

TAMIL NATION

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An unfortunate chapter best forgotten, says Kasi Anandan



The confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE was "an unfortunate chapter in our history and it should be totally forgotten by both sides. As far as we are concerned, even when we fought India, we never sought help from Pakistan or China which are inimical to India", said Poet Kasi Anandan, member of the Central Committee of the People's Front of Liberation Tigers, interviewed by The Hindu in Madras.

"We (the LTTE) want to be on the side of India, and we also want India to be on our side", he said. "We have never worked against India at any time."

There are two ways of looking at what is happening in northeast Sri Lanka today. On the one hand there is the alarming human suffering (See Page 12). On the other - the gradual liberation of the Tamil homeland from Government control.

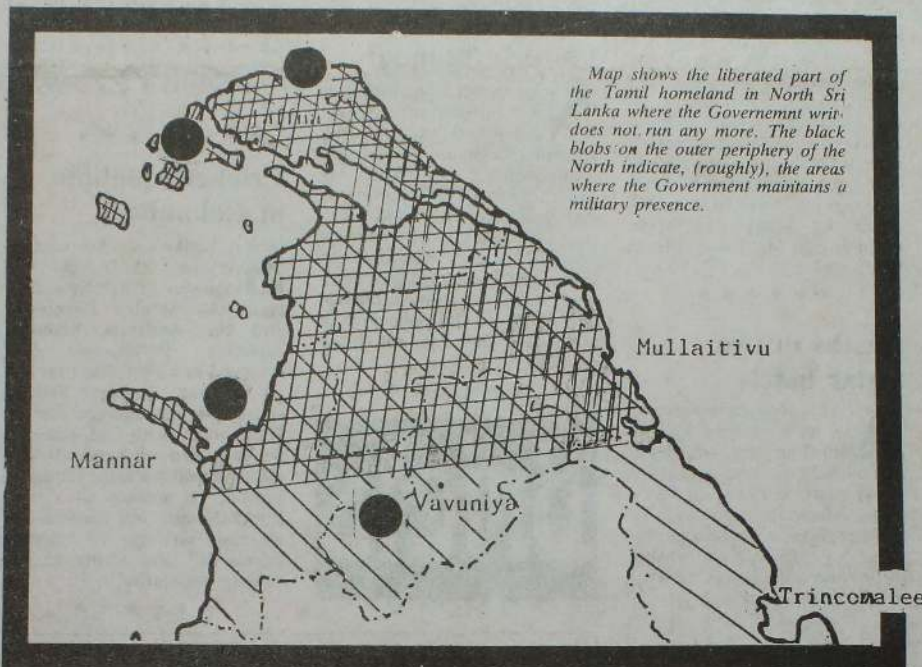
The government of Sri Lanka is not concerned about the first. But it is becoming obvious that it is getting desperately anxious about the second. This explains why talks of "mediation" are very much in the air now. This "too little, too late" syndrome - of trying a little aspirin when the cancerous growth has gone too far - has been a persistent feature of Sri Lankan politics in respect of the ethnic question.

The pattern of war in the northeast during the past one month reveals that the armed struggle being waged by the Liberation Tigers is poised to enter the final phase in the north; while in the east, it is just one, maybe two, steps behind.

It is easily forgotten by many people, even some Tamils themselves that six years ago, in 1985, there were in the north, 26 army camps, four naval bases, 23 police commando posts and two Air Force bases. Today, there is not a single police commando post; what we have are six army camps, one naval base and two Air Force bases, all on the fringes of Tamil territory. In fact the biggest Air Force base and helipads are tucked away safely in Sinhala territory in Anuradhapura.

At least three of the six army camps are constantly under threat and are vulnerable to LTTE attacks. The three others that have some defensive capacity, but yet incapable of making any deep thrust into Tamil territory are at three ends - Palaly in the north, Thaladi in the west, and Vavuniya in the south; the first two being sustainable only because of the fire support from the Air Force as well as the Navy - but at heavy cost to the Government because reinforcements, supplies and evacuation of casualties have to be done mostly by air. But for how long can a government that is economically in the doldrums, politically lacking a will, and militarily on the defensive, hold on? After all, the job of any self-respecting government is not to hang on to a few military camps for an indeterminate period and sustaining them under escalating costs. If its writ does not run on territory that it claims is its own, that cannot be called "governing".

As far as the East is concerned, with its ethnic mix, the government is in a position to present a picture of a visible authority; because it functions only in the towns, mainly through repression, and during daylight. The Tigers rule the jungles, and they take over the nights. How else could one explain their mobility and manoeuvrability along the narrow eastern flank between Mullaitivu in the northeast to the



Map shows the liberated part of the Tamil homeland in North Sri Lanka where the Government writ does not run any more. The black blobs on the outer periphery of the North indicate, (roughly), the areas where the Government maintains a military presence.

being won in Vietnam when in fact it was being lost. If Time is on the side of the Tigers, as well as the unarmed Tamils, with their apparent inexhaustible ability to take in punishment over a near-decade, that certainly cannot be said for Sri Lanka. Three matters seem to worry Colombo right now - What will a new Indian Government installed in power in Delhi in June do? What will the Aid Consortium countries say? How longer can the armed forces be allowed to keep the initiative? There is in fact the urgent need to find a political way out; what is holding Colombo back is in finding a strategy without losing face. That may possibly explain the mediation offer through a Tamil Cabinet Minister like Mr. Thondaman.

The credentials

While one should appreciate Mr. Thondaman's concern for civilian suffering, even if it had come so belatedly, one cannot understand how a Cabinet Minister in two successive governments - Jayewardene's and Premadasa's - both of which are the main parties to the present conflict, to both of which he had given ethnic cover for the past fifteen years, could fancy himself as a mediator? After all, the basic qualification required of such a person is how both parties see him as a neutral person.

We also do not think that ruling out an Indian role in any mediation efforts towards solving the ethnic issue, is either sensible, or wise, or even possible; unless Mr. Thondaman said it as a way of establishing his credentials with President Premadasa. The only way out for President Premadasa is to come out in the open, take a calculated risk, and spell out his agenda for a realistic approach in any mediatory efforts, either through Indian or in association with other countries. We do not believe that back-door methods are the proper way to solve a frontal conflict between two peoples that had festered for forty-odd years. As that old nursery song goes :-

"Peeping through the window darling
What will the people say?
If you want to marry me darling
Come in the proper way"

S. Sivanayagam

MEDIATION BIDS, AS TERRITORY BECOMES DEFINED



deep end in the Amparai district; and even occasional incursions into border Sinhala-populated areas like Polonnaruwa and further south into Moneragala?

Ensuring the border

The pattern in the East is therefore clear. While in the north, the LTTE has begun to function like a regular army, over-running military camps in face-to-face combat, or mounting ferocious attacks as they did

recently on the Silavaturai camp in Mannar, leaving even high-ranking army officers in surprised astonishment, Tiger operations in the East are mostly confined to ambushes and guerilla attacks in order to ensure that the Tamil Eelam borders are defined. Repeated new attempts by the government to colonise Tamil areas with Sinhala villagers under the protection of armed "Home Guards" are being thwarted. Successful ambushes, even in

the well-fortified Trincomalee district, are keeping nearly one-third of the armed forces and the STF tied up in that province. Although the Government forces have been strengthened six times over since the early 1980s, from 12,000 soldiers to over 70,000 today (thereby partly solving the unemployment problem), yet they lack the numbers and the sense of commitment either to hold territory in the East or recover it in the North.

In short, the Government is fighting a losing border war. Its capacity to cause destruction, or to issue boastful statements, should not be confused with its ability to win the war. There was a time when American Generals in Saigon were telling the White House the war was

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TAMIL NATION

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

Sri Aurobindo

Recognising that to change anything it is necessary to understand that which we seek to change, the TAMIL NATION is concerned, not only with providing information but also, with furthering an understanding of the issues that confront the Tamil national movement. Recognising that, in the end, we truly understand anything only to the extent that we have been able to change it the TAMIL NATION is concerned with 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.

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Maldives seize Lankan trawlers

170 Lankan fishermen were arrested and 17 trawlers seized by the Maldivian authorities when found fishing in the Maldivian territorial waters. Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Harold Herat is reported to be negotiating for the release of the fishermen and trawlers, but the powerful fishing lobby in the Maldives is pressuring the Government in turn to take stern action against the Lankan fishermen. If they are dealt with according to the Maldivian law, the trawlers would be confiscated and the 170 fishermen may have to serve a jail term. The Lankan defence that the trawlers may have strayed into the rich fishing grounds by being carried away there by a storm is being disbelieved by the Maldivian authorities, considering the fact that all seventeen are high-powered trawlers. The coup attempt by PLOTE mercenaries is yet fresh in the minds of people in Male, according to Maldivian sources in Colombo.

Deaths in two 5-star hotels

A Thai woman is reported to have jumped off the 8th floor of a 5-star hotel in Colombo on April 1, while a newly married Pakistani threw himself from the 4th floor of another 5-star hotel on the previous day. His wife was unable to provide any clue as to what led to his death plunge.

Army men need soaps & towels

The Operational Headquarters of the Defence Ministry in Colombo has appealed to members of the public to donate essential items such as soap, towels, sarongs, tooth brushes, tooth paste and chocolates needed by the "security forces" deployed in the north and east.

Reserve S.I. & 2 women held

Eight persons, including a Reserve Sub-inspector of police and two women were taken for questioning by the Wellawatte police in the early hours of April 1 in connection with an armed robbery. The reserve policeman attached to the Colombo division and the two women were taken into custody at a guesthouse at De Saram Place, Mount Lavinia. The Police had already recovered gold jewellery worth Rs. 1.2 million robbed from a resident of Kollupitiya.

Nine policemen killed in Mannar

Nine policemen, including a sub-inspector were gunned down by LTTE militants between Pesalai and Talaimannar on April 8, according to a Colombo report. The policemen who had taken two colleagues to the Mannar hospital were returning to Talaimannar when Tiger militants, laying an ambush opened fire killing all the policemen in the jeep. Later, they set fire to the jeep.

Briefs

Order to arrest Gamini Dissanayake? Not aware, says Minister

Cabinet spokesman Ranil Wickremasinghe, Minister of Industries, Science and Technology told Pressman at the Cabinet briefing on 4th April that he was not aware of any order to arrest his fellow Member of Parliament Gamini Dissanayake as reported in the Sinhala language paper - the Ravaya of March 31. Questioned by a journalist whether the Ravaya report was correct, the Minister replied: "I'm not aware of it. Ask the newspaper."

PLOT man had a AK-47 rifle

A UNI report from Ramnathapuram in Tamil Nadu says that an AK-47 rifle was seized from a Sri Lankan militant belonging to the PLOT group. The seizure was made by the "Q" Branch of the Tamil Nadu police.

Major fire in Ratmalana

A major fire broke out at the Bata Shoe Company at Airport Road, Ratmalana on the night of April 6. Several fire engines from the Colombo Fire Brigade and the Airport Fire Brigade were called upon to fight the flames. The whole area was cordoned off.

Cricket squabble in Colombo

Sri Lanka's cricket captain Arjuna Ranatunga, the manager of the New Zealand tour Stanley Jayasinghe and the Assistant Manager Jayantha Paranathala are involved in a squabble over the recent tour. Manager Stanley Jayasinghe has charged captain Ranatunga with adopting a haughty and off-hand attitude after he sent back the captain's brother on account of a fractured thumb, and accused the assistant manager of "double standards" and trying to get "cheap popularity".

16 ENDLF men taken by police

Sixteen members of the "Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front" (ENDLF) were seized by armed policemen in the early hours of April 3 from the group's political office at Castle Road, Bambalapitiya in Colombo. No further information was available as to why they were taken, or where they were being held.

Brigadier wounded

The co-ordinating officer for the Jaffna peninsula Brigadier Wijaya Wimalaratne was slightly wounded by a shrapnel on 4th April, when Liberation Tigers mounted a mortar attack on the Elara Naval base at Karainagar. Big. Wimalaratne was apparently taken by surprise because he was directing operations from a safe area north of the Elara base when the shrapnel hit him. Military sources in Colombo admitted that the Brigadier was among at least thirty five army men, including junior officers, who were wounded in the Karainagar fighting which began on April 1.

Soviet yacht to Colombo missing

A Soviet yacht "Kanchatka" on a peace mission, which was scheduled to reach Colombo from Aden on March 20 was reported missing for over ten days. Ships sailing from Colombo have been alerted to look out for the missing yacht, which had a 4-member crew, all women. The yacht was carrying 44 paintings by Soviet artist Fedor Konukhov which were to be exhibited at several ports in a mission of peace.

EPDP man killed in Kayts

One member of the Eelam People's Democratic Party was killed in a mortar attack on the EPDP camp at Kayts by the Tigers, according to a Joint Operations Command (JOC) spokesman in Colombo.

Palaly burial for Army Major

An obituary advertisement in the Sunday Observer of April 7 says that Major P. Ranjith Fernando of the Sri Lanka Army "died under tragic circumstances", and his remains were buried at the Palaly Army camp, on 30th March. There was however no news report of the incident.

