

TAMIL NATION

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Even more dangerous to the Tamil-speaking people is the Government's colonisation policy. We have only the beginning of it in Gal Oya. The land to be irrigated ... lies in the Eastern Province ... There is evidence that the Government intends planting Sinhalese population in the purely Tamil-speaking area' ...

Mr S J V Chelvanayakam at the inaugural meeting of the Federal Party on 18th December 1949.

GOVERNMENT HELL-BENT ON SINHALA COLONISATION OF TAMIL HOMELAND

Rapid colonisation

of Tamil areas with Sinhalese can only worsen the Sinhala-Tamil conflict further and complicate efforts to find peaceful settlement of the conflict through negotiations even by Third parties.

Mr K H S Gunatillake, the Director of Mahaweli Authority, is reported to have told pressmen that 3000 Sinhalese families would be settled this year in Batticaloa District. According to Mr Gunatillake one thousand three hundred and fifty Sinhalese families from Kalutara, Hambantota, Ratnapura, Nikawariya, Randenigala and Kegalle areas have already been selected for settlement in the Batticaloa District.

Mr Gunatillake has also said that the settlement of Sinhala families in the Batticaloa District was retarded by the activities of the

LTTE but now according to Mr Gunatillake, the Army is able to provide greater security and the Mahaweli Authority proposed to settle the three thousand Sinhalese families in the Batticaloa District this year. Mr Gunatillake has also said that many facilities and incentives would be given to these Sinhala colonists of the Tamil area.

Another report says that Sri Lankan Government is taking steps to settle 1300 Sinhalese families into Pavatkulam in the Vavunia District. Already military and civil officials have visited the proposed area of settlement and within months the Government proposes to settle 1300 Sinhalese families in Pavatkulam giving them financial and other assistance and incentives to settle down in the Tamil District of Vavunia.

Tamils charge that the Sri Lankan Government is hell-bent

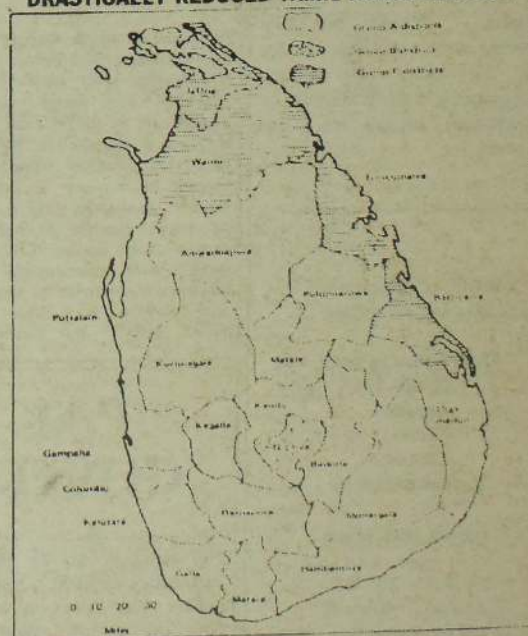
on colonising Tamil areas with Sinhalese in an effort to change the demography of the Tamil homeland and make the Tamils a minority in their own homeland. This Sinhala conspiracy started in the thirties under subterfuge of agricultural development. It was opposed by the Tamils from the beginning. However, the same process of Sinhala colonisation of Tamil areas is being undertaken by the Sinhala government now more openly and with military might and protection. Sinhala colonisation of Tamil homeland is a matter on which the Tamils will never agree to any compromise. The rapid moves of the government to colonise Tamil areas with Sinhalese will inevitably lead to a worsening of the current conflict and further complicate matters and prevent settlement by negotiation even with third party help and assistance.

TAMIL HOMELAND DURING COLONIAL PERIOD

PERON 1739 MAP



DRASTICALLY REDUCED TAMIL HOMELAND NOW



PREMADASA ASSASSINATION

A Victim of his own making - says LTTE

The LTTE leadership has denied any involvement with Sri Lankan President Premadasa's murder. Nobody can deny that Premadasa had numerous enemies. It could

have even been arranged by the opposition parties which blamed Premadasa for Athulathmudali's death or armed forces loyal to Athulathmudali. The truth is that

Premadasa is the victim of the situation which he himself created.

That, this is a suicide bomb, is hardly surprising. Any one of the many thousand individuals who have been affected by Premadasa could have volunteered to sacrifice his life in order to kill him. It is no ordinary matter that more than 60 thousand youth were brutally murdered in the south of the island - we must realise this. We must also note that his death was celebrated with fire crackers in many areas of the south. Therefore, it is

futile to point the finger at the Tigers because of the suicide and the nature of the operation.

40 years of history has shown that neither change of government nor demise of political leaders has produced any great change as far as the Tamil people are concerned, because the racial hatred against the Tamil people is deep-rooted. Therefore, even after Premadasa's death I do not expect the imminent establishment of a political leadership amongst the Sinhalese people that will recognise the aspirations of the Tamil people and on that basis achieve a settlement in a peaceful and harmonious manner. However, the LTTE will continue to strive towards a peaceful settlement.

(extract from an interview with Laurence Thilakar, broadcasted by BBC Tamil World Service on 2/5/93)



Laurence Thilakar

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 not been able to change it, the TAMIL NATION is concerned with only 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 achieved statehood. 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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The views expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of the publishers. TAMIL NATION welcomes reader responses in the form of letters or articles. Contributions should preferably be brief and typed on one side of the paper only.

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ATTORNEY ATHULATHMUDALI - An appreciation

Don't get us wrong when we say that we love Lalith Athulathmudali in one sense. A dictionary definition for 'attorney' states, "one appointed to act for another in business or legal matters". To Lalith Athulathmudali, this function perfectly fitted his shoes. He was the attorney of Sinhalese interests. Personally he was not only ambitious, articulate and assertive, but also arrogant and audacious in his dealings with Eelam Tamils. In an important way, we feel that attorney Athulathmudali was a god-send guy to the Tamils to wake them from their slumber on defending the Eelam territory. So many thousands of Tamil lives and limbs would have been spared if not for the rash decisions made by this legal scholar while he held power. Thus, he, in his arrogant style, contributed to the 'fighting spirit' of the Eelam Tamils and activists.

Let us present some of Lalith Athulathmudali's thoughts chronologically as recorded in 1984 and 1985. History will record that these two years (following the 1983 holocaust) were vital for Eelam campaign. He was crowned as the 'war minister' in March 23, 1984 and held this position for almost five years, till president Premadasa clipped Lalith's wings of command in early 1989. There is no doubt Athulathmudali contributed to the current vigour of Eelam consciousness. Hence, our love on him. Athulathmudali was the attorney for the Sinhalese interests in the 1980s, when he delivered the following messages;

1. "Sri Lanka has no quarrel with India. Its fight is against the Tamil terrorists. What is being done in the North (of Sri Lanka) is not intended to provoke India, with whom of we have had a long and traditional friendship" (*The Hindu*, April 3, 1984)
2. "This is a battle that we can win and I am more confident of that today than I was on March 23 when I took on this ministry (of National Security)" (*The Hindu*, April 26, 1984)
3. "Ultimately, we will have the entire population that is opposed to terrorism armed to the teeth" (*Newsweek*, August 27, 1984)
4. "Elements in the North (must) get out of their fear of the terrorist syndrome ... They have to stand up and say: although we wanted a separate state, we now know (it) is not possible and therefore we have a compromise with

honour"

(*Asiaweek*, August 31, 1984)

5. "If you are weak in the face of terrorism, you stand no chance" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 20, 1984)
6. [On the army massacre of more than 100 Tamil civilians in Mannar] "The Government does not condone such killings. When anyone dies it is a minus for this country. We have to investigate. We shall act to discipline them (army) if there is grave evidence that they lined up people and killed them" (*New York Times*, December 8, 1984)
7. "What is at stake is our independence, the unity of our country, the democratic way of life. We are faced by an enemy who does not want to talk to us, an enemy who wants to kill all of us" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 21, 1985)
8. "We are often accused of having the most undisciplined armed forces in the world. But then we also have the most brutal terrorists in the world. Under the circumstances, the armed forces' record was not too bad, when you consider they were formally purely a ceremonial force, and were not trained for this" (*London Times*, April 10, 1985)
9. [On the government spending of 60 million dollars for resettling 200,000 Tamils and Sinhalese in the border areas in the north] "They will dilute the ethnic mix in the north" (*Economist*, April 13, 1985)
10. "This is the most dangerous time Sri Lanka has ever known. These terrorists say that their ultimate goal is to take on the Sri Lankan army, face to face, in conventional infantry warfare. How I wish they would. I am ready. The Army is ready" (*Time*, April 22, 1985)
11. "If they (guerrillas) come out for a face-to-face fight with the security forces they can be eliminated within one month" (*Arab News*, May 18, 1985)
12. "I don't like this concept of traditional homeland. The whole of Sri Lanka belongs to all of us and you cannot push a homeland thesis simply because the Tamil speaking

population of Sri Lanka live in certain provinces"

(*India Today*, September 15, 1985)

13. [On the autonomy to the North-East provinces]

"The facts are simply against it"

(*The Nation*, New York, November 30 1985)

Of these selected 13 quotes of attorney Athulathmudali, we really like quote number 5 for its brevity and truth. "If you are weak in the face of terrorism, you stand no chance". He was an agent of state-sponsored terrorism and Tamils should never forget this advice of him for a long time.



ATHULATHMUDALI

During the abortive 1987 peace agreement, Athulathmudali insisted that the Indian army hand over some Tamil Tigers they arrested in the Palk Straits en route to India. Half of the captives subsequently committed suicide, which then widened the conflict as the Tigers directly attacked the Indian army in northern Sri Lanka. When I said to Athulathmudali that he must have known this would occur, he readily agreed, saying that it was exactly what he wanted to happen, in order to have India on his side.
Bruce Paling (Independent, London)

REMEMBERING THE 82 MARTYRS WHO DIED AT SILAVATHURAI

A ceremony to commemorate the 2nd Anniversary of the death of the 82 Martyrs who perished while attacking the Army camp at Silavathurai in the Mannar District was held at Navatkuli recently. At a meeting held at "Saranaalayam" erected in memory of the above martyrs, the Tamil Eelam national flag was hoisted by Karikalan who was in charge of the LTTE political wing. He introduced to the audience the parents of those who had sacrificed their lives for the Tamil cause. The meeting was

commenced with the lighting of the lamp by Ilamparithy, the Administering Officer, Jaffna District, and by the Officer-in-Charge of the Tamil Martyrs Office. The photographs of the Martyrs were garlanded by their grieving parents. Finally, at the meeting, Karikalan, the Assistant Administrator of LTTE Political Wing, Thamilanpan, Assistant Political Administrator, Jaffna District, Miss Malini of the Women's Section and Thamilan, Officer-in-Charge of Chavakacheri area, all spoke.

'PAK TRYING TO COVER ITS TRACKS'

The reaction of the Pakistani authorities to India's request to cancel any visas granted to Dawood Ibrahim indicated that Pakistan will take all possible measures to prevent exposure of its involvement in the Bombay blasts, the Government said in the Rajya Sabha on

Wednesday. Minister of State for External Affairs R.L.Bhatia said in a written reply that India had requested the UAE government to apprehend and deport Dawood Ibrahim, a key suspect for the blasts believed to be in Dubai. It had also sought co-

CAN THOPPIGALA FOREST COME UNDER ARMY CONTROL?

The Sri Lankan army commandoes have been applying their utmost efforts, for more than a month now, to bring the Thoppigala forest area under their control, but without success. This forest is situated near Sittandy junction in the Batticaloa District in the Eastern Province and extends over a wide area. It is supposed to be the 'Fortress' of the Tiger militants. Under the episode "Operation Saman" the Sri Lankan army has erected camps all round this forest and are pursuing extensive military activities. This has been the single longest military episode of the army in its history.

For a long time the Security Forces have been suspecting that this could be the headquarters of the LTTE; and it was felt at the military high command that if Thoppigala forest could be captured it would be the

death blow for the Tigers.

But, although they had been attacking for over a month nothing substantial has been achieved. The army personnel have not been able to break through into the forest; and even if they do, they cannot wait there, and would be forced to come out to replenish themselves with food and ammunitions. Moreover, they could be under constant surveillance and attack by the Tigers.

In the meantime, the "Operation Hurricane" in the North has ended in stalemate. The army has not been able to gain even an inch of land. But, the excuse given by the army is that they were undertaking routine attacks from time to time only as a precautionary measure, lest the Tigers attack them first!

(Courtesy - 'Virakesari')

operation from their countries, including Pakistan, that any visas granted to him be cancelled immediately.

Pak camps for militants: An estimated 18,000 Kashmiri militants are being trained in camps both in Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. The Government has intensified surveillance and

patrolling along the border to prevent infiltration from Pakistan.

Article 356 used 90 times: The Centre has so far invoked Article 356 of the Constitution 90 times between June 20, 1951 and March 11, 1993 to dismiss state governments, Minister of State for Home P.M.Sayeed said.

WE MUST BEGIN TO SEE OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US

Says Adrian Wijemanne

Mr Adrian Wijemanne, whose first book titled "War & Peace in Post Colonial Ceylon 1948 - 1991" is due to be published later in 1993, is currently writing his second book titled "So what went wrong?", which he says deals with the "ethical and moral issues involved in the conflict between the Sinhala and Tamil nations on the Island".

In a letter to a friend, the author states that he is making the point "that the fault lies not with our politicians, but in ourselves - an exposure of our collective guilt for the underlying assumptions in Sinhala society that have led inevitably to war". He adds that the Sinhala nation is in the unhappy predicament of many nations which suffered the disaster of engaging in various and unwinnable wars and have paid a heavy price for their folly and that he regards the lonely crusade in which he is now engaged as the most important part of his life's work.

What follows is a draft of a chapter in his second book.

PUBLIC MORALITY, EDUCATION AND VIOLENCE (Chapter 6)

An intriguing and universal feature of morality, of even the most elevated moral code, is the ease with which human beings while assimilating it for themselves at the same time limit its application. In the dimmest recesses of time men and women observed within their tribe a known and accepted moral code; however, in their relationships with other tribes "no holds were barred". The two-thousand year evolution of tribes into nation states has changed little in this respect. Within the nation-state the law embodies the accepted concepts of natural justice and equity and the fair balance of rights and obligations; outside the frontiers of the nation-state, in the international arena, the law of the jungle prevails. It is only within the last 50 years that some semblance of international law has emerged. And it is only in the last two years that the international community is groping towards the need for enforcement of international law. Morality is easily internalised (i.e. applied to oneself, one's family, one's community and, in the last resort, one's country) and is not easily projected beyond one's own.

Sri Lanka's history since independence in 1948 is a classic demonstration of this difficulty. Every government that held power, and the one that now holds power, seeks earnestly to do what is right and just for the Sinhala people, reflecting faithfully in so doing the wishes of the great mass of the Sinhala people themselves. How such actions will affect others outside the Sinhala nation is of little or no concern. What is right and good for the Sinhala people is right.

The belief was universal in Sinhala society that limiting the citizenship of the newly independent state to "sons of the soil" ("bhūmiputras" in the Malaysian context) was right and moral; coupling voting rights to such a restricted concept of citizenship was right and moral. No thought was spared for the million souls and more not less who lost a claim to citizenship and the precious right to vote which they had enjoyed under British colonial rule. That the new state should be less liberal in these respects than its colonial predecessor was considered absolutely right and just because it was in the interests of the indigenous Sinhala and Tamil nations. The concept of public morality was internalised and limited - we care not for what happens to those beyond the laager.

The narrowing continued with "Sinhala Only". What is good for the Sinhala race was right and good - never mind what happens to others. Public pressures in the areas of agricultural and industrial activity went in the same direction - what was beneficial to Sinhala people was the highest good and became the object of state policy. How others were affected mattered not.

It is that attitude of the Sinhala people to which their politicians gave effect. To blame the politicians for what the people so strongly demanded and approved is to stand cause and effect upon their heads. The politicians faithfully carried out what the Sinhala people were convinced was absolutely right.

Public morality, among the Sinhala people as with many other peoples, is a limited concept applicable only within their own society. Never once during the 44 years of independence has the question been asked within Sinhala society - "Is what we are doing right and fair by others?" - "Is there some merit in the objections they raise so vigorously?" - "Are we, by far the largest ethnic group, in possession of the most

fertile and productive land on the island, being magnanimous to, and helpful towards, those less favoured?" These are not questions of woolly altruism and starry-eyed benevolence. They are hard questions that go to the very bedrock of our security and prosperity. For the highest standards of public morality are also the best policy.

It is just the same as in personal life. It is universally accepted that in the sphere of personal morality we must always make a conscious attempt to put others before ourselves. It is not uncommon for us to ask ourselves "How will my actions affect others?" And, when we know they will be adversely affected, to take stock of what we are about to do. It is by such sensitiveness to the feelings of others that we evoke a similar response from them. These are standards that we accept as good for ourselves, both morally and it is never too late to change. We must be asking ourselves "What do the Tamil people want and how can we help them get it?" They have voted overwhelmingly in 1977 for a state of their own; it is for us now to do our best to help them get it. Therein lies the path to peace and prosperity for the Sinhala people. This is not visionary nonsense; it is hard practical politics which will end hundreds

Every government that held power, and the one that now holds power, seeks earnestly to do what is right and good for the Sinhala people, reflecting faithfully in so doing the wishes of the great mass of the Sinhala people themselves. How such actions will affect others outside the Sinhala nation is of little or no concern.

of years of chaos and usher in a new age in which both nations will have the opportunity to re-join the world and contribute to, and benefit from, its progress in the 21st century.

There is no question but this is diametrically the opposite of what we have been taught to believe and what we have accepted too long unquestioningly. We have been taught that our safety lies in the majority in a single, all-island state comprising all the land "from sea to shining sea". We have been taught that the indigenous Tamil nation is a predator who if "given an inch will take a mile". We have been taught that their word cannot be relied upon. We have been taught that there is no justice in an eighth of the population getting one third of the land and two-thirds of the coastline of the island. We have been taught that if Sri Lanka shrinks to two-thirds of its present size we will all be impoverished. We have been taught that while the indigenous Tamil nation has an ultimate home across the water in the Indian state of Tamilnadu, we, the Sinhala nation, has nowhere else to go. We have been taught that separation into two states will guarantee the continuance of the war not peace. We have been taught that the Sinhala and Muslim minorities in the state of Eelam will be discriminated against and will suffer. We have been taught that Buddhism in its purest Theravada form will vanish from the face of the earth if the unity of the island and the dominance of the Sinhala Buddhists therein is not maintained.

The near-universal prevalence of these apocalyptic fears and mindless prejudices in Sinhala society shows the medieval state of the education system to which it has been subjected. If these were fears entertained by the smaller of the two nations there would be some semblance of a rationale. But the Tamil nation, one-eighth the size of the Sinhala nation in population terms, entertains none of these ridiculous fears. They are perfectly content to be cheek by jowl with an hysterical neighbour eight times their size and are confident of being able to survive. They perceive no threat from the Sinhala people and they have no hallucinations about being driven en masse into the sea. Far from having an ultimate home in India their relationship to the Indian central government and the state government of

Tamilnadu, is, if at all, worse than that of the Sinhala nation. They are not asking anybody for one-third of the island and two-thirds of its coastline - they have had them for centuries and have them to this day (subject to a few enclaves held precariously by the Sri Lankan army). And as for trustworthiness it is Sinhala leaders who have resiled from solemn written agreements with them on the most specious of excuses adding insult to injury.

Let us now examine each of these atavistic fears individually and rationally.

First, that our safety lies in being a majority in a single all-island state. The Sinhala nation is unquestionably the most numerous of all the ethnic groups on the island. It possesses two-thirds of the island's land area comprising its most fertile and productive land. Its language and culture have survived through hundreds of years of turmoil and finally colonial subjugation. All this has been achieved throughout the centuries in a multi-state island. The last 44 years of majority dominance in a single all-island state have witnessed 27 pogroms against Tamil civilians from 1956 to 1983, two bloody uprisings by Sinhala youths resulting in a total of perhaps 50,000 killed and open warfare for 9 years from 1983 to the present. Majority dominance in a single all-island state has brought not safety and security but chaos, ruin and war. The evidence of real life is diametrically the opposite of what we believe.

