

# TAMIL NATION



## Sri Lanka's World Record

"The Working Group wishes to emphasise that the cases of disappearances alleged to have occurred in Sri Lanka rank as the best documented cases among those from the 40 odd countries appearing in the Group's annual reports.... (The number of cases is) by far the highest number ever recorded by the Working Group for any single country."

Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, United Nations Commission on Human Rights, January 1992

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# Major General Kobbekaduwa dies in land mine explosion

Sri Lanka's top military commander in the North, Major General Kobbekaduwa and nine other senior officers were killed in a landmine explosion on August 8. The blast which wiped out virtually the entire high command responsible for the operations in the north, was triggered off in Kayts an island off the Jaffna Peninsula which was said to have been wrested from the control of the Liberation Tigers some months ago. The BBC news service commented that the 'deaths are the most serious blow (against Sri Lanka) for two years in the war with the Tamil separatists.'

Major General Denzil Kobbekaduwa who headed the military operations against the Liberation Tigers, was flown to the capital after the blast and died in hospital. The BBC reported that Liberation Tigers said that they had carried out the attack, and that they also said that 'the Government of Sri Lanka had to realise the futility of finding a military solution to the Tamil question.'

The others who died in the blast included Brigadier General Vijaya Wimalaratne, Navy Commodore Mohan Jayamaha, three full colonels and a major. Sources say that Kobbekaduwa had a meeting with his top commanders after discussing strategy when the blast went off. Both Kobbekaduwa and Wimalaratne were regarded in Colombo as the main figures in the military drive against the LTTE. Jayamaha was handling naval operations in the Islands northeast theatre. He had had specialised training in India, Britain, and Australia. AFP reports that the latest military losses came amidst an intensification of LTTE strikes on military targets in the northeast which has left some 120 security personnel dead in the past month alone.

### TAMILS REPLY TO PRESSURE WITH WIDER OFFENSIVE

Meanwhile, Chiaka Nwosu reporting in the London based Guardian on August 6 under the headline "Tamil reply to pressure

with wider offensive" said: "Tamil Tiger guerillas have launched a new offensive, striking out from their stronghold in the northern Jaffna peninsula into areas the Sri Lankan military had believed were under its control.

The latest surge in strength by rebels fighting for an independent state of Tamil Eelam began four weeks ago when 47 soldiers were killed as an army camp in the north was overrun by hundreds of rebels who then fled into nearby jungles taking large amounts of ammunition.

On Tuesday, 15 soldiers died in a clash with Tamil rebels near Vavuniya town, in the north of the country. The soldiers were part of a patrol protecting workers in the fields. The day before, another 14 soldiers were killed near the eastern town of Batticaloa when an army patrol was ambushed. Last week 31 members of the security forces were killed in two attacks in the eastern region.

The fighting follows increased military pressure on the Tamils' Jaffna stronghold. The military claims that it has finally managed to seal off the Jaffna peninsula. But the guerillas in the main part of the island are now having equal success with their well planned hit and run attacks. This has been partly because military commanders deploy experienced troops in the north, leaving young recruits vulnerable elsewhere."

### IN JAFFNA, THE TIGERS ARE THE GOVERNMENT

And Thomas Abraham writing in the Sri Lanka Guardian of July 15 says:

"... The LTTE has not disappeared from the East. It has merely retreated into the jungles from where it harasses the army with constant guerilla raids. Ambushes and land mines have taken a steady toll of military lives, and it is obvious that the army has not succeeded in pacifying the LTTE.

In the north the LTTE and the army face each other in an uneasy standoff. The army controls Vavuniya town, the gateway to the northern peninsula, Mannar island, the islands off the Jaffna peninsula and a chunk of territory in the northern part of the Jaffna peninsula. But the heart of the Tamil country, Jaffna itself, is firmly under LTTE control. Colombo's authority does not run in the peninsula, and the Tigers are the Government.

The military's main weakness has been its lack of manpower. The Sri Lankan army, which is around 70,000 strong is better equipped and larger than the LTTE. But it does not have enough men to push this superiority through to its logical conclusion by physically occupying the North and the East.

The Government does not have the money to provide the army with the man power it needs. Mr. Premadasa presides over a cash strapped economy which depends heavily on international aid to keep going.

The IMF and the World Bank have so far been supportive of the free market policies the Government has followed and have been generous with their financial contributions. But this generosity will not continue for ever in the face of a long indecisive war. Within the inner circles of the Government it is clearly understood that it will be extremely difficult to finance the war beyond the end of this year. Therefore a quick solution either military or political is essential. But as we have seen, a military resolution of the ethnic conflict is not on the cards."

P.S. Readers of the Tamil Nation will judge for themselves whether these reports give the lie direct to the 'story' which appeared in India Today the news magazine published in India. Under screaming headlines 'LTTE pushed into a corner', 'Backing the LTTE against a wall' and 'As their casualties increase, their morale has hit rock bottom and their leaders

LTTE Spokesman, Lawrence Thilagar, speaking from Paris to Rita Sebastian, correspondent for the Indian Express, on Sri Lanka's decision to lift the curfew in Jaffna says:

"The military should know, having suffered heavy casualties in the last several months in the ethnically mixed eastern province, that any military adventure in a Tamil area like Jaffna will be a long and protracted guerilla war."

"We hope that the lifting of the curfew on the peninsula will be the beginning of a permanent ceasefire and eventual dialogue with the LTTE to find a durable political solution," said Lawrence Thilagar, the LTTE spokesman in Paris speaking to Rita Sebastian in an interview published in the Indian Express of July 15. Thilagar, speaking over the telephone from Paris, was reacting to the lifting of the curfew on the Jaffna peninsula on Monday July 13. The curfew was clamped as the military launched a major offensive in the peninsula on June 28. The government move was an indication, said Thilagar, that it "had dropped its mad adventurist policy in the North". Commenting on military operations in the North, Thilagar said "the invasion of Jaffna would be the climax of all government follies. In a densely populated area like Jaffna the military will only cause the death of thousands of people and tremendous destruction of property. The military should know, having suffered heavy casualties in the last several months in the ethnically mixed eastern province, that any military adventure in a Tamil area like Jaffna will be a long and protracted guerilla war." (Courtesy: Indian Express 15 July)

are desperate', India Today reporter Amarnath K. Menon filed this report in its July 31 issue: "Army intelligence claims that it has intercepted messages from LTTE cadres telling their leaders that they are quitting their posts. Says a senior army officer: 'Cadre commitment is no longer at legendary heights because those carrying cyanide vials are surrendering readily instead of killing themselves.' Moreover the Tigers have not launched any offensives outside Jaffna since mid 1991. They are running short of well trained men and are strapped for cash and arms supplies. Tamil Nadu Chief Minister J. Jayalitha's onslaught has had a crippling impact on their erstwhile supply bases in the

state... Internal dissensions in the LTTE have made matters worse."

In our July issue we published an Indian Observer Reporter's comment after a visit to Jaffna: "... a sojourn in Jaffna reveals that much of what is dished out in the print media the world over is erroneous if not bordering on blatant falsehood. Bilge churned out by obliging Sri Lankan government authorities, who have reason to hate the LTTE." Readers of the Tamil Nation may well conclude that the India Today story qualifies for the description 'Bilge churned out by obliging Sri Lankan government authorities, who have reason to hate the LTTE'. The Oxford Dictionary says 'bilge' is the slang for 'rubbish'.

**Tamils: A Nation without a State**

# TAMIL NATION

## On 9th Anniversary of July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils An Open Letter from the Tamil Nation to Prime Minister Narasimha Rao

*"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



Your Excellency,

On the 9th Anniversary of the July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils, we write to express to you, our grave and urgent concern at the continuing war waged by Sri Lanka on the Tamil people and to seek your support for securing a just and lasting peace to the conflict.

As the Prime Minister of a country which has been involved intimately with the struggle of the Tamil people, much of that we say may be familiar to you. At the same time, we believe that it is both necessary and useful to surface some of these issues openly.

**"The practise of 'democracy' within the confines of a unitary state has served to perpetuate rule by a permanent Sinhala majority"**

The gross, consistent and continuing violations of the human rights of the Tamil people by Sri Lanka during the past forty years, have been well documented by several human rights organisations and impartial observers of the Sri Lankan scene. But that which is in issue not simply a question of the violation of the human rights of the Tamil people.

That these human rights violations happened under successive and different Sinhala controlled governments is proof enough that they were no accidental happenings. During these forty years, the political reality in the island of Sri Lanka was that no Tamil was ever elected to a predominantly Sinhala electorate and no Sinhalese was ever elected to a predominantly Tamil electorate. The practise of 'democracy' within the confines of a unitary state served to perpetuate rule by a permanent Sinhala majority.

It was a permanent Sinhala majority, which through a series of legislative and administrative acts, ranging from disenfranchisement, and standardisation of University admissions, to discriminatory language and employment policies, and state sponsored colonisation of the homelands of the Tamil people, sought to establish its hegemony over the Tamil people. Tamil opposition to these oppressive measures was met with genocidal state sponsored violence, directed to terrorise and intimidate the Tamil people into submission.

It was a course of conduct which led eventually to the rise of Tamil militancy in the mid 1970s - a militancy which further strengthened the togetherness of the Tamils as a people. And today the armed resistance of the Tamil people is

# Towards a Just Peace

led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

The Tamil Nation, committed as it is, to lawfully campaigning for the rights of the Tamil people in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international law, is mindful of the urgent need to ensure that the two combatants in the armed conflict in the island of Sri Lanka, act at all times, in accordance with humanitarian law.

At the same time, we also believe that the views expressed by a non governmental human rights organisation, at the August 1990 Sessions of UN SubCommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva, represent a fair analysis of the situation that the Tamil people face in the island of Sri Lanka:

*"The Sri Lanka situation has shown that for the past forty years, the Sinhala controlled government has been unwilling and unable to promote and protect the human rights of the Tamil population, and the Tamil population has accordingly lost all confidence in any present or future willingness or ability of the Sinhala majority to do so..... We conclude that in order for the human rights of the Tamil people ... to be realised, the international community must invoke the principle of self determination as it arises from persistent non fulfilment of the rights of minorities who have been subsumed into larger states. ... We consider that in the case of Sri Lanka, 40 years is clearly enough for any group to wait for their human rights."*

We believe that you will agree that 40 years is long enough for the Tamil people to wait for their human rights. Long enough because, even apart from anything else, recent events show that during these 40 years there has been very little 'attitudinal change' amongst the Sinhala people towards the Tamil national question.

**"...Self determination is not a mere phrase. Neither is it a dirty word. And to say that is not to seek to disrupt the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India..."**

For instance, even the minor reforms contained in the Thondaman proposals were met with howls of protest from the agents of Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism. Reflecting dominant Sinhala opinion on the issue, the Ven Galaboda Gnanassara Thera, the Chief Incumbent of Gangaramaya declared: "The majority in this country are Sinhalese. Without the consent of the majority no one can come into power."

More recently, the Parliamentary Select Committee process collapsed, with each of the main Sinhala political parties seeking to out bid each other for the support of the Sinhala constituency. Unsurprisingly neither the UNP nor

*"...The assassination of the ex Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was wrong. It was wrong because whatever may have been the responsibility of the late Rajiv Gandhi for the war crimes committed during the IPKF occupation of Tamil Eelam, and what ever the number of rapes of Eelam Tamils committed by the IPKF, it was wrong to punish without charge and without trial according to law. But, if that was wrong, then surely the Chengalpattu trial of the Leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is worse because it seeks to give the appearance of punishing through a 'trial' which, in truth, is no trial at all. Let us explain why. The Chengalpattu trial is being held under the special Terrorism and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act and not under the normal law of the land, and therefore without the normal procedural safeguards which epitomise civilisation's substitute for private and arbitrary vengeance. The Chengalpattu trial is being held in secret, away from the public gaze, and within the precincts of a jail. Secrecy breeds abuse of due process. Again unlike under the normal law of India, 'confessions' to a police officer of the rank of a Superintendent of Police are made admissible under TADA. Our concern about the use of such 'confessions' is heightened by the recent Amnesty International Report which concluded that torture occurs routinely in every Indian state.*

*Given the Amnesty Report... we believe that the presumption must be that any 'confession', particularly under the TADA, was either forced or involuntary. We are therefore particularly concerned with the TADA provision that, where the 'confession' of one accused, implicates a second accused, then the Court is required to presume that the second accused is guilty! And, if that second accused is not in Court to present a defence, then the court will not only be entitled but will be compelled to judge that second accused guilty on the basis of that presumption! We believe that these provisions of the TADA which take away the presumption of innocence of an accused, is a gross violation of the fundamental principle of justice that every one shall be presumed innocent until proven guilty by an impartial court according to law. It is this principle which represents civilised society's response to 'lynch law' which is no law at all.*

*Again, we find it appalling that whilst on the one hand the trial proceedings are supposedly 'secret', on the other hand selective press releases have been issued from time to time of the prosecution case and the 'evidence' that the prosecution proposes to lead at the trial. Trial by press is no substitute for trial according to internationally recognised rules of procedural law. It appears to us that the Chengalpattu secret trial has all the features of a 'show trial' with a pre ordained ending and we believe that nothing constructive will be achieved by continuing with it. We urge you to stop the 'show'."*

the SLFP presented any peace proposals to the Select Committee. The mountain had indeed laboured.

The underlying and inescapable political reality is that, broadly speaking, there are two peoples living in separate defined territories in the island of Sri Lanka and it is this which Sinhala chauvinism refuses to accept. Legal frameworks intended to resolve a conflict must fit the political reality on the ground. We cannot squeeze the political reality to fit pre conceived constitutional frames.

Peace will not come to the island of Sri Lanka without justice, and given the constraints that Sinhala chauvinism has imposed on the actions of successive Sinhala political leaders, and given the reality of the emerging new world order, we believe that justice will not be secured without an international mediatory initiative. And here, please allow us to say that the ban imposed by your Government on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is wrong and is counter productive.

The principal reason given by your Government for the ban is that the 'LTTE's objective for a homeland for all Tamils disrupts the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India and thus appears to fall within the ambit of an unlawful activity.'

