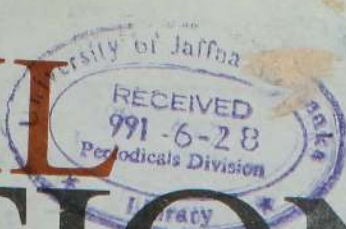


TAMIL NATION



Vol. 1

No. 18

May 15, 1991

Fortnightly

Published in U.K. by the TAMIL FORUM LTD. P.O. Box 373, Croydon, Surrey CR9 6AB

One Indian child's choice was Prabhakaran!

India's national newspaper, *The Hindu*, has a weekly Children's Supplement called the Young World. It had recently posed the question to its young readers as to who they would like as India's next Prime Minister. The choice was between Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh, L.K. Advani and Chandra Shekhar. The paper reports: "A total of 6,497 young readers between 10 and 17 years of age sent in their choice.... According to the final count, Rajiv Gandhi leads the list with 3,160 readers, followed by L.K. Advani (1,723). Then comes V.P. Singh with 1,175 and the outgoing Chandra Shekhar (413)... But there was cynicism and disgust in the responses from some readers. One boy stuck the Army Chief's picture, while another sent in a picture of the LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran!..."

TERRITORY THE ISSUE, NOT MULTI - ETHNICITY

Most governments in the world - cushioned as they are in power - show very little originality in dealing with Dissent, whether it be militancy, insurgencies, trade union tussles or liberation wars. They tend to employ the same, standard, stereotyped formula - the Carrot and the Stick, the traditional technique tried on mules which refuse to "co-operate"; the stick is applied on the back and the carrot dangled in front.

Successive heads of government in Colombo who fancied themselves as mule drivers in the seats of power, have over the years been employing the same technique with Tamil leaderships. Forty three years of cumulative failure of that policy - whatever short-term dividends that it paid off - have brought the country into the present impasse where the issue is not jobs, not language rights, not opportunities for higher education but LAND. In the language of governments, it is a problem of "preserving the territorial integrity of the country".

The first Prime Minister of the island, Don Stephen Senanayake, had no need for the "stick". He merely dangled the "carrot" of a Cabinet portfolio to the then Tamil leadership, and Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam got comfortably settled down into the ranks of the government. Thirty years later, the first Executive President of the country dangled the "carrot" of the post of Leader of the Opposition in the Sri Lankan Parliament, and the then TULF leader Mr. Amirthalingam made a grab for it. By alternatively getting the Tamils to get a beating through mob attacks and state terrorism and offering Amity talks, District Councils and Round Table conferences, Jayewardene kept the TULF leadership in a state of perpetual political paralysis. It worked. But the turning point came when in an act of aberration he rammed in the Sixth Amendment of the Constitution in Parliament. It had a two-fold, counter-productive result: it drove the TULF leadership into the hands of Mrs. Gandhi, and opened the floodgates into what Colombo has always feared - "Indian interference", also it paved the way for the politics of the gun. Little did old Junius Richard Jayewardene realise that now he would have to do business with a new set of Tamil customers - other disparties apart -

who in terms of sheer age difference separated him by a near-sixty years.

A recoil from passivity

The eighties had already seen the ascendancy of the new Tamil generation, a re-orientation of Tamil attitudes, a recoil from the past Tamil passivity, and the birth of a strong Tamil leadership that neither feared the stick nor had any use for carrots! What the Sinhala leaders had always assumed to be a Tamil mule had instead turned into a Tiger. It is in coping with this new phenomenon, a legacy of the past, that the present President is struggling.

It must be said to the credit of President Premadasa, that unlike his predecessor, he is a politician with his ears to the ground; and hence has the perspicacity to understand and respect the nature of the new Tamil phenomenon. This is what perhaps gave him the courage in May 1989 to admit armed Tigers into the city of Colombo and host them in 5-star hotels, over which his Sinhala critics have not stopped taunting him. If his recent convincing win in the local bodies' elections has given him the confidence to go back to his original track, he now has the added benefits of two experiences - a one-year old pointless dialogue between May 1989 and May 1990 that came to nothing, and the one-year old fruitless war between June 1990 and now, which had come to nothing either; but had left the country weaker economically, and more exposed to strong-arm pressures from western donor countries. In fact, he has fewer options now than what he had in May 1989.

"Ellam" but not Eelam

President Premadasa is reported to have told a Sinhala audience recently, - in a bilingual flourish - that while he was not prepared to concede Eelam, but short of it he was prepared to give "ellam" (all, in Tamil). That we think is a good beginning. After all, one should be pragmatic enough to understand that no ruler anywhere can concede anything that is not in his power to give. New nation states are never given, they are always taken. The General Yahya Khans and Bhuttos could not have given Bangladesh; it was taken from them. Mr. Premadasa also cannot be unconscious of the

dramatic developments that are taking place around the globe today.

The winds of change are blowing with such devastating effect that the smug assumptions of yesteryear are being blown away. Soviet leader Gorbachev might not want to let go his hold on the Baltic states, but the leaders of those states are busy talking to President Bush. Eyebrows were raised in western capitals when Chinese Communist party leader Jiang Zemin arrived in Moscow the other day, the first visit by the Senior most Chinese leader after the late Mao Tse-Dong

met Krushchev in 1957. In Yugoslavia, Croatia has warned that it would withdraw from the union if Serbia blocks its nominee for Presidency. The long-forgotten question of Chinese-occupied Tibet is being revived by the Americans. Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani says that he and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had agreed to key points in a proposal to end the rebellion against the Baghdad regime. Israel says that the gap between the Jewish state and the Arab states had narrowed. In India, whichever government comes to power, it would not only have to contend

with hitherto unexperienced domestic compulsions, but would also be compelled to review its stances in external relations, not excluding the Tamil question in Sri Lanka. In short, new permutations and new combinations are emerging in inter-state relations all over the world. The oft-repeated truism that no country has permanent friends or permanent enemies, but only permanent interests, takes on a heightened relevance in the light of all these current developments.

An obsolete issue

Sri Lanka cannot afford to be left out in the cold at a time when some development somewhere on a part of the globe is beginning to produce chain reactions everywhere. It is for President Premadasa to grasp the hand that History is offering him. But no leader gets away by trying to retrace history. If we give Mr. Premadasa the benefit of the doubt, it would seem that he would go as far as to share power with the Tamils in a multi-ethnic one-nation state. But that is not only not the Tamil demand now, but it is also an obsolete issue, thirty five years at least behind Time. The liberation struggle that is now being waged is not being fought on Sri Lankan soil but on Tamil soil. Sri Lankan planes are not bombing Sinhala territory but Tamil-populated areas. The people who are getting killed are not the Tamils who yet continue to live in Sinhala territory but those who live in their own traditional areas of habitation where they have lived for centuries. Whatever solution therefore that has to emerge out of this painful phase of history has to reflect the tendencies that are relevant here and now, and has to involve the question of territorial integrity of the Tamil nation as well.

The war in the meanwhile has intensified in the past weeks. But even the officers of the Sri Lankan armed forces have begun to state publicly that the military objective is not to attempt to hold territory, but to "marginalise" the Tigers; an objective which was claimed to have been achieved four years ago when President Premadasa forced the IPKF out! What Henry Kissinger once said is worth recalling: "The guerrilla wins if he does not lose; the army loses if it does not win".

S. Sivanayagam

VIEW POINT



A nervous Sri Lankan commando in the jungles of Vavuniya

TAMIL NATION

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

Sri Aurobindo

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

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

Editor

S. SIVANAYAGAM

Advisory Editorial Board
Nadesan Sathyendra - U.K.
Rajan Sriskandarajah - U.S.A.
Ana Pararajasingham - Australia

Views expressed in the paper are not necessarily those of the Editor, the Editorial Advisory Board, or the Publishers. TAMIL NATION welcomes reader responses in the form of Letters or Articles. Contributions should preferably be typed on one side of the paper only and if in long hand, should be written legibly. Material received for publication in subject to abridgement and editing where found necessary.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE UNITED KINGDOM

P.O. Box: 417,
Cambridge CB3 9LZ
Phone/Fax: (0223) 355431

U.S.A.

23, Tamidan Road,
Poughkeepsie NY 12601-
Fax: (914) 485 5865

AUSTRALIA

P.O. Box 215, Enfield,
N.S.W. 2136
Fax: (02) 626 5610

INDIA

C/o Research Institute of Tamil
Affairs, M 11/4, 28th Cross St.,
Besant Nagar, Madras 600 090.
Tamil Nadu.

SALES AND ADVERTISING

Australasia - P.O. Box 623
Mulgrave North, Victoria 3170,
Australia - Phone/Fax:
(03) 560 7739

U.S.A. - 23, Tamidan Road,
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601 -
Fax: (914) 485 5865.

United Kingdom & Other
countries - Tamil Forum Ltd.,
P.O. Box: 373, Croydon,
Surrey, U.K. CR9 6AB -
Phone: UK (081) 460 3959
Fax: UK (081) 681 3657

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION
USA - 30 US\$ * Australia - 40
AUS\$ * UK & Other countries -
£15 * India - Rs. 120

India: Cheques in favour of
Research Institute of Tamil
Affairs.

All Other Countries: Cheques
favour of TAMIL NATION

Briefs

"Hand over Refugee camps to UNHCR"

TULF M.P. Mavai Senathirajah has sent an urgent message to President Premadasa calling for the management of refugee camps in Batticaloa to be handed over to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). He expressed "deep distress" over the discovery of several mutilated bodies in the Batticaloa district and the disappearance of persons from refugee camps following arbitrary arrests.

Noon fire on railway track

LTE cadres were alleged to have set fire to a portion of rail track between Poonani and Valaichchenai in Batticaloa around noon on 5th of May. Soldiers on picket duty nearby are reported to have rushed to the scene to put out the fire, when Tigers in ambush attacked them with small arms and mortars. Army casualties are not known, but a Corporal by the name of Biyanwila was reported to have been removed to Polonnaruwa base hospital with injuries.

Gamini to face abduction charge

Former Lankan Minister Lionel Gamini Disanayake has been issued notice to appear before the Colombo High Court Judge Ananda Gero on May 30 along with three others to face three charges under an indictment involving the abduction of Prof. Ralph Buultjens three years ago. Prof. Buultjens has been cited as one of the prosecution witnesses.

"Blue sheep in Tiger clothes"

Industries Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe said at his weekly Press briefing on May 2 that a group of people was carrying out a deliberate campaign in Moneragala to "frighten the residents out of the area". He did not identify the group of people, but said the Moneragala police would be in a position to give more details. He was asked about the assertion made by President Premadasa at an election rally in Balangoda that "blue sheep operating in Tiger clothing were making sinister attempts to force people out of border village into the Moneragala district". Mr. Wickramasinghe said the Police and persuaded the people not to move out of that area, but he was not in a position to give the exact number of villagers who had given into threats and left Moneragala.

5 Navy men killed : 20 wounded

An LTTE boat packed with explosives rammed into a Navy surveillance command ship off the northern waters, damaging it badly and killing at least five sailors and wounding twenty others. The attack took place about six miles north of Point Pedro at about 2 a.m. on Saturday the 4th May.

Described as a Sea Tiger suicide mission, the lone attacker on the LTTE boat is believed to have been blown to bits. The Lankan ship was one of three "mother ships" of the Lankan Navy used to control and direct its Fast Attack Crafts and gun boats which maintain the naval cordon around Lanka's northern, eastern and western coasts. The damaged ship was a 3000-4000 tone merchant vessel converted into a command ship.