Then the fear that the Tamil nation is a predator that will gobble up Sinhala-occupied areas. The Tamil nation has never claimed anything other than their homeland which, since 1987, has been established by law as comprising the northern and eastern provinces of the former British colony of Ceylon. They are fighting to eject the Sri Lankan army from the parts of this area which it is occupying against their wishes. Not an inch of the seven Sinhala-occupied provinces is under attack from them - peace and tranquillity prevail in that area. It is in the very hearths and homes of the Tamil people that war is now being waged by us against them. It is their towns and cities that are subject to naval and aerial bombardment by us. To believe that they are more dangerous to us than we are to them is to reverse reality completely.

"Can we trust the Tamils?" is a rhetorical question that is often asked. Yet the record is that it is Mr Bandaranaike and Mr Dudley Senanayake who resiled from solemn written agreements that each of them signed with Mr Chelvanayakam - not the other way around. Having broken our word we turn round and ask whether we can trust them! Mr Prabhakaran is supposed to have broken his word to Mr Premadasa in the pre-emptive strike of June '90. Their version is that it was the Sinhala side that broke their word in increasing the troop strength in the eastern province by disguising special forces commandos as ordinary police. The jury is still out on who broke his word first. It is undeniable, however, that they have better grounds for distrusting us than we have for distrusting them. We must begin to see ourselves as others see us.

We make a great and constant play about one-eighth of the population not being reasonably entitled to one-third of the island and two-thirds of its coastline. We seldom mention that one-third of the island and two-thirds of the coastline have been in their possession for centuries and continue so to this day. There is no call upon "us" to give all this to "them" because they have it already. It is impossible to give to someone what he/she already has. This simple fact is beyond our comprehension because we have been brain-washed into believing this is all in our possession and we have to part with

it to the Tamils. The elementary, verifiable, physical facts on the ground are the very opposite of the dismaying notion of sacrifice that we struggle with. This is a nightmare of our own creation. We have managed perfectly well without possession of this one-third of the island and two-thirds of its coastline for hundreds of years and there is not a shadow of doubt that we will continue to do so.

There is a gut feeling that if the Sinhala nation is restricted to a country comprising the seven provinces of the former British colony of Ceylon, it will be impoverished. We need a large territory to prosper. The French have a uniquely appropriate phrase for this - *folie de grandeur*. A quick look around the world will show there is little correlation between size and prosperity. Sri Lanka less Eelam will be about the size of Switzerland, the most prosperous state in Europe. It will be about a sixth larger than Taiwan which today has the world's largest foreign currency reserves. It will be 75 times bigger than the state of Singapore which is estimated to become the world's richest state in per capita income in the year 2000. The Sinhala nation will be thoroughly impoverished not by a contraction of area but by unremitting war and self-destructive policies, from both of which our deliverance lies in our own hands.

The "nowhere to go" syndrome is, perhaps, the most extreme example of the medieval nature of our thinking. It is perfectly true that in ancient, and right down to early medieval times, there were large wholesale migrations of tribal people. For many centuries since, nations have been rooted to their territories which is what has made them into nations as distinct from wandering tribes. In the last few centuries there has been no case of an entire nation pulling up the stakes and marching en masse into some neighbouring territory. There is no call upon the Sinhala nation to go anywhere. Its whole history is an eloquent tribute to its fortitude in holding fast to the ground on which it stood, unbudged by centuries of buffeting from Indian invasions. The fear that we have nowhere to go is an absurdity dredged up from a medieval proto-subconscious and is a just cause for alarm as to how primitive we really are and how thin the superficial veneer of modernism is.

The argument that two states on the island will guarantee war not peace is also derived from our medieval past. Even a cursory glance through the Mahavamsa and the Chulavamsa will show that war, not peace, was seemingly the divinely ordained relationship between the many kingdoms (one can hardly call them states) on the island. To believe that in this day and age we can have no relationship other than war with a neighbouring state is an absurdity which beggars description. For 44 years since 1948 we have had peace, not war, with our immediate neighbour, India, despite great strains and tensions. Most of the world's countries are at peace with their neighbours - war is the exception. There are well-established norms and practices which secure international good-neighbourliness; efforts are constantly under way to improve them as new problems arise. Even where a new state secures its independence by bloody warfare the resulting neighbour-states are not doomed to incessant warfare *inter se*. When the Irish Free State won its independence from Great Britain in 1922 after hundreds of years of guerrilla warfare the same blind fears were expressed but in the 70 years since then the two states have been at peace.

Separation brought peace and ended war - not the other way round. Peace is the normal state but peace has to be secured by unremitting effort towards building up good neighbourly relationships. Not only should we secure peace by recognising the state of Eelam, we must assist that state in every way possible within our limited means and win its goodwill and support in our own endeavours to build up our nation. Two states on the island are a wonderful opportunity for putting the past behind us and for building a mutual relationship which could be a shining example of good neighbourliness for the whole South Asian region. Relationships of war and peace are not divinely ordained - they are the work of human beings and where there is a will to peace there is always a way.

Our attitude towards the minorities question reveals a great deal about ourselves. We are convinced that if ever the state of Eelam is established the Sinhala and Muslim minorities within it will be discriminated against and will suffer. What evidence have we for such a belief? We know how we, as a majority in the unitary all-island state, treated the minority Tamils. We believe that the discrimination that we practised will be repeated by the Tamil government of Eelam. But why should they be bound

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Goggles

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. stand for the place from which this particular goliard comes from - Parithu Thurai / Cotton Port

The Fall of a Czar

The word czar is a shortened version of Caesar, the Roman emperor. Caesar's life is currently remembered by many through the 1599 play of Shakespeare. And the eulogy to his fallen friend Caesar, by Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony) beginning with "Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears", is one of the most quoted lines of Shakespeare.

In this column, I wish to reminisce on Mark Antony's mob-manipulating oration and the lucid rendition of Brutus's reasoning for the assassination of Caesar. Since I'm not a Shakespearean scholar, I will quote the analysis presented by John Wilders, one of BBC's literary consultant, (The BBC TV Shakespeare series, Mayflower Books, 1979), on the eulogy of Mark Antony. "Throughout (the eulogy) Antony claims not to be using the methods he actually practises; he dares not to praise Caesar but then proceeds to do so; he dares to applaud Brutus for his honourable nature while actually casting doubt on it; he dares not to disprove

Brutus's argument yet repeatedly refutes it; he claims to be fearful of rebellion while actually inciting it; he refuses to read Caesar's will, but reveals its contents, ostensibly at the request of the people but in fact to suit his own purposes; he seems to be overcome with grief but displays it calculatedly. Hence, when the crowd are roused to mutiny, they believe they have made the decision for themselves..."

John Wilders continue, "The people have a choice between believing Brutus's account of Caesar as a tyrant and Antony's portrayal of him as generous and compassionate. They choose the latter version not because it is necessarily more reliable but because it is more movingly conveyed..."

Since Antony's eulogy had been presented by Shakespeare as manipulating the mood of the crowd, one needs to relish the funeral oration of Brutus, as presented by the bard. John Wilders observed that, "Brutus's speech, in prose, is sober, lucid and has the balanced sentence structure typical of a logical, thoughtful scholar". This is what the master playwright placed in the mouth of Brutus,

explaining why he consented for eliminating Caesar.

Brutus: "Romans, countrymen, and lovers! hear me for my cause, and be silent, that you may hear. Believe me for mine honour, and have respect to mine honour, that you may believe. Censure me in your wisdom, and awake your senses, that you may the better judge. If there be any in this assembly, any dear friend of Caesar's, to him I say that Brutus's love to Caesar was no less than his. If then that friend demand why Brutus rose against Caesar, this is my answer: Not that I lov'd Caesar less, but that I lov'd Rome more. Had you rather Caesar were living, and die all slaves, than that Caesar were dead, to live all free men? As Caesar lov'd me, I weep for him; as he was fortunate, I rejoice at it; as he was valiant, I honour him; but as he was ambitious, I slew him. There is tears for his love; joy for his fortune; honour for his valour; and death for his ambition. Who is here so base that would be a bondman? If any, speak; for him have I offended. Who is here so rude that would not be a Roman? If any, speak; for him have I offended. Who is here so vile

that will not love his country? If any, speak; for him have I offended. I pause for a reply".

All: "None, Brutus, none".

Brutus: "Then none have I offended. I have done no more to Caesar than you shall do to Brutus. The question of his death is enroll'd in the capitol; his glory was not extenuated, wherein he was worthy; nor his offences enforc'd, for which he suffered death".

[Enter Mark Antony and others with Caesar's body.]

"Here comes his body, mourn'd by Mark Antony, who, though he had no hand in his death, shall receive the benefit of his dying, a place in the commonwealth, as which of you shall not? With this I depart, that, as I slew by best lover for the good of Rome, I have the same dagger for myself, when it shall please my country to need my death".

Well, Julius Caesar was not the last politician who ascended the throne with good intentions and turned into a dictator. Almost every country (including Sri Lanka), during the last two millenia, had seen the rise of

politicians who modelled themselves as a caesar and suffered the fate of the Roman emperor. And the late President Ranasinghe Premadasa is the latest example.

Apart from being one of the 20th century proteges of Caesar, the man from Kehelwatte, also mastered the art of Mark Antony during his four decades long political career. He postured for peace but practised intimidation of all kinds. And his downfall could be attributed to this flaw. That Tamil proverb, "Thinal vithaithavan thinal aruppaan; vinal vithaithavan vinal aruppaan" said it all.

The one who sows millet will reap millet; the one who sows misery will reap misery.

FROM THE WAR FRONT

S L ARMY ATTEMPTS FOILED

The LTTE foiled an attempt made by Sri Lankan Army encamped at Iyakachchi to move into Palai on a westerly direction. The S L Army made its unsuccessful bid on Thursday, March 25 in the morning about 8.00.

Armoured and other heavy vehicles were used by the Sri Lankan Army in its attempt to capture further free territory but the LTTE opened heavy fire and the Sri Lankan Army withdrew to its earlier position.

As ground troops tried to move, heavy artillery shell attack was undertaken by the S L Army from its Elephant Pass Camp directed towards the villages of Pulopalai, Tharmakerni, Cholanpattu, Masar and Maruthankerni. The people in these villages were forced to abandon their dwellings and flee towards safer areas till the artillery shell attack continued.

A second attempt at aggression by the S L Army was foiled by the Tigers on Saturday, March 27.

According to reports the S L Army in Valikamam West tried to break through into free Tamil Eelam territory at Vilan in Valikamam West about 7.30pm on Saturday, March 27.

The LTTE started to attack the S L soldiers who tried to move. Consequent to Tiger attack S L forces withdrew to their positions. The Tigers said that there was no loss on their side but expected heavy loss for the S L Forces.

A third attempt by the Sri Lankan forces also failed when the Sri Lankan Army encamped at Sillalai tried to move into free Tamil Eelam territory on Monday, March 29 about 6.30pm.

When the Sri Lankan forces moved about 50 meters from their positions at Sillalai the LTTE opened heavy fire on the Sri Lankan Army, the Sri Lankan Army could not move any further. They retreated to their positions.

Wednesday, March 24

There was artillery shell attack from S L Army encamped at Cheenankaladdy, Alaveddy at 8.00pm. Several houses at Vilan and Alaveddy were reported

damaged by shell attack. S L Army also resorted to gunfire. Navy opened fire on fishermen from Ariyalai, Poompukar and Columbuturai about 7.00am. Fishermen returned without work for the day.

Thursday, March 25

An Argentine made Pukara, bomber hit Periyapandivirichchan in Mannar District in the early hours of the morning. S L troops started firing from their positions at Nochemmoddai sentry posts in the Vavunia District early at 2.40am. The firing, directed at random, lasted for 15 minutes.

Monday, March 29

Naval gun-boat launched cannon attack on the coast of Alankerni near Kilali about 5.00am. At the same time S L Naval men started gun-fire.

S L Army encamped in Valikamam West opened gun-fire towards Chulipuram. No deaths were caused.

TIGERS DRIVE BACK SRI LANKAN ARMY

LTTE gave battle and drove back a contingent of Sri Lankan Army who tried to move from their positions at Kattuvan into free Tamil Eelam territory.

Sri Lankan soldiers at Kattuvan in Valikamam North sentry moved about 200 yards from their positions on Sunday, April 4 early morning at 7.30. They tried to move into free Tamil Eelam territory.

The LTTE opened fire and a battle ensued at the end of which the Sri Lankan soldiers retreated. Thereafter the S L Army at Palai began shell attack. A helicopter was also engaged in firing from the skies. One civilian was injured. One Tiger fighter died in this battle. The S L Army is believed to have sustained heavy loss which however was not estimated.

LIGHTNING ATTACK IN MANNAR ISLAND BRIDGE

Monday, April 5 at 10.38pm the LTTE attacked a Jeep belonging to the Sri

Lankan Army. The attack took place on the bridge connecting the Thollady Sri Lankan Army Camp and the Mannar Fort Sri Lankan Army Camp between Karichaddi bridge S L Army Sentry post and the big bridge.

The attack took place with lightning speed that it was over in one minute. Three army men died on the spot including an officer of the rank of lieutenant. The Tigers recovered arms and ammunitions from the Sri Lankan soldiers killed in this attack.

The Jeep in which the Army men travelled, fell upside down into the sea and was completely destroyed by the LTTE.

This is the third attack carried out by the LTTE in an area which the Sri Lankan Government claims to be under its control.

MINI CAMP DESTROYED AT MANAL ARU

LTTE attacked and destroyed completely a Sri Lankan mini Army Camp at Manal Aru on Friday, April 9.

LTTE attacked the Sri Lankan Army mini camp between Kent Farm Army Camp and Ceylon Theatres Army Camp at manal Aru on Friday, April 9 at about 8.15am. The mini camp was put up to provide security to Sinhalese families settled in this area.

Sri Lankan troops from the two main camps at Kent Farm and Ceylon Theatres Camp rushed for relief with tank and helicopter equipped with cannon for support action but other groups of Tigers attacked them too. There was heavy artillery shell fire directed towards Tiger positions from the Kent Farm and Ceylon Theatres Army Camps.

The battle lasted for 45 minutes at the end of which the LTTE collected a haul of arms, ammunitions and other military-ware from the mini camp and destroyed it completely.

The LTTE announced, it estimated 20 Sri Lankan soldiers killed and also said that ten of its own fighters died in action. The Sri Lankan Government has admitted 19 Sinhala soldiers including an officer as killed in combat.

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Jaffna - A Tropical Sarajevo by Inge Genefke

Et Tropisk Sarajevo



I was reminded during my visit, to the Island, of the beautiful description Neruda had written about Ceylon/Sri Lanka, 65 years back. He has loved this Island so dearly that he called it "The most beautiful Island in the world".

Today his description of this Island has painfully changed to a bitter one. Once his description did give pride to this country, but now ten years of merciless internal war has changed this compliment given to Sri Lanka. During my visit to the bombarded and besieged city of Jaffna, in the northern point, I was reminded of Neruda's words.

I was able to know all about the ten years internal war through Tamils whom I met and spoke with. The secretariat was a rubble of ruins, the Law Courts was razed to the ground due to aerial bombarding, the Library was flattened to the ground, the Stadium, TV Station and each house out of four was destroyed the same way.

The houses and buildings that escaped the destruction were standing riddled with hand grenade and bullet holes. In other houses and buildings that escaped the wrath people from that area lived cramped in each house. About five to six families live in each house. At the same time there are about 300,000 people living in Refugee Camps in the area. Jaffna is surrounded to the south, some islands in the west, towards the north and East infact on all directions by the Sri Lankan Government armed forces. The armed forces almost fully comprises of those recruited from the Sinhalese.

The Centre of this city is under the full control of the guerrilla movement the LTTE which is fighting for the freedom of the Tamil people from the Sinhala regime. During the last ten years of war the LTTE had fought many alternative forces. Up to 1987 LTTE had fought the Sri Lankan Armed forces, and from 1987 to 1990 it fought a 100,000 strong unscrupulous Indian

Dr Inge Genefke, chief of the rehabilitation centre for torture victims visited Sri Lanka on January, but not as a tourist with Larsen Tourist. Her tour to the largest city of the Tamils war-torn and besieged by continuous internal war, without food, electricity and medicine. This town, compared with Sarajevo, has lacked world attention.

Army. Now the Indian Army had returned to their land, but the Sri Lankan armed forces continue to be the enemy.

Travelling to Jaffna is not an easy task. I succeeded in going after making several attempts. In the early days the journey took only half a day but now it will take three days, and if one is lucky. Although it is one of the largest cities Jaffna does not have any direct transport. The main direct way is through Elephant Pass - a strip of land that connects Jaffna with other parts of the country. This route has been closed by the armed forces for the last few years and no one is able to use this route.

The one and only safe and possible route is a two hour sea journey from a Naval and military base to Point Pedro and a one hour drive to Jaffna town.

Traffic is congested. The price of a litre of Petrol is 50 US Dollars, the world's most expensively priced. The above route for transport is used by the International Red Cross. To make the sea journey possible between the base under the Sinhalese and the LTTE controlled town of Point Pedro, this aid agency has chartered two small ships. These ships are used for the transport of urgently needed commodities for the people who have been trapped in the area for many years.

If not for these two ships deployed by the International Red Cross the situation in Jaffna would have been more desperate.

Earlier the Tamils received help from the Tamil people living on the other side of Palk Strait in the southern state of India. Most commodities were brought by sea from here to Jaffna during many years in the past.

This was stopped after the assassination of the then Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi in 1991.

Subsequently the Sri Lankan Government imposed economic blockade on the Tamils and this was severely imposed on Jaffna.

People of Jaffna suffer similarly like the people of Sarajevo - living under severe blockade of humanitarian assistance, aerial bombardments, and shellings by the armed forces. The problems that confronted the people of Sarajevo attracted world attention. But on the contrary the world had almost failed to see and note the sufferings that the people of "Tropical Sarajevo" - a sister city - are undergoing.

On Christmas day the Sri Lankan Armed Forces carried out an aerial bombardment of the neighbouring areas thereby creating bitterness among the Christians.

The Jaffna Hospital is 145 years old and is supposed to be one of the oldest in South Asia. There were facilities to treat 1200 patients. At present the situation in this hospital is uncertain - Doctors and nurses are compelled to treat and look after more than 2000 patients. The hospital has not lost its identity even after the severe bombardment it took at the early stages during this war, and it still stands out as a sign of this bitter war.

The city has not had electricity for the past few years, but with the help of a generator, for a few hours a day, water is pumped for the hospital. Jaffna hospital is supposed to be one of the filthiest hospitals in the world. Doctors, Nurses and Medical officers complained that medicines such as pain killers, medicine for heart patients, insulin, pills for malaria and morphine are in short supply. In Jaffna alone 23 patients died as a result of dog bite due to non-availability of serum. The only incubator available to keep premature babies in, is lying idle due to lack of facilities.

There is a severe shortage of basic food, and those who are affected very badly are expectant mothers and small children. Expectant mothers and small children who are in urgent need of blood suffer most due to lack of blood donated.

During the recent past there had been a severe problem of underweight children. Children are born 60% below normal weight.

According to some nurses the Government forces have reduced much of all aid brought to Jaffna.

In November due to lack of medicines one of the nurses left for Colombo - the capital city - travelling through the most dangerous route - with 1500 US Dollars to purchase medicines for refugees living in 50 centres.

He was not successful in his attempt. The Government banned him from taking expensive medicines to Jaffna.

During the past few years refugees started heading towards Jaffna. Half the population of the Jaffna peninsula are living as refugees - and more than 300,000 live in refugee camps. People are living with only one meal a day due to the shortage of food as a result of the blockade of the aids.

We visited some Refugee centres in areas controlled by the Government forces. We visited one such centre near Triconmalee where there were 8000 refugees. There we saw these refugees housed in nine aeroplane hangars cramped up and kept like animals.

8000 refugees housed in nine aeroplane hangars cramped up and kept like animals.

During the worst situation there were about 12000 refugees kept in this place.

All these camps are enclosed by barbed-wire and soldiers guard them. The refugees suffer hardships and even torture from time to time by the armed guards. Torturing is carried out all over Sri Lanka. In the 1970's the Leftist Freedom Movement started by the youngsters (J.V.P.), the Tamil Sinhalese conflict in the North and East, and the bloody campaign started at the end of 80's by the J.V.P, put this small Island in the most brutal and unbelievable situation.

Recognised International Humanitarian bodies such as Amnesty International have at times intervened and had pointed to all parties, the Police, Military, and the Tamil Tigers that they are guilty of killings and ill treatment of their opponents.

