

# TAMIL NATION

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- Newly appointed Deputy Inspectors General of Police (DIG) refused to assume duties in war-torn areas of North-East, citing health reasons.
- In spite of reassurances given by the former Defence Secretary General Cyril Ranatunge that letters would not be tampered with recently, in a consignment of mail bags reaching Jaffna, one bag was found fully packed with garbage.
- C-I-D discovered that "Ghost cargo to Jaffna" was the cause of acute shortage of essential food in the peninsula. (see report inside)

# LOSING THE WAR AND SHOOING AWAY PEACE!

## "RIVAL GROUPS MUST STOP BETRAYING THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS"

Thondaman tells Expatriates.

MR S.Thondaman M.P. Minister of Tourism & Industrial Development in the Sri Lankan Government was the Guest of Honour at the International Festival of India, held in London. During his stay he addressed a gathering of ex-patriot Tamils at the Conway Hall, London, organised by the Tamil Information Centre, U.K.

Excerpts from Questions and Answers:-

Q: What do you think should be done to stop the State-Sponsored human-rights violations in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka?

A: There is a war situation in Sri Lanka. It is such that even the President of the country is not safe on the roads in the capital city. It is therefore futile for anyone to speak of human rights or violations of human rights. In a situation where self-protection or self-preservation is the foremost priority do not speak of human-rights or fundamental rights.

Q: Cannot you Sir, take a lead to tackle the Tamil problem of the North-East as you have done for the Up-Country Tamils?

A: You must understand one thing clearly. I am the leader of the Up-Country Tamils and my first duty is to them. They listen to me and they trust me. There is no competition, amongst them for leadership nor is there in-fighting. As far as the Tamils of the North and East are concerned, it will not be appropriate for me to speak for them.

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The nonchalance with which the Sri Lankan Government shoos away all peace moves could give a misleading impression "to the rest of the world that the Dingri Banda Wijetunga administration in Colombo is sitting on velvet". The truth is exactly opposite. Colombo is perched on the top of a simmering volcano. It is no secret that the Sri Lankan armed forces have been steadily losing arms, men, army camps and territory to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam over the past few years. The frequent moanings and wailings in the Colombo Press over the constant military setbacks are themselves proof of this, if proof is needed. Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe has gone on public record with the frank admission that the Government writ does not run in most of the areas north of Vavuniya. In the East, despite years of "ethnic cleansing" and State-sponsored Sinhala Colonisation, despite

a formidable Army and Navy and Air Force presence, the Government is unable to maintain an undisputed hold over territory. The very metropolis of Colombo, the seat of political power, has been proved unsafe for the most powerful of politicians - Ranjan Wijeyaratne, Lalith Athulathmudali, President Premadasa. A Navy Commander was killed in the heart of Colombo and a much-celebrated General, along with the Jaffna military command was wiped out in what was claimed as Government-held turf. The seemingly endless war itself is being pursued by a Government notorious for its dependence on foreign aid. Unemployed Sinhalese youths are no longer enamoured of enlisting in the army. A guerilla leader is administering a part of the island, larger in extent than what rulers of independent countries like the Maldives and Singapore do. Such being the unenviable and pathetic situation in which the Sri Lanka Government finds itself, how does one explain its off-hand rejection of attempts by well-meaning Governments and international organisations to bring about a negotiated peace settlement? The latest peace bid is a case in point. An international group of Nobel Prize winners has suggested a 5-point Peace formula, recom-

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PRESIDENT BD WIJETUNGA

*"Please do not condone the practice of referring to the so-called Ethnic Problem. Because there really is no such problem."*

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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mending at the same time that a United Nations representative be invited to mediate in the negotiation process. The Nobel Prize winners come from four western countries - the United States, Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands. TAMIL NATION has reservations as to whether the 5-point plan is either workable or acceptable on both sides of the ethnic fence. From the Tamil point of view, it could be a question of "too little too late". But certainly we do not advocate a peremptory rejection of any proposal that could promote the idea of peace, in a war-torn island which had sacrificed over a 100,000 lives, both Tamils and Sinhalese, in deadly violence within a period of 10 years. Peace has to be given a chance at all times. But what has been the Government's response? A Colombo report says: - "Government has ruled out quite categorically any United Nations involvement in the separatist war. Presidential Secretary KHJ Wijedasa has written to the International Secretary of the World Council for Global co-operation, which together with four Nobel laureates has mooted this as part of the peace plan. Mr Wijedasa's letter makes the succinct point that the current problem is not ethnic, but one of terrorism. It pointedly accuses the LTTE of the murders of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and President

Ranasinghe Premadasa of Sri Lanka".

Presidential Secretary Wijedasa has apparently much to learn. Firstly, Rajiv Gandhi was not Prime Minister of India when he was killed. Secondly, despite the deviousness with which the Indian Central Bureau of Investigations went about the investigation of the Rajiv Gandhi murder, and the whole dubious process that followed, and the secrecy surrounding it, some sort of judicial trial is yet continuing in Madras after a lapse of two years, and a verdict has yet to emerge. It is not for Wijedasa to pronounce a verdict. Thirdly, on the question of the Premadasa killing, even Wijedasa's own boss, President Wijetunga has been cautious enough not to make an open accusation of the LTTE. Fourthly, even if Wijedasa is allowed his contention that the LTTE killed an ex-Prime Minister of a neighbouring country in that soil, what relevance has that in solving a problem in Wijedasa's own country? In permitting a petty bureaucrat to reply to four distinguished Nobel laureates, the Wijetunga Government has blotted its own copybook.

One can understand the dilemma that the Sri Lanka Government faces. Any intervention by the United Nations in any form would demolish for all time the Government theory that it was a domestic issue. On the other hand, the mere acceptance that

it was an ethnic problem would mean acceptance of the facts of history over a period of 35 years. The simple trick therefore would be to dangle the word "terrorism". "Terrorism" is a useful, profitable and emotive word to dangle before a Western world audience, calculated to bring about an instant knee-jerk reaction and sympathy.

But when Wijedasa makes "the succinct point" that the current problem is not "ethnic", we totally agree. That would be an inadequate description. It is no longer an ethnic problem. It is a war between two nations within the island of Ceylon: one that defined its status as a Sinhala Buddhist nation as early as 1947 with the passing of Sinhala as the sole official language, formalising it in the Republican Constitution of 1972 when Buddhism was given a privileged position, and styling itself as Sri Lanka, thereby doing away with the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious basis on which the island remained under 450 years of Western colonisation; the other is the secular Tamil Eelam nation with all the prerequisites to become one under the U.N. charter - its own language, its predominant religion, an ancient culture and its own definable territory, but struggling to be born. That Wijedasa is the "current problem" is to put it succinctly, and to put you wise.

VIEWPOINT

**"Like all people, they (the blacks) have differing personalities, diverse financial interests and varied aspirations. There are Negroes who will never fight for freedom. There are Negroes who will seek profit for themselves alone, from the struggle. There even are some Negroes who will co-operate with the oppressors. These facts should distress no one. Every minority and every people has its share of opportunists, profiteers, freeloaders and escapist....No one can pretend that because a people may be oppressed, every individual member is virtuous and worthy. The real issue is whether in the great mass the dominant characteristics are decency, honour and courage".**

**Martin Luther King**

## Ghost Cargo to Jaffna

About 3 years ago the government began to send essential food and other goods to the Jaffna consignment to meet the acute shortage caused after the Peninsula got sealed off from the rest of the country. Supplies of rice, flour, sugar, kerosene, stationery and other items essential to the community were thought to have been restored but the shortage had in fact continued. People in the Country were

made to believe that the Jaffna man, like Oliver Twist, was never satisfied but always wanted more. Tigers were also blamed for hijacking stocks of essential items meant for the people, until one day Air Commodore Buddhi Siriwardene checked in at the place of Rehabilitation which was responsible for shipments to Jaffna. The place was thought to be the centre of massive corruption running into

millions of rupees. The matter was handed over to the C.I.D. There were no records of cargo that was loaded on board Jaffna bound ships in Colombo. Tons of coconut oil consigned to be taken to ships to Jaffna never reached the Colombo harbour, but have been diverted to a Pettah trader. Auditors had reported that private suppliers were being paid for full consignments while the

Government Agent, Jaffna complained of shortages. According to investigations so far it is estimated that the racket runs into hundreds of millions of rupees. There are no records of how much was really loaded on to the ships at any time and the C.I.D. have no hope of tracking down the culprits. It is common knowledge in Colombo that apart from politicians on both sides, there are several amongst those in uniform who love to keep the "Tamil problem" going, for otherwise they could be the poorer.

## "RIVAL GROUPS MUST STOP BETRAYING THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS"

Thondaman tells Expatriates.

(Continued from page 1)



Minister Mr S Thondaman addresses the assembled ex-patriot Tamils at the Conway Hall, London.

Q: Do you think the new President will be able to solve the Tamil problem?

A: All the Sinhala governments are the same. There is no difference between Jayawardene, Bandaranaiyake or Premadasa and others. Every Sinhala leader will say that he is keen solve the problem; but you can be sure that the Sinhalese never want to settle it. The only remedy lies in the REAL UNIFICATION OF THE DIFFERENT TAMIL GROUPS. Avoid in-fighting, eschew betrayal and refrain from recrimination. That is the way forward for the Tamils at this moment.

Q: You also appear to take the view that the Tamil question is an internal problem. If it is so, how do you justify the assistance and help given by the Governments of Great Britain and Israel to the Sri Lankan Government by way of arms, aid and military training?

A: I cannot answer that question because I have no answer

Q: Mr Thondaman!, The crux of the matter is that the Sinhala Government steadfastly refuses to recognise the just and reasonable rights of the Tamils. In such a situation is there any salvation for the Tamils?

A: I have no ready made answer; however I will repeat what I said earlier. That is to say, all the Tamil splinter groups should come together. **THEY MUST STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO ARE NOW DEFENDING TAMIL RIGHTS. FIRST AND FOREMOST THE RIVAL GROUPS MUST STOP BETRAYING THE FREEDOM-FIGHTERS.** The Sinhalese will think of a solution to the Tamil Problem only if the Tamils put a united front. Referring to the TULF, Mr Thondaman said, that they should give up politics. If you cannot fight, support the struggle in some other way.

Q: Mr Thondaman, You are a Tamil minister in a Sinhala Government credited with immense experience and success in bargaining. The leaders of successive governments have said that they are unable to concede Tamil demands because the Sinhalese masses are opposed to the idea of Tamil Eelam.

A: That is a big lie!. To say that decisions are made by the ordinary people is utterly untrue. The truth is that the Sinhala leaders do not want to grant the Tamils rights. I have been fighting for the Citizenship rights of the Up-Country Tamils for decades. For more than forty years every Sinhala leader

was saying the same thing to me. I never believed them. I conducted myself in such a way that one day Premadasa at a Cabinet meeting called me aside and said that he would grant Citizenship to a majority of the Up-Country Tamils in a couple of months. I took it with a pinch of salt; nevertheless he did as he promised. This is a case to demonstrate that those that matter are the Cabinet and not the masses. That is the truth.

Q: India is the super power in the region. On a previous occasion India attempted to bring about peace though by military intervention, in Sri Lanka. Is it not better that we strengthen India and encourage to intervene for peace in Sri Lanka?

A: India has many internal problems and is unable to solve its own problems. How can it solve our problem?. They are not even able to agree on a Prime Minister. Outsiders cannot bring peace to Sri Lanka. As I said earlier, **THE LTTE AND GOVERNMENT MUST NEGOTIATE.**

Q: Citizenship Problem?

A: There are 80,000 plantation Tamils who

have been recognised as Citizens of India. Applications were made long time ago by parents who are now old or dead. Many do not wish to go to India. Our position is that those who were born and lived in Sri Lanka should be granted Citizenship and must not be forced to go. I discussed this with the late President and he agreed. But now there is a new administration. I do not know what they will say. Statelessness was ended by legislation enacted in 1986 and 1988, but problems still remain. Government officers are not generous in recognising the plantation Tamils as citizens.

Q: North-East was merged to form a contiguous territory. But the Select Committee has since decided to delink the two provinces.

A: North-East was recognised as Tamil territory even by the 1977 Constitution. United North and East can only strengthen the Tamil cause. Therefore it is not surprising that they wish to divide it. A warring party will always try to weaken the other side. This is a matter of strategy. We may not like it.

## SINHALESE PRAISE FOR TIGER HUMANENESS

The "Defence Correspondent" of the Sunday Times, Colombo, engaged as he is in a profession in which "Tiger bashing" is an occupational necessity, did leave one cat (or two) out of the bag however. This is what he wrote:-

"I spoke to the relatives of the five policemen who returned." (after release by the Tigers) "Will even our people in the south look after us the way the boys in Jaffna did?," asked one of them who was highly taken up with the treatment given to them. He said when "we reminded the boys that the only thing we knew of Jaffna was the "Karuthakolumban" mangoes, the next day a basketful arrived.

When we said we were thirsty, they brought bunches of "Thambili", he said.

The relative said they were accommodated separately in rooms and were given good food. "They spoke to us nicely and said their problem was not with us, but with the government," he added.

"It was not only the relatives who got carried away. Even the genial and most unassuming Brigadier Weerasekera seems to have. That is why he told Lankapuvath that the LTTE was "genuinely" interested in peace....."

That was not all. A sixth policeman Sanath Gunawardene (23) was also released on June

30. This is what he told reporters in Point Pedro when he was handed over to the ICRC resident representative. He said that when they were caught they thought they would be done to death by the LTTE. But the LTTE have proved themselves to be people with humanitarian concerns and free from racism. He further said Mr Prabhakaran had ordered his release as he had fallen ill. That showed Mr Prabhakaran was a man with humanitarian feelings. This is sadly lacking in Sinhala politics. The poor are like dark objects in a dark room and are not noticed by the Sri Lankan government, he said.

# Google

by C.P. Goliard

Historically, goliards were the mediaeval 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 Prime Misfit of India



Prime Minister Narasimha Rao

The July 12th issue of the Time Magazine had a cover story entitled, "Where have all the leaders gone?". In it, the respected Indian commentator S.Nihal Singh had been quoted as calling the current Indian prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao as "The prime muddler of India". Though I endorse this portrayal of P.V.N.Rao in the overall context of events which had occurred in India since mid 1991, one gets a feeling whether Rao is a muddler by accident or by design. When we review the ways in which Rao had manipulated the events after he assumed the prime minister's role, it becomes clear that he is a muddler by design.

