

TAMIL NATION

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Norwegian Human Rights Mission to Visit Sri Lanka

Mrs. Grete Faremo, Norwegian Minister for Development Cooperation has announced that a high-level delegation from the Norwegian Government will visit Sri Lanka in May to make an in-depth study into human rights violations, disappearances and abductions in the country.

In a press interview, she said: "The objective of this mission is to conduct an open analytical dialogue with the Sri Lanka Government and other interested groups in the human rights field as we strongly feel that Norway should show her concerns and stress the importance of this aspect in that country," she said.

"We are also very concerned about the findings of the recent United Nations report and we are keen to follow-up too. We know the task lying ahead for the government in this connection, but we want to emphasise the importance of this perspective for our future deliberations and development programmes," she added.

some quarters at political level do not want Norway's involvement in Sri Lanka, specially in the context of the ongoing war there.

The Sri Lanka Sunday Times quotes an anonymous spokesman for a leading NGO (in Norway?). "The budgetary allocations for 1993 are now being drawn and the Norwegian Government is compelled to address itself to the productivity of the development assistance they pump in. This visit would in a way serve as the last signal to the Sri Lanka Government in the wake of recent UN report on human rights" he said.

The paper adds that 'an independent political observer' has pointed out: "It looks like Norway has been requested by the UN to keep a very close watch on Sri Lanka as Oslo at all time voices against violations of human rights in all lands. "Sri Lanka will have to adopt a very cautious path after the recent UN report because donors are very keen on a 'marked improvement' within next couple of months."

negotiations between the Sri Lanka Government and the LTTE. It said that "the international community must apply pressure to achieve these objectives."

The Canadian Government also lobbied against Sri Lanka at the Aid Consortium Meeting in Paris in February 1992 and earned the wrath of the Sri Lanka government. The state owned Sri Lanka Sunday Observer declared editorially in March this year:

"Canada...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... 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

"...proposed visit may signal further reductions in Norwegian aid to Sri Lanka..."

The Norwegian delegation during its stay in Sri Lanka will review the ongoing development programmes and hold discussions with the beneficiaries of these development projects. "The delegation comprises officials from both Foreign Ministry and Development Co-operation Ministry," she added.

Norway, one of the aid donors at the Paris based Aid Consortium, effected a ten percent aid reduction to Sri Lanka last October in its 1992 budget. Accordingly, Sri Lanka receives only 45 million NKR (about 7.5 million US dollars) in 1992 as development assistance from the Norwegian Government.

Curiously, the visit has received some well orchestrated advance publicity in the Sri Lanka state controlled Sunday Times. The paper quotes 'informed sources' as saying that the proposed visit may signal further reductions and that the visit will be a crucial one as

The Norwegian delegation to Sri Lanka will comprise Messrs. Haakon Hjelde, Ambassador at the Royal Norwegian Foreign Ministry, Nils Haugstved, First Consultant, Foreign Ministry and Ms Berit Flavby, Consultant Development Co-operation Ministry.

Tamil Nation learns that time constraints may prevent the Norwegian delegation from visiting the North East. Informed sources say that a failure to find out at first hand the conditions in the Tamil homelands and establish direct contacts with the Tamil people and their leaders, may limit that which the Mission may have otherwise been able to achieve.

The visit of the Norwegian Human Rights Mission comes in the wake of the visit of a high level Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka in late January. The Canadian Mission called for an immediate arms embargo and for

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. 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."

It has also not gone unnoticed by many informed political observers that the extent of the leverage that Western countries such as Norway and Canada, (even with the tacit support of the US) can exert through Aid, will be conditioned by the fact that around 35% of the aid promised to Sri Lanka at the Paris Aid Consortium meeting comes from Japan. (see 'Japan's Cheque Book Diplomacy' on page 13)

Nedumaran & Sivanayagam in same jail for four days

Mr.P.Nedumaran, leader of the Thamilar Theiya Iyakkam who was arrested in early March, by the Tamil Nadu police, after a conference organised by the Viduthalai Kuyilgal in Madras was banned, spent four days in the same jail in which Mr.S. Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation has been incarcerated without trial since July 1991. Mr. Nedumaran says: 'The Tamil Nadu government which had refused me permission to visit Mr. Sivanayagam in Vellore jail, took me to the same Vellore jail, when they arrested me in early March. I was kept there in custody for four days. As a result I spent four days with Mr.Sivanayagam, 'pleasantly and sweetly' - 'avarudan nangu natkal poluthu inimayai kalinthathu'."

Liberation Tigers Welcome Initiative by Swedish Government

The Liberation Tigers have written to the Swedish Foreign Minister, Ms. Margaretha af Ugglas, welcoming any initiative that the Swedish government may take to mediate between the Sri Lanka and the LTTE.

The Swedish Foreign Ministry, in a letter dated March 6 declared that '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.'

Mr. Lawrence Thilagar, Central Committee Member of the Liberation Tigers in a letter to the Swedish Foreign Minister has said:

"The policy of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has been to engage in unconditional talks with the Sri Lankan government with a view to ending the conflict. We are willing to sit and discuss with the Sri Lankan government, the establishment of a structural frame within which the two peoples in the island may live in equality and in freedom. We wish to state that it is our view that a permanent solution may be found only on the basis of recognising the inalienable right of the Tamil people to self determination.

We would welcome any initiative that the Swedish government may take to mediate between the two parties to the conflict, namely the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE, and we suggest that as a first step, a delegation representing the LTTE meets with you informally to further discuss the issues involved."

Tamil Nation learns that Sri Lanka has not as yet responded to the suggestion of the Swedish Foreign Ministry that 'both sides turn to the Swedish Government and demand explicitly that it shall engage itself' in the attempt to reach a peace agreement between the fighting parties.

TAMIL NATION

Candidly Speaking

Nadesan Satyendra

"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

Mr. Taraki is a regular columnist in the Sinhala owned newspaper, the Sunday Island, published in Colombo.

The Sunday Island's views on the Tamil national liberation struggle are, of course well known. It is a paper which denies the existence of the Tamil nation. It is a paper which has consistently refused to recognise the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam - a liberation struggle which seeks to defend the Tamil people against a forty year effort by the Sinhala State to subjugate and bend them to its will. It is to this paper that Mr. Taraki writes on Tamil affairs - no doubt to the satisfaction of those whom he serves.

Recently the editors of three newspapers in Sri Lanka were charged under the country's draconian emergency regulations with 'causing hatred, ill will and contempt of the government', simply because they had published the allegation of the former Deputy Inspector General of Police, Premadasa Udugampola, that death squads used against the JVP had the patronage of the government. Mr. Taraki's writings on Tamil affairs, though they have sometimes given the appearance of favouring the Liberation Tigers, have never attracted the same kind of attention from the Sri Lanka government.

It was the Shah of Iran who once remarked that one of the weapons that he used against national liberation movements was internal subversion. The goal, he said, was to allow the national movement to grow in a particular direction in order to defeat it. Mr. Taraki's latest piece, in the Sunday Island of 26 April, entitled 'Tamil Nationalism Fights Back', appearing as it does in a paper opposed to Tamil nationalism of any kind, merits careful attention, particularly as it seems that Mr. Taraki is intent on setting the ideological agenda for Tamil nationalism.

What does Mr. Taraki say? He begins with what is an unexceptionable assessment. He says:

"The (Sri Lanka) government's objective is to crush the LTTE. Jayalalitha's objective, however goes far beyond that. Her express desire is to undermine the roots of Tamil nationalism in her state, so that in future Tamil Nadu would not be the breeding ground for pan-Tamilian sentiments. Her success will have a far reaching impact on the Tamil question as a whole than the victories of the Sri Lankan army in the North and East. What is she doing to destroy the roots of Tamil nationalism? Her main assault has been through systematic state patronage to Hinduism."

Mr. Taraki is right when he says that Chief Minister Jayalalitha seeks to use Hinduism to blunt the thrust of a growing Tamil national consciousness. But herein lies the nub - and the question that Mr. Taraki chooses not to ask. Why does Chief Minister Jayalalitha take the view that a resort to Hinduism is the answer to a rising Tamil national consciousness?

Is Hinduism in some way inconsistent with Tamil national consciousness? Is belief in a religion inconsistent with the Tamil national identity? Cannot Hindus be Tamils? Cannot Christians be Tamils?

Does not Chief Minister Jayalalitha know that any national identity is rooted in the heritage of a people, in their language and in their culture, that it is consolidated by an outside which treats them differently, and that it is given direction and purpose by their aspirations for a future, where they may live in equality and in freedom?

Again, if Christianity failed to prevent the growth of the separate nations of Christian Europe, why should Hinduism succeed in preventing the growth of the separate nations of Hindu India?

Does not Chief Minister Jayalalitha see the force of reason in that which the Bengali writer, Pramatha Chaudhuri said in the 1920s: "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 much apart..."

Why then does Chief Minister Jayalalitha take the view that the answer to a rising Tamil national consciousness is Hinduism? Has she succumbed to a foolish whim, an irrational thought?

But, it would be unkind to suggest that Chief Minister Jayalalitha is foolish or irrational. All reports suggest that she has considerable political savvy. Her political instinct has clearly told her that it suits her purpose well to suggest that Tamil nationalism is opposed to religion. It suits her purpose well to suggest that Tamil nationalism is god less. If she can direct Tamil nationalism to that particular dead end, she knows that it will die of 'natural causes.'

She knows well enough why it was that E.V.Ramasamy Naicker, the

undoubted father of the Dravidian movement, in the end, failed to deliver on the promise of Dravida Nadu. What was it that went wrong? Why did E.V.R. fail where Mohamed Ali Jinnah succeeded?

Mr. Taraki is right that the 'Dravidian movement was born in 1916 to oppose the domination of Brahmins, who were portrayed as Aryan outsiders in Tamil society.' But if ideology is concerned with moving a people to action, why did E.V.R.'s ideology fail to deliver Dravida Nadu?

Two reasons stare one in the face. One was the attempt of the Dravidian movement to encompass Tamils, Malayalees, Kannadigas and all Dravidians and mobilise them behind the demand for Dravida Nadu. Unsurprisingly, the attempt to mobilise across what were in fact separate national formations failed to take off. Recent events in Karnataka serve only to underline that failure.

It was one thing to found a movement which addressed the contradiction between the non Brahmin Dravidian and Brahmin Aryan who sought to rule and dominate. It was quite another thing, to mobilise Dravidians, speaking different languages with different historical memories, into an integrated political force in support of the demand for Dravida Nadu.

But that was not all. E.V.R. extended his attack on Brahminism to an attack on Hinduism - and indeed to all religions as well. Mr. Taraki is right when he says that 'E.V. Ramasamy Naicker, who is known as the father of the Dravidian movement in Tamil Nadu, was one of the most virulent opponents of Hinduism who ever lived in India.' E.V.R. threw out the Hindu child with the Brahmin bath water.

E.V.R. was right to extoll the virtues of pauth arivu, common sense. He was right to attack mooda nambikai, foolish faith. His rationalism was often a refreshing reaction to religious dogma and superstition. His attack on casteism, his social reform movement and his Self Respect Movement in the 1920s infused a new dignity, thanmaanam, amongst the Tamil people and laid the foundations on which Tamil nationalism has grown.

But the failure of EVR to recognise that Brahminism was one thing, Hinduism another and spiritualism yet another, proved fatal. His belligerent atheism failed to move the Tamil people. In the result even within Tamil Nadu, EVR's Dravida Kalagam became marginalised, and the DMK which was an offshoot of the Dravida Kalagam and the ADMK which was an offshoot of the DMK, both found it necessary to play down the anti religious line.

One consequence of EVR's atheism was that spirituality in Tamil Nadu came to be regarded as the special preserve of those who were opposed to the growth of Tamil nationalism. It is this which Chief Minister Jayalalitha now seeks to exploit. And it is this which Mr. Taraki is intent on perpetuating when he says: "The Tamil Nation... has also taken cudgels against Brahminism. But the Tamil Nation has got the whole thing muddled. Ideologically this paper has very little to do with the fundamental ideas of the Dravidian movement. Their editorial motto is that of Aurobindo Ghose, one of the chief proponents of militant Brahminism and the idea of Hindutva. In fact EVR quit the nationalist movement over the Shermadevi incident in which Aurobindo's revolutionary associate, V.V.S. Aiyer was involved."

Tamil Nation is not muddled. It is clear about the roots of Tamil nationalism. It understands only too well that Hindus and Christians are also part of the Tamil nation. Tamil Nation recognises that the fundamental ideas of the Dravidian movement are rooted in the resistance against Brahmin domination. The Tamil Nation recognises that the fundamental ideas of the Tamil national movement owe their origin to the Social Reform movement of E.V.R. But Tamil Nation is not about to accept the kind invitation of Mr. Taraki to throw out the Hindu child with the Brahmin bath water and so help those who are intent on destroying a growing Tamil national togetherness.

As for Aurobindo's words which the Tamil Nation carries on its editorial page, Mr. Taraki, whether knowingly or unknowingly, misleads his readers when he fails to inform them that Aurobindo quit the political arena by 1911; that the E.V.R. - V.V.S. Aiyer Shermadevi incident occurred in 1924/25; that Aurobindo had nothing whatever to do with the stand that V.V.S. Aiyer took at Shermadevi; and that the quotation that the Tamil Nation carries is from Aurobindo's epic poem, Savitri, which he wrote in his Pondicherry Ashram in the 1930s. The lines from Savitri bear repetition here:

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

Karl Marx said something similar, albeit in somewhat different words:

'Philosophers have interpreted the world,
The point, however, is to change it.'

The Tamil Nation needs no lectures from pseudonymous writers in the Sinhala owned press in Sri Lanka about what Tamil nationalism is or should be about.

எதற்காக எழுதுகிறேன்?
என் இயற்கையைக் கண்டுபிடிக்க எழுதுகிறேன்;
சரி, என் இயற்கையை என்ன?
மனிதனாக இருப்பதுதான்!

● அமரர் கு. அழகிரிசாமி ●

'India is not merely a country - it is a concept, it is a vision, it is a civilisational centre.'

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao at Congress Sessions

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao employed his well known erudition to hold forth on the age old Indian philosophy of adopting the middle path in all pursuits of life in preference to Western mores.

Although he chose a highly political platform to philosophise at the party's recent plenary meeting, he managed to stand out with his clear and telling comparison between East and West.

From India's politically nonaligned foreign policy formulated by its Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, to its mixed economy with socialist hue are manifestations of the 'middle way' Rao said.

To those who doubted the middle-way, he said it was meant to be 'constant reminder that no assertion or its opposite can be the full and complete truth; it meant that we looked for truth in the interstices of dogmas.'

Western civilisation, in Rao's reckoning, 'set forth to discover the secrets of nature' with the intention of conquering nature.

'We on the other hand, have always looked upon ourselves as a part of nature and subject to its laws' he said.

Mastery over nature has led to an 'excessive' and 'merciless' exploitation of nature, he went on, and warned:

'However, nature, now threatens to commit suicide unless it obtains redress. Modern western civilisation does not seem to know how to handle this situation.'

He argued that the latest forays into man's inner world through computer and genetic technology was a journey that Indian civilisation embarked on long ago.

'At the end of this journey, they will find us ahead', he predicted. 'We may not have analysed the structure, but we have grasped the essence.'

'Now when nature is threatening extinction, they (the west) are beginning to realise that truth has many facets, some of which we had realised earlier.'

Then he added dramatically: 'India is not merely a country. It is a concept, it is a vision. It is a civilisational centre.' (Courtesy: India Abroad, April 24)

Press Freedom under attack in Tamil Nadu

The arrest and incarceration without trial of the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation is just one instance of the increasing attack on press freedom in Tamil Nadu. India Abroad reports in its May 1st issue:

"The state government seems to have turned intolerant of dissenting opinions.

Recently, the State Assembly decided to act against three dailies for contempt of the legislature. A Tamil weekly was taken to task by Chief Minister Jayalalitha Jayaraman for what she called scurrilous writing about her.

Early this month, Assembly Speaker, Sedapatti Muttiah ordered the arrest of K.P. Sunil, former correspondent of the Illustrated Weekly of India for not appearing before the house to be reprimanded for one of his articles concerning it. The Speaker's action sparked angry protests by journalists all over the country.

Attacks on the media have increased since Jayalalitha came to power. Last month copies of a weekly Nakeeran were burnt after it published an article describing Jayalalitha as a 'lady Hitler.'

Last year, the offices of a conservative weekly, Kumudum were attacked for an article that sought to evaluate Jayalalitha's qualities as a political leader. 'These instances are closely linked to the attitude of severe intolerance by the Jayalalitha government' declared the Times of India. (Courtesy: India Abroad, 1 May)

Ana Pararajasingham writes from Sydney on

Tamil Times & the Crisis of Leadership

The editorial of the Tamil Times of 15 March 1992 is a timely reminder that the Tamil Times is sadly out of touch with ground realities. The editorial lamenting a 'crisis of leadership' concludes that the Tamil community must be somehow 'assisted' to produce a new leadership.