A small group of Doctors and helpers have made all efforts to give treatment and help those who survived and have lost their parents and relations and the small children who have lost their parents, but it will take long for them to get well.

Overall everyone - the Tamils, Sinhalese, and Muslims are tired of this war and all wish to have peace, but many are of the opinion that there is no hope for anyone to win.

During the past few months the International Community had shown a shocking attitude towards Sarajevo, but this same attention should be definitely turned towards the sufferings the Tamil people in Jaffna have undergone for the past few years. The international Community should make all efforts for Jaffna to receive all humanitarian aids.

It is the main responsibility of the Sri Lankan Government for the lives and welfare of all its people. The Government should also take steps to stop the aerial attacks and order the aerial bombardments on Jaffna peninsula since this bombardments kill the civilian population.

I just think for myself if Neruda sees his beloved Ceylon today what he would have written about. Sometimes he might have described the same way how the lady Poet Anne Ranasinghe had described in her poem "In which dark hole".

*"Streets are deserted - all doors locked
Time 12 O'clock at mid-night
Running with brute fright
Between high locked houses
Heavy clear boot steps
For hunting after taste of blood".*

SRI LANKA'S TRAGEDY

The president, the leader of the opposition, the naval commander, the entire northern military command, and the defense minister; That's the roll call of assassination over the past 14 months in Sri Lanka.

Violence also has taken a high toll of the broader population. At least 23 others were killed in the attack on President Ranasinghe Premadasa; in October, 182 Muslims were shot or hacked to death by ethnic Tamil militants for the crime of living in a Tamil dominated area. All told, at least 17,000 people have been killed since the Tamil insurgency began in 1983.

In Sri Lanka, the politics of race has gone mad. Indeed, in the successive tragedies that have visited this lovely country that was once known as a model democracy there is a lesson for those who would divvy up rights and jobs on the basis of race.

Fired by a long-simmering sense of grievance, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have pressed for 10 years their bloody fight for an independent homeland in the north and east of the island of Sri Lanka. It is not certain that the Tamil Tigers were responsible for the death of Mr Premadasa Saturday or that of opposition leader Lalith Athulathmudali the week before. What is certain is that the two men are victims of the culture of political violence wrought by the Tigers and notched up further by the often vicious government counterinsurgency.

The Tamil grievances derive from the politics of ethnic preference that Sri Lanka established soon after its independence in 1948. At that time, Sri Lanka - or Ceylon as it was then called - "was an oasis of stability, peace and order," wrote Sri Lanka historian K M Silva. "More important, one saw very little of the division and bitterness which were tearing at the recent independence of South Asian countries." In 1956, with the election of Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, all that changed. Though he grew up as an English-speaking Christian, Mr Bandaranaike became a crusader for preferential treatment for the 75% Sinhalese Buddhist majority. As prime minister, he made Sinhalese the official language, limited university opportunities for non-Sinhalese and generally polarized Sri Lankan society

on ethnic grounds. Ironically, he was assassinated by a Sinhalese Buddhist. In a case of majoritarianism run amok, Mr Bandaranaike's successors - including his wife, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who as head of the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party will run for president in the election due in the next month - built on the groundwork of ethnic division he had established. The

government took over Christian schools, forced many Tamils out of the civil service and eliminated the section of the constitution that guaranteed minority rights. Race riots became a recurring phenomenon.

The Tamils' response to being made inferior citizens of the country many of their families had lived in for generations was initially moderate. But as their grievances grew, so did their anger. The final result was the emergence of the Tigers, whose fanaticism and willingness to commit the most depraved acts of violence has won them comparisons to Peru's Shining Path guerrillas. The government's heavy-handed approach in dealing with the Tamils, which appeared to include random killing and casual torture, has further deepened divisions and solidified the foundations of hate that make building a unified and stable Sri Lanka as remote as stitching up Yugoslavia. Mr Premadasa, elected president in 1988, curbed some of the nastier aspects of Sinhalese preference, put down a Marxist terrorist insurgency in the south, and tried to negotiate with the Tigers, with no result. His high-handed and occasionally exalted style of leadership became a source of public dismay and political disaffection that led to an impeachment attempt last year. But he also won respect for trying to rein in human-rights abuses by the security forces and for staying the course of a tough economic-reform programme begun in 1989. Privatisation - known as "peoplisation" to make it politically appealing - investment incentives, lower tariffs and deregulation have brought economic growth of around 5% a year since 1990. Peoplisation also undercut the ability of the government to make state-run companies hiring halls for Sinhalese.

These accomplishments hold out the promise of a better, more prosperous Sri Lanka. But the land Mr Premadasa left behind is still riven by the deep-seated ethnic conflict that has meant the death of so many. Until Sri Lanka comes to terms with that conflict in a creative and constructive way, it can never fulfill the potential it was just beginning to tap in Mr Premadasa's last years.

Courtesy Asian Wall Street Journal

News Watch

BUMPER HARVEST OF SUBSIDIARY FOOD STUFFS

Subsidiary food crops like black-grams cow-pea, green grams and ground nuts cultivated in the Vavunia District utilising the monsoonal rains have yielded bumper harvests, according to a press release issued by the Tamil Eelam Economic Development Organisation (TEEDOR). The press release states that more land was brought under cultivation than was hoped and the yield has been more than expected. TEEDOR release further says that the Organisation is currently engaged in planning and executing a programme of subsidiary food-stuffs for this year's seasonal rain.

ARRESTS IN BATTICALOA

On Saturday, March 20, the S L Army along with some gangster groups

rounded up the village Siththandy at 10.00pm. The arrested 4 persons, who are identified as Rajah, Ravi, Kanthasamy and Selvam. The Batticaloa report further says that the S L Army later denied arresting these persons. What has happened to them is not known.

4 SCHOOL CHILDREN DIE AT MANNAR AS SHELL EXPLODES

Four school children were killed on the spot and eleven others sustained serious injuries when they tried to meddle with an unexploded Sri Lankan army shell. The news in this connection states that on Saturday, March 27, a group of school children meddled with an unexploded Sri Lankan Army shell lying near the Maruthamadhu school in the Mannar District. This happened about 9.00am.

The deceased children are V Thevarajah (12), P Jebanesan (10), Rasanayagam (11), J Kamalanathan (11).

SEMINARS ON CONSERVATION OF FIRE WOOD

The Tamil Eelam Economic Development Organisation (TEEDOR) is conducting seminars at schools, offices of Rural Production committees, Co-op. Thrift and Credit Societies and other organisations about the need to conserve fire-wood.

The Energy Division of TEEDOR has invented the double oven system which the TEEDOR says it effectively designed to produce maximum heat with minimum use of fire-wood.

109 CIVILIAN DEATHS IN 3 MONTHS

One hundred and nine Tamil civilians died in the first quarter of this year between January 1 and march 31.

67 out of the 109 were victims of Sri Lankan Navy attack at Kilali sea. 21 were victims of shell attack. 21 others died as a result of aerial bombardment.

DETAINEES TORTURED SANS CLOTHES

"During the nine months I was held captive in the Palaly army camp, I was kept blindfolded. They undressed me by force and I was inflicted maximum torture on my naked body. As far as I can recollect, this has happened on six occasions".

This story was related by Mahalingam Ledchumikanthan, a familed man from Valvetitthurai, who was detained by the Sri Lankan army for a continuous period of 25 months at the Palaly military camp. He said further, that when he and two of his friends were returning from India by boat on 22.2.92, they were arrested at sea by the Sri Lankan Navy, close to the shores of Point Pedro, and taken to the Palaly army camp. After preliminary inquiries one of his friends, Gunasekaram, was sent to Kalutara for further investigation. He was not aware of the whereabouts of the other friend.

During the time he was in the camp of the detainees were subjected to every type of inhuman and unbearable torture. Every part of his body was subjected to pain torture. The detainees did not have proper food; only a small bowl of rice was allowed each person a day. Even to

drink water they had to obtain permission from the army guards. After their suffering for about a year, the I.C.R.C. took over the detainees under their care; and thereafter they had enough food. And, torturing by the army became less frequent.

One of the soldiers had said that torturing the Tamils and treating them like slaves gave them immense pleasure.

One Mrs Sellamma Markandu, 46, a cancer patient from the village of Ilvalai, stated that when the army started its attacks in Ilvalai her husband and son fled to Jaffna town and not heard of thereafter. She was suffering from her illness for the past four months as there were no relatives to help her. "I wanted to go to Jaffna to get treatment for my disease but on several occasions permission was refused. I was not the only patient. There were several from the villages of Alaveddy, Pannalai and Mathagal who were suffering from various diseases. Unless they are allowed to get treatment and prompt attention they are at risk of their lives", she said. When asked whether the soldiers had at any time given her trouble personally, she kept mum, her emotions suppressed.

WE MUST BEGIN TO SEE OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US

- Adrian Wijemanne

Continued from page 3

to repeat our follies? They could well be wiser than we are and not commit any of our disastrous mistakes which we have been forced so ignominiously to reverse. Just because we made mistakes in our minority policies is everybody bound to make the same mistakes? The Tamil nation may make mistakes which are uniquely their own; they are not bound to repeat ours. On the contrary the minority policies of the state of Eelam may well be models of enlightenment which we could do well to emulate. To forejudge a state's policies even before it is born shows the ill-will and rancour that has possessed our minds. We need to purge ourselves of such patently obvious malevolence.

And finally, the most egregious and unpardonable error of all - that we are the custodians of the purity and existence of Theravada Buddhism, and to fulfil that role we must be dominant in an all-island state. This must surely be the ultimate apotheosis of the misuse of a noble religion to serve one's selfish ends. The Sinhala nation is not the saviour of Theravada Buddhism - it is exactly the opposite; Theravada Buddhism will someday be the salvation of the Sinhala nation. The eternal, universal truths of that great religion have survived for two and a half thousand years inspiring men and women all over the world, and will continue forever to do so, on their own merits. They are not the private property of the Sinhala nation or of any nation. They are part of the heritage of humanity. Whether the island exists as a single all-island state or fragments into a hundred states will matter not to Theravada Buddhism which exists in the hearts of the Sinhala nation and is only sullied by its purported co-option by states. The attitude of the Sinhala nation on this subject - its pseudo-emotive role of custodian - shows only too clearly how little we have understood and been influenced by its true meaning. We must

begin to learn the lesson that the lofty moral code of that great religion which we embrace so readily in our personal lives must also be extended to encompass and govern all our dealings with our neighbouring nations.

From all of the foregoing, it must become clear that something is grievously wrong with our educational system. How else can the thinking of a whole nation be so encumbered with atavistic, medieval fears, mindless prejudices, the inability to comprehend existing reality, the failure to be influenced by one of the world's loftiest moral codes! The question applies with equal force to middle class people who have been privileged to receive a westernised, liberal education as to the mass of rural people whose education commencing in Privena (Buddhist Temple) schools and continuing in the local language schools was at best rudimentary. In neither area is the humanism and enlightenment that must run like a golden thread through all education evident. All too often education is regarded as a means to employment and nothing more. But what good is employment if people know not what a good life is! Education is for living - for living with others, for living public-spiritedly in a state, for living happily in a nation of one's own, for living humanely in the larger world of nations near and far, for living as a contributor to one's own culture and through it to the culture of others, for living so that we nurture the planet which is our home. In the European cultures education above the primary and secondary levels is called "formation". Without it one is deformed, just as if one lacks a limb.

The lack of such a widening, humanising content in our educational system is due only partly to the very superficial nature of our contact with the outside world.

Our own culture contains within it every element needed to humanise and raise the moral tone of our nation. They are neglected in the scramble for material advancement, for political gain, for power and the temporary rewards which its misuse brings. The resultant moral malaise is all too clear to thinking, concerned people. The SARVODAYA Movement has, as its central plank, the moral regeneration of Sinhala society. Our nation can have neither peace nor progress without it.

When we talk of peace we must remember we are at war not only with the Tamil nation - we are at war with ourselves as well. The endemic nature of violence within Sinhala society, especially at levels where it should be an unspeakable abomination, must cause the deepest concern. In most nations the locus of endemic violence is in the least educated, least privileged, stratum of society. As the duration and quality of education increases the incidence of violence dramatically declines. When the highest level, the universities, is reached the adjective most often applied to the groves of academe is "hallowed". The sanctity of a university and its precincts is second only to that of a cathedral. How is it then that our case is diametrically the opposite to that of the civilised world? How is it that our universities have become battlegrounds where physical violence and/or the threat of it pollutes the very air? Where murder most foul lurks around every corner? How did they spawn the bloodiest and most barbarous political movement that has ever besmirched the fair name and reputation of our nation? How is it that young men and women, nurtured by parents who believe unreservedly in the Buddhist philosophy of tolerance, of compassion, of ahimsa (the avoidance of the slightest harm to man or beast) can come to a university and there be converted to a

philosophy which invokes and justifies slaughter so ferocious as to be just one last step short of cannibalism? We cannot blame the godless Marxist philosophy of the West for among its devotees are some of the gentlest, most humane people on earth. If that philosophy is godless, it is because it elevates man to the place of god and sanctifies man and his material needs. The Marxist philosophy aims by a dialectical process to convert those who disagree with it. To slaughter in cold blood those who disagree with you is not part of the Marxist canon. It can only be derived from a primordial streak of latent insanity with a high propensity for

inflecting those who have not received a humane and enlightening education. If our nation is to be healed of this dreadful malaise, if we are ever to be fit to join the comity of civilised nations, if we are to be at peace with ourselves and with our neighbours, if personal and public morality are to be joined in one wholesome unity. We must, as the highest priority and at the expense of all the sacred cows and medieval prejudices we have harboured, restore to our educational system at all levels the highest values of humanism and liberal enlightenment drawing on the great resources of our own and other cultures.

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EASTERN TAMIL EELAM IS ADMINISTERED BY TWO POWERS

The Sri Lankan Government and the Army have been making announcements to the effect that the Districts of Batticaloa and Trincomalee are under their administration and control. But the BBC Reporter who recently visited Batticaloa has let 'the cat out of the bag'.

He has reported that there are two administrative set-ups in the batticaloa District. The Sri Lankan

army members dread going out in the night, whereas the Tiger militants roam the rural areas. The army is causing serious damage to the environment by setting fire to the jungles out of fear for the militants. Even though the army personnel are trying to be 'friendly' with those living near their camps, the public is wary and suspicious of their 'advances'.

Priest condemns:

An American Priest, Rev. Gary Miller, has inquired from the Sri Lankan Government about the whereabouts of the 19 citizens missing from Batticaloa, but the Government has not responded with the satisfactory reply. The Priest has strongly condemned these and other disappearances of innocent Tamil citizens.

THE INDIAN SUB CONTINENT

DECLINE OF FEDERALISM

Ruling the States in Vice-Regal Style

We must be grateful to the Madhya Pradesh High Court for refocusing public attention on the scope for misuse of the emergency powers available to the Central Government under Article 356 of the Constitution. But the exercise will continue to be ineffectual unless the root of the problem is exposed: the unitary bias of the Constitution at the cost of the genuine federalism required by so vast and varied a country as ours.

The strong Centre approach has a long history. It stems from the experience of being ruled by emperors and colonists for generations. Independence on August 15, 1947, did not represent a genuine socio-economic revolution; it marked what London itself preferred to call a transfer of power from British to Indian hands. The leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who had campaigned for a fundamental change in the economic and political system that would revitalise village India, where 80 per cent of its people lived, was dropped by the Congress when it was negotiating the nitty-gritty of the hand-over of power.

In the Gandhian perspective, the village panchayat would have equal status with State Governments of the Central Government. Each would have the powers needed to function in its field, but would not be regarded as superior or inferior to the other. There would be no question, therefore, of one arbitrarily taking over the functions of the other.

This was contrary to the views of most of the Congress leaders to whom independence primarily

meant occupying the seats left by the departing British. Jawaharlal Nehru saw himself as the inheritor of British responsibilities and was pushed further towards designing a strong Centre by his commitment to centralised planning. The contrast between his views and those of Gandhiji comes out clearly in the correspondence between them.

The attitude of many political leaders to the concept of democracy was limited to periodic elections with a largely illiterate electorate ignorant of its rights. The more liberal elements, led by Nehru, shared the Marxist belief that economic development, rather than political awareness, would hold India together. The negative impact of Nehru's approach emerged after the second World War when Britain, its economy crippled by the war, began to negotiate withdrawal from India. The only way to keep the subcontinent united in the face of the Muslim League's campaign for Pakistan was to grant maximum autonomy to the provinces (later called States).

Success was almost achieved in the talks by the three-man British Cabinet Mission that visited India from March to June 1946. For the first time, the Congress and the League accepted a plan for a united federal India, but it was torpedoed by a statement from Nehru in which he favoured increase in Central powers. In his autobiography entitled *India Wins Freedom*, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, recalled: "This was one of the greatest

tragedies of India's history and I have to say with the deepest regret that a large part of the responsibility for this development rest with Jawaharlal. His unfortunate statement that the Congress would be free to modify the Cabinet Mission plan reopened the whole question of political and communal settlement. Jinnah took advantage of his mistake to withdraw from the League's early acceptance of the Cabinet Mission plan".

Instead of Partition being seen as a consequence of the strong Centre approach, the passions it aroused were used to justify giving even more powers to the Centre than proposed originally. This is evident from the change in the tone of the debates in the Constituent Assembly before and after the separation of Pakistan was conceded.

Although Nehru's preference for a strong Centre promoted Partition, he was motivated by economic rather than communal considerations. Other Congress leaders also favoured a strong Centre, but here the attraction was the increased domain of power. They were not concerned with socio-economic change or with promoting real democracy. It is noticeable that ever since we became independent, literacy has been neglected. Today India lags behind even many African countries and has the largest number of illiterate persons in the world, which is now recognised as the biggest hurdle in its development.

In this environment, there were not many in the Constituent Assembly

ready to ensure that the working of democracy in newly-emerging India was protected from excessive centralised power. Its members were elected indirectly by provincial assemblies which represented the advantaged classes.

The superior attitude to the States is evident in the very beginning of the Constitution. Article 3 empowers Parliament to unilaterally unite or separate States, increase or decrease their area, alter their boundaries or alter their names. No democratic constitution gives the Centre such powers and in such case changes can only be made with the consent of the States.

Elsewhere, too, the Constitution betrays its bias. Take Article 257: "The executive power of every State shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union, and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to a State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose". No compensating obligation is cast on the Union.

The division of legislative powers between the Union and the States is weighted in favour of the former, as is the division of financial resources. In the distribution of development funds, the creation of the Planning Commission after the Constituent Assembly had completed its labours, gave the Centre crucial powers not envisaged before. Just as the conversion of the imperial Viceroy's House into Rashtrapati Bhavan,

against Gandhiji's stated views, betrayed the underlying sentiments of the Congress leadership, the continuance of the Governor's imperial residences and accoutrements indicated the intention of continuing to rule the States in viceregal style. Proposals to elect Governors, or choose them from a panel submitted by the state legislature, were brushed aside. They were given considerable powers but, for reasons that emerged later, no security of tenure. Unlike the President, or judges, or civil servants, a Governor can be removed any time the President desires, for no stated reason.

When the Constitution was being framed, it was assumed that the Governor would be appointed in consultation with the State Government concerned. But this procedure was not laid down; it was left to convention. In fact, no such consultation takes place and Governors are openly stated to be agents of the Centre in the States. It has become normal practice for new Governments in New Delhi to change Governors for party convenience.

The flagrant misuse of the Centre's powers under Article 356 has been repeatedly documented and need to be repeated. But it is only the most obvious example of arbitrary power provided by a system that continues imperial privileges under a cloak of democracy.

(The writer is a former Editor of Indian Express)

Courtesy India Express

US WARNS PAKISTAN

A REPORT issued by the US Department of State has accused Pakistan of sponsoring terrorism.

President Bill Clinton has warned the Pakistan Government that the country risks being branded a 'terrorist-sponsoring nation'.

The report, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, prepared for the state department by the CIA, says, "there were credible reports in 1992 of official support for Kashmiri militants who undertook acts of terrorism in Indian-controlled Kashmir".

Kashmir Pakistan, though freely admitting moral and diplomatic support for the Kashmiri militants, has always vehemently denied providing material support for the secessionist rebels.

But a spokesman for the US President

said: "There are credible reports of support by Pakistan for Kashmiri militants and also some reports of support for Sikh separatism".

Terrorism

Although the Clinton administration has so far backed away from placing Pakistan on the list of countries sponsoring terrorism - an act which would automatically lead to strong sanctions being imposed - Mr Clinton has sent a strongly worded diplomatic note to Pakistan warning the country that it is "under close observation".