Let the excerpts from five editorials published in the mouthpiece of Indian brahmins, the Madras Hindu, of the past two years, reveal the real Rao, the prime misfit of India. (1) "In electing the senior party leader and experienced administrator Mr.P.V. Narasimha Rao, as the leader of the parliamentary party, the Congress (I) has taken the first steps towards a healthier political existence ... We congratulate Mr.Rao on his well deserved selection. Having been a senior minister in the governments of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, and for the most part possessing a record of sober political counsel on the several critical issues, Mr.Rao is the best person to lead the party at this juncture ... Mr.Rao's election creates a record of sorts in the fact that he is the first Congress (I) parliamentary party leader from outside the state of Uttar Pradesh. This is certainly a healthy symbolic touch for the federal character of the polity..." (June 21, 1991).

(2) "A stronger Congress (I) has undoubtedly emerged from the heat and dust of the three days of its plenary session in Tirupati ... Mr.Rao's own leadership of the Congress (I) has been enhanced by his decision to back the option of elections rather than consensus. Mr.Rao would now have the advantage of being perceived as having brought in an element of internal democracy in sharp contrast to the leadership style of the Nehru-Gandhis..." (April 19, 1992).

(3) "A succession of moves

since Tirupati including the latest decision by the party to leave the choice of the candidate for the Presidential election to Mr.Narasimha Rao have reinforced the impression that Mr.Rao and his party are having second thoughts about democratising the pattern of authority in the party... The outcome of the elections in that temple town which strengthened the political positions of the two senior leaders, Mr.Arjun Singh and Mr.Sharad Pawar, thought to be potential rivals, seemed to drain Mr.Rao's enthusiasm for greater internal democracy. Events since Tirupati have represented a disquieting retreat from a principal exercise of leadership..." (June 10, 1992).

(4) "Mr.Mehta's stunning allegation directly implicating the prime minister, Mr.P.V. Narasimha Rao, should no doubt be profoundly disturbing to everyone who has been brought upon on the tradition of Caesar's wife having to be above suspicion..." (June 23, 1993).

(5) "The Narasimha Rao government might have wrested its survival from the jaws of defeat when it managed to toss aside the Opposition-sponsored no-confidence motion by 14 votes, but the making of that crucial win robbed this administration of much of its moral authority and political credibility... The desperate and crude tactics that were used to break the Ajit Singh Group has ripped the facade off the Rao government's pretensions of principled politics..." (June 29, 1993).

As far as the Eelam Tamils are concerned, at least three actions carried out by the Cabinet and the coterie of Narasimha Rao proved to us that this mean Brahmin will be punished by the Almighty for his misdeeds. First, the banning of the LTTE in India. Second, indicting the leader of LTTE, V.Prabhakaran on falsely trumped-up charges as the first accused in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case. Third, capturing the LTTE's ship in international waters and precipitating the death of Lieutenant Kiddu and his colleagues. One couldn't have expected that the punishment to Rao has been delivered so

quickly and so forcefully.

It should be embarrassing to Rao that of the three anti-Eelam actions mentioned above, the first two were carried out to placate the moody chief minister of Tamilnadu, Jayalalitha. Having been placed in a position to lead a minority government, Rao depended on the 11 Lok Sabha votes possessed by the All India Anna DMK party to give strategic support. However, as expected, Jayalalitha's political relationship with Rao turned sour lately and the prime minister was made to look like a fool in the recent No-Confidence vote, when the AIADMK MPs voted in favour of the motion.

That Narasimha Rao is a schemer has been proved during the past two years. In an interview to the London Observer, soon after he assumed the power, Rao "has likened his situation as the head of a minority government to 'a batsman on 99 not out; and said, 'I'll have to watch the singles'" (Hindu, In.ed, July 13, 1991). Sure, he went in search of those singles assiduously by encouraging splits in the Opposition parties. First, the Gujarat chief minister, Chimanbhai Patel and his cohorts were allowed into the Congress party. Then, Rao took in six Lok Sabha Mps of the breakaway Telugu Desam group to boost the Congress party numbers. The Hindu Int.Ed. (Aug.29, 1992) reported that, "sources in the Congress (I) emphasised that the decision to allow the breakaway Telugu Desam to merge into the ruling party was taken by the Prime Minister himself". Finally, Rao supported the split of the Janata Dal party and encouraged the Ajit Singh faction of 20 MPs to support the Congress party.

That Narasimha Rao is a cheat came into evidence during his by-election victory in the Nandyal parliamentary constituency in late 1991. The Hindu Int.Ed. (Nov.30, 1991) noted that, "there was cer-

tainly an attempt at the end of the tenth round of counting, to restrict the number of votes polled by the prime minister, because the margin of victory was becoming suspiciously large and uncomfortable for the Congress (I) leaders, who only had a target of five lakh margin victory". Rao won that election, collecting 89.48 percent of the valid votes polled, with a "record-shattering majority of 580,297 votes".

That Narasimha Rao is a liar came to light during the infamous 'Solanki episode' in which his foreign minister Madhav Singh Solanki resigned his post in early 1992, after the revelation that Solanki handed over to his Swiss counterpart a note suggesting slowing down of the Bofors bribe investigations related to Rajiv Gandhi's

benefit from Bofors's kickback. The current plight of P.V.N.Rao has been projected in four lines of cine lyric by poet Pattukodai Kalyanasundaram for the 1960 movie, "Paathai Theriyuthu Paar" (Look - The Path is Visible!). The verses began with, "Unmai oru naal velli yahumathil Ullangal ellam thelli vahum Porumai oru naal puli yahumatharku Porumai purattum pali yahum"

involvement. In the Lok Sabha, Rao declared that, "he had neither authorised the giving of the note, nor had he any knowledge about it". (Hindu Int.ed., May 2, 1992). It is an open secret that Narasimha Rao owes his current position to the reluctance of Rajiv Gandhi's widow, Sonia, to assume the leadership mantle of the Congress party. To cover his back and to be on the good books of Sonia and other Rajiv loyalists, Rao did everything to protect Rajiv's "good name", even though evidence piled up showing that Rajiv did

In translation these lines state, "once the truth become freer, minds will be made clear. Patience will turn into tiger and demolish the cheat and the liar". Well, for Narasimha Rao the future path seems not so rosy, because his cheating has caught up with him. The Times magazine of Aug.9th observed that, "the horse trading that made possible Rao's survival embittered largely younger members within Congress enough to have them call for new leadership". It will be a matter of time, when the prime misfit of India will be pushed from his throne.

உண்மை ஒரு நாள் வெளியாகும் - அதில் உள்ளங்கள் எல்லாம் தெளிவாகும் பொறுமை ஒரு நாள் புலியாகும் - அதற்கு பொய்யும் புரட்டும் பலியாகும்.

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# WHO KILLED ATHULATHMUDALI?

## Sri Lankan Lawyers Slam Scotland Yard

The Scotland Yard team that probed the assassination of Lalith Athulathmudali did not come to Sri Lanka to ascertain the truth, but rather to confirm a pre-determined conclusion that the DUNF leader was murdered by the LTTE.

This is the view of a team of Sri Lanka's distinguished lawyers who have authored a critique on the controversial New Scotland Yard's report on the murder of Mr. Athulathmudali.

Their critique came at the request of Srimani Athulathmudali, widow of the late Mr Athulathmudali.

Excerpts:

### The LTTE Connection

Although the Report does not specifically and expressly state that the LTTE was behind Athulathmudali's murder, it is implicit therein that New Scotland Yard has attributed this murder to the LTTE. The Report states that:

*'As yet there is no direct evidence to positively link these associates (ie. Kowseelan, Sangarapillai Deva Radi and the other unnamed suspects) with the LTTE but circumstantial evidence and commonsense*

*dictates that there is a close connection. The more intricate details of this part of the investigation will be reported in full by the Director of the CDB in due course'.*

### Cyanide and Grenade

The presence of cyanide in the body of victim 2 (the alleged assassin) and his possession of a grenade give a strong further indication 'of LTTE *modus operandi*' (emphasis added).

The final conclusion of New Scotland Yard relating to the LTTE, together with the above quoted observations constitute the entirety of the circumstances in which it links the LTTE with the murder of Athulathmudali.

It is pertinent to observe that New Scotland Yard does not allege that there is any evidence, direct or circumstantial, that directly links the alleged assassin to the LTTE. Quite apart from the matters stated, no material whatsoever has been set out in the Report to indicate that the alleged associates of the alleged assassin had any links with the LTTE.

The reference to 'commonsense' is ridiculous - for com-

monsense can dictate a conclusion only upon evidence and not independently of it. New Scotland Yard has failed to furnish even a remote hint about the alleged circumstantial evidence, which dictated a "close connection" between the alleged associate and the LTTE. Did any such evidence exist? If so why has Scotland Yard not narrated even a summary of it? New Scotland Yard apparently seeks to excuse itself on this score by saying that the 'more intricate details... will be reported in full by the Director of the CDB'. Far from being an excuse, this statement constitutes an admission of an abdication of its responsibility, for the terms of reference of New Scotland Yard were to do an independent review and not to adopt in advance a yet unwritten report of the Sri Lankan Police whose conduct was already suspect in the eyes of a section of the populace.

The observations of New Scotland Yard vis-avis the 'murder weapon' is a classic case of the selective consideration of evidence to support a predetermined conclusion in

total disregard of the dictates of logic and 'commonsense'. Firstly Lebanon is a country which has had links, 'tenuous' and otherwise, not only with the LTTE but also with the other separatist terrorist groups that operated in Sri Lanka, but New Scotland Yard has considered only her 'tenuous links' with the LTTE. Secondly, the serial number of the 'murder weapon' was '1034/92 with slide and frame No. 117261'. The difference between the latter number and the number of the weapon closest thereto from among the number cited by New Scotland Yard (117314) was 53. On what dictate of logic or 'commonsense' could this fact lead to the conclusion, or even the suspicion, that the 'murder weapon' belonged to the LTTE, particularly when the serial numbers of weapons released by the Sri Lankan Government in 1986 were the numbers of weapons seized 'from terrorists' and not from the LTTE, there having been a larger number of terrorist groups operating in Sri Lanka in and around 1986.

The question of the LTTE's *modus operandi* and cyanide has been dealt with above. New Scotland Yard goes even further and suggests that the alleged possession of a

grenade by the alleged assassin was also indicative of LTTE involvement. New Scotland Yard has conveniently ignored the notorious fact that grenades were/are used and possessed not only by the LTTE but also by other terrorist groups and by common criminals as well. How then does the alleged possession of a grenade give rise to a conclusion of even a suspicion of LTTE involvement?

Reaching a conclusion of LTTE involvement was, no doubt convenient, for it resulted in President Premadasa and his supporters, and the Police, and all others being cleared of complicity and enabled New Scotland Yard to 'wrap up' its 'independent review'!

### Conclusion

The report of New Scotland Yard leaves us none the wiser about the murder of Athulathmudali. The only concrete result achieved by the Report is to prove that New Scotland Yard is today not worthy of the high reputation and renown it justly enjoyed in the past. The Report in attempting to resolve some questions raises many more far reaching questions that are yet to be resolved.

Courtesy The Island,  
18 Aug 1993

## A BUNKUM REFERENDUM

by Lt Col Anton I N Selvadurai

In their quest to negate the Tamil demand for a separate homeland, all the Sinhala Governments since independence have opened up lands in the Eastern Province and brought in Sinhala colonists in order to change the ethnic demography.

What was once a covert operation has now become a military operation, with indigenous Tamils being ruthlessly supplanted by Sinhalese transported there by the lorry loads by the Government. One glaring example is the case of "Manal Aru" in the Trincomalee district, which was converted into its Sinhala equivalent of "Weli Oya" almost overnight when Tamils were driven off by the army, and properties including those of several Tamil owned companies confiscated by Gazette notification and distributed to the new colonists from the south.

Changing the ethnic demography in order to counter Tamil demands for freedom and after that having a referendum is a dirty cheat, undemocratic and highly un-

Buddhistic. The North East Province is the original Tamil homeland which was the Tamils' kingdom before the British merged it with the rest of the island in 1833 for administrative purposes. The Tamils naturally want to retain it as such. Already parts of the N West province and S East province which were once a part of the Tamil kingdom have been Sinhalese and lost forever to the Tamils. Sinhala colonisation with a view to holding a referendum in order to make it look democratic would be like importing lorry loads of Tamils into Moratuwa to increase their population ratio to over 50% and then asking them to have a referendum in the "Sinhala Only" policy.

The fact that Tamil speaking parties including the SLMC have been out of the Parliamentary Select Committee which has recommended the referendum, shows the inflexibility and paranoia of Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinism. They want to have it at any cost.

The army has guaranteed the

driving out of the LTTE in 4 months. The IPKF said something similar too, but they had to depart "with their tails between their legs". Instead of trying all means to avoid further violence the Government is only bent on more bloodshed, despite their failing economy and warnings not to use foreign aid for "defence" spending (really "offence" spending).

So it is patently obvious to the world, that the intended referendum to decide on the de-merger of the NE province is all bunkum, which cannot be implemented even if the referendum succeeds in electing to de-merge, because the Tamil freedom fighters will never let them succeed.

The unfortunate Sinhalese are like the Burghers of Hamelin who could not stop the Pied Piper from taking their children away. Such is the blinding force of Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinism which still continues to believe in the Mahavamsa theory of "Sinhadeepa" and "Dharmadeepa" that other minorities are accepted only on the grace and favour of the majority Sinhalese Buddhists. When will they ever learn to give up their childlike ways and begin to live like mature reasonable adults?

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# Uncle Nadodi's Column

## TIRED GENERALS SEEK SAFER GROUNDS

Old soldiers never die, they only fade away, goes an old saying. Sri Lanka which had seen its 90,000 army becoming top-heavy in recent years, has been hard put to decide what to do with its Generals tired of fighting the Tigers. Ex-President Junius Richard Jayewardene found a way out and sent his kinsman-soldier 'Bull' Weeraratunga as his envoy to Canada. That set a precedent. General Sepala Attygalle was then sent to London as High Commissioner. General Cyril Ranatunga was then posted to Canberra. Now with Sepala Attygalle back in Colombo, another top general is reported to be eyeing the London posting. One does not see how war-weary Generals can make successful diplomats, unless diplomacy is considered an extension of war. And to think that the first Ceylonese head of the Army was a Tamil - Major General Anton Muthucumar, an Oxford scholar!

## WIDOWS & SONS LTD

Widows of politicians make an ambitious breed in Sri Lanka. They think that power is a family legacy left behind for them - and their progeny - by their loving or not-so-loving husbands, and that they are entitled to it by divine right. A wayward Sinhala constituency appears to go along with the idea - something that no Eelam Tamil voter will ever accept. When Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist monk way back in 1959, his widow Srimavo stepped into his shoes. Dubbed by the pro-UNP Press as the "weeping widow", she nevertheless stormed into power and proved the truth of the old maxim - "The female of the species is deadlier than the male." Second daughter Chandrika exploited the charisma of her husband Vijaya Kumaranatunga, killed by Sinhala assassins, and today

she is Chief Minister of the Western Province.