The Tamil Times does not say who is to do the 'assisting'. One is compelled to remind the Tamil Times that a leadership emerges from within a people. Leaders are not installed with external assistance unless, ofcourse, it is the kind of 'leadership' that was provided by the Vichy government in France and by Quisling in Norway during the Second World War.

The reluctance of the Tamil Times to recognise that the people of Tamil Eelam have the right to self determination; that a people are entitled, in law, to resort to an armed struggle to free themselves from a continuing and oppressive domination by another people; that the lawful armed struggle of the Tamil people is, today, led by the LTTE; and that the LTTE constitutes the present Tamil leadership, leads one to speculate about the views of the Tamil Times itself.

It may very well be that the Tamil Times looks upon the LTTE in the same way as those Indian Foreign Service officials, who regarded the Liberation Tigers as "little more than 'yahoos'" as they looked underfed, under dressed, came from poor backgrounds, and did not, ofcourse, speak the Queen's English. It may be that the Tamil Times concludes that 'yahoos' are not quite worthy of representing the Tamil people.

On the other hand, perhaps the Tamil Times subscribes to the notion that the Tamils need a 'collaborative leadership' to obtain 'concessions' for the Tamil people and considers the LTTE to be a hindrance to the emergence of such a 'collaborative leadership'. Hence its servile plea that 'the community should be assisted' to produce a new leadership.

Whatever the case may be, the Tamil Times is clearly out of touch with reality and is pursuing a course of action which can only damage the Tamil cause - a cause for which thousands of young Tamils have so willingly laid down their lives.

Rule of Law - New Delhi Style: Judge Now, Trial Later

The Subjects Committee of the Indian Congress unanimously adopted, on April 14, the Political Resolution with a significant amendment which called on the Union Government to impose a ban on the Liberation Tigers.

The amendment for banning LTTE for its alleged involvement in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination was moved by Rajya Sabha member Mr. S. Ahluwalia. The amendment said that it had now become more or less clear that the LTTE was involved in the brutal assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. It also called for steps to extradite those responsible for perpetrating the crime. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao said in answer to questions by the press that the Government will consider all aspects before taking a decision on imposing a ban.

Political analysts point out that the Indian Government could have imposed a ban on the LTTE without going through the process of obtaining a resolution at the Congress sessions. That it has done so rather suggests that the Government seeks to apply political pressure on the LTTE in a 'calibrated' fashion. This lends credence to the theory that the Indian government's actions are clearly politically motivated. Political analysts also point out that the resolution of the ruling Congress party, by judging the LTTE in advance of the court proceedings, has prejudiced the fairness of any such court proceedings. Any 'trial' will now become a mere show trial.

TAMIL NEW YEAR



In our April issue we carried on our front page a short note about the significance of the Tamil New Year. This month, under the same caption, we carry a photograph which symbolises the pain and the suffering of thousands of Tamils in Tamil Eelam on New Years Day, the 13th April 1992. Our picture (which appeared on April 12 in the Sri Lanka Sunday Times) shows Eelam Tamils who took refuge in the islands around the Jaffna peninsula, pleading with the Sri Lankan security forces to take them back to the mainland to see their loved ones and be with them for the New Year. "We are one people - our enemies have made us one. Distress binds us together, and, thus united, we suddenly discover our strength... Yes, we are strong enough to form a state and a model state. We possess all human and material resources for the purpose."

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Sri Lanka Army called upon to follow in LTTE's footsteps!

In a booklet issued to the Sri Lankan army officers, the Army Commander, Lt. Gen. Cecil Waidyaratne had stressed the need to improve determination and discipline on the battle ground with a view to beating the LTTE, who he admitted were well trained and armed with a result orientated strategy which included no smoking, no drinking, no looting, no robbing and no womanising. While admitting that the LTTE leadership was fully inspirational, he called on his men and troops to become much more motivated with the ultimate objective of defeating the Tigers.

From the War Front

DEFENCE LINE SYSTEM BEING BUILT IN POLANNARUWA DISTRICT.

Following a fierce confrontation towards the end of March between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Army at Mahawelitenne in Polannaruwa, the Sri Lankan government is to build a defence line system of several miles consisting of a series of bunkers and trenches to prevent any further major threat by the LTTE in the Mahaveli area.

On the 8th of March Sri Lankan Air Force bombers attacked the LTTE headquarters at Kondavil in Jaffna. Three LTTE cadres were killed.

On the 17th March, the Tigers engaged a column of Sri Lankan soldiers advancing towards their camp in Kokkilai. In the fierce fighting that ensued, three tanks were destroyed by the anti-tank fire power of the Tigers. Many Sri Lankan soldiers were killed and a quantity of heavy field guns and 50mm guns were captured by the Tigers.

On the 21st March, in an encounter between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan armed forces, seven soldiers and two home guards were killed near Sinhapura on the Polannaruwa Road.

On the night of 24th March, the Sri Lankan army post in Elephant Pass came under attack by the Tigers, as a result of which three soldiers were killed and two received serious injuries.

On the 25th of March, the LTTE ambushed a column of Sri Lankan soldiers, who went in search of them in the jungles of Senkaladdy in Batticaloa; they killed 18 of them. Six others received serious injuries.

On the 4th April the LTTE launched a surprise attack on a Sri Lankan army bunker in Pooneyn, killing seven Sri Lankan soldiers, including a high ranking officer.

On the 10th April, at least 45 people were killed by a bomb on a bus and in two rebel ambushes in Amparai. Explosives hidden in the bus fuel tank went off as the driver entered a bus station at Amparai. A senior Sri Lanka Army officer said that it was a huge explosion and shattered windows of shops and offices nearby.

Lt. Col. Anton J. N. Selvadurai writes to Lt. Gen. Cecil Waidiyaratne, Shri Lanka Army Commander

My Dear General Cecil,

1. First let me congratulate you on your appointment as army Commander - although a little late.

2. I remember vividly the first day you reported to the office of 'A' Squadron as a dashing young Second Lieutenant straight from Sandhurst. You breezed in with a dazzling smile and a mischievous glint in your eye. I didn't realise then, that I was looking at a future commander of the army. No one could have predicted such momentous and rapid changes in our peaceful paradise island. I am indeed very happy for you.

3. You have served well as a brave and loyal soldier in the cause of your people. Being a soldier bent on warfare and leading your troops against the Tamil people whom the state consider as their enemy, I am sure you may not have bothered to think of the moral and economic issues involved, other than what has been propounded by the state and the Buddhist clergy. Being an ardent Sinhala Buddhist you accepted their rhetoric without question. But now, you have matured and mellowed and got wiser and will be able to see things clearly.

4. Quoting Dr. N. Satchithanathan's keynote address in a recent London seminar - "The Sinhala nation has wasted human and financial resources in their efforts to destroy others. Peace requires them to re-assess their priorities and attitudes. In their requirement to travel this path of peace, a change in attitude would become inevitable. It would require them to treat the Tamil nation as their equals. This change in attitude would itself be an enormous benefit to the Sinhala people and their nation. Peace would enable them to harness all the wasted energy and redirect it into creative economic and cultural activity. There is a considerable economic dividend arising out of peace." It is alleged that the Government spent Rs 16.7 Billion on Defence last year!! What a waste!!

5. In the third paragraph, I have used the words "in the cause of your people." There was no cause whatsoever, but your people created one and forced the Tamils to take up arms.

I will not be wrong in saying that Prabhakaran and the Tamil Tigers were created by the Sinhala majority who couldn't bear to see the Tamils

prospering by their own endeavour. Having burnt the Jaffna Public Library, which was a symbol of Tamil scholarship, they shamelessly dropped "Shit Bombs" on the Jaffna Tamils. My poor Sinhala relatives blushed with embarrassment. Not even Hitler did this to the Jews, nor Saddam Hussein to the Kurds. This shows the extent of Sinhala hatred and the difficulty they would have in changing their attitudes towards the Tamils in order to make peace. Still, one must always be hopeful and no doubt with good leadership, time will heal the wounds and hatred be replaced by compassion and understanding. The breaking down of the vicious Apartheid system in S. Africa is an example of what a change of thinking could do to our country too.

6. Why are the Sinhala people so afraid of granting freedom to the Tamil Nation when they have the inalienable right of self-determination? I cannot think of any reason at all. Now even Scotland and Wales want to be free of the United Kingdom and the British Government will not refuse their wishes which is their democratic right. So, there is no reason whatsoever for the Sri Lankan Government not to have the

continued on page 10

GOGGLES

by C.P. Goliard

Goliardic Giggles

Most of us know that quite a number of Tamil movie lyrics are just of ephemeral value. A small percentage however, live in the minds forever for sentimental reasons. Some exceptional ones, with poignant themes, do appreciate in value with time.

One such song appeared in one of MGR's hit movies, 'Chakravarthy Thirumagal', 35 years ago. It was composed by poet Pattukottai Kalyanasundaram, who thrilled the Tamil fans like a comet before meeting an untimely death at the tender age of 29 years. In this particular song, the Pattukottai poet illustrated the goliardic tradition among the Tamil poets, by composing the song as a 'question and answer duel' between

NSK: Sangathu pulavar palar thanga thoda por pathakam
Vangathu ponnaadai parisallithaar - enakk
kingillai edenachch cholli kallithaar Intha
Singathukku munne oodi pangappaddavar aneham
seereduthu paadi vaare nere - atharkum
orezzhuthu pathil solli paaren.

Sirkazhi: Yaanaiyai pidithu oru panakkul adaitu vaikka
aathirap padupavar polallavaa - umathu
arampak kavi solluthu pulavaa - veeddu
poonai kuddi kaaddilodi puliyaipidithu thinna
purappadda kathai polallavvaa - thar

(Because there are many who sleep on the 'thinna')

NSK: Parathesiyath thirivathu ethanaale?
(Why does one wander without a home?)

Sirkazhi: Avan pathhu veedu choruru rusi kandathaale.
(Because he has found the taste of rice in tens of houses)

NSK: Kaarirul soozhuvathu evvidathile?
(Where does complete darkness fall?)

Sirkazhi: Karru arivillatha moodar nenjakathile
(In the minds of the learned fools)

NSK: Puhaiyum necruppillamal erivathethu?
(What can burn without smoke and

"The poet asks the question, "What is the most dangerous weapon in the world?". Instead of replying "sword or gun or atom bomb", the poet answers "the tongue of the traitor who has lost his balance" (Nilai keddu pona naya vanjakanin naaku thaana athu). Did Pattukottai Kalyanasuntharam have a premonition about the quislings whose tongues are now given for hire, after losing their 'original objectives'?"

two goliards. Kalaivanar N S Krishnan and Sirkazhi Govindarajan rendered this song with exceptional gusto.

Let me reminisce this particular song in original. The initial statements are self-introductions of the two who pit their wits. While the first one pompously recites his "glories and successes" and issues the challenge to respond his questions in "one word answers" (orezzhuthu pathil), the second one promptly introduce himself with repartee.

pukalchchiyodu paadukiraye pulava!

(Your introduction sounds similar to those who believe that they can capture an elephant and push it into a pot; your boasting is also similar to the story of the house kitten which ran into the forest to maul a tiger!) Then the verbal duel between the goliards begins. The first question and answer is a 'play' on the word thaanam. While one asks what is the 'best gift' one can possess, the other one responds by retorting that diligence (nithaanam) is the best of all gifts.

NSK: Poothaanam kannithaanam somathanam annathanam
kothaanam undu parpala thaanaangal - itharku
melaana thaanam irunthaal soluungal.

(There is virtue in gifting land, virgin, gold, food and cow. What is the best endowment, above all these gifts?)

Sirkazhi: eththanai thaanam thanthaalum entha lokam pugazhnanthaalum
thanathanil chiranthathu nithaananthaan;
nithaanathai izhanthavarku eenanthaan.

(whatever one may donate as gifts and whatever the world may applaud, nothing can equal the gift of 'nithanam', unshakeable diligence.)

NSK: Kovilai kaddi vaippathu ethanaale?

(Why have temples been built?)

Sirkazhi: Chirpa velaikku perumai undu athanaale

(To appreciate the talent of the sculpture)

NSK: Anna saththiram irupathu ethanaale?

(Why are there soup-kitchens?)

Sirkazhi: Pala thinna thoongi pasankal iruppathaale.

flame?)

Sirkazhi: Pasithu vaadum makkal vayiru athu
(The stomach of the hungry peasants)

NSK: Ulahathile payangaramaana aayutham ethu?

(What is the most dangerous weapon in the world?)

Sirkazhi: Nilai keddu-pona naya vanjakanin naaku thaana athu
(The tongue of the traitor who had lost his balance)

Many words and phrases of this beautiful song are so pregnant with appropriate thoughts for the Eelam Tamils now. For example, look at what the poet describes as, "veeddu ponaakkuddi kaaddilodi puliyaipidithu thinnappurappadda kathai polallavva". Isn't it similar to the silly sentiments raised in some quarters among those living as expatriates, clamouring for a change in leadership among the Eelam Tamils? Can any house cat run into a forest and devour the tiger? It is just a fantasy, as the poet aptly notes.

The Paddukottai poet also makes a distinction between the two types of fools; one, the learned fool (karru arivillatha moodar) and the other, illiterate fool. In the answer to the question, "Where does complete darkness fall?", the poet points out to the "mind of the learned fool" (karru arivillatha moodar). He emphasises that even educated persons can behave like fools and their minds are full of gloom and doom.

The poet also asks the question, "What is the most dangerous weapon in the world?". Instead of replying "sword or gun or atom bomb", the poet answers the question with wit and says "the tongue of the traitor who has lost his balance" (Nilai keddu pona naya vanjakanin naaku thaana athu). Did Pattukottai Kalyanasuntharam have a premonition about the quislings whose tongues are now given for hire, after losing their "original objectives"?

Columnist in the Sinhala owned Sunday Island says

"No one except the LTTE was able to fully exploit the logistical potential of sea-borne operations"

Taraki, a regular columnist in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island commented on April 29:

"The main LTTE base, code named 'Kadalpura' in the coastal town of Valvetithurai was bombed by Air Force planes during a morning raid" - Colonel Sarath Munasinghe Cabinet Press Briefing, March 17.

Kadalpura is not only the name of a mini-naval base complex on the Valvetithurai coast but the name for an ambitious Tiger project to develop sea-warfare capabilities in the northern water. The construction of the base-complex started as soon as the TNA was routed from Jaffna towards the end of 1989.

Soosai who was the powerful regional commander for Vadamarachchi before 1987 was put in charge of the Kadalpura project. It comprised of a reinforced harbour, a boat building facility an ordinance department for making sea-mines and developing and testing new ones and an infrastructure complete with Kadalpura, vehicles and separate communications network.

The LTTE has diverted vast resources in to the Kadalpura project. When the army took Kayts, Yogi

set. "From such data (on Chola sea-power) and the inscriptions of Kulotunga Chola, I came to know that it was customary for Tamils not only to traverse the seas and trade in other countries but to wage war beyond the seas.

Kulotunga Chola the First was involved in settling a dispute for the throne in Srivijaya and establishing peace there (Java, Sumatra etc.) between 1063 and 1070 A.D. In 1077 A.D. a Tamil embassy reached China. One Thevakula was its leader. It was Kulotungan. I wanted to share all this knowledge with my readers the result of that desire was 'Kadalpura'. (p 12-13 Preface to 3rd edition 1974, Part I).

The author also says that the other inspiration for his novel came from the exploits of the Chola General Thondaman who conquered Kalinga. There are few Tamils of the past 56 generation educated in the north and east who have not read or heard about Chandilyan's Kadalpura. Prabhakaran's military mind has to be also 'understood' in terms of the way in which he draws on myths, beliefs and history to forge an ideological grid.

This ideological aspect of the LTTE's Kadalpura project under Soosai is as important as its potential military impact on the Eelam war. Until the Ka-

'Kadalpura' is that it relates to local shipping traditions of the Valvetithurai-Pt. Pedro coast. These traditions are still strong among the Karave people of these parts. Recently the second edition of the book, "The Tamils who sailed ships from Valvetithurai to America was released at a well attended function in London. The book speaks about the ship - schooners and dhows - building prowess on that coast.

These vessels were testified seaworthy by Lloyds, (London) trade with Burma, Thailand etc. The first edition was reviewed in 'The Island' in 1982.

As a result of the trade with Southeast Asia powerful VVT and Pt. Pedro families were able to set up merchant shipping companies and buy ships. There are families in these areas which have donated lands to temples in South East Asian countries.

The LTTE developed its sea power by attaching to this seafaring culture. The Kadalpura project is now intended to systematically make use of this culture for waging war.