Two more EPDP men killed

Two more members of the "Eelam People's Democratic Party" (EPDP) were killed in a confrontation with the LTTE at Kayts. The political secretary of the EPDP in Colombo, N. Ramesh, identified the dead men as S. Kirubanathan (Kapil) and S. Pathmakumar of Mannar.

MRS. B. is 75

Leader of the Opposition in the Sri Lanka Parliament and leader of the SLFP Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike was 75 on April 16

Tigers hand over 23 bodies

The Liberation Tigers handed over the bodies of 23 soldiers killed in action at Veppankulam to representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who in turn handed them over to the Sri Lankan Navy. Among the dead were two junior officers. The LTTE has on several previous occasions handed over the dead bodies of Sri Lankan personnel through the ICRC.

Seven Tamils hacked to death

Seven Tamil males were hacked to death at Iruthayapuram, north of Batticaloa in the early hours of April 1. The area was tense following the killings. Army authorities in the East denied any involvement in the crime. Swords and cutting implements were used in the slaughter, they said.

Army officer killed in East

Two soldiers, including an officer (unidentified) were killed in a gun battle with Tiger militants at Valaichchenai in eastern Batticaloa on April 7. The army men were on a routine patrol.

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THONDAMAN OFFERS TO MEDIATE, AND RULES OUT INDIAN INTERVENTION

The intensified fighting in the north and east between the Government forces and the LTTE within the past three weeks, has also led to a flurry of mediation offers and attempts, as well as expressions of concern in Colombo. Minister of Tourism and Rural Industrial Development S. Thondaman has offered his services in mediating between the Government and the LTTE.

"I don't want to say 'I too played the role of mediator. I must know the mind of the LTTE first, before I take on the role. I must know whether they are amenable to a compromise formula to end the conflict', he told Rita Sebastian in an interview for the *Indian Express* in Colombo. "I must have an indication from the LTTE leadership that they would like me to mediate between them and the government."

Mr. Thondaman added: "Somebody has to intervene to put an end to the suffering of the civilian population". He would be only too glad to do so if the LTTE "directly or indirectly" made it known that they are for his mediation.

He however ruled out Indian intervention. They had failed once, and the Sri Lankan government would not want them in again, he said.

Malaysian role

Meanwhile, President Premadasa's Adviser on Interna-

tional Affairs, Bradman Weerakoon said that talks between the Government and the LTTE with the Malaysian Government playing a mediatory role was "most unlikely". He was commenting on a report in *The Hindu* about Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur C. Rajadurai's efforts in this connection. "We know nothing about it", he said. It is not known whether Mr. Rajadurai acted on his own without reference to his government, or whether the government prudently pleaded ignorance after *The Hindu* had reported that LTTE leader in London Sathasivam Krishnakumar (Kiddu) had virtually shot down the proposal.

Our Colombo correspondent adds: Diplomatic circles in Colombo think that neither Mr. Rajadurai in Kuala Lumpur nor Mr. Thondaman in Colombo would have made any mediatory moves without reference to President Premadasa himself. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) which has shown a more positive approach in recent times, as well as other militant groups opposed to the LTTE, have been themselves expressing concern over the way the war in the north and east had been escalating, with the military advantage lying mainly with the LTTE.

A Foreign Affairs

"Think-tank" to advise the President

President Premadasa has set up a 7-member Foreign Affairs Study Group to monitor changes in the international order which affect Sri Lanka's national interest and foreign policy. This was announced by the President's International Affairs adviser Bradman Weerakoon in Colombo.

The Group will study changes within the South Asian region, specific issues like Human Rights concerns, the role of the national and foreign media, and the question of foreign Aid, which have a direct bearing on Sri Lanka's diplomacy. The members will be called upon to submit special reports on specific issues at the request of the President or the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Chairing the Group will be Dr. Gamani Corea, once Secretary General of UNCTAD. Veteran Journalist Mervyn de Silva, who has been long advocating the setting up of such a body is also a member. Others in the Group are: Lakshman Kadigamar (Lawyer), Stanley Jayawardana (Company Director), S.K. Wickremasinghe (Company Director), Dr. Lionel Dassanayake and G.C.B. Wijesinghe. The convener of the Group will be the Director-General, Political Affairs, of the Foreign Affairs, of Foreign Affairs Ministry, Nihal Rodrigo.

THE FIJI TIMES CLASSIFIED

VELUPILLAI PRABHAKARAN



BY GODS GRACE — UNTOUCHABLE

34 THE FIJI TIMES — MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1991

Can't we get away from this man even in distant Fiji?

This must have been the thought in the mind of the Honorary Consul for Sri Lanka in Fiji, Jaimi Samaraweera on the morning of February 4 this year. Poor man, he had bought a 4-page advertising supplement in the *Fiji Times* of that day to mark the 43rd anniversary of Sri Lanka's independence.

The supplement which covered Pages 19, 20 and 21 and 22 (the *Fiji Times* is almost the same size as *Tamil Nation*) had messages from President Premadasa (with photograph) titled: "Resolution to ethnic conflict top priority" and from Prime Minister D.B. Wijetunga, with an explanatory sketch of the "National Flag" titled *Flag Unites*.

The supplement, among other things, also carried a photograph of three females modelling "the traditional costumes of the women in Sri Lanka" — Muslim, Sinhala (cloth and jacket) and Sinhala (Low country saree). Apparently Tamil women do not belong to Sri Lanka!

But the shock for the Honorary Consul came on Page 34, where under the section — *Fiji Times Classified*, there was a large picture of LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran with the words: *By Gods Grace Un-Touchable* (See reproduction).

As for the explanation of the Sri Lankan "National Flag" (see reproduction of the sketch) it was perhaps part of the unintended irony that the lion depicting "the Lion Race" holding a sword on its right paw was directly and ferociously facing the orange and green panels indicating the "Tamil Community" and the Muslim Community!

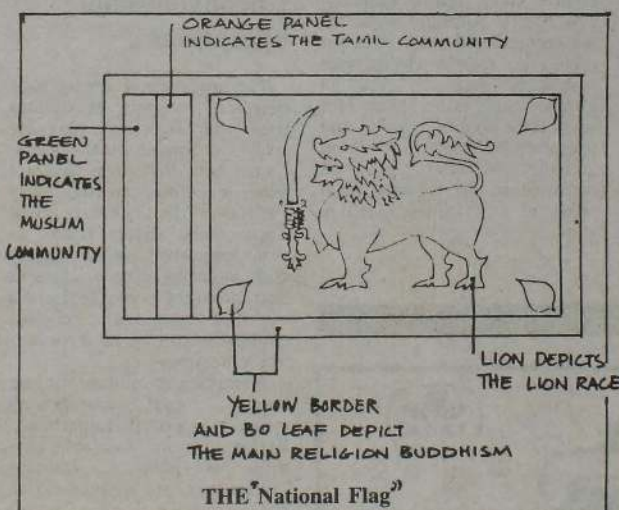
(We are indebted for the above information to a *Tamil Nation* reader working for a United Nations Organisation who happened to be in Fiji around that time).

A "Shadow Cabinet" for Northeast

A "Shadow Cabinet" is now functioning in the Northeast of Sri Lanka, under the auspices of the LTTE. It consists of both members of the LTTE as well as members of the public.

Protecting the public from the military pressures of the Sri Lanka government, helping the Tamils to cope with the government's economic embargo, creating self-sufficiency in food production, engaging in research and analytical work on the Tamil homeland, are some of the functions that are being carried on. Keeping a watch on State colonisation of Tamil areas is another area of functioning.

The composition of the members of the "Shadow Cabinet" however has not been revealed.



INDO-SRI LANKA JOINT COMMISSION :

'VERBIAGE', SAYS INDIAN PAPER

After their three-day talks, the Indian and Sri Lankan delegations led by the respective foreign secretaries have produced a statement which will easily take the cake for its verbiage. And this means that the draft agreement on the establishment of a joint commission to deal with economic and cultural ties said to have been finalised by the delegations must be, literally, a far more weighty document. Indian and Sri Lankan officials have once again demonstrated their expertise—often noted in the UN and other multinational forums—in burying a needle of substance in the haystack of impressive rhetoric. Notice

their present agreement the "the need for stimulating balanced growth through identification of new products for export, trade promotion measures, exchange of delegations from trade and industry and the liberalisation of trade barriers" and their discovery of "promising possibilities of co-operation by Indian consultancy organisations etc. etc." This and much else about the potential of close Indo-Sri Lankan relations has been known for decades. To reiterate all this is only to express pious intentions. Even on a concrete issue like the long-standing proposal of the ONGC for oil exploration in the Gulf of Mannar, all that the

joint statement has disclosed is that the two sides will enter into negotiations after the evaluation of the proposal by the Ceylon Petroleum. And as for the equally important issue of rehabilitation of the Trincomalee oil tank farms, the statement has nothing more to convey than that the Sri Lankan side took note of the Indian interest in it.

The talks between the two delegations have only underscored the difficulty of getting round the political problems created by the Sri Lankan ethnic strife for a breakthrough in economic co-operation though New Delhi and Colombo undoubtedly share

the-objective. One only hopes that the cycle of violence in Sri Lanka will not create new complications to delay the establishment of the proposed joint commission beyond the present deadline of the end of this year. Until then only cause for optimism will be an exchange of visits soon by a delegation of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and a Sri Lankan investment promotion team. This is far more likely to give a concrete shape without much loss of time to the reforging of mutually beneficial Sri Lankan-Indian economic links than official declarations of intent.

INDIAN EXPRESS
Friday April 12, 1991

Staff writer Rohan Gunasekera of The Sunday Island, Colombo on

SEA TIGER SQUADS AND THE UNDERGROUND ARMS BAZAAR

The CID's brainstunning revelations about the LTTE's Malaysian connection offer a rare glimpse into the secret world of the underground arms bazaar, where gunrunners cut a deal in the same way as anyone else, buyers and sellers are drawn together by mutual interests and established guerilla groups provide a friendly tip to newcomers into the liberations scene while intelligence agencies give the nod to their pet dealers in the weapons trade. The market is vast; from F 14 spare parts stolen by poorly paid ship's storekeepers diddling outdated computerized inventories in naval bases to terrified teenage TNA remnants passing off handguns for the price of a bus ticket to Colombo.

Tigers going for high-tech?

The Tigers are trying to get sophisticated, raising the technological intensity of the Eelam war: thermal imaging sights for SAM missiles, radio jamming equipment or electronic counter measures armoured speed boats with weapon mounts, scuba diving gear and water scooters and radar. Radar? ...Ha...Ha... When will the Tigers go for Stealth?

In the see-saw battle to get the better of each other every time one side introduces something to beat the other, a countermeasure is developed to neutralise the innovation. The Tigers started the war with low powered outboard motors on their dinghies. They employed multiple OBMs to outrace the Navy's existing patrol craft in the early 1980, pushing their speed up to about 30 knots. Then the Navy introduced the Dvoras - 35 knots and 40 knots - and now the Tigers are going for dedicated speed boats. Five OBMs can easily produce 30

knots. The Navy recently has intercepted and sunk six high powered speed boats. Two were captured. These boats had their transom and length modified to accept five OBMs and push up their speed. They also had steering wheels and mountings for 50 calibre machine guns.

40 knots in the Eelam Sea war

So far the outer limit of speed in the Eelam sea war seems to be 40 knots. The Tigers haven't been able to match that, although once in Trincomalee last year one speed boat, suspected of being an ambulance craft was thought capable of doing 35 knots. Two of the speed boats seized by the Malaysians were fitted with three 150 horse power OBMs. That's a total of 450 horse power enough to do 30 knots.

One of the latest craft to take a spin in the international speed about warfare scene is a new 35 foot, armoured fast patrol boat developed by an American firm which earned its name in ballistic - protection clothing. Naturally, the boat is meant for calm weather inshore water operations. The firm design the boat according to the customer's needs but the basic configuration is said to have a top speed of 60 knots (Super Dvoras can do only 40) and comes with hull armour above the water line strong enough to defeat 50 calibre machine guns (the Dvoras have 20mm cannon). The boat is normally made for law enforcement authorities but there's no reason why private customers such as guerilla groups can't order them. Her small crew area is recessed and protected by armour. A 40mm grenade launcher can be mounted in the forward position and a 50 calibre machine gun aft.

Sea Tigers

Imagine Sea Tigers in armoured speed boats capable of even 40 knots prowling in wolf packs hunting Dvoras and command ships. A lone Navy craft would be hard pressed to handle multiple high speed threats, enemy boats attacking simultaneously, especially if the attackers are wearing 43 night vision goggles loaded in Singapore which allow them to see in the dark. (The security forces themselves have only a limited number of night vision devices, mainly because of their high cost and difficult maintenance. These are used mostly by snipers or for surveillance, not for fire fights, except perhaps by the special forces. Black Sea Tiger kamikaze squads tried to disable a surveillance command ship off the Jaffna peninsula late last year, so offensive operations at sea is not something new for the rebels. Last week's massacre at Foul Point, Trincomalee is an example of what's possible.