Now, one of the two most recent widows, the high-stepping Hema Premadasa is getting all set to plunge into what she believes is her husband's sandals. Having announced her intentions even before her husband's remains were disposed of, she is reported to be waiting anxiously for the 3-month period of mourning to end on August 1, to make her debut. It was no secret that while her husband was alive, she was his biggest political embarrassment - in more ways than one - while she continued her craze for playing tennis with her cronies and going swimming. Widow apart, the son Sajith Premadasa who was away in UK and returned on his father's death is now busy trying to warm a constituency of his own in distant Hambantota. The UNP is divided on the question of Mother & Son being allowed to wrest power within the party; so far they have not been even members of the party. While a section of the UNP seems to be promoting their interest, men like Sirisena Cooray and the ebullient State Minister for Information A.J. Ranasinghe, both close confidantes of the late President, are openly opposing the widow - Watch out for the fun in August!

The case of widow Srimato and son Anura provides a scenario of a different sort. The Bandaranaike family became divided long ago: with elder daughter Sunethra (the prettier of the two) going her own way, and the younger, Chandrika, quarrelling with brother Anura on one hand and mother Srimavo unable to control son Anura on the other. With the SLFP getting split between mother and son, Anura has now been sacked from the party. **Both the party and the mother have now taken on the appearance of the Anaradhapura ruins!**

## TOO MANY HORSES, TOO MANY JOCKEYS

With both Premadasa and Lalith Athulathmudali having met with violent deaths and now out of the political scene, there are moves to bring Gamini Dissanayake & Co. back into the UNP, either in a coalition or in a merger. The old fox, the one-time President Jayewardene is believed to be pulling the strings from behind, apparently backed by the New Delhi establishment, which is itching to grab back its lost initiative in Colombo. With the Rajiv Gandhi - Jayewardene so-called "Peace Accord", now virtually buried, and the so-called Indian "Peace Keeping" Force having turned tail after a fruitless and expensive war with the Tigers, New Delhi is now thinking of new game-plans. Knowing that Gamini Dissanayake could eventually become Delhi's darling in the seat of power in Colombo, (after all, nobody thinks that Wijetunga in anything but a stop-gap) Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe is getting set to build up his own image both in the eyes of New Delhi and the international arena. He was in Paris to participate in the Aid Group Meeting, and then met French President Mitterand, and also presented himself in New Delhi, from where he gave the impression of a "moderate" politician. He even waved the olive branch to the LTTE and invited them for direct talks. Addressing the Economist Conference in Colombo (organised by the **ECONOMIST** magazine, London) he was frank enough to admit (according to a Colombo newspaper report); "Government had control of its administration South of the Wannu jungles of the island nation. While the whole of Sri Lanka is technically under the administration of government agents, **government lacked the ability to enforce law and order north of the Wannu jungles....**"

The question for Sri Lanka is: Who will be the future President of that country? Gamini Dissanayake? Ranil Wickremasinghe? Srimavo Bandaranaike? Hema Premadasa? Sajith Premadasa? Or Wijetunge himself? Or some dark Horse? The trouble is, there are too many horses and too many jockeys in the race! Alternatively, it could be who will get assassinated next?! And, let us not rule out the JVP altogether. There is a feeling that they are already infiltrating not only the armed forces but also various Sinhala parties! May the Enlightened One in whose name the country is being run save that country!

## CIVILIAN BUFFER ZONE IN VAVUNIYA

Over a third of Vavuniya District's 2,645 sq kms is now in Army control as the military pushes forward with forcible resettlement programmes to create a civilian buffer zone between itself and Tiger attacks. With the help of Tamil group PLOTE, Vavuniya town is to become a capital-in-exile for fleeing Jaffna Tamils to blunt the security threat to Colombo. Over 45 people have disappeared around Vavuniya in the last six months most taken into custody at the volatile Nochchimodai checkpoint that links the south to the Tiger-controlled territory, a few miles north of Vavuniya town. **Every day the crossing functions, four or five Tamils travelling south are held by the military for anything from 24 hours to indefinitely while**

**Army officers grill them on conditions in Jaffna or finger their valuables. Over 70 Tamil youths travelling to Colombo were detained at Nochchimodai on 28 July for over 22 hours of interrogation. Observers say once Vavuniya's postal, banking and hospital services are upgraded few Jaffna Tamils will be allowed to go on to Colombo.**

Madhu, the government has again threatened to cut food aid to 10,000 of the 30,000 refugees at the UN camp of Sri Lanka's most sacred Catholic shrine, unless they return to their homes around Cheddikulam, currently on the front line.

After three years of limbo, many refugees at Madhu want to go home but will not trust the military.

## MARCHING ORDERS AT 'SRAVASTI'

Sravasti in Colombo is a hostel meant for MPs. But several non-Parliamentarians belonging to discredited ex-Eelam groups who have no place in the Tamil homeland have been seeking sanctuary in Sravasti. Now they

have been ordered out by speaker M.H.Mohamed fearing that 'Sravasti' might not be safe from Tigers! Visitors to Sravasti will now be searched closely and tight security has been ordered.

## C.P.LIMPS INTO ITS 50TH YEAR

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka which lost its credibility after joining hands with the racist Srimavo Bandaranaike government in the sixties, and is hardly heard of in the recent

past, has managed to limp into its 50th year of existence on July 3 this year. Communism is not dead, according to one of the survivors Pieter Keuneman!

## POLICE BODYGUARD HELD UNDER PTA

Several police bodyguards including an ASP who were in charge of the late President Premadasa's security have been arrested under the Prevention of

Terrorism Act. They have been accused of keeping close links with the suicidal assassin who blew up Premadasa along with his personal aide Mohideen.

## SOLDIERS NEED SOAP AND WHATNOT!

The Sri Lankan government is apparently unable to meet the daily requirements of its own soldiers. President of the Maha Bodhi Society, Gamani Jayasuriya has now appealed to "generous and compassionate persons" to send to the Maha

Bodhi office the following items -soaps of all kinds, toothpaste, tooth brushes, shaving requirements, first aid items, mosquito coils, as well as dry rations of various kinds such as tea, sugar, dhal, green gram, kadalai etc.!

## RONNIE de MEL TO STAGE COME-BACK?

One of the world's longest-surviving Finance Ministers at one time, Ronnie de Mel, who held Sri Lanka's begging bowl for 11 long years, was expected back on the island after his 3-

year exile abroad. There was widespread speculation in Colombo that he might rejoin the UNP and could even get his portfolio back.

# A FIVE-POINT PLAN FOR PEACE IN SRI LANKA

## Prologue

A brutal civil war, ten years long, has caused immense suffering to all the people of Sri Lanka: Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim.

The country, drained of much of its energy and resources, has been unable to deal effectively with its pressing economic and social problems. The senseless extension of fighting can only aggravate the war. A permanent solution to the ethnic strife will be more difficult to achieve as feelings of hatred, fuelled by savage killings, intensify.

Peace and stability cannot be restored by military means alone. A political settlement is required that would ensure justice for all. Genuine communication between the warring parties calls for impartial mediation. Recent reports indicate that all sides may welcome this. The World Council for Global Co-operation presents the following five proposals as a basis for starting negotiations among interested parties.

## 1. An invitation to the United Nations:

Decades of tension and conflict involving the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims have created mistrust and suspicion among these groups. The impasse can be broken with the help of mediation by the United Nations.

The World Council appeals to the Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to invite the United Nations Secretary-General to send a special envoy to mediate a negotiated settlement. Such an agreement, which would assure fairness to all communities in the island, could include the following provisions:

- A ceasefire, verified by the United Nations. Precedent for such intervention is found in Security Council Resolution 186.
- The establishment of buffer zones through mutual agreement by the disengagement of military forces in selected areas, such as parts of the North and East.
- U.N.-observed elections in the North and East.

## 2. Human rights for all:

As a member of the United Nations, Sri Lanka has accepted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Respect for human rights, however, has been greatly undermined by the civil war.

The cessation of hostilities would create a proper climate for the strict enforcement of human rights for all citizens. The Rule of Law needs to be upheld. Human rights can be further safeguarded if the Government and the LTTE adopt the following measures:

- End all forms of torture and illegal detention;
- Provide for fair and speedy trials of all political prisoners, by the national judiciary, with automatic rights of appeal. Those not formally charged should be released.

## 3. A plea for the peace dividend:

Large military expenditures have imposed a heavy burden on the nation. Sri Lanka, with a per capita income of US\$400, allocates 3.1% of its gross national product to military. With an end to conflict, the Government can significantly reduce its military expenditures.

The savings obtained could be diverted to provide for civilian needs, grossly neglected through the long period of conflict.

Following a lessening of tensions, both government and LTTE forces could be de-mobilised, perhaps with U.N. supervision and advice, for much-needed rebuilding of the infrastructure and for reforestation.

A widespread program of disarmament and the curtailment of arms imports by all parties would be essential for ending this conflict. The World Council appeals to the international community to stop the export of arms, whether by gift or sale, to all parties in this troubled land.

## 4. Peace through prosperity:

Lack of economic opportunity is an important factor inciting violence among youth. The vicious cycle of violence and poverty must be broken. A final end to hostilities can significantly promote economic development across the country. The peace dividend, along with more energetic efforts to boost tourism, attract foreign investment, and expand trade, can provide the means for greater educational and employment opportunities for Sri Lankan youth.

The war has done considerable harm to the most vulnerable sections of society—women and children. Promotion of the



United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (centre) recently granted a private audience to Mairead Corrigan-Maguire (left), Nobel Peace Prize winner, and James Nicholas (right), International Secretary of the World Council For World Co-operation.

status of women would do much to contain the population explosion and eventually normalise population growth. Children would greatly benefit from better health care and education made possible by the peace dividend. Rapid economic development in all areas of the country is essential to promote the political and social rights of all Sri Lankans.

A return to order and tranquillity will attract foreign attention to Sri Lanka. On the international capital markets, the country's requirements are relatively modest. What Sri Lanka urgently needs is a climate of political and economic stability to attract foreign investment. The World Council also encourages the international community to provide generous aid to help in the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy.

The long-term interests of the country require that Sri Lanka vigorously adopt a policy of sustainable development without causing adverse ecological effects, which requires prudent and efficient use of the country's scarce resources.

## 5. Regional autonomy under a federal system:

Many countries have prospered under federal forms of government. Sri Lanka would do well to apply the principles of federalism to suit its unique needs. The aspirations of people in the North and East can to a large extent be satisfied by granting them some form of regional autonomy. The terms of a federal union can be negotiated to include regional autonomy in such areas as land use,

education and culture.

Federalism lends itself as a flexible system wherein provisions can be enshrined in the constitution to safeguard the interests of the Sinhalese majority, while protecting the interests of the Tamil and Muslim minorities. All provinces could receive some measure of autonomy.

## Conclusion:

It is well-known that Sri Lanka is a tropical island of great beauty. Its richness of culture and the warmth of its people have charmed visitors the world over.

Whatever their cultural differences, all Sri Lankans are bound together by their common humanity. While respecting the religious and cultural identity of each group, it is important to recognise the wide mutuality of their interests and the ties that bind them economically.

The World Council for Global Co-operation appeals to the Government of Sri Lanka, the LTTE, all other political groups, members of the clergy of all religions, and all people of goodwill to support a plan to achieve peace and prosperity throughout the nation.

The World Council for Global Co-operation, Toronto, Canada, May 20, 1993.

George Wald, Nobel Laureate, USA, Chairman

Mairead Maguire, Nobel Laureate, United Kingdom, Director

Ilya Prigogine, Nobel Laureate, Belgium, Director

Jan Tinbergen, Nobel Laureate, Netherlands, Director

James Nicholas, Canada, International Secretary

## GIVE PEACE OFFER A CHANCE

The heart-cry of the majority of Sri Lanka's people is that the war must end, though some politicians and arms dealers want to continue to build personal empires on the graveyards of innocent people. False pride could precipitate the final fall. We must consider all options for peace with justice. The U.N. today is headed by a third world figure. Though still a

structure dominated by American and Western interest, and susceptible to the influence of powerful lobbies. The U.N. has fared well in resolving the conflict in third world countries such as Cambodia and we believe Sri Lanka would lose nothing in giving this peace offer a chance. We must learn to present our own case better.

## A WESTERN CONSPIRACY

by Gunadasa Amarasekera

### Excerpts

In a world that has been founded on a new economic order dictated by a few imperialist powers, who have assumed that History has come to an end, it would be absolutely necessary for us to look upon these institutions with the right degree of scepticism, if we are to remain sane and rational.

What made me ponder over these ideas was the news item that was flashed across the Sunday newspapers that a group of Nobel prize winners has presented a Peace Plan to our President and Prime Minister. This Peace Plan of theirs proposes that we invite the United Nations to move in this matter and seek their help to bring about Peace. This Peace Plan has been initiated by a body with a very impressive title - The World Council for Global Co-operation founded by one James Nicholas who we are told later on is a Sri Lankan Tamil Catholic living in Canada. Certainly no mean achievement for a Sri Lankan living in some foreign soil!

However, what must be pointed out at the outset is that though emanating from a galaxy of Nobel prize winners these proposals are neither very original nor new to most of us. They are an old hat that has been bandied about by our local ethnic healers during the last one or two

years. We have heard of these proposals many a time before. If it were so, what could be surmised is that these proposals may have been formulated by the Eelam lobby here and abroad, and presented to these Nobel laureates with the request that they present them as their own proposals. Such a manoeuvre I believe would have been done to stamp them with the moral authority that is usually associated with such great personalities - in short an exercise in some form of moral intimidation.

About seven years ago, in 1986 or so in a booklet I published (Ganadura Mediyama) I made the observation, that the so-called ethnic problem far from being anything ethnic, was a pure and simple terrorist movement born out of a conspiracy hatched by Western imperialist forces to destabilise this country as well as the Indian sub-continent. There was also a counter conspiracy by India to meet this. The ground was very fertile for such a conspiracy - a worldwide pro-Eelamist movement, a large section of unemployed Tamil youth who could be turned into terrorists, a government with a Yankee Dicky at the helm, ready to carry out the wishes of the imperialists and an idiotic foreign policy aimed at alienating India.

Courtesy The Island  
Sunday 15th Aug 1993

### The "Old Fox" at the wheel again?



President Wijetunge and  
ex-President Jayawardene

### They went to see God ...

President Clinton: "God, when will the Bosnian problem be solved?"

God: "In six years time"

Clinton started crying and said, "It won't be in my first term of office and I will not be re-elected".

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao: "God, when will the Kashmir problem be solved?"

God: "In eight years time"

Narasimha Rao started crying and said, "I am 73 and it will not be solved in my life-time".

