

# TAMIL NATION



**Quisling PERUMAL says he will RETURN when political solution is AT HAND - REALLY?**

"The former North East Province Chief Minister and EPRLF leader, Mr. Varatharaja Perumal, does not plan to return to Sri Lanka in the immediate future. An EPRLF spokesman explained that he was in touch with Mr. Perumal, now in Gwalior, keeping him posted with the developments in the island. Denying a Gwalior report indicating that the EPRLF leader wanted to return to the island soon, the spokesman said: "His return will be linked to the political process and only when a solution is at hand." (Courtesy: Hindu International, 5 September, V. Jayanth reporting from Colombo)

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## Tamil Nadu Marches



Life size card board cut outs of Velupillai Prabhakaran, the leader of Tamil Eelam, figured prominently in the massive procession which marked the final day of the three day convention on Tamil Rights (Thamilar Valvu Urimai Mahanadu) in Madras organised by the Pattali Makkal Katchi.

The Convention which commenced on September 10 concluded on September 12. The massive procession through the main thoroughfares in Madras raised slogans in support of LTTE leader Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran and hailed him as a great leader of the Tamil Nation.

### Recognise Tamil Eelam

The three day Pattali Makkal Katchi Convention at its concluding session on September 12 morning passed resolutions demanding self determination for the Tamils and recognition of Tamil Eelam by the Government of India.

The resolution on Tamil Eelam declared: "The Sri Lankan Govern-

ment is indulging in genocide of the Tamils by unleashing its armed forces. By forcible resettlement of the Sinhalese in the Tamil areas, the Sri Lanka Government seeks to make the Tamils not only second class citizens but also a minority in every nook and corner of the Island... In the interests a just and durable peace in Sri Lanka, in the interests of our own defence and in the interest of securing human rights and saving Tamils there as well as here, this Conference requests the Government of India to ensure a peaceful emergence of Tamil Eelam consistent with world trends and recognise the same."

### Self Determination for Tamil Nadu

On the demand for the self determination of the people of Tamil Nadu, the Conference Resolution declared: "There has been an accelerating trend nowadays that the Tamils wherever they go, are threatened with their lives. The gruesome happenings in Karnataka against the Tamils, the every day threat to

the Tamil Nadu coastal fisherman by the Sri Lankan Navy, the forcible repatriation of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees from Tamil Nadu, the utter disregard of the lives of the Sri Lankan Tamils, all speak to the sense of insecurity among Tamils, here as well as abroad. Neither the Government of India, nor the State Government in Tamil Nadu nor that in Karnataka have shown any sympathy in this regard. Rights are meant to be enjoyed and experienced, but the rights of the Tamils are only meant to be ignored. It is therefore that the Pattali Makkal Katchi proposes to struggle for the restoration of the political and civil rights of the Tamils, including the right of self determination to be enshrined in a new Constitution... Unity can be ensured only by a willingness of the people to stay together. The Constitution must reflect the political reality." The Resolution urged the Centre to convene a new Constituent Assembly for the specific purpose of incorporating the right to self determina-

tion for all nationalities in the country in the Constitution.

### Address by V.P.Singh

The Conference was addressed amongst others by Mr. V.P. Singh, former Indian Prime Minister, Mr. K. Veeramani, leader of the Dravida Kalagham, Professor Theeran, President of the Pattali Makkal Katchi, Dr. S. Ramadas, founder leader of the PMK, Eelam Tamil activist M. K. Eelaventhan. Tamil Nation learns that Mr. Eelaventhan met with Mr. V.P. Singh and sought his support for the Tamil struggle and the urgent need to secure a Tamil homeland.

Some of the PMK speakers hailed Dhanu, who killed herself with Rajiv Gandhi, as a martyr.

Others said that a time would come when Velupillai Prabhakaran would be received in New Delhi with a 21 gun salute although he was now declared a proclaimed offender by the Special Investigation team probing the assassination case.

### PMK condemned by Congress(I) and BJP

The spontaneous Tamil national consciousness that permeated the Conference proceedings quickly brought cries for counter action by both the Tamil Nadu State Congress (I) and the BJP. The Congress (I) urged the Centre and the State Government to take action against the PMK for its 'anti national' activities. The BJP expressed surprised that Mr. V.P. Singh should associate himself with the PMK convention demanding recognition of Tamil Eelam. Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, President of the Janata party, said the Tamil Nadu government of Ms. Jayalitha failed to take action against the PMK because she had entered into a secret agreement with the LTTE for her personal security.

### Nedumaran, Theeran and Ramadas Arrested

A measure of the resounding success of the PMK convention was the mass arrests, the following week, continued on page 12

**Tamils: A Nation without a State**

# TAMIL NATION

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

Sri Aurobindo

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

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TAMIL NATION

# President Premadasa's dilemma

It was an year ago that a motion to impeach President Premadasa was rejected by the Speaker of Sri Lanka's Parliament Mr. Mohamed. Last month, President Premadasa was let off the hook again - this time by Sri Lanka's Supreme Court.

The Court dismissed a petition by Srimavo Bandaranaike, the opposition leader, challenging President Premadasa's election in the controversial poll of December 1988. The election petition sought to unseat President Premadasa on the ground that there was widespread violence and intimidation of voters.

## Judges under police protection

Unsurprisingly, the judges' ruling was not received with popular enthusiasm. An attempt by the Government to 'celebrate' the judgment did not quite take off the ground when a large supply of fireworks mysteriously disappeared. And the judges themselves have been provided with round the clock protection.

Sources in the international media have described the situation in Colombo as 'tense'. However, to what extent this is self serving remains to be seen. Recently journalists, including foreign correspondents, were assaulted when covering a meeting of the Democratic United National Front, the party of Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake.

A correspondent of Asia Week was questioned by the police because he had in his possession a cartoon poking fun at the President. One of Sri Lanka's top cartoonists, Jiffy Yoonoo, was stabbed and his home and vehicle were wrecked. The inference is being drawn that the attack was because Yoonoo had been drawing cartoons which did not show the President in a good light.

## DUNF being 'promoted'?

A section of the international media have said that DUNF is 'making rapid strides in the country'. Given the infighting within the opposition ranks, whether DUNF is in fact making an impact is another matter. What is perhaps more significant is that sections of the international media are saying so.

At the end of August, ex National Security Minister Athulathmudali was fired on twice while canvassing voters. He and his supporters were then assaulted with iron bars and cricket stumps. Athulathmudali suffered relatively minor injuries but a guard had his skull fractured.

The use of violence by Sinhala political parties in Sri Lanka is of course nothing new. But the systematic increase in its open use is symptomatic of the deep seated ills in Sri Lanka's body politic.

The last year has witnessed the destruction by police of an anti government printing press, a grenade attack on an opposition meeting, death threats against human rights lawyers, confiscation of cameras of press photographers and assaults on opposition local government politicians.

Athulathmudali has proposed an impeachment motion in Parliament accusing President Premadasa of treason, corruption and gross abuse of power. Meanwhile, Gamini Dissanayake has reportedly gone on a visit to the United Kingdom. It is also reported that at a recent DUNF meeting, Lalith Athulathmudali offered to resign and Gamini Dissanayake played the role of 'peacemaker' (and future leader?) and called upon Lalith to stay. Lalith stayed.

## Cautious J.R.!

Ex President J.R. Jayawardene cautiously distanced himself from his erstwhile 'lieutenants'. "I am not connected with any political party, even in an advisory capacity," he said. He dismissed as an 'outright lie' a report that he had advised Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake to resolve their differences. "In fact I haven't even met them. I advised them to avoid visiting me as it could be misunderstood."

But J.R.'s understandable efforts notwithstanding, President Premadasa continued to be under attack from former D.I.G. Premadasa Udugampola whom he sacked. Udugampola made allegations against the President and called for a Commission of Inquiry. The President responded by having a warrant issued for Udugampola's arrest. Udugampola went into hiding but continues to taunt the President through the Colombo newspapers.

## Downward spiral of economy

While all this goes on, the Sri Lanka economy continues its downward spiral. The IMF has broken off negotiations over a \$160m loan to be disbursed this month. The World Bank called off negotiations for a \$100m loan to have been made available last month. The World Bank sponsored Aid Consortium due to meet in Paris in November, has postponed its meeting for May next year.

The Colombo stock market does not know whether it is coming or going: subscriptions to three of the four new issues during the past six weeks did not exceed 18% and the fourth reached 50%. Earlier in the year, new offers were heavily over subscribed.

The death of the top commanders of the Army in the landmine explosion in Kayts has not helped President Premadasa.

The opposition DUNF continues to stir up disaffection by alleging that soldiers are being killed with arms and ammunition supplied years ago in different circumstanc-

es by the Colombo government. And the Sinhala Buddhist supremacists, the Hela Urumaya, continues its vicious anti Tamil campaign.

As President Premadasa increasingly resorts to overt repression to stem the political tide against him, the Sri Lankan army (even without Kobbekaduwa) may begin to play a more decisive and direct role in the Sinhala political arena. That after all is the classical pattern. You first have ballot boxes, then you stuff the ballot boxes, and then you get rid of them altogether, and the army takes over, 'in the name of democracy' and the promise of 'free' elections in a conveniently distant future.

Ofcourse, nowadays the international community tends to be reluctant to support a naked army 'take over' as this tends to polarise a people and creates even greater problems in the medium and long term. The preferred option would be to go the way of Benazir Butto and Cory Aquino with the army, in the background, but with its hands on the levers of real power.

## The Dilemma

But herein, lies President Premadasa's dilemma. He can no longer keep the rising Sinhala opposition at bay by keeping a 'low level conflict' going in the NorthEast. He faces a restless army increasingly concerned with the number of casualties inflicted on it by LTTE ambushes and attacks and a crisis laden economy which cannot continue to sustain a 'low level conflict' endlessly.

But if he relies on the army to try to 'finish off the LTTE', he knows that even if Jaffna is captured, he may end up with a protracted guerrilla resistance, increased dependence on an army made more powerful by whatever successes it achieves, coupled with Goigama Sinhala opposition forces, which have always regarded him as an 'outsider'. He knows that he cannot do a 'JVP' on the entire Sinhala opposition.

## Exactng logic of events

Western aid donors have clearly begun to see the exacting logic of events. They are reluctant to pump in more and more aid to a Government which is compelled to resort to more and more repression to hang onto power. They know well enough that money alone cannot procure stability.

Again, the 'I am your best bet - if not me who else' line has also begun to wear thin. Presumably, the Shah of Iran and President Marcos may also have said something similar from time to time. But there comes a time when hard decisions may have to be taken, if some semblance of control and direction is to be secured.

Western aid donors would clearly prefer a 'just' political solution to the conflict which they may then sweeten with 'development aid' in the coming months and years. And,

then every body can be happy.

## Who then are the parties to the negotiating process?

But a political solution presupposes a negotiating process. Who then are the parties to the negotiating process? On one side of the armed conflict stands the Sri Lanka Government. On the other side stands the Liberation Tigers.

It is the LTTE who today leads the armed resistance of the Tamil people. It is an armed resistance which arose in response to decades of systematic, gross and consistent violations of the human rights of the Tamil people. It is an armed resistance which is just. It is an armed resistance which, by any and every test of international law, is also lawful.

The sporadic violations by the LTTE of the humanitarian law of armed conflict, though not to be condoned, cannot take away from the legitimacy of the armed struggle that it leads. The words of Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils (FACT) are apposite: "the human rights violations by the Sri Lankan government are "gross and systematic" whereas the violations by the combatants are sporadic. Moreover, due to the nature of liberation wars - 'asymmetrical conflicts' - the government controls the state machinery and all that goes with it, including the administration of justice; whereas the other party is significantly worse off in terms of material resources at its command".

The legitimacy of the leadership of the Liberation Tigers springs from the legitimacy of the armed resistance that it leads. It is they who are today, the leaders of the Tamil people - and not the quivering groups who hang around in Colombo for crumbs from their master's table.

And of course, it may well be asked: talk to what end? Here let it be said that any political solution which does not recognise the right of the Tamil people to choose their political status is a non starter. The Tamil national struggle has been fertilised by the blood of a people and by their suffering and for anybody to imagine that a political solution can be somehow worked out except on the basis of recognising the inalienable right of the Tamil people to self determination, is but to dream in never never land about never never land.

The question is whether the dilemma that President Premadasa faces will help to concentrate his vision and persuade him to see

(1) that recognition and legitimisation will pave the way towards negotiation; and

(2) that, in the end, self-determination is not a dirty word.

**Savitri**

# Kittu: here, there and everywhere!



Epporul Yar Yar Vayit Keppin -  
Apporul Mei Porul Kanpathu Arivu

Media speculation about the whereabouts of senior LTTE leader, Sathasivam Krishnakumar serves to focus attention once again on the credibility of recognised news agencies and their news sources, often unnamed.

On September 18 a Reuter report filed by Feizal Samath from Colombo said:

"A Tamil rebel leader reported to have returned from abroad to the war zone in north Sri Lanka could be engaged in a new Western-backed initiative to end nine years of fighting, a Tamil source said on Friday. Some northern residents reported last week that Sathasivam

Krishnakumar, also known as "Kittu," met members of the executive committee of the separatist Tamil Tigers in the Vavuniya district. The source, who did not want to be named, said Kittu and Tiger officials abroad had obtained some assurances of support for the new peace plan from Sweden, Switzerland, Canada, Norway and the United States.

"The new plan envisages the Sri Lankan government and the rebels calling an immediate ceasefire and starting negotiations in an unnamed Western country," he said. Officials from Western countries said to be backing the peace initiative were not available for comment.

An earlier Reuter report dated 14 September was somewhat more graphic: "A top Sri Lankan Tamil rebel has returned to the war zone in the north east after spending several years promoting the separatists' cause abroad, residents in the rebel-controlled Jaffna peninsula said on Monday. Sathasivam Krishnakumar, known as "Kittu," met members of the Tamil Tigers executive committee last week in the Vavuniya district near the town of Mankulam, they said. Residents did not know the exact date of venue of the meeting nor what was discussed but they said there was a lot of security activity not normally associated with the rebels. "There were many vehicles and cadres moving around. There was also a lot of security in Mankulam town. The meetings were apparently held under utmost secrecy," a Vavuniya resident said by telephone, quoting returning residents. The independent Island newspaper said on Monday that Kittu was in Vavuniya to drum up support for the Tigers there. Intelligence officials believe that Kittu's re-emergence in Sri Lanka's war zone after his exile overseas may be part of an attempt by the LTTE to shore up popular support for the guerrilla campaign," the paper said.

Tamil Nation readers will recall that in April this year, S. Venkat Narayan filed a report in the Indian media, which was not carried by us, but which was dutifully picked up by the Tamil Times in its April issue. Readers were treated to a gripping, blow by blow description of how Kittu had 'slipped into Jaffna via Nepal and India'. The Report said:

"Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias 'Kittu' a senior leader of the Sri Lankan Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), passed through India incognito on his way to Jaffna last week, an Indian newspaper said today. Kittu, who has lived in Madras, London and Geneva for several years, apparently returned to Jaffna to attend a top level LTTE conclave in the jungles of the Northern Peninsula early next month. The conclave is due to be attended by LTTE Supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran, Kittu, Thilagar and Gopalasamy Mahendraraja alias Mahathiya.

The four men are going into a huddle at a secret rendezvous in the jungles during May 3-5 to decide what to do to cope with a ban India proposes to impose on

# What is the Delhi Tribunal upto?

In a statement submitted to the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal in New Delhi on September 28, the International Secretariat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam told the Tribunal that the decision of the Tribunal to proceed further in the 'ban' inquiry without notice to the International Secretariat, offended against the fundamental principles of natural justice and would render the Tribunal's proceedings null and void.

The statement said that the Secretariat learns from the press that the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal had fixed inquiry in relation to the 'ban' for the 29th of September; but that, the Secretariat had not received any communication whatever from the Tribunal concerning the date of the proposed inquiry; or concerning the Tribunal's ruling, if any, on the Statement dated 6th August 1992 submitted by the Secretariat to the Tribunal; or concerning the nature of the inquiry that the Tribunal proposed to hold on the 29th of September; or concerning the material on which the Indian Government proposed to rely in support of the ban that it seeks to impose.

The International Secretariat said that by a signed notice dated 1 July 1992 addressed inter alia to the International Secretariat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in London, the Registrar of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal had declared:

"Whereas the Central Government in exercise of the powers conferred by Sub Section (1) of Section 3 of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 (hereinafter referred to as the Act) has declared the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (hereinafter referred to as the LTTE) including its members, activists, armed groups, sympathisers working on Indian soil, to be an unlawful association vide notification No.S.O.330 (E) dated New Delhi the 14th May 1992 published in the Extraordinary Gazette of India Part II - Section 3 - Sub-section (ii) dated 14th May 1992.