Supposing the Tigers go for stealth technology. Stolen stealth technology. In American people are already using high tech materials used to shield the B-2 Stealth bomber from enemy radars, over the nose cones of cars to make it much harder for police radars to detect speeding autos. Radar detection of fibre glass dinghies is difficult anyway because of their low profile and radar reflecting properties.

Unconventional operations

The underwater diving gear detected by the Malaysians shows the Tigers are planning really unconventional operations. Not that they haven't tried it before. In the early 1980s Navy depth charges killed Tiger scuba divers trying to plant explosives under a naval craft in Jaffna. The equipment also provides some indication of how seemingly civilian equipment can be used for war like purposes.

According to militant sources buying and transferring weapons is a routine operation. If the funds are available anything is possible. Militant groups who are newcomers to the international arms bazaar basically have two sources of acquiring their weapons.

Established liberation group, like the PLO, ANC and SWAPO, to name a few, can put them in touch with the underground arms dealers. Or else intelligence agencies,

which have an interest in the group connections. They will use front companies to make sure that they are not seen selling to guerilla groups, if they so desire. For instance its always possible for the CIA or other foreign intelligence organisations to supply arms to the LTTE, theoretically speaking of course. To make sure there is no visible connection they can get the supplies come from say, come an East European source. Highly theoretical. Heavy hifi....

'RAW must be knowing'

Documents required for the export and transit of the weapons are either forged or bought. A key document in the arms trade is the End User Certificate which is very much in demand since no legal exports are possible without it. Small stocks of weapons can be transferred using forged documents or by bribing people. But this is difficult with large stocks which require a certain degree of legitimacy. The end user certificate is issued by the buying party (government) to say that the arms being acquired are for the use of its armed forces. What most clandestine arms dealers in Western manufacturing countries do is to befriend and bribe foreign defence attaches - say from small African countries (but it could be anybody) - who provide legitimate end user certificates. These the dealer keeps until he gets an order and then produces with his application for the arms export licence which is usually granted on a genuine end user certificate. The goods are then shipped through devious routes, switching shipping and airline companies. "Supplies can even move without you knowing who paid for it," according to one source with some knowledge of the underground arms trade. "It's a very hard trade," the other option, smuggling, is not normally possible unless the intelligence agency of the country of origin gives its blessings. For instance RAW must be knowing about a lot of the stuff moved from India to Sri Lanka.

Underground market

Even equipment whose export is banned by the manufacturing country can be available through the underground market. For example, during the mid 1980s when the Eelam war was gathering momentum the government looked around two or three Cobra helicopter

gunships made in the USA which had prohibited the sale of the machine to Sri Lanka. Despite the ban, offers came in, according to one source in the trade, complete with TOW (Tube-launched, Optically-tracked, Wire-guided) anti-tank missiles in packing crates from a Middle Eastern source. But the price was too high and the Air Force was worried that there was no assurance of spares or maintenance support.

Militant sources say a guerilla group can either bribe a ship's crew or hire one to transfer their arms. "Hiring a ship is a problem since she can't hang around the delivery point if she comes under suspicion to come back at a more suitable time," one source with experience of such operations explained. The crew can be bribed to take the cargo even without the knowledge of the ship's owner. But the best way is for the group to have its own ship, like the LTTE.

Rendezvous in mid-sea

Even a big consignment of arms is broken up into small packages for easier manhandling. Radio contact between the ship and the guerillas on land waiting to take delivery of the cargo ensures the rendezvous takes place in mid-sea as planned. The weapons are wrapped in water-proof packages and floated on the water for ease of transfer. It is difficult to transfer cargo from a big vessel to small craft directly, in mid sea.

Because of the need for absolute secrecy even in the guerilla group only a small number of peoples are aware of the transaction.

Militant sources say if arms are smuggled through a port in containers the best way to do it is to bribe port officials. Containers are not normally opened unless there is some suspicion.

The cargo is normally declared as machinery and port officials bribed perhaps as much as or even more than the commission they would get for making a detection.

"Arms dealers don't normally cheat us because they know that as guerrillas we can take reprisals or tip off the police or simply stop buying from them," one source explained.

He said the transactions are done on trust on a "gentlemen's agreement" and they trust the dealer because they would usually have been recommended by other rebel outfits.

DEFENCE SECRETARY TALKS OF "OFFENSIVE DEFENCE"

Sri Lanka's Secretary, Ministry of Defence, General Cyril Ranatunga said that the Government forces had suffered one hundred and eleven (111) casualties in the Karainagar and Mannar sectors in the latest upsurge of fighting since April 1. 187 others were wounded, he said. He also claimed the Tiger losses were between 500 and 700.

Speaking at his weekly Press briefing on April 10, he said

that since the Tiger attack on the Silavatur army camp, his forces had decided that the defensive measures in their camps were not adequate and had adopted an "offensive defence" posture to ensure their security. "That's partly why there has been an increase in the number of officers killed in action recently", he said.

General Ranatunga said the armed forces were also engaged in clearing operations around

Nanattan in Mannar and had come across large numbers of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) both on the roads and the scrub.

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35 Years after "Sinhala only" Lankan M.P.s debate Language!

(continued from previous issue)

(Mr. Speaker)

Hon. A.C.S. Hameed. You have 15 minutes, please.

(The Hon. A.C.S. Hameed)

It is nice to start on a very complimentary note.

I just cannot understand the attitude of the Opposition with regard to this Bill. Here is a Bill which is simple and straight forward. It seeks to induce the implementation of the official languages. Sir, it is wrong to think that this is only to induce the implementation of the Tamil language as an official language. It also provides equally for Sinhala because we do have Sinhalese people living in the North and the East. So this Bill must not be looked at as a Bill or a law to ensure the effective implementation of Tamil as an official language. It provides equally for both. I think this is the most important point to be understood. We have had problems in the past with regard to the people living in the North and the Eastern Provinces who are Sinhalese and who would like to communicate in the Sinhalese language. This is a very simple, straightforward and humble piece of legislation. I do not think any major political party in this House can claim not to have contributed to communalism in this country. Whether it be the UNP, SLFP or MEP, all of them are guilty. What is the point in somebody saying, "Well, you were responsible" and our saying, "You were responsible". **The fact is that the hands of all the major political parties in this country are stained with having used the question of minorities to their political advantage.**

I want to know from the SLFP whether they are going to vote for this Bill. It will be helpful if one of the hon. Members here from the SLFP would answer my question. "Are you going to vote for this Bill?" Can I not get a reply? I am asking a simple question. Is the SLFP going to vote for this Bill? - (Interruption).

(An hon. Member)

We are deciding at 12 O'clock.

(The Hon. A.C.S. Hameed)

You are deciding at 12 O'clock.

I would like to appeal to the SLFP to consider supporting this Bill. It is time that the SLFP thought of associating itself with the minority problems and sympathizing with some of those problems.

Look at your record. You opposed the 1965, "The reasonable use of Tamil (Special Provisions) Bill." The same principles were initiated and enunciated in 1958 by the late leader of the SLFP, Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Look at your history from that day up to today. Can you cite one instance where on a major issue in this House you have supported any move for the resolution of this problem. You accuse us of having set fire to the library in Jaffna. I will come back to our record. Look at your record first. Have you supported one piece of legislation in this country that sought to bring about a better understanding between the majority and the minority communities in this country? - (Interruption). I cannot think of any.

(Mr. Dharmasiri Senanayake)

The voting in the North has shown that the people in the

North has greater confidence in the SLFP.

(The Hon. A.C.S. Hameed)

I must just saying this. I wish to be corrected or I wish to be enlightened. I am just asking you, can you think of one piece of legislation that you did not oppose? You opposed the District Councils Bill you opposed the Citizenship Act, you opposed the Provincial Councils Bill. But look at your policies. You have wonderful policies during the Presidential Elections in 1983.

(Mr. Dharmasiri Senanayake)

Now it has become worse and worse with all your efforts.

(The Hon. A.C.S. Hameed)

Please listen to me. Look at your Presidential campaign in 1983. Look at the last Presidential campaign and your manifesto. But what happens after that. You take an entirely different position. I will tell you, we are equally guilty. We stood for parity in 1956 and went to Kelaniya and changed it. What happened? We got reduced to eight members. And what happened again in 1960 July? We reversed our policy, took an anti-Tamil line. We were 50 in Parliament and we came back with 18. We have learnt our lesson.

What I am saying is the SLFP is the alternative Government of this day and I say this as a minority man. I want the SLFP to associate itself with the minorities of this country. I want the SLFP to appreciate the problems of the minorities in this country because you are the alternative Government; you can be the Government tomorrow, so do not drive the minorities away from you. That is what you have done. At least in your new thinking look at this problem differently. That is what I want to say.

I have listened to the speeches made. I do not say that our record has been pleasant. We have learnt the lesson, and today you must look at this Bill in the spirit of the new philosophy of the President. Whatever may be said, let us grant one thing. No leader since independence in this country has demonstrated so clearly his commitment to bring about a resolution to the conflict our society is facing as the present President of this country. We must grant that. Look at the speeches he has made during the last two years. Look at the message he is trying to deliver to the people of this country. It is a sincere message. There is a commitment in that message to replace confrontation with conciliation, to replace unrest with confidence. It is in that light you have to look at this Bill.

(Mr. Dharmasiri Senanayake)

You have to praise the President, you have to praise your leader. You can make speeches, but implementation is the main thing.

(The Hon. A.C.S. Hameed)

I have had a career of 31 years I do not have to please anybody. I do not have to sing songs to soothe anybody's ears. Let us raise ourselves above this. I do not think that Mr. Ratnayake has to sing songs to soothe anybody's ears now. We are in the sunset of our careers and what we would like to see is that this country goes forward. There are problems that need solutions. These problems must be resolved. We have had



HANSARD

February 3, 1991

enough of politics in this country.

So what I am trying to say is that this Bill has to be viewed according to the new philosophy of the Government. Here is a President who is committed to resolve this problem through conciliation. People can try in this House to make a joke out of his conciliation, compromise and consensus approach. I tell you that that is a serious approach and this Bill stems from that. The Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, the Nominations Commission and the Education Commission stem from that. A series of other steps that have been taken in this country are based on that philosophy. Let us try to find a solution to the problems that we face.



(The Hon. A.C.S. Hameed)

There is no embarrassment whatsoever, as you would see if you had studied this Bill. This Bill provides for such measures only where somebody wilfully neglects. It is very clear. All of us know that we do not have sufficient officers, typewriters and interpreters. I have been talking to the Canadian Government. I am sure the Hon. Minister has spoken to some other Governments. The Canadian High Commissioner has said that they would be very pleased if there is some definite organization to assist with the equipment and training. Japanese equipment is already on the way. The Canadian Government has undertaken to provide facilities and training. So if you do not give the facilities you are not going to call an officer and say that he is guilty of an offence? No. This Bill says, "if an officer wilfully neglects". If he could not reply in Sinhalese or in Tamil because he did not have the facilities, then he is not guilty of an offence.

Sir, I remember, in the 1960s when Hawaii was co-opted to the union of the United States of America they appointed a commission to evolve an administrative system that could help. Hawaii graduated fast and became a member and enjoys equality in the union of the United States of America. In 1966 I went to Hawaii. There I met the head of this commission because I want to know what their main recommendations were. The chairman of the commission asked me to name a document in Sri Lanka which was used by everybody everyday. I thought for a while and said, "The rice ration book". He asked me, "What is a rice ration book?" So I explained that once you take this you get your ration of rice and all that. Then the chairman said, "Look, if a person loses his set of rice ration

books and it takes, six months for him to get a new set, then he is six months away from the Government. If it takes six weeks for him to get his new set of books he is six weeks away from the Government. If it takes six days for him to get his set of books he is six days away from the Government. If it takes six hours, then he is only six hours away from the Government. So it is a matter of communication between the people and the Government."

If some person writes a letter and gets a reply and if that person has to take that reply and go right round the country trying to get somebody to read it and tell him what it says, you cannot expect that person to have any allegiance to the State. It is a matter of communication - how fast can the State and the citizen communication with each other. It is a question of the distance and the time. The time determines the distance.

Now we are asking, when did this North-East problem arise? Mr. Dinesh Gunawardena argued that it started before the language problem. But the language issue aggravated it, and that is a fact. Free education, as it spread to the villages, certainly gave our boys and girls in the villages a chance, an opportunity for higher education. Where the fault lies is that with the march of free education there was no parallel economic growth. If you had parallel economic growth, then I do not think Sri Lanka would have been a casualty. Most of the problems we face today are as a result of the fact that we had a tremendous growth in free education but it was not matched by a parallel growth in the economy.

Sir, recently I addressed a school prize-giving where I said that an insurgency, a JVP movement, cannot take place anywhere else in the South Continent. It cannot take place in India. It cannot take place in Pakistan. It cannot take place in Bangladesh. Nor can it take place in Nepal, in Bhutan or in the Maldives. No. It can only take place in Sri Lanka. Why?

Because our rate of literacy is now 88 per cent - nearing 90 per cent. India's rate of literacy is 40 per cent. In Pakistan it is below 40 per cent. In Bangladesh it is below 40 per cent. In all these countries it is low. So you can have this sort of challenge, an insurgency, only in Sri Lanka. Why? Because the growth in education was not matched by a similar growth in the economy.

