

TAMIL NATION

INSIDE

N. RAM
writes on
'Understanding
Prabakaran's
LTTE'

Vol.1 No. 11 February 5, 1991 Fortnightly

One week before Indian Minister's visit WANTON CIVILIAN BOMBING IN THE NORTH : TEMPLES, CHURCHES, SCHOOLS HIT

In a dastardly move to pre-empt possible Indian "interference" in its war against the Tamils, the Sri Lankan government launched an intensified aerial destruction of various civilian targets in the North just days ahead of the scheduled visit of Indian External Affairs Minister Mr V.C.Shukla to Colombo.

The areas most affected are Valvettiturai, the northern coastal town and birthplace of LTTE leader Prabhakaran, villages within the Vadamarachy area, areas such as Kokuvil and Kondavil closer to Jaffna town - all within the Jaffna peninsula, besides other areas in the northern mainland such as Mullaitivu, Murikandy, Kilinochchi, Pooneryn and Mannar.

Our Colombo correspondent reports that because the North is virtually cut off from the rest of the world, it takes days for news of any developments here to trickle even into Colombo. But when belated reports came in, and when it was realised that the destruction was so intense, so deliberate, and so ruthless, that even the Tamil quisling groups in Colombo such as the PLOT and TELO were reportedly expression concern in private.

Temples, churches, homes, and even schools housing refugees were being deliberately targeted, by a variety of crude bombs. Unlike in the East where enormous destruction was caused to civilian lives and property by armed forces, armed "Home Guards" and armed thugs operating freely on land, the government is compelled in the north to wage the war from the air in its inability to make any inroads by land.

Meanwhile, The Hindu correspondent in Colombo, Thomas Abraham, has filed the following report to his paper :-

Valvettiturai (Jaffna peninsula), Sri Lankan Airforce planes dropped at least one barrel bomb, a crude version of a napalm bomb, on a school in this coastal village, and destroyed temples, churches, schools and houses during four days of wanton bombing and artillery fire that appears to have been aimed solely at civilians. A good part of this town, which is the birthplace of the LTTE leader Mr. V. Prabhakaran, and several other LTTE leaders, has been reduced to rubble, but an LTTE base slightly outside the town was not touched.

The attacks took place from January 20 to 23, but news of the extent of destruction, and the scale of attacks on civilian targets has not yet filtered to the outside world. "This is the worst attack we have ever suffered, worse than the Vadamarachy offensive, worse than the IPKF. It is the worst in our history," said Mr. K. Shanmugasundaram, a former ship's purser who has formed a rehabilitation committee for the town.

The Sri Lankan Government said the air attacks were aimed at the "LTTE boat landing points on the coast," but a visit to the town makes it clear that the air force has concentrated on unmistakably civilian targets.

The roofs of the two huge temples, Sivan and Muthumariamman temples have been

destroyed. But the walls of the 100-yearold temples, which adjoin each other, are intact. Their interiors are littered with debris from broken tiles. Four other temples have also been bombed. A bomb dropped in the compound has taken the roof off the local church.

Barrel bomb: The twisted remains of a barrel bomb can still be seen sticking out of a crater in a class room in Sivaguru Vidyasaram school. The bomb consists of a metal barrel, of the kind that is used to transport kerosene and diesel, stuffed with pieces of rubber, chemicals and petroleum products which explode on impact. Bits of molten rubber which stick to a victim's skin are also released when the bomb explodes. Fortunately there were no children around when the bomb was dropped, but

desks and chairs have been burned to cinders, and the walls of the class room have been charred. Other conventional bombs have completely wrecked the school buildings.

The attacks on the temples and schools are particularly horrifying, because these are the places where people take refuge during bomb attacks. "We were lucky, most people did not go to the temples and schools this time. They either ran away to other villages, or went into their bunkers when the bombing started," said Mr. Shanmugasundaram.

Ten people have been killed in the three-day attack. The casualty is less because the people have learnt to protect themselves. Most homeowners in the peninsula have built bunkers in their gardens - underground air raid shelters made of

concrete. Poorer people take advantage of a large number of shelters that have been built in public places.

The Government claims that the people of Valvettiturai were given a 48-hour warning before the attack. But the local residents said they were barely given three hours' notice. "They dropped leaflets from a helicopter at around 12 noon on January 20, giving us 48 hours to leave our homes. But just three hours later, at around 3.30 p.m., the bombing started," recalls Dr. K.A. Sundaram, a medical practitioner. "The bombing went on till 5.30 p.m. When it stopped, most people ran away to nearby villages. Then at night, helicopters and planes dropped flares and bombed us. The next day it

(continued on page 12)

With apologies to THE ISLAND cartoonist Wijesoma for completing his cartoon.



GULF
&
NORTH-EAST SRI LANKA

Wijesoma

Those who uphold the law must be wiser and calmer than those who seek to repudiate it - John Lindsay

TAMIL NATION

SHUKLA: 3 HOURS WITH KARUNANIDHI 48 HOURS BEFORE THE DISMISSAL

Indian External Affairs Minister Mr. V.C. Shukla made a stop-over in Tamil Nadu on 28th January, on his way to Colombo for talks with the Sri Lanka government. He flew to meet Chief Minister Karuna-

nidhi who was away in Madurai for consultations on the Sri Lankan Tamil issue. The discussions lasted over three hours.

Mr. Shukla told presspersons that the Union government

would like to have a fresh look at the Sri Lankan Tamils' problem. "The Government of India is having some new thoughts on this issue especially with regard to the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement," he said.

He said that he had discussed with Mr. Karunanidhi "the substance of the new proposals which the Government is having", and added that the talks

with the Chief Minister were both useful and fruitful.

Two days later, on January 30 (Martyrs' Day), the 2-year old Karunanidhi government was dismissed, the 234-member State Assembly dissolved and President Venkatraman invoked Article 356 of the Constitution to impose President's rule in Tamil Nadu.

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

Sri Aurobindo

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

The TAMIL NATION is published by TAMIL FORUM Ltd., a company registered in the United Kingdom, and the entirety of whose profits will go to a registered charitable trust established to help Tamil refugees, to advance education amongst the Tamil people and to alleviate poverty and hardship amongst them.

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ANNUAL
SUBSCRIPTION

24 Issues

India Rs. 120
U.S.A. 30 US Dollars
U.K. & Other Countries ... £15

Cheques in favour of
TAMIL NATION
(except within India)
or in favour of

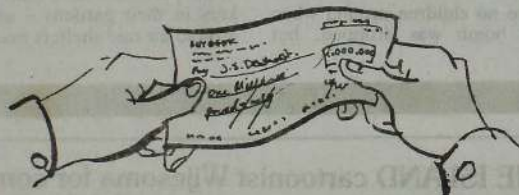
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TAMIL AFFAIRS

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Mr. Shukla pictured with Mr. Karunanidhi in Madurai.

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Views expressed in the paper are not necessarily those of the Editor, the Editorial Advisory Board or the Publishers. Material received for publication is subject to abridgement and editing where found necessary, and should be addressed to Editor TN, M 11/4, 28th Cross St., Besant Nagar, Madras 600 090, India.

Briefs

Mystery plane

An unidentified aircraft is reported to have circled over Anuradhapura recently, leading to speculation whether it could be an Indian military aircraft on photo reconnaissance or on an electronic surveillance mission. Anuradhapura has a major concentration of Army troops now, along with an air base from where fixed-wing and helicopter gunships take off on their attacks on the Tamils in the north. The Sri Lanka government is in the process of mounting a Secondary Surveillance Radar atop the mountain peak of Pidurutalagala with a range of 200 miles to detect aircraft, but the SSR is not yet operational.

Body handed over

The body of Sinhala police constable Samarawickrema who had died in LTTE custody was handed over to the ICRC authorities to be entrusted to his relatives. Earlier a body of another policeman was similarly handed over to the ICRC. Scores of army personnel are also being held by the LTTE as prisoners of war.

Muslim soldiers

Seventy five Muslim soldiers have been inducted into the regular force of the Sri Lankan army. Belonging to the East, they will be deployed against the LTTE, alongside the Sri Lankan Sinhala army.

Part-Emergency

The Sri Lanka government is considering a constitutional amendment to enable the lifting of the Emergency in the seven provinces outside the North and East.

Organiser Anura

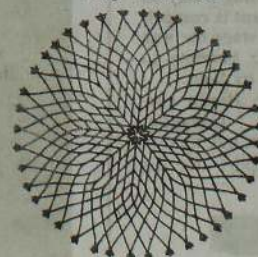
Mrs. Bandaranaike's son, Anura, Bandaranaike, who has been having political difference with his sister Chandrika Kumaratunge has now been appointed All-Island Organiser of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party - a post specially created for him.

Flights suspended

Indian Airlines has suspended flights to Colombo for two weeks beginning the third week of January, as part of an all-round 25% cut in services to conserve fuel. Indian Airlines normally operates nine return flights a week to Colombo.

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PEACEFUL PROTESTS BY TAMILS & VIOLENT RESPONSES BY THE GOVT

We are gathered here today to deliberate on 40 years of human rights violation by the Sri Lankan Government against Tamils and to formulate the answer that will bring lasting peace to that troubled Island.

The horrific plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka came into the focus of world attention only in 1983, during the genocidal anti-Tamil pogrom launched by the Jayawardene regime. Sri Lanka's Goebbelsian propaganda ploy at that time succeeded to a degree in deceiving many western governments and political analysts into believing that this appalling paroxysm was merely the Sinhalese reaction to the Tamil guerrilla ambush in Jaffna that killed 13 Sinhalese soldiers.

In this paper, I intend to traverse the post independence history of Ceylon to explode this canard. More importantly, I seek to establish the fact that the Tamils employed peaceful, nonviolent methods for more than three decades to defend their fundamental rights and every such passive protest was met with increasingly violent state repression. It was only in the face of violent intolerable oppression by the Sinhalese chauvinist government that the Tamil National Liberation Struggle developed into an armed struggle.

Even though the Tamil Federal Party was founded in 1948, in the wake of the Citizenship Act, as a rallying point for Tamil nationalism, it was able to gain the confidence of the Tamil people only in 1956 when the cry of "Sinhala Only" burst

Violence as a political means received official sanction at the highest level then and the monster so created, now pervades the entire Sri Lankan polity. Ironically, Bandaranaike himself fell a victim of his creation just three years later, when a Buddhist monk gunned him down.

Following the passage of the Sinhala Only Act, teaching of Sinhala in schools in the Tamil areas was halted as a peaceful protest. All the efforts of the State to ram Sinhala down Tamils' throats were resisted non-violently every step of the way. The remarkable success the Tamil Federal Party had in mobilising Tamils to oppose the Sinhala Only Act led to negotiations with the Government and the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact in 1957. However, J.R. Jayawardene, then Leader of the UNP, accused the Prime Minister of having sold the country to Tamils by agreeing to set up regional councils! Jayawardene exhorted the Sinhalese to fight without giving any quarter in opposing the Pact.

Pact abrogated

Thus Bandaranaike was forced to abrogate the pact unilaterally and the anti-Tamil violence that ensued, engulfed the entire island. In the frenzied days of May-June 1958 hundreds of Tamils were burnt alive and hacked to death. More than twenty five thousand Tamils fled to the North as refugees. Similar pogroms, increasingly violent and vicious, were to recur frequently from 1977 when Jayawardene

Several distinguished Australians participated at a recent Conference organised by the Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations on - 40 years of Human Rights Violations by the Sri Lankan Government against Tamils. What is the Answer?

The venue of the Conference was the Pilgrim House, City Uniting Church, 69, Northbourne Avenue, Canberra.

The Conference was opened by Mr. Edward L. Grace, M.P. and Chairman Caucus Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade, and Mr. Philip Ruddock M.P. Shadow Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

Divided into four sessions, the following took the Chair in turn: Emeritus Professor C.J. Eliezer, Mr. Russel Rollason, Director, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Mr. S.K. Ravichandra (Canberra), and

Mr. Nadesan Satyendra.