And State Department spokesman Richard Boucher last week told a press conference: "We continue to monitor the behaviour of Pakistan but I am not in a position to say when a final decision about its status will be made".

High Court rejects charge of RAW hand in detenus' escape

MADRAS - The Madras High Court has dismissed a habeas corpus petition alleging the involvement of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) in the kidnapping of three detenus said to be LTTE militants, at Mamandur on April 29.

"The whole affidavit is based on presumptions and surmises. No valid ground is available to issue a writ of habeas corpus", Justice T S Arunachalam and Justice A R Lakshmanan, constituting a division bench, observed on Tuesday.

The vacation judges were dismissing the petition from S Victor, a Sri Lankan citizen and a supporter of the LTTE, praying for a direction to the TN Government and the Union Home Ministry to produce the bodies of V Kiruban, K Ravi and T Chandran (who escaped from police custody at Mamandur on April 29)

before the court and to set them at liberty.

Petitioner was one of the four LTTE militants (detenus) who were being taken from Madras to a court in Pattukottai in a van in connection with a crime on the file of Sethubavachatram police station in Pattukotai. While petitioner was apprehended, the other three escaped.

According to petitioner, the LTTE did not have any activities in the State. It neither had money nor manpower to arrange for the escape of the detenus. The ruling party at the Centre and its leaders were making false allegations to the effect that the Tamil Nadu government was encouraging the LTTE and its movement in the State.

Petitioner alleged that the RAW would have masterminded the

kidnap to create a scene as if the LTTE was functioning in Tamil Nadu. It had enacted the drama of kidnapping just to put the blame on the TN Government. If really the LTTE had thought of kidnapping the accused, it would not have left him (petitioner) in the custody of the police. The LTTE members were made tools in the fight between the Governments at the Centre and in the State. The kidnapped militants would have been kept in the illegal custody of the Union Home Ministry, he charged.

Rejecting the contentions, the bench said that it was not possible even remotely to arrive at a conclusion that the detenus had been kept in the illegal custody of the Union Government. The petition was based on surmises.

The Clinton Administration's first 100 days in office - A review by Chiaka Nwosu, BBC correspondent in Colombo, with reference to South Asia.

(1) On Sri Lanka.

Mr John Mallet, US Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said, "We believe that the only way to solve the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is for the Government

and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to hold talks. The people of Sri Lanka have suffered from this conflict for a long time. The time has now come for both parties to this conflict to step forward to seek a political solution to it."

(2) On Human Rights violations in South Asia.

A hard look must be taken on Human Rights violations before money is sent to these countries. For

example, Representative Warden said in Congress, "I do not think that it is proper for us to send out the American taxpayers' money to help countries such as India. What is happening in India now? The people of Kashmir, the Sikhs of

the Punjab, Hindu Untouchables and Indian women are suppressed and oppressed. In this way Human Rights in India are being treated with contempt in that country. We cannot ignore this kind of attitude before we extend a helping hand.

RULE BY THE SWORD

An Assassination Brings to a Close an Era of Political Violence

On the day he died, 68 year-old President Ranasinghe Premadasa woke up at 4 a.m., as he had through most of his 40 year political career. He did his yoga, and at 5.15 he read the newspapers. At 7.30 he called his public relations officer and asked him to collect the "facts and figures" that reflected his record since he became president in 1988. He would use it to address the ruling United National Party's annual rally on the Galle Face Green, on Colombo's ocean front. "I want to tell the people how I guided the nation," he said.

At 11.30 Premadasa, meticulous as ever, went to inspect the procession of party faithful he would lead to the green from Colombo's Sugadadasa Sports Stadium. Life-size posters of the president lined the route of the march. Security was light, despite an army announcement that a Tamil Tiger hit squad had slipped into the capital. At Armour Street the president jumped out of his Range Rover to ask his supporters to line up to begin the procession. As he stood in a green UNP baseball cap waving his arms, a young man walked towards him pushing a bike. Premadasa's long-time valet Mohideen recognised him as "Babu," a Tamil who worked in Mohideen's grocery store near the president's home. The valet grabbed the handlebars and stopped him five metres short of the president.

The explosion could be heard two kilometres away at the house where Premadasa was born, grew up and still lived. The bomb, wired around the assassin's waist, was about the size of a cassette recorder. It was powerful enough to instantly kill the president and sixteen others - most of his security contingent. Of the 38 people wounded, seven more would die. Premadasa was identified only by his wristwatch. "My clothes were splattered with blood and bits of flesh," a UNP supporter told the coroner, who was by now familiar with the effects of terrorist bombs.

In less than two weeks, assassins had struck down both the country's president and the only other man who could challenge him, opposition leader Lalith Athulathmudali. On April 23 a lone gunman had pumped six shots into the former defence minister's back as he addressed a campaign rally for May 17 provincial council polls. Shortly after Premadasa was killed. Prime Minister Dingiri Banda Wijetunge was sworn in as acting president.

Under the 1978 Constitution drawn up by Premadasa's predecessor J.R. Jayewardene, the legislature must elect a president from Parliament within a month. As of May 5 the 71 year-old mild-mannered Wijetunge was the only candidate. That the opposition chose not to contest showed the Parliament's resolve to restore calm. Another incentive; to head off a violent power struggle within the ruling party.

Police were quick to blame the Tamil Tiger separatists for both assassinations. But many people suspected the president's men killed Athulathmudali, and those same people were ready to believe Athulathmudali's followers murdered the president in revenge. "We have seen these very strong leaders acting like dictators and doing anything they want to their opponents," says school teacher Asoka Perera, "Wijetunge will be different and will bring some decency back".

Despite the political instability, an eerie calm settled over the island. An era was closing. Premadasa had presided over one of the most violent periods in the country's 2,500-year history. In him was the key to understanding everything that was good and evil about contemporary Sri Lanka. Anyone who looked could equal measures of both in the man. But in the end, it was the dark side that won out. "The whole nation was angry," says a long-time political analyst. "We needed someone to focus our anger and hatred on. Premadasa had to die".

Poet, author and visionary, Premadasa believed in all things mystical. A Vain man, his black hair dye would often drip down his face in the hot sun. A champion of the free market, he thought he could provide everyone with a home, an education and a chance to rise, as he did, above the caste system that dominates Sri Lanka. Paranoid and ruthless, he would stop at nothing to achieve his dream, "He

wanted to see an economically strong Sri Lanka," says his old friend Minister of Justice Shahul Hameed, "where the common man was given a share of the cake".

For many, the dream turned to a nightmare. When his death was announced, hundreds across the country lit firecrackers in celebration. Still, some wept. Thousands of mourners filed past his casket at his house on Sucharita Road. It was fitting that his body was taken there first rather than to the elegant Presidential House, where his higher caste wife, Hema, lived without him.

Until late in his career he tried to suppress any mention of his Puda caste - designated for village laundrymen - which is near the bottom of some 60 Sinhalese castes. When he first became president, journalists were warned that anyone who named his caste would be "out of the country in 24 hours". He liked to compare himself to the great Dutugemunu, the ancient Sinhalese ruler who killed the Tamil king Elara. But only at his house in Kehelwatte, one of Colombo's oldest and poorest neighbourhoods, could he be himself. "His heart was (there)," says a long-time friend. "These were his people".

In Premadasa's youth the neighbourhood was a mix of Muslim and Tamil traders and a few Sinhalese working people. Though still poor today, it is well-lit and flush with government housing. School attendance is high and crime is low. Premadasa expanded his father's small house and lived there alone with his servants and valet. His door was always open to visitors, the house a monument to himself even while he was alive. In one room there were glass cases of memorabilia recording his triumphs. In a corner was a life-size model of his father and mother standing next to a rickshaw driver, with a likeness of young Premadasa in the seat. The people of Kehelwatte never deserted him, and it was they who were first in line to file past his casket displayed in a renovated rickshaw shed outside the house. Within the sleazy lanes of sheds and

given to him at the time by his supporters still sits lovingly restored in a glass case at his house. In 1956 he joined the United National Party and helped President J.R. Jayewardene reorganise the party after it was trounced in the 1950s. Together they used communalism to win back support. Premadasa, no racist but a gifted orator, later regretted his fiery anti-Tamil speeches.

Early in his career Premadasa was befriended by several powerful businessmen. One was S.Rajendram, the Tamil founder of the Maharaja Organisation, today one of the country's richest groups. Another was Sinhalese land developer A.K.Dharmadasa. Both prospered under the UNP's economic liberalisation program. More recently Dharmadasa and Maharaja's son Killi became known in business circles as "the forces". They had access to Premadasa's close confidant, Secretary of Finance



President Premadasa and wife

R.Paskaralingam, a Tamil who was considered the second most powerful man in the country.

It was Paskaralingam who engineered Premadasa's economic liberalisation programme. He converted the president into a devoted free-market reformer. Their plan was to turn the country into

program, which gave the poor cheap access to credit and start-up funds for business. But in the economic free-for-all, capital went in every direction - including to his political opponents - and Premadasa began to back off. "The wrong people started to get rich," says a Colombo banker.

As the rich got richer, the poor Premadasa had tried to help kept getting poorer. With two insurrections - the Tamils in the north and the Sinhalese Marxist JVP's in the south - and massive public spending, inflation ran at 20% throughout his presidency. The rural people watched contractors come from the city to make millions on construction projects. The gap between the rich and the poor, one of the world's largest before Premadasa became president, grew wider. "He tried to reach the invisible people in the country," says Hameed. "But there wasn't enough time. There

By February 1990 the carnage was over and Premadasa had won the war in the south. But Indian troops were still entrenched in the north, bogged down in a fight with Tamil Tigers. Premadasa, however, had secured a cease-fire with the Tigers. According to presidential adviser Dayan Jayatilaka, Premadasa ordered the Sri Lankan Air Force to evacuate to safety the wife and daughter of the Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran from their jungle hideout. He then ordered the military to deliver heavy arms to the Tigers to use against the Indians and rival Tamil groups.

In thirteen months of talks in Colombo, Premadasa offered the guerrillas more than any other Sinhalese leader had. The Tigers used the time to regroup, while the Sri Lankan army was confined to barracks. In June 1990, four months after the Indian troops withdrew, the Tigers accused the president of "saying one thing and doing another". War broke out again, and Premadasa was blamed. "Every time one of my men gets his leg blown off," said an army captain in 1990, "I think of our president".

Premadasa's biggest political blow came from one of his cabinet ministers. In August 1991 Higher Education Minister Athulathmudali convinced some 47 ruling party MP's to sign an impeachment petition against the president. Athulathmudali had garnered more votes than anyone else in the 1989 general elections, and many had thought he would be selected prime minister. The opposition accused the president of numerous abuses of power, including wire-tapping, harassment of opponents and arming the guerrillas. "The president was in shock," says a loyal minister.

Premadasa broke the back of the impeachment, allegedly by bribing MPs. Afterwards his paranoia increased. Athulathmudali and another minister, Gamini Dissanayake, were forced out of the ruling party and formed the Democratic United National Front. Within months it had more than 500,000 members. They held rally after rally, denouncing the president to crowds of 50,000 or more. They were expected to win handsomely in the seven provincial council elections May 17.

The councils, a part of the Indo-Lanka accord, were designed to give autonomous government to the Tamils. But the Northeast Council was abolished after the war with the Tigers broke out again, leaving only those in the south. If Athulathmudali had won the post of chief minister in the Western Provincial Council, he could have had more power in Colombo than the president.

The political rivalry between Premadasa and Athulathmudali led to a media war between the state-owned TV, radio, and newspapers and the opposition-owned press. UNP thugs openly attacked journalists who covered opposition rallies. In August 1992 they stabbed a cartoonist who had lampooned the president. Again, Premadasa was blamed for the violence. Opposition leaders also accused him of ordering the death of Gen. Denzil Kobbekaduwa, who died in a bomb explosion in Jaffna last year along with most of the northern command. Kobbekaduwa had sided with the opposition. When Athulathmudali was shot, many pointed to the president's men. Who killed Premadasa? Jayatilaka and the police say the Tigers did it. "He generated hope to the Tamil community," says the presidential adviser. "The Tigers had to kill him". They are clearly the prime suspects. But according to Justice Minister Humeed, "it is still not clear who was responsible beyond a shadow of a doubt." By the end, there were a lot of people who hated him enough to kill him.

In his last speech just days before he died, Premadasa pleaded for mercy. "You can assassinate me," he said, "but don't assassinate my character. I am not a murderer. they accuse me, but they have no proof. People made their own judgements. Said one embittered oppositionist regarding Premadasa's murder. "We are Buddhists. We believe that you have to suffer the consequences of your crimes either in this life or another one." Unfortunately, in Premadasa's case the whole nation would have to pay the price.

Courtesy Asia Week, May 12, 1993

HEMA AND "CHARISMA"

COLOMBO

With the dust slowly settling on the assassination of Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa, the island is agog with speculation about his widow filling his political shoes.

The speculation was sparked off by Hema Premadasa's unscheduled speech at the state funeral of the slain president here on Thursday in the presence of a large crowd of mourners, including foreign dignitaries.

"Hema's speech was unprecedented by Sri Lankan customs where a widow does not speak at the funeral of her husband," the political commentator in "The Island" newspaper said.

"But she is known for her unorthodox ways....", the commentator said, adding her speech was a clear message that she would be entering politics soon.

"Do not think that you have become lone and helpless. Please remember that I am determined to tread this same path to the best of my ability, with your assistance, and be a shelter to you all," Hema had said.

"That is my promise to millions who followed him and adored him," she said and added, "I appeal to you to assist me

in every possible way to continue his noble actions in his great name."

"Sunday Times" noted that Hema had singled out Sirisena Cooray, general secretary of the ruling United National Party and housing minister for praise and said it was a "pointer to her intentions." The paper said the distribution of a leaflet at the funeral projecting Hema as "the chosen one to carry on her late husband's work" had added substance to speculation about her.

"Some opposition politicians also feel Hema is not without charisma and given the sympathy for her husband by party loyalists, the former first lady could repeat history in Sri Lanka," it added.

The paper was referring to how Sirimavo Bandaranaike was elected as the world's first woman Prime Minister after the assassination of her husband, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1950. DUNF leader Gamini Dissanayake was quoted in press reports as having said that the UNP, following Premadasa's assassination, was divided into four camps with Hema, Cooray, Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and transport minister Wijepala Mendis.

UNI

shacks of his youth, double-cross was an art and scams a way of life. He learned both, and with brilliant organising skills tried to use them for good. He learned to speak Tamil fluently, Sri Lanka's only leader to ever do so. At 15 he started the Sucharita Movement, a self-help programme to educate the slum's children. His father, a rickshaw owner turned businessman, saved enough to send him to an uptown Roman Catholic school, St Joseph's College.

After he graduated he caught the eye of strongman labour leader A.E. Goonesinghe. He was one of the first politicians to use hit squads. Under his tutelage, Premadasa joined the Ceylon Labour Party and won a seat as municipal councillor. The Morris Minor sedan

South Asia's "Singapore". They chose to follow the well-trodden East Asian model of export-led expansion with high growth rates and high inflation. Although Jayewardene had begun to break the ruling class's hold on capital, Premadasa took it further than anyone thought possible. He flung open the stock market to foreign investors, slashed taxes and sold off 42 state corporations. The market turnover soared from \$50,000 a day in late 1989 to roughly half a million this year, and GDP growth leapt to almost 5%.

For Premadasa, it was a chance to redistribute wealth through trickle-down economics. A sure way for a businessman to please the president was to contribute to his "Janasaviya" welfare

can be a debate whether the medium he applied was the best".

When Premadasa became president in December 1988 he inherited a nightmare. Some 50,000 Indian troops occupied the northern third of the country, allowed in by Jayewardene in July 1987 to enforce the Indo-Lanka accord. In the south, a growing number of government hit squads roamed the streets. The JVP extremists had begun to rearm themselves and stage daylight raids on military camps. They had launched a full-scale revolution in April 1970, and were on their way to a second one. They gained massive support when their prediction came true that the "fifth column" of India would invade the island.

As a presidential candidate, Premadasa had pledged he would demand that the Indians leave the day he was elected. He did, but Rajiv Gandhi refused, and the JVP gained more support among the rural poor. Premadasa offered the JVP peace and backed it up by granting amnesty to 1,800 suspects. He also lifted the harsh Emergency Laws. That only helped the extremists, and by July 1989 they had killed some 3,000 civilians and hundreds of UNP supporters. Their campaign of terror, backed by nation-wide strikes, brought the country to a standstill.

Premadasa re-imposed the emergency laws. Security forces could shoot suspected JVP members and sympathies on sight, and dispose of their bodies without an inquest. In the first week of July alone, police tortured and killed some 5,000 people and left their corpses in towns throughout the south. UNP politicians used the emergency rule to take out political opponents, while Premadasa turned a blind eye. Some say he gave the orders.

One such case was the murder of journalist Richard de Zoysa. Police suspected de Zoysa had friends among the JVP students at Colombo University, the movement's urban base. On the night of February 18, 1990, Ronnie Gunasinghe, a senior superintendent for police and a confidant of Premadasa, was having drinks with Deputy Defence Minister Ranjiv Wijeratne. At one point, says a senior police officer, Wijeratne called Premadasa and told him of a plan to pick up the journalist. The next day de Zoysa's tortured body was found floating off a beach south of Colombo. Wijeratne was killed in a car bomb explosion in March 1991. Gunasinghe died with Premadasa in the explosion last week.

SRI LANKA'S DEMOCRACY IN PERIL

Julian West reports from Colombo on the shattering effects of two assassinations in a week.

"SO WHAT do you think of our democracy?" asked the man in the telex bureau. The question came the day after the murder of one of Sri Lanka's most prominent politicians, Lalith Athulathmudali, a week ago, and it needed no answer. Everyone knows what they think of Sri Lanka's democracy. The answer was a dirty look. This weekend Sri Lanka reeled from a second assassination; the murder of President Ranasinghe Premadasa, by a suicide bomber at a busy junction in the city centre. According to his press secretary, Evans Cooray, the President's last words were: "Mr Lalith Athulathmudali was assassinated not very far from here. The shot aimed at Lalith

was aimed not only at him, but at democracy." Most Sri Lankans would agree. Violent as this island may appear to the outside world, its many deaths and murders - more than a dozen prominent military leaders, and perhaps 60,000 ordinary people - have mainly been attributable to military conflicts; the ethnic war in the Northeast, or the government's suppression of a Marxist uprising in the south three years ago. But the killing of two political leaders within a week, with no immediately apparent motive, has shattered people's faith in a process they regard as sacrosanct - their democracy - in a country where electoral turn-out averages

80 per cent. At the time of Athulathmudali's murder, most Sri Lankans blamed the president. Premadasa was known to employ ruthless tactics against his enemies. And Athulathmudali, the president's main political rival, was a former cabinet minister who had led an unsuccessful impeachment attempt against the president two years ago. In addition, this murder was only the latest in a string of unsolved killings to occur during Premadasa's regime. The murderers of the defence minister, Ranjan Wiferatne, in 1991, and the commander-in-chief of the northern forces and other senior officers, last year, have still not been brought to book.

This, and the circumstances of Athulathmudali's killing by an unidentified gunman while campaigning for Provincial Council elections, fuelled suspicions against the president. However, the two assassinations, within a week of each other, have now left Sri Lankans not knowing what to think. Most political analysts now believe that Sri Lanka is fated to be politically unstable for some time. The cabinet has appointed Dingiri Banda Wifetunge, the Prime Minister, as Acting President. But he is in his seventies, ailing, and functions mainly as a figurehead. The likelihood is that he will be replaced when MPs vote for a new president within a month. However, there is no obvious candidate for president from the ranks of any of Sri Lanka's political parties, Premadasa chose a weak cabinet, in order to utilise his wide-ranging powers as executive president. The opposition, led by Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who is 77 and suffered a stroke last year, is fractured by

political in-fighting and commands uncertain popular support. Moreover, Premadasa, a man from a low caste, who endured contempt from high-caste Sinhalese, was known to be sympathetic to the discrimination suffered by minority Tamils. He surrounded himself by Tamil as well as Sinhalese civil servants and was known to be the only Sinhalese politician without communal bias. As such, the Tamil Tigers trusted him. With his death the chances of a peaceful settlement to the island's ten-year civil war are slim. Businessmen in Colombo are also worried about the future of the Premadasa government's economic reforms. As long as his United National Party remains in power, these are likely to continue. But investor confidence has been shattered by these assassinations, leaving the economic as well as the political future of the country looking grim.