Some of the critically wounded sailors are reported to have been airlifted to the Anuradhapura Base Hospital.

Tamil academic shot at army checkpoint

Ademonstrator in Physics in the Open University, Colombo, N. Matheeswaran, was killed near the Army-PLATE checkpoints at Vavuniya. He was returning from a visit to Jaffna. The Open University Teachers' Association in condemning the killing, states in the course of its news release that such killings of innocent civilians have become commonplace now.

Govt. forces : Death tally is 1282 : 480 on missing list

Secretary to the State Ministry of Defence Air Marshal Walter Fernando announced in Colombo on 2nd May that a total of 1282 "Security forces" personnel were killed in the period between June 1990 and end-April 1991. Another 480 were on the missing list, the total losses being 1762. The details he gave were as follows :- Army : 896; Navy : 10; Air Force : 7; STF : 9; Police : 336; Home Guards : 24. He attributed the high casualties to the "intensified anti-LTTE operations".

'Stunning successes' by LTTE elite groups

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has formed elite, highly mobile groups composed of 200-300 fighters for special operations against the government forces.

Colombo Press reports quoted military sources as claiming that these groups were formed to boost the morale of the LTTE which has suffered high casualties and had to concede ground in the face of the military's superior firepower and numbers.

They said that these assault groups depend on their strength, good planning and speed to achieve total local superiority over the army units.

These groups have launched devastating surprise attacks before vanishing into the jungle in classic hit-and-run guerrilla operations, the sources said.

They said the LTTE's communications intercepted by the army's intelligence men have confirmed the existence of such groups which have scored some stunning success against the security forces in recent weeks despite the LTTE's loss of key jungle bases.

Anura Bandaranaike's jibes at the UNP

The Army was suffering heavy losses. Forty five soldiers, most of them very young men, were trapped, ambushed and killed by the LTTE in Mannar on the 29th April. Out of this number, four or five were from the Maho area. During a visit to the area in connection with the forthcoming local government elections, he had visited the houses of the dead soldiers, said Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, M.P., the Sri Lanka Freedom Party's All Island Organiser, while addressing the party's propaganda meetings in the Ratnapura district.

Mr. Bandaranaike said the UNP had failed badly in controlling the LTTE. Claiming that the late Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne was killed in an LTTE operation, he said the

President had failed to protect even his own Defence Minister, a person who was provided with the best available security. If he could not protect his own Defence Minister how could the President protect the ordinary people?, he asked.

Earlier, addressing a May Day rally in Colombo, Mr. Bandaranaike said that over three thousand members of the armed forces and police had laid down their lives in the North and East. President George Bush had flown fifteen thousand miles to Saudi Arabia during the recent Gulf War to attend Mass with American soldiers on Christmas Day, but our President could not fly two hundred miles to have a piece of "kiribath" with our soldiers on Sinhala New Year Day.

43 soldiers, 2 officers killed in a Tiger ambush

Forty three soldiers and two officers were killed in a Tiger ambush at Nanattan in Mannar on 29th April, military sources in Colombo said. An earlier report had placed the death toll at 25.

Only six soldiers had survived the attack in which two platoons proceeding from Nanattan army camp to the Thalladi base were taken by surprise by the Tigers, they said. All weapons of the dead soldiers were removed by the Tigers.

According to a soldier who survived the attack, a large number of Tigers taking cover on either side of the road had attacked the army contingent incessantly. The attack took place around 9 a.m. Some soldiers who made an attempt to remove the dead bodies were also killed. The army spokesman in Colombo said that a number of Tiger were among the among the ambush party.

The sources claimed that a massive round-up was launched after this attack and that over 125 Tigers were killed in the process. But it is believed that as what usually happens, helicopter gunships begin to strafe the area and shoot at every moving object, killing several civilians.

"And to my children I leave an enormous tax bill."

One day, your family may have to pay a tax they've never heard of, thought about or planned for.

Inheritance Tax.

It will affect far more people than you might imagine-it could eventually cost your family thousands of pounds, particularly if you are a homeowner.

Allied Dunbar can help ease the burden and I can show you how. The first step is to ask for a copy of our free guide. Then, I'll contact you to discuss Allied Dunbar's solutions in more detail.

Just fill in the coupon or telephone me on Potters Bar (0707) 52819.

ALLIED DUNBAR
PERSONAL FINANCIAL GUIDANCE
Member of LAUTRO

To: Raj S. Anantha Rajah Sales Associate
representing Allied Dunbar Assurance Plc
Private Office: 40 Sunnyside Road, Potters Bar, Hertfordshire EN6 2NN

Yes please, I would like to know more about Inheritance Tax.

Name:

Address:

Post Code: Telephone:

TAMIL NATION AUSTRALIA

For all inquiries concerning Sales, Subscriptions, and Advertising:

P.O. Box 623, Mulgrave North
Victoria 3170
Phone/Fax: (03) 560 7739
Subscription Cheques in favour of
TAMIL NATION

NORTHEAST LANKA-SITUATION REPORTS

Humanitarian bodies also face Armed Forces terrorism

A question mark hangs over the operations of two major relief organisations in the North and East, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the French medical relief organisation, Medicines Sans Frontier (MSF), after their teams were attacked in separate incidents in Vavuniya. Both organisations have put their operations on temporary hold until they get some assurance that they will not come under attack again.

A four-member MSF team was wounded after it came under helicopter and bomber attack north of Vavuniya, and the organisation has stopped all movement of medical teams. There is a possibility that MSF might be forced to pull out of Sri Lanka unless it gets some assurance about the safety of its personnel, though an MSF spokesman said "we have not taken any decision about pulling out yet."

The Sri Lankan Government is worried at the possibility that the MSF will leave the country, and has promised to hold an enquiry into the incident. "We told them we would institute an enquiry into the matter, and we will also formulate ground rules for the future", said Mr. Bradman Weerakoon, Adviser to the President. "The MSF is freezing its operations for a week while it waits to see what action the Government takes," he added.

An MSF pull-out could, however, lead to a chain reaction in which the UNHCR would be forced to stop administering its camps at Mannar and Madhu Church. The MSF provides medical care at these two camps, and the UNHCR would find it difficult to continue without this assistance.

The Government of India worried about the possibility of

the Madhu Church camp, which is home to nearly 30,000 refugees being disturbed, and the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. N.N. Jha had a meeting with UNHCR and MSF representatives on Monday to advise them not to pull out in a hurry. "We impressed upon them the adverse impact there would be on the ground in the North and East if they pulled out," said Mr. Jha.

**From Thomas Abraham
The Hindu**

The UNHCR has been unable to send food to the 30,000 odd refugees at Madhu after its convoy of lorries came under fire outside Vavuniya a week ago. The convoy of empty

lorries was returning from Madhu after unloading food when it was caught in the crossfire between the LTTE and PLOT cadres in the non-man's land (north of territory). The army and PLOT maintain that LTTE cadres had smuggled themselves onto one of the empty lorries and had attacked the PLOT outpost. But the UNHCR has strenuously denied this, and stopped all movement of relief convoys until it gets some assurance that such incidents will not happen again.

The MSF team, however, was involved in a much more serious incident last week when a four-member team was attacked by a helicopter and bomber north of Vavuniya. The helicopter fired at the

four-wheel truck the team was travelling in for half an hour and eight bombs were dropped around it. The team members were wounded but survived by taking cover under a culvert until they were rescued by the Red Cross. One MSF nurse had to undergo emergency surgery after being hit in the thigh and has been evacuated to France along with another doctor and nurse who were less seriously wounded.

The Air Force has not given any convincing explanation about why the MSF team was attacked, except to say that there was an LTTE vehicle in the vicinity which had fired at the Air Force.

Both incidents have served to bring out in the open the deep suspicion with which the military regards relief organisations working in the North and East. There is a strong belief in the military that all these organisations knowingly or unknowingly help the LTTE, and many people in the military are uncomfortable at the thought of allowing these agencies a free run.

Meanwhile, the military, has reported that it lost 18 men, including two officers, in fierce fighting near an LTTE camp at Koliyakulam, west of Omantai. There were no accurate figures of LTTE casualties, though one estimate put it at 40.

18 soldiers killed, over 20 wounded in Vavuniya battle

Eighteen soldiers including two officers were killed and over twenty others were reported wounded in fierce fighting between the LTTE and government forces near Omantai in Vavuniya district on May 5. Casualties were reported heavy on the LTTE side as well, but no figures were available.

Sri Lankan helicopter gunships and Sia Marchetti bombers are reported to have pounded Tiger positions in the Omantai area forcing the withdrawal of LTTE cadres from the area; following which Lankan soldiers are believed to have advanced a few miles into territory held by the Tigers.

Fighting was also reported at Koliyakulam, Thandikulam and Nochimodai. Indefinite curfew was imposed on the neighbouring Mullaitivu district as well.

LTTE leader's brother killed

S. Satkunanathan, whose only "crime" was that he happened to be the younger brother of the LTTE political leader of Batticaloa district, Karikalan, was abducted on April 24. His body with stab injuries was found in a gunny bag on April 27. Satkunanathan was an employee of the Telecommunication Department. A pro-Government group calling itself the "Black Cobras" has made an announcement claiming responsibility for the killing.

★★★★★



Crossing the boundary : Army checkpoint at Vavuniya

NO TOURISTS IN EASTERN SEA RESORTS

By Ashwani Talwar
The Times of India
News Service

Arugam Bay is not the average tourist resort: The day begins with a rumour. Back from the must-take early morning stroll along the beach, you are told the "latest" by the hotel staff. The cook has just heard that the Tamil Tigers sneaked into the area last night - hiding among a herd of cattle which apparently drifted past security checkpoints - and opened fire. False alarms are common here, but he is inclined to believe this one. "If it comes first thing in the morning, it must be true."

We are tourists by accident. On reaching Pottuvil town from the site of a massacre by Tamil militants (Niyadella in Moneragala district: Sinhalese villagers shot or hacked; most of them children), we had planned to turn north and drive along the coast to Batticaloa. The security forces had however closed the road for an "operation". There was no choice but to spend the night at Arugam Bay, across the lagoon from Pottuvil.

Till a few years ago, Arugam

Bay fishing village was a thriving low-budget tourist destination. The accommodation was never classy, but the Australians, Americans and Europeans flocked here for the windsurfing which the locals claim is among the best in the world. The owner of Stardust hotel at a Pottuvil claimed that his place raked in Sri Lanka Rs. 1.5 lakhs (Indian Rs. 70,000) every month until fighting between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) turned off the tourists. Stardust was virtually closed now. The hotel staff said they had the rooms, but would not guarantee a meal.

Stardust informally recommended a rival establishment. 'Hideaway', the only full functioning hotel in Arugam Bay. The Hideaway staff of four greeted us like long-lost friends. They have not had many guests for the last few months - the hotel register shows about half-a-dozen since December. In fact, there was believed to be only one genuine white-skinned tourist in the entire village that day. But the surfer was staying elsewhere, probably at one of the "cabanas" or huts with not

many amenities, offered cheap by the villagers. An example is the now run-down 'Starfish' on the beach which touts "luxury cabanas" with a common outside toilet.

No Electricity: Hideaway with nine rooms, including the cabanas set out in the compound is more upmarket. But it has to make do like the rest of Arugam Bay without electricity. There has been no power for some time and the Arugam Bay 'hoteliers' were waiting for the "line" with Pottuvil town to be restored. Even in Pottuvil telephones have been dead for months. The telecommunication department staff is scared to travel out of the town for repairs because of LTTE threats.