We fail to see why the struggle of the LTTE for the self determination of the people of Tamil Eelam should disrupt the unity of India. Be that as it may, may we add that sovereignty is a relative concept and no nation is an island unto itself. We believe that recent events in the Soviet Union and in Europe show that states containing several peoples with different historical identities, crumble where such states do not recognise, well in time, the political force of emergent nationalisms, and take steps to restructure in a genuine and meaningful way. Self determination is not a mere phrase. Neither is it a dirty word. And to say that is not to seek to disrupt the 'sovereignty and territorial integrity' of India.

Again the actions taken by your Government against the leader of

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the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam appear to us to be both ill judged and wrong. We refer both to the failed attempt by the IPKF to 'eliminate' the LTTE leader in 1987/88 and to the present attempt to charge him at the Chengalpatu trial.

As to the attempt by the IPKF we can do no better than quote from the comments of Lieutenant General Depinder Singh, who served as overall force commander:

"Numerous questions were to be asked as to why the IPKF could not capture or kill Prabhakaran; another equally wild allegation was that the IPKF had orders not to kill Prabhakaran. Apart from the impossibility of singling out an individual target for destruction or protection in such an environment, we must remember that, by virtue of the fact that the LTTE had an effective junior leadership, the loss of Prabhakaran could never have resulted in the disintegration of the LTTE... The Indian armed forces will always have a healthy respect for the LTTE's incredible motivation and magnificent fighting prowess"

As to the Chengalpatu trial let us say this. The assassination of the ex Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was wrong. It was wrong because whatever may have been the responsibility of the late Rajiv Gandhi for the war crimes committed during the IPKF occupation of Tamil Eelam, and what ever the number of rapes of Eelam Tamils committed by the IPKF, it was wrong to punish without charge and without trial according to law. But, if that was wrong, then surely the Chengalpatu trial of the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is worse because it seeks to give the appearance of

**punishing** through a 'trial' which, in truth, is no trial at all.

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the special Terrorism and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act and not under the normal law of the land, and therefore without the normal procedural safeguards which epitomise civilisation's substitute for private and arbitrary vengeance. The Chengalpatu trial is being held in secret, away from the public gaze, and within the precincts of a jail. Secrecy breeds abuse of due process. Again unlike under the normal law of India, 'confessions' to a police officer of the rank of a Superintendent of Police are made admissible under TADA. Our concern about the use of such 'confessions' is heightened by the recent Amnesty International Report which concluded that torture occurs routinely in every Indian state. The Report said:

"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... Failure to identify and bring those responsible for torture to justice sends a clear message to the perpetrators that their actions are condoned... 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... Moreover, the police often obstruct inquiries and intimidate witnesses to prevent them from giving evidence... Torture is also routinely used during the interrogation of criminal suspects, even those accused of the most petty offences... 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. 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."*

Given that 'torture is used routinely in the interrogation of criminal suspects', we believe that the presumption must be that 'confessions', particularly those obtained under the TADA,

**"We call upon India to recognise that there are two parties to the armed conflict in the island of Sri Lanka namely the Sri Lanka Government and the Liberation Tigers. We also call upon India to recognise that if the armed conflict in the island of Sri Lanka is to be resolved then it is necessary for these two parties to enter into direct negotiations with each other for the establishment of associative structures within which the Tamil people and the Sinhala people may live in peace and in freedom."**

were either forced or involuntary.

We are therefore particularly concerned with the TADA provision that where the 'confession' of one accused to a police officer, implicates a second accused, then the Court is required to presume that the second accused is guilty! And, if that second accused is not in Court to present a defence, then the court will not only be entitled but will be compelled to judge that second accused guilty on the basis of that presumption!

We believe that these provisions of the TADA which take away the presumption of innocence of an accused, constitute a gross violation of the fundamental principle of justice that every one shall be presumed innocent until proven guilty by an impartial court according to law. It is this principle which represents civilised society's response to 'lynch law' which is no law at all. Here, we find it appalling that whilst on the one hand

## Hot Springs Weekly, published in Jaffna, comments editorially on Bilge & the Colombo Press

Facts are sacred but comment is free! Insofar as the Colombo based "national press" is concerned the reverse appears to be the truth.

Almost daily the so-called 'national media' come out with scare stories involving the LTTE. Always the sources of their information are unnamed 'sources'. Why is that those who purport to give out news involving serious matters are so shy to come out with their identity. Or is it the truth that these so-called news or scoop stories are cooked up within the walls of the press itself.

... Do the Sinhala people need to be scared by stories of the LTTE which are the imagination of the so-called journalists and pressman? Or does the 'national press' deceive itself into thinking that they can hoodwink the world by false propaganda? Or more truly are these the out-bursts of Baudha Sinhala chauvinism which wants nothing else but a Baudha-Sinhala rule over all peoples and throughout the island?

We read a story published in one of the Colombo based 'national papers' that Pottuamman of the LTTE was in the city of Colombo or somewhere near the city. The news, however, does not refer to any authentic source and coupled to this news is the old canard let lose by the Indians that the Deputy Chief of the LTTE, Mr K Mahendrarajah, is building up a counter group within the LTTE opposed to the leader of the LTTE, Mr V Pirabakaran. According to this paper Pottuamman has gone to Colombo because of some internal clash within the LTTE between Mr Mahendrarajah and himself... Propagandists all over especially in Colombo and India do not hesitate to build up false images of persons of their choice and carry out vituperative propaganda against those whom they do not favour.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi was first built up as Mr Clean. The latest news indicates that the Bofors dirt would stick even after the man has ceased to exist. The Indians did their utmost to discredit the LTTE when the IPKF was in Northeast, but they themselves had to eat humble pie. Now they seem to be at the desperate end of propaganda and are trying to implicate the LTTE with Rajiv Gandhi murder.

In Sri Lanka the so-called 'national press' had never been found wanting in spreading false stories about the Tamil national resurgent movement. But this dissemination of false news-disinformation has not helped the Sinhalese. In fact it has ruined chances of peace. It is our view that whoever who is engaged in disseminating disinformation can never be successful for all time. Truth will be out sooner or later. (Courtesy Hot Springs, 5 April)

the trial proceedings are supposedly 'secret', on the other hand selective press releases have been issued from time to time of the prosecution case and the 'evidence' that the prosecution proposes to lead at the trial.

Thondaman, earlier this year, accord with reason and sound common sense:

**"There are only two parties which can deliver the goods - the LTTE and the Government... You cannot take cover under the other groups... To do so is to miss the reality of the situation."**

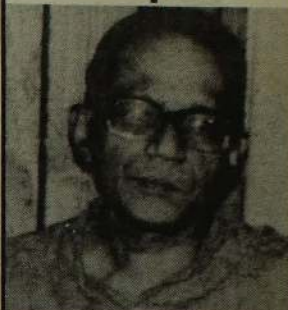
We live at a time when the political

force of struggles for self determination is being felt in many parts of the globe. We believe that India can together with other countries play an important and significant role in shaping the emerging new world order by helping to establish 'associative' structural frames within which different peoples may live in peace and in freedom.

**We call upon India to recognise that there are two parties to the armed conflict in the island of Sri Lanka namely the Sri Lanka Government and the Liberation Tigers. We also call upon India to recognise that if the armed conflict in the island of Sri Lanka is to be resolved then it is necessary for these two parties to enter into negotiations with each other on an equal footing.**

May we end by submitting to you that the Tamil cause represents the very essence of the cause of human

## Sivanayagam freed but ill in hospital



Mr. S. Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation, who had been detained in an Indian jail without trial and without charges was set free on the 22nd July 1992, on the expiry of the one year detention order that had been served on him in July 1991. The Indian Government did not seek to issue a fresh detention order. But the one year jail term had taken its toll on the 62 year old diabetic. Mr. Sivanayagam has now entered hospital for urgent treatment.

## New Secretary General for International Alert

Dr. Kumar Rupesinghe has been appointed Secretary General of International Alert. He succeeds the late Martin Ennals, its founding Secretary General. Dr. Rupesinghe has served as Deputy Director and as Programme Director of the Ethnic Conflict Programme at the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo.

International Alert is a charitable foundation and represents an innovative initiative in international relations, aimed at defining and implementing a role for non-governmental organisations in conflict resolution and conflict avoidance. International Alert is governed by an international Board reflecting different disciplines and experiences: Rodolfo Stavenhagen (Chair, Mexico), Archbishop Desmond Tutu (vice-Chair, South Africa), Asbjorn Eide (Norway), Niall MacDermot (Switzerland), Rev N Barney Pityana (UK), Alan Phillips (UK), Nicole Questiaux (France), Frances D'Souza (UK), Theo van Boven (Netherlands), Peter Wallensteen (Sweden), Stanley Wolpert (US), Andrew Young (US). Tamil Nation extends its good wishes to Dr. Rupesinghe on his appointment.

rights and justice. David Selbourne, then of Ruskin College, Oxford, put it well when he said in July 1984: "...everyone who possesses an elementary sense of justice has no moral choice but to acquaint himself fully with the plight of the Tamil people. It is an international issue of growing importance. Their cause represents the very essence of the cause of human rights and justice; and to deny it, debases and reduces us all."

We believe that the intervening years have served only to reinforce that which was said eight years ago.

Tamil Nation

## Liberation Tigers destroy Katupotha Army Camp

According to a Sri Lankan Govt. report, the Tigers wiped out the Katupotha Army Camp, on the Vavuniya-Mannar road, killing at least 52 soldiers and wounding 11 others, after several hours of fierce fighting during the early hours of 11th July. The Tigers set fire to the camp before withdrawing with a massive haul of weapons and ammunition.

Rajan Sriskandarajah writes from US on

## Civilisation

The parallel between the catastrophes of Yugoslavia and Sri Lanka is striking.

Separate nations living in geographically distinct regions, (but bunched together in unnatural boundaries of governance); the numerically brawny abusing and maltreating the weaker; the blatant indifference and scorn for international opinion exhibited by the rulers of both - are all unmistakably identical.

What is dissimilar between the two situations are the reactions of the neighbours.

In the case of Yugoslavia, the outrage and the loathing expressed by its neighbours were swift, honest, and fitting. There was genuine and unselfish concern for the oppressed, and a sincere effort to alleviate distress. When the admonitions failed to restrain the villains, the good neighbours upped the ante, until the Serbs themselves took to the streets demanding an end to the Serbian assault.

The responses of the neighbours of Sri Lanka, in direct contrast, have been a disgusting display of apathy and unconcern to human distress. Japan lavishes the Sinhala government with currency for its war machine (and calls it aid); China sells the ammunition to slaughter the Tamils with; India beats up those who sought sanctuary and shelter on their soil; and all others have turned a blind eye.

Why this difference? How could these Asian nations, with claim to many millennia of civilisation, display a naked disregard to the human agony of such magnitude? How could people of classic cultures and enlightenment endorse genocide?

Perhaps the European, Judeo-Christian, claim to a superior civilisation is merited?

## True Face of Sinhala Chauvinism

*"The Government cannot be expected to remove Thondaman. Therefore we must unite and save the nation from this grave crisis. All barren lands vested in the Crown during the time of British rule should be handed over to the Sinhala inheritors. The notion of a Tamil homeland in the Eastern and Northern provinces should be rejected."* - The Ven. Maduluwawe Sobhitha Thera. (Island, 20th March 1992.)

## Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims visits Sri Lanka

Dr. Inge Genefke from Denmark, Director of the Rehabilitation and Research Centre for torture victims (R.C.T.), was in Sri Lanka exploring the possibilities of extending assistance towards rehabilitating refugees if war.

R.C.T. is an independent body geared towards treating victims of violence. Dr. Genefke appealed to the medical practitioners of Sri Lanka to recognise the fact that victims of violence ought to receive treatment. Psychotherapy is vital in the treatment of survivors of violence. If they are to be freed of feelings of guilt & shame, she added. She said that R.C.T. was concentrating on assisting victims of political circumstances, such as war-survivors, ethnic minorities, politicians, trade unionists, journalists and leaders. Victims of violence do not look like patients,

## Democracy, Sri Lankan Style

The Opposition MPs. are up in arms and making strong moves to oppose 40 Sri Lankan Government MPs. who are now functioning as "executive MPs." being given new Puegots and an additional fuel allowance. These 40 Govt. MPs. were made "executive MPs." following the move to impeach President Premadasa in August '91.

but they suffer from numerous disorders, such as anxiety, depression, headaches, irritability, tiredness, inability to eat and the feeling of being isolated. Victims usually tended to isolate themselves which resulted in psychological damage, she stressed. Moreover not only is it necessary to treat the victims themselves but also their loved ones as in the case of the families of those who had disappeared. In the Sri Lankan situation R.C.T. was hoping to uplift refugees of the ethnic crisis. Dr. Genefke plans to return to Sri Lanka in September to visit the Jaffna peninsula.

## GOGGLES

by C.P. Goliard

## Tamil Names

*"What's in a name? that which we call a rose*

*By any other name would smell so sweet."*

wrote Shakespeare, for his play *Romeo and Juliet*. But that play was written almost 400 years ago by the Bard. Now, even the Bard will agree that "there's a lot in a Name", especially if it happens to be a Tamil name in Britain (or anywhere else other than Tamilnadu or Eelam).

To explain my point, I will transcribe some relevant portions of a thought-provoking piece which appeared in the British Medical Journal of Feb. 17, 1990. It was written by Bashir Qureshi, a general practitioner.

"The Royal Society of Medicine hosted a two day international conference, entitled 'Cancer Today', at an elegant hotel in London. ... A hospital consultant, an oncologist and a general practitioner were selected to open the debate by speaking for three minutes; the first two were Englishmen, but the general practitioner was a British Asian (to be precise a Tamil from Sri Lanka)...

The Chairman of the conference (who) arrived to organize the sequence for the three discussions, wrote down the two English names without any reaction but was stunned when he heard the southern Indian name, and his eyes opened wide. The chairman was clever and he divided the name into syllables so as to enable him to pronounce it correctly. It sounded like Jaya-sri-vasta-wa (first name) Nava-ratnam (surname).

Incidentally, southern Indians and Sri Lankans are short people with long names. If a surname ends in a vowel the person is a Sinhali (Buddhist) but if it does not the person is a Tamil (Hindu)."