The Independent, 3 May, 1993

TAMIL NATION presents, in these pages, a wide spectrum of reports and comments on the recent Sri Lankan assassinations, culled from the World Press. Some of the views and comments expressed may be slanted, partisan, ill-informed, or even inaccurate. We leave it to our readers to form their own judgements.

Editor, TAMIL NATION

SRI LANKA'S LEADERS REAP WHERE THEY HAVE SOWN

After the assassination of its two leading politicians in little more than a week, Sri Lanka is drifting rudderless in political and sectarian violence. For nearly 40 years, its political leaders have exploited the island's tensions for personal gain. Far from resolving its problems with violence, they have created such hatred between different classes, castes and communities that tens of thousands have died. The vultures have come home to roost with the deaths of the two great exponents of this strategy - Lalith Athulathmudali, the former minister of national security and leader of the opposition Democratic United National Front (DUNF), the President Ranasinghe Premadasa, leader of the ruling United National Party (UNP). Premadasa brooked no rivals. Athulathmudali, vying for the same Sinhalese nationalist constituency, broke away to form his own party with another former UNP stalwart and old rival, Gamini Dissanayake. They hoped to humble the UNP in the forthcoming provincial council elections, which are apparently to go ahead. Athulathmudali's assassination at an election meeting was initially thought to be the work of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). But this theory was soon discredited. The killing of the president by a youth with explosives strapped to his chest, who rode into him on a bicycle at a May Day parade, has revived the Tamil Tigers theory. There are similarities with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu two years ago, and police claim to have found the remains of a cyanide tablet - the hallmark of the Tigers - embedded in the assassins' neck. The Tiger's denial cannot itself be taken seriously; they also denied assassinating Rajiv Gandhi. But the motive is unclear. The theory is that they wanted to destabilise the south. The Sri Lankan military has said troops are being moved to the Sinhalese south from the north and east, where they have been fighting the Tamils. But military sources are also quoted as saying that if all remains quiet in the south, the attack on the Tigers will be intensified. Premadasa always kept his lines open to the Tigers, perhaps partly in the hope of keeping the Tamil vote in reserve. He was widely felt by the military to have given them only lukewarm support in their fight against the Tigers. According to intelligence sources, during the 1987 intervention by the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF), Premadasa slipped arms to the Tigers to undermine the Indo-Sri

Lankan peace accord - even though these arms were often used against the Sinhalese military and civilians. These sources say Athulathmudali was also involved in the play. Like Premadasa, he opposed Indian intervention. While notionally on the same side within the government of President Junius Jayawardene, both leaders were playing to the same constituency - Sinhalese nationalism. Premadasa as prime minister, but securing his position within the UNP and spending state funds on houses for the poor, made himself indispensable as the presidential successor in the 1988 elections. As his main rival, Athulathmudali was sidelined. But he had an advantage, as a member

A TRAGEDY IN TWO ACTS - by Neelan Thiruchelvam

Within a short span of ten days Sri Lanka has plunged into one of the most serious political crisis in recent decades. Both DUNF leader Lalith Athulathmudali and President Ranasinghe Premadasa, leader of the United National Party, have been assassinated in quick succession. Since the assassination of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1958, Sri Lanka's history of representative democracy and competitive party politics has been marred by several dramatic assassinations. The leaders of almost every political party including TULF leader Appapillai Amirthalingam, SLMP leader Vijaya Kumaratunga and the EPRLF leader K. Padmanabha were slain at some stage of the island's troubled history. The anti-Tamil pogrom of July 1983 was perhaps the darkest period in

of the civil war. It was a strategy which enabled him to project the South as a haven for investment, trade and infrastructural development. The strategy, however, accentuated the economic disparities between the regions and made the populace in the South indifferent to the severe deprivations to which more than a million refugees and internally displaced were exposed to in the North. The Government further downplayed the financial and human costs of the civil war and thereby did little to develop a peace constituency. Secondly, the President distanced himself from the efforts of the Parliamentary Select Committee engaged in the search for a political solution. While he undertook to implement a consensus, he did very little to forge such a consensus and allowed the Committee to drift for months without political direction. The Committee could have been energised if President Premadasa had devoted even a fraction of his extraordinary energy and enthusiasm to the substantive issues relating to the unit and substance of devolution. The Government has been further accused of eroding the existing devolutionary arrangements and creating divisional secretariats which in effect would strengthen the centralised and authoritarian character of the state. On the other hand, President Premadasa was free of the envy, rivalry and inhibitions which constrained the ethnic attitudes of the Sinhala middle class. He empathised with an urban underclass which was effectively bilingual and socially uninhibited. He was the first head of state to speak in Tamil or otherwise to insist that his public speeches be simultaneous interpreted. Although he was the least secular head of government in modern Sri Lanka, he was no Theravada Buddhist purist. He openly embraced a form of popular religiosity, which recognised the syncretism between Sinhala Buddhist and Hindu practices, rituals and beliefs. He regularly engaged in religious worship in Hindu temples and devales, and less frequently in mosques and churches. Tamil and Muslim entrepreneurs and traders felt that Premadasa's policies created a more even economic playing field than what was possible in previous regimes. However, President Premadasa failed to build on this goodwill and to move decisively towards a political resolution. Many legal and political commentators link Sri Lanka's present woes to the Second Republican Constitution of 1978. Radhika Coomaraswamy forewarned in

the early 1980s that the executive presidential system could be the harbinger of authoritarianism and the first step towards dictatorship. Power inevitably gravitated towards the Executive President, who was able to secure undated letters of resignation from members of Parliament. These centripetal tendencies were further accentuated by the bizarre entrenchment of the unitary state. The disenfranchisement of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the extension of the life of Parliament, the Sixth Amendment which expelled the TULF from Parliament, the abuse of emergency powers and of the electoral process, contributed to an erosion of confidence in constitutionalism. On the other hand, it was the executive presidential system which enabled President Jayawardene to rise above popular passions and sign the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, which continues to influence political discourse on a negotiated election. President Premadasa transformed the Presidency with his activist and interventionist style. The Cabinet ceased to be a collegial decision-making body, and subordinate officials received instructions directly from the President and were accountable to him.



of the upper goygama caste he was worshipped by the majority upper caste despised by the low-caste president. Last year Premadasa made the crucial mistake of failing to attend the funeral of a dozen senior army officers, including the goygamas' hero, General Denzil Kobbekakuwa. Some said the bomb which killed them was not the work of the Tigers, as generally believed, but of the President. Now they say Athulathmudali was killed at the nod of the president. Pretenders abound, but there are few obvious successors. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has emerged, but is old and ill. Her son and daughter may be contenders. Mr Jayawardene, who may step forward, is even older.

Courtesy Guardian 3 May, 1993



DB Wijetunge

Parliament's role further declined and it became less capable of scrutinising executive action or in ensuring financial accountability. The state media projected the developmental vision, the personality and style of the President to the exclusion of other political actors. President Premadasa dominated the political life of the country, and his impatient and somewhat imperious style fuelled resentment and led to the impeachment crisis.

Courtesy Frontline, May 21, 1993

PREMADASA WAS NOT BELIEVED TO BE ON THE LTTE HIT LIST, only because the tigers knew he was their only hope of return to the negotiating table.

It took a full half hour for the Government and the police to realise that President Premadasa was no more, since none of his security personnel was to be seen in the vicinity of the explosion that shook Central Colombo that black Saturday.

The first premise was that Premadasa had been escorted out safely from the site. The then Prime Minister Mr D B Wijetunga, and other Ministers were in different segments of the May Day procession.

When the police could not trace Premadasa anywhere, they immediately alerted the then Industries Minister and Cabinet spokesman, Mr Ranil Wickremasinghe, who was at the head of the procession, which was continued for quite some time after the assassination.

Mr Wickremasinghe took a Rupavahini vehicle nearby to the Defence Ministry office to monitor the situation. A quick contact with all the hospitals and the President's residence made it worse, because Premadasa had not reached anywhere. Then came the realisation.

All the Presidential bodyguards and aides along with Premadasa had been wiped out in the explosion set off by a suicide bomber riding a bicycle. The President's body was not immediately identified. Only at the morgue could they identify his nose, the watch and ring, to confirm the lurking suspicion.

Mr Wickremasinghe thought quickly and wisely too. Orders went out to send

commandos to isolate the Prime Minister and escort him safely to the Presidential Secretariat.

Mrs Hema Premadasa was away in Kandy and a helicopter was rushed to bring her back at once and then break the news to her. Curfew was clamped throughout Sri Lanka and Mr Wijetunga sworn in as the acting President as per the Constitution.

There were striking similarities between the assassinations of the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the Sri Lankan President, Premadasa. Both were carried out with precision by "human bombs" and had the limited effect of wiping out the immediate circle around the target, who were unfortunately sitting ducks trying to be with the people they loved.

By a strange coincidence, Ranasinghe Premadasa's last public meeting, an election rally, was in suburban Kirillapone on Friday night. Exactly a week before, the Opposition leader, Lalith Athulathmudali, was gunned down by another assassin in the same suburb. This again reminds one of both Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi's farewell visits to Orissa before meeting with their end.

Like Indira Gandhi's emotional speech pledging to shed her last drop of blood for the country, Premadasa told the Kirillapone audience; "Assassinate me by whatever means, but please do not assassinate my character - an asset I have treasured from childhood".

Premadasa was not believed to be on the LTTE hit list, only because the Tigers knew he was their only hope to return to the negotiating table anytime they want. But even after Lalith's assassination, he would not take the security precautions his officers prescribed. He had to be in the middle of the road, with his people and that too in his own Central Colombo constituency - where he imagined he was safe.

Little did he realise that the assassin, believed to be a Tamil Tiger, though not confirmed, moved very freely for two years in and around his 'Sucharita' residence, cultivating the contacts and waiting for the right time to strike. He had worked his way to gain confidence and information. And struck a deadly blow on May Day, strapped with explosives on his waist.

Somewhere down the line, his unwritten understanding with the Tigers had snapped, in a characteristic manner, the decision to get rid of him had been taken well over two years ago. The assassin had been selected, acclimatised and allowed to integrate in the atmosphere and then the date must have been set. The police confess that the slain President could have been an easy target any time, any day.

Though the investigations are proceeding cautiously, sources say the only motive could have been to de stabilise the country and the Government eliminate many political leaders, create anarchy and then bargain.

It required a measured and mature response on both the security and the political fronts, without confusing the terrorist menace with the ethnic issue and restore order and peace in Sri Lanka.

V.J. The Hindu

A LOW-KEY SUCCESSION IN SRI LANKA

A HAPPY AUGURY for orderly politics in the present uncertain times in Sri Lanka is the unanimity that marked the election on May 7 of the Acting President, Mr D B Wijetunga, as the country's new executive President. Sri Lanka's Parliament, convening as a special electoral college, has reposed confidence in him to succeed the slain President Ranasinghe Premadasa. It is, of course, debatable whether Mr Wijetunga has been elected as a candidate of considered choice or, in fact, as a nominee of contrived unanimity in the political arena of the majority Sinhala community. However, a singular fact of greater significance to this South Asian country, at this critical juncture, is the apparent ease evident in the way the national political system has absorbed the initial shock waves of the assassination of a popularly elected President like Premadasa.

All the same, it is also possible to argue that the unprecedented recourse to a special constitutional provision, in order to elect a new President to complete the unfinished term of a departed leader's tenure, may have diminished the political lustre of a low-profile Mr Wijetunga's indirect election. In a total perspective, though, these debating points cannot in any way devalue the importance of the latest change of guard

at the helm in Colombo. This unanimous election has in a sense saved Sri Lanka from another agonising period of intense partisan political passions. Within hours of the assassination of Premadasa, some Opposition leaders, most notably Mr Gamini Dissanayake, had indicated the possibility of fielding a common candidate to test the will of the party in power. Surely, such a move was neither undemocratic nor purely opportunistic. But a contest, even within the forum of an electoral college, would have certainly raised the political temperatures.

In the event, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who figured prominently as the likely candidate of the Opposition camp, would not oblige those keen on forcing a trial of strength in Parliament over this issue. Now, the reasons why the Sinhala Opposition parties have not joined forces are many, the most important one being their ideological incohesiveness. More importantly, though, the ruling United National Party itself was able to rally behind Mr Wijetunga, seen as the least controversial figure among the Presidential aspirants within its ranks. Apparently, neither the ambitious leaders in the ruling party nor the potential challengers on the Opposition

side regarded the limited term of Presidency that was at stake as the ultimate prize to be won.

In fact, the political battle for a national mantle has just begun and a succession war cannot be ruled out. The only realpolitik meaning of Mr Wijetunga's election seems to be the triumph of an unspoken consensus within the pan-Sinhala political establishment. After all, these politicians may wish to begin their new campaigns only after they themselves are able to re-define, jointly or severally, the larger issues facing the entire country in this post-Premadasa period. It is in this context that the original schedule for provincial council elections has once again come into focus. The emerging pan-Sinhala consensus may encourage the new President to adhere to this schedule. Any sincere move to hold these elections without delay might strengthen the country's democratic fabric. Moreover, these elections could eventually set in motion a political process conducive to the search for a settlement. However, Mr Wijetunga should, at first, take conscientious steps to protect the Tamils, in view of the suspicions regarding the identity of Premadasa's assassin, and to keep Sri Lanka-India relations free from avoidable turbulence.

The Hindu, May 10 1993

WHO KILLED LALITH?

The police said they had no doubt who shot dead Lalith Athulathmudali, a Sri Lankan opposition politician, on April 23rd. Near to the spot where the shooting took place the police found the body of a young man. He had bullet wounds said to have been inflicted by Mr Athulathmudali's bodyguard, and had apparently finished himself off by taking cyanide, a method of suicide used by Tamil Tiger guerrillas. The government said that it was clear that Mr Athulathmudali was yet another victim of the Tigers, who for more than a decade have been fighting for a separate Tamil state on the island.

It was soon apparent that there were holes in this theory. Mr Athulathmudali's bodyguard said he had shot at the assassin, but believed he had missed. The assassin, he said, wore a black shirt. The man found by the police wore a white shirt. Many Sri Lankans are sceptical of the government's instant solution to the murder.

The Tigers were said by the government to have blown up the defence minister

Ranjan Wijeratne, in March 1991, and a general, Denzil Kobbekaduwa, in August 1992. Because no indisputable evidence has been offered that the Tigers were to blame, conspiracy-minded Sri Lankans suspect other villains, perhaps close to the government itself. Similar suspicions are now circulating about this latest murder.

Indeed, the government of President Ranasinghe Premadasa had plenty of reasons to dislike Mr Athulathmudali, a lawyer educated at Oxford University, and former president of the Oxford Union, who was regarded as one of Sri Lanka's best brains. Mr Athulathmudali had defected from the ruling United National Party in 1991 and led a powerful opposition group, the Democratic United National Front. He tried to impeach Mr Premadasa, accusing the president of corruption.

Under Mr Athulathmudali's leadership, the Front was expected to do well in elections for provincial councils on May 17th. The government is hoping for a

vote of confidence in the elections, and has been dismayed by the support the Front appears to be getting.

Mr Athulathmudali was shot while speaking at an election meeting. If a government supporter killed him, it was a politically stupid thing to do. The Front has since received many messages of support from both Tamils and Sinhalese. Even though thousands of people die violently each year in Sri Lanka, the death of an important figure causes national anguish. So did the Tigers do the deed? As a former security minister, Mr Athulathmudali was a scourge of the Tigers. But the Tigers, although not usually reluctant to claim revenge, deny killing him.

The government says that to settle the matter it is calling in Britain's Scotland Yard detectives to clear up the murder of the foreign minister in 1990, he fingered for former energy minister and confidant of the president.

Courtesy The Economist
1 May, 1993

SCOTLAND YARD TEAM RETURNS TO LONDON

Express News Service

COLOMBO - The crime detective bureau has said that the assassins of both President Ranasinghe Premadasa and opposition leader Lalith Athulathmudali hailed from the northern Jaffna peninsula, strengthening suspicions against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. A CDB official said "we are also trying to ascertain their links in Colombo".

The bureau is keeping an open mind about their belonging to any militant group. The suicide bomber who killed Premadasa has been identified as Kulaweerasingham Veerakumar of Gurunagar, a fishing village in Jaffna, and the gunman who killed Athulathmudali is Kandiah Ranganathan from Chavakacheri.

President D B Wijetunga has refused to implicate the LTTE in the assassinations. The government controlled 'Sunday Observer', quoted senior officials in

charge of national security pointing to the two assassinations "as a sinister and diabolical plot of the LTTE to de stabilise the country".

Scotland Yard dismayed: Meanwhile, a four-member Scotland Yard team, which had been investigating Mr Athulathmudali's assassination by a gunman at an election rally here on April 23, returned to London early Saturday.

Diplomatic sources said the team led by detective superintendent Alec Edwards, had wrapped up the case and would send their final report to the Sri Lankan police.

The Scotland Yard were said to be dismayed that the scene of president Premadasa's assassination was washed clean right after the bomb explosion depriving investigations of what could have been vital evidence regarding the suicide bomber.

DEATH STRIKES A STEELY PRESIDENT

In the conflict over Sri Lanka, the suicide bomber has become a grisly artisan of terror. Knowing that, President Ranasinghe Premadasa had many bodyguards, as always, at the May Day march last Saturday in a northern neighbourhood of Colombo, the capital. But they were of no avail in preventing a human bomb from penetrating the security cordon. A huge explosion followed. So chaotic and grim was the scene, with parts of bodies blown all over the Armour's Street Junction, that for a time no one was sure whether Premadasa, 68, was among them. First reports had him whisked away to home or to a hospital. The hours later, the dark truth: "The President's entire staff are dead. He is no more," announced a shaken presidential aide, Evans Cooray, whose own life had been saved when he moved away from the noisy procession to take a mobile telephone call. The impact of the blast was so large that it had taken more than two hours for the President's personal physician to identify what was left of Premadasa's body.

At least 17 people were killed, and scores were injured. "The place was a shambles. There were arms, limbs and human flesh all over the place," said Sydney Chandrasena, a television producer at the scene. Exactly what had happened was not immediately clear. Some eyewitnesses said a man on a bicycle carrying a portable radio rode up to Premadasa and his staff as the President prepared to greet the march. Others reported that a motorcyclist with explosives strapped to his body crashed into the group.

Colombo police were sure of one thing, however; the killing was the work of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the Tamil guerrilla army that has fought a savage 10-year separatist war in the north-eastern provinces of the island. The modus operandi was that of a fanatic LTTE suicide squad known as the Black Tigers. In 1991 a woman LTTE, suicide bomber, Dhanu, killed former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at an election rally near Madras, out of fear that he could again involve India in the Sri Lankan war. On the teardrop island itself suicidal bombings have become frequent. Among many; in 1991 a car bomb wrecked the country's joint operations command headquarters in Colombo, killing 20, and last November a motorcyclist's bomb killed the Sri Lankan navy chief, Admiral Clarence Fernando, near the military headquarters. As usual, the LTTE quickly denied involvement in last week's killing. "The government blames the LTTE for everything," said Paris based spokesman Lawrence Thilakar, "But Premadasa had enemies

everywhere." Hours after Premadasa's death, Dingiri Banda Wijetunga, 71, the ruling United National Party's unassuming Prime Minister, was sworn in as acting President, and a 16-hour curfew was clamped on the entire island to curb further mayhem. Public reactions to Premadasa's death were mixed. Some celebrated the news by setting off fireworks in parts of Colombo and particularly in the south of the country, where government death squads in 1989 had mercilessly put down a rebellion led by the Peoples' Liberation Front (JVP), a Sinhalese extremist group opposed to India's involvement in the nation's affairs.

The President's killing came just eight days after the assassination of his former party rival and opponent, Lalith Athulathmudali, a popular Oxford-educated lawyer who since 1991 had led the breakaway Democratic United National Front. Athulathmudali, 57, was shot five times in the stomach and chest by an unidentified gunman at a local election rally at Kirulapone on the eastern outskirts of Colombo. While the government blamed his death also on the Tigers, DUNF officials had accused Premadasa of involvement, leading to political unrest in the capital last week.