Like Arugam Bay - which might have turned into a more developed tourist resort had there been peace - the rest of the island too is yearning for tourists. Sri Lanka began taking tourism seriously in 1966 when it set up the Ceylon tourist board. The late seventies were the boom period when tourist arrivals grew by around 25 per cent every year. The peak was reached in 1982 with over four lakh tourists.

But 1983 changed all that. Tourist arrivals dropped sharply after serious ethnic trouble. By 1988, when the Sinhala extremists' 'Janatha Vimukthi Perumuna' (JVP) insurgency started, tourist arrivals had dwindled to 1.8 lakh. The JVP was crushed by the end of 1989 and next year the tourist arrivals recorded an over 60 per cent upsurge touching the three lakh mark.

UNDP Plan: The tourist board appears confident that the worst is over. A 10-year master plan, heavily aided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is being worked out. Although the tourists are still likely to visit resorts and historical sites outside the war affected north and east, developing east Sri Lanka is part of the long-term tourism master plan. The target area stretches from Arugam Bay in Ampara district to Trincomalee in the north.

So far as facilities for tourists are concerned, there is a difference between Trincomalee and the fishing village of Ampara Bay. But for the time being, the resorts in Trincomalee are quiet. A 100-bed beach hotel at Nilaweli outside the town, did

not have anyone lodgers about a month ago. And the staff had other things to worry about than the zero-occupancy rate.

A few days ago, the LTTE set off a mine killing two soldiers near the hotel. The army then took in almost the entire staff of six for questioning.

They were let off after a week with the army, and appeared thankful. "They were very nice. Of course, they had to slap us around a bit. But we can't blame the army for this", said one of the staff.

Batticaloa town, between Arugam Bay and Trincomalee on the east coast, has not been a major tourist destination even during the good times. But it is mentioned in tourist literature. It is picturesquely set by the Lagoon. There is an old Dutch fort and the place is known for its "singing fish". But today people are allowed in by the army, only if they have serious business in the town. Sometimes they come back with a bad impression. On the back to Colombo, we saw two headless bodies dumped by the roadside a little before the Batticaloa hoarding by the roadside for travellers saying, "Thank you Drive carefully."

PERUMAL BECOMES A LIABILITY TO INDIA

Former Chief Minister of the IPKF-sponsored Northeast Provincial Council of Sri Lanka, Varadaraja Perumal, now in secret exile in India, has become a major burden to Indian policy-makers. Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar, according to New Delhi reports, has turned down a request from Mr. Perumal to meet him and other Indian leaders in Delhi. He has been told to wait until the elections are over, and a new government takes office.

Unpopular both with the Sri Lanka government as well as with the Liberation Tigers, Mr. Perumal had sought refuge in India when the IPKF withdrew from Northeast Lanka in March last year.

The Bombay daily, *The Independent*, reports in its issue of May 7:-

"The chief minister is on the hit list of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). He and his family are living in a fort at Chanderi in Madhya Pradesh protected by heavily armed commandos sent by the centre.

"The government has never disclosed Perumal's whereabouts since he came to India. Perumal's flight from Sri Lanka was arranged by Indian intelligence agencies. He was first shifted to Australia and then to Lakshadweep before being brought to Chanderi.

"Perumal who belongs to the Eelam People's Revolutionary Front (EPRF) wanted to talk to the Prime Minister as well as to Congress-I president Rajiv Gandhi about the situation in the island's northern parts where Sri Lankan security forces are on a major offensive to pin down LTTE guerrillas.

"According to Indian intelligence officials who are the only link to the outside world for Perumal, the EPRF leader wanted to seek New Delhi's permission to visit Sri Lanka so that he can reestablish contacts with his people.

"Perumal also wanted to convey to the Indian government that the LTTE's clout is far from being diminished, and rather it was expanding its base notwithstanding the current

military offensive of Colombo. Sources say Perumal also wanted the Indian government to make arrangements for the education of his child.

"But the Prime Minister thought a meeting with Perumal at this juncture would not serve any purpose and consequently restrained Perumal from leaving Chanderi, the sources say.

"Perumal's presence at Chanderi drew resentment among the local people at one stage and the Mayor of the town formally asked the government to shift him. The Madhya Pradesh Government told the Centre that it had agreed to keep Perumal only for a short period.

"The Centre then approached the Bihar government to provide a haven for Perumal, but the move did not take place. India had been sympathetic to Perumal because of the support he rendered as head of the EPRF by participating in the local elections that were billed by this LTTE as a farce..."

(See earlier report in *Tamil Nation* of March 1)

SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT ASSAILED IN WASHINGTON

Washington: The Sri Lankan government was severely criticized for what was called its inaction on human rights violations by its security forces and the State Department said it was waiting for concrete results from some new steps taken by Colombo.

At an American Bar Association meeting organized recently by its international human rights committee, all sides in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka were criticized by representatives from the State Department. Amnesty International, the U.S. Committee for Refugees and a Tamil lawyer. But they said the government was particularly responsible for giving immunity and extraordinary powers to security forces.

Purnell Delly, desk officer for Sri Lanka and the Maldives at the State Department, characterized the human rights violations in 1990 as "dreadful" and a "troubling chronicle."

Results as a Test

While welcoming steps taken by Colombo to appoint a human rights task force and a commission, Delly said:

"However, for the State Department the litmus test will have to be concrete results."

Among those at the meeting was Colombo's ambassador to the U.S. Susanta de Alwis, and political minister B.A.B. Goonetillake, who responded to accusations made by panelists.

He said Sri Lanka had one of the highest quality-of-life indexes in the developing world, and held fair elections; that Colombo had tried to resolve the conflict through negotiations and that it was still open to talks with the Tamil guerrillas.

800,000 Displaced People

By July 1990 there were 880,000 displaced people in Sri Lanka's northeast, said Courtland Robinson, a representative of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, a private organization. He said that number increased to more than a million by September.

About 135,000 Tamils had sought refuge in India in the four years before to the June

accord, he said, but he called New Delhi's response to these refugees "ambivalent" and noted that the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Muthuvel Karunanidhi, had announced that they would be barred from the state.

"The Indian government has resisted all attempts to provide international assistance to Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu and Orissa," Robinson asserted.

The World's Refugees

Today, he said, there are 16 million refugees around the world, plus 30 million internally displaced persons in various countries. He said Sri Lanka had the largest such displacements outside Africa.

John Nides of Amnesty International said 6,000 deaths could be attributed to the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna from 1987 to 1990, and that thousands had been killed by government forces, though the number was reduced last year.

He asserted that Indian peacekeeping forces were also responsible for human rights violations in Sri Lanka.



Sri Lanka army man challenging Lord Buddha as seen by Indian cartoonist.

P. SRINIVASAN

INSURANCE MORTGAGE & PENSION SPECIALIST

'Suhantham'

110 Merton High Street London SW19 1AD Tel: 081-545 0796/8
Abbots Lane Kenley Surrey CR2 5JB 1524 London Rd London SW16 4EU 081-679 1952/3
081-660 5692

FAX: 081-679 4960 MOBILE PHONE: 0860 369735

Remortgages & Mortgages

Non Status - Self Certification

Fixed - Stabiliser

(Stabilised Rate 11.49% as Long as You Want)

Low Start - Deferred Interest
(Super Low Start from 7.95%)

Choice of Payment
(10%, 11% or 12%)

Interest Holiday
(Upto One Year)

Available for House Purchase or Remortgages for any Purpose

Your Home is at Risk if you do not Keep Up Repayments on a Mortgage or Other Loan Secured On it.

BUSINESS FINANCE PERSONAL PLANNING HOUSE LIFE MOTOR SHOP GENERAL

ARM TRAVEL

Best Fares to Destinations
World Wide

AN ODE TO SRI LANKA: WHERE THE BUDDHA CRIES IN DESPAIR

In the third century BC came Mahinda Thera to Sri Lanka, To spread the word in that island of the glorious Buddha Dhamma. The saintly son of the great King, Asoka Maurya, of India, Who was the champion of the teachings of the enlightened Lord Buddha, Revolted by horrors of war in Kalinga, himself became an upasaka. Fair Buddhism flourished in India and spread East and West, Scholars and saints from near and far came to learn and pray, At the feet of the great Sakyamuni to Kusinara and Buddhagaya, Where the Lord Gauthama sat under the spreading Bo tree, And perceived the world beyond death and the mysteries of re-birth, Concluding that one is re-born in stages, until the end in Nirvana. His eightfold path encompassed the lives of man, And showed them the straight and narrow path, And that above all things to thine own self be true, And thou canst not then be false to any man. Could he have ever known that in this age of Perestroika, His Sangha in Sri Lanka, the home of Theravada, Would not oppose the blood and carnage beyond repair, Should stoop so low that the great Master would cry in despair, Who provided for all problems to be solved, With justice, compassion and Metta in mind, Once warriors for lofty virtue, for high endeavour, for wisdom sublime. So bad is the state of Theravada in once fair Sri Lanka, Where the Dhamma is abused by men for fame and power, With temples desecrated with blood, cruel disregard for human life, We hope and pray that salvation will return to remove the strife, To restore the peace, the tranquillity and sanctity of yore, To wait in trepidation for the karma in store.

Lt. Col. Anton J.N. Selvadurai

THE J.R. STORY



Cynthia Kariyawasam

and formulated to keep the Black majority under the oppressive heel of the White minority. That law is the legal basis of apartheid terror. J.R. deserves to be remembered as the only 'statesman' in the world who has ever borrowed anything from apartheid culture. Imitation is a form of adulation.

J.R.'s P.T.A. provides for the detention of anyone incommunicado for up to 18 months at a time without access to lawyers or relatives, at such place or subject to such conditions as the minister may determine. A detainee may be moved to any place; there he could be tortured or assaulted. The law also permits the admission of confessions made to the police - could be any evidence wrung out through torture. It must be noted that these laws applied to the Sinhalese people as well. This is the 'dharma state government' promised by J.R.

The post-election pogroms cannot be ignored in this story. J.R.'s incendiary speeches immediately after his victory unleashed a madness of killings against the Tamils of Colombo and the Sinhalese country. Stirring up mob violence against his own Tamil subjects, who had voted for him, is an inexplicable aberration. He even acknowledged publicly that the great majority of the Tamils in Colombo had voted for him. Then why his intent to wipe them out, or even to teach them a lesson? Bloody murder, rape, looting and torching of Tamil homes by the gangs of some of his ministers. Surely, something bizarre about Jay, Aare.

Jaffna's Public Library

The J.R. regime will go down in history for another unique performance. Under the direction of two of his ministers the Sinhalese army and police burnt down the Jaffna Public Library in 1981, - an unparalleled act of vandalism in recent years. Barbarians in ancient days have, in their ignorance, committed such excesses. But for a cultured ruler like J.R., that stain will forever stick. The Library contained more than 90,000 volumes and a collection of rare old manuscripts on Siththa and Ayurvedic medicine, schooner building and various other subjects of literary and archaeological interest. All these treasures perished in that night's bonfire. What was the urge to destroy the books and manuscripts which normal people would want to safeguard and preserve? Only a psychiatrist can explain a phobia for books in an old man's consciousness.

That wasn't all the Jay Aare outrage. Jaffna's only newspaper then - the *Eelanadu*, the house of the Jaffna M.P., a portion of the Jaffna Market, several houses and shops were all burnt down on that eventful night.