Guessing that the contributor of this piece is a Pakistani and that his crass identification criterion between the Sinhalese and Tamils (based on the presence or absence of vowel at the ending of the name) is erroneous, I mailed my comments to the British Medical Journal on March 1, 1990 to correct this misrepresentation. I wrote,

"Being a Sri Lankan Tamil and possessing a surname ending with a vowel, I was bemused to read Bashir Qureshi's generalization... Maybe he also has not heard the surname of the present Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, India, Muthuvel Karunanidhi which ends with a vow-

el. In fact, numerous Dravidian surnames end with the following prefixes, which have a vowel in the end; "pillai" (literal meaning: child), "thurai" and "sami" (literal meaning: Lord), and "muthu" (literal meaning: pearl)..."

Though the British Medical Journal did not publish my correspondence (presumably because it was not of great medical interest to its readers), one of the editors wrote a courteous letter thanking me for taking the time to clarify the matter and he assured that my comments would be passed on to the Dr. Bashir Qureshi, who wrote the original piece.

In this regard, it is relevant to reproduce a portion of another letter which appeared in the reputed British science journal Nature of Feb. 17, 1983, under the caption, "South Indian names". It was written by one M.V. Ramao. He noted,

"The way the surnames are derived is different in the four South

N (Nagarkoil) S. Krishnan

Here, the place name appears as the first initial in the name of the person. To make a distinction, Eelam Tamils can put the place name as the middle name (or the second initial). For example,

V.V (Valvettiturai). Prabhakaran

K.A (Amirthakai). Ananthan

By this means, Tamils living in the diaspora can honour their place of birth or long term residence in Eelam, and they will create an identity which will help the future generations of Tamil progeny to trace their roots.

In the past three decades or so, family names have been found to be useful in a variety of genetic and demographic studies. I will list some of the titles of recent research papers which illustrate this trend.

1. "Surnames and cancer genes" (Human Biology, April 1989)

2. "Ethnicity determination by names among the Aymara of Chile and Bolivia" (Human Biology, April 1989)

3. "Analysis of marital structure in Massachu-

setts using repeating pairs of surnames" (Human Biology, Feb. 1992)

One of America's leading geneticists, James Crow, who authored the now classic paper entitled, "Measurement of inbreeding from the frequency of marriages between persons of the same surname" in 1965, had proposed the use of surname analysis as a tool in the investigation of population genetics.

Why the Tamils of Tamil Nadu and Eelam have not adopted the surname system, like the western countries, is a worthy question to ponder. But now, the time has come to unite with the rest of the world to initiate the trend of using first, middle and last name. I would propose that Eelam Tamils in diaspora, consider using the name of place (of birth or long term residence in Eelam) as their middle name.

William Shakespeare might be correct in writing that oft-quoted verse, "What's in a name", as long as it applies to rose or other non-human objects. But for humans, to quote Prof. Judith Bula Jacobs, "Names are so much a part of our identity that it is easy to underestimate their importance and meanings. Names affect our interpersonal transactions, self-esteem, ethnic identity, gender respect and developmental awareness" (The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, July 1980).

*"I would suggest that rather than having one initial (standing for the father's name), Eelam Tamils need to add another one, which would ideally be a place name (of birth or long-term residence). By this means, Tamils living in the diaspora can honour their place of birth or long term residence in Eelam, and they will create an identity which will help the future generations of Tamil progeny to trace their roots."*

Indian states. The Andhras and the Kannadigas derive their family name through the paternal line, all generations having the same family name. The Tamilians have as their surname their father's given name with no constant family name. The Malayalees (of the state of Kerala) have two family names, one from the paternal line and the other from the maternal line, the males carrying the constant paternal family name and the females carrying the constant maternal name".

That is correct. The Tamilians (whether they live in Tamilnadu, Eelam, Singapore or Malaysia) traditionally do not carry a constant family name. But now, with computerisation of so many documents including the vital ones such as passport, the necessity to create a family name has to be satisfied. Every individual living in the diaspora is free to create (or chose) his or her family name.

I would suggest that rather than having one initial (standing for the father's name), Eelam Tamils need to add another one, which would ideally be a place name (of birth or long-term residence). Traditionally, Tamils in Tamil Nadu do have this practice. Examples are as follows:

C (Conjeevuram) N. Annadurai

C (Chidambaram) S. Jeyaramam

# Chinese artillery fails to terrorize Tamils on May Day in Tamil Eelam

Helicopters and a spotter plane were flying over the Jaffna Peninsula for hours together on May Day this year. They were helping the artillery unit of the Army stationed at Palaly to target the areas to fire shells. One such target picked out was a house at Kadupulam, Valvettiturai where an annual alms-giving function in memory of a departed member of the family was in progress and meals were being served at noon. Artillery shells landed in and around the house of Mr N Nagasothylingam, seriously injuring a number of people of the large gathering at the function. The shells also landed at Thondaimanaru, Mailyathanai, Valvettiturai, Valvetty and Polykandy damaging a number of houses. Another target was a Temple at Mathagal where devotees had congregated for a Pooja and over which a spotter plane was flying. Over six shells landed in the vicinity of the Temple injuring a number of people. A third target picked was a house at Thondamamaru where five refugee children from Kankasanturai were living with their grandparents in which the grandmother and one child were killed by artillery fire.

The military hardware came from China. Naval gunboats were seen along the beach adding their share to the terrifying noise of the Chinese artillery fire. Despite all this shelling the Tamil people in hundreds of thousands marched through the streets to the venue of the May Day meeting organised by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam at the Medical College ground at Thirunelvely, Jaffna. *Picture alongside: one of the floats at the May Day parade. (Courtesy: Hot Springs)*



### Even Tamil Silence is dangerous!

*"Mr. Thondaman is silent. The nation must take the (silent) warning. The ultimate aim of the Tigers and their accomplices world over is to create an Eelam including not only the northern and eastern provinces but also Uva and Central Provinces" - Gamini Jayasuriya, former Sri Lanka Minister.*

## Natheswaram in Hamburg, Germany

The German Branch of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam joined with several human rights associations to organise the May Day Rally in Hamburg in Germany this year. Thousands joined the march. Natheswaram music by Eelam Tamil activists was a special feature of the cultural part of the rally. *Picture below.*



## Devotees shelled at Vatrapalai Amman Temple Red Cross men & infants also killed

The Sri Lanka Army encamped at Mullaitivu launched artillery shell attacks directed towards the Amman Temple at Vatrapalai on Monday, May 18 - when thousands of Hindu devotees had congregated at the temple for the annual Pongal festival.

The Vatrapalai Amman temple situated about 2 miles away from Mullaitivu Army Camp along the sea beach is a Hindu temple of antiquity where an annual Pongal festival is held. Hindus from all parts of the island congregate at Vatrapalai Amman Temple for this annual event.

This year the festival took place on Monday, May 18 on the heels of the Buddhist Wesak festival.

Towards noon shells launched from the Sri Lankan Army Camp at Mullaitivu exploded first near the beach and the large crowd became panicky and started running from the temple

premises. Many people were injured in the stampede that followed.

One shell exploded near a bicycle stand and ten persons died on the spot. Five others died while being rushed for treatment.

The Red Cross was on duty at the temple premises in connection with the festival. Two Red Cross volunteers - Shanmugalingam (46) and Rajanimal (19) died. A third female nurse volunteer of the Red Cross Society, R. Suganthinidevi suffered serious injuries.

Also killed as a result of shell explosion is one Navaratnam (36) and his two year old infant daughter Yugarane. Navaratnam's wife was admitted to the Jaffna Hospital with serious injuries. Another child of the Navaratnams who was also injured lost one of her arms. Mrs Navaratnam was unconscious and on recovery asked for her husband who had died on the spot.

The injured devotees were admitted to hospitals in Jaffna and Puthukudiyiruppu.

It is also learnt that a Red Cross society vehicle was damaged.

The Sri Lankan Army has said that the Army did not fire shells towards the temple but shelled a Tiger camp and killed some Tigers.

The Hindu Federation has severely criticised the wanton attack on the temple premises and said the Army action is consistent with the previous history of destruction of Hindu temples by the Sri Lankan Armed forces.

Another report adds that the Temple authorities had earlier informed the Army of the impending festival. According to Colombo reports a Committee of Inquiry has been appointed by the Government to inquire into the attack. *(Courtesy: Hot Springs)*

## Day Care Centre to be opened in Jaffna

The Nallur Pensioners' Benefit Association held its 10th anniversary meeting recently at Tirunelvely Saiva Maha Vidyalayam. Mr A Sellathurai presided. The meeting resolved to open a Day Care Centre and to provide Home Nursing Services for the needy pensioners in the area.

Retired Government Agent, Vayunia, Mr S Sivagnanam was the Chief Guest, Dr K Kanagarajah, JP, Mr C V K Sivagnanam, President of the Federation of Northern Pensioners, Mr S Linganathan, ACCD, Dr S Arunasalam, Retired Eye Surgeon and Mr S Ganeshamoorthy, A R M Bank of Ceylon, Jaffna were the special invitees. Messrs S Sivagurunathan, P S Tiruchelvam and S Nadarajah were elected President, Secretary and Treasurer respectively for the ensuing year.

## 'Noisy Protest' in Colombo on July 1

Sri Lanka's capital erupted in a noisy protest ('Janagosha') for about half an hour at noon on July 1 as part of an opposition campaign to remove President Ranasinghe Premadasa. Hundreds of people blocked traffic, hooted, blew whistles and clanged metal railings in the biggest anti-government protest in recent years. Motorists joined in by hooting horns, adding to the din.

Opposition supporters, joined by office workers on their lunch break, carried their leaders aloft and danced on the streets amid deafening explosions of firecrackers, as policemen in riot gear kept a safe distance. The enthusiasm was such that the "janagosha" ("noisy protest."), scheduled by the organizers for only 15 minutes, went on for half an hour.

The government was accused of failing to check the rising cost of living, human rights violations, the north-east conflict and of selling of public-sector undertakings. The protest came as government spokesman told 25 foreign journalists that the country was politically stable. The journalists were flown in to be briefed on the investment climate and to witness Premadasa's annual village-reawakening exhibition in southern Monaragala district.

Mahinda Rajapaksee, a leading MP of the main opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party and organizer of the protest campaign, said similar demonstrations had been held in all electorates across the island. He described the response as "beyond our expectations," and said, "This shows that the people want the government to go." He said the opposition, which had earlier organized a 170-mile march against the government, would follow up with other protest moves. *(Courtesy: India Abroad, July 10)*

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Guardian Reporter Chiaka Nwosu writes from Colombo

## Justice stays silent in Sri Lanka

An Army atrocity still blots the government's human rights record, Chiaka Nwosu writes in Colombo. "We've lost our sons and husbands, the money is not much but please make them give what they promised." This plea, from a Sri Lankan villager, comes a year after one of the worst massacres in the country's violent history.

Kokkadicholai is a small island near the picturesque harbour town of Batticaloa on Sri Lanka's east coast. It was here in June 1991 that a landmine planted by the Tamil Tiger separatist movement killed two soldiers and seriously wounded a third. Soldiers from a nearby camp, hearing what had happened to their colleagues, descended on three Tamil villages, herded some of the villagers together and then shot and burnt them in the crater left by the landmine explosion. In all, 67 villagers, including women and teenagers, died during the raids. The incident caused international outrage, prompting Sri Lanka's first ever commission of inquiry into an army atrocity. Local people, under fear of intimidation from the security forces, travelled miles to the capital, Colombo, to give evidence. But none of the soldiers who allegedly carried out the massacre was required to testify.

After international pressure, the commission's preliminary report was released at the beginning of this year. It found that soldiers at the camp in Kokkadicholai had carried out the retaliatory killings. The report recommended that just over £60,000 be paid in compensation for deaths, injuries and damage to 189 families. None of the perpetrators has been tried, though the government says there may be courts martial. Nor has any of the compensation yet been paid.

The failure to secure redress for the incident represents a setback to the government's efforts to rectify its human rights record. Since 1990, three government task forces have been set up to monitor human rights. Since the task forces were set up, the number of disappearances in the south has dropped. It was there in 1987 that a left-wing attempt to overthrow the government was crushed by the security forces. The brutality in the area is now largely over, but human rights campaigners say it continues in the north and east, where the government has been fighting a nine-year war against the Tamil Tigers who want an independent homeland in the region. (Courtesy: Guardian June 17)

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## Jaffna Remembers S.J.V.Chelvanayagam

The Jaffna Christian Union conducted a Thanksgiving Communion Service at St. Johns Church, Chundikuli on 31 March 1992 the 95th birth anniversary of Thanthai Chelva. The service was led by Rev. Fr. Christo Roberts of the Church of South India. Lessons were read by Rev. Fr. A. Devanand and Rev. Fr. S. Jebanesan.

A public meeting to commemorate the 15th death anniversary of Thanthai Chelva was held on April 26 at Nallur, Jaffna. The meeting was chaired by Mr. P. Kanapathipillai, retired teacher from Ariyalai. Yogaratnam Yogi, speaking at the meeting on behalf of the Liberation Tigers said:

"Thanthai Chelva was the elder statesman who opened the path for the present struggle of the Tamils. He had to carry the struggle forward under great difficulties. We of the LTTE accord Thanthai Chelva and his sincere followers a respected position in the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle. Even as late as 1985, they of the LTTE requested the TULF leaders, A. Amirthalingam,

M. Sivasithambaram and R. Sampanthan to insist at least on a federal solution for which the Tamil Arasu Kadchi (Federal Party) was working when these people were invited by the Sri Lanka government for talks. The TULF men who went to Colombo for talks instead of at least pressing for a federal solution, returned to Madras and reported how they yielded on many matters and according to them were able to secure only five percent of their demands. It was clear that they were willing to betray a cause for which the Tamils had shed blood for a number of years. We respect Thanthai Chelva and his sincere followers who made sacrifices for winning the rights of the Tamils. Thanthai Chelva kept alive the Tamil freedom movement. Today, at a time when some who were with him have deserted and betrayed the cause, a new generation of youth are carrying the freedom struggle forward. This new generation salutes Thanthai Chelva."

Earlier in the day at 8.30 a.m. Yogi and several others placed flowers at the Thanthai Chelva Memorial Column and special prayers were held at temples and churches.