The decline of the other groups is partly attributable to the development of naval warfare have been entertained by the armed Tamil separatist movement in its early phase. (In fact, the very first batch of Tamil youth who were trained by the IB in India had been taught how to gather information on

Time running out for Quislings

It is reported that there is increasing friction between the Tamil Quisling group TELO and the Sri Lankan government. The Sri Lankan government turned down a request from TELO asking that 500 of their cadres brought from India be allowed to settle in the islets of Mandaitivu, Naivativu, Pungudutivu and Karaitivu, which are now being administered by the Sri Lankan government, and another quisling group EPDP. TELO is also upset that President Premadasa had met representatives of PLOTE recently and that TELO had not been able to do so, but were directed to see the Defence Secretary, Cyril Ranatunga and Presidential Advisor Bradman Weerakoon instead.

In the meantime, a columnist in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island was compelled to comment on April 12: "Time is slowly running out for the non-LTTE Tamil groups still operating. The LTTE has to become weak and at least the Select Committee has to come out with an 'acceptable' solution. If these two things do not happen before the end of the year the non LTTE groups will - with few exceptions - have a very difficult time keeping their act together. Their crisis is currently related to:

- The erosion of their nationalist credibility and legitimacy as a consequence of Thondaman's repeated assertion that the LTTE is the only relevant Tamil force, and as a consequence of their inability to assert their position in the day-to-day affairs connected with the management of the north and east;
- The uncertainty of the Select committee's position on the merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces;
- The ambiguity of India's position vis-a-vis their problems.
- Financial difficulties and
- A lurking suspicion of the intentions of the government.

....the most important crisis for these groups will be created by the final view of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the merger of the north and east.

The form of this crisis will be this: all the non-LTTE Tamil groups - perhaps with the possible exception of the EPDP - say that they will reject a select Committee majority decision which calls for a demerger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, which are now temporarily merged.

But if they do so the LTTE stands to immensely benefit from it, because they can then say that when groups that have worked closely with the government and were prepared for compromise have rejected a solution proffered by the Parliamentary Select Committee it will be politically necessary for them to continue with the war. Such a rejection or even criticism of the Select Committee's majority view can invest the LTTE's claims with greater political legitimacy in international fora. Worse still, it can convince the Tamils further that the LTTE's position is correct.

The non-Tiger groups are fully aware of the consequences of rejecting a Select Committee decision sans the merger. What will their relations be with the military which has built defences and encampments in Welioya between the Northern Province and the Eastern Province? A demand for merger implies an eventual dismantling of the Welioya military zone.

Therefore, the non-LTTE Tamil groups while speaking about their insistence on the merger, are trying to work out a compromise position on the issue which could be acceptable to the Muslims as well as the Sinhalese."

"...It was widely believed that action to wipe out the Tigers in Tamilnadu and the capture of the Tongova in midsea had neutralized their ability to bring in supplies. This view is now untenable..."

claimed that they would take on the security forces in the islands when their 'navy' was ready.

Even in VVT very few people have been allowed to go near the Kadalpura site on the coast. Since last year the gains of the project have been gradually introduced into the war by the Tiger leadership. Sri Lankan Navy vessels have hit sea-mines. There have been some sea borne attacks on patrol boats and motherships. In anticipation of an amphibious assault into the Peninsula Soosai's men are laying sea-mines in many places.

The Kadalpura represents a new dimension in the LTTE's war and can further compound the government's effort to control the north, militarily. Sea power is the key to Tiger strength and ambition. The name, chosen by Prabhakaran for his 'naval' project illustrates the nature of the beliefs and ideas which the Tigers employ to construct their Tamil nationalist image.

'Kadalpura' is, in a novel of the same name, the Chola empire's greatest battle ship which under the command of the Chola general Karunakara Thondaman, defeats the Sri Vijaya kingdom in South East Asia and subdues many pirates and kings as far as Cambodia.

The novel was serialized in the Tamil weekly 'Kumutham' in Tamilnadu for three years (67-70). It is so popular that new editions still continue to appear. What the author Chandilyan says in the preface might throw some light on the Tiger mind

dalpura project began in 1989 sea power - was almost exclusively used for logistical purposes; and even now Tiger sea borne activities are related to bringing supplies of arms, ammunition and explosives into the North and East.

The Kadalpura however signifies a major attempt by the LTTE to transform part of its sea power into sea warfare potential. But how far can the LTTE succeed in this? It cannot be ruled out as an idle romance in view of the resources that seem to be going into it. The logistical potential of the Tigers will be greatly enhanced if all their sea operations - including shipping are systematically developed and modernized. The simple equation being the LTTE will have no compulsion to scale down the intensity of the war as long as supplies are not a problem. It was widely believed that action to wipe out the Tigers in Tamilnadu and the capture of the Tongova in midsea had neutralized their ability to bring in supplies. This view is now untenable.

In each engagement that has taken place after these developments the LTTE has not been short on ammunition. Indian officials have not been able to make much headway in implicating the South East Asian Shipping Company in which KP - Prabhakaran's trusted arms purchaser was a director. All the ships suspected to be owned by the LTTE are perfectly legal merchant vessels which even visit Indian harbours.

It appears that information alone is not enough to undermine Prabhakaran's shipping network. India therefore has to wait patiently till it can apprehend a Tiger ship with a cargo of weapons without proper end-user licence and documents. Another aspect of the

ships coming to the Trinco harbour; then in '87 the RAW trained some boys in diving, for the purpose of attacking underwater mines. All the Tamil groups had a crucial department called 'Karapporuppu' - in charge of the coast - which handled all coastal dumps for weapons and the transport of men and material across the Palk Strait.

Some groups realized in the mid eighties that systematic development of modern navigational skills and facilities was necessary to keep up with the rapidly growing supply lines from India. But little could be done by the non LTTE groups because of the dearth of members who were experienced in traditional seafaring methods and coastal matters.

Yet the logistical potential of the sea-borne activities of the Tamil groups were considered unique by some anti-state groups in other parts of the world.

A major African anti-state armed group even sought training for some of its cadres in sea-transport, traditional navigation (without compass) etc from a left-wing Tamil organisation in 1985.

However no one except the LTTE was able to fully exploit the logistical potential of sea-borne operations. Many groups had had grand dreams of unloading weapons at midsea from ships, and bringing them safely into coast bases, in the north and east.

But only the LTTE succeeded - and survived when India decided to sever arms supply links. Kadalpura stands for its ambition. At the end of Chandilyan's novel Kadalpura's Commander Karunakara Thondaman says "This (naval) expedition (to subdue Sri Vijaya Kingdom) was for sake of the Chola Empire."

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We publish here the first instalment of a revised version of a paper which Subramaniam Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation presented at a Seminar in Madras in March 1991, organised by the Centre for South and South East Asian Studies. That the writer of the paper should now be languishing in an Indian jail, charged with no offence and detained without trial, must surely speak volumes about the rule of law and freedom of expression in India today

Rise of Tamil Militancy

Nearly forty years ago, a Western educationist attached to the University of Ceylon, Professor T.L. Green, made some unpublished studies about group attitudes and prejudices between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

The sampling covered school children and University graduates of both communities. They were asked to characterise themselves as well as members of the other community. While in the Sinhalese stereo-typed perception of the Tamils, various qualities were ascribed to the Tamils, both good and bad, such as cleverness, cunning, cruelty, thrift, pride, clannishness, kindness, and arrogance, a proneness to violence or militancy was certainly not one of them. The sampling of responses from seventy Sinhalese children in a government school in Colombo showed bravery as one of the main attributes of the Sinhalese, but not one of them mentioned this as a quality among the Tamils. A similar study among Tamil children from Jaffna yielded the response that they thought Tamils were cultured, intelligent and industrious, but the Sinhalese were lazy, proud and bold. (Quoted by Howard Wriggins - Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation, Princeton N.J., 1960)

The intention here is not to read too much into a survey of such limited data at a time when ethnic conflicts were yet to surface in the Island. Nevertheless, they serve as empirical confirmation of the fact that group consciousness was not only highly developed at that time, but also, as subsequent events showed, that some of those entrenched prejudices had a direct bearing on the ethnic divide that was to follow. What is pertinent to the present subject however is that, this writer, a Ceylon Tamil himself, would have been greatly astonished if someone had attributed anything but docility to the Tamils at the time that Professor Green made his study. It would have been the same even twenty years later.

Coming from a tradition-conscious, conservative, and a preponderantly Hindu fatalistic society, the Tamils under British colonial rule made model obedient servants of the Crown. As a people they were hard-working, diligent, hankered constantly after security, and were over-cautious in taking any kind of risk in life. There was a homely Tamil saying which said: "Even if your job involves looking after hens, let it be in Government service". But they did possess a pervasive job ethic which made them bring a spirit of dedication in whatever job they were cast - whether as a Civil Servant or as a gardener.

As for the youths, they were themselves tradition-bound, known for obedience to their parents, the elders and their teachers; and submitting themselves to the dictates of the parents whether in the choice of careers

of partners. Bound by strong family ties, with the sons taking over the roles of the head of the family in the absence of a father, it was even obligatory that they deny themselves the right to independent life until the sisters were dowried and married off. Moreover, any resistance to authority was firmly put down.

In the flat, largely arid areas of the north and east where Nature itself was niggardly, in contrast to the south with its mountains and rivers and milder climate, hard toil and human ingenuity were prerequisites if one had to survive and prosper.

"Tamil youth militancy was a recent phenomenon, a surprising one, when viewed from a sociological point of view, because it seemed out of character with the society that bred it."

And so it came about that Education became the major "industry" of the Tamils. In 1801, in the whole of Ceylon there were 170 schools, out of which 47 were in Jaffna; but in terms of population Jaffna accounted for a bare one-twentieth. American missionaries set up more schools a few years later, and so did Hindu reformers and educationists. Teaching was a highly respected profession, and this writer remembers during his school days at least three Cambridge-returned Tamils who took to teaching in secondary schools in Jaffna.

The well-known Tamil editor-novelist from Tamil Nadu, the late R. Krishnamurthy (Kalki) writing about a visit he made to Jaffna wrote jocularly that if anyone happened to stumble and fall in Jaffna he would almost certainly fall against a teacher or a pandit! Two of the first graduates to obtain their B.A. degrees from the University at Madras were from Jaffna - C.W. Thamotherampillai and Carrol Viswanathapillai, both known as "boy graduates" at that time because they won their degrees quite young. Such was the emphasis placed on Education, and this inevitably helped the Tamils to steal a march

was in giving substance to these allegations that the government of Mrs. Bandaranaike introduced a policy of "Standardisation" in admission to Universities in 1970, which deprived a large number of deserving Tamil youths the chances of higher education. It would be relevant to mention here that among the many factors that led to the rise of Tamil militancy, this was one.

Tamil youth militancy was a recent phenomenon, a surprising one, when viewed from a sociological point of view, because it seemed out of character with the society that bred it. Asiaweek's correspondent in Colombo, Julian West, writing of a recent visit to Jaffna, in the March 8th issue of the magazine says:

"... The face of society, too, has changed. Most of the middle class and professionals have emigrated to Canada or Australia. Since last June 125,000 refugees have gone to Tamil Nadu - swelling the number there to 200,000. More Tamils now live in Greater London - 60,000 - than in Colombo. In the peninsula 260,000 are displaced. Most astonishing of all to some older Tamil is the emergence of a young guerilla movement - the Tigers. "No one was as shocked as we were when our boys went to war", says a Tamil government servant. "The traditional set-up of our society has changed". Notes a Tamil lawyer in Colombo: "The under-35s now constitute the ruling class". As Mr. Anton Balasingham, the LTTE's amiable political spokesman, says: "We are running the law and order here. We are the civil administration".....

Bewildering as it was when youth militancy emerged, given the political backdrop of a decade and a half of Sinhala discrimination, mob attacks, pinpricks through the Press, the collective humiliation of a whole community which had made a contribution to the progress of the country well above its nu-

"...given the political backdrop of a decade and a half of Sinhala discrimination, mob attacks, pinpricks through the Press, the collective humiliation of a whole community which had made a contribution to the progress of the country well above its numerical strength, and the deprivation of a sense of belonging of a people who were born and bred there for centuries, something had to give way at some point of time..."

merical strength, and the deprivation of a sense of belonging of a people who were born and bred there for centuries, something had to give way at some point of time: there was therefore an inevitability about youth militancy as well.

Since not many political commentators take care to go deep into the genesis of any problem, it would be worth remembering that in contrast to Tamil militancy, Sinhala-Buddhist militancy in Ceylon - even seen in near-contemporary light - has a con-

Sivanayagam imprisonment without trial enters 287th day



On the 1st of May 1992, Mr. S. Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation entered his 287th day of incarceration, without trial, in an Indian jail.

The detention order served on Mr. Sivanayagam was under the Indian National Security Act and there is no appeal to the High Court. Mr. Sivanayagam sought to invoke the general power of the Courts to review an administrative order, by making a writ application to the Madras High Court to quash the detention order. In a judgment delivered in March, the Madras High Court rejected Mr. Sivanayagam's application for judicial review. The High Court having no appellate power, did not rule on the question whether the detention order was justified or whether Mr. Sivanayagam was a threat to national security. Mr. Sivanayagam has now appealed from the judgement of the High Court to the Supreme Court in New Delhi.

A Release Sivanayagam Fund to help defray the legal and other expenses connected with the campaign to release Mr. Sivanayagam was launched by Tamil Forum Ltd in October 1991. Contributions drawn in favour of Release Sivanayagam Fund may be sent to Dr. Rajan Namasivayam, P.O. Box 373, Croydon, Surrey CR9 6AB, United Kingdom. Each contribution will be individually and gratefully acknowledged.

the Sinhala Buddhists and the Catholics.

continuous history going back to a hundred years; and which at all times had shown a sustained intolerance of all ethnic and religious minorities that inhabited the island. The targets of attack until independence were - first the Christians, then the Muslims, later the Malayalees, and subsequently the plantation Tamils. How Sinhala-Buddhist militancy ultimately turned on the indigenous Tamils themselves is contemporary history. What is primarily phenomenal about Tamil militancy is that it is the first direct armed challenge that Sinhala-Buddhist jingoism was to face in a hundred years.

Paradoxically, that jingoism was to begin with the Buddhist revival, and the arrival in Ceylon of Theosophists Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky in 1880. While theosophy spurred nationalistic favour and a new interest in Eastern philosophies and religions, what should have logically resulted in an unobjectionable anti-colonial sentiment and a pride in traditional Eastern values, instead degenerated into a virulent anti-Christian movement. Says a dispassionate Sinhala commentator:-

"The anti-Christian movement was

the Sinhala-Buddhist bellicosity was soon to identify other minority target groups. In the second instance it was directed at "alien traders", or as the militant Buddhist leader Anagarika Dharmapala said it - "merchants from Bombay and pedlars from South India". The campaign however crystallised into one against the Muslims, specifically against the Muslim traders of South India whose business enterprise had enabled them to control much of the petty trade in both urban and rural areas. The result of this anti-Muslim agitation was the Sinhala-Muslim riots of 1915 in which many hundreds of both communities perished.

The third target of attack were the Malayalees, migrants from the Malabar coast and the then princely states of Travancore and Cochin, which now form part of Kerala. What began as a robust class consciousness with the emergence of the labour movement, to which Malayalee Communist leaders like A.K. Gopalan and P. Shanker themselves provided inspiration, soon caricatured itself into one of ethnic hostility.

The same Labour leader A.E. Goonesingha who was a pioneer of the Trade Union movement and stood for ethnic and working class unity, launched a sustained campaign both on public platforms as well as through his Sinhala language journal, the Viraya against the Malayalees whose presence in Ceylon in the 1930s had swelled to 30,000. It also happened to be the time when there was a world-wide economic depression, and coincidentally or otherwise, when Fascism was beginning its triumphant march in Europe.

The Sinhalese were also beginning to recognise in Adolf Hitler a fellow-member of the Aryan race! By the 1940s, the majority of the Malayalees had returned to India, with many of them who opted to remain marrying among the Sinhalese and getting assimilated with

also linked with the rise of religious fervour and the belief that Sri Lanka was the dhammadvipa, island of the faith, with a historic destiny to protect Buddhism, this mission having been entrusted to the "Aryan" Sinhala people by the Buddha himself...." (Kumari Jayawardena - Ethnic and Class Conflicts in Sri Lanka, Centre for Social Analysis, Sri Lanka, 1985)

The result: the first riots of modern times in Sri Lanka's history in Kottahena in Colombo in 1883 - between

Amnesty Report on India

"Torture occurs routinely in every Indian state"

In an in depth investigation of India, Amnesty International has concluded that torture occurs routinely in every Indian state. Its report says: "Many hundreds, if not thousands, of people have been tortured to death during the last decade. Since 1985 AI has recorded the cases of over 400 people who have died after being tortured in custody."