The old cynic's venom against his Tamil subjects broke out once more in 1983. It was the worst ever. His men and his ministers' men roamed the streets of Colombo and other cities like mad dogs, slaying Tamils, looting Tamil property, torching Tamil houses and shops and raping Tamil women. J.R.'s armed forces and his police joined in the fun. Even the prisons! Prison guards and the Sinhalese prisoners murdered 53 Tamil political prisoners in the high security Welikade Jail in Colombo. It is estimated that over 3,000 Tamils had to be slaughtered before the old man's hunger was appeased.

In an interview to the 'Lanka Guardian' J.R. has said, "I have won every battle since I took charge of the party: 1977, the 1982 presidential polls, the referendum, the D.D.C. elections," - a long list follows. "Democracy has been kept alive - that's the important thing - in this part of the world two countries have preserved democracy, India and Sri Lanka, unique even in the whole third world - elections must be held - that's the only way to fight terrorism - so many terrorists who want to suppress democracy, personal liberties, fundamental rights - so many elections have been held and I have won them all - I have led my party from victory to victory," so the old man gloated.

But what is the truth? It was a Jay Aarian way of conducting elections. For one thing, the elections were held under an emergency - never before in the history of Sri Lanka. The army and the police took a hand quite openly and U.N.P. hirelings menaced the polling centres. The opposition party's polling agents were kicked out of their booths. Anything was game. Even the campaign wasn't free. The Communist paper, 'Aththa' and the Tamil 'Suthanthiran' were banned and their presses sealed. The state-owned newspapers fabricated a yarn about a Naxalite group that had infiltrated the S.L.F.P. and would set up a dictatorship. S.L.F.P. election meetings were disrupted by U.N.P. thugs, even by the police. Every election law was flouted. Indeed a novel way of 'keeping democracy alive'!

Vijaya's Murder

Kobbekaduwa contested J.R. at the first presidential election on the S.L.F.P. ticket. Sirima couldn't because of the 7-year ban on her political activity. Her son-in-law, Vijaya Kumaranatunga, the popular firm star and another left activist, Ossie Abeygunasekera, supported Kobbekaduwa. They were both detained. J.R. dubbed Vijaya a Naxalite. (The term Communist had become stale from over-use?) He made up a story that the S.L.F.P. was teeming with Naxalites and that they would take over Sri Lanka, if Kobbekaduwa was elected president. The usual Jay Aarian electioneering.

It may be noted here that this "Naxalite", Vijaya, was later murdered. 'Who done it?' is still a mystery.

J.R. had also promised to hold a general election. But

after he got himself elected as President, he just broke that promise. Instead he held a referendum. He reverted to his old story of a Naxalite invasion of Sri Lanka, and asked the electorate to postpone the general election by six years and continue with the old M.P.'s. He won the referendum also, by the same methods.

When an ordinary person cheats it is called a lie; but when a chief of state or his ambassador does, the lie is called by another name, 'diplomacy'.

To the Tamils, J.R. has always been a tyrant. (The Sinhalese opinion may not be very different). He refused to recognise the popularly elected T.U.L.F. (Tamil United Liberation Front) as members of Parliament, unless they publicly renounced their demand for separation - Just like asking the Tigers to surrender their arms - That would cut them off forever from their political base in the Tamil country. The present Tamil members in Parliament are nominees of J.R., and have no roots to the community they are supposed to represent. Stoooge is another name for that kind of patriot.

By this stupid ruling J.R. drove even the moderates among the Tamils to support the Tigers and their armed struggle. When he sent his armed forces to conquer Jaffna it was another blunder. His generals claimed that they had captured Valvettiturai and Vadamarachchi. But the Sinhalese army camp at Nelliadi Central School was blown up by the Tigers and the invaders made a hasty retreat: and that was the end of J.R.'s attempt to subdue Jaffna.

Enter the IPKF

J.R.'s huddle with young Rajiv is of particular interest in this story. No statesman ever willingly opens his country or even a part of it to a foreign army of occupation, no matter under whatever excuse they are invited. But that is what J.R. did when he invited the Indian peace-keepers to take over Jaffna. Even his political chum, the present president, criticized the move in Parliament. J.R. imagined he was using a young inexperienced Rajiv as a catspaw to fight his war against the Tamil Tigers. But Rajiv's advisers thought they were outwitting a senile old President J.R. to move into a new territory they could annex in due course. But it was the heroism and sacrifice of the Tigers that saved the Tamil country from Rajiv's - the RAW's - hegemonistic ambitions. The might Indian peace-keepers found that they had been lured into another Vietnam. The invaders didn't stay too long.

J.R. happens to be the only politician of the forties still left. J.R. has come into his eighties: he would have liked to go on for some more years - whoever gave up power willingly? - But his assistant was waiting in the wings, impatient and even threatening. The old man had had a miraculous escape earlier when a few of his ministers were hurt by a bomb meant for him. He had come out of it without even a scratch. He may not be so lucky a second time. So he has bid good bye to politics and gracefully handed over to his next in line, a plebian novus homo, compared to the aristocratic J.R. The old warrior will go into history as Sri Lanka's evil genius.

(See also Page 10)

**TAMIL NATION
FOR OTHER NEWS
OTHER VIEWS**

With the accession of J.R. to power with a landslide victory in 1977, began the dismantling of democratic government in Sri Lanka. Such a majority had never been: five-sixth of the votes polled. Fearful that he might lose at the next election, he set about getting a new authoritarian constitution passed by his servile parliament.

"Free of the whims and fancies of Parliament," J.R. had said as a minister in 1966. With that aim he cajoled or compelled all the M.P.'s of his party, with a few notable exceptions, to give him undated letters of resignation. Since then those gutless M.P.'s became his perennial puppets in Parliament for the rest of their term. It was a memorable 'improvement' on democratic practice by a master of political cunning and duplicity - nay, a new contribution to the art of government.

Control in the new J.R. constitution was transferred from the popularly elected body to a single person - himself as Executive President: and elections by proportional representation - a somewhat confusing jugglery with figures: no elections, but vacancies in the legislature to be filled by nomination by the President. With these innovative measures J.R. laid the groundwork for his own dictatorship.

He used his dictatorial power and his dumb Parliament to reverse all the socialist controls of the earlier governments and opened the country to a 'free' economy. Foreign capital came in to enrich the already very rich, and a flood of expensive luxury goods beyond the buying power of citizen Perera. In his craze for an open economy he even opened the Mahaveli land to foreign multi-nationals.

The foreign companies dictated their terms before they agreed to invest in the J.R. economy. They insisted that he introduce measures to destroy the power of the working class, and J.R. obediently banned mass picketting and all demonstrations except on May Day. Somapala, a labour activist, was murdered by thugs - by accident or design? - on Kandasamy Day. Thus all the life of the Trade Union Movement was sucked out and only an empty shell remains.

His First Chance

It was the old man's first chance to rule. He was in his late 60's. Though he was more gifted than all those who had preceded him, he had to bide his time: yield first place to Dudley, because he was his father's son: then to that silly Sir John, because his own party would not have him, and then to Banda, because he was the first to raise the 'Sinhala-only' cry. He would have played that same card himself, but there were so many wealthy Tamils in the U.N.P. Banda was now dead, but his widow had barred the way and kept him out of power for so long. It rankled. He must have his revenge. The others were dead. Only Sirima was left.

J.R. had another grievance against the widow. When she first came to power with a comfortable majority in July '60, the old fox had offered to co-operate with her and serve in her cabinet. He said he would help her to eliminate communism from the island. But the lady was wary. 'Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes', says the Latin poet. "I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts." She declined the offer, afraid to fall into a trap from the island's smartest con artist.

Personal Revenge

He appointed a Parliamentary Commission to depoliticize Sirima. The first woman Prime

Minister in history was thus deprived of all political rights for seven years - couldn't vote even at a village local council election. That was J.R.'s personal revenge against a political rival who had kept him out in the cold. A strange kind of democracy where the Prime Minister may bring in legislation to neutralize or even jail the leader of the opposition.

J.R.'s first act of vandalism was his attack on the island's judiciary. He kicked out the judges and set up a bench of his yes-men. Only a despot could do that. Article 163 of his new constitution stated that all the judges of the Higher Courts ceased to hold office on the commencement of the new constitution. An elegant way of sacking them. Then he re-appointed only those who would perform as his cronies. Seven judges of the Supreme Court and five of the High Court were not re-appointed. Four judges were demoted. One District Judge, - favourite? or tool? - was promoted over the entire High Court to the new Court of Appeal. The new judges had to take their oath of allegiance to the new constitution. No judge could now rule on the legality of the new J.R. Constitution.

To further strengthen his authority over the judges, the new constitution provides for a Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry to regulate the conduct of the judges. He could now keep all the judges under his thumb. Another milestone in Jayawardene democracy!

Why this monkeying with the judiciary? Justice Skandaramajah in a ruling had refused to kowtow to J.R. who was then a minister. That slight might have festered over the years. Now that he had climbed to supreme power, he might have wanted to show the judges who was master. The country's judiciary became a plaything in the old man's hands - to destroy, to set up, even to insult.

The judiciary's independence must be preserved in a democracy. They are a people's guarantee of their freedom. Here is a despot making short work of that guarantee. They cannot be free any more. It is a slash from which the country may never recover.

No story of J.R. can pass over his 'patha yatra' - pilgrimage on foot - to the Tooth Relic Temple in Kandy to save the Sinhalese from Prime Minister Bandaranaike's concessions to the Tamils in his Sinhala-only legislation. J.R. pretended that Banda was selling out to the Tamils, and that he and his followers were going to the temple to pray to the Buddha to intervene to save the Sinhalese. That sort of humbug received the treatment it deserved. A cousin of Banda led a group of his friends to waylay the pilgrims and attack them with a shower of rocks. J.R. and his pilgrims turned tail and fled. That was the end of J.R.'s 'patha yatra'. In 1956 J.R. wasn't as shrewd as his 80 odd years today, and tried that kind of melodrama, hoping that he could draw the Sinhalese masses behind him like Mahatma Gandhi marching to make salt at Dandi Beach. It turned out to be a joke.

Only two years after he came to power J.R. had his 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' (P.T.A.) passed. Originally enacted as a temporary measure, it is still in the books. J.R.'s P.T.A. is a copy of the South African act of the same name, designed

KURDS AND THE PEOPLE

By Nadesan S

The plight of the Kurdish people has received world wide attention during recent weeks. But, the focus of such attention has more than to the equally important need to address the root causes of their suffering and pain. There has been a willingness to talk about the recognition of their self determination. There has been a desire to indulge in the rhetoric of a 'new world order' but before his participation at the talks convened by the Indian Government, at Thimpu in Bhutan, to settle the conflict between the entitled 'TAMILS OF SRI LANKA, KURDS, AND BHUTAN'. We publish here the first instalment of a revised version of the

It is said that fools fail to learn even from their own experiences but that wise men learn from the experiences of others. The people of Tamil Eelam are not without wisdom and the story of the Kurds is a story not without relevance to the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam for national self determination.

The Kurds are a people who live in the mountainous area that forms the borders of Iraq, Iran, the Soviet Union, Turkey and Syria. In 1985, it was estimated that around 3.0 million Kurds lived in Iraq, about 3.7 million in Iran, about 8.5 million in Turkey, around 0.7 million in Syria and 0.3 million in the Soviet Union. Most of the Kurds are Sunni Muslims.

"The Kurds are the fourth most numerous people in the Middle East. They constitute one of the largest races, indeed nations, in the world today to have been denied an independent state. Whatever the yardstick for national identity, the Kurds measure up to it" [1975 Minority Rights Group Report on the Kurds]

For sometime prior to 1918, the Kurds formed a part of the Ottoman Empire. The first World War brought Great Britain, France, Czarist Russia and later the United States together on one side and Germany and the Ottoman Empire on the other. It was with the defeat of Germany, that the map of the Middle East came to redrawing by the victorious Western allies.