"What was Mr. Chelvanayagam's achievement? About 450 years before the Christian era the Carthaginian armies invaded Italy and defeated the Romans in every battle; but Cincinnatus, the Roman Dictator would not give up. And the Roman Senate passed a resolution thanking him, because 'he had not despaired of the republic'. The logic was 'if he did not despair, why should we?'. The Tamils of Ceylon, in like manner, looked upon this gaunt and haggard man, stricken by disease, who could hardly walk and could hardly speak above a whisper, who through a life of continued failure and disappointment, yet had not despaired; and they asked themselves, the question, 'if he did not despair, why should we?' This then is Chelvanayagam's achievement: That he has taught the Tamils of this country to believe in themselves." - Late Rt. Rev. S. Kulendran, Bishop of Jaffna, Church of South India.

"He died like Moses himself without reaching the promised land but the vision he saw, he leaves behind as the heritage and challenge to his people." - Rt. Rev. D.J. Ambalavanar at the funeral of Thanthai Chelva

## Sri Lanka shoots detainees 'trying to escape'

Sri Lanka Defense Secretary, Gen. Cyril Ranatunge, last week conceded that over 2,000 complaints had been received. These included being shot while attempting to escape, illegal detention without trial for over three years, lack of proper food, medical and educational facilities, and regular beating and harassment.

Last week three detainees at the Pallekela camp were shot dead. The police guards said they were shot when they were trying to escape. On earlier occasions seven other detainees were killed when they attempted to escape from detention centers.

Security forces had rounded up over 30,000 youths in 1989-1990 when the powerful Marxist organization Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) attempted to overthrow the United National party (UNP) government. Thousands of JVP supporters, including their leader, Rohana Wijeweera, died while in detention.

The government subsequently released some detainees but decided to keep more than 8,000 in custody under emergency regulations. A cabinet spokesman said their release would be a potential threat to the government, opposition politicians and to the law and order situation.

President Ranasinghe Premadasa, who lifted the emergency in February 1989 few weeks after coming to power, had to reintroduce it because of the JVP threat. Since then the government has been extending the emergency each month. (Courtesy: India Abroad July 10)

## Amnesty International makes recommendations for overhaul of UK Asylum Bill

The controversial Asylum Bill, abandoned when the General Election was called, is to be reintroduced. "A Bill will be presented to enable applications for asylum in the United Kingdom to be determined quickly and effectively," the Queen told parliament in her speech on 6 May outlining the new government's policies.

It is generally thought that the new Home Secretary, Kenneth Clarke, wants to review the Bill introduced by Kenneth Baker, his predecessor. The previous Bill, intended to ensure "a substantial acceleration and simplification of the procedures used to deal with applications for asylum", met with widespread criticism from the House of Lords, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Archbishops of Canterbury and Westminster, the Bar Council and many organisations including AI.

The Government's rationale for introducing such radical legislation was to curb the enormous rise in asylum applications in the UK over the last few years. According to Home Office statistics the number of people applying for asylum in the first quarter of 1992 more than halved, from 3730 a month last year to 1730 a month this year. AIBS urges the Home Secretary to relax the tough measures that would have been introduced had the Bill not been dropped. The AIBS Refugee Office has written to Kenneth Clarke and Junior Home Office Minister Charles Wardle calling for an early meeting to discuss its concerns over the content of the New Asylum Bill. In its letter, the Refugee Office makes several recommendations for inclusion in the new Asylum Bill.

**Examination and determination:** The government should acknowledge that the handling of asylum applications is best carried out by qualified interviewers with knowledge of conditions in the applicants' country.

**Appeals Procedure:** Appellants ought to have adequate time in which to prepare their appeals, and an effective opportunity to present a counter-argument to the reasons for refusal.

**Legal Advice:** Access to independent legal advice, assistance and representation is essential to any refugee-determination process.

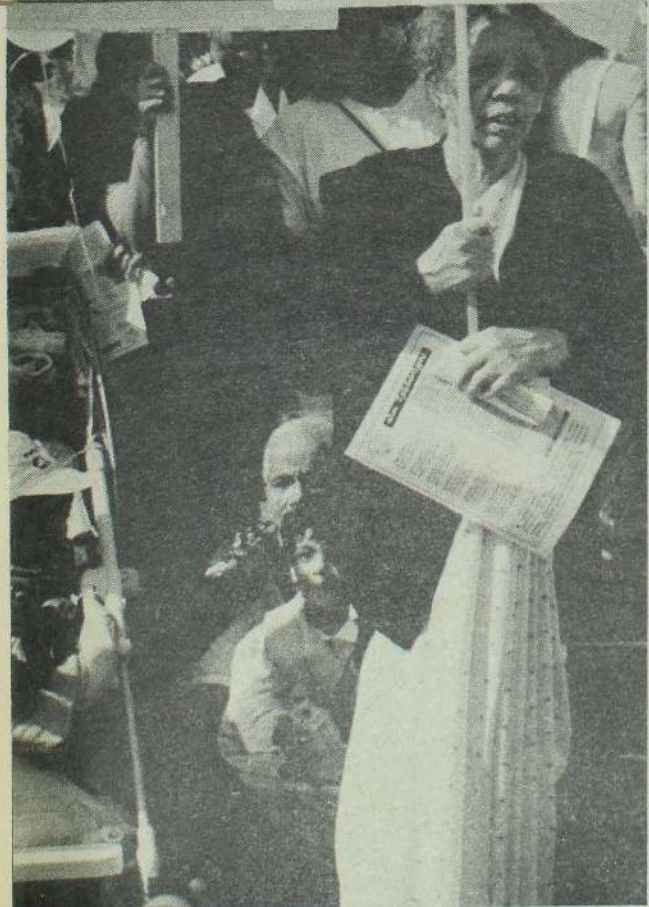
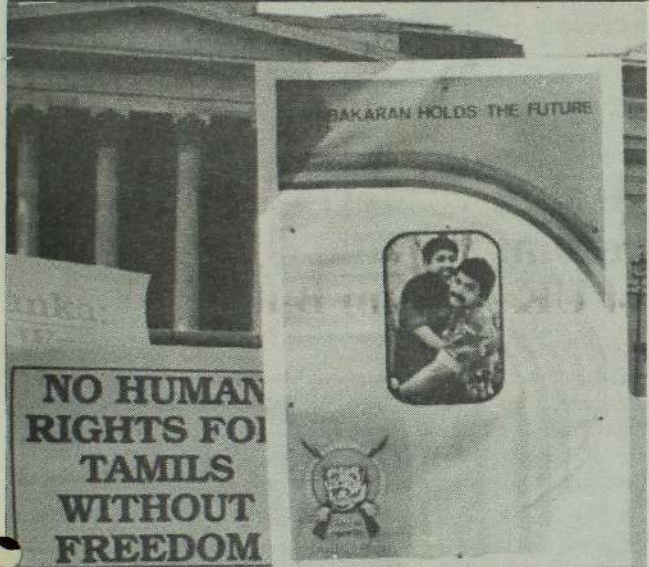
**Safeguards on Detention:** The Government should acknowledge that, in keeping with international standards for the protection of refugees, the detention of asylum applicants should be avoided.

According to refugee experts, existing procedures failed to identify and protect genuine refugees. Those envisaged under the previous Asylum Bill were thought to be inoperable. The IABS Refugee Office has incorporated its asylum recommendations into a booklet, Towards A Credible Asylum Process. Copies are available from the Refugee Officer for £1.20 including p&p. (Courtesy: by Jan Shaw, Amnesty Journal June/July 1992)

# On 9th Anniversary of July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils The International Federation of Tamils in UK Marches Towards a Just Peace



**TAMILS WANT PEACE WITH JUSTICE**



**TAMIL HOMELAND:**  
**SRI LANKA'S KILLING FIELD**

**40 years of Human Rights Violations by Sri Lanka -**  
**What is the answer?**

**How long must Tamils wait for human rights?**  
**Forty Years is long enough**

**Democracy, Sri Lankan Style:**  
**Subjugation of Tamil people by a permanent Sinhala majority**

**Ten Years of Amnesty Reports -**  
**What is the answer? More Reports?**

**FOREIGN AID TO SRI LANKA FEEDS WAR ON TAMILS**

Around two thousand five hundred Tamils and friends of the Tamil cause joined the International Federation of Tamils demonstration march on July 25. The two mile march which commemorated the 9th Anniversary of the July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils, commenced at Hyde Park at 2.30 p.m., passed through Piccadilly Circus and ended at Trafalgar Square where a public meeting was held. The speakers at the public meeting included Dr.N. Satchidanandan, General Secretary of the Federation of Tamil Associations, UK (picture below); Mrs. Rane Emmanuel, Director, International Tamil Foundation; Councilor Peter Dungey from Manchester; Ms. Ilk Nur of the Patriotic Women's Association of Kurdistan; Mr. Adolfo from the Committee El Sol Peru; Mr. Jegarajah from the Bolton Tamil Association, Mr.S.J.-Fatimaran and Mr. Nadesan Satyendra. Messages of solidarity were read from National Liberation Front of El Salvador and from the Refugee Forum International Network. A petition was presented to Prime Minister John Major at No.10 Downing Street. Some march slogans appear alongside.



**"For the human rights of the Tamil people to be realised, the international community must invoke the principle of self determination"**  
*Karen Parker, at UN Sub Commission on Minorities, 1990*

# PROTEST MARCH AGAINST INVASION OF TAMIL HOMELANDS BY SRI LANKA ARMY



**" Human Rights is not an idea with much currency for the Sri Lankan government. Quiet diplomacy is not an option for our policy in Sri Lanka."**

*Deanna Hodgkin, Insight*

**"The basic human rights of the Tamil community have been subject to gross and continued violations."**

*Minority Rights Group Report, 1983*

**"What is essential is that the political status of the (Tamil) 'people' should be freely determined by the 'people' themselves."**

*Viginia Leary, International Commission of Jurists Report*



**"Within Sri Lanka... the Tamils do not have the protection of the rule of law"**

*Report of Working Group chaired by Goran Backstrand, Swedish Red Cross, 1985*

**Lithuanians do not like it,  
Croats do not like it,  
Eriterians do not like it,  
Tibetans do not like it,  
Bosnians do not like it,**

**and the TAMILS HATE IT!**

**"More people have 'disappeared' in Sri Lanka than in any other country in the world."**

*UN Committe on Disappearances, February 1992*

**"TAMIL CAUSE - VERY ESSENCE OF THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND JUSTICE"**

*David Selbourne, Ruskin College Oxford, July 1984*







On 9th Anniversary of July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils  
**The International Federation of Tamils**



CORDIALLY INVITES YOU TO

**Support the Tamil Struggle for Justice**

**SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN**

Yes, I agree

that "...the Tamil cause represents the very essence of the cause of human rights and justice; and to deny it, debases and reduces us all." (David Selbourne, then of Ruskin College, Oxford, July 1984)

Yes, I agree

that "...in order for the human rights of the Tamil people to be realised, the international community must invoke the principle of self determination" (Ms Karen Parker, of the Non Governmental Human Rights Organisation, International Educational Development, at the UN SubCommission on Minorities in August 1990)

Yes, I urge

- INDIA: Stop 'show trial' of Leader of Tamil Eelam
- INDIA: Halt forced repatriation of Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka
- SRI LANKA: Stop invasion of Tamil Homeland
- SRI LANKA: Lift blockade of medicine, food and fuel to Tamil Homeland
- SRI LANKA: End war and negotiate for a just peace

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Address:.....

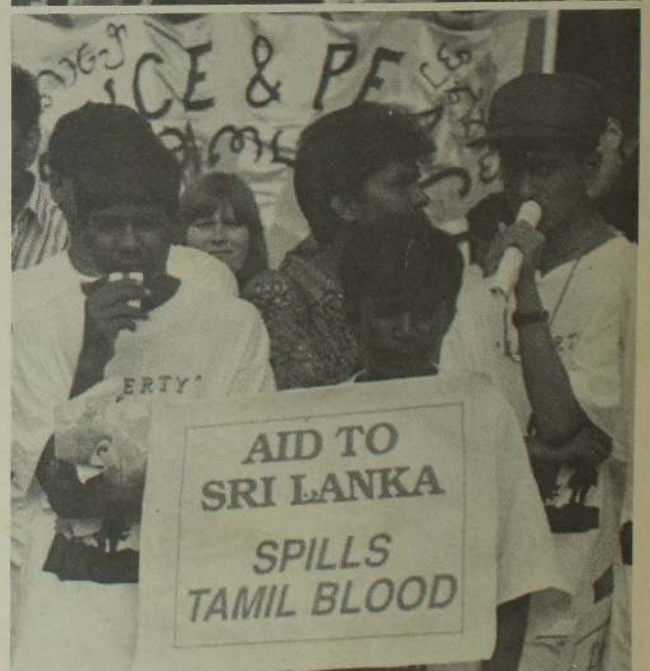
Cut out or Photocopy, fill in your name and address and send to  
 IFT Signature Campaign, P.O.Box 417, Cambridge CB3 9LZ

**The International Federation of Tamils**

exists to

- a. protect and secure the rights of the Tamil people, guaranteed under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and under international law;
- b. preserve and promote the culture and language of the Tamil people; and
- c. alleviate the hardship and suffering of displaced Tamils and to secure and advance the physical and economic well being of the Tamil people

**"We launched our struggle for self determination because of the systematic oppression of our people by the Sri Lankan State"**  
*Velupillai Prabhakaran, Leader of Tamil Eelam*



**"...the evidence points clearly to conclusion that the violence (of July 1983) amounted to acts of genocide"**  
*International Commission of Jurists Review, December 1983*

**GENOCIDE'83  
 WHY  
 NO INQUIRY?**

**NO JUSTICE  
 NO PEACE**

**No Human Rights  
 without Freedom**



# Towards a Just Peace



## Support the Tamil Struggle for Justice Write to your Member of Parliament

Member of Parliament,  
House of Commons,  
London W1

Dear .....

On the 9th Anniversary of the July 1983 Genocide of Eelam Tamils, I write to express my grave and urgent concern at the continuing war waged by Sri Lanka on the Tamil people.