Prime Minister Wijetunga: "God, when will the Tamil problem - sorry, the Terrorist problem be solved?"

God started crying!

## GOVERNMENT MUST FORMULATE POLITICAL PACKAGE

Sri Lanka's seemingly intractable ethnic conflict seems again poised to be dragged across the plush floors of international fora. There was a flurry in diplomatic dovetails in Colombo last week when the story broke that a draft resolution on the Sri Lankan problem was to be presented to the U.N. Sub Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. This comes in the wake of the appeal made by five Nobel laureates through the World Council for Global Co-operation to seek the intervention of the U.N. to settle the conflict, a position which the Government of Sri Lanka has rejected.

U.N. intervention is hardly the panacea which it is touted to be as even contemporary events will demonstrate. The operation of Somalia for example was to be a swift surgical exercise but events have contradicted this happy illusion. The U.N. anyway has enough problems on her plate without taking on Sri Lanka's problems as well. It must also be borne in mind that India has already burnt her fingers by trying to intervene in Sri Lanka's affairs. Not only did that political initiative turn out to be disastrous to both the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments but the fourth largest Army in the world found it tough going to battle the LTTE.

However, the Government must

realise that this kind of gratuitous call for international intervention can be engineered by the Eelam lobby because of the patent absence of any efforts to resolve the problem on its part. The Government lacks a coherent and clear-cut policy on the most dominant issue of the day which has bedeviled Sri Lanka at least for the last ten years. Spokesmen for the Government blithely parrot that the doors are open for negotiations without explaining on what basis such negotiations can take place. The Government has yet to spell out any package of proposals which can be presented to the Tamil people. It is hardly sufficient to drag the threadbare Mangala Moonesinghe Select Committee into the picture when everybody knows how hopelessly bogged down it has become.

While that is the outlook on the political front, on the military front too things are no different. The war seems to be conducted in a lackadaisical and lustreless way with setbacks becoming dismally regular. In fact, it has been shown that whether there are major operations on or not the casualty rate remains the same. Which means simply that men are dying at a rate the country can hardly afford.

In the last analysis this is again a question of political leadership.

The Army cannot function fully effectively in the absence of a political leadership. If it is accepted that the objective of the present campaign is to militarily weaken the LTTE and push it towards negotiations there must be preparations on the political front for such a contingency. Recently there was much talk in the air about a possible National Government to resolve the ethnic conflict. But that has come to naught with the whole thing deteriorating into an obnoxious and nauseous haggling for ministerial posts and self-interested skulduggery. The people are becoming increasingly disillusioned with this kind of self-seeking politics.

It is therefore necessary that the Government should approach the whole issue with a sense of urgency and purpose. It must evolve a meaningful political package and if necessary seek even the co-operation of the Opposition for this purpose. If we take up the position that this is a domestic problem we must have the political will, the intellectual commitment and the moral courage to find a solution ourselves. Otherwise we will only be delivering ourselves into the hands of those who seek to drag us on the road to Geneva.

Courtesy: The Island  
Editorial, 22nd. Aug. 1993

### "It would be unfortunate to discount the "good office" function of the UN Secretary General"

says Dr Kumar Rupasinghe, Secretary General, International Alert

Excerpts from interview, Courtesy The Island, 29 August.93.

Q: What does International Alert think of UN mediation here?

A: International Alert feels that the solution must be found by the parties to the conflict here. There must be a comprehensive peace package. Once such a package is available and sold in the country,

there is a role for an external mediator. First there has to be consensus here. The majority community, the Sinhalese, must make up their mind on what it can offer to the minorities, Tamil and Muslim, with dignity. And the minorities must be prepared to accept a solution which does not threaten the majority. It would be unfortunate to discount the "good office" function of the UN secretary

general. Officials here must study the major successes achieved by the good office function. The secretary general may on request by the government, initiate informal discussions through a special envoy, between all parties to the conflict in setting the agenda. Major breakthroughs have been achieved in El Salvador and in Liberia. The option for such diplomacy must be kept open.

## U.N: THE INTERVENTION DEBATE

by Kautilya

"Intervention" is in the air but not on the ground. Evidently the (political) "ground realities", an American expression which the Indian media and academia use far too freely, did not encourage the government to respond favourably to the idea of U.N. intervention of one kind or another. Besides the inspiration was not U.N. at all but four Nobel prize winners mobilised by a little known organisation named the World Council for Global Co-operation (W.C.G.C.) based in Ontario, Canada, its secretary-general, a member of the Tamil diaspora. Somehow, I had ex-

pected lawyer Nadesan Satyendra to make the move. He himself has moved from Cambridge and London to New York, where the U.N., and all the action, is. Prof. James Nicholas of Ontario? What exactly does he profess? We have not been told yet.

That, however, is no reason to treat the matter lightly. For some time now, this column has dwelt on post-Cold War issues like 'shirking sovereignties' as I called the phenomenon, the U.N.'s new, ever-expanding agenda, and diplomatic-military intervention. Although the U.N. flag is used, the soldiers, the

officers and the weapons may belong to another organisation, like NATO for instance. Sometimes it is a unilateral decision and action, such as the U.S. raids on Baghdad, justified on the grounds that the 'target country' has violated U.N. resolutions.

If you examine the official statements carefully you will not take much time to spot the differences, and recognise varying emphases and nuance. The statement by the Secretary to the President, Mr. K.H. Wijeyadasa was, of course, the final word, it was in some ways, significantly different, from the line of argument pursued by the Foreign Minister and Ministry. The headline SL SOLUTION A HOME AFFAIR, under a line POLITE RE-JOINDER TO U.N. PEACE PLAN OFFER, was the final, authoritative message. Courtesy: Island, 15th. Aug. 93.



# "SRI LANKA AND LTTE SHOULD INVITE UN SECRETARY GENERAL TO MEDIATE"

by Savitri

Four Nobel Prize Winners George Wald of USA, Mairead Corrigan-Maguire of UK, Ilya Prigogine of Belgium and Jan Tinbergen of Netherlands, presented a 'peace plan for Sri Lanka' to the Sri Lanka Government and to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in early August. The basic proposal of the 'peace plan' was that the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE should invite the United Nations Secretary General to send a special envoy to mediate a negotiated settlement.

This agreement could include the following provisions:

(a) A ceasefire verified by the United Nations. Precedent for such intervention is found in Security Council Resolution 186.

(b) The establishment of buffer zones through mutual agreement by the disengagement of military forces in selected areas, such as parts of the North and East.

(c) UN observed elections in the North and East.

The peace plan also argued for a federal form of government as a way of satisfying the 'aspirations in the North and East'.

The peace plan was initiated by the World Council for Global Co-operation in Toronto, Canada. The four Nobel Laureates have won prizes in their specialities. Prof. George Wald was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1967 for his insight in discovering the underlying chemical processes of human vision. An avowed pacifist, he campaigned against the Vietnam war and all forms of nuclear testing. He also served on the Peoples Tribunal established in 1985 to inquire into the genocide of Armenians by the Turks. Ms. Mairead Corrigan-Maguire of Northern Ireland won the award in 1977 for her efforts to end the violence in Belfast between Catholics and Protestants. Prof. Ilya Prigogine was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1977 for widening the scope of thermodynamics. He was born in Moscow at the start of the Russian Revolution. At the age of four, his parents fled with him as exiles and wandered through Lithuania and Germany before settling in Belgium. Prof. Jan Tinbergen won the prize in 1969 for Economics. He has been a pacifist since his youth. As a matter of conscience he refused to serve in the Dutch army.

Sri Lankan President D.B. Wijetunge's immediate response was an attempt to play down the significance of the Peace Plan. He reportedly told a foreign news correspondent in Colombo that the peace plan did not have any official status because it was from a non-governmental body.

However, President Wijetunge and his government have enough political savvy to know that a peace plan supported by four Nobel Prize Winners, and that too, residing in four different countries, did not materialise from thin air.

The state controlled Sri Lanka Sunday Observer of 8 August 1993 carried a photo of the UN Secretary General Mr. Boutros Ghali together with Ms. Mairead Corrigan Maguire and Mr. James Nicholas, the International Secretary of the World Council for Global Co-operation. The message of the photograph was not lost on the Sri Lanka Government.

Sri Lanka knows well enough that it cannot pursue its war against the Tamil people without foreign aid and the support of aid donors.

At a recent school prize giving function, President D.B. Wijetunge declared: "The ongoing War costs the government a staggering Rs. 25 billion every year. Government spending allocated for education was Rs. 15 billion. The government could have increased spending on education if not for the prolonged North-East war. As an immediate end to the war is not in sight the government has to allocate another Rs. 25 billion next year as well."

At the same time the General Secretary of the opposition DUNF, Mr. G. M. Premachandra was all for the direct 'gung ho' approach and urged the Government to stop everything else for sometime and use all the resources at its command to go ahead with the north-east war. In a statement to the press he said: "Mrs. Bandaranaike (of the SLFP, the other Sinhala opposition party) had also urged the government to take this course of action. The government should give first priority to this conflict. If anyone is willing to do this, DUNF will support such action to the hilt."

This, of course, was the familiar Jeff and Mutt act of Sinhala politics. In this instance, President D.B. Wijetunge played the soft spoken reflective Jeff. DUNF General Secretary Premachandra was the tough talking brutish Mutt feeding Sinhala chauvinism with that which it wanted to hear.

Unsurprisingly, the Sri Lanka government rejected the Peace Plan suggested by the four Nobel Prize Winners and rejected any UN intervention. The state controlled Daily News gave prominence to the strong opposition by the army top brass to any UN intervention. In tones reminiscent of ex President J.R. Jayawardene the Sri Lanka government responded to the International Secretary of the World Council for Global Co-operation:

"As you know, Sri Lanka is a country with a strong democratic tradition. Governments have been elected by universal adult franchise since 1931. Therefore any proposed solution to the present problem has a chance of success only if it is acceptable to the generality of the people. Such a solution can emerge only through an internal political process."

President Wijetunge's reference to Sri Lanka's 'strong democratic tradition' must have raised eyebrows in Geneva where, in February this year, 15 non

governmental organisations, including the World Confederation of Labour, declared at the UN Human Rights Commission:

"... the armed struggle of the Tamil people for self determination, arose as a response to decades of an ever widening and deepening oppression by a permanent Sinhala majority, within the confines of a unitary Sri Lankan state... it was an oppression which included the disenfranchisement of the plantation Tamils, systematic state aided Sinhala colonisation of the Tamil homeland, the enactment of the Sinhala Only law, discriminatory employment policies, inequitable allocation of resources to Tamil areas, exclusion of eligible Tamil students from Universities and higher education, and a refusal to share power within the frame of a federal constitution."

Political observers in Geneva have pointed out that the true nature of Sri Lanka's 'strong democratic tradition' was exposed by the comments of Senator A.L. Missen, then Chairman of the Australian Parliamentary Group of Amnesty International, in the Australian Senate in March 1986:

"Democracy in Sri Lanka does not exist in any real sense. The democracy of Sri Lanka has been described in the following terms, terms which are a fair and accurate description: 'The reluctance to hold general elections, the muzzling of the opposition press, the continued reliance on extraordinary powers unknown to a free democracy, arbitrary detention without access to lawyers or relations, torture of detainees on a systematic basis, the intimidation of the judiciary by the executive, the disenfranchisement of the opposition, an executive President who holds undated letters of resignation from members of the legislature, an elected President who publicly declares his lack of care for the lives or opinion of a section of his electorate, and the continued subjugation of the Tamil people by a permanent Sinhala majority, within the confines of a unitary constitutional frame, constitute the reality of 'democracy', Sri Lankan style.'"

Again, whilst President Wijetunge was insisting that a 'solution can emerge only through an internal process', the Leader of Sri Lanka's Delegation to the UN Sub Commission on Protection of Minorities was not averse in seeking some outside help to further that internal process'. He declared in Geneva on 11 August:

"It is the view of the Government of Sri Lanka that international isolation and rejection of the LTTE would certainly force the LTTE to reassess its position."

His further complaint that "the mediatory efforts of the government of India" were rejected by the LTTE was seen by diplomatic observers as an attempt to reinforce the bridges Sri Lanka is now building with New Delhi as a counterpoise to the influence that foreign aid donors may seek to wield.

Political observers have commented that the belligerent tone of Sri Lanka's statement reflected the support that it has received from New Delhi to block international recognition of the Tamils' right to self determination.

Both Sri Lanka and India appear to have been concerned that in February this year, 15 influential NGOs called upon the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva to (a) accord open recognition to the existence of the Tamil homeland in the North and East of the Island; and (b) recognise that the Tamil population in the North and East of the island constitute a 'people' with the right to self determination. On that occasion, Sri Lanka's Representative resorted to bluster, dismissing the NGO statement as 'baseless propaganda' and threatened that any action that the Commission may take to recognise the Tamil homeland and the Tamil right to self determination will 'put the future of the Tamil population living outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces in jeopardy'.

Now that President Premadasa is no more, New Delhi's links with Colombo have grown closer. It believes that it can go back to its influential old friends, ex President J.R. Jayawardene and Gamini Dissanayake with their links in the Sinhala Buddhist Goigama establishment. The trouble of course is that J.R. is no longer President and Gamini has not yet become one. But New Delhi reasons that its clout, as a regional power, will be an influential factor in determining the outcome of the next Presidential stakes in Sri Lanka. Even without Gamini, Ranil (plus the Wijewardene family including JRJ) may also do as well, so far as New Delhi is concerned.

At the same time New Delhi also knows that without the Tamil struggle to keep Colombo off balance, Colombo may, in the end, tilt towards its aid donors. After all it was to prevent that tilt and to push Colombo towards New Delhi, that New Delhi and its agents secretly and later, openly, gave material assistance to the Tamil guerilla movement in the 1980s. That support, of course, stopped well short of recognising the Tamils' right to self determination. Apart from any constraints that the international frame may have imposed on its freedom to do so, New Delhi also feared that such recognition of the Tamil struggle may have a domino effect on other struggles for self determination inside India. Then Indian Foreign Secretary, Romesh Bhandari (reputedly, the bull who carried his china shop with him) put it bluntly to the Tamil delegation at Thimpu in 1985: "How can we recognise your right to self determination? If we do that then we will have to recognise the right of each of the provinces of India to self determination."

New Delhi's preferred policy is to maintain a foot hold in the Tamil cause through a merged North East Provincial Council and also secure Sinhala support by taking a stand against Tamil self

(continued on back page)

The greatest threat to the peace and harmony of India and the Indian Ocean States is the Indian Brahmins. A minuscule 4% of the total population of India they have attached themselves like leeches to the Indian Masses and have lived on their life blood for nearly 3,500 years. The sooner the non-Brahmin's on India and Indian Ocean States band themselves together and neutralise the power base of the Indian Brahmins the better the chances for peace, progress and plenty in this part of the globe.