Other speakers were: Rev. S. Sukunanathan, Ceylon Tamil Association, South Australia, Dr. S. Selvanathan, Queensland Tamil Association, Mr. G. Nallalingam, Wellington Tamil Association, New Zealand, Dr. R. Rasiyah, Ceylon Tamil Association, Victoria, Ms. Juliet Morris, Refugee Advice & Case Work Service, Refugee Advice & Case Work Service, Refugee Council of Australia, Mr. Alex Kilgour, Uniting Church, Melbourne, Mr. Kieran Donahue, Acting Director, Refugee and Disaster Coordination Section of AIDAB, Mr. David Armstrong, Community Aid Abroad, Mr. Pat Walsh, Australian Council for Overseas Aid - Human Rights, Ms. Nancy Shelley, Australian Council of Churches - Commission on International Affairs, Mr. Daniel Breznaik, Interna-

tional Commission of Jurists - Australian Division, Dr. Brian Senviratne, Physician-Brisbane, Author of "Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka", Mr. Lewis Kent, Mr. Michael Hillman, Director, South Asia Section - Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mr. Collin Hollis, M.P., Dr. Andrew Theophanus, M.P., Secretary Caucus Committee on Foreign Affairs, Trade and Defence, Senator The Hon Janet Powell, Leader, Australian Democrats, Senator The Hon. Robert Hill, Leader of the Opposition in the Senate and Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. V. Sureshan, Eelam Tamil Association, Sydney, Mr. Ana Pararajasingam, Eelam Tamil Association, Sydney, and Dr. N. Rasalingam, Auckland Tamil Association, New Zealand.

Published here is one of the many papers read at the Conference :-

by G. NALLAILINGAM
Wellington Tamil Association, New Zealand

on to the political scene. The language issue unlike land alienation and the Citizenship Act affected all Tamils to raise their national consciousness and united them politically. That issue also made Tamils realise that the best they can aspire to be in a unitary Sri Lanka is only second class status.

June 5, 1956

On June 5th 1956, when the Sinhala Only bill was tabled in parliament Tamil MPs and volunteers numbering about 300 sat in silent peaceful protest on the Galle Face Green opposite. This was the beginning of a long series of Satyagrahas, the non-violent protest so successfully used by Mahatma Gandhi to gain Indian Independence. As Prime Minister Bandaranaike stood on the steps of Parliament watching the protest gangs of Sinhala hoodlums were brought to the scene in state owned buses. When the thugs started beating up the protesters, who didn't even raise a hand in self-defence, the Police Commandant asked the Prime Minister if they should intervene. Bandaranaike responded "wait! let them get a taste of it first."

Elsewhere in Colombo, many hundreds of Tamils were treated to not just a taste of but a spate of State sponsored terrorism. The violence against Tamils spread to as far as the Gal Oya Valley in the East and 150 Tamils, many of them women and children, died on that fateful day.

became Head of Government.

In 1961 the Federal Party launched a civil disobedience campaign which very rapidly attracted participation by almost the entire Tamil population. The Tamil nation en masse joined in the picketing of all government offices throughout the length and breadth of Tamil Eelam. From Point Pedro to Kalmunai and from Trincomalee to Talaimannar no official business was possible and the civil administration in the North and East ground to a halt for nearly three months. Without any warning the army waded into the Satyagrahis at the Jaffna Kacheri and brutally dispersed them. The security forces then went on a violent orgy in the Jaffna peninsula unleashing a reign of terror culminated to intimidate and cow the Tamils into submission. The army so deployed became a permanent fixture of the Tamil landscape and continued to serve as the chauvinist State's principal instrument of oppression.

District Councils

In 1963 the Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike declared that early consideration would be given to the establishment of District Councils and in 1968 the Dudley Senanayake government presented a bill to parliament on District Councils as part of the coalition agreement with the Federal Party. Ironically enough, this time round the opposition to the Bill was led by SLFP founded by the

late Bandaranaike who himself had supported decentralised administration in 1940, 1947 and again in 1957.

Then again in 1979 and 1980 the TULF agreed to District Development Councils with Jayawardene's government. Patricia Hyndman of Law Asia later commented on DDCs:

"Unfortunately inadequate implementation of the scheme has meant that the desired devolution of powers has not

been forthcoming. They had no funding, they had no powers, and more important, the scheme was not one of devolution, rather what has been done was to bring all village councils to a central spot."

By 1972 all avenues of progress for Tamils in education and employment had been closed off. Tamil proposal for a federal constitution had been rejected outright by the Constituent Assembly and the Unitary Republican Constitution had been unilaterally adopted by the Sinhalese. The military deployed in the Tamil homeland was acting more and more like an army of occupation. Dozens of Tamil youths were arrested and held for years without trial for mounting non-violent protests at the denial of their human rights.

Tamil Conference

It is against this backdrop that the 4th International Tamil Research Conference opened in Jaffna in January 1974. The final sessions on 10th January were open to the public and an audience of several tens of thousands were spellbound by the oratory of internationally reputed scholars. Suddenly, without any warning and without any provocation, the Police baton charged and tear-gassed the people. This mindless act of violence by the State caused the death of nine innocent Tamils. This also made Tamils realise

that they will be annihilated unless they defended themselves. The Prime Minister callously and peremptorily dismissed demands for a judicial inquiry into the incident. Instead, the officer who ordered the attack on the conference was rewarded with a promotion.

State terrorism

1974 marked the beginning of a new era in the growth of State terrorism directed at Tamils in that the attack on the Tamil Conference was not even in response to any political agitation but was totally unprovoked. The next major episode, after the 1977 elections, was sparked off by false rumours, spread through the Police Radio Network, that two Sinhala policemen and a Buddhist monk were killed in an incident at a carnival in Jaffna. In the orgy of violence that followed several hundred Tamils were killed and forty thousand Tamils were rendered homeless. Jayawardene, the instigator of the 1958 riots, presided over the 1977 holocaust as Prime Minister. Again, as in 1958 the government deliberately waited for several days before taking action to contain the violence against the Tamils.

Eelam Mandate

Tamils political demand during nearly three decades of rapid erosion of their human rights and increasingly violent State oppression was for federalism, not separation. Only when every mode of passive resistance to regain lost human rights was met with violence and the federal demand got short shrift from the government, the Tamil Nation articulated their conscious decision to restore and reconstitute the sovereign State of Tamil Eelam as the sole means for their very survival. In the last free elections held in 1977, Tamil people gave an overwhelming mandate for the establishment of Tamil Eelam

The ancient Tamil sage Thiruvalluvar, in his couplet on therapy, said"

"நோய் நாடி நோய்த்
கண் முதல் நாடி அது
தணிக்கும் வாய் நாடி;
வாய்ப்பச் செயல்."

Meaning: "It is not enough to treat the symptoms alone, it is necessary that the root cause of the malady be addressed as well. Sinhalese denial of the existence of the Tamil Nation in Sri Lanka is the underlying reason for the conflict in the island and the chauvinist regime's efforts to subjugate the Tamil Nation have been manifested as the massive human rights violations for more than four decades. The Soulbury Constitution under which Ceylon gained independence provided for the sharing of power between Tamils and Sinhalese. However, Sinhalese usurped that authority to monopolise the power and Sinhalese rule over Tamils is neither by consent nor by conquest.

Accept reality

Any mediatory effort that ignores the reality that two nations, Tamil and Sinhala, are the combatants in the conflict in Sri Lanka, will also meet the same fate. And any answer to that conflict will need to recognise the inalienable right to self determination of the Tamil Nation.

The legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts recognised Tamils of Eelam as a nation oppressed by an alien people and endorsed Tamils' right to self determination as early as 1979. It is my earnest hope that the Federal Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia will also take this essential step and enable Prime Minister Bob Hawke to succeed in his mediatory efforts and bring lasting peace to Sri Lanka.

On The Spot Report

I was approaching the "Punthottam," the well-fortified barrier, manned by the Sri Lankan soldiers at Vavuniya town before crossing into the 'Liberation Tigers' territory in the north and the mini bus in which I was travelling was checked and waived past Sahiyapura, Nochiyagama, Medawachchiya and Ramabawewa army camps 18 kilo metres from Anuradhapura. Passing Thandikulam on January 2 we will soon move into LTTE territory. It's less than two miles from Vavuniya and is already hot and bustling on the second day of the unilateral ceasefire announced by the political front (PFLT) of the Liberation Tigers.

The tempo of life here is a mixture of desperation and hope pitted against gruelling odds. Leading out from the North is a link of thousands of cyclists spread out from Omanthai to Vavuniya town and beyond. They have all reached the half way point of a 200 mile round trip from Jaffna in a desperate search for food and kerosene oil. 9.30 a.m. Vavuniya town and at the same incredible scene getting bottle necked at the army check-point. One by one the tiring body search and baggage scrutiny is conducted while staccato questions are thrown at each person. Nearly 100 aggravating the bottle neck they have all got to be cleared before proceeding either way.

An obliging soldier puts me on a Jaffna bound lorry for my interview with LTTE top runger Dilip Yogaratnam. "Yogi". The exasperating scrutiny once again 200 metres on at LTTE check point. It is like a tragi-comedy as the army issues a permit to proceed to Colombo and the LTTE issues permits to enter the North.

Looking skywards

At the LTTE checkpoint I abandon the lorry. It could be evening before its turn for the LTTE check. Scores of people, Jaffna bound, hitch rides or

cycles, lorries and as a last resort fall prey to the owners of passenger vehicles who charge a staggering Rs. 1000/- for the 70 mile run to the Karativu ferry which is within 10 miles west of Elephant Pass.

From Omanthai, through Puliyanakulam, Mankulam, Panikankulam, Kokavil, Murugandy, Kilinochchi and turn off before Paranthan on a cratered round 13 miles to Poonaari the Karativu ferry.

You have to undergo as much as a dozen LTTE check points. The 70 mile stretch was devoid of any armed service or police presence. The ferry across to Sangupitty takes only Rs. 5. Those ferrying cycles across part with an extra Rs. 10. the ten mile trip to Chavakachcheri takes another Rs. 100. Much if not all, of the transport income from Vavuniya to Jaffna is believed to go to the LTTE Treasury.

The final lap to Jaffna costs another Rs. 100. It's 9.30 a.m. as I get off in Jaffna.

I check into Hotel Subhas which stands miraculously and on my way see two LTTE

workgangs filling up what appear to be bomb craters on the roads.

Life, or what passed for it, seemed to cling desperately to a semblance of normalcy. But no one strolls about here. Faces keep glancing skywards. Most of them live in fear of some air borne attack. Most buildings reduced to piles of rubble, stand out as far as I could see, silhouettes of ruins against the darkening skyline. Resigned to accepting what they cannot change civilians have all become fatalists in this war-ravaged landscape.

A handful of shopkeepers who have miraculously managed to survive keep a few shops open into the late evening. They pay their taxes to the LTTE. The once bustling nerve

Franklin Raviraj

Sunday ISLAND
27th January

centre that served over five lakhs of Tamil speaking people now barely affords shelter to stray dogs and cats.

In this scenario I go for my interview with "Yogi". Three days after I make contact LTTE cadres take me in their transport to meet the LTTE top runger at their headquarters at Kondavil, three miles from Jaffna.

As I enter the large headquarters of the LTTE (PELT) for my interview after screening I see many hundreds of Liberation Tiger cadres from the military and political wing go about their work busily on the second morning of the government extended ceasefire.

I meet the spectacled fatigue clad General Secretary and top runger in the LTTE and after formal greetings fire my ques-

attack by the army's latest "Delta Force" unit.

Cemetery of rubble

The army maintains that 15 were killed. Jaffna's Colombo 7, "Kurumbasiddy is a cemetery of rubble, razed to the ground. There is not the faintest sign of any civilian life here.

In vantage points Tiger bunkers as close as 150 yards from each other. Here one does not know whether it is the ceasefire or the curfew that holds.

With nightfall the brilliant floodlights bathe the Palaly camps outerperimeter. In the distance the faint glow of a few kerosene oil lamps appears. Electricity supplies have been cut off since fighting broke out last June. The possession of batteries is banned. So kerosene oil fetches the staggering amount of Rs. 750 a gallon. Any motor cycle used by civilians has been converted to run on kerosene oil. An organisation called "ROOTE" (Research Organisation of Tamil Eelam) is repor-

biscuits fetches Rs. 40. Families who formerly resided in the town area are believed to have either come down to Colombo or gone abroad. People seen here are mostly from nearby villages. There is no evidence of the armed services here.

The LTTE presence is extremely prominent. Heavily armed, they seem confidently at ease in this area of control. Medical drugs here have also hit a crisis level. Certain drugs are issued only to the "in" patients with OPD Patients having to depend on the open market for these drugs.

Twenty miles away is Kilinochchi, Colombo's one time granary in the north, now producing just one third of post 83 harvests. Ammonia fetching Rs. 400 in Colombo fetches over Rs. 3000 and even at this price is virtually impossible to obtain.