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Not only the growth in education but the proper time of education - the tertiary education.

(The Hon. A.C.S. Hameed)

I can agree with you on that. I have no problem with you on that. What I am trying to indicate are the causes that led to the eruption of the ethnic crisis in this country. So I agree with Mr. Dinesh Gunawardena, but certainly language was a cause and is a cause.

Now, Sir, let us look at this Bill. Whether it is in the North or in the South, sometimes you find that there are officers who are reluctant to carry out certain instructions and circulars. It is a common thing. It is not

only in the South, it is also there in the North. A Government can have very progressive ideas. Parliament can legislate, pass some of the best of Bills with the best of intentions. But then it has two tests to go through. It is interpreted by the courts and it is implemented by the administration. A number of Government in independent Sri Lanka have passed a number of laws, and there are instances when what the Legislature expected was not achieved. All of us know that it has happened over and over again.

Now, this Bill says, "Right, if you are affected you complain to the commission". The commission inquires. The commission finds that there is no case, it is frivolous. Within 90 days it has to tell the complainant, "You have no case". That is over there. If there is a case, then the commission writes to the head of the department and asks him to take the necessary corrective steps. If that is not done, the commission brings it to the notice of the High Court. The High Court examines it and directs the head of the department or the officer concerned to take the necessary corrective steps. See how many steps you go through. Let us not make a mistake. This is not a dragon. This is a very reasonable piece of legislation when notice is given to the Commission or somebody complains to the Commission, the Commission inquires into it. If the Commission finds that there is no case, the Commission set it aside. But if the Commission thinks that there is a case, then it directs the head of the department to make necessary corrective steps. If it is not done, then the Commission informs the High Court and the High Court directs. And there also, if the direction is not carried out, then the High Court will take the necessary steps under the contempt proceedings. Is that not the most reasonable approach that one can think? You are not giving one opportunity, but you are giving two opportunities. So if you look at this Bill, what does it really want to achieve? - (Interruption).

(Mr. Speaker)

You have taken half an hour.

(The Hon. A.C.S. Hameed)

I will co-operate with you and wind up, Sir.

So, this is a very harmless piece of legislation. And, Sir, as I said at the start, nobody should interpret this as a Bill to implement only the Tamil language. It is also to implement the Sinhala language too. And let this Commission work. Let us see how we would be able to proceed. Various steps are being taken and have to be taken to bring about greater confidence among the various communities in this country. We must find solutions to the problems that we have and I think that is the responsibility of the political elite, of the political leadership of this country, to whatever party they belong to. Let not history say that the present generation of leaders failed to solve the problems which society faces today, and that they left the problem to be solved by another generation. If that is so, it would be a vote of no confidence on all of us. I hope not that history will not record it that way. Thank you!

OPEN LETTER TO THE EDITOR

by Nadesan

"... the views of a paper such as yours as to what will always be a matter of absorbing interest - if only engaged in a sustained genocidal attack on the Tamil people..."

Dear Mr. Editor,

Your recent Comment on 'Tamil Intellectuals' makes interesting reading. But then, the views of a paper such as yours, as to what it is that Tamil intellectuals should do and should not do, will always be a matter of absorbing interest - if only because it is a paper controlled by a State which is today, engaged in a sustained genocidal onslaught on the Tamil people. Again, the intemperate language in which you have chosen to couch your editorial, indicates that, that which was said at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs on the 19th of March 1991, has struck home and has proved unpalatable to a government which would prefer to be allowed to get on, unhindered, with its task of digesting and assimilating the Tamil people within the constitutional frame of a unitary Sinhala Buddhist Sri Lanka.

You state: *The failure of Tamil intellectuals to contribute in a dispassionate and objective way to the process of building bridges between the two major ethnic communities is seen clearly in the outlandish and outdated theories mouthed by Mr. Nadesan Satyendra who travels widely as a salesman for Eelam. In his address to the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUDI) on Monday, the main thrust has been to argue a case for cutting off aid to Sri Lanka. This is the ultimate weapon that the entire Eelam lobby abroad is hoping to use in their campaign to divide Sri Lanka.*

However, presumably overcome with concern for the well being of the suffering Tamil people, you add: *"Those Tamil intellectuals who are genuinely seeking a solution, deserve the respect of this nation. Their voice must be heard."*

But what type of 'solution' should Tamil intellectuals espouse to deserve the respect of 'this nation'? Again, when you say 'this nation'. Mr. Editor, to which nation do you refer? Do you mean the Tamil nation, or the Sinhala nation or do you mean Sinhala chauvinism masquerading as a so-called Sri Lankan nation? Which nation's respect should Tamil intellectuals seek?

It was Professor Seton Watson who declared in 1977:

"...States can exist without a nation, or with several nations, among their subjects... The belief that every state is a nation, or that all sovereign states are national states, has done much to obfuscate human understanding of political realities. A state is a legal and political organisation, with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens. A nation is a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness..." (Professor Hugh Seton-Watson: Nations & States - Methuen, London 1977).

But then, perhaps you regard Professor Watson's views as 'outlandish and outdated' and you prefer to equate the Sri Lankan state to a so called 'Sri Lankan nation'. Or is it that

you and the Government of Sri Lanka would prefer to 'obfuscate human understanding of political realities' by denying that in the island of Ceylon today, there are two nations, the Sinhala nation and the Tamil nation - each of whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture and a national consciousness.

often found open and shameless expression:

"...The time has come for the whole Sinhala race which has existed for 2500 years, jealously safeguarding their language and religion, to fight without giving any quarter to save their birth-right... I will lead the campaign..." (J.R. Jayawardene, Sinhala Opposition Leader

".....But what type of 'solution' should Tamil intellectuals espouse to deserve the respect of 'this nation'? Again, when you say 'this nation'. Mr. Editor, to which nation do you refer? Do you mean the Tamil nation, or the Sinhala nation or do you mean Sinhala chauvinism masquerading as a so called Sri Lankan nation? Which nation's respect should Tamil intellectuals seek?"

You appear to suggest that the claim that in the island of Ceylon there are two nations is somehow contrary to the 'realities of history, geography, demography and ethnicity.' But whilst you pay lip service for the need for 'cool reasoning', you choose not to give reasons for the views that you assert. You prefer to dismiss as 'outlandish and outdated' that which you cannot reason with. Or, perhaps you believe that the people of Tamil Eelam should accept, without question, the words of wisdom which fall from the mouth of their would be Sinhala rulers. But, notwithstanding the arrogance of Sinhala chauvinism that your editorial displays, by all means, let us examine the 'realities of history, geography, demography and ethnicity.' After all, the people of Tamil Eelam are a reasonable people and they do welcome 'cool reasoning.'

What then, are the realities of history and ethnicity, Mr. Editor? As a propagandist for Sinhala chauvinism, you are, of course not unaware of that which a Sinhala chauvinist, D.C. Vijayawardhana wrote in 1953:

"The history of Sri Lanka is the history of the Sinhalese race... The Sinhalese people were entrusted 2500 years ago, with a great and noble charge, the preservation... of Buddhism... in 1956 will occur the unique three fold event - the completion of 2500 years of Ceylon's history, of the tie of Sinhalese and Buddhism... The birth of the Sinhalese race would thus seem to have been not a mere chance, not an accidental occurrence, but a predestined event of high import and purpose. The nation seemed designed, as it were, from its rise, primarily to carry aloft for fifty centuries the torch that was lit by the great World Mentor (the Buddha) twenty five centuries ago..." (The Revolt in the Temple, by D.C. Vijayawardhana, 1953).

You are aware, are you not, Mr. Editor that it was this potent mixture of legend and superstition, passed off as historical fact, which was cultivated, refined and utilised by successive Sinhala political leaders to secure for themselves the support of the Sinhala people. It was a belligerent Sinhala chauvinism which has

reported in Sri Lanka Tribune: August 1957).

"I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people... now we cannot think of them, not about their lives or their opinion... the more you put pressure in the north, the happier the Sinhala people will be here... Really if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy." (President J.R. Jayawardene, Daily Telegraph, July 1983).

The reality of the so called democracy of Sri Lanka was that no Tamil was ever elected to a predominantly Sinhala electorate and no Sinhalese was ever elected to a predominantly Tamil electorate. The practise of democracy within the confines of a unitary state served to perpetuate the oppressive rule of a permanent Sinhala ethnic majority, which through a series of legislative and administrative acts, ranging from disenfranchisement, and standardisation of University admissions, to discriminatory language and employment policies, and state sponsored colonisation of the homelands of the Tamil people, has sought to establish its hegemony over the people of Tamil Eelam.

".... You prefer to dismiss as 'outlandish and outdated' that which you cannot reason with. Or, perhaps you believe that the people of Tamil Eelam should accept, without question, the words of wisdom which fall from the mouth of their would be Sinhala rulers."

These legislative and administrative acts were reinforced from time to time with physical attacks on the people of Tamil Eelam with intent to terrorise and intimidate them into submission. It was a course of conduct which led eventually to the rise of Tamil militancy in the mid 1970s with, initially, sporadic acts of violence. The militancy was met with wide ranging retaliatory attacks on increasingly large sections of the Tamil people with intent, once again to subjugate them. In the late 1970s large numbers of Tamil youths were detained without trial and tortured under emergency regulations and later under the Prevention of Terrorism Act which has been described by the International Commission of Jurists as a 'blot

on the statute book of any civilised country'. In 1980 and thereafter, there were random killings of Tamils by the state security forces and Tamil hostages were taken by the state when 'suspects' were not found. Eventually, in the eyes of the Sri Lankan state all Tamils were prima facie 'terrorist' suspects. And in 1983, the Tamils were deprived of the effective

Tamil Eelam did not grow in the stratosphere. You will agree, Mr. Editor, that it is not 'outlandish' to suggest that it has grown on land. The group identity of the people of Tamil Eelam has grown, hand in hand, with the growth of their homelands in the North and East of Sri Lanka, where they lived together, worked together, communicated with each other, founded their families, educated their children, and also sought refuge, from time to time, from physical attacks elsewhere in Sri Lanka. You will, perhaps agree, Mr. Editor, that the words of Malcolm Shaw in Title to Territory in Africa are not 'outlandish' but are very much rooted in the reality on the ground.

"Modern nationalism in the vast majority of cases points to a deep, almost spiritual connection between land and people. This can be related to the basic psychological needs of man in terms of the need for security and a sense of group identity..."

use of their vote by an amendment to the Constitution which the International Commission of Jurists has declared to be violation of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights and which rendered vacant the Parliamentary seats of

".... Distress has bound the people of Tamil Eelam together and thus united they have found their strength. Tamil Eelam is a deep and horizontal comradeship which exists amongst hundreds of thousands of the Tamil people - and that includes Tamil intellectuals as well. It is a comradeship which has prevailed despite the differences and inequalities amongst the people of Tamil Eelam and it is this comradeship which has made possible the colossal sacrifices of the past several years. As the propagandist for a state which is engaged in a murderous genocidal attack on the people of Tamil Eelam, you may find all this difficult to understand. But please do try."

the elected representatives of the Tamil people. Though elections were subsequently held in 1988 at a time when the Indian army occupied the Tamil homelands, the Sixth Amendment continues in force up to the present day.

So much, Mr. Editor, for the 'realities of history and ethnicity'. Distress has bound the people of Tamil Eelam together

the concern for the preservation of habitat exists as a passionate reflex in all human communities. Territory is the physical aspect of the life of the community and therefore reflects and conditions the identity of that community."

But of course, Mr. Editor, these aspects of geography and demography are not unknown to Sinhala chauvinism. Sinhala chauvinism has understood only too well that without an homeland the people of Tamil Eelam will cease to exist as a people. You are aware, are you not, Mr. Editor that Sinhala colonisation of Tamil homelands for forty years and more, was the outcome of a strategy carefully planned by successive Sinhala governments? After all, it is easier to digest and assimilate a people, if they are divided into smaller assimilable units. You cannot be unaware of the frank statements of the Sinhala Mahaveli Ministry Official, Herman Gunaratne in an article which appeared in the Sri Lanka Sunday Times of the 26th August 1990:

"All wars are fought for land... The plan for settlement of people in Yan Oya and Malwathu Oya basins was worked out before the communal riots of 1983. Indeed the keenest minds in the Mahaveli, some of whom are holding top international positions were the architects of this plan. My role was that of an executor... We conceived and implemented a plan which we thought would secure the territorial integrity

and thus united they have found their strength. Tamil Eelam is a deep and horizontal comradeship which exists amongst hundreds of thousands of the Tamil people - and that includes Tamil intellectuals as well. It is a comradeship which has prevailed despite the differences and inequalities amongst the people of Tamil Eelam and it is this comradeship which has made possible the colossal sacrifices of the past several years. As the propagandist for a state which is engaged in a murderous genocidal attack on the people of Tamil Eelam, you may find all this difficult to understand. But please do try.