"And whereas the said Notification has been referred to the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice P.N.Nag, Judge, Delhi High Court, for the purpose of adjudicating whether or not there is sufficient cause for declaring the said LTTE to be an unlawful association as required by Sub Section (1) of Section 4 of the Act

"Now therefore, notice is hereby given under Sub Section (2) of Section 4 of the Act and you are called upon to show cause in writing within 30 days from the date of service of this notice why the Association should not be declared unlawful and why order should not be made

continued on page 5

## HOT SPRINGS, THE TAMIL EELAM WEEKLY COMMENTS ON THE BURIAL OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SELECT COMMITTEE:

### "restoration and reconstitution of Tamil Eelam is the best guarantee for the peaceful co-existence of the Sinhala and Tamil peoples"

We are glad that at least one Sinhala Member of Parliament - and that too a State Minister - has been bold enough to state a stark fact. We refer to the reported speech in parliament by State Minister for Information, Mr A G Ranasinghe. He told parliament in the course of his speech that the Parliamentary Select Committee appointed allegedly to find ways and means of working out a scheme for political settlement of the island's Sinhala-Tamil problem would never find any solution to the problem.

We ourselves have no qualms on that. We have more than once stated in these columns that the appointment of that committee was intended to see that no solution ever came and was intended to cheat all, especially international opinion.

Parliament had been one of the chief instruments of oppression of the Tamil people. The Sinhala parties have been competing with one another to capture power in parliament by whipping up Sinhala chauvinism against the Tamils to harvest votes at elections. It would be an endless story if one were to illustrate this stance of the Sinhala parties with examples. Suffice to say that many Sinhala politicians and even others have accepted this state of affairs at various stages.

### "Instead of buying arms from Czechoslovakia one may well emulate the recent political settlement there"

It would therefore be nothing but sheer madness to believe that the Parliamentary Select Committee would produce any result and Tamils certainly are not suffering from this malady. We, therefore, congratulate Mr A G Ranasinghe for his bold assertion of a stark fact.

Mr Ranasinghe also seems to have told parliament that in his view federalism is the solution. Federalism as a form of Government for the whole Island was put forward first by the Kandyans. Later even the late Mr S W R D Bandaranayake once advocated federalism. But when Mr Chelvanayakam advocated federalism it was said to be Tamil communalism.

Finally Mr Chelvanayakam came to the conclusion that the only solution was restoration and reconstitution of Tamil Eelam. Though Mr Ranasinghe has made bold enough to challenge JR's constitution and his Sixth Amendment and all, he seems to have failed to realise that federalism as a form Government to solve problems of nationalities has proved a failure and this lesson of history is so contemporary that he cannot overlook it. Instead of buying arms from Czechoslovakia one may well emulate the recent political settlement there. We would wish to reiterate that the restoration and reconstitution of Tamil Eelam is the best guarantee for peaceful co-existence of the Sinhala and Tamil peoples without interference from others.

## Democracy - in Continuing Sri Lankan Style

On 29th August, a prominent member of DUNF and the former Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali and his supporters and bodyguards were attacked by armed thugs at Palliyagedera in the Deliwela

police area while they were distributing leaflets on last year's move to impeach President Premadasa. Three of the wounded bodyguards, one with critical head injury, were removed to Kalubowila hospital. The Thugs fired several shots to scare away people who rushed to the scene.

In the meanwhile, Article 19, The International Centre Against Censorship has deplored the recent attacks on journalists and called on the Sri Lankan Government to investigate the incidents and bring the culprits to justice. In a letter sent to President Premadasa on 19th August, the day after cartoonist Jiffy Yoonoo was stabbed, Article 19, which campaigns against restrictions against media coverage has called on the Government to take positive steps to ensure journalists and other media personnel working in Sri Lanka could work safely and freely, to practise their professional work without fear of harassment, threats and personal injury.

If both Reuters Report and the Indian Media Report are true, Kittu must be 'here, there and everywhere'!

### Irapamadu Army Camp Attacked

On 4th August, the Tigers attacked a group of Sri Lankan soldiers from the Irapamadu Army Camp near Vavuniya town, when the soldiers came out of the camp to remove road blocks. The attack lasted for 45 minutes and 14 Sri Lankan soldiers were killed. The Tigers captured a South African made Buffet armoured vehicle, remove the weaponry from the vehicle and then destroyed the vehicle completely. They also recovered many other weapons. Following the attack there was heavy shelling from the army camp at Mamadu directed towards the area where the battle took place.

It is now learnt that the Irapamadu Army Camp has been closed down and the troops encamped there have been moved to the nearby camp at Kachchaikodi.

### Nanattan Army Camp attack

On 5th August, the Tigers confronted a group of 10 Sri Lankan soldiers who had come out of the Nanattan Army Camp to remove barricades at a distance of about 200 yards from the camp. The Tigers carried out a lightning attack on them which lasted for about 5 minutes. Four Sri Lankan soldiers were killed and the rest escaped with injuries.

## FROM THE WAR FRONT

### Indiscriminate shelling by Sri Lanka

On 6th August, the Sri Lankan Army at the Palaly Army Camp launched an indiscriminate shell attack directed towards the village of Erlalai. One shell landed near the Saiva Sanmarka Vidyasalai, killing T. Sharvili, a ten-year-old female child. Seven other students and Vallipillai, a 73-year-old woman were injured.

On 15th August, a bus at the Jaffna bus stand was damaged by a shell fired from Mandaitivu by the Sri Lankan Army. Officials from the Red Cross and ICRC visited the bus station and inspected the damage. Fort-unately none of the passengers in the bus at that time suffered any serious injury.

### Navatkuli Bombed

On 10th August, two Sri Lankan supersonic planes dropped eight bombs at Nava-tkuli. Sinnathurai Eeswary, a young pregnant woman was killed on the spot. Her husband and three children have been admitted to the Jaffna hospital with serious injuries. Two other villagers were also injured. A number of houses have been badly damaged and many trees have been uprooted as a result of the bombing.

### Land mine takes two

On 17th August, while attempting to defuse Claymore mines laid by the LTTE, two Sri Lankan soldiers were killed at Thertathivu in Batticaloa district.

### Mullaitivu & Trinco

On 24th August the Tigers confronted a Sri Lankan Army search party at Allampil in the Mullaitivu district killing four Sri Lankan soldiers.

On the same day, the Tigers ambushed a column of Sri Lankan soldiers who were returning from a routine patrol between Monkey Bridge and Paalampoddaru in Trincomalee district. They killed six Sri Lankan soldiers.

# Goggles

## Eelam in the year 2000

Poet Kannadasan was a master in summarising the essence of universal folk wisdom into four lines. In one memorable movie lyric, he wrote,

*"Aduththavan vaazhvinai keduthavan oru naal  
paduththa pin ezha maaddaan  
Avanathu kannakkai eintho-  
haipoodu  
Aandavan vida maaddaan"*

In not-so elegant translation, these lines state,

"He who spoils the life of others would one day fail to awake from sleep:  
His misdeeds me-  
asured and life  
clipped by the Al-  
mighty's sweep"

The fate of the ten top Sri Lankan army brass who could not survive the landmine blast last August vindicate the truth in this folk wisdom. In the very next lines of the same lyric, Kannadasan paraphrased Abraham Lincoln's much quoted maxim, "You can fool all the people some of the time; and some people for all the time; but you cannot fool all the people all of the time".

The Tamil poet-laureate wrote,

*"Palarukku sila kaalam; ethuvum  
silarukku pala kaalam;  
evarukkum oru kaalam; unmai  
velivarum ethirkaalam"*

Despite the validity of these universal maxims, quite a number of journalists (both Sinhalese and Tamils) still keep on dispensing half-truths and untruths to satisfy the egos of their patrons.

For instance, one of the well versed journalists in Sri Lanka, Mervyn de Silva commented recently on the eulogy to the ten prominent Sinhalese casualties of August,

*"This (the current war between the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE) was not a Sinhala-Tamil war. It was a war against a group of guerrillas, one of the most ferocious in the world, who had launched a war to establish a separate state because that was the only way to remedy many, long-standing grievances against the Sri Lankan state in their view." (Lanka Guardian, Aug. 15).*

In this sugar-coated racist view, whose original proponent was none other than J. R. Jayewardene, the Tamil struggle for equality has been completely twisted into a "war with ferocious guerrillas". And the editorialist of the Tamil Times questioned,

*"Can the Tigers legitimately claim that they have achieved by engaging in this war more power or ter-*

*ritory than they possessed before June 1990 when they were negotiating with the government?" (Tamil Times, Aug. 1992)*

Well, as poet Kannadasan has aptly written, "evarukkum oru kaalam; unmai velivarum ethir kaalam", the answer to these doubting Toms has been provided by a panel consisting of six of the North America's most noted political geographers. According to the Los Angeles Times World Report I (Aug. 29, 1992), these geographers predict that the maps

### "Evarukkum oru kaalam; unmai velivarum ethir kaalam"

of the world in the year 2000 and beyond will have a separate Tamil homeland Eelam.

Will anyone (other than the doubting Toms) doubt that this pragmatic prediction is mainly the result of LTTE's ardent campaign for the past 9 years for a separate state for Tamils?

And those who have issued this prediction are not partisans or sympathizers of the LTTE. They are,

1. William B. Wood, chief geographer, U.S. State Department
2. Lee Schwartz, geographer, U.S. State Department
3. David B. Knight, chairman of International Geographical Union (IGU) Commission on the World Political Map
4. H. J. de Blij, professor, Foreign

### "Kalagaththil pirappathu than neethi - manam kalangaathe mathi mayangaathe"

Service Institute, Georgetown University

5. George Demko, director of Rockefeller Center, Dartmouth College

6. Stanley D. Brunn, member of IGU Commission on the World Political Map and professor, University of Kentucky.

This prediction on the origin of Eelam in the global map of year 2000 cannot be sweet to the palate of Sinhalese power-brokers.

But, why should Tamils care about this? The Sinhalese power-brokers had their chance, but they blew it by their arrogance and stupidity. Also, the Eelam warriors should not relax now, because of the endorsement given by the elite geographers of America.

We need to concentrate our efforts to complete the mission. And no one other than Kannadasan had told it to us better. In a song composed for one of the MGR's movies, Panathottam, the poet-laureate ad-

vised as follows:

*"Ennathaan nadakkum nadakkadume  
Iruttil neethi maraiyadume  
Thannaale velivarum thanyangaathe - oru  
Thalaivan irukkiraan mayangaathe"*

The song states forcefully that whatever may happen and even when justice seems hidden in darkness, somehow it will come to light and gain recognition. The recognition given to Eelam by the geographers of international repute seems to prove the poet's lines. Kannadasan continued,

*"Pinnale  
therivathu adich-  
chuvadu"*

*Munnale iruppathu avan vedu  
naduvinile nee villaiaadu  
Nallathai ninaitha pooraadu"  
"Ulagaththil thirudarkal sari  
paathi  
Oomaikal kurudarkal athil paathi  
Kalagaththil pirappathu than  
neethi - manam  
kalangaathe mathi mayangaathe".*

Though this movie lyric was written by Kannadasan more than 30 years ago, one can still marvel at the meaning of these verses and its relevance to the current scene in Eelam.

The poet-laureate observes that the past is imprinted with memorable footsteps and one needs to target the future and fight for the good cause. He also cautions that the world is filled with "thieves" and among them, "dumb and blind folks" comprise half the population. The figurative reference to the "dumb

and blind folks" is very poetic indeed, when one thinks of the callousness of the majority of international newsmedia to the atrocities in Sri Lanka and Somalia, though similar happenings in Sarajevo have been highlighted frequently.

Kannadasan also projects hope by saying, "Kalagaththil pirappathu than neethi - manam kalangaathe mathi mayangaathe". In this line, the poet paraphrases a popular proverb in Tamil language, "Kalagam piranthaal niyaayam pirakkum" (Uprising will give birth to justice). The last phrase "manam kalangaathe - mathi mayangaathe" (Do not despair and don't be deceived) is also full of meaning, which need to be taken note of seriously by all the well wishers of Eelam.

### Tamils in History

"From one place in India, and from one King, Pandiyar, there came to Augustus Caesar, ambassadors carrying gifts." Strabo of Greece, circa 10 B.C.-10 A.D.

by C. P. Goliard

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

### Goliard's Graffiti - Mahatma Gandhi's Crime in 1920 & Sivanayagam

Seventy years ago (March 1922, to be precise) Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and put on trial before C. N. Broomsfield, the District and Sessions Judge. The charge sheet against Gandhi was (according to Sir J. T. Strangman, the Advocate General who prosecuted the case) "that of bringing or attempting to bring, into hatred or contempt or exciting, or attempting to excite, disaffection toward His Majesty's government, est-ablished by law in British India, and that Gandhi was guilty of these things because of three articles he had written and published in his weekly magazine, Young India, though indeed it could be proved, if need be, that the accused had begun preaching disaffection long before the publication of the said three articles" (vide, William Shirer's Gandhi: A Memoir).

To this charge sheet Gandhi's classic response was, "I would like to state that I entirely endorse the learned Advocate-General's remarks in connection with my humble self. I think he was entirely fair to me in all the statements he has made, because it is very true, and I have no desire to conceal from this court the fact, that to preach disaffection toward the existing system of government has become almost a passion with me...".

He then challenged his accusers to give him "the highest, penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what, appear to me to be the highest duty of a citizen". Gandhi's defiance was impeccable. He never gave a quarter to his adversaries and always made sure to keep his opponents wrong-footed. The harassment of S. Sivanayagam, the founding editor of Tamil Nation by the current rulers of India on flimsiest grounds illustrates that nothing has changed in the land of Mahatma Gandhi for the past 70 years.

## Liberation Tigers release Sinhala fishermen to ICRC

Three Sinhalese fishermen who were taken into custody by the LTTE in January in the sea near Thalady in Vadamachy East were released on 5th of August and handed over to the ICRC officials.

Mr Maravan of the Sea Tigers, speaking on the occasion said that the LTTE was only engaged in the fight to restore Tamil Eelam and is not hostile to the Sinhalese people. The prisoners were released on humanitarian grounds on the orders of the LTTE leader Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran.

Speaking on behalf of the released, Mr. Rupasinghe said that the LTTE treated them with respect and decorum during their detention and that he was sorry to see the destruction caused to Jaffna which is not known to the Sinhalese people.

## S.Thiagarajah writes from Tamil Eelam about The goings on in Colombo

### POOJA AT KATHIRESAN TEMPLE

Some Tamils in Colombo went to the Kathiresan Temple, Bambalapitiya during the recent Adi Vel Festival and offered Pooja to Lord Murugan to bestow unto President Premadasa strength so that could bring peace to the country. This is news from Colombo.

How could Mr Premadasa bring peace to the country, when he has cut the soil under the feet of the Tamils by declaring that the UNP was against the North East merger, the main plank on which any solution to the ethnic problem rested? It seems that it is not all the Tamils in Colombo who are offering pooja to Lord Muruga for this purpose but only those who stay close to Kathiresan Temple who have high hopes for their own future not at the feet of Lord Muruga but at the feet of Mr Premadasa.

### HELA URUMAYA

It was said in those days that it was the Britishers who were famous for their policy of 'divide and rule'. But now, the Hela Urumaya group is also playing the same game. Recently Mr Tilak Karunaratne, Member of Parliament and Secretary of the Hela Urumaya has taken upon himself the burden of fighting for the rights of the Muslims of Sri Lanka.

Referring to the four point formula placed by the Colombo Tamil groups, the Hela Urumaya has released a report. The report condemns these Tamil groups as outrageously chauvinistic! It has also criticised the Muslim Council and states that they are being taken for a ride and that they have been beguiled into accepting a Muslim Council which would be subordinate by the Tamil-dominated Provincial Council. It seems that the Hela Urumaya has become the Muslim Araksaha Sabha.

### CHAUVINISM

Speaking of chauvinism, the Sinhala mass media is giving an open exhibition in a big way. Recently, there was a cartoon in "The Island" depicting Thondaman riding an elephant with a 'rod' controlling it. The insinuation is that the 'rod' controls which controls the UNP elephant is 6 lakhs of voters of Tamils of Indian origin in the plantations

### MEDIA TWIST

There is another interesting story and picture published by "The Island" (Sunday Edition) of 12.7.92.

In its anxiety to boost the morale of the armed forces and to satisfy the war mongers among the Sinhalese, a photograph was published in the front page of "The Island" and its caption read as follows:—"A wounded Tiger in the offensive being waded by the Security Forces in the Jaffna Peninsula being carried away by his colleagues".

The photograph actually shows a badly wounded soldier being carried away on a make-shift stretcher by two of his comrades! This photograph was taken by Mr Greg English for Asia Week. This same source had supplied the photograph to the Sunday Times too. Sunday Times also published the same photograph in its front page on 13.7.92 and had its caption "Troops in operation Balavegaya carrying a wounded soldier on a make-shift stretcher."