It's Saturday the 12th at 8.30 a.m. having a breakfast discussion with Kilinochchi's Political wing leader. "Gopi" a short distance from town. Suddenly two Sia Marchetti "Bombers" come into a dive just 50 metres away. Just one bomb is dropped on a wrong target. And I live to tell the story. Each time these aircraft are sighted high up on reconnaissance flights everyone rushes into bunkers. Naturally I join them.

Escapes death

Fearing the worst I get to town to get back to Colombo.

Inside Jaffna



LTTE top runger Yogi at a political briefing session (TN Picture)

tions leading to the LTTE unilateral ceasefire.

The interview completed I set out on the second phase of my trip.

Palaly, some five miles away, stood under a scorching sun. It's 2.30 p.m. as I approach it. Three things stand out - towering palmvrah trees wilting in the heat like emaciated old women with no more tears to shed. And abandoned toddy pot's hanging from their branches like the pouches of a old woman's eyes.

The Palaly army and Air force base camp is now converted into a fortress with about twenty watch towers around its perimeter. The rich red earth of Palaly that produced large harvests of tobacco, tomatoes, onions, chillies, bananas etc. lay bare, dry and neglected.

The stillness is now and then shattered as Sri Lankan naval crafts shell selected targets on shore. A barrage of heavy fire from the Palaly camp adds to the attack on these targets. About a mile away, once more occupied by the Tigers is the bunker in which seven LTTE women fighters died in an

tedly producing compost fertiliser, solar and bio gas energy units, fungicides, crude newsprint, bread made of palmyrah, manioc and wheat flour and several other items.

In the peninsula those who still manage to operate their TV's and radio's on batteries can still tune into the LTTE radio and TV transmissions.

Seven miles from Palaly the Tirunelveli University continues lectures for over 400 students. Sixty one Tamil students from the eastern Province are said to have returned to the campus during the ceasefire. Several students claimed harassment, looting and rape by Muslim Home Guards, uniformed personnel and civilians in Eastern Province villages.

On the way to Jaffna hospital a few miles away there appeared to be signs of people desperately clinging to the normal things of life. Fish, vegetables and groceries were in some evidence but at prices that were incredible. Any vegetable is sold at Rs. 60 a kilogram. Petrol costs over Rs. 500 per bottle, milk food are Rs. 350 per kilogram, and a small packet of

Over 300 people have flooded into town. Suddenly shouting fills the air - "The bombers are coming." Men and women, many of them throwing away their purchases, grab their children, keep yelling in panic and rush helter skelter for cover. Seventy five metres ahead of me the first strikes. We run in the opposite directions. Fifty metres away two more bombs crash into moving vehicles and nearby shops.

An ICRC vehicle followed by Tiger vehicles rushes to the scene. An ICRC man (a foreigner) yells something into a walkie talkie. Just then the aircraft start pulling away. The injured are despatched to hospital, shops and vehicles are destroyed. The death toll is taken.

A small exodus begins. With several others I persuade a passenger van to take us back to Vavuniya. The cost is incredible Rs. 1000.

As we speed on our way we leave behind the wrecked Kokavil and Mankulam security forces camp and a dismal landscape where men, women and children seemed resigned to stay on.



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THE PROPAGANDA WAR

"The first casualty when war comes is truth". These words by US Senator Hiram Johnson express a state of affairs which had proved to be the norm in the reporting of modern war.

The development of modern communications meant that those parties which had better access to the media were able to inflict the most number of casualties. Lies and half truths once reported as "news" began to acquire an authenticity when repeated by other sections of the media. In fact, it was a technique which the Nazi Propaganda Chief Goebbels used with great success in carrying out Germany's propaganda campaign during the second world war.

The purpose of the propaganda campaign is designed to make the enemy look bad and to make one's own side appear to be winning the war. More often than not, imagined atrocities are attributed to the enemy in an effort to dehumanise the enemy while atrocities by one's own side are either ignored or reported to have been perpetrated by the enemy, in order to give the propagandists a higher moral standing.

Where the war is one between an established Government and a guerrilla army, the government which has access to local and international media is able to conduct its propaganda war with considerable ease, in the process, misleading the locals and influencing the international community into believing what it wants them to believe. This is true even where the media is anxious to be truthful in its coverage and enjoys a remarkable degree of freedom. A classic example of such a situation is the kind of reporting that was common during the early years of the Vietnam war.

Even those American reporters who were not opposed to the American involvement in Vietnam but were only concerned about its effectiveness, soon found their reports of the conduct of the war subject to all kinds of pressure from Washington. An article which Charles Mohr wrote for the Time Magazine in 1963 which began "The war is being lost..." was rewritten to say that the Government troops were fighting better than ever and that things were going well in Vietnam.²

Martha Gellhorn, a well respected free-lance war correspondent found herself not only unable to sell in the US all the articles she wrote following her visit to South-Vietnam, but, also that she was on some sort of a black list which ended her career as a war correspondent.³

As the war in Vietnam progressed however, the truth began to emerge slowly despite US Government efforts to suppress news which was perceived to be detrimental to its war effort. But this was mainly due to the unfettered access which was available to foreign correspondents to the theatre of war.

British correspondents for instance who were not hampered by political pressure were able to report the war quite impartially exposing the American Administration's lies.

Unlike the Americans, the French, in their war against the Algerian guerrillas (1954 to 1962) were quite successful in keeping the truth suppressed (at least from their own people) until defeat became imminent.

The French conducted their propaganda war by ensuring that all publications in Algeria

were subject to the Prefecture, while in France an obscure section of the criminal code was used to seize anti-Government publications. In addition, the Government sought to cultivate foreign correspondents by issuing them with kits setting out the French case emphasising France's contributions to Algeria and complaining of the rebels lack of gratitude. The Government's atrocity propaganda too was well organised with correspondents being provided with books of photographs showing gruesome murders allegedly by the Algerian "terrorists".⁴

However, despite Government efforts French atrocities eventually came to be reported as the death toll reached the hundreds of thousands.

Zimbabwe's guerrilla war of independence against the Ian Smith regime was another war in which the reporting was again essentially based on Government handouts which sought to portray the guerrillas as a bunch of terrorists with no real support amongst the black population. The Government's hand outs acquired greater authority when independent newspapers began carrying articles which appeared to corroborate the accounts of each other. It was only later the truth emerged that the Daily Telegraph's correspondent in Salisbury, Brian Henry was also the Daily Mail's Peter Norman and the Guardian's Henry Miller! It was also seen that in fact all these reports were by a Rhodesian called Ian Mills who, as it happened, was also BBC's correspondent.⁵

Occasionally, even in the case of the Zimbabwean guerrilla war of independence where the guerrillas had little inclination or means to counter the propaganda war of the Smith regime, there were journalists of the calibre of Christopher Mullin (a free lancer), who through the application of common sense and logic were able to see through the Government's lies. A massacre by the Government and its attempt to blame it on the "terrorists" was shown by Mullin to be the work of the Government itself, by pointing out that all those killed were black civilians and that the man whom the Government alleged had been killed by the guerrillas had, in fact, emerged unharmed a few days later.⁶

Such an application of commonsense and simple logic has thus emerged to be the only effective method available to meet the propaganda campaigns of Governments against guerrilla armies which have no other means to counter such campaigns.

Where a Government is fighting a guerrilla army, it becomes necessary for the Government to inflict heavy civilian casualties in order to destroy the guerrilla's support base. As a result, the war becomes more brutal as innocent civilians are killed as part of Government policy.

The American Government's Phoenix program involving the killing 30,000 to 50,000 Vietnamese and described by a CIA expert as a genocidal program⁷ is one example of such an exercise, and Indonesia's successful suppression of the "communist" inspired uprising through the massacre of at least a million civilians is another.⁸

In order to "explain" killings on such a scale it becomes necessary on the part of Governments to dehumanise the enemy by not only misreporting



War sacrifice Memorial in Hanoi, Vietnam

but also by actively staging events to show the guerrilla to be responsible for the killings and to imply the Government's role as mainly retaliatory.

Brian Day, an Australian Warrant Officer who during the Vietnam War was in charge of such a death squad has explained how the team would go out dressed in the enemy's gear, carrying enemy equipment to execute these killings which were subsequently reported as killings by the enemy.⁹

In the Island of Sri Lanka today, the Government, not unlike the Americans in Vietnam, the French in Algeria and the Smith regime in Zimbabwe, is similarly engaged in a propaganda campaign designed to dehumanise the Tamil Guerrillas and paint a picture of winning a war in which it has actually made little progress despite having killed thousands of Tamil civilians. The Tamil Guerrillas like their counterparts in Vietnam, Algeria and Zimbabwe are faced with an acute difficulty in countering the well organised propaganda of a Government which has ready access to the International and local media. While the local media, being other Government owned or Sinhala owned, is unlikely to challenge the Government hand outs, the International media is disadvantaged by not being allowed access to the theatre of war in the Northeast.

It is the writer's intention to examine critically two of the incidents which have been pointed out to be the work of the Tamil Guerrillas-the LTTE, and to let the reader reach his/her conclusion based on established facts.

1. The massacre of the leader of the EPRLF & others in exile in Madras.

Allegation :

The LTTE was accused by the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments of being responsible for this massacre on the grounds that it had looked upon the EPRLF as a quisling group.

Facts :

All LTTE suspects arrested by the State Government had been released for want of evidence.

A senior Indian Police Officer was quoted as having told the BBC that he suspected the hand of dissident section of the EPRLF.

The "Hindu", a leading Indian newspaper, had also carried a report stating that the Police were investigating whether there was any infighting in the EPRLF itself leading to the incident.¹⁰

The leader of such a dissident group, Douglas Devananda having arrived in Sri Lanka shortly after the killings is now reported to have joined the Sri Lankan Army in its fight against the LTTE.¹¹

Allegation :

LTTE accused by the Government of having perpetrated in the massacre.

Facts :

There has been no independent eyewitness account of the massacre except "opinions" by EPRLF parliamentarians and other Tamil "quisling" groups.

The massacre had taken place shortly after a similar, allegation of an imaginary massacre of 62 Muslims in June was proved to have been a clumsy Government lie.¹²

The "massacre" results in a spate of sectarian violence between the Tamils and Tamil-Speaking Muslims. The Government arms Muslims and employs "Muslim Homeguards" to defend Muslims against Tamil "terrorists".

The LTTE loses crucial support from the Muslims in the East.

Support for the Tamil cause within the International Community has been greatly undermined by the nature of the alleged atrocity.

While it is clearly beyond the scope of this article to subject each and every allegation to such a treatment, it is important that readers are able to discern the truth in reaching their conclusions by remembering the words of Hastings Snn, a noted Second World War correspondent who said that "When one's nation is at war, reporting becomes an extension of the war effort."¹⁴

ANA PARARAJASINGAM

In the current phase of the war dubbed "Eelam War II" by the local media, the Government's propaganda campaign has been particularly effective. Lies and half truths have been used with great effect and the inter-Tamil rivalry (fostered initially by the Indian Government) exploited to the full. Given its limited resources, the LTTE has generally been unable to counter this campaign thus giving the Government a free rein in its propaganda war.

In these circumstances, it is only natural that the Government's efforts have been quite successful, causing considerable confusion amongst the international community and the Tamil expatriate communities the world over.

It is further reported that Douglas Devananda who had been in India since the early 1980's and has now ventured to warn India to keep away from intervening in Sri Lanka which he (Devananda) now looks upon as a "democratically elected unitary government."¹²

Today, while all those "liberation" groups opposed to the LTTE and dubbed by the LTTE as quislings have joined to fight under Douglas Devananda's leadership, the EPRLF which had played such a role during the Indian occupation has refused to join in the effort.

2. The massacre of Muslims by gunmen at a mosque in Kathankudy in the east.

FOOTNOTES

1. Speech, US Senate, 1917.
2. "The First Casualty" by Philip Knightly published by Pan Books (1989) (p 379)
3. *ibid* (p 390)
4. *ibid* (p 367)
5. "New Statesman February" 25, 1977.
6. *ibid*
7. "A Secret Country" By John Pilger published by Vintage (p 173).
8. *ibid* (p 197)
9. *ibid* (p 173)
10. "The Hindu" 29th June 1990.
11. "The Island" 9th December 1990.
12. *ibid*.
13. "Daily Telegraph" 23 June 1990 and "Sunday Times (UK)" 24 June 1990.
14. "Daily Express" June 8, 1982.