A tiny minority has lived on the fat of the land and into the bargain despised and ridiculed the majority with impunity.

The Eelam Tamils have been rather fortunate to have escaped the tyranny of the Indian Brahmins from time immemorial to 1979. In that fatal year Sri Lanka Government passed the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" and thousands of Eelam Tamils took refuge in Tamilnadu.

The Indian Brahmin octopus immediately spread its tentacles far and wide and engulfed all the Eelam Tamil Refugees and within a decade played havoc with their freedom struggle.

Over the past 10 years we have kept our eyes and ears open and watched the antics of the Indian Brahmins. We have delved deep into books to study their dark past and we have discussed the subject with many who have studied the Indian Brahmins closely.

We now wish to place our findings before the public in general and the Eelam Tamils in particular so that generations to come may escape the physical and mental sufferings we have undergone in the hands of the Indian Brahmins.

It is almost a certainty that if Eelam Tamils had fallen into the hands of the Indian Brahmins for a long period the freedom struggle of the Tamils would have been crippled and contained.

Before we enter into details we give below a few observations by outstanding personalities who have gone before us and fathomed the depth of the iniquity of the Indian Brahmins.

# INDIAN BRAHMIN'S Part 1

In a series of articles we will spot light the dark deeds of the Indian Brahmins so that effective action may be taken to safe guard the interest of the masses. - Author

Tamilnadu from the clutches of Brahmanism. In his own characteristic style he once said, "If you meet a Brahmin and a deadly snake, first get rid of the Brahmin and then the snake". The Tamils of Tamilnadu are today fattening the Brahmins with milk and honey!

In the articles to follow we will look at the Indian Brahmins from many angles, but to put our observations into perspective we will give below a short sketch of the history of the Indian Brahmins.

### Historical:-

There is general agreement, though it must be admitted that there are die hards who differ, that the Dravidians were living across the length and breadth of India when the Aryan hordes streamed into India around 1800-1500 B.C. Indus Valley excavations in Mohanjo Daro and Harappa have brought to light a high advanced civilisation with Dravidian characteristics. The Rig Veda itself is witness to plunder and pillage, death and destruction. The reference to the natives as Dasyus, milechhas, without nose and tongue is bordering on the obscene. But this is in the blood of the Brahmin.

The Aryans start from river Saraswati and go East up to Jamuna and Ganga. In Magadha they come across stiff opposition so settle down in the heart land of the Vedas and consolidate. They consider it impure to go into adjoining lands and prescribe ablution for cleansing for trespassers.

By the year 600 B.C., the Vedas give place to Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and then to Upanishads. The content of the Upanishads show a striking deviation from Karma Kanda to Gnana Kanda. Scholars are of the opinion that it is the

Brahmin clearly exhibited the venom of the Brahmin. He invited his Mauryan King Bhadratha to review the troops and had him murdered. Mauryans disappear and Hindu Rulers take over. Treachery and venom flows in the blood of the Brahmin.

The Sungas, Kanvas, Satavahanas, Vatakatas and Kadambas become rulers and Brahmin word becomes law. Even Pallavas, Cheras, Cholas and Pandias vie with one another to win the friendship of the Brahmin and Brahmanism holds sway across the face of India.

The golden age of the Guptas from 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. is indeed the heyday of the Brahmins. He settles down to supreme comfort and devotes his energies to lay the foundation for times to come. Sanskrit becomes the lingua franca and Epics, puranas, scientific, political and law books are turned out in plenty. Not content with new lies interpolations are made even in sacred book of the Vedas. A striking example in the tenth Madala of the Rig Veda, the most sacred book, to justify inhuman base caste categories. Caste is the master key with the Brahmins yielded with consummate skill which has kept the Brahmins at the top of Indian Society.

Brahmins became experts in spinning myth and mythology and perfected the technique of circumlocution and cross talk to confuse and confound listeners and readers.

The Ephics, Puranas, Manu's Laws and Kautilyos Arthasastra are models of fiction inlaid with facts. Manu's Laws are unadulterated inhuman legislations and takes particular care to make the Brahmins Supreme. Arthasastra is immorality enthroned and exhibits Brahmins concern for his interests and the insensitiveness to the good of others. These books are indeed pathways into the twisted psyche of the Brahmins.

What is the secret of such astounding success of the Brahmins. Quite early in history Brahmins had come to understand the power of religion and learning and arrogated to themselves the unrestricted right to monopoly of these two fields. By threat of religion and civil laws they debarred the masses from acquaintance with religious studies and learning. They made themselves intermediaries between Kings and commoners. The Kings showered gold, gems, silver and lands to win their favour and the masses paid in kind for favours from Gods. A more scandalous swindle is hard to come across in history. Marx's statement "organised religion is the opium of the people" is literally true in respect of Hinduism. The mass superstition and illiteracy that plagues India is a creation of the Brahmins and even today they are prepared to give their lives to maintain this menace. Not Mandal immolations.

Another important factor is the keen understanding of the Brahmins of the natural laws of human development. Quite early in their history they learned the laws of genetics and by rigorous marriage rules selectively improved their stock. Also they had an intuitive grasp of principles of psychology and hence imposed strict discipline from birth to death and improved the development capacity of their group.

During this period the heyday of their history the Dravidians came to terms with Neo Orthodoxy. This move is another of

those stock in trade of the Brahmins by which they have learned to overcome opposition.

There were in India at this time several religious groups Saivites, Vaishnavines, and Saktists who deferred very much from the Brahmins religious concepts. Buddhists and Jains were atheists but these were theist groups. Their numbers were large which attracted the Brahmins, promising a wide field for their activities.

Hence the Brahmins devised the mythological mumbo jumbo by which they absorbed the Gods of Neo Orthodoxy but made sure that Brahma, their name sake, remained supreme. The inexperienced neo orthodox groups fell for this trap and to this day they have accepted leadership of Brahmins in religious matters.

Mahabharatha and the Puranas record in minute detail this vast swindle. The deep understanding of psychology also indicated to the Brahmin that music, dance, drama, women and exotic food attracts human beings and the natives of India, especially Dravidians, were connoisseurs in these fields. The Brahmins provided plenty of these in their temples and the masses flocked like sheep. To this day they remain docile sheep.

Over an uninterrupted period of 2700 years from 1500 B.C. to 1200 A.D. the Brahmins had learned all the tricks of the trade and brought Kings and commoners into their grip and settled down to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

It was around 700 A.D. that Mohamed appeared in Arabia and under his rigid discipline of a different category Muslims were moving across the face of the earth with a fire and sword. India's wealth attracted Mamud of Gazani and in repeated forays he carried away gold, silver, gems and jewellery from Somnath Temple in the sind. The Muslims came as conquerors and by 1200 A.D. India was in their hands. The Brahmins were at their wits end. Physical force is alien to Brahmin culture and it is the only thing they dread in life and Muslims were consummate masters in this field. The Brahmins are physical cowards and intellectual jugglers. There is not a single soldier who is of Brahmin origin who fights in the front line of the Indian Army. But many of them safe behind battalions move armies like pieces on a chess board. In fact, tight cordons of Brahmin officers exercise absolute control over 1,250,000 Indian soldiers.

Brahmins as we pointed out earlier will find a way out. They have bent over backwards to please the Muslim Kings and wormed their way out into power centres of Muslim Administration. As they did to Buddhism they also saw to it that Muslims were driven away from India. In a long period of history extending over 3,500 years Muslim rule occupies hardly 400 years and still the memory of it has left a dent in the Brahmin psyche and the very mention of Muslim will freeze the Brahmin. Note the case of Ayodya. Muslim era is perhaps the dark age of the Indian Brahmin.

In 1498 Vasquo da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and the Europeans streamed into India in quick succession. Indian Brahmins were quick on the uptake. They set foe against foe and watched the fight. Muslims were defeated by the Europeans and ultimately the British Raj became paramount ruler of India. The British had a congenital reverence for law and order. This was milk and honey to the Indian Brahmins. In double quick time they took control of the Law Courts and the Secretariats. British relaxed with soda and whisky and the wily Brahmin took control of national affairs and developed an All India Network under British guidance.

சுத்தியும் இன்பமும் தனித்தனம் தானாகி  
 ஒத்த விலயம் விலகு ஓடும உணர் விலங்கும்  
 பத்தியும் கிணங்கும் பரந்த உணர்வைய இணங்கும்  
 விடுதலையே குடும் பிரபலமன்ற தாமதமே  
 - சிவசுந்தரி

"The Brahmins have no truth, special wisdom, bakti or knowledge of God, but are fools with a gluttonous nature." Translated by A.V.Subramani a Aiyar. Tirumoolar is the foremost Siddar in the Tamil tradition and Tirumantiram is part of Tamil Vedas. Hence the observation demands attention. Tirumandiram is said to have been composed around 500 A.D. Rev. Abbe Dubois lived in India for a long time and wrote "customs and manners of the Hindus of India" in 1817. Here is what he says of the Indian Brahmins. "The Brahmin lives but for himself. Bred in the belief that the world is his debtor and he himself is called upon for no return, he conducts himself in every circumstance of his life with the most absolute selfishness. The feelings of commiseration and duty as far as it affects the suffering of others never enter into his heart. He will see an unhappy being belonging to another caste perish on the road and will not stir to help him to a drop of water, though it were to save his life". We will take one more example close to our times. No-one studied the Indian Brahmin so closely and spoke and wrote voluminously as Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy. His long life of 90 years was a relentless struggle to free the Tamils of

contact with native thought that accounts for this radical change. But the wily Brahmin, so minutely careful about Aryan interests, never says a word about borrowing. How will it be, if the Europeans denied their indebtedness to Greece and Rome? Will it not amount to treachery and meanness? But to the Indian Brahmin it seems just and natural. Here is one of the base traits of the Indian Brahmin and Abbe Dubois has caught it straight and neat. By 500 B.C. Buddha and Mahaveera are on the scene. Brahmins beat a retreat and lie low because the mighty Emperor Asoka espoused the cause of Buddhism and brings a major part of India under his rule. Did the Brahmins just keep quiet? No. They were planning and plotting to overthrow Buddhism. They entered the Sanga in large numbers, diluted its logical and rational philosophy, opposed and defeated its ascetic ideals, introduced religious ideology and practices. The outcome, Mahajana Buddhism opposed to Theravada Buddhism. It was not long before Buddhism itself was banished from the land of his birth. This episode brings out in crystal clear form the deadly propensities of the Indian Brahmin. In 1848 A.D. Pusyamitra a

**S. Thiagarajah writes :-**

# A Letter from Colombo

## THE SINHALA ELITES RE-GROUP "TO DEFEAT THE TIGER MENACE"

The Sinhala elites have started to re-construct and re-structure their camp which was in a state of Disorder. The JVP rightly or wrongly got the chance of echoing the anti-Indian voice of the ordinary Sinhalese people. This arose as a result of the autocratic J.R. Jayewardene in selling the island to imperialistic India. With the coming of the IPKF, the JVP came on the road, and its writs ruled practically the whole of the Sinhala country. J. R. and his crowd were pushed back. His intention of contesting once again for the Presidency became a dream. Apart from that, all the elitist leaders in the UNP backed out from being selected as the Presidential candidate.

### Conspiracy

Presidential candidature was thrust on the late Mr. Premadasa. He took up the challenge. Like the JVP, he also took his politics to the people. He too played on the anti-Indian sentiments of the Sinhalese. After he became President he negotiated with the Tigers against the common enemy and all these created a lot of confidence among the Sinhala masses in Mr Premadasa. Not like the JVP which did not have a clear perception about what to do in the future, Premadasa having been used to power and making use of the state machinery to counter all that the JVP did with the help of persons of the calibre of Premadasa Udugampola, managed to defeat the JVP. Even though like all Sinhala leaders he did not make use of the opportunity which he had, while having talks with the Tigers to bring about a settlement to the ethnic problem, he kept the Sinhala elites whether it be J.R. or Athulathmudali or Gamini or Sirimavo or Anura, in their proper places to the extent that he dumbfounded J.R. and forced Athulathmudali and Gamini out of the UNP. The elites in the UNP attempted something like a *coup d'etat* by bringing the impeachment motion. All got baffled and frightened by the way Premadasa reacted. The expected success did not come

through. They tried the Premadasa Udugampola stunt. It too did not work. An issue was made out, when Kobbekaduwa and nine top army men were killed by linking the EPDP and Mr. Premadasa for those killings. That too petered out. Every step was a failure to the Sinhala elites. They had to do something. All of a sudden and out of the blue, we heard the news on, May 1st this year that Premadasa had been assassinated.

### Merger

This was a chance that should not be allowed to slip from their hands. The elites in the UNP saw to it that there was no quarelling among themselves. The power was smoothly passed on to a harmless Kandyani who could be amenable to everything the top elites wanted. He was one time 'yes-man' of late A. Ratnayake, a powerful Kandyani minister. Slowly pressure was exerted, overtures made, to unite the divided UNP i. e. to take back those who left the UNP because of Premadasa. UNP executive committee okayed the move. Talks were held in Kandy. Now it is almost certain that Gamini's DUNF is going to merge with the UNP. The understanding most probably will be something like this; D.B. Wijetunge will be President for the remaining period. Thereafter Gamini will lead the UNP. Ranil Wickramasinghe will remain the Prime Minister. He is young and he can wait for some more time. At least, won't he do a little sacrifice to elevate top Sinhala elites to the real seats of power? Can all these be predicted?

### De link Anura

The Sinhala elites are not satisfied with this alone. They are trying to extricate Anura Bandaranayake too from the SLFP and take him and his followers into the folds of the UNP. With this in view, Dr. Neville Fernando of the SLFP has given notice of a motion to change the Provisions of the Law preventing Members of Parliament

crossing over to other parties. If this move comes off, Anura and clique will leave that section of the SLFP that is still a bit progressive. Anura with his take-it-easy attitude and pleasure-seeking foreign sojourns, is an easy bait.

### American Experience

What is happening in the Sri Lanka is not a new phenomenon. Immediately after the American War of Independence, the elite classes in the United States of America wanted to alienate the common people away from the seats of power and to concentrate, political power in their own hands. Persons of the calibre of Alexander Hamilton who was then the Secretary of the treasury and who had no liking for the ordinary people, manoeuvred and established a Central Federal Government with huge powers. He was backed by the Northern Industrial Capitalists and huge Southern Plantation owners with slaves under them. They were prepared to give some share to the common people (only white People) in electing their rulers but saw to it that the Government was removed from them as far as possible. Alexander Hamilton went to the extent of describing democracy as 'poison'. Similarly, our Sinhala elites too do not want politics to go to grass roots level. They might talk big about democracy and even of socialism but will not allow the ordinary man near seats of power. That is what is happening in the South of Ceylon.