Again, by all means let us examine the 'realities of geography and demography'. The group identity of the people of

OF THE SRI LANKA OBSERVER

Satyendra

it is that Tamil intellectuals should do, and should not do, because it is a paper controlled by a state which is today

of Sri Lanka for a long time. We moved a large group of 45,000 land hungry (Sinhala) peasants into the Batticaloa and Polonnaruwa districts of Maduru Oya deita. The second step was to make a similar human settlement in the Yan Oya basin. The third step was going to be a settlement of a number of people, opposed to Eelam.

So much, then, for the 'realities of geography and demography'. You appear to be concerned with that which you regard as 'a basic failure of Tamil intellectuals like Mr. Satyendra' and that is that they 'overtly promote human rights but covertly use it' to advance their Eelam cause. But, please rest assured, Mr. Editor, that

in Sri Lanka in 1981 that the Tamils could be considered to be a people with a distinct language, culture and to an extent a defined territory. Reason shows that the Tamils are a people who have been ruled for more than four decades by an alien Sinhala people, who do not speak their language, who do not share their culture and their heritage, and who, today, seek to perpetuate that rule by armed might. Reason shows that the law of nations declares that a people who are subjugated by an alien people are entitled to the right of self determination. And, reason shows that 'the process of building bridges' between the Tamil people and the Sinhala people must begin with each people recognising the existence of the other as a people, and thereafter sitting as equals, to agree upon constitutional structures within which such equality may be sustained.

Rights and the Right of Self Determination.

But Sinhala chauvinism would have the world believe that such considerations, founded as they are on the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Universal Declaration of Human rights are both 'outlandish and outdated.'

Ofcourse, we do understand your concern, Mr. Editor, that the efforts of the Sri Lankan Government at obfuscation have increasingly failed and that the international community has increasingly begun to recognise the political reality of the Tamil nation in the island of Ceylon. We do also understand your concern that the international community has become increasingly reluctant to give aid to a Government which is guilty of gross, consistent and continuing violations of human rights. But please rest

sick and wounded have died without medical attention. Many thousands of the people of Tamil Eelam, face death by starvation. The education of Tamil youths has been grievously affected and their safety is always in peril. Arrests and torture of Tamil children as young as thirteen is commonplace and occurs in Colombo as well.

The Sri Lankan Government is carrying out this onslaught on the people of Tamil Eelam under the pretext of carrying on a war against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. However, Tamil intellectuals are well aware that the genocidal intent of the Government was made clear when it rejected the unilateral ceasefire declaration made by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam on the 31st of December 1990 on the specious ground that there had been violations of the ceasefire by the LTTE. When the LTTE denied

".... But, please rest assured, Mr. Editor, that the Tamil people, including Tamil intellectuals, not only overtly and openly promote human rights but also, equally overtly and equally openly promote the cause of Tamil Eelam as well. There is nothing covert in their support for the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam for national self determination.

on the banks of the Malwathu Oya. By settling the (Sinhala) people in the Maduru Oya we were seeking to have in the Batticaloa zone a mass of persons opposed to a separate state... Yan Oya if settled by non separatists (Sinhala people) would have increased the population by about another 50,000. It would completely secure Trincomalee from the rebels..."

Yes, Mr. Editor, the people of Tamil Eelam, including Tamil intellectuals, are well aware that wars are fought for land and you will agree that to assert that proposition is not 'outlandish'. You are aware, are you not, that by the mid 1980s, state sponsored colonisation gave way to state sponsored attacks on the people of Tamil Eelam leading to the forced evacuation of Tamils from their traditional homelands. It was, ofcourse, a natural progression for Sinhala chauvinism.

In 1985, Robert Kilroy-Silk, M.P. and Roger Sims, M.P. who visited Sri Lanka as members of a United Kingdom Parliamentary Human Rights Group, reported:

"Witnesses also confirmed allegations made to us that whole villages (in the Eastern Province) have been emptied and neighbourhoods have been driven by the army from their homes and occupations and turned into refugees dependent on the government for dry rations... The human rights transgressed in such a course of action do not need to be detailed here... More important is that rightly or wrongly it tends to lend credibility to the view so frequently put to us that it is the Government's objective either to drive the Tamils out of the north and east in sufficient numbers so as to reduce their majority in the north and in the east, a process that would be aided by the Government's announced policy of settling armed Sinhalese people in former Tamil areas... or to drive the Tamils out altogether. We cannot make a judgement on this issue. We can say, without doubt, that the Government is driving Tamils from their homes and does intend to settle Sinhalese people in these areas. This, at least, lends support to the more extreme version believed by most Tamils." (United Kingdom Parliamentary Human Rights Group Report, February 1985).

the Tamil people, including Tamil intellectuals, not only overtly and openly promote human rights but also, equally overtly and equally openly promote the cause of Tamil Eelam as well. There is nothing covert in their support for the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam for national self determination.

Indeed, the Tamil cause represents the very essence of the cause of human rights. It was this which led human rights lawyer, Ms. Karen Parker of International Educational Development, to declare at the 42nd Sessions of the UN Sub Commission on Protection of Minorities, August 1990:

"The Sri Lanka situation has shown that for the past forty years, the Sinhala controlled government has been unwilling and unable to promote and protect the human rights of the Tamil population, and the Tamil population has accordingly lost all confidence in any present or future willingness on ability of the Sinhala majority to do so. Are people in this situation required to settle for less than their full rights. Can the international community impose on a people a forced marriage they no longer want and in which they can clearly demonstrate they have been abused? We conclude that in order for the human rights of the Tamil people and others in a similar situation to be realised, the international community must invoke the principle of self determination as it arises from persistent non fulfilment of the rights of minorities who have been subsumed into large states."

"... reason shows that 'the process of building bridges' between the Tamil people and the Sinhala people must begin with each people recognising the existence of the other as a people, and thereafter sitting as equals, to agree upon constitutional structures within which such equality may be sustained.

Again, it may be that you do not regard this approach of a human rights lawyer as being sufficiently 'objective and dispassionate'. But, please, what does 'cool reason' show? Reason shows that the 'realities of history, geography and demography' confirm that Professor Virginia Leary was right when she declared in her Report on the Ethnic Conflict

and Protection of Minorities, in August 1990:

"It has become a matter of urgent importance to act on the reports of several Human Rights organisations on the gross and consistent violations of Human Rights in Sri Lanka and to initiate steps to satisfy the aspirations of the Tamil people within the framework of Human

assured, Mr. Editor that this change of perception has not been brought about by the efforts of 'travelling salesmen' for Tamil Eelam. Tamil Eelam is not a commodity for sale whether in the international market or elsewhere. Tamil Eelam is an existential political force which demands recognition in the name of the inherent dignity of a people.

Tamil intellectuals are well aware that even as you wrote your Comment, the genocidal attack by the Sri Lankan Government on the people of Tamil Eelam, continued unabated and with increased ferocity. In the North of Tamil Eelam, bombs have been regularly targeted on refugee camps, whether they be situated in temples, churches or schools. Even hospitals with clear red cross markings have not been spared.

"Barrel bombs - 210 litre cast iron barrels packed with explosives, rubber and saw dust - rain down on residential areas with the most devastating effect; each bomb can destroy 20 houses. By its haphazard bombing of civilian targets in the Northern peninsula of Jaffna, the airforce is imposing an unofficial blockade which is bringing some parts to starvation. Helicopters, equipped with rockets and machine guns hover day and night over Jaffna city and the surrounding towns and villages, ready to strafe any moving civilians or vehicles... The hospital has also been bombed and three weeks ago, a helicopter fired into the operating theatre, killing a doctor... In an effort to dent civilian morale, they have also been showering the area with human and animal excrement." (The London Daily Telegraph, 13th September 1990)

There has been an embargo on the transport of essential medical, food and fuel supplies into Tamil Eelam. Hundreds of

such violations and offered to participate in talks to set up a suitable mechanism to monitor the ceasefire, the Sri Lankan Government rejected that offer out of hand!

In a carefully crafted paragraph, you state Mr. Editor:

"If Mr. Satyendra, who describes himself as a human rights lawyer condones the mindless terror of the Tigers and even justifies their actions in the name of a dubious 'liberation struggle' then he is not only betraying the fundamental principles of human rights but also exposing himself as an irredeemable hypocrite."

The use of the word "if" is significant, because Mr. Editor you were presumably aware that, in fact at no stage during the meeting at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (or for that matter anywhere else) did the speaker condone the violations of human rights by some members of the LTTE. On the contrary, the speaker stated expressly that he cannot and did not condone such violations and stated that an armed struggle was not a carte blanche to kill but was a struggle in the defence of the integrity of the Tamil nation. However, the speaker did point out that it was important to carefully sift the facts about such alleged violations by members of the LTTE. He pointed out that in June 1990, a report in the world media that more than fifty Muslims were killed by the LTTE in the Amparai District, was later rejected by the government's own Muslim Superintendent of Police, and the newsreport was subsequently withdrawn. But the fact that such a report was initially 'planted' in the world media was evidence of the cynical nature of the disinformation campaign carried on by the Sri Lankan government.

(continued overleaf)

An open Letter to the Editor of the SRI LANKA OBSERVER

continued from page 7

The people of Tamil Eelam are well aware of the need to purify and in that way, strengthen their struggle for national self determination against a Sinhala dominated government which seeks to subjugate and rule them. But they need no lessons on human rights from those who seek to undermine their struggle for self determination. They need no lessons on human rights from the servants of a state whose horrendous record on human rights led Amnesty Interna-

tional to launch a three month world wide Sri Lanka campaign in September 1990. They need no lessons on human rights from the servants of a state which has subjected the people of Tamil Eelam to 'shit bomb' attacks and which has bombed Tamil civilian population centres and hospitals with clear red cross markings. They need no lessons on human rights from the servants of a state which has so institutionalised violence that 60,000 of its own Sinhala people have 'disappeared' during the past two years.

It is well known that the Sri Lankan government has engaged the services of Tamil quislings to help its armed forces and to assist its political initiatives and seeks to pass them off as 'rivals' of the LTTE. Your editorial shows that the Sri Lankan Government is now in search of quisling Tamil intellectuals who will 'deserve the respect' of a Sinhala chauvinism which masquerades as the so called Sri Lankan nation. You suggest 'that in the absence of a rational leadership among the Tamils', such intellectuals, 'could be the

only ones who could help to end the senseless carnage.'

You would have your readers believe that the people of Tamil Eelam are without 'rational leaders' and that the ever so helpful Sinhala rulers, who are engaged in aerial bombardment of the people of Jaffna with 'shit bombs', are somehow concerned to 'end this senseless carnage' and encourage the rise of a 'rational leadership' for the Tamil people! Please, Mr. Editor, please do refrain from insulting the intelligence of the people of Tamil Eelam and please do refrain from this hum-

buggery. Instead, please do try and wake up your masters to the reality that the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam for their right to self determination is rational, that it is just, that it is lawful, that it is not outlandish but rooted solidly on the ground - and that it will succeed. But, then, perhaps, as the leader of Tamil Eelam, Velupillai Pirabakaran has very rationally remarked: 'You can wake up some one who is asleep, but you cannot wake up some one who is pretending to be asleep.'

Yours faithfully,
Nadesan Satyendra

Two Letters to Editor in the Colombo Press

'Lankan history did not begin with Vijaya!'

Is the Colombo Press beginning to thaw a bit? We reproduce here two letters to the Editor, on two dissimilar topics, the first published in the independent "THE ISLAND" of 3rd April, and the second in the Government-controlled SUNDAY OBSERVER of 7th April.

From Paulinus Tambimuttu
Sir, Re Mr. Jayanta Uduwara's article on the findings in the North in the *Sunday Observer* of March 24 it is generally assumed that just because the remains of dagabas etc. have been found in the North, the people inhabiting the north during the relevant periods were Sinhalese. It is also not generally known that the whole of South India was Buddhist at one stage, and that there was a spill-over of South Indian Buddhists to the North.

A great fuss has been made of the discovery of the Vallipuram Gold Plate. Scholars admit that the name of the Governor of the district men-

tioned in the Gold Plate was Tamil. This would mean that the Tamil Governor would have been in charge of Tamil people. The gold plate only proves that the Sinhalese king exercised suzerainty over the northern district at the time.

Why do our professors start our history from the 5th century BC with the so called advent of Vijaya. Long before Vijaya there were people living in the northern districts. The North was connected to South India before the geological upheavals which made Lanka split away from South India. The people would have been Tamil. The Sinhalese place-names found may be based on original Tamil names. Kantha Odai would have become Kadurugoda just as Amparai has now become Ampara.

An American, Professor Carswell conducted some excavations in the Thiruketheevaram area, and found habitations dating thousands of years before the so called advent of Vijaya. He told us so at a lecture delivered at the British Museum. He also told us that

the Sri Lankan government had asked him to pack up and leave before he could conclude his work. Dr. Siran Deraniyagala in reply to my question at a lecture he delivered at the Royal Asiatic Society (SLB) said that the habitations found by Carswell could be dated 3500 BC. So let us abandon 5th century BC and all that.

When, oh, when will Sri Lankans write history according to archaeological, literary, numismatic etc. evidence. It is the sacred duty of government to see that this is done before extremists from both sides take over.