Continuing the story of the Jaffna Youth Congress - Part 5

JAFFNA YOUTHS' PARTICIPATION

(Note: The story of the Jaffna Youth Congress as told by Santasilan Kadirgamar has been slightly abridged in parts, in the sequences to follow - Ed. TN)

The Ceylon Patriot aptly commented, "We are glad to note that the students of Jaffna are actuated by the noble instincts of patriotism and self-sacrifice and are able to present a united front against all reactionary forces in securing the country's progress by a free discussion of all public questions and what is more by an endeavour to practise in their life the precepts which they adopt after full discussion."⁷⁸ Congratulating the young men for the moderation and thorough independence which characterised the expression of views on their part the paper commented, "That the congress has held its successive sessions with conspicuous success so far bespeaks its success in the future and we need hardly say that it has our best wishes."

London TIMES Comment

The Hindu Organ commenting on the Congress sessions said, "Unity is the first condition of success in any movement. Sinhalese-Tamil unity which has been emphasised by more than one speaker in the Students' Congress is the basic foundation of self-government in Ceylon." The paper chose to comment on an editorial in the London Times dated March 22, 1927 which characterised the Ceylon National Congress as an organisation of extremists whose demand for full responsible government was opposed by all the minorities including the Tamils. The Hindu Organ affirmed that the London Times' statement had no foundation whatsoever and that the Tamil community never lagged behind the Sinhalese in pressing for the grant of responsible government. It said that the All-Ceylon Tamil Conference, the Jaffna Association and the Jaffna Saiva Paripalana Sabhai had unitedly put forward this demand."⁷⁹

The Hindu Organ conceded that there were a few Tamils "who in season and out of season trot out the bogey of Sinhalese domination." The Hindu Organ backed the Students' Congress fully and expressed the hope that destined to live together in this common homeland in peace, goodwill and harmony the coming constitutional struggle afforded the Sinhalese and Tamils and excellent occasion to gather their forces together and put forward their demand for responsible government from a common platform.

'No' to Communalism

When the report of the Donoughmore Commission was published later in the year the Executive Committee met and passed the following resolutions:

- (1) The Report of the Donoughmore Commission is not acceptable to the Congress as it (the Congress) has always held Ceylon fit for responsible government.
- (2) The Congress welcomes the abolition of communal representation and the extension of franchise but disapproves. (a) the retention of communalism in the shape of nominated members and (b) the non-extension of the franchise to women between the ages of twenty one and thirty.
- (3) The Congress views with alarm the extension of the Governor's reserve powers and the limitation of the control so far

exercised by the legislature over the public service.⁸⁰

At this meeting the Executive Committee of the Students' Congress also decided that steps should be taken to establish similar organisations in Kandy, Galle and Colombo, and other parts of the country so that eventually an All-Ceylon Students' Congress may emerge. It was also planned to establish a publications bureau. The committee also expressed support to a society formed in Kandy for the amelioration of the conditions of the Rodiyas. It was also decided to send a delegation from the Congress to the All-India Youth Conference to be held later in the year. The Students' Congress following the repeated exhortations of Gandhiji in Ceylon expressed itself in favour of total prohibition and extended its whole hearted support to all workers in the cause of prohibition.

Bardoli Peasants

In 1928 the Students' Congress made efforts to become closely associated with the Gandhian movement in India. The sale of Khaddar was encouraged in Jaffna. Volunteers went to the different parts of the peninsula on pre-determined dates and sold Khaddar. The purpose was to popularise the use of Khaddar and to increase contributions to the Khadhi fund. Lady Ramanathan was one of those persons who organised exhibitions of Khaddar. One such exhibition was held at the Vaideshwara Vidyalayam at which a representative of the All India Spinners' Association was present.

In the same year occurred the struggle of peasants in the district of Bardoli in India. It was a struggle largely of peasants deprived of their lands and possessions directed against the bureaucracy and police backed by the state power of British imperialism. This struggle evoked widespread sympathy. The Students' Congress collected funds as a symbolic gesture of support to the struggling peasantry of India. The Executive Committee of the Students' Congress passed the following resolution; The Congress expresses its deep sympathy with the Satyagrahis of Bardoli in their heroic struggle against the oppression of bureaucracy and wishes them God-speed in their endeavour.⁸¹

Calcutta delegates

In pursuance of an earlier decision the Students' Congress sent delegates to the All-India Youth Congress sessions in Calcutta. The Indian National Congress was meeting at the same time in Calcutta. S. Kulandran and N. Kumarasingham represented the Students' Congress. The office-bearers elected at the 1928 sessions were Swami Vipulananda President, N. Kumarasingham and W.B. Kanagathungam Joint Secretaries and P. Srisankararaja Treasurers. When their term of office came to an end in April 1929 they looked back on the year that had passed as one of expansion and progress. In their letter announcing the holding of the fifth annual sessions in April 1929 they reminded the members that the "Congress was founded five years ago as the result of a profound dissatisfaction of the youth of this country with the

present order of things. It was a reaction against the inequalities of our social and political systems which were undermining our national vitality and bringing about the decay of our great culture. Our fathers evolved within this island a great civilization; we seek to revive it and to end the present condition of political tutelage, which however mild, hurts our self-respect and is killing our initiative."

A New World Order

The letter continued, "While we desire to see our country rise to its stature by obtaining political freedom we also realise the need for attaining universal peace. This is impossible until the present system of imperialistic exploitation is ended and a world order founded on justice and equality is established". The secretaries expressed the desire on the part of the Students' Congress to co-operate with the youth of other countries in striving for world peace.⁸²



Thanjavur Temple : Architectural achievement

The fifth annual sessions of the Students' Congress assembled at Kankasanturai in a special pandal erected for the purpose in April 1929. The vigorous and effective propaganda carried out in the previous year had created widespread interest in that year's annual sessions. More than fifteen meetings had been held in various parts of the peninsula to popularise the ideals that the congress stood for. The chief speakers at these meetings had been Handy Perinbanayagam, M. Balasundaram and S. Nadesan. Steps had been taken to form a 'Youth League in Colombo. It was expected that with the formation of similar organisations in Kandy and Galle the much desired All-Ceylon Youth Congress' would be a reality. The leaders of the Congress had stressed the stand taken by the Congress on communalism and caste. The Kankasanturai Congress sessions like the previous year's one drew a very large gathering of youth.

Inter-Caste dining

When the sessions were held at the Keerimalai Madam the Students' Congress was not able to exercise in practice one of the cardinal principles of the Congress: the equality of all men irrespective of caste. The special pandal at Kankasanturai made it possible for people of all castes to mingle freely together and dine, together. This was the first occasion in Jaffna when inter-dining of persons of all castes, took place at a gathering of this nature. The "Daily News" in reporting this event gave the following headlines to its news story - "Jaffna Youth in Revolt" - Caste Fetters in Scorn".⁸³

The 1929 sessions also gave greater prominence to the use of the Tamil language. Handy Perinbanayagam who delivered the welcome address did so in Tamil. The presidential address was delivered by V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, a pioneer of Tamil journalism in Tamilnad. In the early decades of the century E.V. Ramasamy Naicker (Periyar) Dr. Varadarajulu and Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar had made a major contribution towards the evolution of the language as an effective vehicle of modern political and social ideas. Among them Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar was known as 'Tamil Thenral' the gentle breeze that brought vigour to Tamil prose and influenced generations of Tamil writers. His two newspapers the 'Desapakkathan' (Patriot) and 'Nava Sakthi' (New Strength) had a profound influence on the political education of the average citizen and made the Tamil language a powerful instrument for the dissemination of the Gandhian concept of Satyagraha and Ahimsa.

He strongly stressed that the classics of any language must be learnt in the original and not in translation. If Shakespeare is learnt in English, Kalidasa's Sakuntala must be learnt in Sanskrit and Ilanko's Silappadikaram which according to Bharathi melts a man's heart must be read in Tamil.

He referred to the great wealth of Tamil Classics - and glories of Sangham Literature, Tholhappiam, Thirukkural and the soul animating psalms and hymns of the Saiva Saints - Thevaram and Thiruvacakam. He recalled the achievements of the Tamils in art and architecture and mentioned the relics at Mahabalipuram, the Dance of Natarajah in Chidambaram, the temples of Madurai and Kanchi, Trichy and Tanjore as marvels of art, architecture and the quintessence of Hindu culture.

He also drew attention to the achievements of the Tamil in music, drama and physical education. Discussing the relation between true education and religion he said that true education according to Thiruvalluvar must lead to the enlightenment of the divine within us. True religion, he said did not confine us to any particular creed and lead to conflict with any other.

No Need for Feud

Apparently aware of the religious differences prevalent in Jaffna he said that a truly cultured person could find little difference between Saint Manikkavachagar's Thiruvasagam and the message of Jesus Christ. Where is the need, he asked, for any feud when both of them declare, "God is Love"?

Concluding his address Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar called on the youth to banish foreign rule, end political servitude and become masters of their own fate. Youth, he said must take an active part in politics and learn from the lessons their counterparts in Europe had learnt during the World War. They should in their programme of action give due importance to the elimination of communalism, the emancipation of women, the removal of superstitious beliefs and practices, and the adoption of Swadeshi as a way of life. He expressed his happiness that the Students' Congress subscribed to the ideals and objectives of the Gandhian movement but warned them that it was easy to preach but difficult to implement their decisions in their daily lives.⁸⁴ Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar delivered two other lectures during the sessions on "Man and his rights" and "Caste".

The 1929 sessions is remembered for the bold move made by the youth to introduce inter-caste dining. In fact the organisers had spent the substantial sum of Rs. 242.00 in erecting the special pandal in order to facilitate this. The Congress income for the preceding year by way of subscriptions and donations was Rs. 1,079.00 and the total expenses amounted to Rs. 909.00.⁸⁵ The fact that the Congress chose to erect a special pandal so that people of all castes may meet and dine together demonstrated the movement's desire to translate into action one of the cardinal principles repeatedly espoused over the years. This they did in the teeth of opposition from orthodox opponents of the Congress.

IN INDIAN GANDHIAN MOVEMENT

This opposition grew considerably in 1929 giving expression to acts of sabotage the following year. But in this particular year the opponents were bitterly disappointed and frustrated.

The news reports of the proceedings of the 1929 sessions gave a central place to this event of inter-dining, so much so that the joint-secretaries in a statement of several newspapers had to deny that they had organised an inter-caste dinner as reported by some newspapers. The following extract from the letter to the press explained the position of the Students' Congress. "The Congress is not a preserve of the highest people but is open to anyone above the age of sixteen who subscribes to its creed and pays the due subscription. By erecting a pandal this year we opened our proceedings to people of all castes. Similarly the mess run by the Congress was open to any member of the Congress or visitor to our sessions provided he purchased the mess ticket which entitled him for a meal. The Congress does not recognise caste, creed or race in its affairs and never inquires from its members or anyone to what caste they belong. An inter-caste dinner is something quite different. In such dinners people from various castes are chosen and arranged to sit together and dine. Thus a dinner in the Congress mess is as much intercaste as a journey in the Ceylon Government Railway, or a dinner in a public restaurant or a circus show."⁷⁶

Youth and Politics

One of the matters that had figured prominently in the discussions at the 1929 sessions had been the role of students and young people in politics. The Joint-Secretaries had used the issue in their annual report. They had claimed that the main reason for their existence as a Congress was their dissatisfaction with the existing social and political state of affairs and to place before the public their views and ideals. They had claimed the right to correct their elders wherever necessary. "We do not," said the Secretaries "for a moment hold that, we should invade the field of practical politics and thus misspend any time and energy which we may more usefully devote to the performance of duties to our own selves. But whenever we feel that the country's welfare is at stake and if we hear her call for our aid we have to be prepared to abandon our legitimate spheres of work and do whatever is in our power to help her as her devoted sons."⁷⁷

Opinion had been divided among the elder men about the role of youth in the realm of active politics. Mr. Peri Sundaram as already mentioned had struck a note of caution. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar coming as he did from an Indian setting where youth were actively involved in politics had encouraged the participation of Jaffna's youth in politics. Generally the elder men would have preferred the youth keeping clear of politics pertaining to elections to the Legislative Council. But this question did not arise in practical terms at this time. The issue that figured prominently was the caste problem.

On the broader issue of self-government the Students' Congress had by 1929 declared itself in favour of Swaraj. This

was nothing new in so far as their thinking and speeches had been concerned. The rapid developments that had been taking place in India and in Ceylon itself, and the publication of the Donoughmore Report had radically altered the political scene. Great expectations had been re...