In 1918, President Woodrow Wilson's program for world peace stipulated that the non Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman empire would be 'assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development'.

It was the ancient Indian political analyst, Kautilya who observed that your enemy's enemy is your friend. Not unlike President Bush's recent call for the overthrow of President Saddam Hussein by dissidents from within Iraq, President Woodrow Wilson's promise of autonomy to the non Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire, was not unrelated to the war effort in which the United States and its allies had been engaged.

The Treaty of Sevres, imposed by the victorious allies on Turkey in 1920, provided, amongst other matters, for the recognition of Kurdistan. But, the defeated Ottoman Government which had signed the Treaty, fell soon thereafter and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk came to power in Turkey. In the share out of power that followed, the Western Powers secured their own interests and stripped Turkey of many parts of the old Ottoman Empire. But, they were unwilling to confront the new ruler of Turkey over the Kurdish question. The Treaty of Sevres was not honoured. Not surprisingly, there were limits to that which the war weary Allies

would do for the Kurds. Again, not surprisingly, the Western Powers were mindful of the need to build the new Turkey of Mustafa Kemal

men retreated to the Soviet Union where he remained in exile for 12 years. It was Stalin's way of providing relief to a leader whom

In 1960, the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) of which Mullah Mustafa Barzani had been elected President, was declared illegal. The

as 'a people' and deal with them as equals.

A Kurdish delegation was sent to Baghdad and it published a statement of Kurdish claims for home rule, which was intended as the opening move for further negotiations. But the statement was never discussed. However, in June 1963, the Yahya government arrested the Kurdish representatives, issued an ultimatum demanding the surrender of Barzani, and launched an offensive against Kurdish positions.

Three months later, in November

...The Iraqi scheme of decentralisation suggested that Iraq should be divided into six regions and that in one of them, Kurdish should rank as an official language together with Arabic - not unlike the provisions of the Sri Lanka Provincial Councils Act of 1989!. There was no willingness to recognise the Kurds as 'a people' and deal with them as equals....

Ataturk as a buffer against the Soviet Union - considerations which are not irrelevant today, seventy years later!

"Many regions of the shattered Turkish Empire were not indeed annexed in the old style, but they were 'mandated' - blessed word! - to the victors. The League of Nations took them and handed them over" [A Short History of the World, H.G. Wells].

Palestine and Iraq were mandated to the British. Syria and Lebanon were mandated to France. Iran though independent in name, remained under British influence. In the result, during the 1920s and the 1930s there were several Kurdish uprisings against the different governments which sought to exercise control over the Kurdish areas.

In Turkey, there was a widespread Kurdish revolt in 1925. Kurdish resistance erupted again in 1938 and sporadically thereafter. The British fought the Kurds in Iraq from 1919 until their mandate expired in the 1930s. In Iran, the Kurds revolted in 1920, in 1923, in 1930, and again in 1931. In all these cases the Kurdish revolts were successfully put down. The divisions amongst the Kurds themselves were exploited by those who sought to subjugate them.

But, the second World War during 1939 to 1945, served to weaken the coercive power of the states in the region, and thereby brought renewed opportunities for Kurdish rebellion. It was a period which witnessed the emergence of the Kurdish Democratic Party and of Mullah Mustafa Barzani as a Kurd leader.

As the end of the war approached, the Kurds made attempts to gain recognition by the United States and the Soviet Union for an independent Kurdistan. In December 1945, the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad was established in the Kurdish area of north western Iran with extensive Soviet support, including the protection of Soviet occupation troops in northern Iran.

But in less than a year, the Soviet Union under Stalin had struck a deal with Iran and the United States and the Soviets withdrew their troops. The Kurdish Republic collapsed in the face of Iraqi and Iranian attacks. Barzani with 500 to 800 of his

he had betrayed. It was also useful to have a 'Kurd card' to play, should that need arise in the future.

The Kurds learnt that it was not enough to capture territory - it was also necessary to hold that territory against enemy counter attack and, furthermore obtain recognition in the international arena. The Kurds learnt that Kurdistan would not be delivered to them on a silver platter by a friendly outside power. They also learnt that governments do not have permanent friends - they have only permanent interests.

Whilst Barzani was in exile in the Soviet Union, Jalal Talabani together with a few others constituted the collective leadership of the KDP. The Iraqi Hashemite monarchy which had been nurtured and supported by the British for several years, was overthrown in 1958. A few days after the revolution of July 15 1958, the new Iraqi head of state, General Quasi, promulgated a 'Temporary Constitution' which referred specifically to the Kurds as co partners within the framework of Iraqi unity.

It was not unnatural for an Iraqi revolution which had overthrown a British supported monarch to turn towards the Soviet Union. Barzani was brought back from exile. The Iraqi Government was able to persuade Kurdish organisations, in Iraq and abroad, that the co-partnership proclaimed in the Temporary Constitution would

ever perceptive Israelis stepped in to provide covert support for

Barzani's forces as a way of destabilising an Iraqi Government

...The Kurds learnt that it was not enough to capture territory - it was also necessary to hold that territory against enemy counter attack and, furthermore obtain recognition in the international arena. The Kurds learnt that Kurdistan would not be delivered to them on a silver platter by a friendly outside power. They also learnt that governments do not have permanent friends - they have only permanent interests....

which was moving towards the Soviet Union:

"...Israeli provision of arms and advisers (to the Kurds) dates back to the early 1960s..." [Minority Rights Group Report, The Kurds, 1985]

Fighting broke out between the Kurds and Iraq in July 1961 and continued until 1963 when a ceasefire was agreed to, following the overthrow of Quasi at the hands of a military junta headed by General Yahya.

In March 1963, General Yahya visited Barzani and the Iraqi government issued a proclamation recognizing 'the natural rights of the Kurdish people on the basis of decentralisation'.

...The significant features of the demands were that 'the geographical boundaries (of the Kurdish homeland) should be defined and recognised by the Constitution', that 'Kurdish army units should remain under Kurdish command' and further that 'the budget of the autonomous region would be derived from taxes levied in the Kurdish region plus a just share of the revenue derived from oil royalties'....

mean a considerable measure of administrative devolution, a fairer share than before of development projects and social services, and enhanced status for the Kurdish language. For his part, Barzani was not above using the new situation to consolidate the Kurdish Democratic Party. But, there was never any serious attempt by the Quasi government to implement the promises implicit in the Temporary Constitution.

The Iraqi scheme of decentralisation suggested that Iraq should be divided into six regions and that in one of them, Kurdish should rank as an official language together with Arabic - not unlike the provisions of the Sri Lanka Provincial Councils Act of 1989!. But, there was no willingness on the part of the Iraqi ruler to recognise the Kurds

1963, there was yet another change in the composition of the Iraqi government. The Ba'athists lost power and President Arif assumed more direct control. This change of government was followed in February 1964 by a second ceasefire and negotiations between President Arif and Barzani.

The significant features of the demands were that 'full autonomy be granted to the Kurdish regions of northern Iraq, whose geographical boundaries should be defined and recognized in the Iraqi constitution'; that the 'Kurdish army units should remain under Kurdish command'; that 'the budget of the autonomous region should be derived from taxes levied in the Kurdish region plus a just share of the revenue derived from oil royalties'; and that 'any questions arising in the future concerning the status of the Kurds would be solved democratically through mutual agreement'.

President Arif's representatives began negotiations in February 1964 with Barzani's representatives. The Kurds insisted on their demands for autonomy. However, the Iraqis were not prepared to make any concessions on this point claiming that Kurdish autonomy would inevitably lead to the secession of the northern region of Iraq.

President Arif proposed that the Kurds waive their demand for autonomy, in exchange for which he revived proposals for the decentralisation of the administration into several Iraqi provinces, the same proposals that the Kurds had rejected two years earlier in 1963.

PEOPLE OF TAMIL EELAM

an Satyendra

tion has more often than not, related to the immediate need for humanitarian assistance to the Kurdish people rather than to talk about 'safe havens' and 'food drops' but a marked reluctance to address the demand of the Kurdish people for 'order' but an unwillingness to discuss the basis on which such 'order' may be built. In August 1985, immediately after the end of the Tamil liberation movement and the Sri Lankan government, Nadesan Satyendra wrote an article in this version of that article - an article which remains topical and relevant today.

No progress was made and full scale fighting broke out again in April 1965, and the Iraqi government committed even larger forces than before against the Kurds

There was a further price which Barzani paid for the support of the Shah:

"Barzani who was receiving aid

of wide powers to locally elected councils;

3. use of Kurdish language for administration and public instruction;

4. representation of Kurds in all branches of the public service in proportion to their population;

5. the appointment of Kurdish officials to Kurdish districts;

6. a general amnesty 'when violence ends' to include all persons already convicted;

7. reappointment of absentee officials as far as possible to their previous posts;

8. formation of a special ministry to supervise reconstruction and compensation for sufferers in the 'north' and to coordinate administration in the Kurdish districts; and

9. resettlement of persons evicted from their homes, release of all political prisoners

The original Kurdish demand that only foreign affairs, defense and finances should remain under the control of the central government, and that all other matters should be transferred to the competence of the autonomous government, was now, not surprisingly, diluted to a Provincial Administration Law which would provide for the rather familiar "decentralisation and the transfer of so called 'wide' powers to locally elected councils" - perhaps, a not unfamiliar scenario to the people of Tamil Eelam.

Also, significantly, the June 29 declaration made no reference to the original Kurdish demand that Kurdish army units would remain under Kurdish command

1969, peace talks began again and once again, the Kurds demanded full political autonomy. And, yet again, the Iraqi government regarded the concession to such demands as constituting a major step towards secession.

Eventually, Mulla Mustafa Barzani did enter into a peace treaty with Iraq in March 1970.

"Afterwards Barzani declared 'At first they (the Ba'athists) came to us and said 'We will grant you self rule'. I said this was a ruse. I knew it even before I signed the agreement. But (our) people asked me 'How can you refuse self rule for the Kurdish people'. Why then did Barzani go along with Baghdad? One must conclude that in addition to Kurdish war weariness and the knowledge that Iranian support was limited to disfigurement to Baghdad rather than to Kurdish victory, Barzani saw the opportunity to consolidate his own position within the Kurdish movement to the detriment of the Talabani-Ahmad faction. If the government reneged, he could always take to the hills once more, as undisputed Kurdish leader." [Minority Rights Group Report - The Kurds, 1985]

The March 11, 1970 peace treaty between the Kurds and the Iraqi government was not published, but its main points were included in a special proclamation by the Iraqi leader, al-Bakr:

1. Recognition of the Kurdish nation. To this end the provisional constitution of Iraq was to be amended by a section stating that the republic of Iraq consists of two main nations, Arabs and Kurds.

2. Recognition of the Kurdish language, in the form of a

5. Administration officials in districts with a Kurdish majority must be Kurds or at least speak Kurdish.

6. The national right of the Kurds to the development of Kurdish culture is recognized in every aspect, including the establishment of a Kurdish University, the publication of Kurdish books, Kurdish language broadcasts and telecasts, and the recognition of Kurdish customs and holidays.

7. All Kurdish students will be permitted to return to their studies and their educational standards will be improved.

8. The Kurds will be permitted to establish youth and adult organisations

9. A general amnesty will be proclaimed for all who have taken part in the Kurdish rebellion, and Kurdish public servants and soldiers will be reinstated in office.