Paulinus Tambimuttu
Colombo 4.

Communication

GROWING DATE PALMS IN EELAM

Mr. V.T. Saravanapavan of P.O. Box 1131, Medicine Hat, Alberta, Canada T1A 7H3, writes:

Dear Sir,
At present millions and millions of Rupees are spent every year to import dates to Sri Lanka.

The Jaffna peninsula and other Tamil Eelam areas are ideal places to grow Date Palm trees (Phoenix Dactylifera) which thrive in hot, dry climates. "Date palms tolerate a fairly high salt concentration in the soil, apparently largely because of their ability to exclude the salt". Perhaps the islands of Delft and Kachchativu could be turned

into date groves. Date palm will grow in any place where the Palmyrah tree will grow.

Date palm produces food, sugar, toddy, sweet toddy, arrack, animal feed, fuel, shade, building materials etc. and will give life to the people. Unprocessed ripe fruit is very tasty to eat. The leaves can be used to make baskets, mats and various handicrafts. The date palm will give very good returns on the investments made and they can be grown on small or big plantation scales and they can support families and create employment like the way the date palm acreages support families in the Coachella Valley area in Southern California. There is very good money in dates.

The city of Indio in Southern California is often called the Date capital of the nation and the National Date Festival is held there every year in mid-February. My wife and I made it a point and attended this festival in February 1988 and we have learnt something useful that we can use in our own areas.

There are about 12 commercial varieties of date palms which are grown. The most popular varieties grown in California are Deglet Noor and Medjool which are noted for their size, flavour, sugar content, market demand etc. and has a good export market. There are about 32 amber coloured Deglet Noor dates in a pound and about 14 Medjool dates in a pound. The varieties of date palm trees grown in California were imported 90 years ago from Iraq, Algeria, Morocco etc.,

It takes several years to grow date palm trees from seeds and they will not know whether the plant is female or male or the variety until they flower and bear fruits. Hence for planting purposes they use the suckers (off-shoots) that sprout near the base of the parent trees. Female trees produce female suckers and Male trees produce male suckers. In other words the Off Shoots are true to Parent Palm.

The date palm trees begin to flower and bear fruits about 4 years after planting. Female trees produce female flowers which develop into fruits and male trees produce male flowers which produce pollen.

In California they plant 40 Female trees and 1 Male tree to an acre in rows about 30 feet

Why are only the Sinhalese chosen?

A few years back a British School Boys Cricket Team toured Sri Lanka. A good many of them were not British but Pakistanis, Indians, Negroes. Take the recent world cup soccer teams - how many players of different races were representing each country. What about the English Cricket Team which was touring Sri Lanka.

Are they all British? Why is that only in Sri Lanka the Sinhalese are chosen to represent the country. Isn't there any talented players among the minority group? Well before the present set of players ever thought of playing cricket, who represented Ceylon since she started playing cricket?

Almost everyday we hear our politicians shouting from the platforms that we are a united nation and there is no difference in caste, creed or religion, the minorities are given equal chances.

Let us apply this to just one field of activity Sports. Sri Lankan teams had been sent out on various sports like cricket, soccer, athletics, table tennis... do these teams truly represent Sri Lanka? How many players from the minority are in these teams? Then how can they represent Sri Lanka? They could be aptly called Sri Lankan Sinhalese teams.

Of course the present generation would have never heard of names like Sathasivam 'Bradman of Ceylon' Saravanamuttu, Gafoor, de Saram, Sathy Coomarasamy.

Another 279 days more for the SAF games - who are the players who are being coached. Can the authorities faithfully say that every nationality is given a chance to take part in this game.

Aren't we just hoodwinking the whole world? Take for instance America represented in all sports by negroes - if not for them can America ever lead in any events? But they all call themselves Americans not negroes. Fortunately they all have similar names and their race cannot be identified only by their names. Here in Sri Lanka your mere name will identify your race.

Therefore how do you expect the minorities to join with the majority to enjoy their victories, nor celebrate the independence celebration hoist the national flag when they treated as third class citizens in their own homeland?

Until such times our youth are given the equal chances in these fields, Sri Lanka will never ever shine in any sports?

'A disgusted youth'

(continued on page 11)

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Tim Mc Girk of The Independent, London reports :

TRINCO : DEATH SQUADS HUNT FOR LTTE SYMPATHISERS

The Sri Lankan soldiers were in the back of a lorry pushing around a suspected Tamil terrorist, a barefoot, middle-aged man too dazed and hurt to fend off their punches. The soldiers heaved the man against a crate of empty soft drink bottles and then stood back to appreciate the glassy music of their savagery.

"Jolly nice afternoon, isn't it?" said a brisk officer with a pock-marked face as I watched his platoon shove their victim over the side of the lorry. He slammed on to the asphalt road face down and was then dragged inside the gate of the 22 army brigade headquarters at Plantaine Point, which has become notorious in north-eastern Sri Lanka as a detention camp, where many who enter either vanish or are found dead in nearby jungle with their throats cut.

Several prominent citizens in Trincomalee, who prefer not to be identified for fear of reprisals, claim that death squads also operate from this base, although they are not directly under the commanding officer's control. They call themselves the "Black Cats" or the "Green Tigers," and cruise around the town and the outlying villages in unmarked vans.

The death squads are hunting for known sympathisers of the Tamil Tigers, separatist guerrillas who control the northern tip of this island nation and are now stepping up their offensive in the eastern region.

The army holds the main towns, roads and little else; the terrain of coconut groves and hilly jungle suit the Tigers perfectly. Since the civil war erupted between the Tamils and the Sinhalese Buddhist majority in 1983, it has claimed more than 20,000 lives.

Along the eastern coast, it is not a tidy war of insurgents versus army. The conflict is also devastating the Tamil, Sinhalese and Muslim communities, each a third of Trincomalee's population.

The hardest hit are probably the Tamils. Trincomalee citizens informed that every day, several Tamils are grabbed off the streets or rounded up outside refugee camps. Most of the 33,000 refugees in the Trincomalee district are Tamils fleeing from harsh army reprisals against the Tiger guerrillas, who attack them and then disappear into jungle dense enough to hide wild elephant herds.

Although relief agencies provide money to the government for food, no provisions have reached the camps for almost six weeks. "People are beginning to starve," said one camp worker.

Usually, innocent Tamil villagers suffer the brunt of the security forces' frustration the most. After Tiger guerrillas murdered a policeman at the village of Truthayapuram on March 30, his fellow officers went on a rampage, burning shops and hacking 11 Tamil farmers to death.

In a raid on one camp several months ago, 43 Tamils were taken for interrogation inside the Plantaine Point base, and so far, only six have been released.

"I was kept blindfolded for two days and beaten with iron bars," said one former detainee.

who has since fled from Trincomalee. "I saw some of my friends being beaten to death. Then their corpses were heaped together with tyres and burnt inside the camp."

easily have been a Sri Lankan navy boat, whose crew mistook the fishermen for a guerrilla landing force.

The next day, 2,000 Sinhalese with axes and knives

until June to recapture territory lost to the Tigers before resuming talks with the rebels.

Few are optimistic about the outcome; so far, the Tigers have refused any offer that

does not give them the eastern coast, even though Tamils here are not a majority. As one Muslim refugess lamented: "This island used to be paradise. Now it is hell."



Tamil Tigresses join in action in the eastern region, where the army holds little more than the main towns and roads

The Tamil Tigers have been no less brutal. They dragoon teenagers into the guerrilla force, arming them with semi-automatic weapons, a cyanide capsule to bite if captured and Marxist dogma against the evils of drinking the capitalist Coca-Cola.

In the Jaffna area, under the Tiger control, they demand a revolutionary tax and set exorbitant fares for Tamil refugees trying to escape by boat to India. The Tigers have also silenced some Tamil critics in Jaffna.

At dawn on Wednesday, a fleet of Sinhalese fishermen in dugout catamarans were just spreading their nets at the opening of Trincomalee's huge bay when a speedboat with five uniformed men raced out, spraying the fishermen with machinegun fire. Nine fishermen were killed and another 16 are still missing. Police blamed the Tigers, but other Trincomalee sources said it could as

mobbed into the Tamil section of Trincomalee seeking revenge. "A massacre was averted because the police stopped the Sinhalese. In the past, the police have usually joined in against Tamils," said one citizen.

The Muslim community is also being attacked by the guerrillas. Over the past six months, looting and killing by the Tigers have driven the Muslims into refugee camps around Muttur, a mainly Muslim town secured by the army.

A young Muslim widow told how her husband was murdered by Tamils during a village bicycle race. Now, the Muslims have formed their own rustic militia, with army permission, to guard their villages.

In Colombo, diplomats say that the poor and ill-equipped Sri Lankan army can never blast the Tigers out of their jungle strongholds. Some say that president Ranasinghe Premadasa has given the army

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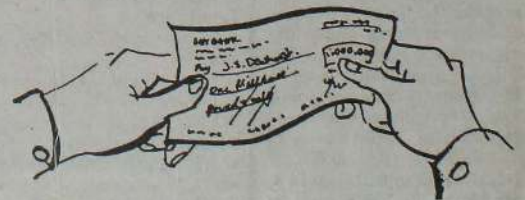
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Muslims And Tamil Eelam

Reproduced from the Voice of Tigers, the Official Bulletin of the LTTE (Jan-Feb 1991)

Tamil Eelam will be a secular state committed to the ideal of religious freedom to all communities living within its borders.

The LTTE considers the Tamil-speaking Muslim Community on the grounds of its distinct religion and culture.

Today, the Sri Lankan Government has succeeded to some extent in exploiting this separate religious identity to drive a wedge between the Muslims and the Tamils of the East. The Sri Lankan Government is not unaware that by using the Muslims to crush the Eelam Tamil Liberation struggle, it could at the same time render the Muslims powerless ensuring that Sinhala hegemony continues in the East.

It is unfortunate that the Muslim Congress which had come into existence to fight for the rights of Muslims in the East, has now been made impotent by a leadership which is based in Colombo and dependent upon Colombo.

The purpose of this article is to examine the Muslim predicament given the current developments.

Wherever the Muslims live within the island, their mother tongue has remained to be Tamil, clearly suggesting their Tamil origin. It is unfortunate that the Muslim Community has chosen to deny its heritage in a misguided effort to secure concessions from the Sri Lankan government.

It is clear that this situation had arisen, mainly due to the interests of the commercially oriented Colombo-based leadership, prevailing over the interests of the ordinary Muslim masses.

It is obvious that this Colombo-based leadership has failed the Muslim Community in securing its rights. Instead, we find that regions which had been predominantly Muslim having been converted to reflect Sinhala dominance. The Puttalam District which had a Muslim presence of around 33% is now completely Sinhalaised along with the Amparai District which was 46% Muslim.

The Sri Lankan Government has also succeeded to a remarkable extent in their attempt to drive a wedge between the Tamils and the Tamil-speaking Muslims by arming Muslim mercenaries to assist the notorious STF in its attacks on Tamils. As a result of these atrocities Tamil villages had to be abandoned (envisaged by the Sri Lankan Government) as the Tamil and Muslim communities began to look upon each other with suspicion and animosity.

Sensing the deterioration in Tamil-Muslim leadership, the LTTE sought to bridge the difference by entering into an agreement with Muslim United Liberation Front. The agreement, entered into in April

1988, acknowledged the distinctiveness of the Muslim community and addressed some the fears and aspirations of the community.

The LTTE also embarked upon a program of canvassing Muslim opinion and explaining its position to the Muslim masses. As a result, the relationship between the communities began to improve with the Muslim masses realising the truth. Not surprisingly, the LTTE too began to gain popularity amongst the Muslim masses.

The Colombo-based leadership which felt threatened by the emerging rapport between the Muslim masses and the LTTE responded by exploiting the religious bigotry of some Muslims to provoke clashes between the Tamil and Muslim communities. In addition, the Congress embarked upon a program of killing and harassing Muslim supporters of the LTTE. A vicious anti-LTTE campaign was simultaneously unleashed amongst the Muslim nations of the Middle East, accusing the LTTE of atrocities against their co-religionists.

It has to be pointed out that no Muslim living in areas controlled by the LTTE has been killed to this date. Neither have Muslim women been subjected to any kind of sexual assault in such areas. This is an indisputable fact.

It has been argued that in the merged North-East Province,

the Muslims are a mere 18% of the population, whereas in the Eastern Province alone, the Muslims were almost a third of the population. This argument implies that the Muslim people have become a smaller minority.

It is however, an argument which ignores that in this merged region, the Northern Muslims who had only been 4.5% of the population are now part of a community which is 18% of the population. It further ignores the fact that in the island of Ceylon, the Eastern Muslims who make up only 2.1% of the population, now make up 18% of the population of Tamil Eelam.

It is hypocritical of the Muslim Congress to express concern about the rights of the 101,700 Muslims in Amparai (in Tamil Eelam), while remaining silent about the rights of the 125,600 Muslims in Galle and the 168,900 Muslims in Colombo (in Sri Lanka).