Eight years ago, on 28 July 1984, David Alton MP, Paddy Ashdown MP, Norman Atkinson MP, Tony Banks MP, Prof John Barret, Kevin Barron MP, Alan Beith MP, Tony Benn MP, Gerry Berningham M.P., Prof Tom Bottomore, Sydney Bidwell MP, Malcolm Bruce MP, Dale Campbell-Savours MP, Dennis Canavan MP, Alex Carlile MP, Tom Clarke MP, Bob Clay MP, Anne Clwyd MP, Harry Cohan MP, Jeremy Corbyn MP, Ron Davis MP, Eric Deakins MP, Alf Dubs MP, Professor Michael Dummet, Derek Fatchett MP, Mark Fisher MP, Martin Flannery MP, Roy Hattersley MP, Michael Foot MP, Simon W.H. Hughes MP, Lord Jenkins, Russel Johnston MP, Sir David Lane., Robert Kilroy Silk MP, Archy Kirkwood MP, Ted Knight, Terry Lewis MP, Bob Litherland MP, Ken Livingstone, Tony Lloyd MP, Eddie Loyden MP, Max Madden MP, Joan Maynard MP, Willie McKelvy MP, Bill Michie MP, Dr. Paul Noone, Bob Parry MP, Alan Roberts MP, Ernie Roberts MP, Allan Rogers MP, Aubrey Rose, Ernie Ross MP, Steven Ross MP, Clare Short MP, Dennis Skinner MP, Prof Peter Townsend, Jim Wallace MP, Gareth Wardell MP, Dafydd Wigley MP and many others made a public appeal which was published in *The Guardian* of the same date. They said:

*"The ethnic violence which erupted in Sri Lanka in July 1983 brought untold misery to the Tamils. They were beaten, hacked and burnt to death in a frenzy of racial hatred. Their houses and businesses were selectively looted and destroyed. The Sri Lankan government had admitted that the violence was pre planned and well organised and that even sections of the security forces joined in the attack against the Tamils. 53 Tamil detainees held in a maximum security prison were brutally killed on July 25th and July 27th. Yet to date no impartial inquiry into these violent attacks has taken place..... We are of the opinion that:*

*\* an impartial international commission should be set up to inquire into the violence against the Tamils in July 1983 including the killing of 53 Tamil detainees held in custody by the government..."*

But, this 1984 appeal, like so many other appeals by independent and impartial observers, has gone unheeded by the Sri Lanka government.

Uptodate, no inquiry, leave alone an impartial one, has been held into the planned murder of thousands of Tamils in July 1983. The Sri Lanka Prevention of Terrorism Act which was described by the International Commission of Jurists in 1984 as 'an ugly blot on the statute book of any civilised country' continues on Sri Lanka's statute book today. The Sixth Amendment to the Sri Lanka Constitution which virtually disenfranchised the Tamils by the ban imposed on their political parties and which the ICJ said in 1984 was a 'clear violation by Sri Lanka of its obligations in international law', continues unrepaled.

And, today, Sri Lanka's army seeks to invade the Tamil homelands and Sri Lanka's State Minister for Defence has given public expression to the intent of the Government to use 'maximum force for the total annihilation' of Tamil resistance to the invasion.

The conclusion is inescapable that the attack by Sri Lanka on the Tamil people has the clear intent of bending the Tamil people to the will of a permanent Sinhala majority, within the confines of a unitary state.

It was Ms Karen Parker of the non governmental human rights organisation, International Educational Development, who declared at the UN SubCommission on Minorities in August 1990 that

*'in order for the human rights of the Tamil people to be realised, the international community must invoke the principle of self determination as it arises from the persistent non fulfilment of the rights of minorities who have been subsumed into larger states.'*

I agree. Sri Lanka's refusal to enter into negotiations for the establishment of associative structures within which the Tamil people and the Sinhala people may live in peace and in freedom must surely stand condemned by the international community. Foreign aid to Sri Lanka feeds the unjust war against the Tamils and I urge that all such aid be stopped.

Yours sincerely

**R. Shanmuganathan**  
writes from New South  
Wales

### NON VIOLENCE

One of the arguments put across by some people is that a nonviolent struggle would have brought us freedom without the hardships we face now. By looking back at history we could find the answer to this argument. There was always this debate about non-violent struggle. TULF advocated it and Mr Thondaman has been talking about winning the rights of his people through nonviolent methods. In the post independent Sri Lanka people have always associated Thanthai Chelvanayakam with non-violent methods and their failures. They quote Banda-Chelva pact, Dudley-Chelva pact and the failures of Satyagraha etc to prove their point.

For those who want more proof, I can give another little known example. In the early sixties a gentleman named Satkunam wrote an essay in Sinhalese extolling the virtues of Federalism and got Mr Chelvanayakam to endorse it. He made 60,000 copies and distributed it among the Sinhalese people. Needless to say this well intended exercise didn't make any dent in the Sinhalese mind.

This story was related to me by a relative of Mr Satkunam. He also gave me a copy of an English translation of this document; parts of which are given here for the benefit of those who are curious to know what was said in that document: "... It is not anti-Sinhalese as suggested in certain quarters. It is not as alleged 'minority domination', 'Betrayal of the majority community', 'foreign invasion'. Those who say federation is division or separation are either not aware of what it means or are deliberately seeking to distort its true meaning for political purposes...."

# Post Bag

While there are so many examples of failure of non-violent methods in Sri Lanka (remember Dileepan!), the shining example of the success of the non-violent struggle is the Indian freedom movement led by Mahatma Gandhi. Perhaps this the only time in the history of mankind, freedom was won by non-violent means.

Even here the freedom struggle was not totally non-violent. People like Subash Chandrabose, Bagath Sing and others didn't believe in non-violent methods. In fact when Bahath Sing was in the death row Gandhi visited him and praised him. It is widely believed that contribution from these freedom fighters have not been given sufficient weight by the Indian writers and other Indian opinion makers.

Under Mahatma Gandhi's patronage, it was the Indian congress which organised the non-violent movement. During this period, within the Congress working committee, there was always debate about the non-violent method; whether it was a creed or a weapon suitable for their particular situation. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad in his autobiographical account, "India wins its freedom", says that Sardar Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani and Prafulla gosh have argued, nonviolence was a creed and Nehru and himself were of the view that non-violence was a weapon. But Moulana, who was the president of Indian Congress from 1939 to 1946 and took part in the independence negotiations with the British, believed that those who argued, non-violence is a creed, only paid lip service to it.

To illustrate this point I quote a passage from his book: "...Sardar Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani and Dr Profulla Gosh have resigned from the working commit-

tee when Congress passed a resolution that it would support the war effort if the British declared India free. They openly declared that non-violence was a creed and even more important than Indian independence. When, however, India did become free in 1947, not one of them said that Indian army should be disbanded. On the contrary they insisted that the Indian army should be partitioned.... In fact some of them wanted to increase and not diminish the expenditure of armed forces...."

Moulana who became the Education minister in the post independent Indian government and wrote his biography some ten years later, also talks about the successful attempt by the British to use the Muslims against Hindus in order to upset the independence movement. This sounds familiar; replace British with Sinhalese and Hindu with Tamil and it's history repeating itself.

## HEALTH WATCH

### "Heart Attack"

**Coronary Heart Disease accounts for major proportion of death in most industrial populations, many deaths occur in middle age. Yet, there is evidence that coronary heart disease is preventable.**

Smoking cessation: 50-70 per cent lower risk compared with current smokers.

Reduced serum cholesterol: 2-3 per cent decline in risk for each 1 per cent reduction in cholesterol. 10 per cent reduction on average, from diet and 20 per cent with drugs.

Treatment of hypertension: 2-3 per cent decline in risk for each 1mmHg reduction of diastolic blood pressure.

Exercise: 45 per cent lower risk for those who maintain an active lifestyle compared with those with a sedentary lifestyle.

Weight: 35-55 per cent lower risk for those who maintain an ideal body weight compared with those who are obese (>20 per cent above desirable weight)

Postmenopausal oestrogen replacement: 44 per cent lower risk in users compared with non-users, no estimates for oestrogen/progesterone combination.

Alcohol: 25-45 per cent lower risk for those who consume small to moderate amounts of alcohol compared with non-drinkers.

Aspirin: 33 percent lower risk in those taking low dose aspirin compared with non-users.

Stress: Little evidence that stress causes heart disease in healthy individuals. However, in people with heart disease, stressful life events and stress at work can aggravate angina and, very rarely, precipitate heart attack.(G.P.)

**S. Alagaratnam writes from**  
**Urumpirai to the Tamil**  
**Eelam Weekly Hot Springs**

### DUTY OF EELAM INTELLECTUALS

I would like to appeal to the Tamil intellectuals still in this Island to come forward and answer the several points that are being put forward by the Sinhala 'intellectuals'.

Every day one notices, this Island's history is being rewritten and Sinhalese people are slowly but surely being made to believe that all Tamils are Kallathonis. One of these Sinhala 'intellectuals' even goes to the extent of saying that a two thousand years old Tamil habitation in this island is a myth.

Should not our Tamil intellectuals write to the Colombo Press who publish these articles pointing out the facts supported by reference to books, preferably by neutral parties and rebut these claims. (They could send copies of such articles to "Hot Spring" which could publish them if the Colombo papers do not publish these articles).

I notice that expatriate Tamil intellectuals are doing this for example the Sacramento Conference held in California, USA on July 20, 1991 and the London Seminar held on February 15, this year. But these efforts are useful only to sway the opinion of the outside world, a real hard nut to crack. News of such conferences and seminars do not reach the Sinhalese public (although they do reach the Colombo press it is

## BOOK REVIEW

The review which appeared in the July issue of the Tamil Nation of the book 'Religious Controversy in British India: Dialogues in South Asian Languages' was by Sachi Sri Kantha. We apologise to our readers and to Mr. Sachi Sri Kantha for our inadvertent omission to give the name of the reviewer.

### Pancha Seela

**"Pancha Seela or Coexistence is the only solution to the problem of the two nations in Ceylon. It recognises not merely facts of two thousand five hundred years of Sinhala and Tamil history but also the fundamental right of the Tamil people to self determination; of Tamil Eelam to separate statehood. It unshackles the two nations and sets them free"** - Late Mr. S. Kathiravetpillai, M.P. for Koppay from 'Coexistence not Confrontation' - A Statement on Eelam.

then completely blacked out.)

We have to reach the Sinhala people with the true picture of what happened and what is happening in this Island. This can only be done by the Tamil intellectuals living in this Island - I therefore once again appeal to them to come forward and do their duty by their people.

## Kovai Mahesan passes away..

continued from page 14

cept in principle that the rights of Tamils need recognition, but suffered from moral inanition. For the fear of losing their Sinhala friends, they couched their writings with leftist ideology and criticised the political actions of Chelvanayakam as bourgeois leadership. The third class of journalists (to which Kovai Mahesan and the founding editor of Tamil Nation, S Sivanayagam belonged) graduated from the Gandhian school of journalism. "Do not fear to tell the truth and suffer the consequences" was one of Mahatma Gandhi's guiding principles of journalism. Kovai Mahesan did just that. He exposed the brutal aggression of Sinhala regimes of SLFP and UNP and 'for umpteenth times' suffered the consequences.

Kovai Mahesan forfeited monetary and material comfort for following the path of Chelva and even did not mind being ridiculed by some Tamils as a "hate-monger" and "Tamil racist". But in the process, he inspired and fertilised the minds of a younger generation of Tamils by his writings and activism. And Mahesan will be sorely missed by many of us.

## K. Anandarajah - an appreciation

Family, relatives and friends mourn the death of Mr K Anandarajah on 28th May 1992, in New York, after a brief illness. He was a loving, humble, unassuming gentleman. His manner was informal and relaxed. Anger was unknown to him. He was always ready to help anyone. He had a subtle sense of humour which was noticeable even during his last days in the hospital. He was a very religious man and had a great love for Tamil, our culture, the welfare of the community and an insatiable love of Camatic music. With Mr Thiruchelvam, he started the first free Tamil school in the United Kingdom as far back as 1973 at the Wimbledon Community Centre. It was friendly and well run. We, the parents and our children looked forward to going to this school even though it was 40 miles away for some. The school also helped the various families to come together, enjoy each other's company and welded them into a social unit.

His eldest daughter, Gowri, now a Family Physician in the USA was one of the first to have an Arangetram in Bharata Natyam in London. Ana was the third child of the late Muthaliyar and Mrs Kanagasabai of Mullaitivu. He had his early education at the Hindu Board School, Mullaitivu and later, at Jaffna Hindu College where he was outstanding not only academically but also in athletics and football.

He married Thevi (Sakunthala), the daughter of the late Muthaliyar Sellathurai and Mrs Sellathurai of Inuvil. He joined the Ceylon Technical College and passed the BSc (ENG), London Degree as an external student. He worked at the P.W.D for sometime before proceeding to the UK. Here he worked for a few years with British Rail and obtained his MICE and Charter. He returned to Sri Lanka, worked again at the P.W.D and, in 1961, left for Nigeria where he worked until 1965. In 1965 he joined the University of Surrey on the MSc Course in Civil Engineering which he passed with ease. He worked at the Department of the Environment as a Senior Engineer until he left for the USA in 1979. In the States he qualified as a Professional Engineer and worked at the Department of Transportation until his death at the age of 64 years. He was a versatile, practical engineer, quite at ease with any engineering problem, be it civil, mechanical or electrical. He was looking forward to retiring in September 1992. He was hoping to spend some time with friends and relatives in the UK when his illness and death overtook him. Until then he was strong and healthy, hardly ever ill. His death was a shock to his family and friends. May his soul rest in peace and his family be comforted. Meopham, Kent, United Kingdom



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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."

# The Indian Region

## Stir in Madras

The former Tamil Nadu Minister S. Thirunavukarasu was discharged by a Court in Madras because he had been arrested under a law that no longer existed. The mistake by the Tamil Nadu police on July 16 gave Mr. Thirunavukarasu fresh ammunition in his battle to oust Chief Minister Jayalalitha Jayaram, his one time ally. "I will not rest till I topple her government" he said after his release from what was a brief custody. The night before his arrest, at a public rally, Thirunavukarasu asked the film star Rajnikant to enter politics and help pull down Jayalalitha's government. Although Rajnikant, who has a formidable following in the state has not responded, the call has made the Chief Minister's supporters nervous. Within hours of Thirunavukarasu's public appeal, the police raided his residence under an old charge of bribery when he was Housing Minister in MGRs government. As the news of his arrest spread, his enraged followers went on a rampage. A youth protesting the arrest tried self immolation and was in a serious condition. About 300 people were arrested for attacking buses.