Can you beat this? Is it not mis-reporting or twisting of facts? It is nothing but a deliberate lie. A look at the photograph will reveal on which side of the fence the injured party is.

### VANNANKULAM DEBACLE

In this context, it is interesting to note how the news of the successful wholesale annihilation of the Vannankulam Army Camp (Vannankulam has been renamed by the chauvinistic Sri Lankan Government as Katupotha) was reported in Colombo. The Island of 13/7/92 reported that about 400 strong Tiger detachment, called Unit 19, had attacked this Camp. It was also reported that a large number comprised Tigresses who played a lead role in the attack.

The number of the attackers was bloated to belittle the attack without realising that the Tigers had taken the fight into enemy territory itself by passing several army checkpoints and sentries. The same incident was reported in the Daily News of 13.7.92.

Here too, in order to assuage and hoodwink the Sinhalese masses, the report said that the Security Forces had given a fight and even killed the Tigers who had been engaged in the assault on this Camp. It said "Heavy casualties were reported as Sri Lanka Air Force Sia Marchetti bombers and helicopters located and attacked late Saturday evening a group of 100 terrorists who had raided the Security Forces out post at Katupotha on the border of Vavuniya

## Refugee Report

### CUT IN REFUGEE RATIONS

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees is perturbed by the reported lack of funds that has led to the Ministry for Rehabilitation cutting by 50%, dry rations provided to the Tamil refugees returning from India.

According to Peter Nicholas of the UNHCR, the cuts would affect the repatriation process which was launched on the assurance of the Sri Lankan Government's support to the refugees. He said that the UNHCR would have appreciated if the Government had informed it in advance about the reduction of dry rations to the refugees, thus giving it time to adapt to the new situation. He pointed out that Trincomalee being one of the repatriation points had hardly any more receptive capacity and was beset with many problems. He claimed that the overcrowded Trincomalee refugee camps were in an appalling condition.

### RETURNING REFUGEE DETAINED IN MAGAZINE PRISON

On 21st of August 1990, Gnanapragasam Joseph Anand fled to Tamil Nadu from Mannar as a refugee, because of the atrocities of the Sri Lankan Army. Under the Indian-UNHCR repatriation scheme he returned voluntarily to Sri Lanka on 6th March 1992 and was taken to the refugee camp at Pesalai. On 13th of April 1992, army personnel from the Thalady Army Camp arrested him from the Pesalai refugee camp. He has been detained in the Magazine Prison under emergency regulations without any charges. A habeas corpus application for his release has been filed on behalf of his wife Rosary Joseph by his lawyer Mr. Appathurai Vinayagamorthy.

### GREAT BRITAIN'S GIFT

The British Government has given a sum of £500,000 to the UNHCR to assist in the resettlement of Tamil refugees returning from India.

### DANISH GOVERNMENT TO REPATRIATE TAMILS

Despite protests by various Tamil organisations, the Danish Government intends to repatriate thousands of asylum seeking Tamils as quickly as possible.

and Mannar districts. Here the raiding force was reduced to 100 Tigers and the 'Army Camp' had become an 'Out Post'. Only solace is that the 'Daily News' has not changed the sex of the raiders from 'Tigers' to 'Tigresses'.

### UNITARY CONSTITUTION & MOTILAL NEHRU

Even Tamils in Colombo know that in 1977 all those candidates who contested in the North, acknowledged Eelam. Mr Kumar Ponnambalam's All Ceylon Tamil Congress was not an exception. Mr Motilal Nehru was a candidate who contested in 1977 in the North. Ipso facto he too accepted Eelam when he contested in 1977 even though he was not returned to Parliament. But in an interview to Brian Jeganathan published in the Sunday Times of

## Indian authorities continue torture of Sivanayagam

Subramaniam Sivanayagam, the Founding Editor of the Tamil Nation was originally taken into custody on July 18, 1991 on trumped up charges which accused him of editing a 'clandestine' publication. There was nothing 'clandestine' about the Tamil Nation. When he sought bail before the Madras Magistrate before whom he was taken, and whilst the bail application was pending, a detention order under the Indian National Security Act was served on him. He was incarcerated without trial for one year. When the one year detention order expired he was technically 'freed' but soon thereafter, the Indian authorities slapped an order under the Foreigners Act requiring him to reside within the confines of a refugee camp. A Habeas Corpus application has been made on behalf of Mr. Sivanayagam to the Madras High Court challenging the order made under the Foreigners Act. In the meantime, this 62 year old diabetic is confined to his hospital bed, awaiting the hearing of his case for freedom.

## Tigers Hijack Speed Boat

On 27th August the Tigers hijacked a Sri Lankan Navy "Water Jet" speedboat off the coast of Mandaitivu. Sea Tigers had swum up to the boat, cut the cable, pushed it into mid sea and then started the engine. The "Water Jet" is a novel speedboat used by the navies of several western and developed nations. It is about 60 feet long and 17 feet wide, is fitted with a 50 inch anti-aircraft gun and contains sophisticated and modern telecommunication equipment. It had 9,000 rounds of ammunition when seized. The "Water Jet" speedboat, unlike other boats, needs special training to operate it. The Sri Lankan naval authorities are reportedly mystified as to how the Tigers got the boat going, and fear that the LTTE may inflict severe damage to their navy using this boat. Sri Lanka has put its Navy on a 24 hour "Red Alert".

## What is the Delhi Tribunal upto?

continued from page 3

confirming the declaration made in the above mentioned Notification. The written statement may be addressed and sent to the Registrar of the Tribunal at Delhi High Court, Sher Shah Road, New Delhi 110 003. The notices are returnable on 10th August 1992.

"Given under my hand and the seal of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal, High Court of Delhi, Sher Shah Road, New Delhi on this the 1st day of July 1992."

It was in response to this notice served on the International Secretariat in London that the Secretariat showed cause and made its first written response, dated the August 6, to the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal. In that written response, the Secretariat had denied that the Central Government of India had jurisdiction in law to ban the LTTE under Section 3 of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 and that it had submitted that the said ban was null, void and inoperative in law. The Secretariat had also stated that in any event the objective of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to secure the right of self determination of the people of Tamil Eelam, cannot be regarded, in law, as an unlawful activity within the meaning of that expression in the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967; and denied that the objective of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam was to disrupt the sovereignty and/or territorial integrity of India and denied that the LTTE had engaged in any activity whatsoever whether directly or indirectly to support that end.

The Secretariat told the Tribunal that 'having served a notice dated 1st July 1992 under Sub Section (2) of Section (4) of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 on the International Secretariat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam at 54 Tavistock Place, London, calling upon it to show cause against the 'ban' and having received a response dated 6th August 1992 from the International Secretariat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the decision of the Tribunal to proceed to further inquiry without notice to the International Secretariat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is a breach of the 'audi alteram partem' rule and that such breach of a fundamental principle of natural justice renders the contemplated further proceedings before the Tribunal null and void in law.'

The Hindu, a pillar of the Brahmin establishment of Tamil Nadu reported that the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal, presided over Mr. Justice P.N. Nag, a sitting Judge of the New Delhi High Court, ruled on August 25 that the Tribunal was left with no option except to proceed against the LTTE ex parte since there had been no reply to the show cause notice from the respondents within 30 days of issue. Informed sources point out that the notice served on the International Secretariat required a response within 30 days from the 'date of service' of the notice and not from the 'date of issue' and that the written response of the International Secretariat of the LTTE was sent to the Tribunal well within that 30 day period.

Another point may be raised in this context. A President's Counsel cannot appear before a Court in India. Being very well conversant with these facts, Mr Nehru has come out saying that he is going to defend some of the accused in the Rajiv Gandhi murder trial. Is this to practice law and politics at the same time like the Tamil politicians of yester years?

In the August 22-28 issue of the Illustrated Weekly of India, US-based writer Dr Norman Baker, asks

# Who Really

**Says the Illustrated Weekly of India: "The findings of the Special Investigation Team pertaining to Rajiv Gandhi's assassination all point towards the LTTE. But did the SIT set out with the express purpose of framing the extremist organisation? Was the investigation unbiased and free of political pressures and compulsions? Dr Norman Baker, a US-based writer, raises these important questions in this article... the issues he raises compel the article's publication."**

As a student of the history and politics of India, the events following the assassination of the former Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, have been a subject of intense interest to me. This piece provides my views about the conduct of the post-assassination investigation by the Special Investigation Team (SIT).

In my opinion, the investigation by the SIT was flawed from the very beginning. As one looks into statements made by SIT officials, leaks from SIT sources and the general direction which the investigation took, it is rather evident that the SIT had started with the assumption (maybe even the conclusion) that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was responsible for the assassination. Instead of looking for and analysing evidence in order to find who the culprits behind the assassination were, the SIT seems to have been looking for and analysing evidence to prove their assumption that the LTTE was guilty. Even when some pieces of evidence at hand suggested that the LTTE might not have anything to do with the assassination, the SIT tried to force-fit such evidence to support their pre-conceived notion that the LTTE was guilty. Having stated my general observations, let me elaborate on them.

## **Suspects: the LTTE and who else?**

The LTTE was suspected from the very beginning because it had the motive and the means to carry out

the assassination. The LTTE's animosity towards Rajiv Gandhi because of his military intervention against it in the Sri Lankan civil war is well known. The LTTE feared that Rajiv might help the Sri Lankan government again in some form or another if he were to come to power in India again. Thus the LTTE had a motive.

It also had many operatives in Tamil Nadu for many years and its expertise with explosives is well known. The LTTE also had motivated volunteers who would sacrifice their lives gladly if they thought that it was in the interest of their cause - the achievement of a homeland for the Sri Lankan Tamils. Thus, the LTTE had the means to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu.

But, because it had the motive and the means, it does not necessarily follow that it was guilty of the crime. Is there anyone else who had the motive and the means to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi? There may be a few but I will concentrate on just one such suspect - the Sri Lankan government.

## **One suspect - Sri Lankan Government**

The Sri Lankan government under President Premadasa was as anti-Rajiv Gandhi as the LTTE. Premadasa opposed the India-Sri Lanka Peace Accord of 1987 and the induction of Indian troops into Sri Lanka in 1987 from the very beginning. His presidential election campaign included a pledge to get the Indian troops out of Sri Lanka. His first foreign policy initiative as the newly elected president was to request India to withdraw its troops from Sri Lanka. When Rajiv Gandhi procrastinated, Premadasa did the unexpected and the unthinkable - he secretly supplied large quantities of arms to the Sri Lankan government's long-term enemy, the LTTE. Finally, the Indian troops were withdrawn in 1990 and the new Indian prime minister, V P Singh, pursued a hands-off policy on the Sri Lankan civil war.

Premadasa likened Singh's hands-off policy to Gandhi's activist policy. Premadasa feared the latter's return to power. He feared that Rajiv Gandhi might interfere in the Sri Lankan civil war again, possibly in support of the LTTE, as he and his mother Indira Gandhi did until July 1987. Thus, the Sri Lankan government under President Premadasa had a motive to see that Rajiv Gandhi did not come to power again. Did the Sri Lankan government have the means (the ability) to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu?

The Sri Lankan government might not have had the means to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi directly but it had close relationships with some Sri Lankan Tamil guerrilla groups, namely the EPRLF, the PLOTE and the TELO.

At least two of these groups (PLOTE and TELO) were helping the Sri Lankan army in its civil war

**The Sri Lankan government under Premadasa was as anti-Rajiv as the LTTE, and feared his return to power. Thus it had the motive. Did it have the means to assassinate him? It is believed that the government had Tamils in its intelligence service and it did not hesitate to use them on Indian soil. Interestingly, Sivarasan was allegedly its former employee.**

with the LTTE. These groups had operatives in Tamil Nadu for many years and thus had the ability to plan and execute the assassination. These groups also had the necessary expertise with explosives. Moreover, these groups are armed militants without a cause. (They had long given up the cause of creating a homeland for the Sri Lankan Tamils.) The history of mercenary operations tells us that such groups are fertile grounds for mercenaries.

In fact, a few years ago PLOTE was involved in an unsuccessful mercenary operation to overthrow the government of the tiny island nation, Maldives. In addition to these Tamil guerrilla groups, it is believed that the Sri Lankan government also had some Tamils in its intelligence service and the Sri Lankan government did not hesitate to use them on Indian soil when necessary.

During the mid-'80s, the LTTE's political advisor, Balasingham, lived in Madras. A Tamil Sri Lankan intelligence operative names Kandaswamy Naidu - a former Sri Lankan government employee - allegedly tried to blow up Balasingham's Madras residence. A case was filed against him in Tamil Nadu but he escaped to Sri Lanka.

Interestingly, Sivarasan, the mastermind of the Rajiv Gandhi assassination, was allegedly a former Sri Lankan government employee.

An experienced covert operative - whether a Sri Lankan Tamil guerrilla or a Sri Lankan intelligence

operative - could have "persuaded" a suitable young Tamil lady raped by Indian soldiers and thus enraged against Rajiv Gandhi, to act as a suicide-assassin. (The assassin, Dhanu, allegedly told her friend, Nalini, that Indian soldiers had raped her. The fact that Indian soldiers raped some Tamil women has been established beyond any doubt; if Dhanu was a rape victim may never be known for sure.)

Thus the LTTE is not the only organisation with the ability to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu. The Sri Lankan government also had that ability. It also had that ability through its surrogates. Is it not within the realm of possibility that the Sri Lankan government, which dared to provide arms to the LTTE to fight the Indian army in 1989, fearing Indian domination of Sri Lanka, might also dare to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi to prevent him from interfering in Sri Lankan affairs again?

## **Biased investigation**

This writer is not necessarily advocating that the LTTE is innocent and the Sri Lankan government is guilty. This writer is of the opinion that both the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government should have been treated as suspects. There is a prima facie case against both in terms of motive, ability and mode of operation.

However, from the very beginning, the investigation was conducted as if the LTTE was the only suspect and the Sri Lankan government was beyond suspicion.

Within weeks of the assassination, a team of SIT officers visited the Sri Lankan capital, Colombo, and sought the help of the Sri Lankan government, the EPRLF, PLOTE, and TELO in identifying the mastermind of the assassination Sivarasan. (Naturally they said that Sivarasan belonged to their arch-enemy, the LTTE.)

In the meantime, the LTTE volunteered to help the SIT and this help was rebuffed: a clear indication that the SIT was biased against the LTTE vis-a-vis the Sri Lankan government and the other guerrilla groups. This was at a time when there was absolutely no evidence to link the LTTE to the assassination.

Throughout the investigation, while every piece of evidence that could possibly link the LTTE to the assassination was painstakingly pursued, other evidence was not given serious attention. One piece of information was that Sivarasan was a former Sri Lanka government employee. Especially in view of the

Kandaswamy Naidu episode mentioned earlier, the SIT should have investigated any possible connections between Sivarasan and Sri Lankan intelligence agencies. But this was not done. Also, the question remains unanswered: Why did the Sri Lankan government tell the SIT in May-June 1991 that Sivarasan was an LTTE operative but failed to mention his former employment with them?

The Sri Lankan government distributed Sivarasan's photograph to its offices in eastern Sri Lanka. Why wasn't his past government employment revealed? Was it a case of incompetency or cover-up?

While the SIT was quick to examine the LTTE's bank transactions in European banks to uncover any incriminating financial transactions between the LTTE and foreign governments, it made no such attempt to investigate if the Sri Lankan government had any questionable financial dealings with the EPRLF, PLOTE, TELO or other mercenaries.

## **Was there a cover-up?**

If any evidence linking the Sri Lankan government's involvement in the assassination were to become public, there would surely have been

**Though the LTTE was blamed by politicians and the police from the very beginning, the first concrete evidence that the SIT presented linking the LTTE to the assassination was Murugan's confession; Murugan was allegedly a key player in the assassination. Murugan confessed that the LTTE chief, Velupillai Pirabhakaran, ordered the assassination. This confession was made when Murugan was under SIT custody. No lawyer was present during the interrogation. In fact, Murugan was not allowed to see a lawyer after his arrest for months. He did not have the counsel of a lawyer before his interrogation or for months after it (in countries like the US, confessions of prisoners without the counsel of a lawyer are not admissible evidence: the court cannot consider such evidence in determining guilt or innocence).**

an outcry from the Indian public and the opposition parties for military action against Sri Lanka. Failure to take military action would show the ruling party to be a coward and opposition parties could topple the government. Military action, on the other hand, would bring international condemnation. Thus, the revelation of any evidence suggesting the Sri Lankan government's hand in the assassination would put the Indian government in an unenviable position. Did these considerations enter into the investigation? Did the SIT fear looking in the direction of the Sri Lankan gov-

ernment lest some evidence of the Sri Lankan government's involvement be uncovered? How else can one explain the SIT holding the Sri Lankan government beyond suspicion from the very beginning and seeking its help with the investigation while rebuffing the LTTE's help?

