankan Government. In addition, the Sri Lankan Government is known to pursue a policy of discouraging international reporters from visiting the war torn Tamil Homeland.

In view of the above, it is suggested that the Senate Standing Committee considers the establishment of a Consulate in the North East of Sri Lanka (the Tamil Homeland) to enable the Foreign Affairs Department direct access to information. We believe that the establishment of a Consulate in the Tamil Homeland would also act as a deterrent by containing the Sri Lankan Troops from committing atrocities for fear of exposure. It is also suggested that in the interim period the Australian High Commission considers sending its officials to the Tamil Homeland to assess for itself the true situation at periodical intervals.

Opening up channels of communications with the Tamil Leadership - The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE):

According to Justice Satchi Ponnambalam, a judge of the Supreme Court in Belize and the author of "Sri Lanka: The National Question and Tamil Liberation Struggle" (Zed Books, London 1983), the conflict in Sri Lanka is between the Tamil people whose interests are advanced, protected and defended by the LTTE and the state of Sri Lanka under the leadership of the President of the Republic, his ministers and the armed forces employed by the state.

Dr J Wilson of the University Of New Brunswick and the author of "The Break-up of Sri Lanka" (published in North America by University of Hawaii Press 1988) views the LTTE as the "authentic spokesperson for the Tamil people".

The Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations too views the LTTE as the party representing the Tamil Nation in the ongoing conflict in Sri Lanka.

In the light of the above, it is suggested that the Australian Government develops direct channels of communications with the LTTE. This should enable the Foreign Affairs Department to assess for itself the issues considered to be important by the Tamil people and assist in any resolution to the conflict through international intervention initiated by Australia.

Developing a policy which reflects the reality that Sri Lanka is a State that comprises two nations:

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

continued on page 11

Pentagon Draft Strategic Plan says:

"US should discourage India's hegemonic aspirations"

The United States should discourage India's "hegemonic aspirations" in South Asia and rebuild a military relationship with Pakistan as a counterbalance, according to a classified top policy guideline being prepared by the Defense Department.

A copy of the 46-page document, the first draft strategy being prepared by the Pentagon after the cold war, was obtained by The New York Times. The paper said in its report that the document, circulating at the highest levels of the Pentagon for weeks, was to be released by Defense Secretary Dick Cheney as a guideline for the administration's policy in the next decade.

According to The Times report published on March 8, the document said that the United States "may be faced with the question of whether to take military steps to prevent the development or use of weapons of mass destruction," and makes reference to North Korea, Iraq, Pakistan and India.

The Times quotes the document as saying that "we will seek to prevent the further development of a nuclear arms race on the Indian subcontinent. In this regard, we should work to have both countries, India and Pakistan, adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to place their nuclear energy facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards."

The document further says that "we should discourage Indian hegemonic aspirations over the other states in South Asia and on the Indian Ocean. With regard to Pakistan, a constructive US-Pakistani military relationship will be an important element in our strategy to promote stable security conditions in Southwest Asia and Central Asia.

The Times quotes the document as stating that "we should therefore endeavour to rebuild our military relationship (with Pakistan) given acceptable resolution of our nuclear concerns."

The newspaper said that though the document is internal to the Pentagon and is not provided to Congress, its policy statements are developed in conjunction with the Nation Security Council and in consultation with the President or his top national security advisers. The influential newspaper said that the document was provided to The Times by an official who believes that US post-cold war strategy debate should be carried out in the public domain.

Indications of the thinking in the Pentagon was evident as far back as March last year when the then Assistant Secretary of Defense for

"US may be faced with the question of whether to take military steps to prevent the development or use of weapons of mass destruction in North Korea, Iraq, Pakistan and India"

International Security Affairs Henry S Rowen told a Congressional Committee that "Pakistan remains of strategic importance to the United States."

Rowen said at the time that "Pakistan also continues to have legitimate military requirements that well exceed what we have provided in the past or propose to provide in the future."

Rowen also said that Pakistan could "also contribute importantly to our security arrangements for the Gulf," because of Islamabad's "long-standing military relations with all of the Gulf states."

He warned that if Pakistan is forsaken by the US, it could become radicalized and also develop a closer reliance on either Iran or China, or both for its security needs.

The document, being circulated called for "a constructive US-Pakistani military relationship" that would be "an important element" in Washington's "strategy to provide stable security conditions in Southwest Asia and Central Asia." The document, prepared routinely every two years, but the first one after the collapse of the Soviet Union, says that America's military mission in the post-cold war era should be to ensure that no rival superpower is allowed to emerge in Western Europe, Asia or the territory of the former Soviet Union.

'There's a Tiger in every house' says Jaffna Government Agent

Jaffna's Government Agent, K Manickavasagar who was in Colombo mid March has urged President Premadasa to call off the major military offensive in Jaffna because it could have severe repercussions for civilians.

After discussions with President Premadasa, Mr Manickavasagar said there was a Tiger in every house in Jaffna and thus the military offensive could affect most of the civilians. The only way out, he stressed was a peaceful political solution.

Mr Manickavasagar said he had also made representations to the President regarding the release of 20 Tamil fishermen who were in military custody and the release of 68 private vehicles which were being held at Pooneryn.

Asked whether he was not under threat as a government servant he said, "The LTTE is also aware of my constraints and difficulties. Even the government realises this situation. LTTE cadres meet me often on various administrative matters." (Courtesy Sri Lanka Sunday Times)

What is a nation?

"...States can exist without a nation, or with several nations, among their subjects; and a nation can be coterminous with the population of one state, or be included together with other nations within one state, or be divided between several states. There were states long before nations, and there are some nations that are much older than most states which exist today. The belief that every state is a nation, or that all sovereign states are national states, has done much to obfuscate human understanding of political realities. A state is a legal and political organisation, with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens. A nation is a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness...a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one. It is not necessary that the whole of the population should so feel, or so behave, and it is not possible to lay down dogmatically a minimum percentage of a population which must be so affected. When a significant group holds this belief, it possesses 'national consciousness'." [Professor Hugh Seton-Watson: Nations & States - Methuen, London 1977]