## Why the US will stay focused on South Asia

The United States will be forced to stay focused on South Asia because of nuclear proliferation concerns and the Kashmir dispute, a senior State Department official said last week. Briefing South Asian correspondents on background at the Foreign Press Center here last week, the official said: "You have a major unresolved political problem and you have a nuclear capability in the region; that's a bad combination."

The Administration believes, the official said, that the "biggest danger in Kashmir is not that either Pakistan or India will deliberately start something, but that they might miscalculate what the other would put up with."

Referring to a recent remark reportedly made by Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao that Pakistan had to get out of Azad Kashmir before any negotiations to resolve the crisis could be started, the State Department official said "I don't agree with that," and added: "But it is a good illustration of one of the problems in dealing with Kashmir - that the Indians and the Pakistanis, and for that matter the Kashmiris, can't decide what they are going to talk about." Meanwhile, on the recent round of US-Indian talks on nuclear non-proliferation, the official acknowledged that not

much headway had been made, and noted that New Delhi has "not agreed to participate in the multi-lateral process" that Washington is pushing.

As for the American sanctions against the Indian Space Research Organization and the Russian space agency Glavkosmos for going ahead with their \$250 million rocket deal despite US pressure to drop it, the official defended Washington's decision.

Insisting that the rocket technology deal was clearly a violation of the Missile Technology Control regime, the official said that "the MTCR doesn't distinguish between missiles and satellites - there is no way a technological distinction can be made between these two." Asked if this meant that no third-world country could have a legitimate space program and look to the transfer of technology to accelerate its program, the official replied, "The only part of the space program which runs afoul of the MTCR is launch capability. On all other aspects there really isn't a problem." (Courtesy: Aziz Haniffa in India Abroad)

US Ambassador designate to Sri Lanka Teresita Schaffer says

"..eradicating the temptations, is going to require very complicated negotiations..."

American Ambassador designate to Sri Lanka and present Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, Ms. Teresita Schaffer interviewed on worldnet's satellite television 'Dialogue' programme by Journalists from Colombo, New Delhi and Madras said:

"We will continue our efforts to promote our respect for human rights in the region. The region's record in this area remain mixed. New governments in Nepal and Bangladesh have significantly and dramatically improved human rights observances there. In India, continued violence in Kashmir and Punjab and reports of custodial deaths remain matters of serious concern. The continuing unsettled situation in Sind has taken its toll on human rights there as well. We are deeply troubled by the human rights problems which continue to plague Sri Lanka."

She added: "The recent joint naval exercises staged between the Indian and United States navies were basically for the purpose of understanding better each other's communications drills and general operating methods. It's not up to the United States to appoint regional policemen."

Q: Ms. Schaffer, the United States is firmly committed to fight international terrorism. But with regard to South Asia, we find that US contribution has not been significant or nothing at all. Both India and Sri Lanka are plagued with international terrorist movements. But we still do not see any kind of support, tangible support extended by the United States. Can you explain any reason for this?

"COMPLICATED NEGOTIATION" REQUIRED

A: "Well, without knowing more specifically what you have in mind, all I can say is that our position is a very firmly held one and one which we have had over the past - a great many years. This is a goal to which we are committed."

Now, depending on what examples you might have in mind, not every case is amenable to having the US in some sense eradicate it. In fact, most of the examples that you might choose from are tied up with very difficult problems internal to a particular country and region. And ultimately eradicating the temptations, if you will, is going to require very complicated negotiation. I think that is probably the case in most of the South Asian problem areas, so that I don't think it's a reasonable expectation that the US can, in some sense, eradicate the problem on the region's behalf."

Q: There is a sharp reaction to policies of the West, led by US, to tie aid to human rights. India, China, Malaysia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, to mention only a few, consider human rights policies first as being discriminatory. The perception (at this end?) is that human rights is used as a weapon to manipulate and interfere in domestic policies.

My question is, is it fair to apply human rights selectively and not to apply it on a universal basis? And secondly, how much of Sri Lanka's historical circumstances will you take into consideration in assessing and reporting human rights programs in Sri Lanka?

Ms. Schaffer: In a sense, I believe that your second question undercuts the first. You point out that Sri Lanka has special historical circumstances which have put great stress on the human rights situation there. That is true. Sri Lanka has at various times over the past 20 years had either one or two virtual civil wars in effect. This is a very stressful situation. I think everyone would agree that it has had some very unfortunate results which are really out of keeping with the kinds of traditions that Sri Lanka has been justly proud of in its judiciary and its democratic government and in general in its tradition of respect for the rights of all people. I make that observation as a friendly outside observer and not as some kind of judge.

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# The Emerging Multipolar World

## India got Norway's Heavy Water through Rumania?

Though Indian authorities have denied that heavy water from Norway, intended for Romania, has ended up in India, it appears that Norway is not satisfied. It is reported that Norwegian public prosecutors have produced evidence showing that a total of 27.5 tonnes of Norwegian heavy water has been diverted to India's nuclear-weapons programme. The sale was reportedly made by the Romanian dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu, to the Indians in return for much-needed hard currency.

The new regime in Romania has helped Norway trace the heavy water to India. However sources say that the minister counsellor at the Indian embassy in Oslo, H N Paul, insists; "India has not received any shipments of Norwegian heavy water, neither from Norway nor from any other country."

The Norwegian foreign minister, Thorvald Stoltenberg plans to take up the matter again with the government of India. "We have a lot of solid evidence to support our allegations concerning the heavy water, and India's reaction so far has been unsatisfactory" he said. Though pressure from Norway alone may not be enough to change India's attitude, political analysts believe that Norway's stand should be understood in the context of the I concern about India's nuclear programme expressed elsewhere.

In the meantime, Pakistan has let it be known that a Russian plan to sell entire arms factories to India will "cause jitters" not only in Pakistan, but also in the Middle East, China, Australia and Indonesia.

## Germany: slowly, slowly catchee monkey?

Informed sources say that Germany's new defence minister, Volker Ruhe, is adopting a cautious but skilful strategy for 'slowly slowly' moving the country towards a global role: don't talk about the vision, keep moving step by step.

Ruhe is moving with the full support of the new foreign minister, Klaus Kinkel. It is reported that he also has the discreet backing of Hans-Ulrich Klose, leader of the opposition Social Democrats in the lower house of Parliament. It seems that Ruhe has a schedule. Last year, after the Gulf War, Germany was ready to send minesweepers to clear up the shipping lanes. This was followed by the decision to send German soldiers to the UN peacekeeping operation in Cambodia - though this was restricted to medical personnel. A vital point may be how the constitutional ban on sending troops outside the NATO area of operations will affect all this. But Ruhe and many experts believe the constitution does not have to be amended. All that would be needed would be parliamentary approval for any decision to send troops - and reportedly Klose may end up by giving opposition support, should the occasion demand it.

## Russia to India: West is Best?

It is reported that the proposed Indian joint ventures with Russia for arms manufacturing are unlikely to take off as Moscow does not want to be the "odd man out" in a new international order.

Anatoly Drukov, Ambassador to India, said recently that Russia had offered to shift some of her armament units to India as joint ventures to manufacture frontline aircraft, tanks, armoured cars and other equipment for use in India and for exporting to third world countries.

A source confirmed that India had been interested in some of Russia's state-of-the-art arms systems and that an Indian defense delegation had recently toured Russia and eastern Europe. But Foreign Ministry sources ruled out the sale or transfer of the latest arms technology to India, saying that only spare parts had been sold. "India is not interested in buying old, outdated systems from Russia and Russia will not sell any of her latest arms technology," the sources said. "In a new international order, Russia does not want to be the odd man out."

### A PRO-WESTERN TILT

Scholars and Asian diplomats see Russia's reluctance to deal on favourable terms with some of her older allies as proof of her pro-West tilt and an abandonment of earlier alignments seen to have outweighed their worth in a "West is best" world. Others have more forthrightly said that Russia is succumbing to American pressure.

The recent statement by Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev that Russia's destiny lies in the West appears to have set the agenda. Yeltsin was feted by President George Bush as Russia's "new Peter the Great" who had opened a window to the West.

## Asiaweek of July 10, 1992 comments

### About the Itch to Split

Rich, peaceful Japan has an unusual degree of social cohesion. No separatists agitate for autonomy and no lost compatriots yearn to return to the fatherland. This ethnic exclusivity is to some extent due, as in Poland and Greece, to 20th-century expulsions and repatriations of minorities. Culturally self-assured and contented Holland has no minorities either - recent immigrants apart - thought 25% of the Dutch people live in Belgium; the same formula goes for Bangladesh, Egypt and Germany. National identity is wholly unchallenged in the South American republics, the United States and Australia, societies created by waves of immigrants. Except for small minorities on geographical fringes, solidarity prevails in China, the Philippines and Thailand. All these nations are very much at ease with themselves.

Brute force is another effective adhesive. The Soviet Empire, Tito's Yugoslavia and communist Czechoslovakia stamped out regional dissent. The moment authority loosened, the races flew apart with a speed that surprised everyone but themselves. Of the fifteen ex-Soviet republics, all except Armenia and Belarus have separatist movements. In democracies, yet another bond is fear of international disapproval. But these inhibitions quickly melt when the climate changes. Quebec is expected to vote for secession this year. Separatism is suddenly popular in Scotland.

Everybody deplors instability. But is it fair to insist that peoples who really don't like one another remain united merely for the peace of mind of countries whose sense of national

**"Everybody deplors instability. But is it fair to insist that peoples who really don't like one another remain united merely for the peace of mind of countries whose sense of national cohesion is impregnable? Fragmentation is dangerous, but to say it is bad is to deny to others something we cherish."**

So too are many multi-cultural nations where communities speak different languages but live without friction. Such societies, lacking the glue of common tongue and often divided by religion, work hard to construct a national identity out of patriotism, history, shared experiences and an awareness that stability is a prerequisite of progress. Singapore and Malaysia freely acknowledge that nation building component of their success. Remarkably unruffled are multi-racial societies in Iran, Switzerland and Indonesia. But once the binding agents become unstuck, the ethnic tensions released can last for generations. Look at Palestine, Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Chad, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Burma, Sudan, Turkey, Liberia, Corsica, the Basque Country. No Croat imagines a return to harmony with the Serbs, no Armenian expects new concord with Azeri Turks. There is no shooting now in Moldova, Georgia, Kenya, Iraq and parts of India. The potential is recognised in Ukraine, Ka-

cohesion is impregnable? Fragmentation is dangerous, but to say it is bad is to deny to others something we cherish. Whether we like it or not, the world is dissolving into smaller political entities - 23 new ones in a year. Togetherness can't be simply manufactured. A billion Chinese feel it, and so do 100,000 Tongans. Simplistic notions do not help. Most Americans don't understand why a Greek distrusts a Turk, or why a Belfast Catholic cannot live next door to a Protestant the way a Boston Catholic can. Japanese may feel a Sinhalese should embrace his Tamil countryman. To say Slovaks must stick with Czechs is like saying the couple across the street should not get divorced. Divorce is never pleasant. There are two ways to go about it: the civilised frugidity of Czechoslovakia and Canada or the eye-gouging, throat-slitting rage of Yugoslavia and Sri Lanka. By all means counsel against separation, but once it is clear one party is bent on it, human decency required that economically developed and political-

**"Nobody says Malta and Mongolia ought to unite with larger neighbours. So why should Slovaks be pressed to bear their cross bravely?"**

zakhstan, the Baltic States and Pakistan.

Ethnic solidarity works both ways. Germans rushed into each other's arms when communism fell in the east. In the right circumstances, it is not hard to imagine Koreans doing the same. Taiwan could return to China, Moldova to Romania. The Arabs are always talking about union and Turkic peoples are starting to envisage it. Irredentism could easily take hold among divided Albanians, Hungarians, Bengalis and the many tribes of Africa crudely split by 19th-century French and British land surveys.

ly mature nations use their good graces to save innocent people from nationalistic extremism.

The real tragedy of Yugoslavia is not that Croats don't like Serbs, but that Paris and London and Washington were not willing to sponsor Woodrow Wilson-style plebiscites to partition the land along racial lines, while there was still time.

The State department knew very well that Yugoslavia was never a real nation. Yet it insisted that the only basis for US mediation was a return to the status quo - that is, going back to eyeing one another with loathing and itching to split. By refusing to countenance

*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 perform take shape, is therefore, not a matter of self-indulgent luxury but a matter of immediate, direct and practical significance. The new balances that are being struck in the emerging multipolar world are not without relevance to the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam. Again, if the 1950s and the 1960s were the decades of the anti colonial liberation movements, the 1990s will prove to be the decade of the post colonial national liberation movements. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. Neither is it a dirty word. The political force that it generates has begun to prevail over the power of many existing state structures.*

the risky, precedent-setting principle of redrawing borders before the fighting began, the big powers made a civil war inevitable. In the end it may not matter that the Scots separate from the English. Not if the European Community is vibrant and GATT provides a safe umbrella for trading relations.

If the United Nations becomes a dependable arbitrator and peace-keeper, it won't matter if it acquires

50 more members. By refusing to help "nations" whose unity is irretrievably lost to split up before the shooting starts, the big powers may be condemning millions to die. Washington, which initially "regretted" the Soviet Union break-up, now "regrets" that Czechs and Slovaks are to dissolve a marriage arranged for them in their infancy. Slovakia ought to have been created in 1987. But small countries were then thought to be absurd. Today 80 independent states have a population smaller than Slovakia's. Nobody says Malta and Mongolia ought to unite with larger neighbours. So why should Slovaks be pressed to bear their cross bravely?

*Culture is the distilled essence of the way of life of a people. In the case of the Tamil people the distillation process has spanned a time period of more than two thousand years. It is a culture which is reflected in so many of the things that we do unconsciously. It is reflected in our cuisine, in our dress forms, in the way in which greet each other, in our language and in our beliefs. It is a rich culture which has found vibrant expression in our literature, in our songs and in our dances. It is a living culture which has grown by interacting with other cultures but which at the same time has given much and has much to give to the world. It is a living culture which also serves to cement the increasing togetherness of more than 50 million Tamils living in many lands and across distant seas.*

## Kovai Mahesan - Sutantiran Editor passes away in Madras



Kovai Mahesan who served as Editor of the Suthanthiran in Jaffna for several years died in Madras in early July. He had sought refuge in Tamil Nadu in 1983 and for some time he edited the Tamil Weekly, Veera Vengai from Madras. His commitment to the Tamil Eelam national liberation struggle was total. His work at Suthanthiran served to enthuse and inspire many to join the Tamil struggle. Tamil Thesiya Iyakkam leader, Mr. P. Nedumaran and Mr. M.K. Eelaventhan were amongst those who paid their respects at the funeral. Kovai Mahesan was not only an effective and influential writer in Tamil but was also a persuasive speaker. Tamil Nation dips its pen in salute to a Tamil who gave much of his life to the cause of his people.