Simon Commission

The Students' Congress was influenced most by the developments in India. India had at this time moved into a new phase in her history. Shortly before Gandhi visited Ceylon he had been called by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin for a consultation. At this meeting the appointment of the Simon Commission to report on the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and to recommend a further advance towards self-government was announced. Not a single Indian was nominated to the Commission. This had shocked Indian opinion and even liberal moderates were disappointed. It was made clear that 'God's Englishmen' were to determine whether Indians were fit to govern themselves. The Indians had under the leadership of the Indian National Congress put forward the claim for the right of self-determination.

The Indian National Congress called for a boycott of the Simon Commission. A nation-wide hartal took place when the Commission arrived in India with demonstrators waving black flags and shouting "Go back, Simon." The police dispersed the crowds with lathi charges. Jawaharlal Nehru was among those who were beaten. Within Congress Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose organised the younger generation which was regarded as the left wing within the Congress with socialist aspirations. At the Calcutta sessions of the Congress in 1928 the Congress was confronted with demonstrations by industrial workers who were in a revolutionary mood. In the Bardoli district the peasants had been organised to refuse the payment of taxes. In spite of repressive measures introduced by the government the non-violent struggle continued. The government had to yield finally with a reduction in the proposed increase of taxes. The refusal to pay taxes as a weapon of struggle had proved to be successful.

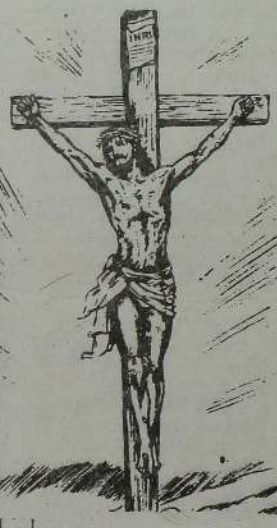
Mass arrests in India

Thus under mass pressure the Congress in India was forced to declare in favour of complete independence. At midnight on the 31st December 1929 the ensign of independent India was hoisted at Lahore and the Congress declared that its goal was complete independence. January 26th 1930 was celebrated as Independence Day. The members of the Indian National Congress pledged to take part in a campaign of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The aim of the struggle was defined as 'purna swaraj' or "complete independence".

Struggle by direct action against the salt tax was launched in March 1930, when Gandhi undertook his famous march to Dandi. This was a signal to the Indian masses to

break the salt laws all over the country. Mass arrests took place. Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress was arrested together with several other leaders. Gandhi himself was placed under arrest on the 4th of May 1930 thus became a year of prolonged unrest and struggle in the history of the Indian independence movement.

In Ceylon the happenings in India received wide publicity in the newspapers. There was a great deal of sympathy for the leaders of the Indian National Congress. Meetings were held and resolutions of sympathy and solidarity with those struggling in India were passed. But the response in Ceylon did not go beyond resolutions and speeches. The Students' Congress, Jaffna was profoundly influenced by the events in India, and sought to identify itself with the struggle in India. The years 1930-31 thus became a crucial period in the history of the Students' Congress.



"... A truly cultured person could find little difference between Saint Manikkavasagar's Thiruvasagam & the message of Jesus Christ...."

— Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar

Caste and Equal Seating

The sixth annual sessions of the Students' Congress met at the Thirunelvely Hindu Training Institute in April 1930. The President elect for the year was Mr. S. Shivapathasundaram, Principal Victoria College the highly respected orthodox Hindu savant later known as Saiva Periyar. Among some influential Hindus there was a growing feeling that the Students' Congress was primarily under Christian influence. It happened that Handy Perinbanayagam and Sabapathy Kulandaran were in the forefront of the movement at that time. Mr. J.V. Chelliah and Dr. Isaac Thambiah leading Christians of the time had been presidents at the first two sessions. Jaffna College was in the early years the centre from which much of the leadership of encouragement.

Several Christians at this time in the 1020s and early 1930s in India and Ceylon had come under the influence of Gandhiji. In India C.F. Andrews had made a major contribution in bringing Christians into the Gandhian movement. Among the Christians influenced by the national awakening in India there was a great deal of discussion about the "Indianisation of the Church." Dr. S. Jesudason

F.R.C.S. founder of the Christu Kula Ashram in Tirupattur in South India once said he preferred "Indigenous Expression of Christianity in India" to the term "Indianising Christianity". Dr. Jesudason and his ashram later made a major contribution towards introducing indigenous forms of worship and life-style among some Christians.

The Christa Seva Ashram founded by Sevak Selvaratnam at Chunnakam in Ceylon was largely inspired by the Tirupattur Ashram with which it maintained close links all along. Rev. S.S. Somasundaram writing in 1925 on "Evangelisation of Christianisation" referred to the experiences of Sadhu Sundar Singh the Christian mystic who used to visit Ceylon and had several admirers here. The Sadhu according to Rev. Somasundaram had met many people in India who were followers of Jesus but not members of any Church and who lived and worked as Sannyasis.

today is something narrow, religion is something greater and that the real height of spiritual life is not in being called a Christian but a true Bhaktan."⁷⁸

While the Christians associated with the Students' Congress made such efforts to create a greater identity with use Hindus and the community in general another group of Christians had formed themselves into 'The League of Christian Citizenship' and did put forward demands for separate representation to the proposed State Council thus seeking to widen the concept of communal representation. Meetings were held for and against the demands made by the League of Christian Citizenship. The Christians associated with the Students' Congress took the lead in opposing any further extension of communal representation.

Though the Students' Congress could under no circumstances be labelled as Christian dominated, because of the growing rift between Christians and Hindus especially on the school question there was a lurking suspicion in the minds of some Hindus that the Students' Congress was pro-Christian. The uncompromising stand taken by the Students' Congress on caste discrimination evoked positive hostility from some sections of the Hindus. To remove all misconceptions about the Students' Congress it was decided to invite Mr. Shivapathasundaram to preside at the 1930 sessions. There was doubts in the minds of several Hindu members of the Students' Congress whether this orthodox Hindu leader would accept their invitation. Kalaipulavar Navaratnam, A.E. Tamber and C. Subramaniam went to invite personally. Mr. Shivapathasundaram was interested at this time in the work the Congress was attempting with regard to untouchability, equal seating and inter-dining. His acceptance of the position as President became a source of strength especially in 1930. C. Subramaniam in extending a welcome to the new President said, "By your becoming one of us, we will be experiencing a fresh access of moral impulse and energy born of unswerving submission to high loyalties."⁷⁹

FOOTNOTES

78. Ceylon Patriot, 25 April 1928.
79. Hindu Organ, 26 April 1928.
80. Ceylon Patriot, 12 September 1928.
81. Hindu Organ, 2 August 1928.
82. The Students' Congress, Jaffna (Ceylon), 22 March 1929, Chunnakam. Printed letter signed N. Kumarasingham and W.D. Kanagathungam Hon. Joint Secretaries.
83. Ceylon Daily News, 13 April 1929.
84. V. Kalyanasundaranar, Sirtuvuttam allatu Ilamai Viruttu, (சீர்திருத்தம் அல்லது இளமை விருத்து) Madras, 1958. Jaffna Students' Congress, April 10, 11 and 12, 1929, Kankasanturai. pp 50-83.
85. Hindu Organ, 20 June 1929.
86. Ibid., 29 April 1929.
87. Annual Report, The Students' Congress, Jaffna, Congress Camp, Kankasanturai, 5 April 1929.
88. Hindu Organ, 11 April 1929.
89. Ibid, 11 March 1929.
90. Rev S.S. Somasundaram B.A., "Evangelisation or Christianisation", Morning Star, 14 November 1925.
91. J.W.A. Kadirgamar, "Santiniketani", Morning Star, 31 October 1925 For National Day Celebrations, see letter to the editor by J.W.A.K. and editorial comment in Morning Star, 30 March 1928.
92. C. Subramaniam, "Thoughts on Saiva Periyar" in Puloyoor Saiva Periyar S. Shivapathasundaranar Centenary Number, 1978. p. 108.

(To continue)

De-Link Sri Lankan Tamil refugee issues from politics, says Memo

A meeting was convened by the Collector of Madras, Smt. Susan Mathew, I.A.S. on 22nd January to discuss steps to intensify the registration of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees living outside the refugee centres. The notice of the meeting said

"The Director of Rehabilitation has pointed out that only 17,000 Sri Lankan refugees are reported to have registered with the Collectors concerned and obtained Refugee Identity Certificates so far. With a view to intensify registration with the help of the local Thasildars, voluntary agencies working for the benefit of refugees and local police, it has been proposed to convene a meeting at the Conference Hall of the Collector's office, Chempauk, Madras 5 at 4 p.m. on 22.1.1991. The Director of Rehabilitation is also attending the meeting. I request you to make it convenient to attend the meeting with all relevant details."

One of the Sri Lankan Tamil Refugee organisations that was invited was the **Movement for Integration of Refugees and Repatriates (MIRRT)**, at 42, 5th Street, First Sector, K.K. Nagar, Madras 600 078. The Secretary of this organisation Miss. V. Mageswaree has sent Tamil Nation a copy of the memorandum which she submitted to the Collector and other officials at the conference, which we reproduce below :-

Respected Madam,

1. On behalf of the above registered organisation working for the welfare of Sri Lankan refugees, both within and outside the refugee camps, may I at the very outset welcome whole-heartedly the move to intensify registration of those refugees outside the camps.

2. It is commonly accepted that barely 20% of those estimated Sri Lankan Tamil refugees staying outside the camps have upto now registered themselves, or are in possession of refugee certificates, although the refugee movement into the country began as far back as more than six years ago - in August 1983 - in the wake of the widespread mob attacks on Tamils and Indian business interests in that island, aided and abetted by various State agencies of the Sri Lanka government.

3. In order to find ways and means to intensify the registration process, should we not ask ourselves the question why nearly 80% have failed to register themselves? What possible reasons could be there which have made them reluctant to do so?

4. Since our organisation has functionaries who themselves fall into this category of refugees, we think we are in a position to (i) clarify certain issues involving these people; (ii) identify the various problems that have come in the way of evoking a better response to the call for registration.

Clarifications

A good proportion of these refugees hold valid passports. Technically speaking, they do not seem to be categorised under the definition of refugees

as included in the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, which have been ratified by 106 States, but as visitors whose visas are either periodically extended or not extended.

A good proportion of them are families, persons, renting out houses and sending their children to various schools, colleges and institutes, both governmental and private.

They are regular earners of foreign exchange, from an unimaginable number of Western, Middle, East and other countries through various banks in India. The countries from where they receive foreign exchange would make it look like a lesson in geography - UK, USA, Canada, Germany, France, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Brunei, Hong Kong, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Lesotho, Zambia, Transkei - name most of them. The banks in Tamil Nadu should be in a position to give an estimate of the foreign exchange thus received, every paisa of which is spent here.

There are an estimated **Three Lakhs** of Sri Lankan Tamils in various countries of the world other than India, composed of various categories - Immigrants, highly prosperous professional communities, and Refugees and Asylum seekers.

The Indian government has permitted Sri Lankan Tamil refugees to continue to reside in India, even while overstay their visas - a situation which is not possible in other countries. This concession, we feel, is not sufficiently appreciated by the Sri Lankan refugee community in India.

On the other hand, in the perception of these persons, western countries can in no way be equated with a country like India. Besides being the only close neighbour to which they can conveniently flee, India to them has been for centuries their second home, their emotional motherland, a land to which they owe their origin (many of them probably descendants of the Chera, Chola, Pandyan empires in the centuries past, now composed of Kerala and Tamilnadu in the modern Indian State), and bound by ties of ethnicity, language, religion, and culture. Surely they have a moral right to expect more consideration from such a country than from distant, alien, unconnected western countries like Germany, France and Switzerland and Canada and Australia? Particularly as far as the Government of India is concerned. But if you search their hearts, they will tell you that those of them who are refugees and immigrants in those alien countries feel more safer, more secure, more settled, than in India. Upto now, none of these western countries, despite occasional threats by some, have during these seven years, sent back any of them, because the government there recognises the fact that peaceful conditions do not yet prevail there for them to go back.

In this connection, may we quote a widely accepted definition of a "Refugee" as given by an authority on the Refugee situation Sri John Hope Simpson :-

The essential quality of a refugee may be said to be that he has left his country of regular residence, of which he may or may not be a national, as a result of political events in that country, which render his continued residence impossible or intolerable, and has taken refuge in another country, or if already absent from his home, is unwilling, or are unable to return, without danger to life and liberty, as a direct consequence of the political conditions existing there. In general, the refugee cannot return, without danger to life and liberty, though it may be, in some cases, but by no means in all, that complete political submission to the authorities would enable him to return and live at peace..."