Half of India's people are poor and illiterate, and a quarter are officially recognized as being in need of special protection. They do not receive it. Members of the scheduled castes (dalits) and scheduled tribes (adivasis), tribal people in northeast India, migrant workers, landless labourers and others who are poor and underprivileged, form the majority of victims of torture, rape and death in custody. Many of them were never charged with any crime.

According to The Telegraph, an Indian newspaper: "Senior police officials admit that it is only the 'small fry' who usually die in police custody...victims are mainly petty offenders while some are innocent." Other victims were arrested because of their political convictions or detained in areas of armed conflict. In Jammu and Kashmir and the northeast states there is a pattern of rape of women by the army and paramilitary forces during counterinsurgency operations. Elsewhere, rape and ill-treatment of women by the police is widespread.

Many judges, journalists, lawyers, civil libertarians, politicians and police officers themselves have openly expressed concern about the widespread occurrence of torture, rape and death in custody, and have urged the government to halt police violence against detainees. But successive Indian governments have failed to do so.

A major cause of the persistence of widespread torture in India is the official failure to acknowledge that torture occurs at all, let alone that it needs to be vigorously tackled... In response to 33 specific allegations of torture and death in custody raised by the United Nations (UN) between 1988 and the end of 1990, the Indian Government either

case of a student who was tortured to death in 1976 took 14 years to complete; the police finally conceded in 1990 that he had died in custody.

Such extraordinary delays are common. They appear to be one more technique used to deny redress to the victims. Archana Guha, a teacher who became paralysed after being beaten, kicked, burned and suspended from a pole, has been pursuing legal action since 1977 in an attempt to bring her torturers to justice...

Very often the only official action taken in response to evidence of torture is the transfer of the police officers involved. Some police officers have been promoted despite allegations that they tortured prisoners.

Special legislation in force in Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, and Punjab, where armed opposition groups are active, grants the security forces immunity from prosecution for any acts committed while on duty. The police are also protected in law from prosecution for acts committed while on official duty.

Failure to identify and bring those responsible for torture to justice sends a clear message to the perpetrators that their actions are condoned. The government has claimed that all allegations of torture are investigated. However, successive governments have consistently failed to ensure that proper investigations - a prerequisite for bringing the perpetrators to justice or obtaining compensation for the victims - are held in cases of torture, rape and death in custody.

Police officers of all ranks, and in some cases magistrates, doctors and state officials, have conspired to conceal the truth about torture, rape and death in custody and to shield the guilty. Often the police version of how a victim died is accepted, however implausible it is. Moreover, the police often obstruct inquiries and intimidate witnesses to prevent them from giving evidence...

The Indian security forces use torture both to deter people from political activities, and in revenge for the acts of armed opposition groups. Torture is also routinely used during the interrogation of criminal suspects, even those accused of the most petty offenses. In December 1989, a young man was tortured to death by Haryana police officers after local landlords accused him of stealing parts for a water sprinkler.

scious. This case, like many others, was only brought to public attention by the work of local civil liberties groups.

Manjit Singh, a 24-year-old police constable, was brought to hospital in Chandigarh, Punjab, gasping for breath. He died the same day, 17 August 1991. Before he died Manjit Singh told doc-

"The Indian security forces use torture both to deter people from political activities, and in revenge for the acts of armed opposition groups."

tors that he had been tortured. A medical examination found extensive injuries, but the police claimed they had taken him to hospital because he was suffering from dysentery.

An equally improbable explanation was given by the Maharashtra police for the death of Raju Mohite the day after his release from custody in July 1990. According to his brother, Raju-Mohite's "toes had been smashed, his legs were swollen and the entire lower part of his body as well as his back had turned green and black... he told us that the police had repeatedly beaten him to make him confess." A post-mortem examination revealed 19 injuries consistent with torture. The police and the state government denied that he had been tortured and claimed that he suffered from jaundice and that his injuries had been caused by a "fall" or "accident". Hundreds, if not thousands, of people have met their deaths in similar circumstances during the last decade.

Political prisoners are often brutally tortured and untold numbers have died as a result. In Jammu and Kashmir detainees have been burned with domestic irons and pierced with electric drills. In Punjab their legs have been wrenched apart and crushed with heavy iron rollers. In Assam electric shocks, often administered with jeep batteries, are apparently the most common form of torture.

Rape is a common method of torture. In India it is so routine that a 1988 newspaper headline read: "Another mass rape by Bihar cops". In 1989 the Rajasthan state government admitted that the police had been involved in over 50 rapes in the past few years. According to the Delhi police, 14 cases of rape involving 20 police officers were reported between 1 January and 11 February 1990...

"The police and security forces use rape to punish and intimidate women suspected of supporting or sympathizing with the armed opposition and also as a means of indirectly punishing the men from a particular village or area."

denied torture occurred; provided the police version of events; claimed the case was "under investigation"; or failed to respond even when the courts had found evidence of torture. The victims or their families find it nearly impossible to obtain redress because they rarely have the information or the resources to do so... Legal proceedings in the

Children are among the victims of torture. In June 1989, for instance, a group of children from the northwest Delhi slums were arrested for theft. A girl of 13 was stripped naked and beaten; a 12-year-old boy was given electric shocks and beaten with a leather belt; another boy was hanged naked from the ceiling and beaten uncon-

The police and security forces use rape to punish and intimidate women suspected of supporting or sympathizing with the armed opposition and also as a means of indirectly punishing the men from a particular village or area. As an Indian newspaper commented: "the police abuse

"Political prisoners are often brutally tortured and untold numbers have died as a result. In Jammu and Kashmir detainees have been burned with domestic irons and pierced with electric drills. In Punjab their legs have been wrenched apart and crushed with heavy iron rollers. In Assam electric shocks, often administered with jeep batteries, are apparently the most common form of torture...By denying that torture occurs and failing to condemn it, by failing to bring torturers to justice, by failing to uphold human rights safeguards, successive Indian governments must bear full responsibility for the persistence of widespread torture, rape and death in custody."

women to carry out a proxy war against what their menfolk stand for." Women are often raped during counter-insurgency operations.

In May 1990 paramilitary soldiers raided five villages in Assam and gang-raped 14 women. In February

assessment during military operations.

By denying that torture occurs and failing to condemn it, by failing to bring torturers to justice, by failing to uphold human rights safeguards, successive Indian governments must bear full responsibility for the persistence

1991 at least 23 women and girls were allegedly raped by soldiers who raided the village of Kunan Poshpora during counter-insurgency operations in Jammu and Kashmir. One 21-year-old pregnant woman was reportedly raped by seven soldiers.

Rape of women by soldiers has been so persistent that the Guwahati High Court, which has jurisdiction over all seven northeast states, ruled in March 1991 that women should no longer be taken to or held at army camps for interrogation. In July 1991 the Supreme Court ordered the army to take special measures in the northeast to protect women from torture or har-

assment during military operations.

The Indian Government, while refusing access to international organizations and failing to respond seriously to the international human rights procedures of the UN, has claimed that its legal system, free press and civil liberties organizations are adequate to address human rights violations. Sadly, this is not the case. In an era where it is widely recognized that human rights are a global concern, those struggling for human rights in India need the active support of the international community."

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Eleven Years Ago on the Night of 1 June 1981:

The Burning of the Jaffna Library



An artists impression of the magnificent Jaffna Public Library as it was before it was burnt eleven years ago on the night of 1 June 1981. The Library was opened in 1959, and had over the years become the cultural centre of the Tamil nation and the repository of irreplaceable historic treasures and ancient manuscripts.

After the burning - a pre-emptive motion of no confidence on the Tamil leader of the opposition on the ground that he did not 'enjoy the confidence of the Government'!

"The TULF MPs took their battle into parliament. They moved a vote of no confidence in the government, on the grounds that the May-June 1981 violence in Jaffna had been state sponsored and carried out by Sinhalese ministers and high ranking government officials present on the spot. The government responded by going on the offensive. What followed was the most racially poisonous verbal vendetta in Sri Lanka's parliamentary history. In the debate that followed, one Sinhalese MP called for the return of the traditional death penalty which 'tears the offender's body limb from limb.'... They sought to remove the (Tamil) leader of the opposition. To general amazement, they (the Sinhala MPs) brought in a motion of no confidence in him on the grounds that he did not 'enjoy the confidence of the Government'!... The Speaker overruled a point of order that the motion was not within the powers of the House."
- Satchi Ponnambalam, *Sri Lanka and the Tamil Liberation Struggle*, Zed, 1983

"It would be advisable for the Tamils not to disturb the sleeping Sinhala brother. Everybody knows that lions when disturbed are not peaceful."

"If there is discrimination in this land which is not their (Tamil) homeland, then why try to stay here. Why not go back home (India) where there would be no discrimination. There are your kovils and Gods. There you have your culture, education, universities etc. There you are masters of your own fate.... If the sleeping Sinhalese wake up to see the Tamils trying to establish a Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka, then things may not be quite calm. It would be advisable for the Tamils not to disturb the sleeping Sinhala brother. Everybody knows that lions when disturbed are not peaceful."

- Mr. W.J.M. Lokubandara, M.P. in Sri Lanka's Parliament, July 1981

"Let us rule as a majority community"

"If we are governing, we must govern. If we are ruling, we must rule. Do not give into the minorities. We are born as Sinhalese and as Buddhists in this country. Though we are in a majority, we have been surrendering to the minority community for four years. Let us rule as a majority community". Mrs. Wimala Kannangara M.P., Minister for Rural Development, in Sri Lanka's Parliament, July 1981

"If I were given the power, I would tie (the so called leader of the Tamils) to the nearest concrete post in this building and horsewhip him"

"Now, Sir... what should we do to this so called leader of the Tamils? If I were given the power, I would tie him to the nearest concrete post in this building and horsewhip him till I raise him to his wits. Thereafter let anybody do anything he likes - throw him into the Beire (lake) or into the

sea, because he will be so mutilated that I do not think there will be life in him. That is war." Mr. D.M. Chandrapala, Sinhala M.P. for Kundasale in Sri Lanka's Parliament, July 1981

"During the time of the Sinhalese kings two arecanut posts are erected, the two posts are then drawn toward each other with a rope, then tie each of the feet of the offender to each post and then cut the rope which result in the tearing apart the body."

"Since yesterday morning, we have heard in this honourable House about the various types of punishment that should be meted out to them (Tamil Parliamentary leaders). The MP for Panadura (Dr Neville Fernando) said there was a punishment during the time of the Sinhalese kings, namely, two arecanut posts are erected, the two posts are then drawn toward each other with a rope, then tie each of the feet of the offender to each post and then cut the rope which result in the tearing apart the body. These people also should be punished in the same way... some members suggested that they should be put to death on the stake; some other members said that their passports should be confiscated; still other members said that they should be stood at the Galle Face Green and shot. The people of this country want and the government is prepared to inflict these punishments on these people." Mr. G.V. - Punchinilame, Sinhala M.P. for Ratnapura in Sri Lanka's Parliament, July 1981.

"Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advance and its benefits." - Article 27.1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

'If the Delegation were asked which act of destruction had the greatest impact on the people of Jaffna, the answer would be the savage attack on this monument to the learning and culture and the desire for learning and culture of the people of Jaffna... There is no doubt that the destruction of the Library will leave bitter memories behind for many years.'...

"...a large group of police (estimated variously from 100-200) went on rampage on the nights of May 31-June 1 (1981) and June 1-2 burning the market area of Jaffna, the office of the Tamil Newspaper, the home of the member of Parliament for Jaffna and the Jaffna Public Library... The widespread damage in Jaffna as a result of the actions of the police were evident during the visit of the ICJ observer in Jaffna in August..."

The destruction of the Jaffna Public Library was the incident which appeared to cause the most distress to the people of Jaffna. The ICJ observer heard many comments from both Sinhalese and Tamils concerning the senseless destruction by arson of this most important cultural centre in the Tamil area.

The Movement for Inter-racial Justice and Equality sent a delegation to Jaffna to investigate the June occurrences. The delegation's report, in referring to the arson of the Public Library, stated, 'If the Delegation were asked which act of destruction had the greatest impact on the people of Jaffna, the answer would be the savage attack on this monument to the learning and culture and the desire for learning and culture of the people of Jaffna... There is no doubt that the destruction of the Library will leave bitter memories behind for many years.'

The 95,000 volumes of the Public Library destroyed by the fire included numerous culturally important and irreplaceable manuscripts...

The government should lead a major national and international effort to rebuild and develop the Jaffna Public Library destroyed by arson by police in June 1981. Such an effort would evidence the respect the government for the cultural rights of the Tamils, help to remedy a serious injustice done to the Tamil community and contribute to restoring Tamil confidence in the government."

- Virginia Leary: *Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka - Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists*, July/August 1981

"The government delayed bringing in emergency rule until 2 June, by which time key targets had been destroyed"

"With several high ranking Sinhalese security officers and two cabinet ministers, Cyril Mathew and Gamini Dissanayake (both self confessed Sinhala supremacists), present in the town (Jaffna), uniformed security men and plainclothes thugs carried out some well organised acts of destruction. They burned to the ground certain chosen targets - including the Jaffna Public Library, with its 95,000 volumes and priceless manuscripts, a Hindu temple, the office and machinery of the independent Tamil daily newspaper Eelanadu... Four people were killed outright. No mention of this appeared in the national newspapers, not even the burning of the Library, the symbol of the Tamils' cultural identity. The government delayed bringing in emergency rule until 2 June, by which time key targets had been destroyed."

- Nancy Murray, *The State against the Tamils in Sri Lanka - Racism and the Authoritarian State - Race & Class*, Summer 1984

"The Sinhalese were jealous of the library"

"Today its rooms are thickly carpeted with half burnt pages, fluttering in the breeze which comes through broken windows. Inspecting the charred remains, I met a heart broken lecturer from the local teacher training college. 'The Sinhalese were jealous of the library,' he said. 'I used to come here every day to prepare lectures and tutorials. Now I shall have to go to Colombo and some of these books aren't available even there.' - Francis Whelen, *New Statesman and Nation*, 17 July 1981, visiting Jaffna soon after the destruction of the Library

Comment

It was Louis Fischer who in the 1940s wrote about Konstradt. The draconian Soviet suppression of the sailor's revolt on the island of Konstradt near Petrograd during the revolution in 1917, served to turn many socialist sympathisers away from the Soviet Union. Louis Fischer commented: "What counts decisively is the 'Konstradt'. Until its advent, one may waver emotionally or doubt intellectually or even reject the cause altogether in one's mind and yet refuse to attack it. I had no 'Konstradt' for many years."

The burning of the Jaffna Public Library by the Sinhala police on the night of the 1st of June 1981 served as a Konstradt for many thousands of Tamils who until then had wishfully thought that they would be able to live with dignity and self respect with the Sinhala people and that despite everything, answers to problems of discrimination would be found through the Parliamentary process.

It was not simply that these Tamils were unable to dismiss the attack on the library as the action of looters and arsonists who had gone out of control. It was not simply that they knew that looters and arsonists do not usually attack libraries. It was also that these Tamils knew that the attack was launched by large numbers of Sinhala policemen whilst senior Government Ministers were in Jaffna, on a special visit, together with a contingent of high ranking Sinhala security personnel.

Again, though on the previous night i.e. the 31st of May, the policemen had attacked the Jaffna Market buildings and the house of the Jaffna Member of Parliament, emergency was not declared. Curfew was not imposed. Strange actions indeed, if, as the Sinhala Ministers sought to make out later, the Sinhala police had 'mutinied' and were 'out of control.' Emergency was not declared till after the Library was burnt on the following night. Furthermore, despite the protestations of the Sinhala Ministers that the police had gone on a frolic of their own, no inquiry was ever held into the events of the 31st May and the 1st of June. No effort was made to bring the guilty to justice.

And when the Tamil leader of the opposition sought to bring a motion of no confidence against the Sinhala Ministers who had been present in Jaffna on those fateful days, the ruling Sinhala political party pre-empted the move by bringing a motion of no confidence on the Leader of the Opposition! It was reportedly the first and only time that a motion of no confidence had been moved by a ruling party, on the leader of the opposition in any parliament, anywhere in the world. A point of order raised against the no confidence motion was overruled by the Speaker. And, the debate on the motion was used to launch a well orchestrated campaign of vitriolic abuse and threats, intended to insult and intimidate the Tamil people, and subdue their reaction to the events of the nights of the 31st May and 1st June. If the burning of the Jaffna library was the pre-meditated injury that was inflicted on the Tamil people on the 1st of June, eleven years ago, then the parliamentary debate on the no confidence motion was the calculated insult that was added to the injury.

But that was not all. As Nancy Murray writes in 'The State against the Tamils in Sri Lanka - Racism and the Authoritarian State': 'While Sinhalese MPs discussed in parliament how to best kill (the Tamil parliamentary leaders), Tamil peasants were actually being murdered by organised gangs in the border areas of Batticaloa and Amparai. During July and August (1981), Tamils in the East and South, including the hill country plantation workers, were terrorised and made homeless. Women were raped and at least twenty five people perished. The attacks, many by well organised goon squads, were widely believed to be directed by members of the ruling UNP, among them close friends of the President.'