*Sachi Srikantha writing from Tokyo adds:*

The news of the death of Kovai Mahesan, former editor of Sutantiran weekly, on July 4th in Madras shocked and saddened me. I have no doubt that all the past readers and supporters of Sutantiran would share my sentiments. Kovai Mahesan, while serving as the editor of Sutantiran for more than ten years, inspired many young minds in the 1970s to serve the Tamil cause by his forceful writings on so many issues which affected the lives of Eelam Tamils.

With grateful admiration I record that it was Kovai Mahesan who propelled me to rise so far as a writer, by first publishing what I sent to Sutantiran in January 1974. This was

# Iyal, Isai, Nadagam

## Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria presents International Night of Culture in Melbourne

Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria presented an International Night of Culture at Collingwood Town Hall, Melbourne on 18 July.

The rich and varied programme started with a traditional Tamil dance by Natyalayaa, a school dedicated to the teaching of Bharatha Natyam in Melbourne and this was followed by the Yarra Yarra Dancers, an aboriginal group. The programme included items by the Macedonian Cultural Group, the Timorese Cultural Group and the Croatian Folkloric Group.

Senator Richard Alston was the guest speaker. Mr. Valda Liepens, the President of the Latvian Popular Front and Mr. Jim Thomev, Human Rights Activist were the other speakers. Mr. Aco Talevski, President of the Macedonian Human Rights Committee of Melbourne & Victoria expressed his solidarity with the Tamil cause.

Hon Gerry Hand, the Australian Minister for Immigration & Ethnic Affairs in a message to the Ceylon Victoria Association said: "I would like to congratulate the Association for its initiative in organising an evening where a variety of communities are able to join together in celebrating their individual cultures... I note that the proceeds from this international night will be used by the organisers through the churches to aid those

around the time when Periyar E. Ve. Ramasamy Naicker had died and when the 4th International Tamil Research Conference was being held in Jaffna. I wrote an eulogy to Periyar, as seen through the eyes of his disciple Arignar Anna. Since then, till I left Colombo in August 1981, quite frequently I mailed my writings to 194a Bandaranaike Mawatha, Colombo 12 and later 15 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Jaffna (these were the addresses in which Kovai Mahesan functioned as the editor of Sutantiran) and waiting anxiously every week to see whether my contributions had been passed by Mahesan. He did not disappoint me much.

As all Eelam Tamils know, the revered leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam was a man of few words. But when one wanted to learn what Chelva had in mind about the issues affecting the Tamils, Sutantiran was the only source one could look for reliable information. And the duty of carrying Chelva's thoughts and actions into words fell on the editor of Sutantiran. In this respect, Kovai Mahesan rendered his duties with courage and conviction, while facing ridicule from fellow journalists, critics and politicians. On numerous occasions, he even had to face harassment by the law enforcement authorities.

One can identify three classes of Tamils journalists in Sri Lanka. The first class was spineless, avoided any talk about the rights of Tamils and they mostly served as subservient reporters, commentators and editors of the Sinhala managed publishing interests. The second class, did ac-

*continued on page 11*

made homeless by the on going conflict in Sri Lanka. I have expressed my deep concern about the situation in Sri Lanka on many previous occasions and I welcome this opportunity to repeat my sincere hope that a solution will be found soon. The Australian Government will continue to reinforce its concerns with the Sri Lankan Government about the continuing conflict, and to reaffirm our preparedness to assist at a peaceful end to the civil war."

The President of the Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria, Mr. Indran Handy in welcoming the audience at the International Night said: "The International Night organised by the Ceylon Tamil Association each year to help raise money for Tamil refugees in Tamil Eelam has become a high light in our Association's social calendar. The Sri Lankan Government in its pursuit of a military solution spares no thought for civilians in the areas of conflict. A concerted effort to recapture territory lost to the LTTE has been underway for the past few weeks resulting in further loss of lives, homes and places of worship - and more refugees."

## Gnanasambandar Illam in Urumpirai

"Illam" is "Home" in Tamil and Gnanasambandar is the child saint of the Tamil tradition who sang hymns in praise of God at the very tender age of three. Gnanasambandar, in our context connotes the divine in every child and its inexplorable potentials says a press release issued by Gnanasambandar Illam in Urumpirai.

The "Illam" - what it is...

Gnanasambandar Illam is a home established for looking after needy children coming from families hit severely by the ethnic violence. It was started as a home for small children who have lost both or one of their parents and are in need of the minimum human care for a child. Though long contemplated, the project was started to face one of the aftermaths of the October 1987 military operations in the North. TRRO launched this on 21st January 1989 with the initial grant of Norad (RS 522.400/-).

How it is run

For reasons of more immediate supervision and specialised care, the administration was handed over in February 1989 to an autonomous body guided by an expert Advisory Committee. The Home has now 35 children, 18 girls and 17 boys coming from all parts of North Sri Lanka. The children are provided with all their basic requirements, and all efforts are taken to ensure them the love and concern they need. They are sent to schools nearby. A Matron is in charge of the day to day running of the home, with an assistant Matron (Supervisor of Studies) and a Care-taker cum Watcher with a Cook

## Sivapriya Ganesalingam Arangetram in Mylapore



Young Sivapriya, daughter of Mr K Ganesalingam and Mrs Yogeswary (nee Aiyadurai) had her Bharata Natya Arangetram on the 17th July at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Madras. It was a beautiful evening in the serene atmosphere of Mylapore. The highlight of the evening was the pleasant and fitting choice of items meant for a sixteen year old child, who executed them with Devotion, Poise and Joy. Sivapriya started briskly with Pushpanjali to Lord Ganapathy, followed by Alarippu. She chose a Sabdam of Lord Muruga - a composition by Semponar Koil Shanmugham. One could see in her lovely expression finesse and maturity.

The Ramayana Varnam - "Rama Nive ...." in Telugu, composed by Tenmadam Narasimhan praises the beauty and valour of Rama. The Poet pleads with Rama to protect him. This varnam is quite different from the usual ones chosen by many a dancer. Sivapriya, young and charming and endowed with expressive eyes, tackled this difficult Varnam with great ease. Her Araimandi and Adavus were neat and her movements graceful.

She danced with joy Ambujam Krishnan's "Adinaiye Kanna...". We could see her devotion in the execution of the Keerthanam "Devi Niye Thunai" by Papanasam Sivan on Madurai Meenakshi. She concluded her performance with a Thillana in Paras. Throughout the performance her movements were neat and in perfect synchronisation with jathis. The Abhinaya was subtle and beautiful.

Mr Ka Po Ratnam, a Tamil Scholar of no mean repute, blessed the child. He recalled the high sense of aesthetics of the Tamils who combined Music and Dance with Tamil language and culture. The dedicated Guru was Sri Surya Narayana Murthy, a seventh generation Performer/Teacher who was trained by Kalakshetra and the Dhananjayans. Vocal support from Ms Geetha Navaneetham was vibrant and clear. The orchestra was a nice blend with Kannan on the mridangam, Padmanabhan on the violin and Unni Krishnan on the flute. (Reviewed by Kalainjan)

## Carnatic Music Recital in London

Sangeetha Vidwan Smt. Priyadarshana Yogarajah will give a Carnatic vocal recital at Wembley High School hall, East lane, wembley on 15 August commencing at 7 p.m. She will be accompanied on the Violin by Smt. Dr. Lakshmi Jayan, on the Mridangam by Mas. Jason Pararajasingham and Mas Jonathan Pararajasingham and on the Gadam by Sri Bangalore Pragash. Smt. Priyadarshana Yogarajah is a leading exponent of Carnatic Music who had her early training in Eelam and further developed her skills in the Tamil Nadu Music College under the guidance of two great masters - sangeetha Kalanidhi B Krishnamurthi and Sangeetha Kalanidhi K V Narayanaswamy.

## Tamil Buddhism Seminar in Madras

The Institute of Asian Studies, Madras and the Uppsala University, Sweden, jointly sponsored an International Seminar on Tamil Buddhism at the Santhana Mahal Auditorium, VGP Golden Beach, Madras from 25 May to 31 May 1992. Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, the Chairman of the Institute of Asian Studies presided at the valedictory function on the 31st May. The cultural programme included a Bharata Natya item on the Manimekalai theme. Dr. Peter Schalk, Head of the Department for the History of Religions, Uppsala University spoke on "The Concept of Tamil Buddhism in present Research."

assisting her. A part time gardener looks after the vegetable garden, which provides the home a portion of its requirements. The home is now in a 11 lachams compound which has a house with two dormitories, a study hall, a kitchen and a dining hall. Norad's contribution has been supplemented by local contributions, the most popular form of assistance is the footing of the daily food bill on the Remembrance (Sradha) days of the dear

and near ones. The management is keen to maintain the child's links with the home. Thus it encourages the visits of the surviving parents or the guardians. Bankers: COMMERCIAL BANK OF CEYLON, Jaffna Please send in your contributions to: THE TREASURER, GNANASAMBANDHAR ILLAM, MANIPAY ROAD, URUMPIRAI, SRI LANKA No contributions in the name of any individual.

# People & Events

## MARRIAGES

**Mohan**, son of Mr & Mrs Yogendran of South Croydon, and **Bina**, daughter of Mr & Mrs Thambiah of North London, were married on 30th July 1992. The reception took place at Christison Hall, Dulwich College, SE21 on 1st August 1992.

**Mohan**, son of Mr & Mrs D C Jeyarajah and **Jennifer Marks** were married at Penzance, Cornwall on 1st August 1992.

**Nadeswaran**, son of Mr & Mrs V Ratnam of Edgware Middlesex, and **Bavani**, daughter of Dr & Dr (Mrs) K Maheswaran of Christ Church, Barbados, were married on 23rd August 1992 at Sri Venkateswaraswamy Temple Hall, 1600 Las Virgenes Canyon Road, Calabasas, California.

## LONDON LAW SOCIETY RESULTS

In our June issue we published the names of 10 Tamils who had qualified as Solicitors in the Winter examination. We regret the omission of the name of **Mr. A. Gnanathasan**. We are grateful to a reader for pointing out this lapse.

## V.T.Saravanapavan writes from Alberta, Canada

"Reference my letter about Tamil radio programs in the Tamil Nation of 15 March - now the BBC Tamil programs can be heard from 15.45 to 16.15 GMT (UTC) daily and listeners should also try on frequencies 6065, 9605 & 15360 Khz (49.46, 31.23 & 19.53) respectively.

**Boston Tamil Youth Association invites you to a Kalai Vizha on Saturday, 22 August at 5 p.m. at Cohen hall, Tufts University, Medford, MA. Tickets at the Gate or Call 617 628 2490 or 617 324 5492**

## Deaths

Death Notices and Obituaries in the Tamil Nation are published free of charge as a service to the Tamil diaspora - dispersed as they are across many lands and distant seas. Notices and Obituaries for publication may be sent direct to the Tamil Nation in UK at P.O. Box 417, Cambridge CB3 9LZ, Fax (0223) 355431; in Australasia at P.O. Box 623, Mulgrave North, Victoria 3170, Australia, Fax (03) 560 7739; and in USA at 23 Tamidan Road, Poughkeepsie NY 1261, Fax (914) 485 5865

**J G ARASARATNAM** born 18.10.11 died 20.06.92 Husband of Yogarane nee Mills and father of Yogendran (Maidstone) and Shantini (Colombo), brother of Rajasingham, late Selvaratnam, Ariaratnam and Mrs J H R Hubert.

Educated at Jaffna Central College, he underwent teacher training at Maharagama and obtained London BA degree, as an external candidate. He also spent one year at Princeton University, USA to do a post-graduate course in Religious Education.

He taught at Jaffna Central and Royal Primary before becoming Principal of Nallur Teacher Training College where he served for over 20 years. He had a wide range of interests and considerable organising ability which were evident in the many positions of responsibility he occupied in the life of Jaffna, as President of the YMCA, District Commissioner of Scouts, Manager

## APPOINTMENT

Dr J Jayamohan, who was until recently Senior Registrar in Glasgow, assumed duties as Consultant Radiotherapist in Auckland, New Zealand from 1st July 1992.

## Walsingham Pilgrimage

The fourth annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham was attended by over 1,400 Tamils of North & East of Sri Lanka. Many devotees came from Paris, Germany, Norway and from all parts of the United Kingdom. Just as thousands flocked to the sylvan shrine of Our Lady of Madhu in Sri Lanka, each year sees larger crowds.

The services begin with a procession from the junction leading to the Slipper Chapel and main church. Holy Mass was celebrated by Frs. Rajan and Kirupanandan. The sermon was delivered by Fr. Kirupanandan - an exhilarating exhortation to use our time and resources to serve God and relieve the sufferings of our people back home, who lead a life, facing so many difficulties and trials.

The choral singing was of a high quality. Three little girls dressed in traditional skirts offered camphor, incense and flowers, while 8 people chosen to represent the 8 districts of the North and the East took offerings depicting the nature and the requirements of the regions.