One major, fundamental factor, which is unfortunate but true, is that the Sri Lankan Tamil refugee problem in India, is linked inextricably, with politics, both in Sri Lanka as well as in India. It is also linked with the relations between the two governments, and with the mental association of various Tamil militant groups with various political parties in India.

That of course, cannot be helped. But given the sympathy, the humaneness, and professional competence with which the officials concerned with refugee work have handled the more difficult task of camp refugee welfare, we do not see any difficulty if they have a share in the handling of the registration. Why we say this, is because this needs an approach which would lift it from the complex web of poli-

tics. In other words, whatever steps that are taken, in order to persuade those who have not registered to do so, should be viewed by them not as a political step, but purely as a simple bureaucratic exercise - as in the case of a national census for example.

We are aware that during the early years when a call was made to register themselves, there was a widespread fear that it was a ruse to identify them, to find out their addresses and forcibly pack them back to Sri Lanka. Whether the fear was well-founded or not, the fear was nevertheless there. Various media reports and Doordarshan and radio announcements off and on added to their fears. There were reports that ships were being specially chartered to enable them to go back. There were even reports, particularly from Trichy that police personnel had visited certain refugee homes and hustled them to leave in a matter of days. Thus, a steady fear psychosis was maintained whereby a good number of people felt it was safer not to register than do so.

There was also a lot of confusion created in their minds about certain government announcements. We annex here the one dated 26.6.90. (See overleaf). Para (1) appears to relate only to those "without any valid document". As a result those who had either a valid passport or refugee certificate, or both, felt there was no need for them to report at the nearest police station as required.

But Para (2) places the onus on those Indian nationals who had rented out houses to Sri

Lankan Tamils also to furnish information. This led to a state of panic among several house owners, who persuaded their tenants to report at the police stations, and some themselves did so, although they were averse to the idea of going to police stations. But curiously, we are aware that many of them who went and reported were not the unregistered ones, but those who had registered themselves. A check on the records maintained by various police stations would prove this. Many of them had also a shock awaiting them when they went there. Old men, old women, school going children were lined up and finger-printed! This news spread and deterred others from going. Ultimately, the whole purpose was defeated.

Apart from isolating the issue from political overtones, there is also the need to isolate the problem of the vast majority (may be 95%) of law-abiding refugees from the problems created by - at the most 5% of trouble makers or those who indulge in anti-social behaviour. In fact, this small percentage is not only responsible for tarnishing the image of the refugee community in toto, but they are also a menace to the latter. In practically all cases of extortion and kidnappings, the victims were the Sri Lankan refugees themselves.

Therefore, in enlisting the cooperation of these refugees in getting themselves registered, what is of fundamental importance is a confidence-building exercise.

Thanking You,
Yours faithfully,
Miss. V. Mageswaree, L.L.B.

FORT ST. GEORGE
26.6.90

GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU PUBLIC (LAW & ORDER) DEPARTMENT AN IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

(1) It has come to the notice of the Government that the Srilankan Tamils who have fled from Srilanka and who are living on moving about in Tamil Nadu since 1983 without any valid document are acting in a manner prejudicial to the security of India and the relations of India with foreign countries and the State Government consider it necessary to regulate their continued presence in India. Therefore, such Srilankan Tamils are hereby directed to furnish information relating to their names, addresses, occupation etc., to the nearest Police Station within seven days from the date of the publication of this notice. Failure to so furnish such information will entail perial action under the law.

(2) The owners of the houses in towns or villages in Tamil Nadu who have leased or let out their premises to the Srilankan Tamils are hereby directed to furnish details relating to the names, period of occupation etc., of such Srilankan Tamils to the nearest Police Station within seven days from the date of the publication of this notice. Failure to so furnish such information or suppression of any material particulars will be construed as an act which will cause hindrance to the regulation of the continued presence of the said Srilankan Tamils in India, liable for severe action under law.

(3) If people owning lands in coastal areas in Tamil Nadu have knowledge about the smuggling of goods into or from Tamil Nadu or if such people have knowledge about the landing of militants from Srilanka, in flat bottom-powered boats, such persons shall immediately inform the nearest Police Station about the aforesaid acts. Failure to so inform the police will be construed as an act prejudicial to the conservation or augmentation of foreign exchange or prejudicial to the relations of India with Srilanka, liable for severe action under the law.

(4) Any act of smuggling or abetment thereof either into or from the State of Tamil Nadu through se: will be construed as an act prejudicial to the conservation or augmentation of foreign exchange, liable for severe action under the law.

CHIEF SECRETARY
GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU

The ceasefire which was superimposed on Sri Lanka's unending ethnic conflict was by no means a manifestation of weakness in the position of the Tigers, as the crowing by official Sinhala chauvinism made it out to be. It was a shrewdly timed tactical move guided by considerations of battlefield realism and the larger interests of the extremist cause to which the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam stand committed in a remarkably constant, tireless, death-defying way. Interestingly, the ceasefire has not held for any length of time.

The situation on the ground can be summed up thus. Politically, the conflict appears intractable because the bloody action and tensions are locked between the poles of Eelam, which is unattainable given the geo-political circumstances, and unitariness and discrimination against the Tamils, to which the Sinhala chauvinists who dominate national politics are wedded. Militarily, the armed militants call the shots in the region of ethnic conflict and set the terms of war or temporary peace in the pursuit of their secessionist political objective. The suffering and war-weariness of the affected people do make a difference to the tactics of those who regard themselves as liberation fighters. The state seems to have little option in this situation; its job is to respond, typically with unenlightened brutality, to Tiger initiatives.

"Useless currency"

Talk about "liquidating" the LTTE and hammering down a military solution in the North and East is old and virtually useless currency in Sri Lanka politics. From Lalith Athulathmudali, the original author of the military solution, through the IPKF, which took on the task of Tiger-taming with one hand tied behind its back, to Ranjan Wijeratne, the present captain of the shrieking hawks, it has been the same basic story. The motivations, capabilities and goals of those who have attempted to conquer the LTTE have varied considerably, but at the end of the chapter each adversary has learnt the same bitter lesson. The war cannot be won through any conventional means; the guerrilla "fish" cannot be flushed out of the water by any means short of genocide. The problem, which has been shaped by the benighted recent history of Sinhala-Tamil relations, and alienated people as it does down the barrel of the gun.

What the General said

The Vadamarachi military offensive of 1986-87 failed to cow down the Tamils for this reason. The progressive attempt to implement India's part of the bargain concluded in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 29, 1987 ran to ground, at huge cost, against the intractability of this factor. A senior Indian general, who was certainly no friend of the militants, foresaw this in an informal conversation with me the night before the IPKF went after the Tigers in October 1987: "Mr. Ram, what are we doing here? This will take at least 30 years to accomplish. But we carry out orders and we have no choice in this matter." This is also why President Premadasa has found himself on a devil of a sticky

UNDERSTANDING PRABAKARAN'S L.T.T.E.

• A Point of View

wicket, after fourteen months of "talks" brought on by a shared antipathy to India's role broke down on June 11, 1990.

From time to time, the solution has appeared obvious: "a dialogue only with those who are democratic." This was the reasoning which, in the 1983-85 phase, led the Indian and Sri Lankan governments to involve only the moderate, TULF leadership in the negotiations aimed at resolving the ethnic crisis, even as the Indian official side trained, armed and equipped the various militants in a "controlled" way in order to put on-the-ground pressure on the negotiating process. However, there is no reason today to believe that such a methodology and course would have worked at any stage after July-August 1983, the point of no return in the island nation's ethnic politics. In particular, the line of building policy on the belief that the LTTE's hegemony is purely a function of its militarism is a false construct. It will simply not do to ignore the politics behind the militant's AK-47 and all the rest of it. What has become abundantly clear over the past half-decade is that any "dialogue" with anyone other than the LTTE is only of peripheral value - given the ground realities in a militarised region where the Tigers exercise a genuine and deadly veto.

and justice - for all the brutalities the Tigers have inflicted on their political opponents, on innocent people and on civil society.

'The world has rarely seen'

But, of course, it is not just the factor of popular sympathy and backing - which the Tigers are not going to allow to be tested in any democratic process of "free and fair" competitive elections; if they can help it - which is important. In military terms, the LTTE is way and ahead the most developed, resourceful and powerful of South Asian extremist organisations. Indeed, in the unromanticised professional opinion of a senior general serving in the Indian Army, "the world has rarely seen a fighting force of this type, motivation and calibre." He assigns a central place to the factor of spirit and motivation and rates Prabakaran as a rare kind of military leader belonging to the genius category. This is without prejudice to the view that the LTTE leadership has a distinct Pol Potist streak in its character, methods and, above all, disregard for human life.

What is acknowledged in such objective assessments is that as a guerrilla organisation which is also capable of shifting its mode to conventional war-

by one of India's best-known journalists N. RAM, Associate Editor, THE HINDU and Editor FRONTLINE magazine

fence armed organisations. The state's army functions there as a racist, destructive military force; we carry on as a national people's army for the liberation of the Tamil people."

Alloofness & Ambition

Secondly, there was the touchstone of spirit and sacrifice: "We prepared the people for this crisis... We were determined to demonstrate our resistance, our fight in an all-out, foodhardy way. Whatever be the numbers of fighters we lost, we would not give in - that was our decision." Prabakaran reserved his special contempt for "those who stand aloof from the struggle, but nurse high leadership ambitions."

Thirdly, on the question of ruthlessness and discipline: "To be frank, military discipline is ruthless intrinsically... Look at any military activity; the objective of victory is valued more than the consequences. Victory matters most in military affairs. On the other hand we are authentic fighters for our people... But can we afford to be peaceable in our ways in the face of a ruthless enemy? We certainly cannot, that's the truth."

But stern discipline, ruthlessness, the power of the gun involved a big responsibility: "Those who bear arms acquire and wield an extreme measure of power. We believe that if this power is abused, it will inevitably lead to dictatorship. That is why we keep our military organisation in such a strict state of discipline. But please note that we exercise our ruthlessness against the ruthless guys. Otherwise, we cannot win."

He underscored the spirit of sacrifice expressed in the cyanide capsule which LTTE fighters wear like a medal-cum-talisman: "You won't find people from our movement in jail... It is this cyanide which has helped us develop our movement very rapidly... In reality, this gives our fighters an extra measure of belief in the cause, a special edge; it has instilled in us a determination to sacrifice our lives and our everything for the cause."

Action first, talk later

Fourthly, Prabakaran presented his political ideology in terms of "socialism and Tamil Eelam", arguing that the course of history did "not permit us the luxury of trusting Sinhala politicians" but proved that "only Tamil Eelam can be a secure outcome for us and there can be no alternative." However, "if an alternative to this" could be demonstrated by anyone, "we will put it before our people; and only if our people approve it can we con-

sider changing our stand even to an extent."

He rejected the criticism that his approach was militaristic and insufficiently political, but acknowledged that his own "natural inclination" made him "lay less emphasis on words. In serious politics, it won't do to concentrate on talking; you must grow through action and then talk! Words must be matched and indeed preceded by content."

Netaji & Bhagat Singh

Prabakaran's ideology was shaped by momentous times and tragic forces in a small, insular developing society. His personal heroes, he made clear, were drawn largely from one side of the Indian freedom struggle - Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Bhagat Singh and the revolutionary terrorists of Tamil Nadu. Unsurprisingly, he was drawn to the flawed military genius of Napoleon but quite incredibly his admiration extended to the methods of Mahatma Gandhi (although in Prabakaran's eyes he could not hold a candle to Subhas).

Most important, Prabakaran saw himself as the uncompromising custodian of this cause. As the LTTE's Supreme Commander, his supreme moral accountability was to the ghosts of his comrades as much as to any future. Referring to the framework of the political settlement proposed by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, he observed to me in Jaffna that he had to answer the troubling question: "Is it for this that all of them died?"

When I pressed him, in Jaffna, to answer the far-out question of what he might do after his dream of Tamil Eelam was achieved, he broke his reserve to say he would retire into the realm of constructive social work organised on a collectivist basis.

Demonising the LTTE

Eelam appears at this juncture a pipe-dream, unless it is redefined as a federal goal within the framework of staying within Sri Lanka's sovereignty. But asserting Sri Lankan sovereignty through "liquidating" the armed movement for Eelam appears an equally airy-fairy notion, as Presidents Jayewardene and Premadasa and also Indian leaders have learnt at considerable expense. After the IPKF experience, there is no danger of any serious section of political opinion in India romanticising the cause of Eelam and the image of the Sri Lankan Tamil militant. But it won't do to demonise the LTTE and its singleminded gifted leader.