10. All Kurds who have left their villages would be permitted to return, and for those unable to return for different reasons, new housing would be provided.

11. Kurdish soldiers would be granted pensions, and dependents of fallen Kurds would be compensated.

12. A Committee for the Rehabilitation of the Northern Districts and Compensation of War Damage would be established and an economic development plan for the Kurdish region would be drawn up and implemented with all possible speed.

13. Steps would be taken to assure the speedy implementation of land reform in the Kurdish regions. Also all land debts of Kurdish farmers for the last nine years would be cancelled.

14. The arms held by the Kurdish fighters would be surrendered to the Iraqi government during the final stages of the implementation of the treaty. The same applies to the secret Kurdish broadcasting station 'Free Kurdistan'.

15. A high commission consisting of representatives of the central Iraqi authorities and of the Kurds would be established to supervise the implementation of the treaty.

There was to be a four year interim period during which the provisions of the agreement were to be implemented. In practice, however, the ensuing four years became a period of armed truce.

TO BE CONCLUDED IN THE NEXT ISSUE: THE COLLAPSE OF THE 1970 PEACE TREATY, 1990 INVASION OF KUWAIT, 'SAFE HAVENS FOR KURDS' AND THE PARALLELS WITH THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF TAMIL EELAM

...The Shah was anxious that Kurdish enthusiasm for an independent or autonomous Kurdish state did not spill over to affect the Kurds in Iran. After all the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad had once existed on territory claimed by Iran. The Shah, however, did want to see the Iraqi army occupied with the Kurds for as long as possible, primarily in order to prevent challenges to Iranian hegemony in the Persian Gulf...

In February 1966, Barzani sent a memorandum to the United Nations Secretary General asking for a UN Commission of Inquiry to be sent to northern Iraq. He alleged that the Iraqi government was conducting a scorched earth policy and deporting thousands of Kurds from their homes, after bombing their villages in an attempt to exterminate the Kurdish people - not unlike that which President Saddam Hussein has carried out in more recent times, and not unlike the genocidal attack launched by the Sri Lankan Government on the people of Tamil Eelam during the past six months.

However, despite the Iraqi Government's concentrated military effort during 1965/66, and some initial set backs, the Kurds gradually assumed the initiative toward the middle of 1966.

Judy S. Bertelson's excellent study in 'Non-state Nations in International Politics' [Praeger Publishers, New York - 1977] from which some of the foregoing material was culled states:

"During the time frame we have been examining, Iran emerged as the largest supplier of outside aid to the Kurds. The Shah of Iran permitted Barzani's forces a limited amount of refuge in the Iranian border area adjacent to Iraq. Humanitarian relief was supplied to Kurdish refugees fleeing from fighting in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Kurds also received military supplies from Iran, including rifles, medium range artillery, anti aircraft guns, and ammunition but no airplanes or tanks.

The Shah was anxious that Kurdish enthusiasm for an independent or autonomous Kurdish state did not spill over to affect the Kurds in Iran. After all the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad had once existed on territory claimed by Iran. The Shah, however, did want to see the Iraqi army occupied with the Kurds for as long as possible, primarily in order to prevent challenges to Iranian hegemony in the Persian Gulf."

from the Shah, blocked those (Kurds) in Baghdad from returning to Iran and refused any help to those operating inside Iran. In 1968 he executed one of the (Kurd) leaders (Sulaiman Muini) and handed the corpse over to the Iranian authorities who publicly displayed it in a number of Kurdish towns. It was an unfortunate precedent in pan Kurdish co-operation. The (Kurdish) movement in Iran collapsed, many militants having to go into hiding, and more than forty KDPI (Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran) members were either killed or arrested by Barzani's men and handed over to the Iranians. Within Iran, the Kurds were watched by the Shah's secret police, Savak... Some (Kurds) inevitably became paid informants for the regime, and fear and suspicion prevailed amongst all those with political views." [Minority Rights Group Report, The Kurds, 1985]

In May 1966 the Iraqi army suffered its worst defeat of the entire war when two battalions were nearly

...The original Kurdish demand that only foreign affairs, defense and finances should remain under the control of the central government, and that all other matters should be transferred to the competence of the autonomous government, was now, not surprisingly, diluted to a Provincial Administration Law which would provide for the rather familiar "decentralisation and the transfer of 'wide' powers to locally elected councils" - perhaps, a not unfamiliar scenario to the people of Tamil Eelam...

wiped out by Kurdish forces. After a period of intensive retaliatory bombing, the third formal ceasefire was agreed to in June 1966 and a new civilian Iraqi Prime Minister broadcast a 12 point programme which was accepted by Barzani as a starting point for discussions.

The main points of the 29th June declaration were

1. recognition of the 'Kurdish Nation' to be confirmed in the permanent constitution;

2. enactment of a Provisional Administration Law providing for decentralisation and the transfer

and would be placed at the disposal of the autonomous government.

But a settlement even on the basis of the June 29 declaration was obstructed by frequent changes of regime or cabinet within the Iraqi government during the period 1966 to 1968.

In July 1968, the Arif regime was overthrown and General al-Bakr took control. By February 1969 the Iraqis launched another, even larger, full scale offensive but by the end of 1969 it was evident that the Iraqi army had again failed to suppress the Kurds. In November

constitutional amendment laying down that both Kurdish and Arabic will serve as official languages in those districts in which the Kurds are a majority.

3. The legal powers of the districts are to be increased by legal amendment. A new Kurdish district would be formed, with the same enlarged administrative powers and a Kurdish governor.

4. A Kurdish vice president will be appointed, and the Kurds will enjoy proportional representation on all executive and administrative bodies, including the government and the army.



U.S. COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES

1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Suite 920
Washington, DC 20005
Tel: (202) 347-3507 Fax: (202) 347-3418

Informing the public since 1958

SRI LANKAN REFUGEES & INTERNALLY DISPLACED

(From a talk given at a forum on "Sri Lanka: Human Rights in an Environment of Communal Violence and Terrorism" sponsored by the American Bar Association's Committee on International Human Rights, Washington, D.C., February 27, 1991)

By Court Robinson Senior Policy Analyst U.S. Committee for Refugees

I have been involved in refugee issues since 1979, primarily in Southeast Asia, but I am a newcomer to the issue of Sri Lankan refugees. So what I would like to offer tonight are impressions. What I have to say is largely descriptive rather than prescriptive and focuses primarily on the conflict between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil minority. The U.S. Committee for Refugees hopes to travel to Sri Lanka and India some time this year, after which we should be able to offer more specific findings and recommendations.

In March 1990, the last contingent of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) departed Sri Lanka, nearly three years after its arrival as part of the July 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, which sought to end the longstanding conflict between Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan army. Brought into enforce a ceasefire, the IPKF instead became involved in an increasingly violent confrontation with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, or the Tigers), the largest and most militant of the Tamil separatist groups. The LTTE repudiated the agreement and took its fight not only to the Indian forces but to the more moderate Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), which had allied itself with the IPKF.

Sri Lankan Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, elected in December 1988, made good on his campaign promise to remove the Indian troops, then initiated his own peace talks with the LTTE. But the last hopes for peace collapsed on June 11, 1990, when LTTE guerrillas attacked 17 police stations in Batticaloa and Amparai districts on the east

coast, killing more than 100 policemen. The Sri Lankan army struck back with equal ferocity, killing about 100 Tamils near Amparai Central refugee camp. Within 10 days, 1,000 people were dead and more than 10,000 had been displaced. By the end of June, the number of displaced had swelled to more than 300,000 in over 100 camps.

As the fighting continued between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan army, large numbers of refugees began to move north toward the Jaffna peninsula, seeking safety, food, and shelter. By late July, the number of internally displaced was estimated at 880,000, of whom 355,000 were in 350 camps scattered throughout Jaffna District. And by September, the internally displaced numbered more than one million in the Northeast Province, half of them in Jaffna.

Sri Lankan forces were accused of repeatedly bombing several refugee camps on the Jaffna peninsula, including camps at Nallur Temple and St. Anthony's Church in Pasaiyur. On November 9, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) issued a rare public protest to the Sri Lankan authorities that two bombs were dropped that day in a protected zone around the Jaffna Teaching Hospital, causing five injuries. The hospital had been reopened only days earlier, fol-

lowing months of negotiations with the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government. The repetition of such an incident," said ICRC, "could seriously call into question the continuation of ICRC activities in the northeastern provinces of Sri Lanka."

While the majority of those displaced in the Northeastern Province were Tamil, significant numbers of Sinhalese and Muslims were caught in the crossfire and forced to flee. On August 3, LTTE guerrillas attacked two mosques at Katankody in Batticaloa District, killing 120 Muslim men and boys at prayer. One week later, the Tigers launched a nighttime raid on the Muslim town of Eravur, also in Batticaloa. According to the government, 173 men, women and children were killed in their sleep. The LTTE denied involvement in the massacres and in turn accused Moslem Home Guard units of collaborating with the Sri Lankan army in killing Tamil civilians.

In late October, the Muslim Refugees Relief Organization claimed that 8,000 Muslims had

fled from Mannar Island, after the LTTE had ordered them to leave or be shot.

In the four years prior to the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, an estimated 135,000 Sri Lankan Tamils sought refuge in India. Then, for a two year period from July 1987 to August 1989, there was substantial movement in the opposite direction, as about 43,000 Tamil refugees returned home, either spontaneously or through the auspices of the UNHCR. There was no repatriation from India in 1990. Indeed, within weeks of the outbreak of new hostilities in June 1990, Tamil boat people began to pour into India. By July 10, a reported 18,300 Sri Lankan Tamils had reached Rameswaram, including 3,700 in a single day, and two old camps had to be re-opened and three new camps built to accommodate them.

On July 13, the Sri Lankan navy attacked and sank a boat filled with 24 refugees crossing the Palk Strait. There were no survivors. Three days later, Sri Lanka's Minister of State for Defense Ranjan Wijeratne acknowledged that the navy had turned back some 30 boatloads of refugees heading toward India. Following the attack, refugee arrivals in Rameswaram temporarily slowed to a trickle. The U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR) protested the attacks and interdictions to Prime Minister Premadasa.

Earlier in the year, USCR had expressed concern to Premadasa about a report that on February 5, a Sri Lankan helicopter gunship had attacked and sunk 6 refugee boats crossing the Palk Strait toward India. Five of six boats went down, killing a total of 55 women, 27 children, and 13 men.

India's response to the new influx of Tamils has been ambivalent. On March 7, 1990, authorities in Tamil Nadu turned away two boats, carrying some 1,600 Sri Lankan Tamils. Although the boats were allowed to disembark in Orissa farther to the north, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Muthuvel Karunanidhi announced that Tamil militants would be barred from entering his state. On July 22, Karunanidhi called upon the Sri Lankan government to set up refugee camps in northern Sri Lanka in order to check the flow of Tamils to India.

Despite India's growing ambivalence, refugee flows continued and there were no more reports of pushbacks. By the end of August, an estimated 95,000 Tamils had reached Rameswaram. By the end of the year, estimates of new arrivals from Sri Lanka totalled as many as 125,000. In December, Tamil Nadu authorities, under pressure from the Sri Lankan govern-

(continued on page 9)

TAMIL APPEAL SENT TO U.S. CONGRESSMAN

The Tamil Welfare and Human Rights Committee, USA, of 6804 Upper Mills Circle, Baltimore MD 21118, has sent the following letter, dated April 26, 1991, signed by the President, E. Vignarajah to all U.S. Congressmen and all Embassies in the U.S.A. :-

Dear Senator,
"The Sri Lankan Government's blitzkrieg on the Tamil minority in the North and East of the island continues unabated and reports are coming in that with the newly acquired Chinese arms the pace of genocide of the Tamil people in that country has intensified immensely under the cover of the Gulf crisis. Ignoring the admonition of friendly countries to watch the Sri Lankan government's record of human rights violations. President Ranasinghe Premadasa appears determined to destroy the Tamil minority with the singleness of purpose of a Saddam Hussein.