Premadasa, the self-made son of a lower-caste family, ruled Sri Lanka with an iron fist after he won the presidency in 1988. Though looked down upon by the country's traditional upper caste rulers, his earthy "son of the soil" manner won him wide popular support. But after the aristocratic rule of his predecessor, Junius Jayewardene, he was also seen by many as overbearing. In 1989 Premadasa made a tentative peace with the LTTE to obtain withdrawal by India of its 70,000 troops on the island. In June 1990, however, a bare three months after the Indian forces pulled out, the Tigers abandoned their truce and the fighting resumed, imposing a crippling burden on the Sri Lankan economy.

Premadasa's death will be a major setback to government forces still struggling against the Tigers for control of the northern Jaffna Peninsula. Though the rebel forces have been cordoned off in their stronghold, for the past six months the conflict has been stalemated and the fighting sporadic. Neither side has had the strength to force the issue. There is now a vacuum at the top in the country's main political parties. With Premadasa gone, fears abound that Sri Lanka has lost the leadership capacity to bring an end to its spiral of violence.

Courtesy The Economist
1 May, 1993

HORROR SCENES FROM SRI LANKA

- Man's Inhumanity to Man

by K P S Lingam

One fine morning I sat like Humpty Dumpty on a (half) wall by the roadside. I was looking for a bicycle lift by some good samaritan for no buses ply now in Jaffna - reason no fuel.

It was a Saturday noted for a cool (oil massage) bath, sumptuous lunch and siesta to make amends for short-falls in diet and rest during the working week.

The temple bells pealed. Calm - Calm - they seemed to say.

The sky was clear - keep blue tint with patches of dense white clouds resembling flakes of snow with smoky borders. The gentle breeze after a drizzle was refreshing.

Birds sang. Some twittered or chirped. The lake (pond) waters glittered. Indian herons and Siberian ducks hovered above.

On either side of the road, clusters of thatched huts lay stretched over the vast expanse. Homes of refugees amidst clearings from thicket and brushwood with snake infested mole hills.

Some huts accommodated families who were once well off, owned houses, cars, TV's and Refrigerators. Army action had rendered them destitute. Now their only possessions on earth were a few mats, pillows, aluminium pots, pans, plates and glasses.

Preparations seemed to be underway for Saturday's special lunch. So the smells and fires indicated. Mutton, fowl, mashed potato steak (pirattal) or palmrah flour porridge (Odiyal kool) replete with manioc, beans, crabs, prawns and fish, I imagined. Mouth watered.

Some women and children bathed with glee at a huge well from which water was drawn by a chain of several buckets fitted to a wheel and powered by a team of oxen. Some lads chased rabbits with hunting dogs and sticks. Vendors had a brisk sale of manioc and tank fish (no rice nor sea food).

Thanks to army and navy action. Peels of merry laughter emerged from an open space. The kiddies were having a field day. No school for them. Innocent little faces peeping at all and sundry with luminous and wondrous eyes at this beautiful world of many colours and sounds into which they had recently arrived. They seemed to expect security, and happiness in this world of their elders as their

birthright. Further away tiny tots, a boy and a girl held hands and discuss something. Not about love elopement or sex. The girl does not seem to approve. Her wry looks indicate. The boy scratches his bottom in disappointment. One girl stood on all fours, eagerly scanning wide-eyed, a coloured picture book on the ground. Another on her knees steals a glance.

In another corner, children sit on branches of a fallen tree. Some cling and swing by their tiny arms. Some jog like horsemen. Some shout meaningless slogans for the fun of it. Some prattle and lisp nursery rhymes. All burst into laughter suddenly for nothing. But alas, Dear God - a deafening blast like a cannon fire cum crash of a thousand plates, a thunderbolt from the blues shook the ground. Was it an artillery shell or a missile (grenade) from aircraft? No one knows.

Three children rolled up dead like red rags curled up, bathed in blood. Several people fluttered like fowls after the neck is cut. Shriek, groans and wails rent the air. Crows flew in large numbers. Dogs raced hither and thither. Pandemonium was let loose. The sight was sickening. The result of

modern science and man's march towards progress! Man's inhumanity to man. His lust for power, possessions, pride and arrogance. All pitted against helpless beings.

When I visited the place sometime later, I saw the girl who brooded over the book on the fatal day minus her right leg. She sobbed and lisped to her father in dire agony "Appa, where is my leg?" Tears rolled down the father's eyes in profusion. His nostrils dilated. Lips quivered. Bosom heaved. His arms raised slowly towards heaven. A stanza from an ancient book, "Venis Verdka" by Veera Pandya came to my mind:

*"Manu neri murai il valak ilanthavar tharm
Mana mura maruhi ninru alutha kanneer
Murai urath thevar moovar karkinum
Varli Varli eer vathor Vahlr kummay"*

Translated it reads:

The hot tears that roll down in anguish and despair from the ruddy eyes of the weak and oppressed to whom justice is denied, combined with their subdued cry in silence directed towards the Omnipotent, Omniscient and Omnipresent Father above, solidifies and gets

transformed into a huge sword with sharpened edges. This weapon cleaves through all defences, barriers and obstacles of whatever strength and pursues its Victim (the Perpetrator) with unflinching certainty. Even if all the three deities who preside over creation, preservation and destruction jointly and or severally guarantee and afford maximum protection, that sword will reach its target (the wrong-doer, whoever he may be) and mow him down.

Events in Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan over the last few years have ample demonstrated the validity of this ancient edict-dictum. Yet those who wield power have not learnt the lesson they ought to have learnt by the turn of events. Lust for power or possession always blinds the vision.

In the above instance who is answerable for these circumstances? The perpetrator (the militia men), the officer above him or the General or the President? Valluvar says 'all equality'. Those who do what is prohibited, are guilty. Equally guilty are those who fail to do what they should do.

*"Sel thakka alla seiya kerdum
Sela thakka sei ahmai alump
kerdum"*

BOOK REVIEW - by Sachi Sri Kantha

Notes on Love in a Tamil Family, Margaret Trawick, University of California Press, Berkeley, 299pp, first paperback printing 1992 (originally published 1990).

The author Margaret Trawick is a professor and heads the Department of Social Anthropology, Massey University, New Zealand. Why did she choose Tamil Nadu to carry out her anthropological research? In the Introduction to the book, she states, "Through my mother, I am Irish. In many ways, South India is to North India as Ireland is to England. South India has been dominated politically and culturally by North India for many centuries. Tamils in particular, the most populous of South Indian ethnic groups, take pride in their identity and more than once in this century have attempted to establish a separate Tamil nation. Also like the Irish, Tamils believe in strong sentiment: rage, grief, compassion, affection, desire, laughter and ecstasy are openly and frequently displayed in the streets and courtyards of Tamil Nadu. And like the Irish, Tamils value the gift of the gab; fabulous conversationalists, story tellers, singers and poets abound among them". And very few among the Tamils will disagree with these opinions of the author.

Margaret Trawick first visited India in 1975, when she was 26 to carry out her dissertation research on "concepts of the body in South India". Her husband Keith and son Daniel (then a four month old baby) accompanied her. She stayed for 18 months in Madras, came into contact with S.R. Themozhayar, the principal protagonist of this book. Themozhayar became the Tamil tutor to the author, from whom she learnt Tamil literature. In 1979, after receiving a grant to work on translating Saint Manickavasagar's Tirukkavaiyar, the

author invited Themozhayar to the New York state to improve her Tamil skills further. In 1980, she returned to Tamil Nadu "to finish reading Tirukkavaiyar with Themozhayar and do a general study of forms of ambiguity in Tamil". Her husband Keith did not accompany her this time. She and her son Daniel lived with the poor family of her Tamil tutor Themozhayar. This book is an outcome of this cohabitation of Margaret Trawick and her son, with Themozhayar's extended family of 20 individuals, spanning three generations. She was identified by the members of Themozhayar's household as "Peggyamma" (Peggy - Mother), Peggy began the diminutive of Margaret, the author's first name. The book consists of eight chapters under the headings: What led me to Them, Generations, The ideology of Love, Desire in Kinship, Siblings and Spouses, Older women and Younger men, Lives of Children, and Final Thoughts. I wish to highlight her views on two themes, namely, the ideology of love and siblings. According to the author, for Tamils, anpu (as Tamils know "love" in a broader sense) has the following nine properties.

1. containment (adakkam); Open expression of love is to be restrained, even if it is mother love. Tamils also do not express love among opposite sexes openly.
2. habit (pazhakkam); Attachment, or a sense of oneness with a person or thing or activity, grows slowly, by habituation.
3. harshness and cruelty (kadumai and

4. dirtiness (azhukku); "Defiance of rules of purity conveyed a message of union and equality and was a way of teaching children and onlookers where love was", tells the author. This is exemplified by mother's care of baby's bodily excretions and the host's cleaning of guest's plate of food (echchil).
5. humility (panivu); Love is implicated in expressions of humility and patience (porumai, the strength to sustain and endure).
6. poverty and simplicity (ezhumai and elimai); Self renunciation of luxury (such as fancy clothes and jewellery) for the cause of a loved one, as expressed in sentiments like, "I don't want new clothes... as long as you are sick".
7. servitude (adimai); Illustrated as the servant of God, who receives the highest respect among the civilians. Elimination of the boastful "I" (Naan) and substituting with the self deprecating "this slave" (Adiyen), exemplified by Tamil saints of the past.
8. opposition and reversal (ethirtal and puratchi); Characterised by the use of very intimate suffix, -di (for "girl") and -da (for "boy") among family members and close pals. When these intimate forms of address are used by acquaintances

or strangers, they become derogatory.

9. mingling and confusion (kalattal and mayakkam); Love erases distinction completely and mingle everyone, typified by the adage, "We are all one" (Onrae kulam - Oruvane Thevan). In addition, love leads to dizziness, confusion, intoxication and delusion (mayakkam).

The author also observes, "Within the nuclear family, four relationships seemed to be especially important to the Tamil people whom I knew. These were the mother-daughter, father-son, husband-wife, and brother-sister relationships". The love links between these four relationships are identified by the author as follows; "A man sees his son as a continuation of himself; A woman sees herself as a continuation of her mother; The bond between brother and sister is strong but must be denied; The bond between husband and wife is conflictual but difficult to sever". As an example for the sentiments of sibling love among Tamils, the author has presented in the book, the following duet:

Brother:
You were born to win many battles with your elephants and armies you were born to marry your aunt's daughter and live in joyful love!

Sister:
Shall I tell you how my brother brought me up like a darling daughter, sheltered me under his wing? Shall I tell you of the unimaginable misfortune which separated us?

Both:
We were born together, joined like the eye and the pupil, like the pupil and the image within! Though the earth and sea and sky should come to an end, We shall not forget our love, Nothing can break our bond! This duet is not other than an English

translation of that touching lullaby, "Malaranthum malaratha paathi malar pola" penned by poet Kannadasan (whose name is not mentioned in the book!) for the hit movie, Pasa Malar. The author has stated that this particular movie, although released in the early 1960s, still enjoy mass appeal among the Tamils, for extolling the sentiments of sibling love. Of course, this lullaby duet of Kannadasan should be enjoyed in the original (not presented in the book!) since translation does not do merit to the beauty and cadence of the poet's choice of Tamil words in expressing sibling love, Kannadasan also made an elegant use of the very intimate suffix, -da (for "boy") to express intimacy and love, in this lullaby. In original (undoubtedly, a vintage Kannadasan), the cited duet reads like this.

Brother:
Yaana padai kondu Chenai pala venru
Aala piranthaayada - puvi aala piranthaayada
Aththai mahalai manam kondu ilamai vazhi kandu
vaazha piranthaayada

Sister:
Sirahil enai moodi arumai mahal pole valartha kathai sollava kanavil ninaiyatha kaalam idai vanthu
piriththa kathai sollava

Both:
Kannin mani pola maniyil nizhal pola kаланthum piranthomada
Intha mannum kadal vaanum maranthu mudinthaalum marakka mudiyathada - uravai pirikka mudiyathada.

Well, how can I sum up my thoughts on this book? The author states in one page, "The assertions I make about Tamil love would be considered by most Tamils to be banalities - too obvious to be worth writing a book about". I for one, disagree with this modest sentiment of the author. I believe Margaret Trawick had written a worthy book on a worthy topic about Tamils.

Ana Pararajasingham writes from Sydney

SINHALA CHAUVINISM, "THE NOT SO HIDDEN" FACTOR

Continued from back page

advocated with great vigour by all Sinhala politicians. It is probable that these chauvinistic notions were also influenced by the views of German scholars who were in Sri Lanka during the early part of the 20th century. Wilhelm Greiger who was to translate the Mahavamsa into German in 1908 had entered the island with the expressed purpose of studying the Sinhala language to see whether it came under the Aryan category. Given that it was during this period that German racism based on the concept of an "Aryan race" was gaining currency in Europe and that it was about this time that Sinhala nationalists (like Anagarika Dharmapala) were making elaborate claims about the "Aryan" origin of the Sinhala people, the German influence cannot be discounted. Nor surprisingly, within a relatively short period this chauvinistic view has permeated Sinhala society at all levels making it near impossible for the Sinhala leadership to agree to any sharing of political power with the "alien" Tamil by conceding that the island of Sri Lanka is home to two nations - the Sinhala Nation and the Tamil Nation. In fact, these chauvinistic views are so widely held that the most brutal campaigns in modern times against the Tamils of the North-east province without it drawing any kind of "protest" from those in the South. On

the contrary, the overall public opinion (with the exception of some sections of the Sinhala Christian community) in the Sinhala South seems to be in support of the Government's strategy of total war - aerial bombardment of civilian centres and the economic blockade of the North, while driving the Tamils out of the East through massacres carried out by "death squads". The book as such has very little to recommend other than its revealing and revolting insights into the ultra chauvinistic attitudes of the members of the Westernised elite who wield political and economic power amongst the Sinhala people. It deals with the efforts of the author and other like minded people belonging to the Sinhala establishment to change the demography of the Tamil Homeland in the north-east of the island through a scheme by which "in one massive movement thousands of land hungry Sinhala people rushed and settled in the Batticaloa district in the eastern part of Sri Lanka". The book names pre-eminent members of the Sinhala establishment to be the moving force behind the scheme. Those identified include Panditharatne, the President of the UNP and a partner in a leading Accounting firm, Ravi Jayawardene, the son of the then President J.R. Jayawardene, Davinda Senanayake, the grandson of Sri

Lanka's first Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake, Gamini Dissanayake, the then Minister for Land Development, Dr A.N.S. Kulasinghe, the Chairman of the CECB (Central Engineering Consultancy Board), T.H. Karunatileke, Director of Planning at the Mahaweli Ministry and a host of other senior public servants. The dominant theme of Sinhala chauvinism (as stated earlier) is the view that to be Sri Lankan is to be Sinhalese and that Tamils and other "minorities" are aliens to be tolerated provided they accept the hegemony of the "majority race". This chauvinistic view of the author and his cohorts stands plainly revealed in a paragraph which extols the virtues of the first Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake with these words "in his veins throbbed the blood of the true nationalist leader who understood that the devious Tamils would not be content to live side by side with the peaceful majority". The role of the established Buddhist clergy in promoting race hatred and promulgating chauvinism needs little elaboration, having helped S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake to sweep the polls in 1956 on a wave of Sinhala chauvinism, the Buddhist clergy has remained its strongest advocates. The reaction of the leading Buddhist priests to a peace proposal initiated by cabinet minister Thondaman in 1991

was in keeping with this chauvinistic tradition. Rev Walpola Rahula Thero responded to the peace proposal by appealing to the entire Sinhala race to rise against its implementation, while the Ven Madihe Pannaseeha Thero, reacted by dismissing the concept of a Tamil Homeland (which formed the basis of the proposals) as an "amusing bit of fiction". The Chief incumbent of Gangaramaya, Ven Galaboda Gnasara Thero wanted minister Thondaman removed from the cabinet. The media's attitude to the Tamils was perhaps best demonstrated by the action of the "Sunday Island" (A leading English Language newspaper by the Upali Group) following the massacre of over 180 Tamil men, women and children by the Sri Lankan army in June 1991. Within weeks of the massacre the "Sunday Island" (of 30th June) was to publish a photograph of the survivors under its "Funny Captions" (a regular feature of the newspaper) seeking reader response. Several Sinhala scholars and writers, however, have shown themselves not to be blind to the presence of chauvinism and its devastating effect on the island's post-colonial history. Reggie Siriwardne and Newton Gunasinghe are two such Sinhala scholars to have confronted this chauvinism which has turned a charming and hospitable people into racists and war mongers. Reggie Siriwardne identifies the educational system fostered by successive Sinhala Governments as having deliberately fostered Sinhala chauvinism. In an article published by the Marga Institute, Siriwardne states, "The exploitation of history as an instrument of divisive ethnic

ideologies has long standing precedents in our school books. For instance, the Kumaradoya, the most widely used Sinhala school reader in the era of private publications began by plunging the Kindergarten child into a cesspool of racial hatred, with a lesson on Duttugamunu in which his father warned him that the Tamils were cruel". According to Gunasinghe in an article published in the "Frontline" of March 5-13 and subsequently in "South Asia Bulletin" vol vi, no:2), Sinhala chauvinism in its crystallised form is articulated by its advocates as follows: "Sri Lanka is the country of the Sinhala who are the original settlers of the island. They built a civilisation not second to any other in the world under the influence of Buddhism. The preservation of Buddhism is integrally connected with the preservation of the Sinhala nation. The country although invaded frequently by South Indians was always a unitary state governed by unbroken line of Sinhala kings. Today, the whole future of the Sinhala nation, the custodians of Buddhism is in danger. The only solution to this problem is a military one. No further consideration should be granted to the Tamils or other minorities and that Sri Lankan state should continue as a unitary state with a pre-eminent position for Sinhala Buddhists". Gunasinghe then concludes that it is this social force (Sinhala chauvinism) "that has become the principal obstacle to any rational discussions leading to a solution". One is not only inclined to totally agree with Gunasinghe in his assessment but would expect those who wish to broker peace between the Tamil and Sinhala nations to take serious note of this honest and accurate assessment by a Sinhala writer.

TAMIL NADU HAPPENINGS

DROUGHT & POLITICAL HOT AIR

In another decision that is bound to raise a lot of dust, Chief Election Commissioner T N Seshan postponed the by-elections to the Lok Sabha from Palani in Tamil Nadu and Ottapalam in Kerala scheduled for May 19 to August 19. The commission held that the holding of the poll in Palani would seriously disrupts and adversely affect the relief operations being undertaken by the district administration to overcome the drought. "The holding of the poll in such a situation will neither be desirable nor in the interest of the general public and electorate of the constituency," it said.

PALANI BY-ELECTION POSTPONEMENT CONDEMNED

DMK condemns; DMK president M Karunanidhi condemned the postponement of the Palani by-election as the announcement had come with just 10 days to go for the polls. In a statement he said that the Election Commission had announced the date for the polls with the full knowledge that April and May were drought-prone months. Thus the sudden postponement of the polls was condemnable and politically motivated.

AIADMK condemn - Revenue Minister and AIADMK deputy general secretary S D Somasundram on Saturday accused the Election Commission of joining hands with the Congress and postponing the Palani Lok Sabha by-election. Reacting sharply to the postponement on account of the drought condition in

the constituency, Somasundaram, in a statement, wondered whether the Election Commission and the Congress had become aware of the drought only now. "The very people who had described the measures of the state government on a war footing to tackle the drought as misuse of power are now using the same reason to ...

OUST JAYALALITHA SAYS VAZHAPADI

TNCC president Vazhapadi Ramamurthy said on Saturday that the state Congress would launch an agitation from end-July demanding the resignation of Chief Minister Jayalalitha. Addressing newsmen here, Ramamurthy said his party was not demanding the dismissal of the state government but only the resignation of the Chief Minister. "We are not playing a toppling game," he stated. He said the Congress plans to start a propaganda campaign to expose the nexus between the LTTE and the AIADMK and the party's misuse of the administrative machinery.

MILITANTS ESCAPE

Two suspected Sri Lankan Tamil militants escaped from Melur special camp, about 25 km from here, in the early hours of Sunday. According to police, Yogaraj alias Raja (25) and Chandran (25), sealed over the compound wall of the camp with the help of a tree and made good their escape. While Yogaraj had been brought to Meur camp from Mandapam special camp in March, Chandran had been shifted to Melur in February after the closure of the Ramanapuram refugee

camp. Following their escape all the check-posts and police stations in the state have been alerted.

TELO MAN HELD

Sivaraj (23), a Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) member, was arrested by the 'Q' Branch police from the Mandapan refugees-camp".

Police said he was one among the TELO and EPRLF members who had escaped from the special camp at Vellore during the third week of November last.