(Emphases in the article are all ours, not Mr. Ram's - Editor Tamil Nation)



FLASHBACK TO FEBRUARY 1985: The LTTE leader with the late Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, MGR. (Pix by S. Kothandaraman: FRONTLINE)

Shattered illusions

The idea of conceding such a political hegemony to Velupillai Prabakaran's Tigers does stick in the throat of democrats in Sri Lanka as well as in India. But at least after so many illusions have been shattered - including the honourable dream, expressed in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, of demilitarising the ethnic conflict through India's direct involvement in the arena - one must learn to be objective. As a political force among the Tamils of the North-East of the island, the LTTE cannot be bypassed because it is the "boys" (as they are still called, sometimes affectionately, at times chidingly) who are seen as the spearhead of the Tamil struggle for equality, security

fare at the cost of tremendous civilian losses, the LTTE is unsinkable - at least for the conceivable future.

Prabakaran is reputed to be a man of few words, but his ideas are by no means unsophisticated. He can be highly articulate (in Tamil) when he chooses to speak out on core issues. In two extended conversations - one in Madras in September 1986, the other in Jaffna in August 1987 - he laid out to me his vision of how the struggle would develop and the possible end of the road.

First, Prabakaran saw the militants as liberation fighters, emphasising that it would make no sense to see them in any other terms: "They function as a military wing to protect the people, as the people's self-de-



MEDIA MEDLEY



FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1991

An Outrage

The Dismissal of the DMK Ministry and the imposition of President's rule in Tamil Nadu is an outrage that has few parallels in the working of the Indian Constitution. At a time when the State is fairly peaceable and a democratically elected government was firmly in command, to say that the administration could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution is a clear mockery of democratic norms and a blatant abuse of the power vested in the Centre to deal with grave crises and extraordinary situations. The absence of the usual report and recommendation from the Governor and Mr S.S. Barnala's known opposition to the dismissal of the DMK Government have made the exercise all the more suspect and colourable. Obviously because there was no actual breakdown of law and order, a vague threat to national integrity based on undisclosed, unverifiable intelligence information has had to be invented before the deed could be done.

In this debasement of democracy, the AIADMK and the Congress (I) found a more than willing tool in the Chandra Shekhar Government. The two parties had been showing signs of impatience ever since they rediscovered in November 1989 that they could overwhelm the DMK in a poll if they combined forces, and seemed determined not to let the Karunanidhi administration run its full term. Even if they could point to the precedents of 1977 and 1980 when State Governments were dismissed after the parties in power lost in the Lok Sabha poll, the formation of the V.P. Singh Government at the Centre meant they could not have their way. The changeover to the Chandra Shekhar administration set their ambitions alight again and led to a shrill campaign for the DMK's ouster.

Ironically, the LTTE connection with which the DMK Government was finally hanged is a legacy of the earlier Congress (I) and AIADMK dispensations. The flow of refugees into Tamil Nadu in the post-1983 period and the support and

political legitimacy provided to the Tamil militant groups by the administrations of Indira Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi at the Centre and by the M.G. Ramachandran regime in the State are only too well known. If after the Rajiv-Jayewardene accord and the IPKF's operations in the northern province of Sri Lanka the Congress (I) and the AIADMK changed their perception of the LTTE, the DMK made no secret of its sympathy for the militant group even when it was battling the Indian army. No doubt this sympathy was exploited by the LTTE and the other militant groups and the State witnessed sporadic incidents of shooting, robbery and smuggling. Even at their worst, these isolated incidents did not add up to a major breakdown of law and order nor did they represent the surfacing of "anti-national tendencies". The State Government, at the prodding of the Centre, had in the last two months moved away from its earlier attitude to tolerance and cracked down on the militant groups and held them in check.

If there was no valid ground on which the DMK Government could be dismissed, the Chandra Shekhar administration sought to invent reasons to pay back the AIADMK and the Congress (I) for their support. One had hoped that the initial utterances of the Central Ministers, including the Prime Minister, and the "warnings" on the LTTE activities in the State represented political posturing to keep the supporting parties in good humour. But here is a Government at the Centre lacking a mandate and political legitimacy and which has no serious hope of remaining in power for long or returning to office after another election. It has no use for democratic norms and no restraint or limits dictated by public opinion. If it could not oblige the Congress (I) in Uttar Pradesh, for instance, it had nothing to lose by picking on the DMK in Tamil Nadu and meeting the demand of the supporting parties. Its cynical disregard of all democratic norms calls for the strongest condemnation.

SACKING OF DMK GOVT : PRESS REACTIONS

INDIAN EXPRESS

FRIDAY, February 1, 1991

A fell deed

The fell deed has been done. After blowing hot and cold for quite some time, the Chandra Shekhar government at the Centre has struck, dismissing of Tamil Nadu government under Article 356 of the Constitution and dissolving the Assembly to impose President's rule. Accusations of infirmity of purpose from Ms Jayalalitha and the Congress (I) accompanied, perhaps, by hints of withdrawal of support might have goaded the government into acting. Whatever the motivation, the action is clearly partisan and totally unjustified by either the letter or the spirit of the Constitution.

The DMK's alleged connivance in the unlawful activities of the LTTE militants in Tamil Nadu leading to the LTTE carrying on its activities unchecked, carving out areas of influence in some parts of the state, and to arms and ammunition being passed through channels and contacts at political level has been cited in support of the presidential proclamation. These are indeed very serious allegations and amount to an accusation of anti-na-

tional and treacherous behaviour. But the fact that the Governor of the state, a man of experience and wisdom, who may be assumed to be as sensitive to such grave issues as anyone else, was, according to reports, left unconvinced when the evidence in this regard was laid before him by the assembled might of the Central intelligence agencies, is damning to the Government of India's case. He seems to have been of the view that there was no justification for the dismissal of the government. All honour to Mr. Barnala for refusing to be a party to such political smash and grab and flagrant misuse of the Constitution. Many other governors have been more than willing tools of the Government of India but he set his face against it.

Earlier, there was much ostentatious breast-beating about the general law and order situation in the state. The activities of LTTE cadres in the state have indeed been a cause for disquiet. It must also be conceded that Mr. Karunanidhi was ambivalent about the LTTE but no judgement in

regard to the LTTE in the state can ignore the long pre-Karunanidhi history of the problem. In any case, no evidence has been cited about his present unwillingness to take steps on the lines indicated by the Centre. Moreover, seen in the perspective of the progression of Mr. Chandra Shekhar's earlier reluctance to act - indeed he disavowed repeatedly any intention of dismissing the Karunanidhi government - to the precipitate decision of Wednesday, there is little doubt that the LTTE issue is a mere excuse for a cynical subversion of the Constitution to suit the interests of political allies on whose support the government depends for its continuance. The time has come for an assessment of the justification for Article 356 and, in the interim, of possible safeguards against its misuse. That those who subscribed to criticism of this provision and support of reform on the lines of the Sarkaria report in their election manifesto should misuse it so blatantly is the greater tragedy. Now that the worst has been done, it is imperative that the Centre should arrange for elections in the shortest possible time so that democratic AIADMK-Congress (I) alliance holds, in spite of the stresses that the perceived prospect of power might generate, it will be able to secure a majority. Whatever may happen, let the people of the state decide - and decide quickly.



Cartoon by Rajinder Puri : Indian Express

17-year old Tamil girl dies in U.S. air crash

Rajan Sriskandaraiah reports

A 17-year old Eelam Tamil girl, Krishani Sri Jeyarajah of Lancaster, California was one of the casualties in the recent plane crash at the Los Angeles Airport.

The crash that occurred on February 1st (Friday) at 6.04 a.m. (local time) happened on the ground. A small 30-seater commuter plane was on the ground waiting to take off, when a U.S. Air jumbo jet landed on the same runway and

crashed into the smaller plane. Krishani, who was on the commuter plane bound for Palmdale, California, died instantly with 10 other passengers and 2 crew members. Initial reports reveal that the accident occurred due to an error by the air traffic controller, who had given clearance to both planes at the same time.

Krishani was returning home from an interview for her college admission. Known to be a

brilliant student, she had not only secured the admission she sought but had also won a full academic scholarship at this interview. She is the daughter of Dr. Sri Jeyarajah and Sita, now residents of Lancaster, California.

The entire Tamil community in the USA is shocked and numbed by this terrible tragedy.

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PEOPLE & EVENTS



He wins Tamil Nadu Award Yalpanam K. Kanesapillai, Thavil Vidwan from Jaffna, was among the 36 recipients of the Kalaimamani award for 1990-91, given annually by the

Tamil Nadu Government-sponsored Tamil Nadu Iyal Isai Nadaga Manram.

The awards were presented at a function held at the Kalaivanar Arangam by the Governor, Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala on 26 January. Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi honoured the recipients with gold medals.

Thiru Kanesapillai holds the distinction of having accompanied in his Thavil practically all the leading Nathaswaram Vidwans in India, including T.N. Rajaratnam Pillai, Karaikuruchi Arunasalam Pillai, Dr. Sheik Chinna Moulana, Namagripettai Krishnan and Mathurai Sethuraman. In recent times he has performed at the Tamil Isai Sankam, Music Academy, Krishna Gana Sabha and at many other venues in India.

MARRIAGE

Sancho (son of late Elanar and Mangalam Jayaratnam) and Salome, (daughter of Selvaraj and Rohini James) on

January 20 at the Murugan Temple, Archway Road, London N6.

DEATH

Karunadevi Duraisingam, wife of R.S. Duraisingam, and sometime teacher at Udupiddy Girls' School, daughter of the late Robert and Annammah Navaratnam. (A.M. Boys' School, Udupiddy), sister of Sathiamoorthy (Karainagar Hindu), Sathiadevi Sabanathan and Santhadevi Nalliah (Saudi Arabia). Thiagamorthy (Canada). Funeral Jaffna January 9. 5, Boswell Place, Colombo 6

George Thuraiatnam (retd. Public Health Inspector), husband of Annaluxmi, father of Latti (USA), Rajan, Chandran, Nalini, late Ravi and Chitrani (UK). 31, Kandy Road, Chavakachcheri.

C. Vadivelu Nesaratnam (Postal Dept.), husband of Selvaratnam, father of Jayakumar (UK), Bavani Vijayathilakar (Canada). 39, Ratnakara Place, Dehiwala.

Cecilia Tisseveeresinghe, nee Santiago, relict of the late J.N. Tisseveeresinghe, mother of late J.L. Tisseveeresinghe (Mahes). 9, Buntings Road, Batticaloa.

S.M. Kanagaratnam, (Retd. Chief Accountant, C.W.E.), husband of late Florence, nee Alagoda, father of Dr. Mahen and Bala, brother of Lily Jesudasan (UK) and late Selvaratnam Arasaratnam and Sabaratnam. 5/3, Uyana Lane No. 11, Moratuwa.

Major Gordon Burrows died in England on December 21. He first went to Ceylon during World War II as a member of the Intelligence Staff of Lord Mountbatten (SEAC). After the war, he joined the staff of Trinity College, Kandy and became Co-Vice Principal.

Wiji Selvadurai, Resident Manager, Pikkiton, husband of Kamini, nee Chellappah, son of Wigna and late Grace Selvadurai. 23/3A, Lauries Road, Colombo 4.

Sivasithamparam Somanathan, (Attorney-at-law, J.P., U.M.), husband of Mangaleswari, father of Nagapooshani Charavana muttu, Manohari Sellamuthu and Niranjana Navaratnam. Funeral, Kanatte, Colombo January 13. 10, Barnes Place Colombo 7.

THE PRICE OF SPURNING ANNA

C.N. Annadurai, the supreme charismatic Tamil leader of his time died on 3rd February 1963. On the occasion of his 28th death anniversary, we reproduce the article by V.K. Madhavan Kutty written for the SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA. The article was published in the issue of January 27, three days before Tamil Nadu was brought under President's rule.



"We want to appropriate powers for the government to impose restrictions against those individuals or organisations who want to make disintegration or secession from India political issues for purposes of fighting elections," Asoke Sen, then law minister (and now steel minister in Chandra Shekhar's cabinet), had said in 1963 while introducing the 16th Constitution Amendment Bill. The bill, widely described as 'anti-secession' or 'anti-DMK', was passed to smother a sane voice from the south for more autonomy. Today, looking at the country, one wonders whether those objectives were achieved and whether it is not the south which stands solidly for an integrated nation.