**Political pressures and investigative bias**

How did the political climate prevailing in Tamil Nadu at the time of and after the assassination affect the investigation? Did it at least indirectly influence the SIT's single-minded, one-track pursuit of the LTTE at the expense of investigat-

sion that killed him settled, some AIADMK and Congress leaders blamed the LTTE without a single piece of evidence to support their statements. They also held their political rival, the DMK, indirectly responsible for the assassination because of its alleged closeness to the LTTE. The night and day following the assassination, DMK party offices were ransacked and burned. Just before the elections, held less than a month after the assassination, posters calling the DMK the killers of Rajiv Gandhi appeared in Tamil Nadu. Also displayed in some parts of Tamil Nadu were posters of the DMK chief,

Such public statements by important government and political leaders do surely have an impact on the conduct of the assassination investigation. Senior officers of the SIT and the CBI are all career law-enforcement officers of the Indian government. Their assignments and promotions depend on the goodwill of the cabinet ministers and senior leaders of the ruling party. So, these officers have to be in the good graces of the ministers and ruling party politicians to get ahead in their careers. With cabinet ministers and ruling party leaders having stated publicly that the LTTE was guilty,

treated as the official position of the Indian government. If the SIT were to find the LTTE innocent, how embarrassing it would be for the Indian government in front of the nations of the world. Also, if the LTTE were to be found innocent, opposition parties would surely demand the resignation of the government. All these considerations put indirect pressure on the investigators to pursue evidence leading to the LTTE at the expense of other leads. It may explain why the SIT was trying to force-fit even seemingly unsupportive evidence to support the "LTTE is guilty" hypothesis.

Emirates some months before the assassination. The LTTE had representatives in all these countries.

If Sivarasan was planning the assassination on behalf of the LTTE, there was no reason for him to visit these countries to meet foreign government agencies or collect monies or secure explosives; LTTE networks in these countries are better suited to do these back-up tasks. It is highly unlikely that the LTTE would send Sivarasan to foreign countries for this purpose.

Sivarasan's foreign trips would make sense if he were a mercenary.

# KILLED RAJIV GANDHI?

ing other suspects? The LTTE had become a pawn in Tamil Nadu politics years before the assassination. From the mid-'80s onwards, both the DMK and the AIADMK used the LTTE and the Sri Lankan civil war for selfish political purposes. The more recent, and the most blatant use of the LTTE as a whipping boy in pre-assassination days started some time after the 1989 Tamil Nadu assembly elections. In that three-cornered election, the DMK won and the AIADMK and the Congress lost.

Just a few months after the elections, the AIADMK chief, Jayalalitha Jayaram, wanted the DMK state government dismissed by the central government on one pretence or another so that her party could face the DMK again in an election, "this time with the Congress as her electoral ally. The AIADMK and the Congress demanded that the DMK government be dismissed because the LTTE was creating a law and-order problem in Tamil Nadu and the DMK government was not doing anything about it. In reality, no law-and-order problem existed in Tamil Nadu in 1989 or 1990. Most Indian newspapers did point this out. However, under pressure from the AIADMK and the Congress, the central government dismissed the DMK government. The 'LTTE bogeyman' served its purpose for Jayalalitha. Soon elections were called for both the Tamil Nadu state assembly and the Indian parliament.

Since the 'LTTE scare tactic served well in getting the DMK government dismissed, the AIADMK-Congress alliance tried to use it again to defeat the DMK in the elections. The LTTE became

MKarunanidhi, pointing a gun at Rajiv Gandhi. Just days after the assassination, even before the identity or the nationality of the suicide assassin was known, the Tamil Nadu state Congress party chief, V Ramamurthy, claimed that he saw a woman carrying a basket at the meeting site and the bomb was in that basket. He added that the woman was from the LTTE's suicide squad. Everyone now knows that the assassin did not carry a basket but had a garland in her hands. Also, how did Ramamurthy know that the woman he supposedly saw was from the LTTE suicide squad? Was she wearing the LTTE uniform? Surely not.

Ramamurthy was not alone in making such irresponsible statements. The then Indian law minister Subramaniam Swamy, a personal friend of Jayalalitha Jayaram, said in less than 48 hours after the assassination that the LTTE was responsible for the assassination. What was his basis? The Sri Lankan defense minister told him so.

The Sri Lankan army was at war with the LTTE for over a decade, and for the law minister of India to accuse the LTTE publicly on the basis of the Sri Lankan defense minister's say-so was totally irresponsible. The then Indian prime minister Chandra Shekhar also publicly blamed the LTTE but without giving any supporting evidence. The new Indian home minister S B Chavan, under whose jurisdiction the law and order of the

how embarrassing it would be for them if the SIT were to come up with evidence showing the LTTE to be innocent. It would be a pie in their face. This surely would have an impact on the conduct of the investigation. It does not necessarily mean that the SIT officers would do something illegal to please their political bosses. But it is quite possible that SIT officers would concentrate on evidence that suggested

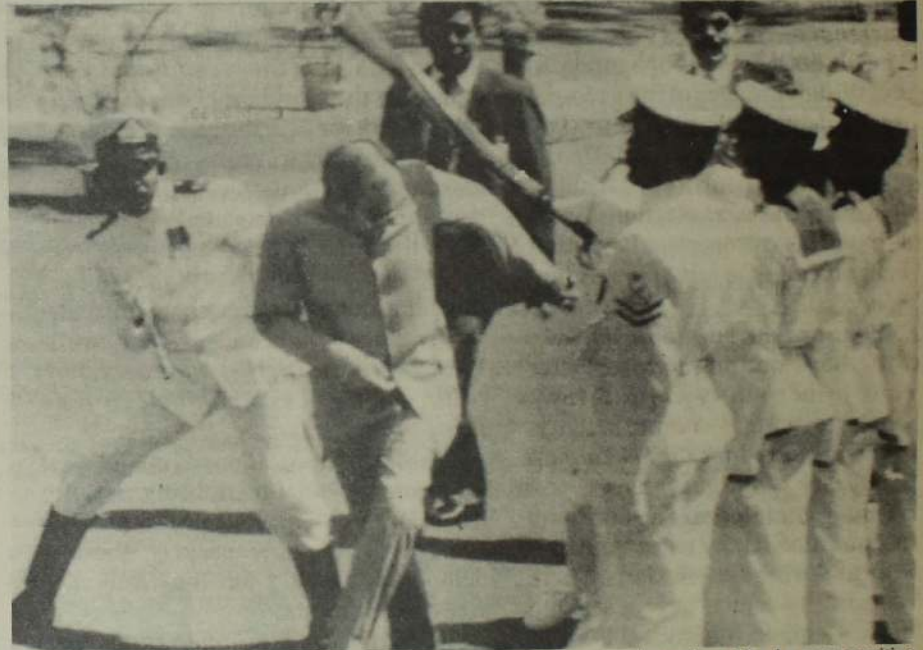
**Was Sivarasan a mercenary?**

The SIT had information that Sivarasan smoked cigarettes and drank alcohol. This does not fit the profile of an LTTE operative. LTTE militants are prohibited from smoking and drinking. This code of conduct is strictly enforced from the very top to the newest recruit. The fact that Sivarasan

But the SIT chose to go around this piece of evidence and tried to force-fit it to its 'LTTE is guilty' hypothesis. What was the SIT's analysis?

It concluded that Sivarasan, while planning the assassination for the LTTE, was at the same time on the payroll of (under contract to) an unidentified foreign government without the knowledge of the LTTE.

Is such a scenario plausible? Highly unlikely. The LTTE is a well-disciplined, tightly-knit organisation and it is highly unlikely that an opera-



an LTTE involvement at the expense of other lines of investigation. The conduct of the investigation, in fact, suggests that it has happened.

Not only the prestige of a few politicians but also the very image

smoked and drank would seriously undermine the theory that Sivarasan was an LTTE operative. However, the SIT simply brushed it aside. Was Sivarasan a former LTTE. EPRLF, PLOTE or TELO operative? Did he become a

tive assigned for the most sensitive and critical operation in the history of the LTTE (namely the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi) would be able to establish contact with a foreign government and travel to many foreign countries for weeks without the

**"The AIADMK-Congress alliance tried to use the 'LTTE scare tactic' to defeat the DMK in the elections. It was in such a political climate that Rajiv was assassinated. Some AIADMK and Congress leaders blamed the LTTE without a single piece of evidence to support their statements"**

a whipping boy in the election campaign. It was portrayed as a group of thugs and the DMK was painted as its ally. Of course, the latter was the real target of the attack, with the LTTE simply being the political pawn. It was in such a political climate that Rajiv was assassinated in Tamil Nadu. Even before the dust from the explo-

nation falls, also publicly blamed the LTTE without providing any evidence. The new Tamil Nadu chief minister, Jayalalitha Jayaram, was another influential politician to blame the LTTE publicly. These accusations were made at a time when no solid evidence linking the LTTE to the assassination had been uncovered.

of the Indian government was put at risk by public statements by the likes of the then law minister Subramaniam Swamy, the then prime minister Chandra Shekhar and the present home minister S B Chavan.

The words of the home minister, who is responsible for law and order, could be and should be

mercenary, using the skills he learned from these groups and the connections he made when he was with these groups?

In fact, there was evidence to suggest that Sivarasan might have been involved in a mercenary operation. According to the SIT, Sivarasan had visited Sweden, Singapore, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab

knowledge of the LTTE. It is more likely that Sivarasan was a mercenary than a mercenary and an LTTE operative at the same time. However, the SIT chose to propound the latter theory. There are a few more pieces of evidence that would suggest that Sivarasan was not working for the LTTE. Instead

*continued on page 8*

of exploring these to see where they lead, the SIT chose to go on the beaten path towards the LTTE, brushing aside unresponsive evidence.

**EPRLF man intially identified as LTTE!**

# biased investigation

Another seemingly unimportant incident is worth noting. On September 2, 1991, the police arrested a one-legged Sri Lankan Tamil male named Rajaram at the Avaniyapuram refugee camp in Tamil Nadu. He had come from Bangalore just a few days earlier.

Immediately, the SIT declared that he belonged to an LTTE suicide squad and he had links with Sivaraman who had committed suicide in Bangalore on August 20, 1991. Later, it became evident that the one-legged man did not belong to the LTTE but to the rival guerrilla group, the EPRLF.

This incident is indicative of the SIT's rush to link everyone and everything even remotely associated with the assassination to the LTTE. Had the man been unable to prove that he belonged to the EPRLF, a guerrilla group which collaborated with the Indian army during its peace-keeping years (1987-1990) in Sri Lanka, his proclamations of innocence would not have been believed. Such was the 'LTTE phobia' under which the SIT conducted the investigation. Where did the SIT get the idea that this one-legged man belonged to the LTTE's suicide squad?

## Confessions obtained in the absence of lawyers and after torture?

Though the LTTE was blamed by politicians and the police from the very beginning, the first concrete evidence that the SIT presented linking the LTTE to the assassination was Murugan's confession; Murugan was allegedly a key player in the assassination. Murugan confessed that the LTTE chief, Velupillai Pirabhakaran, ordered the assassination.

This confession was made when Murugan was under SIT custody. No lawyer was present during the interrogation. In fact, Murugan was not allowed to see a lawyer after his arrest for months. He did not have the counsel of a lawyer before his interrogation or for months after it (in countries like the US, confessions of prisoners without the counsel of a lawyer are not admissible evidence: the court cannot consider such evidence in determining guilt or innocence).

After the very first time he was allowed to see a lawyer. Murugan claimed that he made the 'confession' under torture. Nalini, Padma, Bhagyanathan and Perarivalan (all suspects under SIT custody) also claimed that they were forced to make statements against their will

and that those statements were false.

The SIT brushes aside these allegations of 'forced confessions' on the grounds that all these people were presented before a judge periodically and they did not make the charges to the judge.

One should remember that to these prisoners in custody, the judge would seem like part of the government apparatus. They would feel more free and comfortable to discuss their charges of 'forced confessions' with an independent lawyer than with a judge. In fact, Nalini did ask the judge for a lawyer more than once and the judge refused to let her see a lawyer for months. The world may never know for sure if Murugan, Nalini, Padma, Bhawanathan and Perarivalan were tortured in SIT custody. However, it is an established fact that the Indian

the Tamil Nadu coast to take a boat to Jaffna. At that time, the Tamil Nadu coast was heavily patrolled by Indian security forces and the Palk Straits between Tamil Nadu and Jaffna was patrolled by the Indian navy. Would the LTTE send an uncoded letter through a courier

under these circumstances? This was not some urgent message that had to reach Jaffna. In fact, the message in the letter was 'old news'; everything in the letter was already known to LTTE headquarters in Jaffna. Sivaraman's suicide was broadcast on both the Indian and the Sri Lankan radio, both of which were monitored by the LTTE. If Santhan indeed ordered Sivaraman to commit suicide, he would have done so only according to instructions from LTTE headquarters in Jaffna (assuming that

dhi. Why did the LTTE keep such an incriminating letter in Tamil Nadu for three months, at a time when the police were searching and flushing out all LTTE-safe houses in Tamil Nadu and the nearby states? If they were unable to take it to Jaffna, they would simply have burnt the letter long ago and not have risked its falling into police hands. This again makes one wonder if this letter was also a forgery.

Forgeries to discredit political enemies are not new. When Rajiv Gandhi was the prime minister, certain foreign banking documents were forged to implicate the opposition leader V P Singh in illegal business dealings. So the possibility of forged letters being used to implicate the LTTE in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination should not be brushed aside so lightly.

## Police and the politicians - an unholy alliance

The newly elected (June 1991) AIADMK government of Tamil Nadu alleged that the previous DMK government, including the former chief minister Karunanidhi, interfered in police investigations and

for dereliction of duty with respect to that murder.

If even some of the allegations were true, it means that high-ranking police officers protected the murderers from prosecution because their political bosses asked them to do so. Of course, the high-ranking police officers would have needed the cooperation of middle- and lower-level officers in protecting the murderers; it could not be done without their cooperation.

These alleged immoral and illegal activities in the police department during the former DMK government's reign raise an interesting corollary question. If the Tamil Nadu police under the DMK government during 1989 and 1990 had such total disregard for the laws of the land and would protect LTTE murderers to please their then political bosses, can we consider the possibility that the Tamil Nadu police under the AIADMK government during 1991 and 1992 would disregard the laws of the land to implicate the LTTE in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination?

If the DMK chief minister, Karunanidhi, "loved" the LTTE (he denies it), the AIADMK chief minister Jayalalitha "hates" the LTTE and leaves no stones unturned to eradicate it. In such a situation, one has to but wonder if some police officers today might have gone beyond legal bounds to please the present chief minister, Jayalalitha.

While the few top officers under the DMK government no longer hold those positions, many of the middle- and lower-level officers who have obliged their superiors and allegedly let the Padmanabha murderers escape are still in their jobs (this writer is not charging anyone with breaking the law but wonders if anyone did, given the past record of the Tamil Nadu police).

It is with these considerations in mind that one should look with some suspicion on prisoners' confessions and the incriminating letters that link the LTTE to the assassination.

The Verma commission proceedings give some glimpses into the working of the Tamil Nadu police well after the AIADMK came to

## The verdict

*"A SIT official was reported as saying in late August that "in the court of world opinion, the LTTE stands convicted". Not necessarily so... the euphoria among the ruling political parties (the Congress at the Centre and the AIADMK in the state) to "get the LTTE", the past record of the police, security and intelligence agencies of doing the bidding of the ruling parties even if it amounted to illegalities, the real or perceived bias in the investigation and the court's refusal to grant permission to the suspects in custody to consult a lawyer for many months, all shed a shadow of doubt on the integrity of the investigation. Even if the LTTE chief is found guilty by an Indian court, there will always be a lingering doubt about whether the LTTE was really guilty of assassinating Rajiv Gandhi. The recent order by Judge Siddick prohibiting the publication of the proceedings of the court is more cause for concern."*

police and other security forces do torture prisoners occasionally to extract confessions.

## Documentary evidence forged?

Two documents in the possession of the SIT are said to provide clinching evidence of the LTTE involvement in the assassination.

Sivaraman was an LTTE operative who assassinated Rajiv Gandhi under LTTE orders, it would be surprising if he did not have a standing order to commit suicide if he was cornered by the Indian police).

So, with no real message to be sent to Jaffna, would Santhan send an uncoded, written message which

the police officers obliged.