Tamil leaders have been consistent in championing Muslim rights over a long period of time. In fact, it was the Tamil leadership which raised the matter of a massacre of Muslims by the Sri Lankan Police in Puttalam in 1976, while all other politicians remained silent.

The LTTE's war of independence is not confined to the Tamils alone but is a war fought on behalf of our

Tamil-speaking Muslim brethren as well.

The Muslim Congress has not only acted against the interests of the liberation struggle, but has attempted to benefit from the struggle. When war resumed between Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka, it was the agents of the Muslim Congress who participated in the large scale atrocities against the Tamil people of the East. As a result over 4,000 are feared dead, hundreds of Tamil women have been raped and over 400,000 people have been made homeless, and, Muslims in the North compelled to leave their homes fearing retaliation.

The Muslim Congress has misled the Muslim people by denying their Tamil heritage and have done themselves immense harm. The Tamil-speaking Muslims are part and parcel of the Tamil Nation, and it is time they realise that their interests are inextricably linked with the other Tamils of Tamil Eelam.

If they persist with the notion of securing concessions from Sinhalese politicians, there will come a day when these politicians, having made use of them would simply turn against them.

(There are some Muslims who persist with the spurious claim that they are Arabs ignoring that Arabic is not spoken amongst these Muslims and that they are a Tamil-speaking community.)

continuation

Growing Dates....

apart. The pollination is done by hand or with blower dusters in order to get the maximum number of date fruits. They use extension ladders or mechanized cherry pickers to climb the trees to pollinate the flowers, to place plastic bags above the ripening fruits to prevent damage from rain, to place netting or porous cloth etc. To save money, time and labour each tree is attached with a ladder on a permanent basis.

In the dry zone the date palm trees can be grown without irrigation like the Palmyra palm or the co-conut trees once the trees set their roots and reach the underground water level.

In California they get about 200 to 300 pounds of date fruits from each tree. A pound is sold for U.S. \$2.00 (Rs. 80.00) or more. Date palm trees can bear fruits for about 100 years and can grow up to 100 feet tall and can be interplanted with cash crops like ground nuts, banana, papaya, oranges, lime etc.

Date palm suckers (off-shoots) could be got from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Iraq, Kuwait, India, Pakistan etc. Every Sri Lankan working in Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait etc. can help Sri Lanka and themselves when they return home once or twice a year on holiday. At that time they can easily bring as many date palm plants with them by getting a permit from the Director of Agriculture in Sri Lanka.

Another tree that can be introduced in the dry zone can be Olive trees to produce oil, pickles, animal feed etc. Olive Oil is expensive and can be exported. Olive oil is monosaturated and doctors say it is free from cholesterol.

Thanking you.

IMPOSE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SRI LANKA - APPEAL TO UN

A Tamilian who wishes to withhold his identity for fear of reprisals has addressed an appeal to **Xavier Perez De Cuelar**, Secretary General of the United Nations in which he says "An international arms embargo against the Sri Lankan government is imperative in order to arrest its genocidal onslaught on the Sri Lankan Tamil race".

In his letter, he says, inter alia:-

Your kind reference is requested to the news item "U.N. Group to investigate alleged Human Rights Violations" a photostat copy of which is annexed.

When the object of the investigation by the representatives of the U.N. Sub Committee on Human Rights was naturally to arrest violations of human rights it was inappropriate on their part to have proceeded, in the first instance, to investigate into past human rights violations in the South and Kandy areas while ignoring the ongoing human rights violations by the government in the North-East areas of Sri Lanka.

The Sri Lankan government is engaged in a ruthless campaign to annihilate the Tamil nation. Its armed forces keep on aerial bombardments and shelling of residential areas, schools, hospitals, theatres, markets, homes for the aged, refugee camps, churches, mosques and temples. Refugees are carried away from refugee camps and murdered. Over 4000 Tamils civilians have been killed since June 1990. Well

over 250000 have fled to India and other foreign countries. Hundreds of youths arrested by the army have disappeared through extra-judicial killings. The government maintains an embargo on food, medicine and fuel to the North-East Province. Foreign press reporters and journalists are seldom permitted to enter the North-East Province of Sri Lanka. What is known to the outside world is only a fraction of the human rights violations in North-East Sri Lanka.

For the investigation by the H.R. Sub Committee to be of a meaningful exercise it should have first paid attention to the ongoing human rights violations in the North-East Province and deferred the post-mortem investigation of the violations in the South and Kandy (Central) areas. U.N. Human Rights Sub Committee permits the killing and disappearances of hundreds of Tamil civilians and destruction of hundreds of their homes.

Wherefore, I earnestly beg of you to have:

(1) the investigation by the U.N. Sub Committee on human rights violations past and ongoing in the North-East Province (Tamil Homeland) carried out immediately.

(2) International Arms Embargo, which amounts to only partial interruption of economic relations, against Sri Lanka enforced under the provisions of article 41 of the U.N. Charter by the Security Council as quickly as possible.

Enforcement of International Arms Embargo need not await the Outcome of the forthcoming investigation by the U.N. Sub Committee into the human rights violations on the part of the Sri Lankan government as already there is a mass of evidence of human rights violations on its part documented by individuals, U.N. working Groups, State Governments and non government organisations over the past 32 years.



Perez de Cuelar

"Whereas economic sanctions which inflict enormous suffering upon all citizens of a nation has been enforced by the Security Council of the U.N. against South Africa for its apartheid which is far less tyrannical than racial genocide there should be no restraint on its part to enforce against Sri Lanka International Arms Embargo which while not inflicting any suffering upon it will arrest or minimize its genocidal onslaught on the defenceless Tamil race.

"The United Nations should not fail to appreciate that the service of extensive investigations into human rights violations and documentation of their findings rendered by the individuals, U.N. Groups, State Governments and Non government Organisations were meant as valuable assistance to it towards its charge, under article I of the U.N. Charter, with promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedom and maintenance of international peace and security. Should it fall to act on their series of reports the time, energy and resources spent by them shall be utterly futile. Their reports are not meant to be thrust into archives merely to serve as materials for research by scholars of future generations.

"Though Sri Lanka is a State Party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights having ratified its covenant it has, by design, not ratified the optional protocol to permit individuals other than state parties to the Covenant to complain and proceed against Sri Lanka for breaches of the Covenant.

"I am constrained to withhold my identity herein to avoid reprisals. What is material, you will I trust appreciate, is not the identity of the author but the veracity of the above stated facts which is supported by a preponderance of evidence documented by individuals, U.N. groups and other international government and non government organisations."

TWO DIFFERENT PEOPLES, TWO DIFFERENT PROBLEMS

Lord Avebury
House of Lords
London, SW 1, England
Dear Lord Avebury:

Your Lordship's speech on the "miserable state of affairs in Sri Lanka" reported in (House of Lords, (Hansard) Vol 525, No. 31, Wednesday 23, January 1991,) revealed a deep concern for "peoples" who presently inhabit that island.

I write this response on the one hand, as one of over a million Tamils, who have been either forced or induced to leave the country and seek refuge elsewhere, to avoid the consequences of Sinhala Buddhist domination. More importantly however, I represent here the views of the majority of the expatriate Tamils in the United States, which the Ilankai Tamil Sangam represents.

First and foremost, there has to be a clear distinction drawn between the problems facing the people in the Northeast Province, and the problems that the people of the south are confronted with. The former have to disentangle themselves from the desire of the Sinhala Buddhists to continue to rule them, regardless of what party they belong to, while the latter seek to free themselves from the military dictatorship of the present UNP government.

Your Lordship's initial conclusion that the "tragedy is self inflicted" stems from a confusion of the separate underlying causes, of the separate problems, that face the separate ethnic inhabitants of this island.

The problem of the Tamils in the Northeast (shared by the Tamil speaking Muslims of that region) originates from the fai-

ture of the British Government that ruled them for 150 years, to recognize them as a people with a separate and distinct identity and ideology from the Sinhalese, who dominated the south. This factor remained the dominant concern of the colonial governors right through the dark fabric of British Rule, despite their desperate bid to unite them for reasons of administrative convenience. This was evident when Sir

These two nations differ widely in their religions, languages and manners."

They failed on the other hand to heed the warning of Mr. Gammons, Conservative MP for Hornsey, that even on the eve of Independence "Ceylon... is not a single unit. There are two races in Ceylon, Sinhalese and Tamil. They (the Tamils) differ from the Sinhalese in race, religion, and to a large extent in

It did not take long for the Sinhala rulers to advance the fate of their own people at the expense of those who became minorities under this Unitary Constitution. Within the first two years they denied one million plantation Tamils the right to citizenship and the right to vote, thus denying them the right to 8 of 98 seats in Parliament. They usurped the lands and waterways of the inhabitants of the northeast and gifted

electd from parties designed to protect them from the incursions of the Sinhala rulers. It follows that these representatives will, under the present constitution, remain a permanent political minority.

The Sinhalese have neither a moral or democratic right to continue to rule this region. Their presence is not only unwelcome and resisted, but detrimental to the rights of the local inhabitants. The Tamils and the Muslims of Eelam need a separate parliament of their own representatives if their aspirations are to be fulfilled. Their very survival hinges on separation. Their right to self determination is logical and necessary. It is time for the British government to acknowledge their mistake and recognize this reality.

Mr. Wakeley Paul, Vice-President of the Ilankai Tamil Sangam, U.S.A. in reply to Lord Avebury

Andrew Caldecott as governor stated just nine years before the grant of independence that "all our fissures radiate from the vexed question of minority representation". What he, as the last but one governor prior to grant of independence, failed to realize was that he was dealing with two separate nations that had been artificially merged by the British. At that time the British patted themselves on the back for having seemingly forged a unity amongst those who had previously remained divided. They recognized the observation of the first colonial secretary to the island, Hugh Cleghorn in 1798 that "Two different nations, have from a very ancient period divided between them the possession of the island. The Sinhalese inhabiting... the southern and western parts, and the Malbars (Tamils) the Northern and Eastern Dis-

background... Where there is a racial minority in a country, the danger is, it may become a permanent political minority." (Hansard, November 22nd 1947). Never in the history of Ceylon (now renamed Sri Lanka) was a more prophetic statement made. The events since the British gifted to the Sinhalese the right to rule the Tamils in the Northeast has proved this prophecy to be unerringly accurate. It is this point that your Lordship has missed in your analysis of the situation confronting the Northeast Province of this island, as it is presently described. It was the grant of a Unitary Constitution encompassing the island as one unit that has plagued this nation ever since. There was a false assumption of unity which had not in fact been accomplished under British Rule.

them as settlements to their own kind. They subordinated the Tamil language and supplanted it with their own as the official language of the Northeast where the dominant language was Tamil. They gave fishing rights to their people in the Northeast which were the fishing preserves of the people of the region. They denied equal access to higher education by preserving for their people over 2/3 right of entry to the universities. They continue to want to rule the people of the Northeast on their terms. In short, their only goal is to infiltrate the northeast, advantage their constituents at the expense of the local inhabitants, and subjugate its residents.

It is therefore not surprising that the majority of the parliamentary representatives of the Northeast have been

The situation in the south, on the other hand, calls for a cleansing of their own house. Their problem is "self-inflicted". They have to take whatever steps are necessary to make this government shed its military posture and respond to the needs of the people. They, after all, cannot seek self determination from themselves. Nor can they blame the British for their plight.

Yours sincerely,
Wakeley Paul,
Vice President
Ilankai Tamil Sangam, USA

CC: Lord Bishop of Ripon
Lord Wilberforce
Lord McNair
Baroness Masham of Ilton
Lord Reay
Lord Taylor of Gryfe
Baroness Ewart-Biggs

DEATHS

Archibald Singham

(from the New York Daily, March, 1991)

Archibald W. Singham, an authority on the Caribbean and a professor of political science at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, died on Tuesday at Tisch Hospital in the New York University Medical Center. He was 58 years old and lived in Brooklyn.

He died of a brain tumor, his wife, the former Shirley Hune, said.

Dr. Singham was a founding member of the social sciences faculty at the University of the West Indies, Jamaica, where he taught from 1960 to 1970. He also taught at the University of Michigan, Howard University in Washington and the University of Manchester in England before joining CUNY in 1978.

Consultant to U.N. Agencies

He was a researcher and consultant to a number of United Nations agencies and was known for his work on nonaligned and third world countries. He was also a senior fellow at the Center on the Study of Violence and Human Survival at John Jay College and the first scholar in residence at the New York State Martin Luther King Jr Insti-

tute for Nonviolence in Albany in 1990 and 1991.

He wrote several books, including "Nonalignment in an Age of Alignments" (Zed Books Ltd., 1986) and "Namibian Independence: A Global Responsibility" (Lawrence Hill & Company, 1985), with his wife, and "The Hero and the Crowd in a Colonial Polity" (Yale University Press, 1968). He was also a member of the editorial board of The Nation magazine.

Dr. Singham, who was born in Burma of Sri Lankan parents, was educated in Sri Lanka and graduated from Wesleyan University. He received a master's degree and Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

Besides his wife, Shirley, who is the associate provost of Hunter College, he is survived by a son, Roy, of Chicago; a daughter, Shanti, of Williamstown, Mass, and three grandchildren.