### Chandrika

Chandrika is now the Chief Minister of the Western Provincial Council. She is complaining that she and her Council are devoid of any power. Lately she has said that she is not being provided with proper security, not even like that what is provided to a Minister. Definitely the Centre will not grant these powers and facilities. The funniest part is that Chandrika is now talking about these. Did she and her alliance not know the Provincial Councils were a farce set up to deceive the Tamils and which were rejected by the far-seeing Tigers long ago? Forgetting the fact that the SLFP opposed the Provincial Councils as bartering away Governmental powers to the Tamils. Now she is only talking cheap politics to get sympathy from the people.

### Tiger bait

UNP and DUNF leaders have commenced their propaganda among the people to justify the merger. The General Secretary of the DUNF, Premachandra, has stated at a meeting held recently that the need for the merger of their two parties arose because of the necessity to defeat the Tiger menace in the North East and that if they don't do it, they will be left with no alternative other than to grant the North East to Prabhakaran and the Hill country to Thondaman. A UNP Provincial Council Minister speaking at the same meeting came with another reason. He said that there were only two who could solve the problem in the North East. They are J.R. Jayewardene and Gamini Dissanayake, and that it is Gamini Dissanayake who is acceptable to India in this matter. Gamini and Premachandra are not new comers to the UNP. They were in the UNP, when the conflict between the Government of Sri Lanka and Government of Eelam, was going on. The point is that both J. R. and Gamini failed to solve the ethnic problem while they were in power. Now they want another chance. What false reasons they are coming out with, to hide their naked lust for political power once again?

The opportunity and chances of the consolidation of power by the Sinhala elites seem to be bright. But could all these be achieved as planned? We have to take into consideration human weaknesses. Will Hema Premadasa who was used to unlimited power, keep quiet? What about Premadasa-loyalists? Will Anura be such a fool to be inveigled by the overtures of the UNP? Is he such a fool as not to realise that after being used, he will be thrown out like a squeezed lemon? What about Ranil Wickremasinghe? He has tasted political power. Why should he sacrifice the highest goal for a person who had already left the party? He and his background are not second to that of anyone else. Above all, do these high society men think that the common people are still fools? Many reactionaries thought so to their own peril. Just because there is no proper leadership at the moment for the Sinhalese people, it should not be taken for granted that they will tolerate the present state of affairs for too long.

Courtesy Hot Spring

## A RAW DEAL

(continued from page 10)

But ultimately the Indian who challenged the British Rule in India was a Bania not a Brahmin. From Bengal came the thunder of the Asuras. The Brahmins took shelter behind the Bania and made him do all the dirty work. But when the time was ripe struck him down with deadly bullets. This foul deed was not a one man show. A gang of Brahmins had been on the job for a considerable time. The Jews nailed Christ on the cross and Brahmins shot Gandhi. These are climactic movements in the history of these two groups which have much in common. More on this subject in future notes. In 1948 the Britishers handed over power to Indian Brahmins and Nehru, a dyed in the wool Brahmin from Kashmir, took over. Nehru never understood Gandhi. Gandhi had a vision of India that Nehru could never grasp. And Nehru in typical flashy arrogant Brahmin's style proceeded to mould India to his hearts content. Even a family inheritance of India was devised and implemented to keep India permanently under Brahmin control. Intruders like Shastri and Singh were given short shrift. India tumbled first into Russian Communism and is now towing the line of American capitalism. Brahmins flock to the USA and the computer is their life line. Trade, Industry and Commerce is in American style. Given time enough the Indian Brahmin will overtake the American from the wrong side. Because treachery is built into every cell of the Brahmin.

The Securities Camp is a glaring example. What a sorry sight for the land of the Rishis and Mahatma Gandhi? But the Indian Brahmin cares not two hoots. The Brahmins goal is "Oh Indra destroy our enemies. Give us long life, wealth, wife and children". Rajiv Gandhi had them all except long life.

From Vedic times by slow and steady steps the Indian Brahmins climbed to the top of the mountain. In the Golden Age of the Guptas they were right on high. The Muslims rolled them downhill into the ditch. But the Brahmins climbed on the shoulders of the British and with independence they are again on the top of the hill. Can they stay there for long? Kashmir, Punjab, North East, Tamilnadu do not present a rosy picture. The Indian Brahmin has lost his moral rights and his only hope is the Indian Army. New India is reeling under typical Brahmin stratagems of Narasimha Rao complete with priest, poojas and offerings in cash and kind. A more violent fundamentalism is waiting in the wings to take over India and lord it over infidels, Asuras, Dasyus and Milechchas in right royal Vedic fashion.

The infidels, Asuras, Dasyus and Milechchas have learnt a lot in the past 3,500 years. How they will play their cards will decide the future of Indian Brahmins. If they have learnt their lessons they can give India a new deal suited to the genius of the Indian people. Only time can tell.

LEMURIAN



It is a matter for regret, though not a matter for surprise, that the leader of the Sri Lanka Delegation to the Sub Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in his statement on 11 August, failed to address the underlying causes of the continuing conflict in the island, and failed to recognise that the armed struggle of the Tamil people for self determination, arose as a response to decades of gross and systematic violation of their human rights under successive Sinhala dominated governments, within the confines of a unitary Sri Lankan state.

The International Secretariat of the Liberation Tigers believes that the peaceful and constructive resolution of the conflict in the island will not be furthered by the Sri Lanka representative categorising the lawful armed resistance of the Tamil people, which arose from decades of oppressive rule by an alien Sinhala majority, as 'terrorist' activity. We note the statement of the leader of the Sri Lanka Delegation, Mr. Tilak Marapane, that his government 'is of view that international isolation and rejection of the LTTE would certainly force the LTTE to reassess its position'. It appears that the Sri Lankan Government, concerned with the increasing support that the Tamil struggle for self determination has received in the international arena, and agitated with its failure to crush Tamil resistance on the ground, seeks to enlist the assistance of the delegates to the UN Sub Commission to further its unjust war against the Tamil people. And to this end, the Leader of the Sri Lanka delegation has not hesitated to be economical with the truth.

Mr. Marapane states: "A Select Committee of Parliament composed of representatives of all political parties in Parliament has been working to reach agreement on a just and lasting solution to the ethnic question."

What Mr. Marapane does not say is that his government has for the past three

# PRESS RELEASE

## The Truth about the Release of Sinhala Prisoners of War, Lifting of Economic Blockade and Free Movement of Civilians to the Jaffna Peninsula

years and more used the Parliamentary Select Committee mechanism as a way of avoiding direct talks with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The Select Committee has deliberated for more than three years and the government is content to allow this farce to continue, in the full knowledge that a Select Committee consisting of Sinhala political parties who are at each others throats and who are intent on positioning themselves to capture power at the next elections will do nothing to resolve the conflict. The Select Committee mechanism provides the Sri Lanka government with a useful cover of 'reasonableness' for international consumption, whilst it continues its genocidal military operations against the Tamil people. Again the blatant untruths uttered by the Representative for Sri Lanka concerning the negotiations for the removal of the economic blockade imposed by his government on the Tamil area and the opening of a safe passage for civilians shows the extent to which the Sri Lankan government is prepared to go in its efforts to crush the Tamil struggle for self determination.

Mr. Marapane alleges that the LTTE rejected the mediatory efforts of the UNHCR to open safe passage for civilians to travel to the Jaffna Peninsula. This allegation is wholly false. On the

contrary, the LTTE welcomed the initiative taken by UNHCR to get the route along Poonakari opened for the movements of civilians. In fact, the LTTE suggested that civilians pass through the route under the supervision of UNHCR. However, given that the Sri Lankan army operated a checkpoint at Vavuniya for civilians travelling to the North, the LTTE objected to the Sri Lankan Army operating another check point at Poonakari, which was well within Tamil territory.

Mr. Marapane also alleges that the LTTE rejected the mediatory efforts of the UNHCR for the transport of essential requirements for the people in the North. This allegation too is wholly false.

Mr. Marapane fails to disclose that the negotiations between Sri Lanka and the LTTE for the transport of essential requirements, took place in connection with the request for the release of 39 Sinhala prisoners of war held by the LTTE. The facts are as follows:

In June this year, in consequence of a fast undertaken by the Sinhala prisoners of war held by the LTTE, Sri Lanka's Brigadier Weerasekara came to Jaffna. The LTTE requested Brigadier Weerasekara to give a list of the Tamil prisoners of war held by the Government of Sri Lanka. The LTTE told him that it would exchange 39 Sinhala prisoners of war for 39 Tamil prisoners of war. But Brigadier Weerasekara said that the Government was not willing to hand over a list of prisoners because that was a defence secret!

Sinhala prisoners of war are held by LTTE in accordance with international humanitarian law. They are presented to the ICRC. The ICRC makes monthly checks on the food and medical services provided to them. But the whereabouts of the Tamil prisoners of war are not known. The ICRC does not visit the Tamils held by the Government as prisoners of war. Exchange of prisoners of war is an international norm. But the Sri Lanka Government refused to recognise this.

It was faced with this refusal, that the LTTE made an alternative suggestion. It requested Sri Lanka to lift the economic blockade to the Tamil area in return for the release of the prisoners. After some negotiations, it was agreed with Brigadier Weerasekara that as a first step, the ban would be lifted on some of the items, and that these items would be sent to Jaffna peninsula as a condition for the release of prisoners. However, the Sri Lanka Government later resiled from this agreement.

The falsity of the allegations made by Sri Lanka to the UN Sub Commission serve to expose the Government's true intent. The Sri Lanka government is engaged in war for land in the Tamil Homeland. In the East, whole villages have been emptied and driven out by the army from their homes and occupations and

turned into refugees. At the same time Sri Lanka has increased the pace of settling armed Sinhala people in Tamil areas. It is clear that the Government's objective is to make the Tamils in the east a minority in their own homeland. The statement of Mr. Marapane to the Sub Commission that 'ground conditions in the Eastern Province indicate that a referendum could be held in the course of this year' to determine the 'will of the people whether the Eastern Province should be continued to be joined to the Northern Province' serves only to confirm that objective.

Mr. Marapane states: "The government continues to hope that the LTTE too would see the merits of negotiated settlement".

However, Mr. Marapane chooses to ignore the fact that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have, for several years, consistently declared their willingness to enter into talks with the Sri Lanka Government. He also chooses to ignore the fact that the Sri Lankan Government has not seriously responded to the many proposals for cease-fire and peace talks, even when presented by other concerned governments; that it rejected the Canadian Human Rights Mission, composed of members of Parliament, religious leaders, a lawyer and a journalist as a mediating body; and that this was followed by a failure to respond to an offer by the government of Australia to mediate.

The leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, Velupillai Prabhakaran, has declared that the LTTE was prepared to consider a federal structure with the North East forming the Tamil homeland. But it is clear that the Government of Sri Lanka is bent on dividing the Tamil homeland in the North East. The Liberation Tigers have repeatedly made their position clear - if the Government of Sri Lanka persists in its determination to subjugate the Tamil people, the Tamils will have no alternative but to continue to fight to restore their own sovereign state.

International Secretariat  
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

### ANNIVERSARY LUNCH BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY CAMPAIGN

SUNDAY  
26 SEPTEMBER 1993  
10.30 AM - 3.30 PM

### EELAM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE SPEAKERS

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Institute of Development Studies  
CHRISTOPHER MORRIS  
Journalist  
BBC World Service  
(former correspondent in Colombo)

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PARLIAMENTARY CAMPAIGN



### LETTER FROM NORTH AMERICA by Onlooker

#### Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO)

The Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin will hold the second Global convention of People of Indian Origin in New Delhi from December 27th to 31st 1993. The conference will be inaugurated by the President of India.

Keynote speakers at the different conference to be held each day will be the Vice-President of India, the Prime Minister of India, the Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister and Dr. Karan Singh, ex-Maharajah of Kashmir. There will be

an Exhibition on the History of People of Indian Origin, a Business Exposition, cultural evenings, dialogues with Government officials and interaction with community activities, academicians, business people and political leaders from all over the world.

Readers will remember that the first Global convention of GOPIO was held in New York from August 28th to September 3rd 1989. At this convention a resolution was passed criticising the atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan Government against Tamils and supporting the Tamils in their fight for their rights. This resolution along with others passed at the convention were handed to the U.N.

In August 1992, GOPIO along with other organisations of Indians submitted a 40 page petition with 124 clauses and signed by Luis Kutner Chairman, Commission for International Due Process Law to the U.N. on behalf of the Tamils in Sri Lanka with the Government of Sri Lanka as respondents.

#### Tamils in History Through the Eyes of Others

\* The Tamils left brilliant legacies in poetry, painting and sculpture. But their finest creations were in bronze. Among their masterpieces is the image of Siva ... cast in one piece in 1011, four hundred years before Donatello in Florence. There had been nothing like it since the ancient Greeks.

- Michael Wood, British writer and narrator, TV series on world civilisations, 1991.

# ITHU ENGEL THESAM (This is Our Country)

**Video, Running Time: 1 hr approx. Produced by: Thesan with support of Mullaitiva District Arts and Culture Organisation of Liberation Tigers.**

Following the success of their previous production 'Thamil Osai', the latest release is now enjoying a run of more than six weeks in Jaffna.

'An oppressed people can win the struggle against their armed oppressors provided they have the will to do so'. This theme first explored in 'Thamil Osai' is the guiding force behind this video film. Whereas 'Thamil Osai' was a fictional story, 'Ithu Engel Thesam' is based on true real life events.

Again the setting is the Eastern Province. This time the village of Kiran, Batticaloa has to face two adversaries - the Sri Lankan Army and later the Indian Army (sometimes known as the Indian Peace Keeping Force - but don't ask me why). The story follows the life of Mrs. Kanapathypillai Poopathy who achieved martyrdom on 19th April

1988 after fasting to death to protest against the Indian army's military action against the Tamil people. Her sacrifice has now entered local folklore, as she is popularly known as Annai (Mother) Poopathy by all.

Briefly, the storyline begins with the infamous 'round-up' and massacre of civilians in Kiran in 1985 by the Sri Lankan troops. As a result of this atrocity, a Mothers' Front is formed. Annai Poopathy as a member of this non-violent action group, 'The Mothers' Front, presents a written protest to the Sri Lankan local commander regarding the massacre and detention of civilians. The commander agrees to look into their demands but once they have left, orders his troops to 'finish Kiran village tonight'. That night Kiran is burnt to the ground by Sinhala

soldiers.

The film then follows the activities of the Mothers' Front. Then the Indian Army arrives. This sequence is presented with great gusto both on the screen and on the sound track. The Tamil people ecstatically welcome the Indian troops who use this opportunity to go into houses and shops to do a bit of looting. This hilarious sequence shows the Indian commander engaging the shopkeeper in conversation, while his jawans pocket anything they can - cigarette packets, soap etc. The poor shopkeeper doesn't know what to!