R Nagarajan was the Tamil Nadu state home secretary at that time. Law and order in the state came under his purview. He was arrested on November 21, 1991. It was charged, among other things, that Nagarajan knew of the alleged LTTE plot to murder the EPRLF chief,

# with a pre ordained end

One is a letter allegedly written by Peria Santhan, an alleged high-level LTTE operative in Tamil Nadu. This letter was addressed to the LTTE chief and was dated September 7, 1991 (about two weeks after Sivaraman's suicide).

It informs the LTTE chief that Santhan had met Sivaraman in his Bangalore hide-out and ordered him and his associates there to commit suicide. Was this letter really written by Peria Santhan? Or, was it a forgery by someone who wanted to implicate the LTTE? This question deserves serious scrutiny.

Santhan's letter was allegedly taken from an LTTE courier named Irumporai who was on his way to

clearly and unequivocally links the LTTE to the assassination when everyone knew very well of the tight security on the Tamil Nadu coast? (The routine message could have been transmitted orally through the courier without leaving the 'hard evidence' of the letter.) All these considerations make one pause and think if Santhan's letter was a forgery.

The second letter, dated May 10, 1991, was allegedly written by the assassin Dhanu. The SIT discovered it about three months after the date of the letter. In this letter, addressed to the LTTE chief, Dhanu thanks him for giving her the opportunity to assassinate Rajiv Gan-

Padmanabha, in 1990 and assured the murderers that they would not be apprehended. Nagarajan allegedly asked the then DCP (law and order) for Madras and the then DIG of Rannad (Tamil Nadu) to take it easy in pursuing the murderers, and these senior police officers allegedly obliged.

While Nagarajan denied everything initially, after a few days in police custody, he told the police that the then chief minister, Karunanidhi, asked high-ranking police officers not to evince keen interest in tracing the murderers of Padmanabha. The former DIG for intelligence under the DMK government was suspended in January 1992

power in Tamil Nadu. There is a feud between the police and the Congress party organisers of the fateful Sriperumbudur meeting as to who was responsible for the security lapses at the meeting. A Congress party worker, Ranganathan, testified on behalf of the police and blamed the meeting organisers. During the cross-examination, he contradicted his sworn affidavit. Ranganathan further damaged his credibility by admitting that he signed his sworn affidavit without reading it. So the lawyer for the meeting organisers charged that the police had "tutored" the witness.

This raises a question: if the police indeed tutored a witness before the Verma commission, would they



also be inclined to tutor witnesses or forge documents in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination investigation? Such questions should not be swept under the carpet.

There are also a few disquieting incidents in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination investigation. The death of a key witness, Shanmugham, when he was under SIT custody was officially cleared as suicide. Quite a few observers

served the interests of the ruling parties in the past.

The infamous St Kitts bank documents linking the opposition leader V P Singh to illegal business dealings were allegedly forged by one of the central government agencies (they deny it). A number of other misdeeds of these agencies to help the ruling party are discussed in the October 14, 1990 issue of the Illustrated Weekly of India.

## forged documents

*"Two documents in the possession of the SIT are said to provide clinching evidence of the LTTE involvement in the assassination. One is a letter allegedly written by Peria Santhan, an alleged high-level LTTE operative in Tamil Nadu. This letter was addressed to the LTTE chief and was dated September 7, 1991 (about two weeks after Sivarasan's suicide). It informs the LTTE chief that Santhan had met Sivarasan in his Bangalore hide-out and ordered him and his associates there to commit suicide... Santhan's letter was allegedly taken from an LTTE courier named Irumporai who was on his way to the Tamil Nadu coast to take a boat to Jaffna. At that time, the Tamil Nadu coast was heavily patrolled by Indian security forces and the Palk Straits between Tamil Nadu and Jaffna was patrolled by the Indian navy. This was not some urgent message that had to reach Jaffna. In fact, the message in the letter was 'old news'; everything in the letter was already known to LTTE headquarters in Jaffna. Sivarasan's suicide was broadcast on both the Indian and the Sri Lankan radio, both of which were monitored by the LTTE. If Santhan indeed ordered Sivarasan to commit suicide, he would have done so only according to instructions from LTTE headquarters in Jaffna (assuming that Sivarasan was an LTTE operative who assassinated Rajiv Gandhi under LTTE orders, it would be surprising if he did not have a standing order to commit suicide if he was cornered by the Indian police). So, with no real message to be sent to Jaffna, would Santhan send an uncoded, written message which clearly and unequivocally links the LTTE to the assassination when everyone knew very well of the tight security on the Tamil Nadu coast? (The routine message could have been transmitted orally through the courier without leaving the 'hard evidence' of the letter.) All these considerations make one pause and think if Santhan's letter was a forgery. The second letter, dated May 10, 1991, was allegedly written by the assassin Dhanu. The SIT discovered it about three months after the date of the letter. In this letter, addressed to the LTTE chief, Dhanu thanks him for giving her the opportunity to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi. Why did the LTTE keep such an incriminating letter in Tamil Nadu for three months, at a time when the police were searching and flushing out all LTTE-safe houses in Tamil Nadu and the nearby states? If they were unable to take it to Jaffna, they would simply have burnt the letter long ago and not have risked its falling into police hands. This again makes one wonder if this letter was also a forgery. Forgeries to discredit political enemies are not new. When Rajiv Gandhi was the prime minister, certain foreign banking documents were forged to implicate the opposition leader V P Singh in illegal business dealings. So the possibility of forged letters being used to implicate the LTTE in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination should not be brushed aside so lightly."*

have serious doubts about the suicide theory. Available physical evidence seems to suggest murder rather than suicide.

Another incident: there was a dispute between the Bangalore city police department and the Mandya district police department as to who should get the reward for finally locating the ever-evasive Sivarasan. Each gave a different version of how Sivarasan was located. Both versions cannot be true. One of the police departments is fudging the truth.

Central government agencies such as the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), under whose jurisdiction the SIT operates, have also

Ever since the assassination, spot reports appeared in the press suggesting possible links between the alleged assassins and some Congress party leaders. Whenever evidence suggesting such links turned up, the SIT brushed it aside as false or unimportant.

### SIT brushed aside Congress party links

Within weeks after the assassination, a DMK party newspaper, Murasoli published a report that Sivarasan was related to a Congress leader. No one paid much attention to the report because it came from the DMK which was being indirectly blamed for the assassination. But in February 1992, Murugan, who

was still under SIT custody, filed an affidavit stating that Sivarasan and one of his alleged accomplices, Hari Babu, had contact with Tamil Nadu Congress party leaders including the state party president, V Ramamurthy. The SIT simply brushed that affidavit aside as a lie.

Murugan was not the only one to suggest links between Congress leaders and the assassins. Soon after the assassination some newspapers reported that the Congress MP, Maragatham Chandrasekhar, and her daughter Latha Priyakumar (a Congress MLA) might have known Latha Kannan who allowed the assassin Dhanu to stand in the line of people waiting to garland Rajiv Gandhi at the Sriperumbudur meeting. The SIT did not give much credence to it, neither did it investigate this matter seriously.

Many months later, in 1991, a Congress party-worker, Kumudavalli, told the Verma commission that Latha Priyakumar brought Latha Kannan to the Sriperumbudur meeting. Did the SIT know that? Kumudavalli also told the Verma commission that Latha Kannan addressed Subha (an accomplice to the assassination) as "Sister", thus indicating that Latha Kannan knew Subha previously. The questions are: did the SIT know of Kumudavalli's allegations before? If not, why not? If yes, did it investigate the matter? Did the SIT turn a blind eye because a ruling party MP and MLA were involved? (This writer is not necessarily implicating either the MP or the MLA in the assassination. Their interaction with Latha Kannan, if true, could be totally innocent.)

### Rajiv-LTTE meeting

Within days of the assassination, the Hindu reported that an LTTE emissary met Rajiv Gandhi earlier in 1991 to re-establish a cordial relationship. The Congress party spokesman, Pranab Mukherjee, denied that such a meeting took place. Later, it became evident that the meeting in fact took place on March 5, 1991, at Rajiv Gandhi's New Delhi residence. This is a critical piece of evidence. If the meeting ended amicably and if the LTTE believed that Rajiv Gandhi would not be hostile to the LTTE, then it would no longer have a motive to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi. (If the LTTE's foes were to know of the meeting, they might have a motive to assassinate Rajiv.)

By giving false information that no such meeting took place, the Congress spokesman essentially misled the investigation until the truth emerged from other sources. Why did the Congress party spokesman mislead the investigation? The only one to be adversely affected by the denial is the LTTE. Were the anti-LTTE leaders within the Congress party and its ally, the AIADMK, responsible for the denial?

The Rajiv-LTTE meeting is an important piece of evidence and the gist of the conversation could be useful in assessing the LTTE's motives. The SIT simply brushed it aside as a diversive tactic used by the LTTE. But there is some prima facie evidence to suggest that the Rajiv-LTTE meeting did go well. The very fact that Rajiv Gandhi

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## COMMENT

# and, a show trial

We have said it before and we say it again. The assassination of ex Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was wrong. It was wrong not because ex Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was innocent of the war crimes committed during the IPKF occupation of Tamil Eelam. It was wrong not because ex Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was innocent of responsibility for the rapes of Eelam Tamil women, young and old, by his Army in Tamil Eelam. It was wrong not because ex Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was innocent of the charges of corruption in the Bofors scandal. The assassination of ex Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was wrong because it was wrong to punish without charge and without trial according to law.

But, if that was wrong, then, as we have said before, and we say again, the Chengalpattu trial of the Leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is worse because the Indian Government seeks to give the appearance of punishing through a 'trial' which, in truth, is no trial at all.

As Dr. Norman Baker's analysis shows, the investigation into the Rajiv Gandhi assassination was biased from the very commencement. But it was not only the investigation that was biased. The so called 'trial' itself is being directed to a pre ordained ending. It is being held under the special Terrorism and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act and not under the normal law of the land. It is being held without the normal procedural safeguards which crystallise civilisation's substitute for private and arbitrary vengeance. The trial is being held in secret, away from public scrutiny, 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 - and this in a country where torture by the police is a 'routine' occurrence. A recent Amnesty International Report concluded:

"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... 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. 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."

Under the notorious TADA provisions, 'confessions' may not only be led in evidence against those who allegedly made them, but in addition, where a 'confession' implicates a co accused, the Court is required to presume that such co accused is guilty and the burden shifts to the co accused to prove his innocence. These provisions of TADA 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 - and it is this principle which TADA brazenly flouts.

But, again this is not all. Whilst on the one hand the trial proceedings are supposedly 'secret', and the Court has made order excluding the press, 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 directed by a Government with a political axe to grind, is no substitute for trial according to internationally recognised rules of procedural law.

The Chengalpattu secret trial has all the features of a 'show trial' with a pre ordained ending - features which invite comparison with the infamous show trials of 1936 under Stalin's regime in the then Soviet Union. The Indian Government is foolish if it believes that it can use this secret trial as a political weapon to stifle the national struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam. It is the Indian Government and its agencies which stand charged before the bar of world opinion of making a mockery of the judicial process by using it to further the Government's political ends.

# FORUM

A reader and well wisher writes from Canada about our Founding Editor, S. Sivanayagam

**"whenever I read his editorials and articles I always felt that he is standing by my side"**

The Indian Government seems to have felt that the pen is mightier than the sword. The Tamils are disheartened to know that the 62 year old diabetic Mr. Sivanayagam has entered hospital for urgent medical treatment. Medical treatment and hospitalization cost money and Mr. Sivanayagam deserves at least the basic up to date medicines etc.

I do not know Mr. Sivanayagam or even seen him at a distance. I do not even know what he looks like. But whenever I read his editorials and articles I always felt that he is standing by my side.

Due to reasons and circumstances beyond my control I have not worked for the last 6 (six) years. However I am making a sacrifice and I am enclosing a cheque for \$125.00 to be sent to Mr. Sivanayagam for his medical treatment or for whatever purpose for which he wishes to use the money. I appeal to all the Tamils to send to Mr. Sivanayagam whatever sum of money they could spare or sacrifice. Mr. Sivanayagam deserves to live.

During the last two years the British mass media mainly reported events in Eastern Europe and Gulf crisis and then has hardly any coverage of happenings in Sri Lanka. Fortunately Tamil Nation made it's appearance and filled this void.

Sri Lankan Tamils are very unfortunate people. With the dawn of Independence in 1948 foreign domination gave way to majority Sinhala oppression. Tamils had some sympathy and support from Indian Governments till it ended in 1987 with the arrival of IPKF. It was tragic to see the peace keepers join hands with the Sinhalese. India keen to emerge as a regional super power joined hands with the Sinhala Nation to achieve its foreign policy goals.

During these turbulent years the LTTE emerged as the only Tamil organisation that was able to check the Sinhala advance and Indian ambitions. Tamils who had connections abroad and wealth fled from Sri Lanka to settle down in many countries. But the vast majority of Tamils who are in the North and East of Sri Lanka had no option but to stay and fight for every inch that was theirs. Expatriate Tamils have provided support to their kith and kin to flee from their homeland and settle abroad. They have also carried out a relentless campaign in foreign countries to secure for Eelam Tamils their right to self determination. In this struggle many have fallen on the wayside, some died and others have compromised. But the battle for survival goes on.

Tamil Nation has contributed immeasurably under the most trying conditions to focus world attention to the plight of Sri Lankan Tamils and has now emerged as the Voice of Tamils and Eelam Tamils in particular who are the most oppressed and has become the main media for exchange of news and views of Tamils and in that way has sustained the morale of Tamils.

Given the chaos world over, there can be no time frame for the achievement of Tamil Eelam. Expatriates can remain reasonably settled in foreign countries only till their day of reckoning comes, Tamil refugees in India are being sent back and now it is reported that Switzerland is to follow. Whilst uncertainty regarding the future remains for expatriates, for the Tamils in the North and East of Sri Lanka there is no chance other than to carry on the battle for survival. With world wide recession, civil wars, famines, floods, emerging fascistic types of Nationalisms (like that of Idi Amin) the future generations of Tamils have a bleak future in foreign countries, not to mention falling victims to drug addiction, crime, prostitution and other social evils. During the last century the Jews dotted all over the World realized how vulnerable they were despite their wealth and intellectual attainments. They struggled and created the State of Israel and are now striving to create peace with their Arab neighbours. The lesson must not be lost with expatriate Tamils. Eelam Tamils have no choice other than to carry on their struggle with the Sinhala Nation and also carry on a relentless campaign for international recognition and this task cannot be left to LTTE alone. Every Tamil young and old should make their contribution. During the last two years you Sir have done a magnificent job despite the incarceration of your editor Mr Sivanayagam for a year. On this Second Anniversary I wish your journal many more years of service to Tamils wherever they may be settled.

R. Seeniappah writes from West Yorkshire and says

**"Tamil Nation has now emerged as the Voice of Tamils"**

S.Selvarajah writing from Tamil Eelam remembers 23 July 1983

23rd July 1992 - On this day Sellakili who attained martyrdom in 1983 is being commemorated. Naturally I recollect the traumatic events of July 1983.

Like so many other Tamils I had been leading a comfortable life in Colombo. I was so absorbed in my profession and leading such a mechanical life that I was completely oblivious of the larger political context in which we Tamils were living.

**"Like so many other Tamils I had been leading a comfortable life in Colombo. I was so absorbed in my profession and leading such a mechanical life that I was completely oblivious of the larger political context in which we Tamils were living."**

The race riots unleashed against the Tamils in Colombo City itself was a rude shock to many Tamils. On 25th July 1983 from early morning Sinhalese mobs were attacking Tamils. Their houses and vehicles were burnt. The entire Wellawatte area was enveloped in thick black smoke from the burning of properties of the Tamils. Not knowing what to do I was watching from the balcony of the house where I was staying in Wellawatte. How characteristic of us, the Tamils, that we were so unprepared and individualistic and defenceless that each family was anxiously waiting until one's house was attacked.

Although I have heard of race riots against the Tamils from 1956 onwards this was my first personal experience. I had to flee from my

**"The humiliation I suffered was such that I did not feel like going abroad once again and leading a 'comfortable' life which will be emotionally a hollow one. I felt that although I had led an exemplary life I was humiliated because I was a Tamil. So my family and I took a conscious decision that we shall go back to our home town and lead a simple life which will be more meaningful."**

own house with my family and undergo humiliations and agony in the process of trying to escape from hooligans who were visibly aided by the Sinhala Security personnel. We had to spend that night in the compound of the burnt out house and the whole house with my large collection of books acquired over a period of over two decades, large collection of cassettes of my favourite devotional songs, my radio, television and my new air-conditioned Datsun car, all the foreign acquired clothes and all the belongings were burnt to ashes. We escaped with virtually only the clothes we were wearing on. The streets of Colombo were littered with a large number of burnt out cars.