Dr. Sugirtharane Canagaratna, wife of Mervyn, mother of Sujit & Jehan sister of Dr. Clarence Muthiah, Raneec Savundranayagam, late Tyrrell and of Dr. Pearl Hettiaratchy and Sam Muthiah. 146/22 Havelock Rd, Colombo 5.

Alagiah Eliyathamby, Govt Surveyor, husband of Vasunthiradevi, died under tragic circumstances in Saudi Arabia.

Reginald Rajathurai Ariyanayagam, husband of late Mercy (Daniel), father of Dr. Sarada Vijayarajam and Sathya (both of UK), son of late Mr & Mrs Backus Ariyanayagam, brother of Pakiarani Navaratnam and Sountharani Rasiyah. Died Kopay. 7/1 Pamankada Lane, Colombo 6.

Alice Gnanatheepam Carpenter, wife of late Chelliahpillai Carpenter, mother of Dr. Roshan, Suresh, Anuba and Divakaran 92, Henderson Dr. Aurora, Ontario, Canada L4G 3M3.

Paul Alfred Mariyanayagam (Mahaweli Economic Agency), husband of Violet, father of Marcia, Mohan, Shirlene and Rohan, brother of late Selvanayagam, Rasanayagam and Packiam Anthony. 96/1, Rampart Rd, Kotte.

Murugesupillai Kathirgamathamby husband of Saraswathy, son of late Pundit Murugesupillai, father of K. Yogeswaran TATUPO Box 225, Umtata, TRANSKEI (Republic of South Africa).

Mariyanayagam Saverimuttu Retd Town Overseer, Negombo, father of Mano (Australia), Sugirtham (Australia), Mahes (Denmark). 36, Main St, Negombo.

Santhira Thilagam Sabaratnam (Retd Teacher, Saiva Mangaiyar Vidyalayam), wife of R. Sabaratnam, mother of Inthirai (Australia), sister of late A. Mandaleswaran, Manoranchitham Arumugam, Marukolunthu Thiagarajah, A Maheswaran and Poopathy Kanagasundaram. 27, Rajasinghe Rd, Wellawatte.

Satyadevi Vedavanam JPUM (Attorney at Law). Mother of Rajkumar, Selvakumar, Satyakumar. Cremation London, 33, Rajasinghe Rd, Colombo 6.

C.V. Kirubalaratnam, husband of Meenambihai, father of Dr. Sasileka Maheswaran Prithiviraj (London), Nithiyaganesh (New Zealand), 11, Rasavalli Lane, Colombo 6.

M. Shanmuganathan former Principal, Madhya Maha Vidyalayam, Killinochchi, Retd Chief Education Officer, Jaffna, husband of Seetha Luxmi, father of Uma (Canada), Sivananthi (USA) & Sucheendran (USA). Apt 306, 1000 Pembridge Cres, Kingston, Ontario K7P 1A3.

S. Sivanesan (Retd Statistical Officer), husband of Sivam, father of Mano, Meena (Norway) & Kaila (UK). 2, Notary's Lane, Batticaloa.

Muralidaran - Kandasamy, Pilot, "Tropic Airways", Belize, Central America, husband of Anna Marie (Marina), son of P. Kandasamy (Customs) and Mrs. Loga Kandasamy, father of Julian Daran, brother of Nimalan (Kissy), USA, Pathysuthan (Bloomy), USA, Jenny and Kenny, son-in-law of Betty and Chandrapal, brother-in-law of Sarojini, Denmark, Tony Fernandez, Rohan Fernandez, Wimalanathan, Denmark, and Damayanthi, died under tragic circumstances. Cremation at Colombo General Cemetery. 21/1, De Kretser Place, Bambalapitya and 100, Quarry Road, Dehiwela.

Selvarajah, Proctor, husband of late Vallinayagi, father of Sathiabama, Nithianandan, Nalayini and Srikantha, father-in-law of D.E. Somasunderam, Dr. Puvana Nithiawathi, Sivanath and Geetha, passed away in Jaffna on 27th March, and cremated the next day. 20, Moor Road, Wellawatte, Colombo 6.

Parameswary (nee David) Parimalas ingham, wife of Samuel Jacob, mother of Peter (Norway), Solomon (Indian Overseas Bank), Preme, Nirmala (Norway), and Sheyamala. Burial at Colombo General Cemetery, 9th April. 577/18, Havelock Road, Pamankade, Colombo 6.

TAMIL NATION

"We sent the IPKF away", claims UNP manifesto

The ruling United National Party in its manifesto for the May 11 elections to local bodies lists its record of achievements and kicks off with a photograph of the IPKF leaving the island, captioned "The IPKF was sent back". Among the other "achievements" listed are: "equal status for both Sinhala and Tamil and recruitment for jobs on merit and ethnic proportions".

A Strangled Appeal from Northeast Sri Lanka

IS THERE ANYONE OUT THERE

WHO HEARS OUR CRY?

"We don't need to exaggerate anything, because the events that happened, and that are happening right now in the Northeast will speak for themselves. Every stone, every broken building, every square foot of this land, every thing living & dead (yes, dead too) will speak about these murders and the ongoing genocide of the Tamils by the Sinhala Governments. Even as we are writing this, bombing in the city of Jaffna is taking place (March 1st, 1991 at 11.40 a.m.).

Carpet bombing

"As we write this (March 1991) aerial bombing of houses, shops, schools, temples, churches, hospitals, and other institutions are carried out by the Sri Lankan Air Force. The navy shells from the sea close by. The carpet bombing, and the aimless shelling often hits the unarmed civilian population. The Air Force will bomb at the dead of night, and so will the Navy shells at all hours and at any hour. The survivors of these attacks are made refugees in their own villages. Then, without any human concern, the armed forces will bomb even the refugee camps. The wounded cannot be treated because hospitals have no medical supplies. (See subsequent details of the shortage of medical supplies in the only leading hospital in Jaffna which is also the teaching hospital for the Medical College of Jaffna). **The people are not allowed to bring in even personal medicine into Jaffna from Colombo. Personal medication is confiscated in Vavuniya by the armed forces. Vavuniya is the entry point into the North of Sri Lanka.**

Economic Strangulation

"Food is strictly rationed, and the supply is highly controlled by the Sri Lankan Government. Most people-if not all-live on relief doled out by the Government. The lorries that carry groceries from Colombo to Jaffna are detained in Vavuniya by the military. More than half the population is starving. Please, come and witness the dying, and the starving.

"The cost of essential goods have skyrocketed in prices that the average person can no longer afford to purchase :

Rice - Rs. 55/- (kl) in US \$ 1/38 Sugar - Rs. 100/- in US \$ 2/50, Flour - Rs. 40/- in US \$ 1/-, Bread - Rs. 18/- (per loaf) US \$ =/45, Kerosene - Rs. 150/- (per bottle) US \$ 3/75, Petrol - Rs. 650/- (per bottle) US \$ 16/25, Coconut - Rs. 30/- US \$ =/75, Soap - Rs. 22/- US \$ =/55.

"Some of the other banned items in the North are : tooth-paste, soap, harpic, stationaries including news print, note books... **Oh! heavens, how these items can be explosives or subversive materials only the Defence Ministry could tell us. Aid-giving countries, please take a good note of this.**

"Is there anyone out there who hears our cry? - the cry to live? This may be our last cry, because we may not be alive to cry again. Save us now, or live with the guilt for ever"

This is the message of a "strangled" appeal sent to Tamil Nation in a 5-page document, dated March 1, but which has just reached us.

To quote some excerpts :-

Movements Curtailed

"The transport system is completely paralysed owing to the scarcity of petrol and even Kerosene. The only mode of transport is the old time bicycle. The sick cannot be transported to the hospitals. It costs a person to travel to Vavuniya Rs. 600/- (US \$ 15/-) and takes 1 to 2 days covering only 90 miles, whereas from Vavuniya to Colombo it costs only Rs. 40/- (US \$ 1/-) by train covering 150 miles? Yes, life beyond Madawachchiya is very different. **So, who is dividing the country?**

No Money, No Stamps!

"We are unable to draw our own money from the banks because the banks have no hard currency (liquid cash). Yes, the banks have no money, the post-offices have no stamps, the pharmacies have no medicine, gas stations have no petrol, the lights don't burn (we have had no electricity for the last eight long and dark months), the telephones don't ring (for the last five years); the news papers don't come, and we can't even listen to the radio for news because, no batteries are allowed to be brought in. We cannot bring in candles, nor box of matches nor mosquito coils to drive away the mosquitoes. And, Jaffna is now infested with mosquitoes. Those Government pensioners who totally depend on their pension are reduced to poverty. The old are really going through untold miseries after years of service for the State of Sri Lanka.

"If the armed forces are allowed to close in, and when they come into the peninsula **they will massacre (the unarmed civilians - chop them, rape the women, out the people, slash them as they did, and as they are continuing to do in Batticaloa, Trincomallee, and Mannar. We are living in absolute FEAR.**

Black out of News

"No reporters or broadcasters from the capital (Colombo) have ever visited the Northeast to report facts. Thus, the Sinhala people have been kept in the dark all the way. The Catholic hierarchy and the Buddhist monks who cry for

unity have never visited the Northeast either. The only source of their information is the Sri Lankan military who are the killers in the Northeast. Foreign visitors, dignitaries, representatives of the Embassies, even foreign journalists are threatened by the Government not to visit the Northeast. This is 'social democracy' in Sri Lanka. If you wish to know the truth, defy the Government's threat and visit Northeast and find the facts yourselves. The LTE will not be a threat to you.

"We really feel cut-off from the rest of the world in a century when communicators speak of a 'global village!'

Aid Giving Countries

"The Aid giving countries have a moral obligation to put pressure on the Sri Lankan

Government to resolve this racial issue. They have a moral responsibility to oversee that their aid does not go into buying arms and used against unarmed civilian population. Or, are we to believe that these aid giving countries are party to the killing and the ongoing genocide? Amnesty International has repeatedly reported the Sri Lankan history of massive Human Rights violation. How long will these aid-giving countries continue to hold their pharisaical silence? Don't they have a moral duty to see how the aid is spent? **How much of the aid for the last 40 years was spent in the Northeast? Please publish your own findings.**

United Nations

"Has UN turned a stooge and a slave at the hands of the mighty and the powerful? Or, will UN play its mediating role

and prevent further killings in Sri Lanka? No government has any right to kill its own people under the pretext of "internal matters." The Northeast of Sri Lanka is not even represented in the Sri Lankan Government! **Does UN know this? Are the aid giving countries aware of this? Does the outside world know that there is no civil administration for the last seven years?**

- Wiping out a minority (who once lived as a nation) is Not Internal Matter.

- Economic strangulation of a Community is Not An Internal Matter.

- Bombing and shelling a large Community is Not Internal Matter.

This may be our Last Cry, because, **We may not be Alive to cry again; save us Now, or Live with The Guilt Forever!**

*The Cry of the Tamils
Northeast of Sri Lanka.*

Lanka's secret numbered accounts : No takers?

Those with vast amounts of unaccounted cash who do not want to take the trouble of travelling all the way to Switzerland, St. Kitts or Luxembourg now have a convenient option - Sri Lankan banks in that troubled island are now offering secret numbered accounts.

Although the Sri Lankan banks guarantee absolute secrecy of identity and accounts balance, in advertisements appearing in Indian publications, business circles in Bombay think that Indians would be wary of dumping black money in a country which is considered "unstable". Unlike Switzerland with its long history of peace and tranquility, Sri Lanka with its continuous history of internal war where even martial law is not an impossibility is not considered conducive for such investments. Moreover Indian rupees are not accepted. The deposits can be paid only in one of eight currencies including US dollars, Deutsche marks, pounds sterling and Japanese yen.

Depositors could also come up against the Sri Lankan law that permits disclosing of information if there is a suspicion that accounts are held by anyone involved in highjackings, terrorism or drug dealings.

A minimum of \$ 10,000 is required as initial deposit to qualify for a secret account, and the interest rates on savings and fixed deposit accounts are 6 per cent per annum on US dollars and 12 per cent on pounds sterling accounts.

LANKA FOREIGN POLICY TO STRESS ON SOUTH ASIA

Sri Lanka has reorganised its Foreign Office to give more prominence to the South Asian region in general and to India in particular.

For the first time, a Director-General (political) has been put in sole charge of the South Asian Division of the Foreign Ministry. While the former permanent representative to UN offices in Geneva, Nihal Rodrigo, has been given that post, another senior diplomat, Rodney Vandergert, has been appointed as Director-General (political) in charge of international and multi-lateral arrangements, other than the

South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC).

Sri Lanka is also going ahead

with the logistical arrangements for the SAARC summit to be held in Colombo at the end of the year.

3 Sinhalese & Tamil in boat

Four people, three Sinhalese and one Tamil, were arrested along with a gold biscuit in a mechanised vallam about 40 miles off Negombo in Sri Lanka's coast, according to a Colombo report. The men were trying to cross over to Tuticorin in the Indian coast with the intention of smuggling back contraband. They were detected on the radar of a Super Dvora fast attack craft of the Navy.