Thousands of Tamils, both young and old, had their 'Konstradt' in the burning of the Jaffna Public Library. They were compelled to face up to the political reality that the Sinhala government was bent on subjugating the Tamil people and bending them to its will. They were compelled to recognise that the Sri Lanka Parliament was no place for a Tamil with self respect and that the Tamil people had no option but to resort to arms to defend themselves. Eleven years on, the struggle continues.

Premadasa Postscript

"During the District Development Council elections in 1981, some of our party members took many people from other parts of the country to the North, created havoc and disrupted the conduct of elections in the North. It is this same group of people who are causing trouble now also. If you wish to find out who burnt the priceless collection of books at the Jaffna Library, you have only to look at the faces of those opposing us."

President Premadasa speaking at a Muslim College in Puttalam in October 1991 in the aftermath of the impeachment resolution against him sponsored by UNP dissidents led by Mr. Lalith Athulathamudalai and Mr. Gamini Dissanayake.

Tamils Flee Karnataka

The Bangalore Tamil Sangam writes to Tamil leader P.Nedumaran

"Until now it was Tamils living in foreign countries who sought refuge in Tamil Nadu. Now, Tamils in the other provinces of India are also being driven out to become refugees in Tamil Nadu"

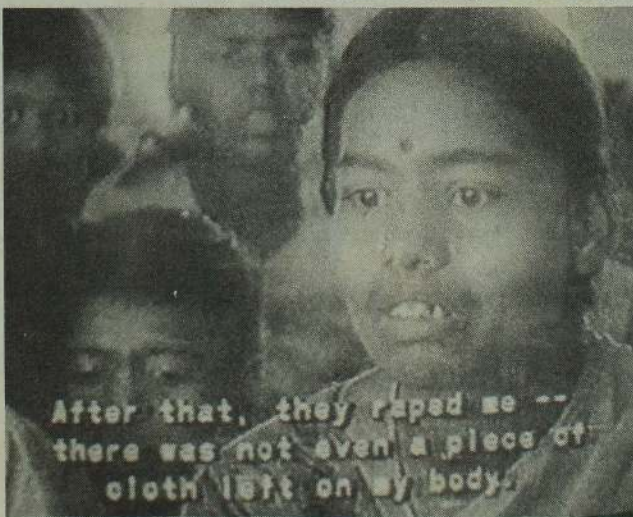
The Bangalore Tamil Sangam in a letter to Mr.P.Nedumaran, the leader of the Thamilar Theiya Iyakkam says: "When the Second World War started, hundreds of thousands of Tamils arrived in Tamil Nadu as refugees from Burma and Malaysia. The Srimavo-Sastri Pact between New Delhi and the Sinhala Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike in the 1960s, more than five hundred plantation Tamils were driven back to Tamil Nadu as refugees without a home to come back to. After 1983, unable to stand the atrocities committed by the Sinhala army, hundreds of thousands of Eelam Tamils started coming to Tamil Nadu. Even today, more than two hundred thousand Eelam Tamils live as refugees in Tamil Nadu.

Until now it was Tamils living in foreign countries who sought refuge in Tamil Nadu. Now, the stage has been reached when Tamils living in the other provinces of India are also being driven out to become refugees in Tamil Nadu. It was the Tamil people who had over the years toiled for the economic development of Karnataka. It was the Tamil who toiled thousands of feet under ground in the Kola gold mines of Karnataka, even at the risk of his own life. It was the Tamil who developed the mountain sides of Karnataka with its flourishing coffee plantations. Today, it is this Tamil who is being killed and murdered for no reason other than that he or she is a Tamil. It is this Tamil who has given so much to Karnataka who is being driven out, homeless, to seek refuge in Tamil Nadu.

For more than twenty years, Tamil Nadu has been discriminated in the allocation of the Cauvery Waters. Karnataka unlawfully dammed the waters that should have come to Tamil Nadu. None of the All India political parties nor its leaders came forward to condemn Karnataka's actions. In the end, even the compromise interim order delivered by the Supreme Court of India was rejected by the Karnataka Government. But faced with this rejection of the rule of law, the New Delhi government hesitated to intervene. Those All India political leaders who shout themselves hoarse about Indian unity, failed to come forward to condemn the lawless actions of the Karnataka government. These political leaders remained silent spectators whilst the genocidal attack on the Tamils in Karnataka gathered momentum.

Tamils who lived in Bangalore and its environs, were attacked by thugs and goondas, urged on by friends of Karnataka political leaders. The scene was not different to what happened to Tamils in Colombo in 1983. More than 50 Tamils were killed. Hundreds were seriously injured. Around 70,000 have sought refuge in Tamil Nadu. In Mandiya province, around 4000 acres of Sugar Cane owned by Tamils was destroyed. 40 plantation dwellings were burnt. The sugar factory was levelled to the ground. Some of the attacks were carried out with the assistance of the Karnataka police. The onslaught was as ferocious as it was totally unexpected.

Neither the Prime Minister of India nor the Ministers of the Central Government visited Karnataka. They did little to stop the onslaught on the Tamils. Neither did they offer their sympathies to a people in a time of grave distress. It seems that it is not only the Tamils who live in foreign lands who were helpless. The Tamils of Tamil Nadu were also helpless to right the wrongs that were being done to their brothers and sisters. It is this truth which Karnataka has shown us. We must recognise that for us Tamils, there is no way other than relying on ourselves and increasing our own strength.



Tamil Rape Victim in Karnataka: "30 people came armed with axes and knives. They attacked my husband and assaulted him. Then, three people raped me. They took my Thali. I was left naked without clothes."

Distress begins to bind us together

In December 1991, mobs on an anti-Tamil rampage killed Tamils in random in Karnataka. Thousands of Tamils fled from their homes in Karnataka and PTI later quoted official sources in Madras to say that the influx of people to Tamil Nadu had reached 60,000. About 20,000 Tamil families, mostly of poor construction workers, who had been living and working in Karnataka for several years, were driven out from the state by bands of young men shouting that either the Tamils "should live like the Kannadigas so long as they are in Karnataka", or "should go back to where they belong". The mobs, urged on by prominent Karnataka politicians looted and set fire to scores of Tamil shops and houses. A sugar factory was burnt down as Tamils hid in adjoining sugar cane fields.

The scenario will be grimly familiar to Eelam Tamils. In 1958, some thirty five years ago, Eelam Tamils hid in sugar cane fields to escape the wrath of Sinhala 'mobs on an anti-Tamil rampage.' Tarzie Vittachi wrote about the attack in 'Emergency 1958: The Story of the Ceylon Race Riots': "On the night of May 25 (1958) one of the most heinous crimes in the history of Ceylon was carried out. Almost simultaneously, on the Government farms at Polonnaruwa and Hingurakgodda, the thugs struck remorselessly. The Tamil labourers in the Polonnaruwa sugar cane plantation fled when they saw the enemy approaching and hid in sugar cane bushes. The goondas wasted no time. They set the sugar cane alight and flushed out the Tamils. As they came out screaming, men, women and children were cut down with home made swords, grass cutting knives and ketties or pulped under heavy clubs." As for the shouts of the Kannadiga mobs that Tamils should 'go back to where they belong', Eelam Tamils will be reminded of the increasing level of such threats that they faced from 1956 onwards. In 1981, after the burning of the Jaffna Public Library by the Sinhala police force, these threats found expression in the Sri Lankan Parliament as well and Tamils were told: 'If you say there is discrimination here, why don't you go back to Tamil Nadu, where there are your kovils?'

Excerpts from a Report by Aditi Phadnis and Gauri Lankesh on the background to the attack on the Tamils of Karnataka in the Indian magazine 'Sunday' follow:

Dr M Chidananda Murthy, a Kannada writer, who has been at the forefront of the agitation to further the interests of Kannada language, continued on page 11

Tamils: A Nation without a State

Amnesty Campaigns for New Asylum Bill

Uncertainty surrounding the fate of the Asylum Bill was finally removed by the announcement of the General Election. The UK Government confirmed that the Bill would not proceed - it fell with the dissolution of Parliament on 16 March (unfinished legislation cannot be carried over to the new Parliament).

The Asylum Bill, published in November 1991, intended to ensure "a substantial acceleration and simplification of the procedures used to deal with applications for asylum". Amnesty International believes it was deeply flawed. The Bill's central feature was the creation of a new right of appeal against a refusal of asylum. However, this right - for which Amnesty International had been lobbying since 1985 - was rendered meaningless by critical flaws in the proposed appeals procedure.

The most glaring included:

1. an unprecedented requirement that would be appellants first obtain leave to appeal, based upon a simple re-reading of their papers, and not a full, oral hearing;

2. an unreasonable time limit - 48 hours - for the preparation of appeals, seriously limiting appellants' chances of obtaining advice and representation; and

3. the absence of any opportunity to challenge a refusal of leave to appeal.

Compounding the problem were proposals to remove asylum seekers right of access to a solicitor under the legal aid scheme.

The Bill's blatant unfairness drew a torrent of criticism from a range of sources, including the Law Society, the Bar Council, the Commission for Racial Equality, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and church leaders such as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Basil Hume.

The Bill ... ran into determined opposition in the House of Lords - one senior Conservative described the Bills provisions as 'remote from reality', while a law lord described the proposed appeals procedure as 'forensic myopia'.

The Government announced on 19 February that it was abandoning its plan to abolish legal aid in asylum cases. Within a few days the troubled Asylum Bill itself disappeared from

Refugee Report

UNHCR ON TAMIL REFUGEES RETURNING FROM INDIA

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees expressed scepticism regarding the repatriation of Tamil refugees from India. According to Mr Hasheed Furkhan, a UNHCR representative, who visited India for talks on this issue, repatriation of Tamil refugees from India did not take place according to internationally accepted norms. The internationally accepted procedure of UNHCR officials meeting and interviewing the refugees, while still in the asylum country before leaving for home did not take place. Many of the refugees had complained to Tamil Nadu politicians that indirect pressure was being applied on them by the Indian authorities, to force them to return to Sri Lanka. They say that the so called crack-down of Tamil youths, possible LTTE suspects and sympathizers was a device to drive the Tamil refugees out of India.

EELAM TAMILS IN TAMIL NADU DENIED COLLEGE EDUCATION

The Tamil Nadu State Minister of Education speaking in the State Assembly said that in future, Sri Lankan Tamils will not be admitted to schools and colleges in Tamil Nadu. All places earmarked for Eelam Tamils will be allocated to Indian children, he added.

The Lords' timetable for the remainder of the current Parliament. The strength of opposition to the Asylum Bill and the climb down on legal aid show that a concerted campaign can succeed in overturning unfair and unworkable proposals.

Chronic under-resourcing of the Home Office's Asylum Division, and the long-ignored deficiencies of the existing procedures, have resulted in a backlog of more than 60,000 cases. With a newly elected Government, there is now an urgent need for a thorough review of current asylum policy and practice and the introduction of appropriate legislation. (Courtesy: Amnesty Campaign Bulletin, April/May 1992)

NEWS WATCH

SRI LANKA HANDS OVER TNRF MEN TO INDIAN AUTHORITIES

Two Indian nationals, Arumugam and Murali, who are alleged to be members of the Tamil National Retrieval Force were handed over to the Indian authorities, at a Sri Lankan Naval base in the North, on 18th March by a Sri Lankan army colonel. The Sri Lankan authorities claim that the two men apprehended in Delf a month earlier had been interrogated and that their investigations reveal that Arumugam and Murali had received weapons training from the Tigers in the North.

ARMY DESERTERS

According to a Brigadier in the Sri Lanka Army, over 4,000 army personnel have deserted the army in the past three years. Most number of deserters were from the frontline infantry battalions deployed in the North East theatre of operations. It is believed that the increased number of casualties among the troops could be one of the reasons. Once soldier go on leave, they don't want to return. Police believe that many young soldiers who flee their units are getting involved in criminal activities

Natwar Singh feted in Colombo

A reception was held in honour of Mr Natwar Singh, the former India Minister of External Affairs who arrived in Sri Lanka on a private visit. Prominent among those present at the reception were Minister!

Thondaman, former President JR Jayawardene, acting opposition leader Anura Bandaranaike and Indian High Commissioner Narendra Nath Jha. Mr Singh said that the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord had been dormant during the twenty months the Congress Party was out of power, but that it was still alive. He pointed out that it was the responsibility of the Sri Lankan government and the parties representing the various ethnic groups to see to the implementation of the Accord. India does not want to interfere in Sri Lanka's internal affairs, but as a good neighbour was genuinely interested to see peace and normalcy restored he said. He was critical of the Sri Lankan state controlled media for misrepresenting the purpose of his visit to Sri Lanka.

ARMY OFFICER CHARGED WITH HELPING JVP LEADER TO ESCAPE

The present leader of the JVP Mr Somawansa Amarasinghe and about 200 other JVP members escaped to South India after the arrest and murder of the former JVP leaders and the virtual crushing of their movement by the Sri Lankan armed forces.

A captain in the Sri Lankan army, Dharmasiri Nissanka, has been charged under the prevention of Terrorism Act with helping Mr Somawansa Amarasinghe to escape to India in 1991. Captain Dharmasiri will appear before the Avissawella magistrate on April 27 for his involvement in the escape of the JVP leader.

ENDING OF JOC CONTROL

In their effort to defeat the Tigers militarily the Sri Lankan President, Ranasinghe Premadasa, has placed all combatant forces and the police including the Special Task Force under the direct command of the three service commanders and the police chief, thus ending the Joint Operations Command control over the combatant troops. The three service chiefs have been given powers to take decisions and conduct military operations without going through the JOC as in the past. Following these changes the three service chiefs have pledged to wipe out the LTTE before the end of 1992.

AN INTERVIEW GIVEN BY THE CHIEF SPOKESMAN OF THE JOC, COLONEL SARATH MUNASINGHE

Reporter (R): Will you eliminate the LTTE before the end of the year?

Munasinghe (M): We are trying out utmost to achieve this goal before the end of 1992.

R: Did the Tigers destroy any tanks in the Welio Oya operation?

M: We lost three tanks.

R: Did you lose RCL guns too?

M: One of the tanks had RCL guns fitted. When 300 Tigers launched a surprise attack, the tanks were destroyed. The guns may have perished with them.

Lt.Col. A.J.N. Selvadurai writes...

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same liberal attitude. The two communities could work together while being independent, and yet being inter-dependent like the states of Europe, and have a common interest and desire to guard the security and prosperity of their island home.

Negotiations could lead to suitable territorial and other arrangements taking into consideration the needs of the majority and other ethnic communities. All over the world we see Empires crumbling and states wanting to be free and yet cooperating with one another for their mutual good. Now the Eastern block is wanting to join the EEC! The excuse that Sri Lanka is too small for division is a fake, as there are several states that are even smaller than the NE province, e.g. Monte Carlo, Belize etc. It is the will of the people, and not size that matters. It's a pity that Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinism is drastically affecting the will of the people. Besides, the smaller the state the easier it is to manage more efficiently, as explained by Dr. S. Schumacher in his famous book "Small is Beautiful".

7. You are now preparing for the battle of Jaffna, and massing men and equipment for what purpose? Instead of leaving the Tamils alone you want to genocidally kill off the Tamils on the pretext of destroying the Tigers. Now the Tigers are the people and the people are the Tigers. What if you win the battle of Jaffna? Will you be able to subjugate the Tamils? Is your Government trying to create a Northern Ireland or Lebanon type of situation instead of trying to avoid it? Put yourself

in the position of a Tamil in the North East. Would the Buddha have wanted the Sinhala Buddhists to destroy and exterminate the Tamils? That is just what your Government is doing and you have to take some responsibility for this as you have contributed to Defence Policy.

8. What does your high military training tell you to do? Have you made an in-depth strategic appreciation of the military situation that might develop in 2 years hence, or even before that? There will come a day when the aspirations of the Tamils of Tamilnadu, Tamil Eelam and Plantation Tamils of Sri Lanka will coincide and that will be your longest day.

We do not want another "Chola invasion". It therefore makes sense to befriend the island Tamils and win their confidence and trust, so that they would have a mutual interest with you in securing their economic and territorial integrity. This has been foreseen for a long time, but so strong is the historical and communal bias and jealousy of the successful Tamil minority, that notwithstanding all these years of strife, the Sinhala psyche is unable to comprehend this potential danger to their race. They are so blind that they will not see.

9. How can cloistered Nayake Theros locked inside their narrow monastic world of the temple, understand Geopolitics and be able to advise governments on international and national affairs of state?

They are only thinking of their past glory and know not what they say about

secular matters in a sophisticated and ever changing technological world of today. It is quite wrong and absurd that the British High Commissioner had to recently visit the Maha Nayaka Thero at Kandy to discuss politics.