The illiteracy of the Indians is highlighted, as one jawan spots a number of shampoo sachets hanging on the shop front. The dazed shopkeeper explains 'Egg Shampoo! The jawan cries 'Ah, egg!' and proceeds to

empty the contents of one into his mouth! Obviously he likes the taste of it and it soon becomes apparent to the villagers that things are not as good as they had originally expected. News reaches them of Thileepan's fast unto death in Jaffna, October 10th, 1997. The Indian army turns its guns on the Tamil people. This brief sequence is edited very professionally and effectively using existing stock footage.

Following the interval, the film focuses on the Mothers' Front and Annai Poopathy's fast until death. In spite of threats from the Indian army and their sycophant Tamil militant groups, the fast continues. The reasonable demands are refused by the Indians, Annai Poopathy dies, Gandhism is shattered.

As the Indian jawan informs his commanding officer of the news of Annai Poopathy's death, the framed picture of Mahathma Gandhi hanging on the wall behind, suddenly falls to the ground and is shattered. Though this may sound a bit contrived - it works in the film and is a powerful cinematic moment.

The final minutes of the movie deal with the funeral which the Indians try to stop by use of arms, but the people persist and succeed. Again, like 'Thamil Osai', the people come into direct confrontation with the armed might of the oppressor - and win through sheer courage. Unlike 'Thamil Osai', 'Ithu Engel Thesam', is a slow-moving film. Being a re-creation of a true incident and that too a fast unto death, the producers could not manipulate the storyline, as they could do with the previous film. Technically this film is an

improvement on the earlier one - camera work is more steady, editing has improved. Again the dialogue scenes are the stumbling block - but this is mainly due to the limitations of producing a video film in the midst of a severe economic blockade.

Action scenes are handled well. The early scenes of Sri Lankan troops rounding up villagers, shooting them and burning the bodies with palmyrah leaves are chillingly realistic. The night time burning of Kiran is also well photographed.

Indian army atrocities are again realistically staged. During one scene, when the jawan assaults a civilian, a teenage boy sitting in the rows behind me made the comment 'Nalla than seithirukkirangal' (they have done this very well.) It was not the comment but the tone of the voice which struck me - there was heartfelt admiration for the producers, but the scene was realistic enough for bitter memories to resurface and fear and hatred were also apparent in that young Tamil voice.

The final showdown between the villagers and the Indian army also is a masterpiece of staging, photography and editing. The sequences have shown professional handling by Thesan and his crew. Anyone with any experience in these matters will understand the tremendous difficulties in handling crowds, vehicles and firearms. In toto, 'Ithu Engel Thesam' carries a message that is presented entertainingly but clearly. We alone will decide our destiny - no foreigner, Sinhalese or Indian or otherwise, has any say in this matter - after all, Ithu Engel Thesam - This, is Our Country! Courtesy Hot Springs

## FROM THE WAR FRONT

### 1st August

The number of people killed during the wild attack by the Sri Lankan navy in the Kilaly lagoon had risen to 20. Hundreds of boats were transporting thousands of passengers in the Kilaly lagoon under the protection of the LTTE. Loss of lives and damages to property were caused by the bombing activities of the Sri Lankan forces.

The War-prisoners who undertook a fast unto death protest in Jaffna declared that they would continue their fast until such time the S.L. Govt. and the LTTE signed an agreement for their release.

### 2nd August

S.L. forces continued bombing and launching of mortars in the north A high level committee has been appointed to inquire into the circumstances that lead to the attack undertaken by the LTTE on the 3 camps in the Manal aru area. The Manal aru Police station was attacked but the LTTE on the morning of arrival of the committee of inquiry. Tamil prisoners were continuing with their fast unto death demanding a trial release. The S.L. government was ignoring their demands.

### 3rd August

4 tamils were killed during two separate bomb explosions in Colombo. These explosions took place in the area where most Tamils live. LTTE fighters attacked a S.L. guard-post in the Vavuniya-Chettikulam area. The number of soldiers killed was not known. The Tamil National leader V.Pirabakaran presented a gold medal to the composer Mr Kannan. Within the last 2 months more than 2000 persons have been arrested in the Batticaloa district by the S.L. forces. Only

50 have so far been released.

### 4th August

6 members of the public including 2 women were killed and 38 injured at 2 separate bomb explosions that took place at the Bambalapitiya Sri Kathiravelathaswamy temple in the city. S.L. forces have begun to requisition lorries and tractors from private traders with a view to starting a military operation north of Vavuniya. 9 prisoners in Jaffna undertaking fast were in a serious condition and the government took no action.

### 5th August

6 soldiers lost their legs when they were struck by a land-mine when they undertook a search, after the Manal aru attack. A large number of colonists abandoned their settlements, blaming the sinhala government for not providing adequate protection.

### 6 August

One student died and 10 civilians were admitted to hospital after a bombing attack in Vaddukodai. Several houses were badly damaged. Several young men and women who had arrived in Colombo in order to travel abroad were arrested by the S L police. Some averted arrest after paying large sums as bribe to the police.

### 7th August

The Asst. Government Agent, Batticaloa district Mr Sithamparapillai Kamalanathan was kidnapped by a group of armed youths.

### 9th August

Several lakhs of rupees worth of jewellery and cash were robbed from passengers travelling in the night train from Colombo to Vavuniya on the 7th. The robbers were dressed in police uniform.

### 10th August

The Jaffna G.A. Mr Manick-

avasagar had talks with the Govt. and LTTE regarding the release of the Sinhala war prisoners who had undertaken the fast. According to the LTTE any progress depended on the lifting of the ban on essential items, as agreed previously. The kith & kin expressed full satisfaction in the way the war-prisoners were looked after in Jaffna. They could themselves see the suffering of the people of Jaffna without electricity, kerosene and other essential items.

### 11th August

Demonstration was held outside the Fort-railway station by Sinhalese demanding the release of the Sinhala war-prisoners

### 12th August

A boat that left with 18 passengers in the kilali lagoon capsized after it was hit by a mortar. 4 swam to safety while the fate of remaining 14 was not known yet. The village of Ariyalai was the target of mortar attack again. A ship carrying 1129 Eelam tamils left Madras for Trincomalee. According to the Tamil nadu government sources the deportation of the Tamil refugees would be continued.

### 13th August

The Tamil refugees from India were sent to camps in Trincomalee and Vavuniya. The international Commission that inquired into the killing of top military officials including Major General Kobbekaduwa at Aralithurai reported that the LTTE was responsible for the land-mine attack. The cost to the Government was said to be 79 lakhs of rupees.

### 14th August

Settlers in the Maduru Oya Colonisation Scheme have been provided with modern weapons and ammunition. Colonists are also receiving military training.

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# IYAL ISAL NADAGAM

## SCENES FROM TAMIL CLASSICS

We live in a world where the young and the old demand rights and powers without wanting to take up responsibilities. Young children in this country demand that they should have the right to decide their future even when they are not mature enough to make a decision. They even demand that they should have the right to divorce themselves from their parents.

The old and the sickly people of the western world demand that they should have the right to resort to euthanasia. Plants and animals also through their human representatives demand that they should have such and such rights. Scientists also put forward their demands to have the right to experiment test-tube babies. Seemingly all these demands appear to make a mockery of the whole human life, reducing humanity to nothingness.

When I reflected on the ethics and propriety of these novel demands, I remembered a classical poem in the Puranaanooru wherein a poet details a list of duties which are appropriate to the members of a normal family; conspicuously that poem did not spell out the rights or powers of such family members.

Readers may or may not agree with what the poet has stated for the poem at a time when the social needs were different from what they are today. Though readers may not agree entirely with the contents of the poem yet they may agree that the family ship cannot steer smoothly unless each member of the family takes upon himself a duty wherein he/she can perform ably, and also refrain from demanding rights and powers that are inimical to the welfare of the family as a whole. In other

words, it is important to realise that men have a set of duties and women have a set of duties and that these duties should not be exchangeable as the modern assumptions that men and women are equal in every manner. It is pleasing to note that this poem has been composed by a woman poet called 'Ponmudiyar'.

Here is the poem:-

*"To bring forth and rear a son is my duty  
To make him noble is the father's  
To make spears for him is the goldsmith's  
To show him good ways is the king's  
And to bear a bright sword and do battle  
to butcher elephants and come back  
That is the young man's duty"*

The poem may not appear to have relevance to the 'Tamil' community living in the western world as third class citizens or refugees.

Certainly, the Tamil world has come a full circle since the days of the Sangam age, and it would appear that the duties listed in the poem now have great relevance to the Tamil society in the North and East of Sri Lanka. Every mother in Jaffna and Batticaloa Truncomalee and Vanni feels that it is her duty to bring forth and rear valiant sons and every young man and young woman in the Tamil soul of Sri Lanka feels that it is their duty to die for their land and language.

The only difference is that a Paranaanooru mother wanted to give birth to valiant sons only. But a Tamil Eelam mother feels strongly that both her male and female children should be chivalrous and valiant to be able to carry arms to vanquish the enemy.

Puranaanooru 3/2

## Bombing and shelling of Jaffna has killed over 2500 in 3 years

Daily life in Jaffna is conditioned by the distant drone of aircraft engines and the run to the bunkers behind almost every house. The phalanx of cyclists waits under trees by the side of the road gauging the intentions of the aircraft no more than silver specks in the glare. By night the crump of shells from Karainagar or Palaly thuds through the darkness triggering a nightmare chorus of howling dogs.

Over 1000 civilians have been killed in the three year bombing of Jaffna and almost 1500 have died from gruesome injuries. Another 1000 children died needlessly in 1992 because Jaffna hospitals lack basic drugs and medical equipment to save them. This is a low-tech war of attrition. The Sri Lankan Airforce lack the technology and advanced intelligence to pin-point legitimate targets. The LTTE for all their ingenuity lack anti-aircraft defences. When defence sources say two LTTE arms factories were destroyed in another air raid on July 30 in Vattukodai, it means Jaffna student Thayaparan Muhunthan was blown apart and ten others including two-year old Sunthararam badly injured.

At 8am on 26 July, out of the blinding blue of Jaffna skies, two Sri Lankan aircraft dropped four bombs behind Tinnively Dairy Farm killing Shanmugam, a

trader and his four grandchildren. His house was completely destroyed and four others badly damaged. At midday on a second bombing run at Kopay six children including three schoolboys died and eight were injured close to the Irupalai Aluminium factory building. A Hindu temple and a young girl sheltering there were smashed to pieces. There were no warnings, no air dropped leaflets announcing operations. Why should there be? After all, no one is watching. There will be no international protest or outcry!

## BOOKLET ON REHABILITATION OF TAMIL HOMELAND

### PUBLICATION IN NORWAY

The Tamil Development Network or Norway has published a booklet in Norwegian titled "Norwegian Assistance To Rehabilitate and Develop the Tamil Homelands in Sri Lanka". This is being distributed among government officials, political parties, MPs, NGOs, and others in an effort to channel resources to the Tamil Homeland. The English version of this could also be obtained by contacting:

Tamil Development Network of Norway,  
Sondre Tollbugt 2, 9008 Tromso, Norway.

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

The Sri Lankan politicians have a lot to learn but they will not take pains to learn. This has been the history since 1956. Killing of any person is a heinous sin according to all religious precepts. The Almighty gives power to politicians to look after the poor and innocent masses. (As Gandhi confessed, "I felt compelled to come into the political field because I found I could not even do social work without touching politics - I feel that political work must be looked upon in terms of social and moral progress. In democracy no facet of life is untouched by politics!")

Swami Vivekananda always exhorted the

cause and effect theory in his lectures in the West "What we sow we reap". This is bound to result whoever may be the person concerned. This lesson is hard to believe and when we refuse to believe the Almighty gives us terrible knocks to realize our folly. Even after many such happenings, some in power fail to understand or foresee what they do while they enjoy the fruits of power. The weep and wail of the widows, children and infants will definitely pave the way for a separate state in Sri Lanka whether we like it or not!

SWAMI CHIDRUPANANDA.

Sri Sarada Sevashrama, Pt Pedro.

## The Case of Irma and the Tamil children

A 16 year old Tamil school boy writing in the Daily Mail of August has drawn attention to the plight of Tamil children, in the grip of civil war - He states, "The case of Irma Hadzimiratovic is very touching, but Sri Lanka has many victims in a similar predicament to Irma's, so why is there so much Press attention on former Yugoslavia the tragedy de jour?"

"Sri Lanka is in the grip of civil war, but I haven't seen any Tamil children air-lifted

to Britain for life-saving operations. Is this because the Yugoslavs are white and Tamils are Brown? Is a white person's suffering more important than a coloured persons?"

CONGRATULATIONS,

Wilfred Arasaratnam! keep writing more letters, to TAMIL NATION as well and put our older people to shame!

### JACOB THAMOTHERAM

THAMYRATNAM - an appreciation.

Born: May 20, 1920

Gone to glory: June 7, 1993

Mr. Thambyratnam was born in a christian family in Atchwell. In Jaffna, Sri Lanka. He was brought up in a christian atmosphere by his parents who were very dedicated christians.

He had his early education in Jaffna central college which was a christian school. After Matriculation he joined the Madras Christian College, Tamilnadu where he got his B.A. degree. On his return to Sri Lanka he joined Kopay Christian college where he was a distinguished and well respected teacher.

Then he obtained his diploma In Education from the University of Ceylon and was appointed as the Vice-Principal of Union

college, Tellipalai and worked in this capacity till his retirement.

After retirement he spent his time in Church and in civic activities. He served the Lord as the secretary of C.S.I Uduvil church. At the request of the member of Parliament he started the Vavunia Academy and was its Director.

Since his children had immigrated to the United States, he and his wife Mercy decided to join them. Even here he devoted himself to worship and following his Master In all respects. He was a model husband and father, always conscious of their happiness and needs.

He leaves behind his loving wife Mercy, daughter Emilyn Pathmajeyan (Mala), Sons Jove Sathianathan (Bubby), Joe Satkunanathan (Thevu), and Charles Premanathan (Ranlan).

### Mr. V. Karalasingham - an appreciation (1921 - 1983)

The Tamils in Sri Lanka are in a quagmire. Are they the victims of circumstances or did their leadership fail them? History would be the best judge. It is in this context that the role played by the late Mr V Karalasingham affectionately known as Karlo merit considerations.

He was a leftist intellectual who was actively involved in political struggles for almost 45 years (1937 - 1983). He was a good orator who spoke with great courage and convictions. Karlo was a socialist, who believed in a peaceful world order to be achieved by socialist transformation of society. It would be premature to write off socialism as none of the prevailing economic models have answers to the anarchy, crime, violence and poverty amidst unprecedented prosperity - seen all over the world today.