After Holy Mass, the congregation had an al fresco dinner in the grounds of the Church. The officiating guests read the letter sent by Bishop Harold Tripp, in it he said that at the repeated requests if the Catholic Association of Tamils, an independent Tamil Chaplaincy had been granted. The Director welcomed the ever increasing crowds and said that this glad news must be celebrated with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. The 1993 pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham is on 18th of July. (R.E.)

of Jaffna Central and Vembadi, President of the Jaffna Schools Cricket Umpires Association, Director of Navajeevanam - Killinochchi, Conductor of Choirs and Director-Producer of Plays and a Vice President of the Methodist Church of Sri Lanka.. 551/1 Moor Road, Colombo 6

**Leslie SARAVANAMUTTU** (formerly of Browns Group) husband of Winnie, father of Shereen Jesudason and Tania Rasiyah, brother of Leela Chelvarajan and Wimala Paul. Funeral Kanatte 5th July. 35/1 Gregory's Road, Colombo 7

**Veluppillai BALASUBRAMANAIAM** (President, All Ceylon Hindu Congress: Chairman Cobamil Ltd, Shanti Vihar, Robert Hall & Co., Consolidated Bearings & Supply, Hotel Empress & Eldorado Plants) son of late Dr & Mrs Veluppillai of Nelliaddy, husband of Shanthi, father of Uganthan and Karthigan, brother of Mr K C (Mahes)

## C.J.T.Thamotheram retires as Head of West London Tamil School



**Mr. C.J.T. Thamotheram**, Headmaster of the West London Tamil School retired last month. Mr. Thamotheram was also the Founder of the School. (Picture above shows WLTS Governors with the retiring head Mr. C.J.T. Thamotheram on extreme right). The Board of Governors of the West London Tamil School has appointed **Mr. S. Kanagasabai B.Sc.** as its new head. Mr. Kanagasabai has taught in London schools for the past twenty years. Prior to coming to the UK in 1967, Mr. Kanagasabai was a teacher at Skanda Varodya College for 11 years under the principalship of his uncle, Mr. C. Subramaniam, popularly known as Orator. Mr. Kanagasabai is not altogether new to WLTS: he taught there for three years, from 1979 to 1982 and his sons, Soruban and Kajendran attended classes. (Picture below shows a section of the large audience at the West London Tamil School Prizegiving on July 18, with the new Head Master, Mr. Kanagasabai on the extreme right.)



**Nadarajah Sivagnanam** and **Pushpam Sabanayagam** expired July 15th. 24 Gregory's Road, Colombo 7

**Rev Wesley Dayalan NILES** (51) son of the late Rev Dr D T Niles and Mrs Dulcie Niles, brother of Dr D Preman Niles (Gen Sec Council for World Mission), husband of Selvarane nee Moorthy, father of Daniel, Thuthiyam and Mithran died July 17th. 26 Yale Road, Pembroke, Mass 02359, USA

**Thambapillai RAMANATHAN**, Distribution Engineer, London Electricity, beloved husband of Nirmala Yogarane, son of the late Thambapillai and son-in-law of Late Yoganathan and Mrs Selvamani Yoganathan, loving brother of Maheswary, late Somasekaram, Dr Raja Muthiah (Australia), Sivapakkiam, Sivakamipillai, Yoganathan (Solicitor-London) brother-in-law of Yogaselvam (Colombo), Haima (USA), Kanagamma (Australia), Suguna (UK), uncle of Gopal and Ponnarasi (Norway) Kannan and Ungi (UK) Nira and Kethees (USA), Muruga and Gowri (Sydney), Rasa and Ku-

mudini (Sydney), Dr Soori and Dr Shanthi (UK), Sooryar (UK) and Jayanthan and Paran (UK) - died under tragic circumstances while at work on 21st July 1992. Cremation took place at the Streatham Cemetery, London on 25th July 1992. 90 Osborne Gardens, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR7 8PA

**Mrs Sornanayagam NAGALINGAM** (83), wife of late A Nagalingam (Malayan Pensioner) of Karukampanai, KKS, EElam, Mother of Mrs M Sethukavalar (Sydney) Dr (Mrs) G Suntharalingam (UK), Mrs T Kugathasan (Melbourne), Mrs G Velautham (Colombo), Dr Sivasubramaniam (Sydney), Dr Poopalasingam (UK), N Ganesamoorthy (Hong Kong), expired on 25th May 1992 in Sydney. 6 Coppice Walk, London

**Murugesapillai JEGATHEESAN** (Alhamadi Hospital, Riyadh), of Tellipallai, husband of Laxmy Kantha (Jaffna College), son in law of Mr. Kandasamy, Retired Post Master of Sangarathai, Vaddukoddai expired on June 16 in Saudi. 29/1A Clifford Road, Colombo 3.

## LOOKING AHEAD

### August

**11 Tuesday**  
Pungudutheevu - Kathirgamam 'Ther' Festival

**15 Saturday**  
7.30 p.m. Reception & Dinner in honour of Mr. & Mrs. K. Pooranampillai at Holiday Inn, Ditton Road, Langley, Slough - Hartley College Past Pupils Association (UK). Contact R. Raveendralingam, Treasurer 081 554 2710, A. Sriharan 081 843 9974

7 p.m. Carnatic Vocal Recital by Sangeetha Vidwan Smt. Priyadharshana Yogarajah at Wembley High School Hall - for bookings: 081 861 4485, 081 205 8214; 081 679 6918

**18 Tuesday**  
Subhas Chandra Bose Remembrance Day

**22 Saturday**  
Dr Ananda Kumarasamy Birthday

**23 Sunday**  
4 p.m. London Tamil Congregation Monthly Service now at Rivercourt Methodist Church, King Street, Hammersmith - Secretary Rajaratnam Rajan - 08975 271421

**24 Monday**  
Ekathesi Viratham

**26 Wednesday**  
Urumpirai Sivakumaran Birthday  
Nallur Kandasamy 'Ther' Festival

**27 Thursday**  
Nallur Kandasamy Theertham Yarl Ariyalai Sithivinayagar Kodi (Flag) Festival

**28 Friday**  
Thondamanar Selva Sannithy Kodi

**30 Sunday**  
N S Krishnan Remembrance Day

**31 Monday**  
Vinnayagar Sathoorthy Viratham

## September

**2 Wednesday**  
Father Thaninayagam Birthday

**6 Sunday**  
R P Sethupillai Birthday

**7 Monday**  
Ekathesi Viratham

**9 Wednesday**  
Dr Ananda Kumarasamy Remembrance Day

**11 Friday**  
Maha Kavi Subramaniya Bharathiar Day

**12 Saturday**  
9.30 a.m. West London Tamil School. Induction of new Headmaster, Mr. S. Kanagasabai BSc at Stanhope School, Mansell Road, Greenford

# TAMIL NATION

## Motilal Nehru says that he plans to defend in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case

Motilal Nehru, who still claims to be the vice president of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, though party leader Kumar Ponnambalam says he has been relieved of that post, said in an interview with Brian Jeganthan reported in the Sunday Times of 12 July that he plans to appear as defence counsel in the coming Gandhi trial. Excerpts from the interview:

**Q:** With the SLFP deciding to side-step the four-point proposal of these seven Tamil parties, do you foresee a solution to the ethnic problem?

**A:** The SLFP has clearly succumbed to the pressure of the Hela Urumaya. The mere existence of the Hela Urumaya itself is a vote of no-confidence in the SLFP leadership. Some leaders in the SLFP are trying to equate Hela Urumaya with the Tamil parties. The existence of the Hela Urumaya cannot be justified for the reason that the political power from 1948 has remained and continue to remain in the hands of Sinhala leaders. Sinhala masses have not got the benefit of political power from their leaders and it cannot be blamed on the Tamil people.

The Tamils have never enjoyed political power in this country. The Tamils are only asking the Sinhala leaders to allow them to look after their affairs in their own territories. ...

I do not foresee a solution from the select committee in view of the stand taken by the SLFP. The SLFP should realise that by adopting a rigid stand it will be only pushing the Tamils to the extreme which is going to end up in the break-up of this country...

**Q:** You wrote an article on the legal aspects of the extradition of Prabhakaran. Would you like to comment on the political aspects of it?

**A:** For the Sri Lankan government, even agreeing to extradite Prabhakaran will be political suicide. The Sri Lankan army is fighting the LTTE. The LTTE is in control of most of the Tamil areas. Even if the government succeeds in defeating the LTTE militarily, it will have to talk to the LTTE to bring about a political solution.

Prabhakaran is a citizen of Sri Lanka. We will have to deal with him politically, otherwise there cannot be peace. When Sri Lanka made a request to India some years ago to

extradite Prabhakaran and Uma Maheshwaran over the Pandy Bazaar incident, India refused to send back these two citizens of Sri Lanka to their own country. How could India ask that a Sri Lankan be tried in a secret trial? If Prabhakaran is captured and handed over to India it will shut the doors on any political settlement for the reason that there will be another Prabhakaran assuming leadership of the LTTE.

**Q:** Have you reached a finality about your decision to appear in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case?

**A:** I am in contact with the relevant authorities in regard to my locus standi in appearing as counsel.

The trial is scheduled to begin in September. Even if I succeed in getting the approval of the Indian court authorities to appear as defence counsel, I need permission from India to enter that country.

**Q:** How do you look at ACTC leader Kumar Ponnambalam's response to your recent birthday tribute to President Premadasa.

**A:** My short article on President Premadasa felicitating him on his birthday which was written on invitation by The Sunday Times cannot evoke in my opinion and response from any person. Therefore, Mr. Ponnambalam's so-called response does not merit a reply. I do not suffer from a verbal diarrhoea. One should not give vent to one's personal disappointments and make the "Tamil question" a scapegoat.

**Q:** Mr. Ponnambalam says that you cannot any longer hold the post of the vice president of the ACTC and cannot speak on behalf of the party. Your response?

**A:** Neither the executive committee which is in Jaffna nor Mr. Ponnambalam has informed me that I have nothing to do with the Tamil Congress. Mr. Ponnambalam has no authority to speak to the press in regard to my position in the Tamil Congress without the executive committee taking a decision in Jaffna.

**Q:** On the one hand you have decided to appear as defence counsel in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination trial and on the other hand you have to maintain links with the other Tamil parties who have entered the mainstream of democracy. How do you reconcile the two?

## Who taught whom a lesson?

*"When the army argued for a negotiated settlement after the fall of Jaffna, the political authorities advised by the intelligence and Ministry of External Affairs officials smarting under the imagined insult the LTTE had meted out to them by escaping from their tutelage, refused to accept this course and wanted the militants to be taught a lesson. Who taught whom a lesson is something that history will judge."*

Manoj Joshi reviewing books by Lt. General S.C. Sardesh Pande and Lt. General Depinder Singh, in Frontline

## Wife, Mother & Mistress

In response to calls that he should resign because he differs with the Cabinet on the merger of the North and East, Minister S. Thondaman says that he has the right to play two roles. Mr. Thondaman is insisting that a permanent merger of the North and East is essential for a political settlement of the ethnic conflict, although officially the UNP opposes a permanent merger of the North and East. This is not in conflict with his being a Minister in the Cabinet since whenever he has been talking of the ethnic issues, it is in his capacity as President of the C.W.C. and not as a Minister of the Cabinet. Just as a woman can be both a wife and a mother, he stressed, I can play two roles and still fulfil both roles adequately.

Meanwhile SLFP Member of Parliament, S. L. Gunasekara, in a statement issued to the Sunday Times says that the two roles being play simultaneously by Mr Thondaman appear to be more akin to a woman playing the roles of wife of one man and the mistress of another at the same time and these two roles appear to be mutually exclusive.

## Sri Lanka against visit by Indian legal team

Sri Lanka has disallowed the visit of the Indian legal team, which was expected in Colombo in mid June to discuss the modalities of the Prabhakaran extradition. Sri Lankan legal sources pointed out that if the Indian legal team comes to Sri Lanka they would consult members of the official Bar. This could be interpreted to mean that the Sri Lankan Govt. was tacitly agreeing to the extradition of Prabhakaran.

**A:** Every accused is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty. That is jurisprudence in Sri Lanka as well as in India. If a request is made for my service as a lawyer it is my duty to appear for the person or persons who make that request unless that request is in conflict with my personal interests. I do not see any conflict of that nature in the request made to me.

I firmly hold the view that every effort should be made to bring the LTTE into the democratic mainstream. That is why I have been consistently advocating whether one likes it or not, we should talk to the LTTE. No solution is possible without the participation of the LTTE in any political settlement. I have no personal interest in taking any credit for myself. I am only interested in restoring peace to the long-suffering Tamil people. Therefore, I see no conflict in appearing as defence counsel in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case vis a vis other Tamil parties. I am a lawyer as well as a politician."

## Parliamentary Select Committee Fiasco

All Tamil parties, including the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC), have rejected the proposals presented by the Parliamentary Select Committee (PSC) to find a solution to the ethnic problem.

When the committee resumed its session on June 29, a spokesman for the seven Tamil parties said they

the Tamil people and the recognition of a Tamil homeland that included the North and East.

The proposals presented by the PSC chairman, Mangala Moonasinghe, had suggested the establishment of separate councils for the North with 98 percent Tamils and the East with

*A Reader's Thought: "The Parliamentary Select Committee today is like a proverbial blind man in a dark room searching for a black cat, which he knows is not there."*

could not accept the plan for setting up two different provincial councils for the Tamil majority in the North and East.

43 percent Tamils, 33 percent Muslims and 21 percent Sinhalese.

FOR NATIONAL CHAMBER

The spokesman said that a permanent merger of the North and East was an essential prerequisite for any solution. This statement was backed by the Tamil parties, including the CWC of Tourism Minister S Thondaman, TELO, EPRLF, PLOTE, ENDL and the ACTC.

REJECTION BY TIGERS

Meanwhile, the dominant Tamil group fighting for a separate state, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), also rejected the PSC proposals as "too little and too late".

Speaking over the Voice of Tigers, the clandestine radio of the LTTE, its spokesman, Yogarathnam Yogi, said that the Tigers would not accept anything short of the right of self-determination for

In addition, a national chamber was proposed to establish harmony and coordination between the Center and the peripheral units.

Earlier, the CWC proposed the setting up of a provincial council for a merged North and East with adequate autonomy. A separate regional council was suggested to ensure sufficient autonomy for Muslim majority areas.

While some Tamil parties and individuals presented proposals to the PSC, the ruling United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of the opposition did not. President Ranasinghe Premadasa said the government would accept the PSC proposals if there was a consensus. (Courtesy: India Abroad)

## 4000 Sri Lanka Soldiers Desert

According to Sri Lankan military sources, over 4,000 Sri Lankan soldiers have deserted the army within the last two years. The military sources explained that they had a lot of suicides and self-inflicted wounds among the deserters because the troops had no respite since they were sent on one operation after another.

## Who is to do?

This is the story of four people named, Every Body, Some Body, Any Body, No Body.

There was an important job to be done and Every Body was sure that Some Body would do it.

Any Body could have done it, but No Body did it.

Some Body got angry about that because it was Every Body's Job.

Every Body thought Any Body could do it, but No Body realised that Every Body wouldn't do it.

It ended up that Every Body blamed Some Body when No Body did what Any Body could have done.

D A M Gunasingham