DMK leader C.N. Annadurai had then warned the Centre: "All right. Pass this legislation, but it will remain in your archives, or in your armoury. The people know how to deal with the situation." Sovereignty is not the monopoly of any one place. We have a federal, not unitary, structure. India is so vast and its traditions so different, that there cannot be a steelframe polity. But of late, the working of the federal structure has created a sense of frustration in various states, who feel they are fast becoming dole-begging corporations. Annadurai had said, "There is the very natural instinct in them that they should be given more powers. When coupled with that there is the regional disparity and added to that is the linguistic tangle, do you not think that it is very natural for men like us to feel disillusioned and that it is not very unnatural that we should think of separation? Well, come to us half-way and say: We go so far and no further. And when you say that, when you meet us

half-way, give us proper answers to the puzzles that are created not by us, but by the working of the Constitution to the detriment of the states."

Today there is again talk of amending the Constitution for petty purposes masquerading as national interests. If only genuine sentiments about the need for more autonomy had been respected, there would have been no need for the amendment of 1963. Or for preparing another amendment. No political philosophy has been formulated to fight hidden discontent, and measures adopted by the centre, have only driven it underground.

When Annadurai said he was prepared to come more than half way, the centre used strong-arm tactics. It failed to understand that this was no voice of secession; behind it was a genuine desire to see India remain a strong nation. That vision was not comprehended but betrayed.

Such tendencies could not have developed in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam had power not been concentrated in the hands of a few heartland politicians who seem to be perpetuating their hegemony. The cry of the non-Hindi states that we too are Indian, not you alone, has been ignored.

Pointed out Annadurai, "There is frustration, a very intense and a very growing one, among a section of people who definitely feel that the present political set-up is not going to deliver the goods. And that is why after having had the experience of so many years, we feel that unless some new kind of political set-up is created, this federation is not going to stand the strain and stress of the times... Correct us if we are erroneous. Convince

us if you have solid facts. Convert us to your point of view. Instead of that you are compelling. Compulsion especially through law is the worst form of argument." Today there would have been no need to offer to go more than halfway and take a fresh look at the Constitution.

Annadurai's comments about Nehru are also relevant. He said the country's standing united in the face of the Chinese aggression was due to the "magnetic personality and the democratic liberalism of Pandit Nehru" and not because of the Defence of India Act then in force as law minister Sen had claimed. He continued, "The present unity of purpose, the national upsurge is entirely due to the nobility of thought of Pandi Jawaharlal Nehru. The Defence of India Act is not and cannot be the conscience keeper of the nation but only the jailkeeper."

No Constitution has been amended as much as ours and no Constitution has been so used or misused to impose the dictates of the Centre on the 'federating' units. Currently there is talk of dismissal of a democratically elected government in Tamil Nadu. If you cannot dismiss Mulayam, dismiss Karunanidhi! If President's rule is imposed, then the President will be representing more constituencies and people than the Prime Minister and his party of 54! In this country, solutions to problems, upholding principles and settling issues are sought by amending the Constitution. During the 70s, the directive principles were amended to include "socialism and secularism". Can we say that today we are more secular and socialist as a result?....

DEATH OF V.N. NAVARATNAM

The death occurred in Canada of Mr. V.N. Navaratnam, former M.P. for Chavakachcheri. He was 62.

A senior member of the Federal Party and the Tamil United Liberation Front, Mr. Navaratnam represented the Chavakachcheri constituency in the Sri Lankan Parliament without a break from 1956 to 1983. With the passing of the Sixth Amendment, Mr. Navaratnam opted out of active politics after 1983. A successful lawyer and later Solicitor, Mr. Navaratnam had spent his last few years in the UK and in Canada.

He leaves his wife Raghupathy, sons Sri Namachivaya and Vallipuranaanda, daughter Maitreyi and son Sri Shanmugananda.

Apt. 304-320 Woodridge Crescent, Nepean, Ontario, Canada K2B 8G2.



Sekarajasingam Arumugasamy, (Retd. Regional Manager, Water Supply, Jaffna), husband of Sivakamasunthari. Died in South Africa under tragic circumstances. Cremation in Pretoria. 10 Anne Manner, Princess Ave, Windsor PK 2191, South Africa 4, Radha Lane, Vannarponnai.

Sam. V. Sinnatamby, Attorney-at-law, brother of late E.J., Dr. G.S., A.T. Sinnatamby, Mrs. C. Sivapragasam and Mrs. Lilly Jehoratham and Dr. Grace Barr-Kumarakulasinghe. 1, Cosmos Ave, Barnes Place, Colombo 7.

Vethavally Supramaniam, wife of A. Supramaniam, Retd. Chief Accountant, Post & Telecom. Dept., daughter of the late Mr and Mrs. M. Chelliah of Kokuil. Died December 24. 13, Stafford Road, Barassie 5 Estate, Troon, Ayrshire KA 107, Scotland.

Thaiyalnayalai Kanapathipillai, (Kaddudai), wife of late Vallipuranaatha Kanapathipillai of Thunnalai (Retd. Principal), mother of Saraswathi Devi Vinayagamurthi (Canada), Sripathidasan, Perinbavalli and Sivasubramaniam.



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TAMIL NATION

LTTE Charges Sri Lankan
govt. with pursuing
genocidal attacks

'ANNIHILATE A GOOD NUMBER OF TAMILS & SUBJUGATE THE REST'

Accusing the Sri Lankan government of refusing to respond to its unilateral declaration of cease-fire, the LTTE has charged it with following a policy of annihilating a sufficient number of people of Tamil Eelam so that it may subjugate those who may survive.

A statement of the LTTE released by the LTTE International Secretariat, United Kingdom, says:

"The Central Committee of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has taken note of the concerted attack that was launched by the Sri Lankan Government, on our people in

Vadamaratchi and elsewhere in the North of Tamil Eelam, on the 20th of January.

"The unilateral decision of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to observe a ceasefire with effect from the 1st of January 1991 placed the entire responsibility on the Sri Lankan government as to whether to maintain peace or continue to wage war against our people. We state in our ceasefire declaration that the LTTE had provided the Sri Lankan Government with an 'ideal opportunity' to demonstrate its intentions. The conduct of the Sri Lankan government in refusing

to respond in a positive and constructive manner to the unilateral declaration of ceasefire made by the LTTE and what is more, in seeking to utilise declaration of ceasefire made by the LTTE and what is more, in seeking to utilise the ceasefire, to launch intensive offensive operations against our people, has given ample proof of the intentions of the Government of Sri Lanka.

The Sri Lankan government is bent on pursuing its genocidal attack against the people of Tamil Eelam so that it may subjugate those who may survive.

Under the guise of war, the Sri Lankan Government seeks to prevent urgent medical and food supplies reaching our people who are undergoing grave hardship and suffering, particularly in the Eastern Province. It seeks to thwart the efforts of non governmental organisations to bring urgent relief and aid to our people. The continued aerial bombardment of the civilian population and the intensive and indiscriminate attacks launched by the Sri Lankan Army and para military forces, against our people, constitute flagrant violations of the humanitarian law

of armed conflict.

"The genocidal actions of the Sri Lankan Government have compelled the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to withdraw immediate effect their unilateral declaration of ceasefire. The Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Eelam, which is the national army of Tamil Eelam will defend the people of Tamil Eelam against the murderous onslaught that has been launched against them."

Headquarters,
The Liberation Tigers of
Tamil Eelam.

SRI LANKAN MOVE TO NET INDIAN BLACK MONEY

Eight commercial banks in Sri Lanka have introduced numbered bank accounts with the main aim of attracting Indian black money.

Many countries in the west operate these accounts, but I think that we are the first in the east to introduce it", the governor of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Dr. Neville Karunatilake, told journalists.

The targets: He said he hoped the facility would attract

customers from "neighbouring countries". The bank governor acknowledged that such secret offshore account facilities were used to evade taxation. He said the Central Bank has granted approval for eight local and foreign commercial banks to operate numbered accounts. The banks are Bank of Ceylon, People's Bank, Commercial Bank, Sampath Bank, Hatton National Bank, Seylan Bank, Grindlays Bank and Habib

Bank.

Offshore facility: The governor explained that this facility would be an off-shore one, available only to foreigners and non-residents in terms of the inland revenue Act. The minimum deposit must be US dollars 5,000 in eight foreign currencies consisting of US, Australian and Singaporean dollars, Japanese yen, Deutsche marks, Swiss and French francs and Sterling pounds.

Acknowledging that the assurance of absolute secrecy was the key to success of this scheme, Dr. Karunatilake admitted that the authorities would not be able to detect money deposited here which had been obtained illegally. "Even if it is from the LTTE (the guerilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), we would not know", he said.

Freedom to banks: "With the enactment of the banking Act No. 39 last year, the monetary board of the Central Bank was authorised to permit licensed commercial bank to operate numbered banking accounts. The banks have absolute discretion in the opening of these accounts. We have given them the freedom of designing and devising their own operational details," he said.

Dr. Karunatilake said this is a further step in the liberalisation of banking which is in line with the government's policy of liberalising the economy. "This is yet another new approach to sophisticated banking and a step closer to making Colombo an international financial centre," he stated.

"We are moving away from restrictions and this will help build confidence in the economy of the country. It will also encourage people to bring money into the country", Dr. Karunatilake said.

According to the new banking Act, divulging the identity of the owner of the numbered account or any related information whatsoever is absolutely prohibited except under the following circumstances:-

(a) Where the account holder gives his permission to do so or.

(b) Legal proceedings are instituted by or against the account holder or

(c) is required to do so (i) by a provision of an existing law giving effect to an international convention on narcotics or hijacking or.

(ii) By an order of the supreme court made on application, on the ground that monies in such accounts have been, or are being used in furtherance of an act which constitutes an offence under the prevention of terrorism Act.

'Clean linen': When asked about possibility of using these

secret accounts to launder black money, Dr. Karunatilake replied, "We will not accept money if it is known that it is obtained as a result of illegal operations. But the laundries are not in this country and the laundering is done overseas."

An opposition parliamentarian, who did not want to be identified, said this move was against all moral principles, "Sri Lanka is playing host to international smugglers, blackmarketeers and other elements in the underworld who are stated."

Wanton Civilian bombing....

(continued from page 1)

went on from 6 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. It went on like this till about noon on January 23.

By the time the attack ended, 101 houses had been completely destroyed, and 451 had been partially damaged, six temples, one church, and four schools had been bombed. Ten people and been killed, and 20 injured.

The town is still largely deserted, as more than half the population have fled. There are a few disconsolate groups of people, sifting through the rubble of their homes, looking for something to salvage. "This is the third time this has happened to me," said Dr. Sundaram, standing in his roofless house. A bomb exploded just behind his house, shattering the windows. The floors are thick with broken tiles and crockery.

The attack on Vadamaratchi is only one of a growing number of air attacks on unmistakably civilian targets and appear to form part of a pattern.

At the tiny village of Puthukidiyiruppu in Mullaitivu district, two air force Sea King helicopters dropped four bombs, killing 23 people and injuring 13. Among the survivors who were brought by the Red Cross to the Jaffna general hospital, are a 10-year-old boy, Pradeepan, who has lost two fingers on his left hand, and a six-year-old girl, who was hit by splinters on her left leg. According to eyewitnesses, the bombers came in at around 5.30 p.m. on January 31, and dived straight at the market place and let loose four bombs

at the crowd of between 100 to 150. A school with refugees and a small medical post flying the Red Cross flag was just 100 metres away, and the people on the spot are convinced that the refugee camp was the real target of the bombers.

Another school which was being used as a refugee camp of Kokkuvil in Jaffna was bombed in the evening of February 2. There were 43 refugee families in the school, and a 14-year-old girl lost her leg while two others suffered minor injuries.

Curious object: The previous week, the Hindu high school at Kondavil had been attacked, the boat jetty at Pooneryn was strafed, and a temple at Murukandy, south of Killinochi was bombed. A man, his three-and-a-half-year old daughter and a 10-year-old boy were killed at Murukandy. A barrel bomb dropped in a field at Murukandy failed to explode, and has now been kept in the market place, where the curious gaped at it.

"The seem to be concentrating entirely on civilian targets," said a long time Jaffna resident. Civilians have always been killed, but over the past few weeks, the air force seems to be concentrating on market places, schools and refugee camps."

There is little evidence that any LTTE member has been killed or wounded in any of these attacks, and the only result they seem to be having is to confirm the people in their belief that they can never expect any justice from the Government in Colombo.

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