"Cruel military regimes often think, as does Premadasa, that through arbitrary arrests, 'disappearances, torture, terror and war they can bludgeon ethnic and indigenous people into submission and prevent them from exercising their right to self determination and their democratic freedom.

"And the world watches with reactions ranging from outrage to indifference but stops short of direct action as meddling in the internal affairs of a nation could be a breach of the U.N. Charter.

"The relief operation to save the Kurds in Iraq now being undertaken by America, Britain and France is undoubtedly an intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. And yet the plight of the Kurds - highlighted so strongly by the world media - was so bad that western public opinion called for immediate action, regardless of consequences. The world applauded this humanitarian action.

"It is a tragedy that the appalling situation in Sri Lanka has not had the attention of the media. The press has focussed on the fighting in Iraq and as a result the Sri Lankan Government has escalated the war against the Tamils to the point that the very survival of this ancient people is under threat.

"The continued bombing of the towns and villages and deliberate and wanton destruction including hospitals, schools, churches and temples had led to thousands of Tamils in the north-east provinces

being killed and millions rendered homeless and forced to become refugees, suffering from severe shortages of food and water.

"The economic blockade and the embargo on food and medicine has resulted in further thousands of civilian deaths and has exacerbated the enormous refugee problem.

"A case could justifiably be made for the use of force or the threat of the use of force to stop the government from continuing its inhumane treatment of the Tamils. But we are not making that case. We believe that a serious warning to Sri Lanka that AID FUNDS which are being freely used in the bloody campaign against the Tamils could be cut will certainly have positive results.

"This Committee pleads with your government to bring some pressure to bear on the President of Sri Lanka and urge him to take immediate steps to stop the bombing and the killing and end this bloodshed so that the thousands living in misery in the jungles and in makeshift refugee camps can return to their homes.

We thank you."
Yours sincerely
E. Vignarajah
President



Rathbone Holidays Limited

GENERAL & BUSINESS TRAVEL

55, RATHBONE PLACE, LONDON WIP 1AS ENGLAND

(CARRIED THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PASSENGERS ON AIR LANKA IN 1989)

AIRLANKA

It's a taste of Paradise



Proudly Announces

Air Lanka's

New Weekly Flights

to

Singapore and Melbourne

Return from £710

Free Stop-Over in Colombo

(Instant Confirmation Through our Inhouse Computer Reservation System)

Call on 01-580 4460

For Reservation and Ticketing

We accept all major credit cards—
Visa/Barclaycard/Access/American Express

**WE ARE NOW OPEN SATURDAY
BETWEEN 10.00 HOURS TO 13.00 HOURS**

DEBATE



From Lord Avebury
Chairman
Parliamentary Human
Rights Group
March 17, 1991

Dear Mr Paul,

Thank you for your letter of February 25 commenting on the recent debate in the House of Lords on Sri Lanka.

Obviously there is a difference between the North and East Provinces on the one hand, and the rest of Sri Lanka on the other. There is also a difference between the North and the East, which are not at all the same. The East has a substantial Sinhalese minority, particularly in the Amparai district, and of course the Muslims, whose interests and viewpoints are by no means identical with those of the Tamils.

One can go back to the colonial era and point to errors, but this is not a productive exer-

LORD AVEBURY

Lord Avebury's comments in the House of Lords - the subject of this correspondence - was published in the Tamil Nation of April 1. Mr. Wakeley Paul's rejoinder - Two Different Peoples, Two Different Problems, was carried in the issue of April 15.

cise. Maybe if the British had given Ceylon a federal constitution, the relations between the two largest communities would have been more harmonious - who can possibly say what would have happened - but we have to face the situation as it is and not as we would like it to be. Governments of independent Ceylon and later Sri Lanka have had opportunities which they missed, and have made serious mistakes, which you have no difficulty in identifying. But you say nothing about the responsibility of the Tamil community, thus giving a distorted picture. The Tigers could have negotiated a peaceful transition to autonomy for the north and east if they had accepted a peaceful transition to autonomy for the north and east if they had accepted Premadasa's olive branch, but they have become so dedicated to

the military option that they had to start again the endless cycle of massacre and counter-massacre. The atrocities committed by the Tigers against Muslims have created yet another set of problems in designing a political solution. Would the Muslims want to be part of a separate Tamil state in the north and east, and if not, what arrangements could there be for resettling them in the remainder of the island? Read the Tamil Times editorial of November 15, 1990 and ask yourself whether the penultimate paragraph of your letter to me does not contain a very serious error of omission.

You mention the plantation workers in passing, but in common with every other activist who writes about Sri Lanka, you don't say what would happen to them if the country is

divided along ethnic fault lines. Are they to suffer another upheaval, or are they to be abandoned to their fate in an otherwise homogenous Sinhalese state? I would not feel happy about either of these alternatives if I were a plantation worker.

The tragedy of Sri Lanka is that everybody believes he has the monopoly of wisdom and rectitude. Each believes the others are short-sighted and wicked, so there is no dialogue. My personal belief is that you will get your Eelam, and that the people of the north and east will regret the day after a few months rule by the Tigers. The military solution is one of bloodshed and bitterness. It will be like Cyprus, where there is no communication between the two halves of the island, to the lasting detriment of both

communities. In ten or twenty years, the Indian federation will have disintegrated, and the emergence of states on the mainland with greater linguistic, ethnic and reason homogeneity (eg Kashmir, Assam and Tamil Nadu) will lead naturally the formation of a Greater Eelam. If only the peoples of Sri Lanka could peacefully negotiate a federal solution on the lines of the Canadian constitution, with a right of secession and no power to impose presidential rule, they could set an example to their larger neighbour.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Wakeley Paul,
Vice President,
Ilankai Thamil Sangam USA,
109 Wildwood Avenue,
Upper Montclair,
NJ 07043,
USA

WAKELEY PAUL

Lord Avebury
House of Lords,
London, SW1, England

Dear Lord Avebury,

Thank you for your reply to my letter of February 25th.

I do not intend to engage in an interminable debate, but feel a response is called for.

First, the only reason I think the British should acknowledge their mistake in not having given us a Federal Constitution at the outset, is that it will cause the rest of the world to sit up and take note. This in turn could result in more international pressure being brought to induce the Sri Lankan government to fashion a Federal Constitution on the lines suggested by you. This, I believe, was the foundation on which the LTTE surrendered their right to a separate state when they began their negotiations with the government last year.

Secondly, I think it is unfortunate that your Lordship, like many others, think that it was the LTTE that unilaterally broke off negotiations on June 11th last year. A brief re-iteration of the facts surrounding the events of that day may help you and others to re-evaluate your position.

The LTTE, had against all odds, successfully administered the NORTHEAST from MARCH (when the IPKF departed) to JUNE. No untoward violence marred the

period. The Tamils and muslims lived in harmony. The negotiations, even according to the government, were moving favorably for the LTTE. An imminent PROVINCIAL COUNCIL election was expected to end in a run away victory for them.

The government on the other hand was being politically pressured to re-assert its rule over this region, and pressured by the army to be allowed to prove their superiority over the legendary Tigers.

On June 7th and June 8th there were two attempts by the army to break camp in Vavuniya and Elephant Pass. Both were successfully contained by the LTTE. The government apologized for the first of these infractions, stating that they were accidental.

On June 11th, a muslim youth had gone to the Sinhala manned police station in Amparai to file a complaint against a sinhala youth. He was detained and subject to some unfavourable treatment, which caused other muslims to rush to the LTTE for help. The LTTE surrounded the police station and demanded an explanation. The police attacked them. The LTTE retaliated. The army broke camp and attacked. The LTTE then surrounded and attacked all the neighboring police stations. Events then went out of hand.

While these events flared up,

YOGI, one of the LTTE's high command was yet in Colombo. He was seen leaving the next day by a reporter from the Island Newspaper. That newspaper asked why he was permitted to leave. Do you think the LTTE would have deliberately broken the truce while one of the leaders of their negotiating team was yet in Colombo?

Furthermore, Mr. Hameed was back in Jaffna on the 15th to negotiate a ceasefire, which he succeeded in doing the next day. Each side specified conditions which were mutually agreed to. Would we have risked going there, and would the LTTE have agreed to another ceasefire, if they for some inexplicable reason had become ruthless and decided that a violent solution had suddenly become inevitable? Unfortunately, the government troops who had been unleashed from their confinement in barracks were not ready to give up and crawl back into them. The government, who had exclusive contact with the press, blamed the LTTE for the impasse. All the denials and proofs to the contrary went unheeded. The LTTE had everything to lose from leaving the negotiations at that critical juncture. The government, fearing an LTTE victory at the elections, and subject to the pressures mentioned

earlier, was in a more compromised position. They did little or nothing to set up mechanisms to monitor the ceasefire, and let things get out of hand.

Your concern for the plantation workers is well taken. They will no doubt remain in Sinhala territory if the Sinhalese treat them well. If they are brutalised as they were in 1977, they will be welcome to join us, as some did that year. We will at all times exert pressure even from outside to ensure that they be treated as equals, an exercise the Sinhala rulers have never been good at. There economic situation leaves much room for improvement. Their plight is not an enviable one. We shall continue to look out for their well being as fellow ethnics.

The Sinhalese who were forcefully planted in our midst against our wishes in Amparai will have to settle for Tamil/Muslim rule. With independence, the efforts of the government to divide the Tamils and Muslims will cease. They did live amicably under LTTE rule. It is strange, is it not, that the muslim massacres in the mosques in the east only took place when the government re-acquired control of this region? It is equally strange is it not, that with a powerful army and police presence in the vicinity of those mosques, not one LTTE intruder was captured to prove that they had anything to do with it? It is equally strange that no perpetrator has been caught or identified to date. Who had everything to gain or lose by such a venture. The Tamils need muslim support in

their fight against the sinhalese. They need their support to sustain a single Northeast Province. The government needs to divide them. You can be the best judge of who was responsible for these massacres that have temporarily divided the minorities.

You confidently predict that the people will rule the day they allowed the LTTE to rule rue them. They have so far been far better off under their rule than that of the SRI LANKAN government. They are the only group who have stood steadfastly by their people. One should not allow government propaganda to pre judge them. If they fail their people, they could be ousted. If they do not, they deserve the right to rule. That is more than one can say for SINHALA hegemony over this region.

Finally, I allude to your rather patronizing reference to us as people who believe we have a "monopoly of wisdom and rectitude" who can therefore not engage in dialogue. This statement was both supercilious and uncalled for. I might remind you that our leaders, beginning with Mr Ponnambalam, through Mr Chelvanayagam to Mr Amirthalingam, engaged in over 40 years of fruitless dialogue with our Sinhala imperialist rulers. We have now chosen a new high-way to success. We hope our goals will be reached shortly. You might on reflection find us to be more sophisticated and determined than you had originally cared to imagine.

Yours sincerely
Wakeley Paul
Vice President

SRI LANKAN REFUGEES

Continuation from page 8

ment and their own central government in New Delhi, appeared to take a tough new line on Tamil militant activity. On December 4, police arrested 11 suspected members of the LTTE in an early morning raid in Madras. Later in the months, the EPRLF accused Indian authorities of rounding up more than 1,000 of its sympathizers in Tamil Nadu.