It was Vel festival time and all the decorations were burnt out and the temples were flowing with Tamil refugees. Two days later when the curfew was lifted the streets were jam packed with Sinhalese people and buddhist monks on a sight-seeing spree. They were enjoying the sights of the burnt out Tamil houses and the properties and were indulging in looting wherever possible. The worst was that black Friday when a number of our friends got killed by the Sinhalese mobs.

## A page from my diary

The shock and pain of mind of the July 1983 experience was so intense that I decided that I shall not live among the Sinhalese any longer. The humiliation suffered was such that I did not feel like going abroad once again and leading a comfortable life which will be emotionally

electricity or transport facilities for over two years. But none of these oppressive measures have shaken us the way we were shaken when we were living in the midst of the Sinhalese.

The Tamil Community has made vast changes in their mental out-

look. Large number of youths have taken up arms to carry on the liberation struggle. Tamil girls in their thousands from all walks of life and family backgrounds have joined the liberation struggle and taken up arms. In effect the whole Tamil Nation has synchronised itself under the leadership of the LTTE to establish its own Sovereign State.

Our life in the Jaffna Peninsula since 1983 continues to be an eventful and meaningful one. In the history of a nation only very few people will be privileged to live in such a glorious period though under very trying circumstances. Tamils who have been very good obedient servants under the various Colonial rulers continued to be so under the present Sinhala Colonial masters and failed to assert their right in the past. Now under the present youthful leadership Tamils have begun to assert their right to their own state-

It is in this background that one is unable to understand the general indifference of the International Community to the genocide that is being carried on by the Sinhala government of Sri Lanka and the glorious liberation struggle of the Tamils. Of course, there are notable exceptions. Countries like Australia, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and Canada have in no uncertain terms expressed their willingness to mediate between the LTTE and the

hood. Tamils who could not even defend themselves in an organised manner have now made such tremendous progress that their liberation fighters have so organised themselves that they are able to carry out offensive actions against a marauding oppressor.

Of course, the racist Sinhala government which was orchestrating mob attacks against the Tamils to cow them down in the past in Sinhala areas has now started carrying out wholesale military operations on genocidal scale to destroy the Tamil homeland.

We have undergone far worse incidents of attacks by the Sri Lankan army and the Indian army than the race riots of July 1983. On a number of occasions we had to abandon our town and the entire people of the area had to flee. On a number of occasions hundreds of innocent Tamils of our village were massacred both by the Sri Lankan army and the Indian army. Our own houses in our homeland are being damaged and destroyed. For days together we had endured massive air attacks, naval attacks and heavy artillery attacks which are still continuing. Now we are enduring the economic embargo under a siege of the Jaffna peninsula. There is no

Sri Lanka Government. Naturally the Sri Lankan Government wishes to militarily continue to oppress the Tamils.

It is here that the Tamils feel betrayed by the villainous conduct of our neighbouring country, India. It is a matter for regret that a large country like India, instead of helping to use its position to help or solve the dispute, has been indulging in mean acts of fishing in our troubled waters. Indian attempt at military oppression of Eelam Tamils having failed now it is clear that India is the big bully behaving like a dog in the manger discouraging other well meaning countries from playing a mediatory role.

The shabby manner in which India encourages the Sri Lankan Government in its oppression and the manner in which its diplomats pressurise other Countries to ill-treat the Tamil refugees there and the manner in which it ill treats the Tamil refugees in India are all too obvious. What a shame. India, which is renowned to have produced many sages, Mahatmas and so many other great men seems to be at its lowest ebb saddled with petty men and bloated women at the helm of its affairs.

Sachi Srikantha writes from Osaka about

## Spineless Anonymity

The other day I received a lengthy anonymous letter from Australia, with a date stamp September 22, 1992 and Victoria 3130.

It was written by a fellow Tamil who had read my eulogy to journalist Kovai Mahesan in the August issue of the Tamil Nation. He has taken me to task for identifying one class of Tamil journalists as 'spineless', who 'avoided talk about the rights of Tamils' and who 'mostly served as subservient reporters, commentators and editors of Sinhala managed publishing interests.'

This anonymous individual had sarcastically noted in his letter, "what you (referring to me) haven't mentioned is that there is also another class of part-time Tamil journalists, who from their safety and comfort of countries like Japan, Canada, UK etc... pour scorn on Tamil journalists in Sri Lanka..."

Well, I wish to respond through the mail bag column of the Tamil Nation that writing anonymous letters is a spineless sport in which some Tamils seem to excel. Since this individual had also written in his letter that he "worked at Lake House for a few years in the early '80s" I wonder whether the training in anonymous letter writing was also a legacy of his Lake House connection. I will be glad to respond to the criticism of this ex Lake House employee, if he cares to identify himself and send me his address.

## Who Really killed Rajiv Gandhi?

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agreed to meet an LTTE emissary indicates that he had an open mind about the LTTE.

Furthermore, the June 1, 1991 issue of the Illustrated Weekly of India reported that 'intelligence sources, on condition of anonymity, confirm this (the meeting) and are inclined to view that the compromise worked out between Rajiv and the LTTE could have been the cause for the assassination and that international forces who stood to lose by Rajiv becoming prime minister, standing by the LTTE's demand for an independent Tamil Eelam could have been behind the blast (assassination).' Who has more to lose by a rapprochement between Rajiv and the LTTE than the Sri Lankan government?

### The verdict

A SIT official was reported as saying in late August that "in the court of world opinion, the LTTE stands connected". Not necessarily so. The LTTE might very well be guilty of the crime. But the euphoria among the ruling political parties (the Congress at the Centre and the AIADMK in the state) to "get the LTTE", the past record of the police, security and intelligence agencies of doing the bidding of the ruling parties even if it amounted to illegalities, the real or perceived bias in the investigation and the court's refusal to grant permission to the suspects in custody to consult a lawyer for many months, all shed a shadow of doubt on the integrity of the investigation.

Even if the LTTE chief is found guilty by an Indian court, there will always be a lingering doubt about whether the LTTE was really guilty of assassinating Rajiv Gandhi. The recent order by Judge Siddick prohibiting the publication of the proceedings of the court is more cause for concern.

## DESERT MARATHON AT AMPARAI!

An Army Corporal was faced the challenge of tracking down an Army deserter in what villagers described as a Barcelona-style marathon. On the day of the incident, the corporal, who was in charge of training recruits, new recruits in the army camp at Ampara, had gone out to a village some miles away. On his way back, his attention was drawn to a youth who had got off the bus and was being questioned at a check point. A closer look revealed it was a soldier who had disappeared from the camp some days ago. The corporal walked up and held the deserter. When the deserter realised what had happened, he suddenly broke free and bolted leaving his boots behind.

The corporal also acted fast. He got out of his boots and into a stride, - and the chase began. It was like an obstacle race across rugged footpaths and waterways. The corporal kept shouting "deserter, deserter" as he chased behind, but he noticed that the village people just stood by and watched and did not help him to catch the deserter. After they had run a few kilometers, the corporal changed tactics and shouted "thief, thief". Then the village people responded and the chase was soon over. The deserter was caught and taken back by the corporal. (From Sri Lanka Times 6 September 1992)

## News Watch

### KILALI ROUTE TO BE CLOSED

It is believed that the Sri Lankan army will soon block the Kilali route so as to prevent the people using this route to and from the Jaffna peninsula. They hope to coerce the people to then use the main Elephant Pass route which is not being used at the moment as it is supposed to be heavily mined by the LTTE to prevent the Sri Lankan army from crossing to Jaffna.

### QUISLING LOSES DESIRE TO LIVE

Mathi, a twenty-four year old 'fighter' from the quisling group PLOTE committed suicide by shooting himself after losing both his legs in a mine blast north of Vavuniya. Mathi is a member of the PLOTE unit which took part in the abortive coup attempt in the Maldives in late '88. He was among the 33 persons released by the Maldivian authorities. He then joined the PLOTE units in Vavuniya operating alongside the Sri Lankan army only to lose his legs in a landmine explosion.

### SLIDING SCALE FOR BRIBES

Five village headmen from Samanthurai area are alleged to have solicited and accepted illegal gratifications from poor displaced people from the Eastern province. The displaced people were to receive a Government dole of Rs 4,000 each. From this amount, a Muslim recipient had to pay Rs 500, a Sinhalese recipient Rs 1,000, and a Tamil recipient Rs 2,000 to these village headmen.

# Ram! O Ram!

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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 oppressive rule over the Tamil people. Tamil opposition to these tyrannical measures was met with open Sinhala violence directed to terrorise and intimidate the Tamil people into submission. It was a course of conduct which eventually led to the rise of the armed resistance of the Tamil people which is today led by the LTTE. **The Tamil people in Eelam are not simply an ethnic group. They are an ethnic group which has acquired a political consciousness and a political identity and that is why they constitute a nation.** The 'ethnic divide' has had everything to do with the political consciousness of the electorate on the ground - and it is mischievous to deny that. The political reality today is that there are two nations in the island, the Tamil nation and the Sinhala nation.

### Assertion of guilt before trial according to law

Not altogether surprisingly, it seems that Mr. Ram's opposition to the Tamil nation extends to his opposition to the Liberation Tigers who are the leaders of that nation. In a revealing comment on the Rajiv Gandhi assassination, he says: "The investigators have established a consistent pattern of LTTE operatives and sympathisers carrying out the assassination. It is absolutely clear that the order came from the top. To prove this, Prabhakaran has to be brought to trial. Extradition becomes necessary. This will no doubt make negotiations more difficult. It introduces practical restrictions."

Clearly Mr. Ram is not inclined to agree with the views expressed by Dr. Baker (in article which appears in this issue of the Tamil Nation) that "the euphoria among the ruling political parties (the Congress at the Centre and the AIADMK in the state) to 'get the LTTE', the past record of the police, security and intelligence agencies of doing the bidding of the ruling parties even if it amounted to illegalities, the real or perceived bias in the investigation and the court's refusal to grant permission to the suspects in custody to consult a lawyer for many months, all shed a shadow of doubt on the integrity of the investigation".

But more to the point Mr. Ram asserts on the basis of material which has yet to be tested in Court proceedings, that "it is absolutely clear that the order came from the top" and that "to prove this, Prabhakaran has to be brought to trial." Surely a case of the cart before the horse if ever there was one. Mr. Ram is 'absolutely clear' of Prabhakaran's guilt even before the trial. In his view, it is simply to prove that guilt that Prabhakaran has to be brought to trial. He clearly does not agree with those who may have thought that a trial is where the guilt or otherwise of an accused is determined. So much for the presumption of innocence until proved guilty according to law. What is more, Mr. Ram has no qualms in giving public expression through the media on a matter which is sub judice.

Like the white supremacists of the Ku Klux Klan, the Brahmin establishment of Tamil Nadu seems to prefer lynch law to the rule of law. A 'show trial' to prove guilt that is already decided upon, is all that is needed. And, of course, that is what the Changleput trial is - a show trial. And to what end? Mr. Ram lets the cat out of the bag with his somewhat smug remark: "This will no doubt make negotiations more difficult. It introduces practical restrictions." The IPKF adventure having failed, the trial is intended to serve the political ends of India by helping it to influence any negotiatory process intended to resolve the conflict in the Island.

### PMK is 'fringe group' with no popular influence but threatened with ban

And, in the meantime, of course, on no account is Tamil nationalism to be encouraged. Mr. Ram is dismissive of the Tamil Nadu response to the struggle for Tamil Eelam. He says: "Nedumaran is in clear sympathy with the Eelam cause. These are individuals on the fringe who don't represent any kind of popular opinion... People like Ramadas are only a fringe. (If there is a military thrust into Jaffna), I would say there would be a deafening silence (in Tamil Nadu)." Tamil Nation readers looking at the front page of this October issue may well wonder at the 'deafening silence' of the marchers at the Pattali Makkal Katchi demonstration in Tamil Nadu who hailed Velupillai Prabhakaran as a leader, not simply of Tamil Eelam but of the Tamil nation. But then this was just one march by a 'fringe group' which does not 'represent any kind of popular opinion.' So much so that the Indian Government decided to accede to the request of the Tamil Nadu government and sent special troops into Tamil Nadu to assist in the arrest of around 3000 Tamil activists on charges of sedition. Not only that but Home Minister Mr. M.M. Jacob declared that the Central Government was considering banning the PMK. Why bother to ban 'fringe groups' which do not 'represent any kind of popular opinion'? What does the Indian government fear?

The actions of the Indian government speak louder than the words of Mr. Ram. But then again let us recognise that Mr. Ram's comments reflect the anxiety of the Tamil Brahmin establishment in Tamil Nadu at the continued rise of Tamil national consciousness. Mr. Ram's comments are therefore a happy augury. They show that Tamil nationalism is not dead, but alive, kicking, and growing - and has begun to haunt the Brahmin establishment of Tamil Nadu. Ram! O Ram!

By Sat Chit Ananda



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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 over the world, and India cannot insulate herself from the new dispensation."

### International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to campaign against child labour in India

The Asian Branch of the Brussels based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is conducting an investigation aimed at exposing employers who use child labour and promoting boycotts of their products. American trade unions plan to press countries that condone child labour to be deprived of most favoured nation trading status.

Between 44m and 100m Indian children are at work, many as illegal bonded labourers. The Indian Constitution prohibits child labour, but labour inspectors are never escorted by the police and are often afraid to denounce because 'something will happen to them.'

# The Indian Region

## Tamil Nadu Marches

continued from page 1

on charges of sedition, of around three thousand activists in Tamil Nadu. The Pattali Makkal Katchi could no longer be ignored and dismissed as a 'fringe group' with no real influence. The powers that be were clearly concerned that Conference was merely the beginning of an assertive Tamil national mood in Tamil Nadu. And so the arrests included the key organisers of the conference, Mr.P.Nedumaran leader of the Thamilar Thesiya Iyakkam, Professor Theeran and Dr. Ramadas leaders of the Pattali Makkal Katchi. Tamil Nation learns that the arrested leaders have now been released on bail. But, in an interview on September 18, Central Government Home Affairs Minister Mr.M.M.Jacob threatened: "Those organisations who befriend, support and aid the banned LTTE will themselves have to be banned. Before taking any steps, the matter will be discussed with the Tamil Nadu government. The Central Government has a very competent Police force and intelligence services. We will find out the extent of the 'friendship' between the PMK and the LTTE"

### At the Conference



ex Prime Minister V.P.Singh



PMK leader Dr.S. Ramadas



Eelam Tamil Activist  
M.K.Eelaventhan

### TANSIT files charge sheet against Tamil National Retrieval Troop

And the Brahmin owned Hindu reported: "The Tamil Nadu Special Investigation Team (TANSIT) filed a charge Sheet against Pottu Amman, LTTE Intelligence Chief and 31 others who formed the Tamil National Retrieval Troop (TNRT) to achieve secession of Tamil Nadu from the Indian Union. According to the 64 page charge sheet, the TNRT, an armed force was formed at the behest of the LTTE to overawe the Tamil Nadu Government and achieve secession of the state from the Indian Union. 12 of the accused, including Pottu Amman, on whom summons have not been served, have been listed as proclaimed offenders under TADA. The charge sheet alleged that a number of youths from Tamil Nadu were actively assisted by Pottu Amman in clandestinely going to Sri Lanka and being trained in the handling of automatic firearms and explosives. The acts were done in furtherance of a conspiracy hatched at Palaly in Tamil Eelam, Udumalpet and Kaniyur in Coimbatore district, Vaniyambadi in North Arcot-Ambekar district, Palani, Dindigul in Anna district and Puddukotai. The TNRT it is alleged was a subversive organisation financed by the LTTE to strive for the creation of an independent Tamil Nadu so that it could be the main base for the LTTE's goal of achieving Tamil Eelam. The members of the TNRT, well trained in the use of arms and explosives by the LTTE in Jaffna were assigned the jobs of carrying out acts of sabotage in Tamil Nadu."

Informed legal sources say that the arrests were a clear violation of the freedom of expression guaranteed under the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights to which India is a signatory. But even apart from the legal issues involved, political analysts note that if the unity of the India is so fragile that the Indian government cannot allow public expression for peaceful constitutional change, then it is a question of time before that unity will shatter.

### Jayalalitha v Subramaniam Swamy

Meanwhile, the British Refugee Council publication, Sri Lanka Monitor said in its August issue: "Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Jayalalitha Jayaram, in a blistering exchange with opposition MP Dr Subramaniam Swamy, denied she had eased India's surveillance of the Palk Strait and paid the LTTE protection money... Describing Dr Swamy as "a pathological liar", Ms Jayalalitha also denied tapping the phones of 28 leading south Indians including journalist Cho Ramaswamy. Charges from other politicians such as AICC leader GK Moopanar that LTTE cells were again active in Tamil Nadu were designed to discredit her one-year drive against the Tigers said the Chief Minister. There have been persistent reports in the last few months of restored smuggling links supplying Jaffna with weapons diesel and medicines. With hundreds of Indian fishing boats still plying the Palk Strait daily and over 200,000 Sri Lankan Tamils officially refugees in south India many LTTE networks may still be intact."