Karlo derived inspiration from Indian Independence struggles, the Jaffna Youth Congress and Marxist movements. During the second world war, he was in India associated with left movements and subsequently was in France and in England active among colonial students and local labour party organisations. In 1957 he

returned to Ceylon after being called to the Bar in UK.

The polarization of Sri Lankan society began in the twenties, led by feudal aristocrats. Karlo put forward his own radical views on the gradual erosion of rights of Tamils before the Tamil electorate in the Parliamentary Elections in 1960, 1965 & 1970 when he contested as a candidate. He published a small book titled "The Way Out for the Tamil Speaking Peoples" in 1963 and revised edition was published in 1977. His plea to the Tamils was that their chances of achieving their rights were greater by aligning themselves with the oppressed sections of Sri Lankan population than being linked with land owning aristocracy and feudal elements.

Karlo continued to write and make speeches since 1975, mainly to the Sinhala audiences on the need for the recognition of rights of Tall people, often his readers and listeners respected his arguments but got themselves drowned in the ever increasing tide of Sinhala chauvinism, cult of violence and brutalisations of the ethnic conflict.

He is survived by his beloved wife daughter and son.

# PEOPLE and EVENTS

## FORTHCOMING EVENTS

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Classical Music<br/>Saxophone Recital by<br/>Kadri Gopalnath<br/>on<br/>21 Oct Thursday 7.45 pm<br/>Tickets: £8.00, £6.00, £5.00<br/>at the Bhawan Centre<br/>Tel: 071 381 3086</p> | <p>School of Oriental and<br/>African Studies<br/>University of London<br/>14 Oct: Thursday 6 pm<br/>Lecture/Discussion<br/>Sri Lanka: How it evolved<br/>through the ages<br/>Historical developments that<br/>influence current issues.<br/>28 Oct: Thursday 6 pm<br/>Religious and racial factors<br/>in Sri Lanka<br/>Buddhism, Hinduism and<br/>Christianity<br/>For details ring:<br/>071 278 3990</p> |
| <p>BHARATHA NATYAM by<br/>ANURADHA<br/>AGANNATHAN<br/>from India at the South<br/>Norwood Centre, Sandown<br/>Road, Croydon<br/>on 3 October 5.30pm<br/>Entrance £3.00</p>             |  |

**JAFFNA CENTRAL - VEMPADI OLD STUDENTS  
JOINT SOCIAL/DINNER  
SATURDAY 9 OCT. 7PM  
LOLA JONS HALL - TOOTING SW17  
RING: 742 1139**

**IMPORTANT DATES**

|        |                             |
|--------|-----------------------------|
| Oct 4: | KARTHIKAI VIRATHAM          |
| 5:     | SATHOORTHY                  |
| 6:     | PANCHAMI                    |
| 9:     | ADDAMI                      |
| 10:    | NAVAMI                      |
| 11:    | EKATHESI                    |
| 13:    | PIRATHOSHA VIRATHAM         |
| 14:    | SATHOORTHY                  |
| 15:    | AMAVASAI                    |
| 16:    | NAVARATHIRI VIRATHAM BEGINS |
| 19:    | SATHOORTHY                  |
| 20:    | PANCHAMI                    |
| 21:    | SARASWATHI POOSAI - START   |
| 23:    | SARASWATHI POOSAI           |
| 24:    | NAVAMI VIJAYA THASAMI       |
| 25:    | THASAMI                     |
| 26:    | EKATHASI VIRATHAM           |
| 29:    | SATHOORTHY                  |
| 30:    | POORANI                     |

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Mridhanga Arangetram  
on August 7 1993



Sega Pathmanathan with his  
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Krishnamoorthy

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ARULANANTHAM played  
at the United Methodist  
Church.  
Kuraran Arulanantham has  
joined the Manhattan  
College of Music to pursue  
his Masters Degree.

Flute Duet  
Kalabhavanam Fine Arts  
Centre, Croydon presented  
a Flute Duet by Ranjith  
Kanagasundaram and  
Prayanth Alagaratnam,  
accompanied by their  
teacher Mrs Rudrani  
Balakrishnan on the violin  
and Somasundera Desikhar  
on the Mridangam. Some  
of the classical pieces  
selected were executed  
admirably by the young  
students to the delight of the  
audience.

## DEATHS

Mr. V.T. Gunaratnam (80)  
veteran science teacher at St  
John's college Jaffna and later  
in Brunei, husband of late  
Selvamalar, father of  
Mano(grunei),  
Nathan(Pakistan), Mallikathevi  
Arasaratnam(Oman)&Nirmala  
Jacob. Funeral took place in  
Colombo on 16th August.93.  
Victor Poopalan Robert,  
husband of late Anna  
Kanagam, father of Dr  
Godwin (MELBOURNE), Dr  
Godfrey (New Jersey), Dr  
Patricia Weerakoon(Sydney),  
brother of the late Flora,  
Daniel,George & Edward.  
Cremation took place in  
Melbourne, On August 28.  
Nallamma Arumugam, of  
Veemankamam, Tellipallai,  
Jaffna; wife of late S.  
Arumugam, teacher,  
Maharana College, mother of

Vimalachandra(California) &  
Mahendran(Washington), died  
in Seattle on August 23rd, 93.  
**SWAMI Attains Samadhi**



His Holiness Swami  
**CHINMAYANANDA**,  
Founder of the Chinmara  
Mission, attained Maha  
Samadhi on 4th august 93, at  
Santiago. Swamiji was 77  
years old. The last rites were  
performed at Sidhabari, near  
Dharmasal Himachal Pradesh,  
INDIA on august 8th.1993

**MARRIAGES**

ARICHUNAN, son of Mr  
Victor & Mrs Siron  
Gnanamuttu married  
CHRISTINE daughter of Mr  
V.R. & Mrs Belle  
Amarasingham on 7th August  
93 at the Kollpitira methodist  
church, Sri Lanka.  
PATRICK, son of the late  
Mr.P.Canagasingham & Mrs  
A. Canagasingham married  
SUGANTHA, daughter of Mr  
& Mrs D.S.Amaratheva on  
3rd september the Scarborough  
Gospel Temple, Scarborough.  
Canada.  
HARINDA, son of late Dr  
A.Rajirah & Mrs Pushpa

Rajirah married SAHANA  
daughter of Mr & Mrs  
A.Kathiramalainathan, on  
Friday 27th August 93, the  
Leaside Memorial Community  
Gardens of Toronto,Canada.  
RAJANBABU, son of Mr &  
Mrs R.Sivanithy married  
SUHANYA, daughter of Mr  
& Mrs N. Skanthan on Sunday  
5th September at the Civic  
Hall, Wandsworth Town Hall,  
London.  
CAESAR, son of Mr J & late  
Mrs S Antonypillai married  
JUDY SUBAJINI, daughter  
of Mr S & late Mrs C  
Sinnathamby, on Saturday 14th  
August 93, at Our Lady of  
Annuciation Church,  
Addiscombe, Croydon, UK.

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# TAMIL NATION

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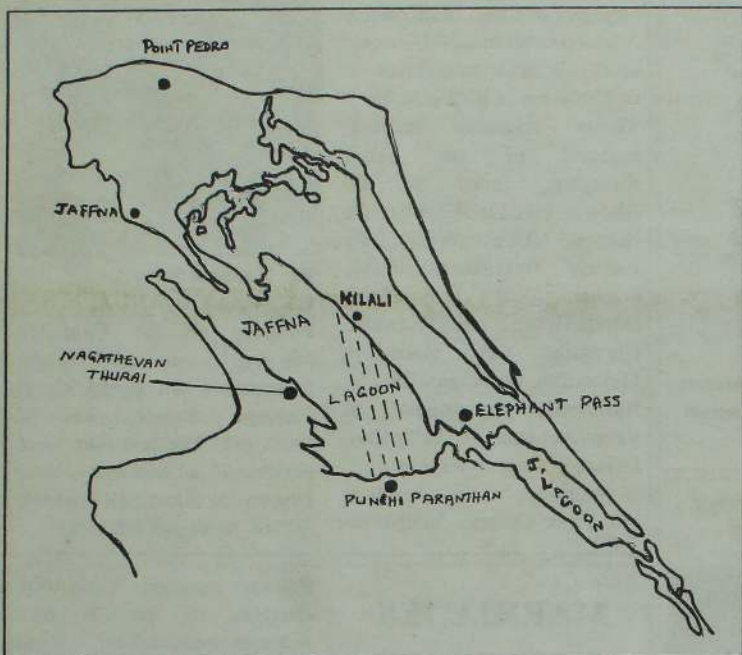
## APOLOGY

DUE TO UNFORESEEN CIRCUMSTANCES, THE AUGUST ISSUE OF TAMIL NATION COULD NOT BE PUBLISHED. TAMIL NATION WISHES TO APOLOGISE TO IT'S READERSHIP FOR ANY INCONVENIENCE AND WOULD LIKE TO REASSURE SUBSCRIBERS THAT THEY WILL RECEIVE THEIR FULL QUOTA OF ISSUES  
EDITOR T.N.

# SEA TIGERS DESTROY 2 NAVAL BOATS

Five navy patrol crafts attempted to intercept a convoy of vessels crossing the lagoon from south to north starting from Punchiparanth on the mainland to Kilali on the Jaffna Peninsula on the night of Thursday 26th August. Armed sea tiger boats who were escorting the convoy launched a devastating attack. The Israeli made "DAWRA" came in for terrible pounding from half a dozen Sea Tiger craft at point blank range. Within a few minutes with all her crew killed

and her hull holed in numerous places, she sank to the bottom of the lagoon. 12 seamen including 4 officers lost their lives. Major Puhalarasan and Captain Maniyarasan from the LTTE were martyred in this battle. Hours later during the ferocious naval battle, another naval craft was hit by RPG fire and exploded. The navy boat broke in two and sank. Two 20mm canons, two 50 calibre guns and many ammunitions were captured by the LTTE fighters.



## "SRI LANKA AND LTTE SHOULD INVITE UN SECRETARY GENERAL TO MEDIATE"

(continued from page 9)

determination. Its message to the Sinhala political leadership is: 'If you do not play ball, then we will back the Tamil struggle - however, we will do all we can to help you play ball with us, even if that means having a Sinhala appointed executive governor for the Tamil province(s)'

It is to put this policy into effect that New Delhi needs Tamil quislings willing to play the supporting puppet role in the North-East - and Sinhala agents who will do its bidding in Colombo. To this end, New Delhi has Provincial Council Chief Minister-in-Waiting, Quisling Varadarajah Perumal ever ready and willing in the wings in Orissa, as well as the rump of the TUF and other sundry Tamil quislings hanging around for crumbs in Colombo. But the supply of 'credible' Tamil quislings may be running out. New Delhi may believe that with the Chengleput show trial against the leader of the LTTE being kept on the boil, it has yet another lever to wield at the appropriate stage.

Be that all as it may, this month; individuals and organisations sympathetic to New Delhi, including a representative of a Tamil quisling group, surfaced in Geneva and were busy lobbying against a draft Sub Commission Resolution which recommended:

"that the Secretary General consider invoking his good offices with the aim of contributing to the establishment of peace in the island of Sri Lanka, through recognition of the existence of the Tamil homeland in the North and

East of the island and recognition of the right of the Tamil people in the North and East of the island to freely choose their political status taking note of the principles of self determination enshrined in the UN charter and UN covenants."

The tactic of the lobbyists was to suggest an alternative watered down resolution excluding the initiation to the UN Secretary General.

That new Delhi's foreign policy is directed to minimise, if not exclude, UN (code for US) involvement in Sri Lanka and generally in the Indian Ocean region may be understandable. That new Delhi is intent on pursuing Foreign Secretary Dixit's celebrated 'calibrated' approach to making New Delhi's own deals with the US and the West, and in this way enhance New Delhi's influence on the world stage is also understandable. But the extent to which New Delhi, which is not a super power, can act like one is another matter.

The tragedy of New Delhi's foreign policy is its continued myopic refusal, to recognise that support for the Tamils' struggle for self determination will lead not to the break up of the Indian Union but to a strengthened free association, of the peoples of the Indian region. It is a tragedy that appears rooted in the weak political leadership at the helm of affairs in New Delhi, concerned only with 'short termism' and lacking the political vision to grasp the political force generated by struggles for self determination.

However, notwithstanding the international frame and the deals that

may be struck from time to time between the contending 'powers that be', and notwithstanding the sayings of Sinhala political Jeffs and Mutts, political observers have welcomed the basic proposal of the Nobel Prize Winners' Peace Plan, viz. that the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE should invite the United Nations Secretary General to send a special envoy to mediate a negotiated settlement. This is regarded as an important first step in any move towards peace in the island. The terms of the joint invitation by Sri Lanka and the LTTE would also have provided the terms of reference for the UN intervention.

But in the run up to the next Presidential elections scheduled for end 1994 and the pivotal role of the Sinhala army and its Goigama Buddhist political backers, it is not surprising that President Wijetunge should prefer to persevere in his efforts to keep western aid donors happy with talk, whilst at the same time securing New Delhi's assistance to isolate and weaken the LTTE and in this way 'manage' Tamil resistance.

Here, in the words of the LTTE International Secretariat Press Release of 16 August 1993, "the Parliamentary Select Committee mechanism provides the Sri Lanka government with a useful cover of 'reasonableness' for international consumption, enabling it to avoid direct talks with the LTTE and also continue its genocidal military operations against the Tamil people."

But it is a moot point as to how long tactics such as these will be effective in

the face of continued determined resistance by the Tamil people led by the LTTE. The words of its own Cabinet Minister Thondaman in a press interview on 23 March 1992 should serve as a useful reminder to the Sri Lanka government:

"If you mean defeating the LTTE, it could in my opinion be equated to defeating every single Tamil in the North-East. One thing is clear. You cannot isolate the LTTE from the rest of the Tamil people. Wiping out the LTTE means wiping out the Tamils. Until there are Tamils there will be a LTTE hard-core. Remember that the LTTE... is seeking to express the aspirations of the Tamil people... In the context of the Tamil people, it is ultimately only the LTTE that is holding the fort."

Martin Woollacott's comments in the Guardian of 23 August on the Bosnian war will also help to focus the minds of everybody on the priorities of the real world: "No body involved in this war, in fighting it or in trying to stop it, was born yesterday. What matters most... is territory, what matters secondly is international legitimacy what matters thirdly are constitutional arrangements..."

The last word may be, appropriately, left to Velupillai Pirabakaran who said in December 1991: "It is the Sri Lanka government that has failed to learn the lessons from the emergence of the struggles for self determination in several parts of the globe and the innovative structural changes that have taken place."

Courtesy, Kalaththil.  
27th Aug 1993