10. According to Dr. Schumacher "Man driven by desire, greed and envy loses the power of seeing things as they really are - in their roundness and wholeness. The intelligence is drained and there is a loss of wisdom, a loss of happiness, serenity and peace. The working for peace involves primarily for restoration of wisdom by megalomaniac governments and a sick society."

This is also what the Buddha Dhamma says. The cause of the strife in our land is envy and greed for power by the militants in our megalomaniac government and a sick society which urgently needs honest self-criticism and reappraisal of themselves, so that they could save themselves from impending doom. There is not much time left, and I think the time is now.

11. You are in a position of influence and shape military strategy and defence Policy, so may I plead with you to use your power and influence and your strong personality for peace. You would go down in history not only as a brave soldier but also as a statesman who brought about peace in his land.

12. May the Triple Gem bless you and your family and in your peaceful endeavours.

Yours sincerely, Lt.Col. A.J.N. Selvadurai, 20 March 1992

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Distress begins to bind us together

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spelt out his world view:

"The Cauvery issue was just an excuse. What happened was a violent way of self-assertion by the Kannadigas. There has been an accumulated anger against the Tamils." The growing discontent was just waiting to manifest itself, Murthy says, who sees the Cauvery dispute not only as a fight for tap water but, as an extension of a historical animosity.

After having battled to give Tamil its rightful place in the sun and having fought to be considered as an equal without having to know Hindi, the Tamils (of Tamil Nadu) are now reduced to pleading for intervention from the central government to protect themselves from attacks by state sponsored Kannadiga chauvinists, goons and anti-social elements.

In November 1990, the Karnataka government, then headed by Chief Minister Veerendra Patil, accepted the recommendation of the Sarojini Mahishi Committee formed in 1983, which was set up by his predecessor, Ramakrishna Hegde, as a partial capitulation to the demands of the Kannada Chaluvali (Kannada Agitators). The Mahishi Committee's terms of reference included the issue of employment in government undertakings for the sons of the soil. The recommendations were accepted as per the Karnataka Government's Order (GO) No. D PAR dated 16 November, 1990. That the report was accepted so many years after it was submitted, surely tells its own tale.

It defined a Kannadiga as one who could speak, read and write Kannada and one who could carry out business in Kannada. The committee maintained that, according to the 1971

"The unspoken hint - which was also the social reality in a way - was that the Tamils were taking up too many government jobs."

census, only 65.94 per cent of the people in Karnataka could speak Kannada as against 98 per cent in Kerala, who could speak Malayalam and 96 per cent in Gujarat, who could speak Gujarati. The report also found that in Bangalore city, only 32.47 per cent of the people could speak Kannada. It concluded from this that there was "considerable immigration", from various regions. The unspoken hint - which was also the social reality in a way - was that the Tamils were taking up too many government jobs. The committee also stated that there were nine lakh unemployed in the state.

A comparison of what the Mahishi Committee recommended and what the government of Veerendra Patil decided to implement is instructive and offer some clues as to the origins to Kannada chauvinism.

The Mahishi Committee and the Patil government, though on the opposite sides of the political divide, obviously shared the perception of the threat that immigration of Tamils into Karnataka posed.

As is clear from the GO, the Patil government upped the ante set by Mahishi, thus placing on record its acknowledgement of the fact that the Tamils were a threat to the Kannadigas' economic advancement. In fact, Law Minister in the Hegde Cabinet, A.

Lakshmisagar went so far as to demand a system of passports for persons working in Bangalore so that the locals' right to work was protected.

The litany of grievances against the Tamils which has economic content is huge. Two kinds of Tamils have settled



A Tamil victim in Karnataka: 'My hand was broken up. My house was burnt. My wife and three children were killed. I do not know what to do.'

in Karnataka: one set of people are families of skilled and semi-skilled construction labour which provides services the Kannadiga worker cannot or is unwilling to do.

Inspector General of Police R Ramalingam says: "Since most of them (the Tamils) are skilled labour, they get more wages than the unskilled Kannadiga worker. This has led to jealousy even in the slums because the Tamils seem to be living better."

(Though) construction and road-laying is monopolised by the Tamils... it is... the rise of the Tamils in other professions which is a cause of envy and jealousy. When more and more public sector companies were set up in Bangalore, like the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) and the Indian

Telephone Industries (ITI), not enough technical manpower was available locally. Tamils flooded the blue and white-collar jobs in units which the Kannadigas hoped would lead to their economic betterment.

Even in the higher reaches of government, Tamils feel attitudes to them in Karnataka are changing. "People are being made conscious that they are Tamils," says A J Anandan, a senior police officer.

(At the same time) what is interesting is that many of the Tamils who are critical of the "clannishness" of fellow Tamils are Brahmmins who have the historical memory of being under siege in their own state. (Brahmin Tamil) Cho Ramaswamy was forthright in his criticism of Tamils and Dravidianism. "An impression has been created that the Tamils (in Karnataka) are totally innocent, that they are being unfairly and unjustifiably punished and are in the grip of a fear psychosis. But one cannot forget that the Tamils' attitude has not helped. You cannot live in one region and proclaim your loyalty to the leaders of another region. If you do that, you must be prepared to live as aliens. After all, the Kannadigas living in Tamil Nadu don't hail Bangarappa or Veerendra Patil as their leaders. Then why should Tamils living in Karnataka cling to regional leaders?" Cho says.

This is echoed by Ramalingam who is originally a Telugu but grew up in

Tamil Nadu. Ramalingam agrees that Tamils are clannish. "They want to keep up their identity and still have their moorings in Tamil Nadu. They should realise that they are in another place and should try and merge," he says.

However, for the thousands of families which are pouring into Dharmapuri, Salem and adjoining areas, the ideas of an intellectual merger are

irrelevant. Similarly, for the domestic labour whose huts were set on fire in Srirampuram (Bangalore) after they had been living and working in Bangalore for more than 20 years, the turn of event is beyond their comprehension. "Bangarappa thinks that by killing Tamils, he can earn the title of Cauvery Veeran (the Vanquisher of the Cauvery)," a labourer says cynically.

In Karnataka, Sa Ra Govindu and M Chidananda Murthy, the two main protagonists of the Kan-

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the Sinhala community. (ibid Kumari Jayawardene)

Sinhala-Buddhist militancy next turned its attention on the plantation Tamils. That symbol of Buddhist resurgence Anagarika Dharmapala was quoted as saying as early as 1902 that "under the English administration, the outcasts of Southern India are allowed to immigrate into the island".

But because these unfortunate people remained as slave labour in exclusive hilly regions insulated from the rest of the community, similar to the Bantustan of South Africa, and were by no means relevant to the political process at that time, they remained insulated from direct attacks. When the question of universal suffrage came up in the late 1920s, the personal equations changed. While the institutionalising of racism began with independence in 1948, and the passing of the first of many discriminatory legislations that were to follow, the question of the future of the plantation Tamils had become a burning issue by 1928, as the debates in the Legislative Council of that year would show. Speaking on the Franchise debates in the Council on November 8, 1928, the man who was later to become the country's first Prime Minister, Don Stephen Senanayake, said:

"... With regard to the accusation that has been made against the Sin-

"M. Chidananda Murthy, a scholar of Kannada and Kannadiga history feels that the Tamils cannot integrate into other societies and prefer to be different from those peoples in whose states or countries they live or work. "This applies as much to the Tamils in Sri Lanka as it does to the Tamils in Karnataka. They are a highly self-centred people," claims Murthy."

hadiga 'self-respect' movement, are unequivocal in damning the Tamil intellectual tradition. "They (the Tamils) should learn to live like Kannadigas once they settle down here (in Karnataka). But what you find about them is that they still work for the interest of their own linguistic group rather than taking an overall view of things. Harking back to the terminology of the Gokak agitation of the eighties to give Kannada as a language the pride of place, Govindu feels, "The easy-going attitude of the Kannadigas is something they can take advantage of. They behave as if they do not belong here, they look down upon the language and they have no respect for anything that is Kannadiga or Karnataka, because the Kannadigas have not protested, they think we are impotent."

M Chidananda Murthy, a scholar of Kannada and Kannadiga history... feels that the Tamils cannot integrate into other societies and prefer to be different from those peoples in whose states or countries they live or work. "This applies as much to the Tamils in Sri Lanka as it does to the Tamils in Karnataka. They (the Tamils) are a highly self-centred people," claims Murthy. The rice bowl of Tamil Nadu, Thanjavur

Rise of Tamil Militancy --- S.Sivanayagam

halese, I may say this much. We happen to be the major community, and there happen to be about three million Sinhalese in Ceylon. I feel certain that whether we have ten votes or twelve votes here, it is the voice of three millions that speaks, and I certainly think that should count with the British government...

We did not want to take away the government of the country out of the hands of able administrators like the English and hand it over to the Indians or anyone else...we do not want to transfer power from the hands of the

and Tiruchi, is fed by the Cauvery and is a stronghold of the DMK. It has been severely hit by drought, to the extent that when the tribunal went to the region to ascertain the flow of water in the Cauvery, it was greeted by spontaneous demonstration by peasants who formed human chains on the dry river bed, holding aloft empty pitchers of water and crying, "Save us."

In Karnataka, politicking is more clearly visible. According to police intelligence reports, S Ramesh and K G George, both ministers in Bangarappa's Cabinet, organised and planned the riots against the Tamils. The constituencies of both ministers have a sizeable Tamil population. This is confirmed by many dissident Congressmen-like K H Ranganath, Margaret Alva and others - who believe that the violence against the Tamils was state-sponsored.

Bangarappa can now sit back and let the Kannada Chaluvali and the Janata Dal conduct the campaign to get Tamils out of Karnataka. The leader of the opposition, D B Chandregowda has made common cause with Bangarappa. Whatever its political future, the Kannada Chaluvali is today certainly a factor in Karnataka politics.

to wilt under the pressures of Sinhala-Buddhist oppression beginning 1956, it took a second generation of post-independence Tamil youths to think of violence as the only answer to unchecked majority violence. As they say in common parlance, the worm began to turn. This in turn brought the State itself into violent conflict against the Tamils.

There is a common temptation in this country and elsewhere to trace the orgy of violence that Sri Lanka has been going through these past many years to the onset of Tamil

militancy and what is termed as Tamil separatism. Behind that assumption lies not only an absence of awareness of the past

"While the indigenous Tamils themselves had begun to wilt under the pressures of Sinhala-Buddhist oppression beginning 1956, it took a second generation of post-independence Tamil youths to think of violence as the only answer to unchecked majority violence. As they say in common parlance, the worm began to turn."

Englishmen to the hands of the Indians...." (Legislative Council Debates - reproduced in the Saturday Review, Jaffna March 27, 1982.)

The pattern of events in the island over a period of ninety years between 1880 and 1970 shows that every minority, ethnic or religious, alien or indigenous, had crumbled before the ogre of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism.

If one were to look for a raison d'être for the emergence of Tamil militancy in the early seventies, the answer is simple. While the indigenous Tamils themselves had begun

history of the island and its peoples, both before independence and after, but also a conceptual confusion in mixing the consequence with the cause. The cycle of violence certainly got intensified as a result of the Tamil armed resistance and the struggle for self-determination; which should not be surprising when the State itself becomes a partisan to the conflict, and is engaged in bombing and strafing parts of the country which it claims to be its own territory. This is a horrendous happening not heard of either in India or in many other countries where divisive forces are fighting for separation. (to be continued in the next issue)

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."

PRESIDENT'S RULE IN NAGALAND

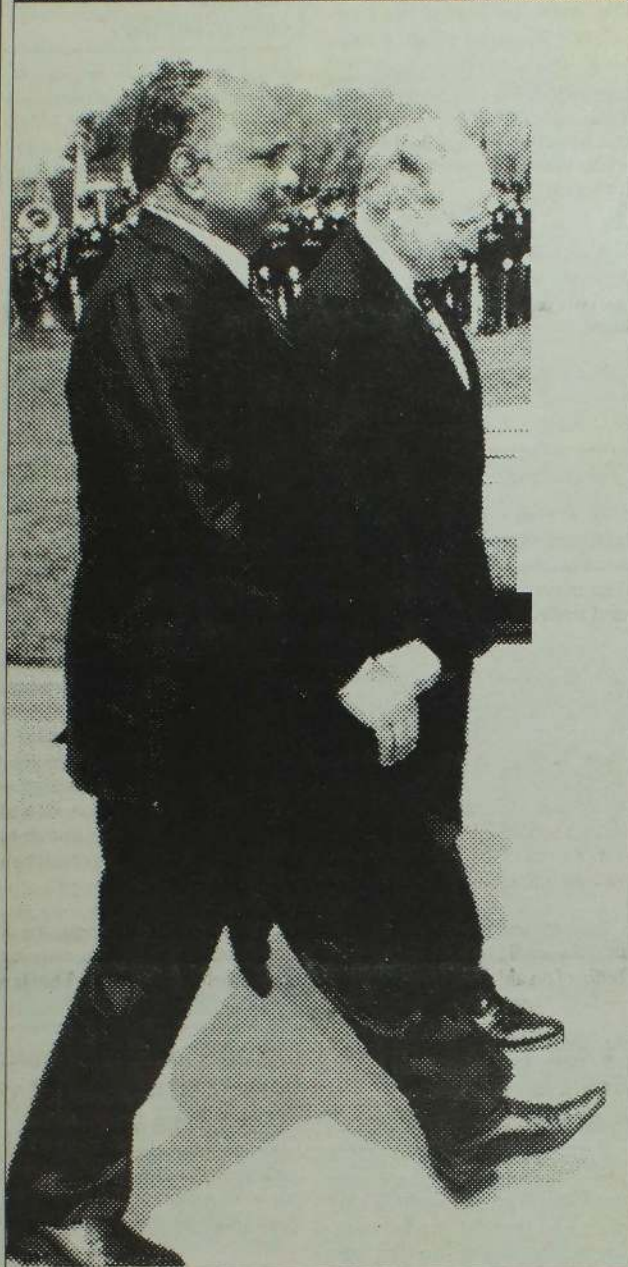
New Delhi sacked the Nagaland Governor, Mr. M.M. Thomas on April 11 and imposed President's Rule until fresh elections are held to the State Assembly. The Governor was sacked because he had acted on the advice of the Nagaland Chief Minister to dissolve the legislature without consulting the Central Government in New Delhi.

HEADING TO POINT OF NO RETURN

"The Punjab situation is surely heading towards a position of no return unless the Centre takes immediate and determined steps to find a political solution which satisfies the militants," said Mr. Parkash Singh Badal senior Akali leader and former Chief Minister of Punjab after his release from prison. Mr. Badal had been arrested under the Terrorism and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act on February 12. He dismissed as "hogwash" the story that he was being allowed to go to the US to participate in secret talks among Akalis, the militants and the Indian government under U.S. auspices.

The Indian Region

Stepping out together?



US Secretary for Defence, Dick Cheney and Indian Defence Minister, Sharad Pawar walking to watch the guard of honour outside the Pentagon

Far Eastern Economic Review says

"Popular alienation has gone so far in Kashmir that some form of associated-nation status would have to be offered"

All of India's current internal security campaigns have brought allegations of abductions, torture and execution through faked "encounters" by the security forces. In Punjab about 4,500 people have died in each of the past two years in insurgency-related violence. The militants who say they want a separate state called Khalistan, based on a fundamentalist Sikhism, have put the word out that violence will be resumed once the army pulls back.

The cost is not just the bill for the large-scale operations. These internal security problems have invited Pakistan's covert interference and in turn tempted many Indians - includ-

ing senior members of the present government - to regard the problems as essentially externally created. India stays hostage to an endless Indo-Pakistani tension that only serves to keep warriors, arms, lobbies, intelligence services and religious fanatics in business - and keeps the rest of the world wary of involvement.

Although he has made a daring start on economic reform, Narasimha Rao has failed to show innovative thinking on these vexed internal-external problems, which would involve some genuine devolution of power to the affected states. In Kashmir's case, as some influential Indians have come to accept, popular alienation has gone

US - India: Calibrating the Interaction

After meeting with Defence Secretary Richard Cheney at the Pentagon on April 7, Defence Minister Sharad Pawar said that plans have been completed for joint India-United States naval exercises in the Indian Ocean. The joint exercises will begin in "May or June in the Indian Ocean" he said. Dr. V.S. Arunachalam Secretary of the Indian Defence Research and Development Organisation, who accompanied Pawar at the talks with the American officials, said the US had not reneged on any promises to provide advanced technology for India's light combat aircraft project.

Admiral David E. Jeremiah, Deputy Chairman, US Joint Chiefs of Staff reportedly told Pawar that it is more important for the US to develop bilateral defence ties with India than to make collective security arrangements. At the same time, in what is seen in informed political circles as a twin track approach, Reginald Bartholomew, US Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs asserted in Washington that India had not totally rejected the proposed five power conference on nuclear non proliferation in South Asia or the signing of the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty. After a meeting with Pawar, Bartholomew said "we have not heard or taken any no for an answer yet. We are still working on this."