Police said he was rearrested when he visited the Mandapam camp to meet his mother and sister and was taken to Madras for further interrogation.

In another incident, Jagan (26), a TELO volunteer residing at Virugambakkam in Madras, who was proceeding to the Mandapam refugees camp was intercepted at the Pattinamkathan checkpost, near Ramanathapuram town, by the police and sent back to Madras. Jagan was travelling in a bus with wall posters printed by the TELO movement in connection with the death anniversary of the organisation's founder, Sri Sabarathinam, when the police intercepted him.

The police denied him permission to visit the Mandapam camp to meet other TELO members. The wall posters were seized.

DISMISS AIADMK GOVT. SAYS KARUNANIDHI

DMK president M Karunanidhi has demanded that either Chief Minister Jayalalitha or Education Minister C Aranganayagam should resign on moral grounds following the Madras High Court verdict quashing the recognition granted by the AIADMK government to Teacher Training Institutes. Speaking at a public meeting in Vadapalani on Sunday, he pointed out that the DMK had already listed this charge in its petition submitted to

the Governor last year.

In a significant reference to Article 356 of the Constitution which empowered the Centre to dismiss state governments, he said though the DMK in principle was opposed to use of the provision, "presently, with the government facing several charges of corruption, total failure of administrative machinery and its careless attitude towards the problems facing the state, there is a strong case to dismiss the AIADMK government by invoking the Article 356".



Chief Minister Jayalalitha

NORWAY PREPARED TO HOST NEGOTIATING TEAMS

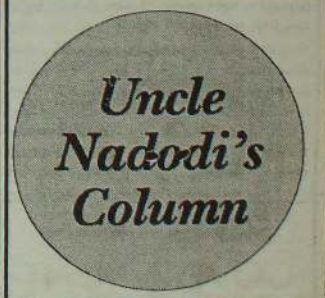
"Since the Jaffna Peninsula is virtually cut off from the rest of the Island of Sri Lanka our operations for giving assistance to the distressed have been badly hampered. It is information regarding the conditions prevailing there".

"However, we are ever prepared to invite them to Norway and host any Parties who are keen on bringing about a settlement through negotiations; and we too will participate impartially in their deliberations".

This was stated by mr Paul Lenrick Kaylon, the Norwegian who had been to Jaffna recently representing his Organisation called "Beirut".

RED CROSS MEMBERS KILLED

A vehicle belonging to the I.C.R.C. came under attack and was badly damaged during the recent continuous offensive launched against the Tamils by the Sri Lankan Army - Navy - Air Forces under the name "Operation Hurricane". In this attack, which took place on the Achuvely-Avarankal road, the driver of the vehicle and an officer travelling in it were reported killed. The officer, Mr Puvanendran, was second in command of the Red Cross Society of the area.



Due to circumstances beyond his control, Uncle Nadodi regrets that he is unable to bring you his regular column.

Watch this space for his speedy return.

Post Bag

NORTH AND EAST MERGER, TARAKI AND THONDAMAN

In the April issue of the "Tamil Nation" you reproduced Thondaman's and Taraki's views as published in the "Sunday Times" and "Sunday Island" respectively. Taraki says that "amendment to the 13th Amendment which will do away with its clause on holding a referendum, has become possible. It is the President who has benefited most from clever manoeuvre. Once the process is completed through the necessary constitutional changes, the overall credit for achieving the long-cherished goal of destroying the geographical basis of the Tamil homeland concept, would quite naturally go to the President." Thondaman says that "My contention is that big national issues cannot be settled by referendums. The leaders must, after careful deliberation, decide what to do." Putting two (Taraki) and two (Thondaman) together, the conclusion is that the merger of north and east achieved by the previous referendum can now be set aside by constitutional manipulations and the President's decision. Two and two do not add up to three. A Constitution can be amended by a referendum on the point at issue but not vice versa. If the results of a referendum can be altered by constitutional manipulations then why hold a referendum in the first place? - there would be no need for referendums in any of the democracies of the world. The Constitution for a democracy is usually drafted by a committee representing the cross section of the population and the various interest groups, ie by a Constitutional

Committee. What this Committee finally produces "is still a DRAFT Constitution. The key features of the draft Constitution still have to be put to the people concerned to vote in a referendum for approval before the draft Constitution can become the accepted Constitution for that country. The merger of north and east was achieved by a referendum. It cannot now be de-merged by the President following constitutional manipulations. Such an act will not be recognised internationally or by the United Nations because it is contrary to internationally accepted conventions. The only way legally possible is to have another referendum but the result can go either way. The majority of the people living in the north and east have already voted in a referendum for a temporary merger. As they are happy with the merger they are not interested in another referendum. If there was a further referendum to de-merge north and east the Tamils can decide to ignore it altogether because they are content with the existing merged set-up. In will be implied that all those who abstain do not want a de-merger under conventions governing the basis of referendums. That would be sufficient proof for the United Nations. Neither the Colombo government nor New Delhi have any authority to re-write the result of the one and only referendum which merged north and east in the most democratic way. Thondaman expressed his views on referendums in the context of the proposed Federal solution. In other places Thondaman has clearly stated his opposition to the de-merger and

has dissociated from the Select Committee on account of this issue. Nevertheless his views on referendums are wrong. Thondaman's views on responsible leadership are also not fully correct. It is for the leadership to convince the masses and win them over to support the right solution. If the leaders follow popular pressures of the masses provoked by irresponsible politicians then the Indian subcontinent will continue to bleed. It is concluded that the de-merger of north-east will be legally possible ONLY if the Tamils living in the north and east gave a POSITIVE vote to de-merger in a further referendum. If they give a NEGATIVE vote to de-merger then the merger is permanent. However, if the Tamils abstain from voting in a further referendum to de-merge then it will be IMPLIED that the existing merged situation is what they want. Tamils can refuse to take part in this further referendum for valid reasons: accelerated colonisation of the north and east by Sinhalese; large scale killing (many thousands) of Tamils by the sectarian security forces; handing over of Tamil villages and properties to Sinhalese by the security forces backed by the government.

"NEITHER THE FAR AWAY COLOMBO GOVERNMENT NOR THE EVEN FURTHER AWAY AND ALIEN NEW DELHI HAVE ANY LEGAL OR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO UNDO WHAT THE LOCAL POPULATION OF NORTH AND EAST HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED IN THE MOST DEMOCRATIC WAY".

P.Varothayasingham

UNDERGRADS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST KILLING OF STUDENT

Students belonging to all faculties of the Jaffna University carried out a protest at the killing of a Medical student, at Kilali, by the Sri Lankan Navy.

A student of the Medical Faculty of the Jaffna University was killed on the spot and two other students were injured at Kilali by Sri Lankan naval cannon fire, when they were waiting on the coast to take a boat to cross the lagoon. The Jaffna University's Students' Union held a protest meeting and took out a demonstration against the killing on Wednesday March 31. Students of all faculties joined in the demonstration. The meeting was held in the morning at Kailasapathy Hall. After the meeting the students set out in a procession carrying

banners and shouting against the killing of the student. They left the University premises and marched towards the office of the UNHCR where they handed over a memorandum. Thereafter the students marched in procession to the office of the ICRC where too a memorandum was handed over by the demonstration. Lastly the pressionsists went to the Jaffna Secretariat. There they demonstrated against the killing of the student and later handed over a memorandum to the President through the Government Agent.

CIVILIANS ARE LIKE PRISONERS!

In Army Occupied Areas

"People caught up in the Islands and Valigamam West areas under Army control are greatly affected psychologically". So said Rev. Fr. Jebanesan Parish Priest at St Mary's Cathedral who returned to Jaffna on Wednesday, March 24th, after a visit to the Army-occupied areas along with Rt. Rev. Bishop Thomas Savundranayagam, Bishop of Jaffna.

Rev. Fr. Jebanesan also stated that only about 300 people lived in all the army-occupied Islands of Pungudutivu, Karampan, Naranthansi, Velanai and Saravanai. he also said that there was not a single civilian in Kayts. These people in the Islands are desirous of coming to Jaffna. Health conditions are very unsatisfactory in

the Islands and the people there are psychologically greatly affected. He further said that at Illavalai in valigamam West Army men were reported to harass inmates of houses where women are living. People there are living in great fear like prisoners. Even more dangerous to the Tamil-speaking people is the Government's colonisation policy. We have only the beginning of it in Gal Oya. The land to be irrigated ... lies in the Eastern Province ... There is evidence that the Government intends planting Sinhalese population in the purely Tamil-speaking area' ... Mr S J V Chelvanayakam at the inaugural meeting of the Federal Party on 18th December 1949.

TRAGEDY IN SRI LANKA

When Sri Lanka became independent in 1948, it was called Ceylon and seemed to have it all; reasonable prosperity, a stable parliamentary system, habits of non-violence and a landscape of bewitching beauty. Now Sri Lanka, its official name since 1972, is synonymous with strife and tragedy. Last Saturday its president and two dozen others were blown to bits by a suicide bomber. This followed the murder of the president's chief rival and leader of the opposition. The cycle of retribution seems certain to continue. How did things go so horribly wrong? Sri Lanka's story says a good deal about the unintended

consequences of rooting politics in religion and ethnicity. It starts with the election victory in 1956 of the oxford-educated Solomon Bandaranaike, a year that also marked the 2,500th anniversary of Buddha's attainment of Nirvana. Capitalising on religious fervor, the prime minister made Buddhism the favoured religion and decreed that Sinhalese spoken by Buddhists, was henceforth the sole official language. This angered a minority of mainly Hindu Tamils, who saw themselves at a permanent disadvantage since they spoke a wholly different language from that of the mostly Buddhist Sinhalese. So Mr Bandaranaike temporised and

suggested allowing "reasonable use" of Tamil. Communal riots erupted, and the well-meaning prime minister was murdered in 1959 by a fanatic Buddhist. In due course there followed a full-scale civil war as an extremist Tamil faction clamoured for a separate state and found support in India, with its 50 million Tamils, just across the strait. In a second unintended result, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi saw a chance in 1987 to placate Indian Tamils and win points as a peacemaker in Sri Lanka. He dispatched 50,000 troops to Tamil strongholds on the island as part of a peace accord signed in Colombo. But India's sometimes brutal soldiers were unable to disarm Tamil militants, and in 1991 Mr Gandhi himself was assassinated, almost certainly by a Tamil extremist.

The lesson is sobering. When an ethnic majority diminishes the citizenship rights of a well-established minority, even a pacific people on an idyllic island can plunge into a bloodbath. It is an open question whether Sri Lankans can ever recover what has been lost. But there is time for other countries with peoples of different creeds and cultures to ponder Sri Lanka's tragic experience.

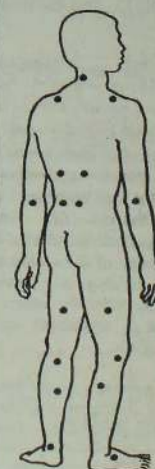
Courtesy The New York Times

SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT PATRONISED VANDALISM

A resident in Jaffna whose children are in Europe had received a letter from their beloved children enclosing also therein a photograph of themselves for the parents to see and feel happy. But the Sinhala Army which unlawfully opens closed letters have

thought it fit to disfigure the images by drawing moustaches. So the parents that received the letter after a spell of six months found to their utter dismay that the Sinhala Army men have shown their vandalism by disfiguring the images in the photography. This is done by the Army men in addition to their usual game of pilfering contents of letters. Of course, the Army men are able to do this because the Government permits opening closed letters to Jaffna addresses by its armed forces in violation of its own Post Office Ordinance.

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IYAL, ISAL, NADAGAM

SCENES FROM TAMIL CLASSICS

The Ever Faithful Inseparable Wife
S.Sriskandarajah

"Potter, Oh Potter
I have come with him through
narrow places
Like a tiny white lizard
Hugging the spoke of a cart wheel
Be kind, I beseech you, make me an
urn
For his burial in the wide earth
And make it wide enough for me too
You the maker of pitchers and urns
For this city, this wide old city."
(Puranaanooru 256)

"Love", "Lovers"..... are words that are freely bandied about and have been rendered inane and trite these days. True love, that many splendour thing, however will always be there as long as there are genuine lovers. A Tamil poem from the anthology called Puranaanooru portrays the throbbing anguish and fervent wishes of a dedicated true lover. There lived a couple who were true lovers, who believed in Karma and rebirth and wished to be man and wife in all their births. They were dutiful and honourable citizens. Invasion of their homelands by the rapacious enemy

forces forced the husband into the battlefield of his own volition. Many weeks passed; he did not return; messages came that confirmed that he had become a martyr. The wife rushed to the battlefield and found his body hacked in the chest. She sobbed and cried until she lost her voice. The thought that she has been made a destitute overnight wrenched her heart and made her feel helpless and hopeless. Simultaneously the overriding thought that her husband had given up his life not for nothing but for the defence and liberation of her motherland and homeland from the shackles of the invading enemy gave her great comfort. Her thoughts flashed back and the sweet and the not so sweet memories of her married life with her husband came to her mind in successive flashes. The ancient poem under consideration quintessentially paints her feelings by means of an analogy and simple anecdote. Wall lizards are domestic creatures. Some of them are destined to live in strange places like the axle of a cart or the spokes of a cart which is drawn by

oxen. When such a cart with a lizard perilously perched on one of its spokes, sets off on a long journey lasting many long days one can imagine the number of rotations and revolutions the wheel will make and the ups and downs the lizard will be subjected to. The wheel may rattle along rocky roads or wade through miry lanes exposing the lizard to all manner of shocks, jerks jolts and deafening noises. Willy nilly the lizard stays there in trepidation firmly perched to the spoke until the wheel ceased to rotate when the journey is over. The weeping widow compares her life to the life of the lizard. She had lived with her husband like the lizard on the spoke of the wheel experiencing mutually shared pain and pleasure. As she had lived with her husband for years together participating in all ups and downs of life she did not wish to be parted from him even when his vital spark of life had left him. So she goes to the maker of urns that are used for the burial of the dead and tells him that she needs an urn for the burial of her husband but she would desire that it is made a little larger so that her dead body could also be placed alongside his when she is dead too in a couple of days. Lovers of today may have reservations about the wisdom of that noble and exemplary widow; but the moral of the poem is a mirror of the time, the classical era of the Tamils.

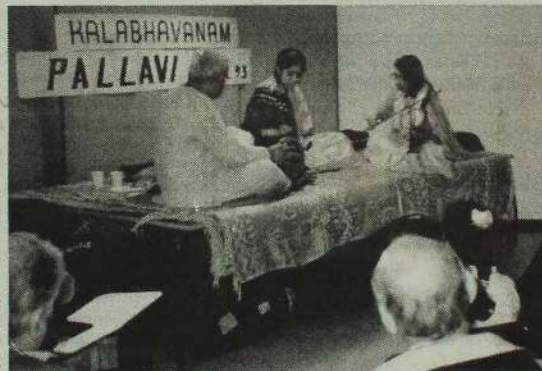
A UNIQUE MUSICAL EXTRAVAGANZA

KALABHAVANAM FINE ARTS CENTRE of Croydon which was inaugurated with a superb classical vocal concert by Smt Manorama Krishna Prasad last year, engaged the same prodigious musicologist for an admirable exposition and demonstration of what is known as PALLAVI, an essential ingredient in our Carnatic concert menu.

To the music lovers of South London who assembled in the little hall at 14, Willis Road, Croydon, on 25th April last, it was an exhilarating experience. Mikeless, and assisted on the violin by the well known Londoner Dr Lakshmi Jayan, and on the Mridangam by Kalakshetra maestro Karaikudi Krishnamurthi, Manorama selected some nine varieties of Pallavi, explained their structures in detail, sang and demonstrated their rhythmic variations and patterns. A special attraction was the impromptu contributions by Dr Lakshmi and Krishnamurthi which enlivened the programme and added colour.

London audiences, we believe, would not have had such a musical experience before. It was unique in many respects: innovative, educative and at the same time entertaining. Kalabhavanam, we

understand, has planned to have a programme on the last Sunday of every month at the little hall at 14, Willis Road, Croydon, and they would include seminars and demonstrations. The next programme on 30th May is a vocal concert by Tiruvarur Kothandapani, Sangeetha Vidwan title holder of the Madras Central College of Carnatic music. He is already familiar to the London audiences as a violin vidwan and Kalabhavanam projects him as a qualified vocalist as well.



BOOK REVIEW

Title: **Sivagnana Sthiyar: SUPADCHA VACANAM** - (Exposition of Saiva Siddhanta in Tamil prose)
Author: Rev K.S.Murugesu (1st Edition, Jaffna, 1931), 2nd Edition, 1993, Kanthalagam, Madras 2 (Price Rs.25)

The Saiva poet-saint Sri Meikanda Devar (C.1250 AD) has the unique distinction of having codified Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy through his monumental work: SIVA GNANA BOTAM, basically consisting of only 12 sutras (cryptic, concise verses) with explanatory stanzas. Sivagnana Sthiyar is the first major verse commentary written on the Sivagnana Botam by Sri Meikanda Devar's first disciple: Arul Nandi Sivachariyar (the Scholar-saint) who divided his magnum opus into two parts - parapakkam, refuting other philosophies, and Supakkam, substantiating Saivism. The book under review is a prose work in Tamil

on part two of this celebrated masterpiece.

The Author's simple, direct style of expression belies the complexity of the subject and the care and mastery he has bestowed on clarifying the fundamental tenets of Saiva Siddhanta. Questions and doubts are raised in the course of discussion and finally cleared - that a Christian Father should so faithfully adhere to Saiva Concepts is something to be admired in the work.

A very useful summary of the twelve sutras and their treatment is given by Dr V Rathinasabapathy, former

professor and Head of Department of Saiva Siddhanta at Madras University in his illuminating foreword to this excellent manual of 74 pages. The addition of a glossary of technical terms is an asset and the book, overall, is a welcome addition to the existing literature on Saivism, especially for those in the West who have neither the access nor the literary background to understand the original verses of Sivagnana Sthiyar. The book is a must for those who wish to understand the basics of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy.

SWAMI SIVA NANDHI

ARUMUGA NAVALAR CELEBRATIONS

Celebrations in honour of Sri La Sri Arumuga Navalar who did great service to Hinduism and the Tamil Language were held on Sunday, May 9 at Merton Hall, Wimbledon. Proceedings began with Pooja and Worship, followed by a Welcome Speech by Mr V R Ramanathan of the Saiva Munnetta Sangam (UK).

School contributed musical and dance items, and then Mr S J Fatimakaran spoke on "Tamil Nationalism". Mr A Balendran (Violin), Mr Muthu Sivarajah (Miruthanagam) and Mrs Nilanthi Balendran (Vocal) entertained the large audience to a Music Recital. After refreshments, the late Mr V

Muttucumarasamy's book in English "Some Eminent Tamils" was ceremoniously released by the President of the Saiva Munnetta Sangam (UK), Mr C Sithamparapillai. There was a review of the book which deals with 20 leading figures of the 19th and 20th centuries by Dr S Gunasingam and Mr A Charvanathan. Proceedings came to a close with a musical item by Mr S Thayaparan (Flute) and Mr Muthu Sivarajah (Miruthanagam) and a Vote of Thanks by Mrs T Muthucumaraswamy.

Practical Siva-Yoga: And Reducing Stress in life by Self-Management

PATANJALI SAGE emphasizes two techniques - CHITTA VIRUTHI NIGRAHA (Positive Thinking) and VIDARKA BADHANE PRATIBAKSA BHAVANAM (suppress the negative by unfolding its opposite).
HERE IS HOW:

UNDERSTANDING THE CAUSES

1. STRESS is mental agitations caused by unfulfilled desires - KEEP DESIRES TO A MINIMUM.
2. Stress is purely an INTERNAL phenomenon Within you - CHANGE YOUR OWN ATTITUDES.
3. Stress is caused by emotional forces controlling your intellect - Reverse this.
4. Desire is like bacteria - they multiply only to destroy you eventually So have only disciplined desires.
5. Stress is caused by DEPENDENCE on others - Work towards Self-confidence.
6. All stress is due to: "Oh! WHY IS THE LILY NOT AN OAK?". There is nothing wrong in God's World.
7. Stress is caused by fear, greed and indecision: (all generated by selfishness).