N.Ram, Editor of the Brahmin owned Frontline says 'Eelam is a pipe dream'

## Ram! O Ram!

The Brahmins of old did not rule. They advised the rulers. They were rarely kings. They aspired to be king makers. The modern day Tamil Brahmin follows that tradition. Not so much by choice but by force of circumstance. Alienated from the mainstream of Dravidian Tamil nationalism which grew in Tamil Nadu in opposition to 'Aryan' Brahminism, the Brahmin without power in his own land, found recompense by walking in the corridors of power in New Delhi. Walking in the corridors of power is a seductive substitute for those who are unable to occupy its seat.

You find the Tamil Brahmin everywhere in the corridors. In the Research Analysis Wing, in the Strategic Studies Centre, in the higher echelons of the Indian Civil service - where ever the 'Brahmin Brains' may be sold for a price. At Thimpu for instance, both the Deputy Directors of RAW who were present on a daily basis, talking with members of the Tamil delegation as well as with the Sri Lanka delegation were Tamil Brahmins. And when the Indo Sri Lanka Agreement was mooted, who else but a Tamil Brahmin played a significant role, moving with Presidents and Ministers and not losing the 'common touch' - Mr.N.Ram of the Madras Hindu, the media pillar of the Brahmin establishment of Tamil Nadu.

And recently, this particular Tamil Brahmin has aired his views to the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island, which in its introductory blurb to the interview found it relevant to let its readers know that Mr.Ram as 'a scion of the Kasturi Ranga Iyengar family which own the prestigious Hindu media group.' Of course Mr.Ram's views have received, unsurprisingly, the widest publicity in the September issue of the Tamil Times. The message of the head line came out loud and clear: 'Eelam is a pipe dream, says Mr. N.Ram'. Of course, the Tamil Times does not itself take the view that 'Eelam is a pipe dream'. At any rate it does not dare say so. But it seems that the Tamil Times would have its readers believe that it is so committed to that great defender of liberty, Voltaire, that it was simply defending to the death Mr.N.Ram's right to say that 'Eelam is a pipedream'. So much for background. Now let us examine what Mr.Ram says.

The implication of Mr.Ram's profound conclusion is clear. If Eelam is a pipe dream, then the thousands who have given their lives for Tamil Eelam are misguided fools who have died for 'a pipe dream' - fools who should have listened to the disinterested advice of the best Brahmin brains. "This is the trouble with these commoners - they never know what is possible and what is not possible". But then, what about the views expressed by an eminent panel of political geographers (sponsored by the US State Department) that the "coming changes in the world's frontiers will be among the most profound in history" and that during this decade "in Asia, India loses Punjab and part of Kashmir and Northern Sri Lanka becomes a separate Tamil homeland". What would Mr.Ram tell Mr.William B.Wood, the State Department's Chief geographer to do with the panel's prediction - put it in their collective pipe and smoke it?

### 'Not a nationality question but a democratic question' says Ram

Mr.Ram has sought to buttress his conclusion by giving expression to his views on nationality and self determination. Says he: "(The ethnic divide in Sri Lanka) is not a 'nationality question'. It is a democratic question. You need not define any nationalities so you don't recognise any right to self determination. The two sides in the dispute must approach it as a democratic question which means you are talking of the structure of government."

You need not define any nationalities and then there is no need to recognise any right to self determination. Hey Presto! you define away the Tamil national struggle! But, if you do not define any nationalities, who are the 'two sides' to the dispute? And, as for the twenty and more non governmental organisations including the International Commission of Jurists who recognised the 'national struggle' of the Tamil 'people' at the recent sessions of the UN Sub Commission on Minorities in Geneva - well, they too do not know what they are talking about. After all they have not had the advice of the Brahmin establishment of Tamil Nadu.

To Mr.Ram from the Brahmin establishment of Tamil Nadu, the conflict in the island is a 'democratic question' and all you need to do to resolve the conflict is talk about the 'structure of government'. But how does one talk about 'structures of government' without talking about the political reality on the ground to which such structures must of necessity relate. And what is the political reality on the ground?

The political reality is that no Tamil has ever been elected executive head of Government in Sri Lanka whether as Prime Minister or President. The political reality is that no Sinhalese has ever been elected to a predominantly Tamil electorate. The political reality is that no Tamil has ever been elected to a predominantly Sinhala electorate. The political reality is that democracy within the confines of a single state consolidated rule by a permanent Sinhala majority.

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# The Emerging Multipolar World

Columnist Kautiliya in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island says -

**“Not wise to dismiss the shocking prediction of State Department sponsored think tank”**

Says columnist Kautiliya in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island on September 13: “It is not wise to dismiss the shocking prediction of a State Department sponsored think tank, a group of American academics of various disciplines peering into the future - the 21st century. What new states will come into being from the fragmentation of the nation states that currently belong to the United Nations? Well here are some of the predictions: while North and South Korea may unite, there may be an Indian Punjab and a second Punjab, pro Pakistan. The same may be true of Kashmir. Myanmar (Burma) will break up into three states. The Philippines is likely to lose Mindanao, and Cambodia is also on the brink of disintegration. And now give ear to the final prophecy. There will be an independent Tamil state in Sri Lanka's North. I wonder whether Velupillai Prabhakaran has read the report of the six top political geographers and futurologists of the US. He certainly stepped up the pace last week.”

## World could splinter like Yugoslavia, says UN Chief

As the 47th session of the General assembly got under way, the UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said that he feared that the break up of Yugoslavia might set an awesome example for the 21st century. “The new danger that will appear in the world in the next 10 years is more fragmentation” he said. “Rather than 100 or 200 countries, you may have at the end of the century 400 countries” he said. “And we will not be able to do any kind of economic development, not to mention more disputes on boundaries.” One solution, Boutros-Ghali said was to find ways to protect minorities by offering the “strongest machinery possible to defend human rights” including further action by the Security Council. The end of the Cold War has opened up a Pandora's box of causes and conflicts that had been kept down by the ideological struggle.

Note by Interim Editor: *The UN Secretary General's recognition of the need to 'put on the top of the UN agenda' the issues raised by self determination struggles all over the world is to be welcomed. But, his solution that the 'strongest machinery possible to defend human rights' should be installed, does not address the question: who is to bell the cat? Who is to be charged with the responsibility of securing the observance of 'human rights'? It is because of gross and systematic discrimination and violations of human rights that the struggles for self determination arose in the first place - in countries whose constitutions are replete with safeguards for human rights! As the US State sponsored panel of political geographers have pointed out “People want empowerment at the local level. When they feel their lives are being run by others far away who can't identify with them, they retreat into regionalism and local identities to counter the dehumanizing effect”. Self determination is not a dirty word and fragmentation is not to be feared. On the contrary, it should be welcomed as a step towards achieving a new and free association of peoples on an equal footing. And in the end, that, after all, is what 'human rights' is about. The error would be for the world's current powers (and the United Nations) to commit themselves to preserving the territorial integrity of existing states at the expense of recognising a right enshrined in the first article of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights - the right of self determination of a people.*

## US State Department sponsored panel of political geographers predicts Coming changes in the world's frontiers will be among the most profound in history

A panel of eminent political geographers sponsored by the US State Department has predicted that the scope of coming changes in the world's frontiers will be among the most profound in history. And the pace may set a record. “What we're dealing with is the re-creation of countries,” said William B. Wood, the State Department's chief geographer.

Over the next 25 to 30 years, the world roster may increase by 50% or more. “There'll be more than 300 countries,” predicted Saul B. Cohen, past president of the Assn. of American Geographers. Only about

concept of a modern state. First, some borders will be altered as nations break away from traditional states, as has happened painfully in Yugoslavia over the past year and peacefully in Czechoslovakia this year.

“Borders of present countries or so-called natural boundaries will increasingly lose their importance when they do not correspond to well-recognized linguistic and territorial identities,” said Fabrizio Eva, an Italian geographer.

Second, other new countries will be added as the last colonies become

ner of the globe. Among just a few of the geographers' predictions:

In Europe, the long-rebellious Basque and Catalan regions formally leave Spain. Brittany splits from France. Belgium disintegrates into the new states of Wallonia and Flanders. And Samiland is carved from the northern Lapp-populated areas of Norway, Sweden and Finland, then joins the northern regions of Canada and Russia - in the new Circumpolar Arctic Confederation.

In Russia, new states emerge in the Far East, the Urals, and East and West Siberia, assorted small ethnic enclaves such as Tatarstan and Dagestan gain

## “In Asia, India loses Punjab and part of Kashmir & Northern Sri Lanka becomes separate Tamil homeland”

60 of the world's 190 current states were around at the turn of this century, and most have become independent just since 1944. The United Nations has admitted 22 new member countries in just the last 20 months.

The recharting of the globe will be the byproduct of several concurrent trends, ranging from the powerful pull of ethnicity and the spread of democracy to changes in the very

independent countries - the dominant trend during the second half of the 20th Century and evident most recently when the Soviet empire's collapse spawned 15 new states.

“We are now in a major new phase of demands for ‘self-determination’ - demands which, if all are acceded to, will result in significant changes to the world's political map at both state and sub-state levels,” said David B. Knight, chairman of a special Commission on the World Political Map of the International Geographical Union (IGU).

On a third and more sweeping level, the new lines on a map will be produced by fundamental changes in the role of states, largely in response to economic and social pressures and political alienation... While much of the first two phases in the global reconfiguration may take place within the next decade, this part of the process is likely to last well into the 21st Century, the geographers said.

And the countries that emerge from the process may bear little resemblance to today's states. For example, “Many states won't have armies, only police. And some states will allow dual citizenship with former host countries, as in the Baltics with the Russian population, or ethnic groups with their place of origin,” Cohen said.

All the major trends contributing to a new world map have one important common denominator. They reflect a new push toward devolution, or the transfer of political power from traditional states to smaller units - a shift encouraged by such factors as the spread of democracy, population pressures, communications and technology innovations, and political alienation.

“People want empowerment at the local level. When they feel their lives are being run by others far away who can't identify with them, they retreat into regionalism and local identities to counter the dehumanizing effect,” Knight said.

The accumulative impact of these trends is expected to touch every cor-

independence, and places like Kaliningrad, Tuva and Buryat become virtually independent autonomous zones.

In Asia, India loses Punjab and part of Kashmir. Afghanistan breaks into three ethnic pieces. Northern-Sri Lanka becomes separate Tamil homeland. The Philippines loses Mindanao. And a large part of Kazakhstan secedes to join Russia.

In China, despite the long-standing dominance of the Han Chinese, Tibet and Xinjiang move out on their own. Taiwan is absorbed while Inner Mongolia merges with independent Mongolia. Three new areas, Inner, North and Southeast China, gain autonomy, while developed Guangdong and Shanghai become quasi-independent economic hubs more like present-day Hong Kong than Beijing.

In Africa, Ethiopia loses northern Eritrea and Tigre to secession and southern Ogaden to Somalia, while Kasai and mineral-rich Katanga secede from Zaire. Sudan splits into two. And South Africa splits into three pieces, creating “Azania” and “Zululand” in the process.

The dimensions of change are almost certain to provoke an international debate over the next decade on a basic issue. Should the world's current powers give priority to the right of self-determination, thereby potentially threatening the current configuration of states? Or should they be committed to preserving territorial integrity - potentially at the expense of individual rights?

The United States was founded on the principle of self-determination, but since the onset of global change in 1989 Washington has supported territorial integrity in both Yugoslavia and Iraq - largely due to fears of fragmentation and its rippling effect both in the Balkans and in the Persian Gulf.

“The tendency now and in the future will be to preserve the status quo,” said the State Department's Wood “The United Nations is the best example. Its member states are recognized governments with control over defined space.” But experts at this month's 27th International Geographical Congress in Washington suggested self-determination will often prevail.

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

More than ever before, “political movements are inclined toward a subdivision within states,” said Eva, the Italian geographer. Since up to a third of the world's current states face border challenges either from neighbouring nations or from minorities at home, geographers are already urging steps to prevent repetitions of the bloody conflict in what used to be Yugoslavia.

“What we will need is a U.N. commission on border modification to adjudicate and initiate negotiations before fighting erupts,” said H. J. de Blij of Georgetown University. In the longer term, the political geographers think the importance of borders will actually wane, as economic and technological interdependence span not only states, but continents... In the meantime, however, the number of states will grow. “For the next decade, we cannot stop this trend,” said Eva, “Afterward, the wish for cooperation will prevail. I am a pessimist for the next decade, but I'm optimistic over the long term.” (Courtesy: Los Angeles Times, August 29)

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.

# Iyal, Isai, Nadagam

## Kalaimani Muthu Kandasamy Thesikar at London Murugan Temple, East Ham



Songs of the great Saiva Saints, 'Thirumurai' were rendered by the 'Othuvar' on 29 August at a well attended gathering at the Murugan Temple in East Ham, London.

## Deepavali Greetings



from  
Tamil Nation  
to all its  
readers

25 October 1992

## Bharatanatyam Arangetram in Pennsylvania - Sivakami Garga



Sivakami Garga, daughter of Dr and Mrs Hershey gave a Bharatanatyam recital at the Scottish Rite Cathedral, 2701 North Third Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on August 29 at 3pm.

The program was under the patronage of Sri and Smt Dhananjayans, the world renowned dancing couple and directors of Bharatakalanjali Academy of Fine Arts, Madras, India.

The musical accompaniment for the recital was provided by acclaimed musicians from the same academy. Sivakami started learning Bharatanatyam at age 5 from her mother, Esha Bhavanandan, who teaches this dance at the HARI temple in Harrisburg.

Sivakami received additional training from Padmasri Adayar Lakshman at his dance school in India and during the past two summers she had received intensive training at the dance camps conducted by the Dhananjayans in Yogaville, near Buckingham, Virginia. A graduate of the Hershey High School and the Penn. State University, Sivakami now resides with her husband, Amulya, in State College, PA.

## Tamil: Words and Music

"Words and music have a special relationship, particularly in vocal music. Words affect the melodic line, even the rhythmic structures. The inflections of a language leave their imprint on the melody and rhythm, on style and phrasing. We know of the immense richness of Tamil classics, dating back to the pre Christian era, of the many epics, anthologies of lyrics, long poems, of the wealth and beauty of Sangam literature, all of which represent the consciousness of a community independent of the main stream of the Aryan cultural pattern, and fully aware of the difference... I doubt if there is any literature, poetry or prose, which describes musical theory and practice with such skill, in language so clear, meaningful, and communicative, as passages in the Silappadikarm, written about 1700 years ago and of such relevance even today." - V.K.Narayana Menon

## Pannum Parathamum at Acton Town Hall



Pannum Parathamum, a dance drama based on Panniru Thirumurai with a cast of eight adult dancers and pupils of the West London Tamil School will be staged at 7 pm at Acton Town Hall on October 17. Picture shows the dancers at practise.

# People & Events

## LOOKING AHEAD

### IN MEMORIAM

**Five Years ago on 16 October 1987-  
Murdered by a so called Indian Peace  
Keeping Force (IPKF)**



**Florence Ariyamalar  
Rajasingham  
Born: 24.7.1922**

**Rajasingham  
Manoharan  
Born: 30.7.1949**

**" And how can man die better than facing fearful odds, for  
the land of his fathers and the temples of his Gods?"**

We miss you both more than we could have thought. As each day dawns the despair and the anger grow. Until the treacherous hand that killed you both, and your bodies seven long days for dogs to feast, are unmasked to reveal their role in these murders most foul, our heart will know no peace. We pray that your souls have found the peace we sadly lack.

Fondly remembered on their death anniversary by C.Rajasingham, Vaugi Manoharan, Saratha manoharan, Priyan Manoharan, Dr. Narendran Manohari Thevathasan, Selvi Rajendran, Neele Navaratnaraj, Jayadevan and Gowri Suredrakumar.

### APPOINTMENT OF NEW CATHOLIC BISHOPS

Pope John Paul has appointed Thomas Saundaranayagam, former Bishop of Mannar-Vavuniya to be the Bishop of Jaffna diocese in place of Bishop Deogupillai who retired in April. Rt. Rev. Fr. Rayappu Joseph, the former parish priest of St. John's Church, Chudikuly, has been appointed as the new Bishop of Mannar-Vavuniya diocese.

### Eelam Tamil wins Coolidge Award for Outstanding Achievement in Medical Physics

Professor N Suntharalingam, Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia was given the Coolidge Award for outstanding achievement in the field of Medical Physics. This prestigious award was previously won by Nobel Laureates and is the second time a non-American born scientist was given this award. Professor Suntharalingam took a Physics Honours degree from the then University of Ceylon in 1955 and is a brother of Eelam Tamil Activist Dr. N. Rasalingam of Auckland, New Zealand.