Five Power Nuclear Non Proliferation Conference - "US has not heard or taken no for an answer"

When Bartholomew was asked if his discussions with Pawar were the beginning of the bilateral talks that Foreign Secretary Dixit had spoken of he replied: "Any time I talk to an Indian, it is part of the dialogue and I will talk to any Indian I can where non-proliferation is concerned. So obviously I touched on the subject of the five power conference and reiterated the Bush Administration's request that India sign the NPT. It is a matter of our standard policy. I would like to see India be among the leaders where this is concerned and there is an immediate problem on the sub continent."

He declared that pushing India to participate in a Conference of the US, China, India, Pakistan and Russia and to sign the NPT was not to prove the "righteousness of American policy" but that "the non proliferation business is something that fits so well with India's values and interests."

The implication that India had much to gain from US support in other areas, for instance with the IMF and the World Bank, was not lost on independent observers of the 'calibrated' interaction that is now taking place between the US and India in the aftermath of the cold war. Pawar's response to Bartholomew reinforced the negotiating ploy adopted by Foreign Secretary Dixit in his earlier visit to the US i.e. talk about talks. Pawar told reporters that India "is not against this type of five power conference, if non proliferation can be in a true sense be implemented globally." He said it was imperative that New Delhi be provided with a clear "understanding about exactly what the thinking is, and in what way we would like to discuss this." Thus, he said, at the bilateral discussions with the US on nuclear non proliferation, India had to be provided with clear cut details of the "parameters of the discussions" that would take place in a five power conference before Delhi could "come to some definite decisions."

Political analysts reading between the lines of what Pawar said in Washington, believe that India's actual position on the proposed five power conference is not very different from that which was articulated rather more bluntly, by India's serving General Sunith Rodriguez a month ago: "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?" On that occasion Pawar said: "I have discussed the matter with the General. I am satisfied with the General's explanation. However I feel that interviews by serving officers are best avoided. I wish he had resisted the temptation."

so far that some form of independence or associated-nation status would have to be offered. However, the government and major political parties are unable to accept such a solution.

The government's response has been to handle the situation as a security operation, and make strident assertions of authority. The gain of 12 seats in Punjab may tempt it to stage the same empty process in Kashmir, which has six seats: it can be guaranteed an election no Kashmiri will attend. (Far Eastern Economic Review, March 5)

Yeltsin Freezes Rocket Deal

Russian President Boris Yeltsin has suspended transfer of rocket technology to India following objections from the United States. He ordered a "pause" in fulfilling the \$200 million contract between the Russian space agency and the Indian Space Research Organisation. The American objection to the deal was raised during Secretary of State James A. Baker's visit to Moscow in February. He had warned that Washington might impose trade sanctions against Russia if the contract was not scrapped.

The Emerging Multipolar World

Japan's Cheque book diplomacy

At the meeting of 23 world leaders at the World Commission on Environment and Development in London on 24 April, Dr. Saburo Okita, the former Japanese Foreign Minister declared that Japan would take over leadership in protecting the environment and aiding world development if President Bush failed to meet that responsibility. He added: 'We are not trying to overtake on military leadership - the US have that and will keep it - but if they do not wish to take on other responsibilities, we have agreed to do so.'

The aggressive stance taken by Japan on development aid and on the environment did not come as a surprise to informed Japan watchers. The fact is that Japan is rapidly emerging as the world's dominant economic power. Japanese who are 2.6% of the world's population and who live on 0.1% of its inhabitable area, produce 10% of world economic production.

Japanese economic success has also meant increasing economic muscle outside the country. Japan has increasingly become the lender and donor of first resort. Its financial institutions are now responsible for a third of all international credit. A single Japanese company, Nomura, was responsible for financing a third of the huge US national debt. Japanese overseas aid in 1989 totalled 9 billion US\$ compared to US aid of a mere 7.7 billion US\$. As a percentage of GNP, Japan's aid budget was more than double that of the US. That was in 1989 and Japan has aggressively increased its aid programme year by year.

Japan is the principal aid donor and trading partner throughout the Asian-Pacific third world. For instance, Japan is Burma's largest donor, accounting for 80% of all official government aid to the military regime. In 1990, Japan was the largest single aid donor to Sri Lanka, accounting for around 35% of the total grant. More significantly, the Japanese contribution was more than four times that made by any other single country. The other substantial contributions, amounting to about 20% each, came from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Aid means big business for Japan. Japanese Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) effectively re cycles yen collected as taxes back to Japanese companies. Unlike other donor countries Japan has no agency with overall responsibility for aid. ODA decision making is spread across the Foreign Ministry, the Finance Ministry and the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry. This makes it easier for individual corporate clients to have access to ODA funds.

Not unnaturally Japan's profile in the UN has gone up several notches in recent times. On a recent visit to Japan, US Secretary of State James A. Baker warned Japan against relying on 'cheque book diplomacy' to protect its narrow interests. More recently, it appears that Japan has joined forces with the US on nuclear non proliferation and warned India of 'an aid cut off if India does not tame its nuclear ambitions.'

Early this year, it was reported that a key Japanese official in Colombo had asked the Sri Lanka government to give coverage to opposition parties in the state owned Rupavahini television. It was not without significance that Rupavahini itself was an outright gift from Japan. The statement of the same official that the Sri Lanka Island newspaper was the only independent newspaper in Sri Lanka was seen as a clear intrusion in local politics.

But, be that as it may, Japan is also seen as providing some leverage for Third World governments, such as Sri Lanka, when dealing with Euro-American pressures. An often expressed view is that 'Asians feel more comfortable with the Japanese and are hanging their hopes on them because they are not such sticklers for rules and laws.' The Japanese have tried to play this card to best advantage - portraying themselves as an alternative to white global domination.

Coupled with its aid programme, the other major thrust of Japan's economic expansion is linked to its pollution abatement technologies. For instance, a major Japanese construction company is planning a second Panama Canal, the Kra Isthmus Canal to the Gulf of Thailand, a new Silk Road (a super highway across Asia to Europe), a bridge across the Straits of Gibraltar, a huge Central African Lake, and a global network of power stations. According to the promoters, these projects will not only save the earth but stimulate local economies.

Technological solutions to the ecological calamity are the centre piece of Japanese industrial and corporate policy. Not surprisingly, Japan which has built its prosperity on finding new 'techno fixes', sees itself as taking a lead role in the ultimate 'techno fix' - how to handle pollution and protect the environment. Japanese business believes that these will be profitable areas for the growth industries of the coming decades. The statement in London on April 24, focusing as it did, on aid and ecology, marked out the area for Japanese leadership: ex Foreign Minister Dr. Saburo Okita, almost patronisingly, left the 'military leadership' to the US. After all, it is money which makes the world go round.

Nuclear Non Proliferation is the Name of the Game

The New York Times came out with a strong editorial on 29 April, in support of what has now emerged as a major plank of US foreign policy in the aftermath of the cold war - nuclear non proliferation. It urged an 'unrelenting international embargo on investment, aid and trade, especially in arms and technology' to force India to agree to halt its nuclear program.

The New York Times editorial entitled 'For a Nuclear-Free India' said: 'Russia has now agreed to a welcome 'pause' in its lucrative sales of missile technology to India. But a pause is only a temporary solution, and missiles are only part of a deeper problem: India's headlong rush to acquire nuclear arms.'

Both India and Pakistan have well advanced nuclear programs. A standstill agreement between them, policed by mutual inspections, could halt this perilous race. Pakistan says it is amenable if India accepts. India has shown

'An unrelenting international embargo on investment, aid and trade, especially in arms and technology could force India to halt its nuclear program' says New York Times

little interest. An unrelenting international embargo on investment, aid and trade, especially in arms and technology could force agreement.

After China went nuclear, India exploded a so called 'peaceful nuclear device' in 1974. It has the means to build many devices... Islamabad seems willing to halt bomb making. Now it is upto India which long ago abandoned the pacifism of Mohandas Gandhi. It has built up formidable forces - and used them, starting more wars in the past 40 years than any other country. But the world around India has been transformed. Once leader of the non aligned movement India no longer has anything to be non aligned against. Instead it has a special interest in cultivating political and economic relationships with the rest of the world. That is a source of political leverage for countries with an interest in a nuclear free India.

America and its allies can condition new ties on India's acceptance of international inspection. Japan has already stepped forward warning India of an aid cut off if it does not tame its nuclear ambitions. That is a useful example of what others can do.

'Indian foreign policy is completely off its mooring. There is nothing to be nonaligned with respect to any more.' says Professor Thornton in Time Magazine

In the meantime Time Magazine in a recent issue commented: 'There's an opportunity in US-Indian relations which hasn't existed in a long time,' says a US State Department official. 'Both of us are slowly coming to grips with what that opportunity might be.'

The cause for the reassessment of Indian foreign policy is the end of the cold war, which rang down the curtain on India's special relationship with the Soviet Union and on Washington's need to play power politics in the region as a counter-point to what it perceived as Soviet expansionism. On the other side, says Thomas Thornton, professor of Asian studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, 'Indian foreign policy is completely off its mooring. There is nothing to be nonaligned with respect to any more.'

...For all the new-founded amity, sore spots remain in the relationship. The U.S. is concerned over the alleged Indian human rights abuses in Kashmir and Punjab, where separatists are waging bloody hit-and-run war against government security forces. On the commercial front, the issue of intellectual property rights continues to rankle: the U.S. has been accusing Indian firms of appropriating U.S. copyrights and patents without permission or compensation, and last year made India the subject of a Special 301 investigation by U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, which could have triggered retaliatory tariffs. In February, Hills closed the investigation but warned that she would not be able to resist congressional pressure if India did not soften its stance. (Courtesy: Time)

US appoints key official as Envoy to Sri Lanka

Teresita Schaffer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs is being nominated by President Bush to be ambassador to Sri Lanka. Schaffer, is now the State Department's key official for South Asia and was at one time mentioned for the new position of Assistant Secre-

tary of State for South Asian Affairs. But this new office is now in limbo, despite Congressional support.

Time was when appointment as US Ambassador to Sri Lanka was a pay off for financial contributions to the President's Campaign Fund. In the early 1960s, one such appointee could

In the 1930s, Mohamed Ali Jinnah remarked that the demand for Pakistan was a national question - and that therefore it was an international 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 perforce 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.

not recall the name of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, when questioned by the Congressional Committee. Significantly, during the past several decades, India has always appointed a senior diplomat as High Commissioner to Colombo.

It appears that the US has now decided to follow in India's footsteps. Times have clearly changed. Schaffer's appointment as Ambassador to Sri Lanka is being seen as a measure of the importance that the US is placing on the role of Sri Lanka in the Indian region.

From 1979 to 1980, Schaffer was deputy director of the office of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh and from 1977 to 1979 she was science attache at the American Embassy in New Delhi. From 1975 to 1977 she was economic officer at the US Embassy in Islamabad. She has also served in the US Embassy in Tel Aviv. She speaks fluent Hebrew, Urdu, Bengali and Hindi. India Abroad reports a source as saying: 'She knows enough about what to do to advance US policy interests. She has got the savvy and will be tough with a purpose - the purpose of advancing US foreign policy.'

BOOK REVIEW

Transient Thoughts - Volume I - by P.NarendraNathan, 53, Crossways, South Croydon, Surrey CR2 8JQ, U.K., 1991

P.Narendra Nathan's *Transient Thoughts* is a book for those who are moved to reflect on their own life experiences. In some 40 pages the author has set down what he describes as 'passing thoughts' from his readings on the subjects of Religion, Philosophy, and New Science.

He says in his preface: 'I have called them transient; the dictionary meaning is 'of short duration'. To me, these transient thoughts are glimpses of light in the experience of my life. Most, I have gathered from various sources; and I have no claim to their originality. Few are mine too. It is said that no thought is original even when inspired. A thought results when thought acts on thought. Most of what I have written down are simple, and may even be mundane. Some are profound, but nothing scholarly is intended. I have lived a Hindu having been born one, and been a physicist by profession. I have thus been conditioned in all my thoughts. Kindly bear with me for that while reading them. It is my hope that you would enjoy them as much as I have, in writing them. Simple truths are interesting as well as illuminating.' He ends his preface by quoting Boethius: "Man would never go to Heaven, if he is content to go alone" - an explanation, perhaps, of the author's desire to share his reflections.

Transient Thoughts lives up to the promise in the Preface. In a world which often speaks with a disarming forthrightness about the bottom line, the author says: "Your little ego is not the bottom line". He adds: "You are what you believe in."

The author quotes Max Muller: "There never was a false God, nor was there a false religion unless you call a child a false man." Some other reflections: "You do not hear until you listen, nor see unless you look. You cannot be taught without wanting to learn." "Know to meditate, meditate to know." "Not to be wiser after the event, is not to learn by your experience."

In a world economy which is driven by insatiable demand, Narendra Nathan reminds us: "If what you want is less than what you receive, you are rich." To those who endlessly ask questions which our limited minds are unable to answer he says: "Learn to live. It is more important than to learn the purpose of life." "You have not failed until you have stopped trying." And he puts the teaching of the Gita in his own way: "The reward of doing right is found in itself and not elsewhere."

One can well understand why it is that the author says that *Transient Thoughts* are glimpses of light in the experience of his life. Perhaps in that truth lies the capacity of *Transient Thoughts* to influence and inform. Words become meaningful only when they reflect a shared experience otherwise words simply make meaningless noise. Readers will find in *Transient Thoughts*, much that will serve to light up their own experiences of life. They will agree with the author that simple truths are interesting as well as illuminating - and that each of us gains by sharing. Congratulations, Mr. Narendra Nathan. N.S.

Profile of a Freedom Fighter

Captain Lucksy - Born: 10th October 1973 Died: 5th August 1991

Sutha was the eldest and the only daughter of Mr and Mrs Muthulingam of the coastal village of Uduthurai. Born 18 years ago in 1973 she met her death at Elephant Pass in August 1991.

Having joined the Women's Front of the LTTE in 1989 (at the time of the Indian occupation of Tamil Eelam) Sutha or Lucksy as she was to be known from then onwards was to rise to the rank of Captain within the next two years.

Her decision to join the LTTE was one which was opposed by her father but Lucksy was determined to become a freedom fighter and soon found herself in a training camp in the jungles of Vanni. She was to see action at Kokavil where for the first time the LTTE's women cadres played a vital role in the over running of the Sri Lankan camp.

She saw action for the second time when she participated in an unsuccessful attempt at re-taking Jaffna Fort. Her dedication to duty and leadership abilities were noticed by the LTTE High Command which made her the leader of a group of 75 women soldiers and posted her to a camp at Palaly. Much to her regret, her duties at Palaly prevented her from participating in the successful attack on the Mankulam Camp in September 1990.

When the LTTE took on the Army at Elephant Pass, Lucksy was determined to see action. She persuaded the High Command to relieve her of duties at Palaly and transfer her to combat duties. She died in action on 5th August 1991. She would have turned eighteen in October.

Natya Gana Brindham

continued from page 15

and starting to write Thirupalli Eluchi with the words - 'Potti en Vazmuthal Ahiya Porule' (I worship you my Lord - you are the essence of my life). These songs which we have heard over and over at Temples in our mother land and in India when sung by Srimati Parenthaman in her melodious voice in a totally different atmosphere gives one a sensation which is difficult to describe.

The main dancers were - Anushathevay Sri Shangar, Thushyanthy Thiagarajah, Premaladevi Ravindran and Jeyaverni Ponniah (all diploma holders in Bharata Natyam from the University of Jaffna) Rajini Moganaraj (a diploma holder in Bharata Natyam and Nattuvangam from the Bharatha Choodamani Institute in Madras) Sundry Sounthararajan, Sathiya Sugumar, and Shanthi Thayaparan (who have received training from reputed teachers at well known Bharata Natyam Institutions in Madras, Jaffna and Kandy respectively).

It was a pleasant change to see all these dancers who were experts in their field having qualified in Sri Lanka and Jaffna appear together in a London stage to present such a unique performance. The eight main dancers appeared on stage together with their colourful Bharata Natya costumes dazzling and performed together for nearly twenty minutes providing the audience a very graceful and colourful performance. It brought back memories of seeing ballets and grand performances at the Madras Kalakshetra, at the Colombo Navaranga Hala and at the Lionel Wendt Theatre Colombo 7. Nattuvangam for these eminent dancers were performed by Srimati Vijayambigai Indrakumar. Miruthangam was by Sri Muththu Sivarajah, violin by Doctor Lakshmi Jayan, flute by Sri K. Jananayagam and Veena by Srimati Suthamathi Sri Satkunam. Undoubtedly Natya Gana Brindham is another feather in the cap to the W.L.T.S., its Headmaster Mr C J T Thamotheeram and its Governors for jointly organising such a lavish spectacle (which was put on boards at the Acton town Hall on Saturday 14th March). A word of congratulations for translating the ten poems of Thirupalli Eluchi and printing it in the brochure. Not only the non Saivaites who read the souvenir, but also our own children will be able to read the brochure and the poems and get a taste of the richness of our religious culture fostered by our forefathers.