APPLYING THE REMEDIES

1. Analyse every thought and discriminate - let the intellect control your emotion.
2. Keep the mind on the PRESENT - forget past failures of future anxieties, & Trust that God knows what is best for you.
3. Always ACT ON REASON - Not on EMOTION (MIND) AND/OR IMPULSE.
4. Work towards a HIGHER IDEAL IN LIFE for peace of mind.
5. Assess and have a CORRECT EXPECTATION - ACCEPT PEOPLE AS THEY ARE. TRUST IN GOD'S DISPENSATION.
6. DON'T expect the World to fit your Mental Pattern - Remember A LILY CANNOT BECOME AN OAK
7. Cultivate a mental attitude of DETACHMENT - ENJOY LIFE without undue attachment.

Courtesy Saiva Ulagam

MANIKKA IDAIKKADAR REMEMBERED

Mr Idaikkadar passed away more than a year ago. It would be an omission if we did not take note of his many abilities and accomplishments, and pay tribute to this great son of Jaffna. He and I became close friends at the University College in Colombo nearly sixty years ago. Our friendship continued at Cambridge where we both did Mathematical Tripos in the same year and became wranglers.

While I stayed on in Cambridge, he returned to Ceylon, entered the Civil Service and had a distinguished career as Government Agent in several provinces and finally as Director of Census and Statistics. After retirement, he had a short spell lecturing in Mathematics at the University of Malaya, and then served for some years as an FAO expert. In recent years, living in quiet retirement in Colombo, he was a popular speaker and writer in Tamil on literary and scientific topics. I am happy to have enjoyed the friendship of this man who was a source of pride to the entire community.

C J Eliezer, Melbourne

"TAMIL STAR" IN HOLLYWOOD

"V T Saravanapavan of California has acted (speaking role) as one of the Principals in the dramatic feature

movie called "COME THE MORNING". One of the other Principals was Susan Howard who acted as Diana in "DALLAS" for 10 years. Sara has appeared as an Extra Talent in more than half a dozen TV shows and the movie "MY LIFE". He has followed acting classes in Hollywood. Now he is eligible to become a member of the Screen Actors Guild".

THE GARDEN OF PEACE

There is a place in this world where man can ever behold the serenity, the peace, the calm, the tranquillity, the reign of charm
No race, no caste, no prejudice
No difference and no injustice
Everyone there dwells in peace
No disturbance
They sleep in peace
Royalty, wealthy, priest and poor mingle there - Isn't it queer that all thro' life they do others bother, but when they get there

they lie together?
The famous scholar, the king, the queen
The rusty beggar, the rich, the mean
All meet there with no distinction at the end of life's extinction
Now you wonder, now you wish
Where is this place of heavenly bliss?
Yes, my friend there is that place where one gets buried in death's embrace

THE GARDEN OF PEACE!!!

BY: Mrs Param Saravanapavan, California

PEOPLE and EVENTS

DEATHS

MRS SUNTHARALINGAM KANAGAMBIKHAI PUNITHAVATHY - Passed away on May 3rd, Wife of the late Professor Chellappah Suntharalingam, former MP Vavuniya and ex-Minister of Commerce and Trade, loving mother of Dr. Gnanalingam (Gnani), Lingambikhai (Linga), Lingavathy (Vatha), Sathyalingam (Tooty), Lingamani (Mani), Lingeswari (Isha), mother-in-law of Pushpalukshmi, late K Satchithananda, late K Chelvadurai, Neilambikkai, Capt. R C Raja Rayan and Samy Pasupati, sister of Mrs V Sivapragasam and the late K Sivasubramanim. Cremation at General Cemetery, Kanatte, on 4th May 1993.

VISVALINGAM SIVAGNANAM (79) - Father of V S Pathmakanthan, Yogendra (Executive Engineer, Road Development Authority, Puttalam), Thavendra (Surveyor, Maho), Jeevendra (Denmark). Funeral Tinnevely, Jaffna 27th April. 45 Lansdowne Rd, Walthamstow, London E17.

Rev NESAKUMAR KADIRGAMAR - Youngest son of the late Rev J W A Kadingamar and of Mrs G N Kadingamar, R C P Welch Illam, Christian Theological Seminary, Chunnakan.

Prof George D SOMASUNDARAM - Son of the late Canon and Mrs S S Somasundaram of Nallur, husband of Ruby nee Arketell, father of Mesdames Karunai Jeevaratnam, Tissainayagam & Ratnesar in New Zealand. He was Professor of Engineering at the University of Ceylon. In his retirement he was the Director of the Jaffna College Institute of Technology.

Lily Alagamar WILLIAMS - Wife of the late L S Williams, veteran

Chemistry teacher at Jaffna College and mother of Indrani Jeyarajah, Soundrani Jesuthasan & Vimalarani Selvarajah. She was a grand-daughter of the late Rev B H Rice, the first national Pastor of Vaddukoddai.

Geetha Rajanathan
16.9.55 - 28.4.93



The death occurred under tragic circumstances of Geetha Rajanathan, on Wednesday 28th April, at her home in Horsenden Crescent, Greenford, Middlesex. Geetha who was living in separation from her husband Kathirkamanathan Rajanathan (Chandran) was shot dead by him: later he took his own life with the same weapon. Geetha leaves behind a nine-year old son Jonathan, her mother Mrs Chandra Tharmalingam, brothers Rajan, Santhan and Thambo, sister-in-law Gayatri and her grandmother, Mrs Pushpam Solomons all of 68 Rosebank Avenue, Sudbury Hill, Middlesex. Geetha who worked for the Midland Bank was living with her mother. On the day of the incident her husband appealed to her to visit him at his home a few doors away and within minutes of her going two shots rang out which ended a young and radiant life.

Geetha's loving and vivacious temperament won her many friends. The tears shed by her relations and friends at home and in Church spoke of the great loss. The service at the Oldfield Road Free Church, North Greenford was conducted by Revs Ebenezer, Jonathan and Reginald Kumar. Geetha was laid to rest at Carpenden Park Cemetery, Watford on 6th May in a beautiful garden of flowers and covered with wreaths which was a fitting scene for one who loved life in all its abundance and game immense joy to those around her. May her sweet and gentle soul rest in peace.

R R DHARMARATNAM (70) - A well-known lawyer and politician of Udupiddy, for 23 years he was Chairman of the Udupiddy Village Council. He was also an active member of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. He was a bachelor, with a special concern for the rights and welfare of the working classes. He leaves behind three brothers - Singaratnam, Gopalaratnam and Alagaratnam. Another brother, Vijayaratnam, predeceased him. His father, the late V R Ratnam, was Headmaster of the Udupiddy American Mission School.

The death occurred on Monday, April 19 from a heart attack of Vaithilingam ELAMPOORANAR at his residence in 57 Westmorland Road, North Harrow. The cremation took place on Sunday, April 25 at the Golders Green Crematorium. Elampooranar studied at Hartley College, Point Pedro and later at the Katubedde Technical Institute. He came to the UK in the mid-60's and took up an appointment under British Telecommunications where he steadily rose to a Managerial position. Only recently he relinquished this post to set



himself up in private business. He was a very popular figure in West London and actively involved himself in several cultural and educational ventures. He was one of the founders of the Harrow Tamil School and taught music and drama there. He leaves behind his wife Bhuvaneshwari, a very talented vocalist herself and two young children, and a whole host of friends and relations to bemoan his untimely departure. 15.4.44 - 19.4.93

R.S.T.

PARAMESHWARI SABANAYAGAM - Retired teacher - Kopay Govt. School, Vembade Girls High School and Our Lady of Refuge, Jaffna. Beloved wife of Spencer Selvadurai Sabanayagam, mother of Kamalini, Padmini, Sivakumaran (all of UK) Dr Nirmala, Sugumaran, Kalaivani, Damayanthi (all of Canada) Karunakaran and Vijeyakumaran (both USA). Mother-in-law of Rajendran, Dr Nagarajah, Dr Sivaji, Mohan Jeremiah, Sivadasi, Vasuhi, Rahini, Rathika. Grandmother of Nirooshan, Yalini, Nirshanthan, Parthiban, Maithili, Arun, Jivakan, Nirethana, Tanya and Diviya. Sister of Kanagasabapathy, Nadarajah and Thillagawathy. Funeral took place in

Highland Memory Gardens, Ontario, Canada on 1st May 1993. 172 Fairlawn Park, Sydenham, London SE26 5SD. Tel: 081-778 9013.

Samuel Kirubairaj GNANAMUTTU - died aged 78 after a long and memorable teaching career. His wife Ranjithamalav (daughter of the late Mr & Mrs K S Saravanamuttu died in October 1987 as a result of bombing by the Indian Air Force. He is survived by his brothers George and Victor, and sisters Regina, Mercy and Grace Asirwatham. After his degree, Sam came to the UK for post graduate training. He was Principal of Dharmaduta College, Badulla for many years and he was on the Staff of S Thomas College, Gurutalawa on retirement from Badulla. He also taught in his home town - Chavakachcheri - till his wife's death. He continued teaching and writing till his sudden death from heart attack. 15 Boswell Place, Wellawatte.

Daniel Jeyaraj Nevins SELVADURAI (Bobby) - son of veteran Headmaster Nevins Selvadurai and husband of Ruby Christobel Nathaniel died in his 82nd year of a heart attack on 14th May and cremated on 19th May at the North Surrey Crematorium, Bobby had his education at Jaffna Hindu College and later at St Thomas College, Mt Lavinia where he was an outstanding athlete. The records he established in the sprints (100 yds and 220 yds) still stand. He was also an outstanding performer at the A.A. Championships of the 30's. He joined the Excise Dept as an Inspector in 1936 and steadily rose to the rank of Supt and retired in 1971. He leaves behind his wife whom he married in 1942 and six children, Dr Donald, Roy (Canada), Adrian (Canada), Indra Arulraja, Brian and Elmore (Canada). 12 Glenhorpe Rd, Morden, Surrey.

BISHOP - ELECT THE REVEREND DR S. JEBANESAN OF JAFFNA

The Consecration of Bishop-elect Jebanesan on 28th May 1993 in the Vaddukoddai Cathedral of Jaffna is of special joy, pride, and significance not only to his family and the war-torn people of Jaffna but also for the many Tamils here in Australia and in the Tamil diaspora that now spans some 40 countries.

Many of us remember Bishop Jebanesan as the quiet one in the very articulate family of Rev N Subramaniam and Chavakachcheri's Kanaga Acca, a mother of great beauty, charm, vivacity and hospitality. We have happy memories of Jebanesan as a good friend, churchman, modern-day apostle, scholar, an administrator with consummate communication skills, a teacher and principal of Jaffna College, the Peninsula's oldest and finest educational institution. A truly courageous man, Jebanesan, among other brave professional men and women, elected to give up safety and security for himself, his wife, and children and stay behind to help, teach and nurture the 800,000 refugees trapped in the Peninsula.

Even his doctoral thesis is indicative of this remarkable man - not another thesis on "Science and Religion" or "God and the Universe", but on "The Batticotta Seminary", one of the cornerstones of Jaffna's intellect and civilisation. This seminary at Batticotta (Tamil "Vaddukoddai" for round fort) was founded in 1822 and is perhaps the oldest University College in the East and Far East. Its pioneering and far-sighted American Missionaries, Rev Dr Daniel Poor and Rev Dr Richard Hoisington preached and published in classical Tamil. They taught and inspired the outstanding C W Thamotheerampillai, Carol Viswanathan, J R Arnold

Sathasivampillai, William Nevins Sithamparapillai, Wyman Kathiravellupillai and Everts Kanagasabaipillai.

Together they began an intellectual ferment in Jaffna. They printed and produced an abundance of the 2500 year old Tamil grammar and literature; Christian literature, hymns and lyrics in Tamil; brought about the monumental English-Tamil dictionary by Winslow (American Missionary/Scholar); established the English-Tamil Christian Weekly "The Morning Star" that continues to this

day. The seminary helped to mould generations of intellectual giants whose descendants are members of Melbourne's Christian Fellowship, in Australia and all over the world. Dr Jebanesan's latest research gives us who have been displaced since July 1983 a sense of history, identity and solidarity for which we are truly grateful. On all our behalf we send him, his wife, children, father, brothers Sugunananthan, Manopavan, Sukumar and sister Shanta Jeganathan our felicitations, blessings and prayers for his Consecration and for the coming years.

Professor C J & Mrs Raneel Eliezer

CONGRATULATIONS!

TO: **KEITH VAZ, MP** for Leicester East on his recent marriage
I do, I do, I do



Vows Keith Vaz

to Maria Fernandes, Solicitor with roots in Goa. Keith's parents are also from Goa.

TO: **KAMLESH BAHL**

on her appointment as the new Chair of the Equal Opportunities Commission. A hard-working lawyer, she has appeared for British Steel and Texaco. She is the only Asian to have a seat on the highly influential Law Society and is an active member of the Race Relations Committee.

CONGRATULATIONS!

TO: **DR RAJ CHANDRAN** on his appointment as **COMMISSIONER FOR RACIAL EQUALITY**



A well known GP practising with his wife in Nottingham, he is the first Sri Lankan Tamil appointed by the Home Office to this highly prestigious position. Dr Chandran is an old boy of Kokuvil Hindu College and the President of the League of Friends of the University of Jaffna. He is a former District Councillor and was a Conservative Parliamentary Candidate.

LOOKING AHEAD

- JUNE 5 Saturday :PIRATHAMAI
- 6 Sunday :ANAIKOTTAI MOORTHANAINAR KODI
- 7 Monday :THIRUTHIYAI
- 8 Tuesday :SATHOORTHY
- 9 Wednesday :PANCHAMI
- 10 Thursday :SHASHDI
- 11 Friday :SAPTHAMI
- 12 Saturday :ADDAMI
- 13 Sunday :NAVAMI, ST ANTHONY KOCHIDADE-THIRUNALAI
- 14 Monday :THASAMI
- 15 Tuesday :EKATHESI VIRATHAM
- 16 Wednesday :EKATHESI VIRATHAM
- 17 Thursday :HUVADASI
- 18 Friday :HIRAMODASI
- 19 Saturday :SATHOORTHY, NAINATHIVU NAGAPOOSHANI AMMAL KODI
- 20 Sunday :AMAVASAI
: "KACHA DEVAYANI" (Play in English) 7.0 pm at the Bhawan
- 21 Monday :PIRATHMAI
- 22 Tuesday :THIRUTHIYAI, ISLAMIC NEW YEAR
- 23 Wednesday :SATHOORTHY
- 24 Thursday :PANCHAMI
- 25 Friday :SHASHDI, MAVIDDAPURAM KANDASAMY KODI
- 26 Saturday :SAPTHAMI
- 27 Sunday :SADDAMI
- 28 Monday :NAVAMI
- 29 Tuesday :THASAMI
- 30 Wednesday :EKATHESI
- JULY 2 Friday :MUSIC AND DANCE BY BHAWAN STUDENTS KINGSBURY HIGH SCHOOL 7PM
- 3 Saturday :KALAI VILLA (PROCEEDS TO MIOT) FOR TICKETS TEL: 081 342 0330 081 452 8822

TALK ON: THE RELEVANCE OF BHAGWAD GITA TO MODERN LIFE BY SWAMI SWAROOPANANDA (AT THE BHAWAN)

MARRIAGES

JEYAWERASINGAM - PADMESWRAN

On May 23, Mahendra (son of Mr & Mrs S Jeyawerasingam of 32 Toohey Ave, Westmead 2145, N.S.W.) and Nirajah, (daughter of the late Mr R Padmeswaran and of Mrs S Padmeswaran of 192 Wentworth Rd, Burwood 2134, N.S.W.) at Ashfield Town Hall, Ashfield 2131, N.S.W.

SELVAKUMARAN - KUMARAKURU

On May 16, Hariharan (son of Mr & Mrs S.V. Raja Selvakumaran of 14 Kendall Ave South, Sanderstead, Surrey) and Kamini (daughter of the late Mr K Kumarakuru and of Mrs L Kumarakuru of 148 Leatherhead Rd, Chessington, Surrey) at Wandsworth Civic Suite, London SW18.

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SETBACK FOR RULING PARTY IN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

UNP suffered its first big defeat since 1977 for more than 10 years, the UNP has had its way, largely through violence and fraud. It lost the Western Province which includes Colombo - it also lost Southern and North-Western Provinces. UNP held 4 of the 7 contested Provinces.

The political scene has changed dramatically since the assassination of Premadasa and Lalith Athulath Mudah: As a result the election passed without much violence or fraud, both of which have been characteristic of most polls since 1977.

Courtesy The Guardian, May 19 1993

PROSPECT OF TOP LEVEL CHANGES IN THE ARMY

The "Hurricane"

that devastated the North has now moved southwards, after the assassination of Mr Athulath Mudali, the Opposition Leader. The person or party responsible for this murder has not been identified, and it will take some time to trace the murderer. But, there is clamour among the general public in the South that it was the responsibility of the Government in power to have afforded him proper police protection.

It is reliably learnt that some significant changes are due to take place in the high rungs of the Sri Lankan army.

The permanent cadre of the army is 90,000; and there are five Major-Generals. Out of the latter, it is expected that two senior and efficient Major-Generals will be either retired or resigning their posts. Their order of seniority is as follows:-

The first is Jerry Silva, now Chief. After him come Tilak Paranagama, C J Abeyratne, Lucky Algama and Rohan Daluwatte, in that order.

The two senior Major-Generals who are expected to leave the service of the army by about June this year are Tilak Paranagama and C J Abeyratne. They are both senior and experienced officers, having put in more than 30 years of army service. Therefore, it is felt in the Administrative circles that the vacuum created by their absence would be difficult to fill and a feeling of despair prevails in the Army Services in this regard.

Incidentally, the only Tamil Major-General in the Army who could have been considered for filling a vacancy has retired from service recently!

(Courtesy 'Virakesari')

Ana Pararajasingham writes from Sydney SINHALA CHAUVINISM, "THE NOT SO HIDDEN" FACTOR

As long as chauvinism dominates the outlook of influential sections of the Sinhala community, no Sinhala politician could be expected to seriously pursue a political solution to the Sinhala-Tamil conflict. The slain President Premadasa's successors are just as unlikely to pursue a political solution as he was.

This chauvinism which has been systematically cultivated and exploited by successive generations of Sinhala politicians since 1948 is a potent force. Its practitioners include members of the Sinhala establishment. Its most

ardent advocates, the Buddhist clergy, wield considerable influence over the masses, and the media (state controlled and privately owned by Sinhala businessmen), is committed to perpetuate chauvinism through its highly biased approach in the coverage and dissemination of news and views.

This chauvinism is based on the notion that the Sinhala people are a "chosen people" who alone are the "true sons of the soil" (Bhumi Putra) and who, as faithful adherents to the Buddhism faith in a region dominated by non Buddhists are a "special people".

Dr Wilson (in "The Break Up of Sri Lanka") identifies this phenomenon as "political Buddhism" while others have described it as the "Mahavamsa Mindset" (in reference to this ideology's origin in the Pali chronicle of Sinhala history called "Mahavamsa" written by Buddhist monks around the 5th Century AD.)

B.H. Farmer, a British writer, provides an excellent analysis of this phenomenon in a booklet published under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations in 1963 entitled Ceylon: A Divided Nation. According to Farmer,

".....it is of great consequence that from early times, at least as early as the writing of Mahavamsa, the Sinhalese have thought of themselves as a unique and specially favoured people.

Rather as the Old Testament builds up the concept of Israel as a specially chosen people in a way that has had a profound influence on Jews ever since, so does the Mahavamsa build up the concept of the special destiny of the Sinhalese kings, the Sinhalese people, and the island of Sri Lanka in relation to Buddhism; and the result has been equally profound".

The authors of the "Mahavamsa" in their attempts to confer this "special status" on the Sinhala people have cast the Tamils as invaders while presenting the Sinhala kings who fought the Tamils as heroes. The most popular of these heroes was the Sinhala King Duttugamunu, who, according to the Mahavamsa had defeated the Tamil King Elara (Ellalan) to bring the island under Sinhala Buddhist rule.

Sinhala nationalists, over the years, have capitalised on this and other myths, creating in the process a modern Sinhala identity which equates "Sri Lankan" with "Sinhalese" and treats all other groups and particularly the Tamils as interlopers and aliens. The unitary constitution under which the Island was "granted" its independence has only served to reinforce this perception by permitting political power to reside largely with the Sinhala people. As a consequence, politicians seeking office found that it paid for them to appear "more Sinhalese" than their Sinhala opponents. Sinhala politicians began to appear more and more chauvinistic in their attitude and the notion that the Sinhalese are the true sons of the soil (Bhumi Putra) came to be

continued on page 12