### 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

Vijayaratnam CANAGASABAI, retired Assistant Commissioner of Co-Operative Development, son of late Muhandiram and Mrs Canagasabai of Manipay and son-in-law of late J Thambiah Bartlett, Proctor Boswell Place, Wellawatte, husband of Pathma, father of Vino Selvadurai (wife of Dr Indran Selvadurai) died 29th August in Sydney. 48 Paraka St, Burnie, Tasmania, Australia 7320

Arumugam MAHESWARAN born 01.07.25, died 17.07.92 - Son of the late Mr S Arumugam, Government Surveyor and the late Mrs A of Puloly West, Pt Pedro, Educated Hartley College, Pr Pedro, St Peter's College, Wellawatte and University of Ceylon, Peradeniya. He joined the Irrigation Department as an Assistant Engineer in 1949 and rose to the position of Director of Irrigation in 1975. Later appointed Addl. Sec, Ministry of Mahaweli Development and concurrently Director Central Engineering Consultancy Bureau. He was elected President of the Institution of Engineers in 1981. He married Jayarane Nadarasa, daughter of the late Mr S Nadarasa, Reader in Mathematics, University of Ceylon. They have two daughters, Sumithra Prabhakaran and Dr Ramani Sivakadadchan. The funeral took place in Melbourne on 20th July.

The 102nd Annual General Meeting of the Jaffna YMCA was held on August 22 in Jaffna at the YMCA Auditorium. The meeting was followed by a Thanksgiving Service and a Fellowship Lunch.

### INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE ABOUT TAMIL AFFAIRS .....

### MARRIAGES

#### SEEVARATNAM - GURNEY

The marriage took place on Saturday, 5th September at Christ Church, Orpington, of Dr Mohan Seevaratnam of the Royal London Hospital, Whitechapel and son of Mr & Mrs Harry Seevaratnam of Totteridge, London N20, and Sarah, daughter of Dr & Mrs F H M Gurney of Brixham, Devon. The bride is a grand-niece of Bishop Selwyn, one time missionary in Kandy and later Bishop of the Church of South India, Madras.

#### HENDRIX - RANGANATHAN

The marriage took place on 12th September at the Sri Siva Vishnu Temple, Lanham, Maryland, USA of Dr Kumadhini RANGANATHAN, daughter of Mr A Ranganathan (World Bank, Washington DC) and of Mrs Kanamma Ranganathan to Dr Mark Alan Hendrix.

#### PARAMANATHAN - CHINNAIAH

The marriage took place recently of Sumi Paramanathan, daughter of Mr & Mrs M Paramanathan of Brunei, and married J Junes Chinnaiah, son of the late Mr M K Chinnaiah and Mrs Chinnaiah of Toronto, Canada.

ter of the late Mr S Nadarasa, Reader in Mathematics, University of Ceylon. They have two daughters, Sumithra Prabhakaran and Dr Ramani Sivakadadchan. The funeral took place in Melbourne on 20th July.

Sellammah SINNATHAMBY, wife of Hurugesu Sinnathamby of Pooneryn, Eelam, mother of late Sivapathasunderam, and Sivasubramaniam (UK), grand-mother of Dhushanathi, Kamsananthi, Umashankar, Nishanathi, Sujetha, Kavitha and Aravind, expired on 9th September 1992. Cremation took place at the Streatham Cemetery on 12th September 1992. 24 The Grove, Coulsdon, Surrey.

- OCTOBER**
- 4 SUNDAY  
Saraswathy Poojah
  - 5 MONDAY  
Vijeyadasami
  - 7 WEDNESDAY  
Ekadesi Viratham
  - 10 SATURDAY  
Last Saturday in the month of Puraddathi  
7 pm at the  
Commonwealth Institute  
Kensington High Street, W8  
Bhanatha Natya  
Performance with live  
orchestra by Lakshmi  
Ganeson and students of her  
Academy of South India Arts  
For details please contact 081  
845 7900
  - 17 SATURDAY  
7 pm at Acton Town Hall  
Pannum Parathamum, a  
dance drama based on  
Panniru Thirumurai with a  
cast of eight adult dancers  
and pupils of the West  
London Tamil School. For  
tickets please call  
Premaruban on 081 566 1082
  - 19 MONDAY  
Rev Father Peter Pillai  
Birthday
  - 25 SUNDAY  
Deepavali
  - 26 MONDAY  
Kanthasasi Viratham  
Arambam
  - 31 SUNDAY  
Indra Gandhi's  
Remembrance Day

- November**
- 6 FRIDAY  
Ekadesi Viratham
  - 10 TUESDAY  
Martin Luther King  
Birthday
  - 14 SATURDAY  
Jawaharalal Nehru  
Remembrance Day

### JAFFNA CENTRAL WINS JSSA TROPHY



Jaffna Central College defeated St Patrick's College to win the final of the Jaffna Schools Cricket Festival, 1992 on Bank Holiday Monday, August 31 at John Billam Sports Grounds, Harrow. Nearly 2000 past pupils and supporters of 12 Jaffna schools turned out to make the inaugural staging of the festival, organised by the Jaffna Schools Sports Association (JSSA) and sponsored by Skylink Travel Limited.

At 11.30am the Mayor of Brent officially opened the festival by hoisting the JSSA flag. The captains of the 12 participating teams hoisted the flags of their respective schools -

Chithambara College, Hartley College, Jaffna Central, Jaffna Hindu, Kokuvil Hindu, Mahajana College, Manipay Hindu College, Skanda Varodaya College, St John's, St Patrick's and Union College.

Jaffna Central, batting first in the final, rattled up 82 runs for no wickets with K M Thomas scoring 54 with huge sixes and Mano contributing 24 runs. St Patrick's scored 26 runs. Awards were made during the prize presentation by Mr Siva Subramaniam of Skylink Travel. The net proceeds of the festival will go towards providing sports facilities for Jaffna Schools.

<p><b>Norway</b></p> <p>Oslø 02-190037 Trondheim 07-991191 Molde 072-51768 Floro 057-47851 Bergen 05-901647 Stavanger 04-570474 North Norway 085-83145 (Batsfjord)</p>	<p><b>Australia</b></p> <p>Melbourne 03-618 2946 Sydney 02-901 7600</p>	<p><b>Denmark</b></p> <p>Sjælland 31-780999 Jylland 97-840225 Fyn 62-222582</p>	<p><b>New Zealand</b></p> <p>04-4773 170</p>	<p><b>Italy</b></p> <p>Palermo 091-582481 Lecce 0832-308174 Genova 0183-230385 Napoli 081-40113859 Catania 095-538517</p>
<p><b>Germany</b></p> <p>Berlin 030-3944483 Dortmund 0231-314576 Stuttgart 0711-246554 Düsseldorf 0212-246970 Bremen 0421-401142 Hamburg 040-7666983 Schweningen 07720-38030 Neuss 02131-120395 Bonn 0228-692333 Frankfurt 069-4691367 Hannover 0511-8790957 München 089-7212903 Münster 0251-786943 Maastricht 06321-57194</p>	<p><b>Nederland</b></p> <p>070-346 1964</p>	<p><b>Switzerland</b></p> <p>Bern 031-9913862 Zürich 01-2912173 or 01-4514489 Langnau 035-72328 Lausanne 021-250619 Lugano 091-568884 Basel 061-3210289 Chur 081-226093 Luzern 041-551729 Wattwil 074-76527 Solothurn 065-254819</p>	<p><b>United Kingdom</b></p> <p>Tamil 071-837 0808 English 071-833 0949 0898-777 663 (50 lines) call cost 36p/min cheap 49p/min other times</p>	<p><b>France</b></p> <p>Paris 46364949</p>

# TAMIL NATION

**Sri Lanka's State run Sunday Observer berates human rights activists, ngos & Western countries**

**"They are using human rights as moneyed bullies who take a sadistic delight in watching the poor nations dance to their tune"**

Sri Lanka's State run Sunday Observer launched a calculated attack on Human Rights activists, non governmental organisations, and Western countries in an editorial published on September 6. In tones reminiscent of the late Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne, the Observer editorial declared:

*"Human rights (has become) the means of extending Western interests in international affairs. Human rights NGOs were financed and promoted on a global scale by Western forces to influence and steer domestic policies of Second and Third World countries. Hiding behind the universal appeal of human rights, Western powers manipulated the media and other NGOs to plug their line... Human rights organisations became the biggest growth industry in Third World countries. In short, human rights became a lucrative profession for self-seeking opportunists.*

*They began to report directly to human rights agencies set up in Western capitals. The more they reported against their country the more they were invited to the Western cocktail circuit. Besides, feeding Western countries with reports against their own countries had brought them additional funding which allowed them to maintain a champagne standard of living in countries which survive on a toddy income. Some of these so-called human rights activists have even found lucrative jobs abroad - some in academia, some in political fronts set up as human rights organisations in affluent countries...*

*The human rights record of the West does not give them any moral authority to preach to others as to how they should conduct their domestic affairs. The ignominious record of the West in numerous wars in the Third World theatre (beginning from Vietnam to Iraq) makes their claim to impose human rights on others a mockery of gargantuan proportions. Before the West speaks on human rights violations of others it has a moral duty to improve its own record and set the standards for others to follow. Quite blatantly, Westerners wield human rights today as an economic weapon to pursue their political interests. They also use it selectively, favouring those who would promote their interests.*

*So when they impose human rights they are using them not as moral agents but as moneyed bullies who take a sadistic delight in watching the poor nations dance to their tune. The fact that their local agents are willing to dance to their tunes does not mean that the nations too should start wiggling their hips. Perhaps, the only useful purpose that NAM could do at this stage is to rally round Mr. Narasimha Rao's call and put maximum pressure on the West to be more humane and make them accept the basic principle of development as the first principle on which other human rights principles could be built. Let not the West forget that they were not born with human rights enshrined in the womb of their histories. They took centuries to reach even this limited stage of human rights. What is more they too have miles to go before they could preach to others what they cannot achieve themselves."*

## **Aid first, human rights.. er.. later?**

Political analysts say that the state run Observer's bellicose language has something to do with the increasing pressures faced by President Premadasa from Western Aid Donors to put his human rights house in order. They point out that whilst 'human rights' and 'politics' are no doubt inter related, and that whilst Western countries have laid themselves open to the charge of 'selective' use of human rights, the bottom line is that it is Sri Lanka that is seeking aid and assistance from the West and which cannot survive without it. They say that Sri Lanka cannot expect aid to be poured into a country which is an economic shambles and whose Government survives by continuing repression of dissent and an ever increasing resort to armed force. Money alone cannot buy stability. The Shah of Iran and President Marcos of the Philippines are proof enough of that and Aid Donors have clearly begun to recognise that stability will come only with justice. Otherwise aid will simply go to fund further repression and this, it is feared, will prove to be an endless cycle. Hence the growing insistence on 'human rights'. The Premadasa Government, of course, finds all this irksome.

And so, the bluster of the Observer editorial: "Make the West accept development as the basic first principle on which other human rights principles 'could' be built." In other words: "Aid first, human rights.. er.. later! And, after all I am the best man you have got." President Marcos tried the same tack in the Philippines and was eventually compelled to cave in.

## **NIRVANA WITH A SIP OF BRANDY - AND A PINCH OF SALT?**

Asked about his earlier statement that his desire was to attain nirvana, ex President J.R. Jawardene said: 'I am following as best as I can Buddha's teachings. The aim of every Buddhist is to attain nirvana as early as possible.' About reports that he was seeking to attain nirvana with whisky he replied: 'I occasionally sip a little brandy, as advised by my doctor, but not out of habit. In one of the Buddhist texts, I came across an Arhat who took liquor. If an Arhat who attained Nirvana took liquor, what is the harm if a Buddhist trying to attain nirvana takes an occasional sip?' (Courtesy: India Abroad, 25 September)

**Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils writes to Canadian Foreign Minister**

**" recognition and legitimisation will pave the way towards negotiation"**

Mr. V. Thangavelu, on behalf of the Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils (FACT) has written to Hon. Barbara J. McDougall, P.C.M.P., the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs on September 9, 1992 urging that the Canadian Government intervene to secure international mediation in the conflict in the island of Sri Lanka. He also called upon the Canadian Government to secure an international embargo on arms to Sri Lanka. The letter said:

On behalf of the Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils (FACT), we wish to thank you for your letter dated 16th July, 1992. We are sorry for the delay in replying to your letter as we had to discuss the appropriate response we ought to make with like-minded Tamil organisations.

pointed out the Shri Lankan government's ability to finance the genocidal war against the Tamils will collapse the moment the Paris Aid Consortium countries including Canada cut off all aid to that country. This is precisely what the countries of the NATO and the UNO have done in regard to former Yugoslavia. Not only monetary aid had been cut-off, oil and arms embargo too have been clamped down against that country. Why then should Shri Lanka which uses not irregular but well-equipped and well-trained Sinhala army against the Tamils be treated differently?

Is it not a glaring example of double-standard in international politics in dealing with ethnic conflict?

We would like to be permitted to bring to your attention that it was the threat of recognition of Saharan

the violations by the combatants are sporadic. Moreover, due to the nature of liberation wars - "Asymmetrical Conflicts" - the government controls the state machinery and all that goes with it, including the administration of justice; whereas the other party is significantly worse off in terms of material resources at command.

As a result, there is a huge disparity between the abilities of the Shri Lankan government and the LTTE to control human rights violations. While we condemn human rights violations from any quarter, we would like to point out that unlike the states which are parties to the human rights covenants, the liberation movements are not legally subject to the covenants. In short, equating the human rights violations by the Shri Lankan government and those of the LTTE would be anal-

**"the human rights violations by the Shri Lankan government are "gross and systematic" whereas the violations by the combatants are sporadic. Moreover, due to the nature of liberation wars - 'asymmetrical conflicts' - the government controls the state machinery and all that goes with it, including the administration of justice; whereas the other party is significantly worse off in terms of material resources at its command"**

We are sad to observe that the gist of your reply is the same familiar story from the Hon. Minister for the last two years or more. It appears that Canada is yet to be convinced on any bold moves to end the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict. We suspect the proximity of the theatre of conflict and the colour of the people affected are influencing the foreign policy dictates of the Canadian government. Otherwise, we fail to appreciate your contention that "a sustainable political solution cannot be imposed by third parties, it requires the commitment and agreement of all parties to the conflict." But, apparently the government of Canada did not follow this principle in regard to Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

We are of the firm view that third party intervention and mediation is necessary when the opposing parties or one of the parties to the conflict (as in this instance, the government of Shri Lanka) is unwilling to negotiate. As one commentator pointed out when the opposing parties are willing to negotiate there is no need for a mediator. Furthermore, a climate that will encourage the Shri Lankan government to negotiate with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) needs to be created. When the possibility of a unilateral military solution evaporates the Shri Lankan government will be more amenable to negotiate. As we have repeatedly

Arab Democratic Republic (SDS) in Western Sahara that forced Morocco to accept UN mediation. Similarly, as Lord Carrington acknowledged, it was Germany's recognition of Croatia breaking ranks with NATO that forced Serbia to accept cease-fire proposed by the European Community. History is replete with numerous precedents that recognition and legitimisation will pave the way towards negotiation. We are convinced that such a "Political Engineering" on the part of Canada and the International Community will create a moment ripe for negotiation.

Also we would like to point out that like the nationalist conflict in the former Yugoslavia and Iraqi Kurdistan, the current conflict in the Shri Lanka also threatens regional peace and stability and warrant the invocation of Chapter VII of the UN Charter to maintain the same. Such a course of action is not contingent on the consent of the parties involved in the conflict.

With respect to the observance of human rights, you rightly observe that the violations in Shri Lanka are distressing. **We would like to point out that as evidenced by the reports submitted by the NGOs to the Human Rights Commission and Sub-Commission since 1983, the human rights violations by the Shri Lankan government are "Gross and Systematic" whereas**

ogous to placing the human rights violations by the South African government and those by the ANC on the same plane.

Regarding the export of arms to Shri Lanka which has been notoriously prominent in the report of the Human Rights Commission, we commend the Canadian government for bringing Shri Lanka within the purview of the Exports and Imports Act. Canada's act is also consistent with the United Nations resolution that prohibits providing arms to states that suppress peoples' struggle to realise their right to self-determination. However, we are doubtful that Canada's attempt to limit the usage of those weapons for defensive purpose alone will be effective.

Because of concern like these the International Community imposed a total arms embargo on countries which violate the norms and conduct of civilised states, such as South Africa and former Yugoslavia. We would also like to point out that since independence Shri Lanka has never been subjected to external threat. Thus, a total arms embargo by Canada like that of the British government will not only be effective but also influence the Shri Lankan government to opt for a political as opposed to the current military solution to the ethnic conflict.