It was noted that at the end of the performance the audience sat glued to their seats very reluctant to leave until it was announced that the show has come to an end. Requests directed at the W.L.T.S. reverberated the opinion of most of the audience that this performance should not fold up with this single performance, but should go on stage at least a couple more times. I am of the view that the W.L.T.S. should attempt to stage this performance in various parts or London (particularly South of the Thames) and also consider taking it to other Cities to propagate the message of Saint Manickavasagar and also to give the audience an extremely pleasant treat in Bharata Natyam set to Pannissai gracefully performed by talented dancers. Well done W.L.T.S. reviewed by Wimal Sockanathan

Professor Peter Schalk writes from Uppsala

"Professor Thurairajah an excellent ambassador for the Tamil nation"

Professor A. Thurairajah from Yalpannam in Ilankai visited Uppsala University in his capacity as Vice Chancellor of Yalpannam University from April 5-15, paying also a short visit to the University of Tromso, Norway. He had been invited by the Vice Chancellors of Uppsala and Tromso Universities. The aim of his visit in Uppsala was to widen the link programme of academic exchange between the University of Yalpannam and Uppsala. The discussions resulted in a widening of the programme from history of religions to the field of education.

Professor Thurairajah was received by the Vice Chancellor of Uppsala University and honoured at a dinner in the presence Tamil and Swedish scholars, donors and administrators. He visited several institutes, saw representatives from SIDA and Sarac and gave a public lecture at the University on 'Studies and Research at Yalpannam University'. It was attended by also Tamil students living in exile in Norway and Sweden. The Swedish Academic Community in Uppsala highly appreciated his presence and learned about the conditions of academic work in Yalpannam. Professor Thurairajah was an excellent ambassador for his university and for the Tamil nation in Ilankai. Picture below shows Vice Chancellor Prof. Thurairajah in the centre on his visit to Uppsala. On his left is Dr P. Gopalakrishna Iyer and Professor A. Velupillai, both of whom are guest Professors at Uppsala University.



Tail piece

"Anyone who goes openly on a journey into the interior, who withdraws from the ceaseless agitation of everyday life and pursues the kind of training - satipathana, yoga, Jesus Prayer, or something similar - without which genuine self knowledge cannot be obtained, is accused of selfishness and of turning his back on social duties. Meanwhile, world crises multiply and everybody deplores the shortage, or even total lack, of 'wise' men or women, unselfish leaders, trustworthy counsellors etc. It is hardly rational to expect such high qualities from people who have never done any inner work and would not even understand what was meant by the words. They may consider themselves decent, law abiding people and good citizens; perhaps 'humanists', even 'believers'. It makes very little difference how they dream about themselves. Like a pianola they play mechanical music; like a computer they carry out pre arranged programmes. The programmer is asleep. An important part of the modern 'program' is to reject religion as cheaply moralising, outdated, ceremonial dogmatism, thereby rejecting the very force, perhaps the only force, that could wake us up and lift us to the truly human level, that of self awareness, self control, self knowledge, and, thereby knowledge and understanding of others; and which would give us the power to help them when necessary... Inner work or yoga in its many forms is not a peculiarity of the East, but the tap root, as it were, of all authentic religions. It has been called the 'applied psychology of religion, and it must be said that religion without applied psychology is completely worthless. Simply to believe a religion to be true, and to give intellectual assent to its creed and dogmatic theology, and not know it to be true through having tested it by the scientific methods of yoga, results in the blind leading the blind." - E.F. Schumacher, author of *Small is Beautiful in Guide for the Perplexed*, 1977

PEOPLE & EVENTS

Maths Whiz Kid Vageesan

Vageesan Sivapathasunderam, who is 9 years old, won an A grade GCSE pass in Mathematics recently and is to start studying for his A Levels. Head Teacher, Denzil Shepherd at Broadwater School, Tooting in London said: "When he came here he said he liked to do maths at home. When we looked at the work he was doing it was very advanced." His work compares favourably with that of maths prodigy Ruth Lawrence, who now teaches at Harvard in America who passed her first GCE O Level at the age of 9. Vageesan says he wants to be an astronomer. His mother, Arasi, said "We think he may get his ability from his grandfather who was a college principal. Vageesan whose father is a mechanical engineer, hopes eventually to get a scholarship to Dulwich College.



Miruthanga Arangetram



The Mirthungam Arangetram of 14 year old Ranjith Kanagasundaram took place before a packed audience at the South Norwood Centre, Croydon on Sunday March 29. The arangetram was presented by the South London Tamil School, Croydon, the institution which taught the young artiste. Ranjith's parents deserve congratulations for securing the interest of their children in maintaining their cultural heritage.

Natya Gana Brindham

West London Tamil School the Pioneer amongst the Tamil Schools in Great Britain has been on the forefront of the cultural awakening of the ever growing Tamil population in the United Kingdom. This School has now scored another "first" by staging "Natya Gana Brindham," a Bharata Natya Programme set purely to Pannissai instead of classical Carnatic music. Pannissai is music which exclusively belongs to the Tamils and was sung by Oathuvars in ancient Temples, long before the appearance of Saints such as Puranatharathasar considered to be the architect of Carnatic music.

Pannissai developed in the pre Carnatic music era and has been revived in South India and Sri Lanka. The University of Sri Lanka made Pannissai a subject for study in the faculty, due to the untiring efforts of academics such as the late Dr Kailasapathy.

The West London Tamil Schools presentation of Natya Gana Brindham was unique as the entire two hour programme was set to Saint Manickavasagar's 'Thirupalli Eluchi'. Natya Gana Brindham was the brain child of Srimati Parenthaman an unrivalled exponent in Pannissai. She was a student and later a lecturer at the Ramanathan Academy in Jaffna which later became part of the Jaffna University's Fine Arts Department.

The theme chosen was Thirupalli Eluchi which comprises ten songs sung by young women at dawn to awaken the Lord from sleep, and to receive his blessings. The ten songs extol the virtues of Lord Shiva the main deity of Saivaites all over the world.

Vasuki Muruhadas as Shiva performed well. Vathani Varatharajan appeared as Saint Manickavasagar, very appropriately dressed in the sober clothes of a Saint with shaven head. It gave one a very pleasant sensation to see one of our greatest Saints of our religion seated at the feet of our Lord Shiva

continued on page 14

LOOKING AHEAD

May

12 Tuesday

Florence Nightingale Birthday
Ekathasi Viratham

13 Wednesday

Eelam Thavil Vidwan Thedchna-
moorthy Remembrance Day
Pirathosha Viratham

16 Saturday

Vaikasi Visaham

19 Tuesday

Thirugnana Sambanthamoorthy
Nayanar Kuru Pooja
Sathoorthy Viratham

21 Thursday

Pharathithasan
Remembrance Day

23 Saturday

German National Day

27 Wednesday

Jawaharlal Nehru
Remembrance Day

28 Thursday

Ekathasi Viratham

June

1 Wednesday

11th Anniversary of Burning of
Jaffna Public Library

4 Saturday

V.A.Kandiah M.P.
Remembrance Day

6 Monday

Sweden national Day
Dr.N.M.Perera Birthday
Shasdi Viratham

11 Saturday
Ekathasi Viratham

Palm Sunday Service

Rev Father T.E.T.Rajan conducted a one day retreat in Aylesford Priory for the Catholic Tamils of Sri Lanka. More than 300 people gathered for the procession, Holy Mass, Meditation Stations of the Cross & Benediction. It was a truly inspiring soul searching and devotional exercise. Well done father. R.E.

Deaths

Mr. Kumarasamy Satchithananda, Chartered Accountant, Founding Partner, Satchithananda, Schockman, Pasupathy & Co and Consultant, Cooper Lybrand, Satchithananda Pasupathy & Co, beloved husband of **Lingambikai**, son of the late Mr. and Mrs. (VSSK) Kumaraswamy, son in law of the late Mr.C. and Mrs.K Suntharalingam, father of **Anadakumar** (UK), **Ananda-Krishna** (Australia), father in law of **Shivananthi**, grandfather of **Aniradha**, **Shakthi-Dharan**, **Abarna** and **Ahilesh** - expired 23 March 1992. Cremated on 25 March at Rookwood Cemetery, New South Wales, Australia.



Several talented musicians participated at the Thiagarajah Day festival conducted by the West London Tamil School, Greenford and Wembley at the Alperton High School on 1 February. The programme was coordinated by Mrs. Ambika Thamootheram, Head of Vocal Music at the WLTS and recently elected Arts Governor of the School, succeeding her distinguished flutist son, Dr.Nimalraj.

Udipiddy Welfare Association New Year Celebrations

The Udipiddy Welfare Association of U.K. held their New Year celebrations in Merton Hall, Wimbledon on 19, April. Young boys and girls entertained those attending with Iyal, Isai and Nadakam - song, dance and drama - programmes. Young musicians played melodious music on the Mridangam and the Veena. An interesting drama was staged by an all girl cast. A fancy dress parade was the concluding performance. A vegetarian dinner rounded off the evening's events.



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TAMIL NATION

Former DIG, Udugampola says:

'Death squads had government patronage'

Far Eastern Economic Review, April 18 reports that the former Deputy Inspector General of Police, Premadasa Udugampola, told three Sri Lanka newspapers on April 5 that death squads used against the JVP had the patronage of the government.

The government has denied the allegation, and the editors of the three newspapers have been charged under the country's emergency regulations with 'causing hatred, ill will and contempt of the government.' Mr. Udugampola has been similarly charged. He was once held in high regard by the government and had the reputation of being the most dreaded policeman in the country. Because of his background, his accusation is all the more embarrassing to the government. It will presumably be tested in the courts.

He would know, wouldn't he?

The late Paul Sieghart, Chairman of British Justice, in his Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka in January 1984 on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists, had this to say about Mr. P. Udugampola who was then a humble Superintendent of Police.: "During the campaign for the December 1982 referendum to extend the life of parliament without a general election, a Superintendent of Police, Mr. P. Udugampola, seized 20,000 pamphlets of 'Voice of the Clergy', opposing the referendum proposal. A Buddhist monk, the Secretary of the organisation concerned, complained to the Supreme Court under Article 126 of the Constitution, that this act had infringed his fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression. On 8 February 1983, the Supreme Court held in his favour and awarded 10,000 rupees damages against the Superintendent personally, together with costs. On 2 March, the Government announced that the Superintendent would be promoted, and that the State would pay the damages... President (J.R. Jayawardene) freely conceded that he had personally ordered the promotion of the... police officer, and the payment out of public funds of the damages and costs."

Ex Superintendent of Police and ex Deputy Inspector General of Police, Udugampola would know all about government patronage, wouldn't he?

The Arms Bazaar

Teams from both East and West have been visiting Sri Lanka trying to sell surplus weapons that would otherwise have to be scrapped under the 'Conventional Forces in Europe' Superpower Arms Reduction Treaty.

The European countries are making use of a treaty loophole under which weapons systems limited by the treaty and earmarked for elimination can be classified for sale and exported, at very cheap prices. Last year the Sri Lankan Army acquired a large number of T55 main battle tanks on very favourable terms from Czechoslovakia, a former Warsaw Pact state.

What is a nation?

"...Nationality is an inner, inseparable property of the person - something very dear and close to him. It is impossible to stand in a moral relation to this person without recognising the existence of what is so important to him. The moral principle does not allow us to transform a concrete person, a living man with his inseparable and essential national characteristics, into an empty abstract subject with all his determining peculiarities left out. If we are to recognise the inner dignity of the particular man, this obligation extends to all positive characteristics with which he connects his dignity; if we love a man we must love his nation, which he loves and from which he does not separate himself."

Vladimir Solovyev in Justification of the Good - An Essay in Moral Philosophy, 1897

Worst drought this century

As well as litigation against Udugampola and continued Tiger attacks, President Premadasa is trying to deal with a troubled economy. As a result of the worst drought this century, food crops are down by as much as 40% this season. Water shortages have also hit manufacturing industry and services. The unusual drought has also contributed to an alarming 18.6% drop in tea production during the first quarter of this year. At the same time, tea prices have also declined sharply since last July by almost half. Several tea factories have been forced to close and over 600,000 daily wage workers have been laid off. (Sources: Far Eastern Economic Review, April 18, India Abroad May 1)

Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations calls upon UN Secretary General to mediate

The Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations has called upon the United Nations to intervene in the conflict in Sri Lanka and help to put in place associative structures within which the Sinhala and Tamil people may live in peace and freedom. The following is the text of the AFTA letter:

The Secretary General
United Nations
Palais des Nations
1211 Geneva 10,
Switzerland.

Dear Sir,

Peace in Sri Lanka

According to the 'Sydney Morning Herald' and the 'Melbourne Age' of 24 February 1992, the leader of the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran has called for a United Nations mediated political settlement to the conflict in Sri Lanka between the Sinhala Government and the Tamil nation.

The Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations is of the firm view that a permanent political solution to enable the Sinhala and Tamil nations in Sri Lanka to coexist could only be found under an internationally guaranteed peace plan.

AFTA is hopeful that such a peace plan would result in the establishment of associative structures within which the Sinhala and Tamil people may live in peace and freedom, AND calls upon the United Nations to help bring an end to this ongoing conflict in Sri Lanka by taking up the role of the mediator.

You're sincerely,
Ana Pararajasingham,
Secretary, Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations.

Bhikkhus go to Jaffna

A delegation of Buddhist monks led by the Registrar of the Amarapura Chapter, Ven Balapitiye Siddhartha Thera visited Jaffna immediately after the Tamil new year in April to have a dialogue with the leaders of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The 8-member delegation was expected to meet some of the senior leaders of the LTTE including Kopalasingham Mahendraraja, better known as Mahattaya, Anton Balasingham and Yogarathnam Yogi. Ven Siddhartha Thera said that he would like to visit the soldiers and policemen detained by the Tigers. The delegation included Ven Mawadawila Pannasena, Ven Balapitiye Ratnasiri, Ven Kirama Ananda, Ven Ratgama Tilakasiri, Ven Ratgama Sudeva and Ven Madampagama Assaji Theras.

Bomb blast rocks building of Brahmin owned Tamil Daily in Madurai

A bomb blast rocked the building housing the Brahmin owned Tamil daily Dinamalar in Madurai on April 18. Though there was no casualty, the blast damaged the window panes of one of the rooms and they were found strewn around. Stones were also found scattered near the compound wall of the office.

The sound of the blast was heard for a distance of about one kilometre. The window panes of one of the nearby houses were found broken. The inmates of the house mistook the blast for a transformer burst. They said that there was smoke after the blast.

A letter found at the blast site: 'This is our warning to the opponents of Tamils and traitors of Tamils.'. At the end of letter was written 'Tamil Liberation Army' (Thamizhaga Makkal Viduthalai Padai). The newspaper office was closed after the blast and the police arrived soon. A police dog went around various places but in vain. A case has been registered and police are investigating. About a dozen people have been held for interrogation. Police took fingerprints in the office.

Eelam Tamil Association of New South Wales holds whole day workshop in Sydney

The Eelam Tamil Association of New South Wales held a whole day seminar and workshop in Sydney recently to consider appropriate political structures within which the Tamil people and the Sinhala people may co-exist and freely associate with each other. There were over 85 participants. The format of the seminar provided ample opportunities for all participants to express their views, and clarify issues. The consensus view that emerged was:

1. The conflict should be resolved on the basis that Sri Lanka is an island of two nations, the Sinhala nation and the Tamil nation, and that each of these nations are in occupation of well defined parts of the island. The Tamil homeland is the region presently defined as the North East Province.

2. The safety and security of the Tamil nation to be in the hands of the Tamil people. A Tamil Defence Force to be stationed in the Tamil homeland.

3. As the Sinhala nation (which has sought to dominate the Tamil people via a unitary constitution) was not likely to voluntarily agree to share power with the Tamil nation, the international community's assistance be sought to persuade the Sinhala government to negotiate such an arrangement with the Tamil leadership.

4. The Peace Plan to be recognised in International Law and international guarantees given as to its implementation (considered to be vital in view of the Sinhala government's record of reneging on every agreement reached with representatives of the Tamil nation)

5. The question of any amendment to the present unitary constitution is irrelevant given that the unitary constitution primarily reflects an arrangement by which the Sinhala nation has sought to dominate the Tamil nation. The constitution is not binding on the Tamil nation as it was founded by excluding the Tamil nation.

6. The Tamil nation possesses all powers inherent in a sovereign nation. As such the negotiations be confined to the process through which certain powers are conceded to a central structure to enable the Sinhala nation and the Tamil nation to coexist.