Living in the lush central highlands of Sri Lanka are about 80,000 Indian or "Plantation" Tamils, who differ from the Tamils in the northeast in terms of dialect and caste ori-

gin. Following talks with India on May 1, 1990, a Sri Lankan official announced that any of the Plantation Tamils holding Indian passports must be repatriated. But Indian authorities insisted that all Sri Lankan Tamils should first leave south India before any Plantation Tamils would be resettled. Many of the Plantation Tamils resisted the idea and launched protest strikes, arguing that the passports were negotiated nearly 30 years ago and are irrelevant to a new generation of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka. In the face of mounting politi-

cal tension, the Sri Lankan government gave assurances that no Plantation Tamils would be forcibly returned to India.

As for my impressions, I am first of all impressed by the scope of the displacement. In the last eight months, more than one million Sri Lankans, largely Tamils, have been displaced in the Northeast Province, and 125,000 more have fled across the Palk Strait to the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. It is difficult to estimate the number of Sri Lankan asylum seekers in Europe and the West, but, in the first six months of 1990, an estimated 15,000 Sri Lankans submitted new applications for asylum in

Western Europe. Statistics are not available for the second half of the year, but it would be fair to assume that the number went up.

Second, I am impressed by the level of violence. It is estimated that 5,250 people were killed in the last half of 1990. I am impressed by the failure of the two principal parties to the conflict-the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE-to distinguish between combatants and civilians. Clearly, the Sri Lankan army has the greater firepower - artillery, planes, helicopter gunships, and the like-so they are responsible for more "collateral damage," as the phrase

goes. But blame must be apportioned on both sides.

Third, I am impressed by the seeming intractability of the problem. The hope of an internationally mediated solution seems to have vanished with the 1987 Accord. The world is obviously preoccupied with the Gulf, and with a global recession. My fear is that this may indeed be a "fight to the finish" as both sides are saying. But it seems virtually impossible that Eelam will become an independent state, and it seems equally impossible that the Tamils will submit peacefully to Sinhalese domination. Far worse than the prospect of a fight to the finish is a fight that will never finish.



Ravi Jayewardene : From STF to Nirvana

The end of the Jayewardene era in Lanka?

In an exclusive eve-of-departure interview to the Sunday Times, Colombo last month before he left for Japan on a visit, ex-President Junius Richard Jayewardene said: "I have left politics behind".

Now 85, Sunday Times reported that he was in a relaxed mood despite his recent illness. He quoted American humorist Mark Twain to say that recent stories about his death were "greatly exaggerated".

Mr. Jayewardene addressed two meetings in Japan. The subjects: "Asoka, Emperor of



India" and "Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Japan".

UNIVERSITY OF JAFFNA Special Degree Examination

Special Degree Examination in Science Botany Pass List

First Class - Miss T. Mangalakumari Second Class - (Upper Division) - Miss K. Kularanjany, Miss. N. Inthumathy. Second Class - (Lower Division) - Miss V. Arul Shanthi, Miss B. Gnanakumary, Miss A. Kalavani, Miss S. Sasirekha, A.C. Thavaranjit. Mootatamby Swaminathan Scholarship for Botany - Miss T. Mangalakumari. Gold Medal in

Botany - Miss T. Mangalakumari.

Special Degree Examination in Science Physics Pass List

Second Class (Upper Division) - K. Ganeshan. Second Class (Lower Division) - J.A.D. Jegatheesan. Pass - A. Joseph, T. Ravichander. Sir Arunachalam Mahadeva Memorial Prize in Physics - K. Ganeshan for rankup First in the batch and obtaining Second Class Honours (Upper Division).

Ravi Jayewardene frowns at all politicians (including his father!)

Question: Most people in this country have heard of your name, but they know very little about you. Why do you shun publicity so much?

Answer: People seek publicity to fulfil their hopes. I shun publicity because I do not have any hope to fulfil.

Q: Were you involved in politics at any stage?

A: Once when my father was nominated for the Kelaniya seat, I went on a house to house campaign for him. Apart from that, I have not involved myself in politics.

Q: Are you a member of the United National Party?

A: No, I am not a UNPer. I did not become a UNP member then and will not become one now.

Q: Why didn't you obtain UNP membership?

A: I have no use for UNP membership as I do not have any political aspirations.

Q: Didn't your father have aspirations of a political career for you?

A: He may have had. But as I did not have any political aspirations it would have been worthless.

Q: What do you hope to accomplish?

A: I hope to attain Nirvana through meditation the way Buddha has prescribed.

Q: How far have you gone in your purpose?

A: That is a difficult question. Even the Buddha never declared the day he would attain Nirvana. How could I tell when I would attain Nirvana?

Q: Have you chosen this path because you are disappointed with life?

A: No. I have chosen this path because I have a better understanding of life.

Q: Your views appear to indicate that you are a person who finds politics unpleasant?

A: In any democratic country in the world, one has to hide the truth from the people in order to win their votes. This is not limited only to Sri Lanka. I do not wish to do this. If I do politics, I will have to tell the truth about how I would develop this country. I am certain that I will not win the people's votes this way. For me, who aims to attain Nirvana through meditation, this type of politics gives no pleasure.

Q: Does this mean that we may not see another 'Jayewardene' in the political field in the future?

A: A 'Jayewardene' is not essential for the UNP or to rule this country. In fact, I believe that we do not need any Jayewardenes in politics, in future.

Q: You will not even expose your sons to politics?

A: I have no such intentions.

Q: Why were you arrested by the SLFP government during the 1971 insurrection?

A: I was suspected of being a JVP political member.

Q: Were you never involved with the JVP?

A: No. I was never in the JVP.

Q: Were you subjected to political revenge when you were arrested?

A: If the government had made an investigation, they would have found that I had no JVP involvements. The government's stand on not conducting an investigation was attributed by many to a form of political revenge.

Q: Who is the local politician you admire most?

A: I have no admiration for any politician in the country. The only politician I ever liked is the former Singaporean President Lee Kuan Yew.

Q: Why do you dislike politicians in this country?

A: Sri Lanka is not as developed as Singapore. If our country is in the same stagnant state since giving independence in 1948, then what use have the politicians who have ruled the country all this time been?

Q: Then your father....?

A: I said all politicians during this time. The answer is clear.

Q: During the last UNP government you rendered great service to the Sinhala people of the north and east.

A: I acted as the political advisor to the then President.

Q: You conducted the operations in the north-east war then?

A: The operations were conducted by the Army, not by me. But I provided a lot of assistance to the villagers harassed by the terrorists. I gave them arms training, and provided them with food and medical facilities.

Q: When the North-East war started after 1977, was there a specific time frame to end it?

A: The government initiated operations in north and east at that time with a specific time period to end the war. But a number of shortcomings prevented us from achieving this.

Q: Was it not possible to end the war, if the Vadamarachchi operation continued?

A: That is a misconception. Vadamarachchi operation was intended to get the area into government's hands. I had known well that we would not

be able to hold onto Vadamarachchi for long even if we had captured it. We did not have sufficient men to hold onto Vadamarachchi as the area was very large.

Q: Is it correct that you opposed the Indo-Lanka accord when it was signed during the time your father was President?

A: I opposed the accord. But I did not act opposingly.

Q: On what grounds did you oppose the accord?

A: On the grounds that we did not need an Indian Army in Sri Lanka. I realised that we would lose control in the north and east, and it will fall into terrorist hands as a result of the accord. Also I knew that the Sinhala villages in the area would be battered by the Indian Army.

Q: Why didn't you convey this opposition to the accord to your father?

A: I did. But he did not realise at that stage that the Indian Army's presence here would create such a situation. Later, he realised the truth in what I said.

Q: Why did you decide on setting up a Special Task Force (STF)?

A: I observed that our Army lacked the training to continue the north-east war to an end. They had little experience in war. A unit of the STF was established because we had difficulty in training the remaining soldiers then.

Q: Why couldn't JVP leaders like Wijeweera and Gamanayake be captured during the time of the last Government?

A: Arresting JVP leaders was not an easy task at that time. Prabhakaran is still not caught.

Q: Do you accept that there were just reasons for the Southern terrorism?

A: The youth groups started their fight for certain reasons, but the way they conducted it was wrong. One cannot kill innocent people and topple a government. JVP rebellion cannot succeed in overthrowing a government, it will only succeed in hitting innocent people on their stomachs. However, I accept that the southern rebellion was caused by the unemployment problem among the youth.

Q: How do you spend your daily hours now?

A: Reading Bana books and meditating.

Q: Do you discuss politics with your father at home?

A: Not so much now as earlier.

Letter to the Editor

'START A FREE MATRIMONIAL COLUMN'

We are indeed happy to have a paper to speak for the Tamil Nation of Sri Lanka. A sad feature is that it has to be edited in Madras and that it is read mostly by people who have had to flee the land of their birth. Already one generation has been either wiped out in battle or scattered so far and wide that one wonders whether the thriving and close-knit communities that existed in our homelands at the time of inde-

pendence in 1948 will ever be brought together and re-established in the numerous towns and villages of Eelam.

Among some of the problems we expatriates face in out of the way places like Botswana are in helping our children get suitable training and employment and when they have cleared this first hurdle, to find suitable marriage partners. We regularly read of weddings taking place in London where obviously there is a large pool of

eligible young men and women. We who are thousands of miles away from Madras and London need your sympathy and assistance. I wish to make a simple suggestion that you inaugurate a free matrimonial column in your 'People & Events' page with advertisements appearing under Box numbers. To compensate you for the cost of mailing replies a nominal deposit, say of £5, could be called for from advertisers.

Concerned Parent
Gaborone

FOLKES SOLICITORS EAST. 1918

IMMIGRATION ASSISTANCE - NATIONALITY
VISAS-INDIVIDUAL/COMPANY WORK PERMITS

CONVEYANCING £180*

Sale/Purchase/Remortgage Residential Property.
Fee includes mortgage related work when we act,
for your lender* Plus VAT and Disbursements

61 GREENFORD AVENUE, LONDON W7 1LL

TEL: 081 840 3333/6969

PEOPLE EVENTS

Honoured in London



Mr. R. Namasivayam, Attorney-at-Law and Secretary, Thiruketheswaram Temple Restoration Society and Trustee of the Temple was honoured in London recently.

The London Meikandaar Aadheenam presided over by Adheena Karthar Swami Siva

Nandhi conferred on Mr. Namasivayam the title of THIRUPPANI SELVAR on the occasion of the annual general meeting of the Aadheenam Trust. The Chief Guest, Dr. S. Navaratnam, Consultant Rheumatologist, and member of the Board of Trustees honoured Mr. Namasivayam with a "Ponnadai".

In thanking the Aadheenam, Mr. Namasivayam said Saiva Siddhantam is the greatest heritage of the Tamils, and lauded the Saivaites in UK in running an organisation for the propagation of this unique philosophy. He also thanked Swami Siva Nandhi for giving spiritual guidance for Tamil expatriates in UK and other Western countries.

Chinese girl excels in Bharata Natyam

Tina Yong made history in Australia to be the first Chinese girl to do her Arangetram in India's very ancient temple dance of Bhakthi. Tina is a pupil of **Chandrabhanu**, the wellknown Malaysian born Bharata Natya dancer and teacher who made Australia his country of adoption.

Tina excelled in many of Chandrabhanu's productions including "The Dance of Shiva" (1989) and the Epic of The Anklet (1990). Tina has also been featured in a film on Dance called FEMALE.

Tina's guru, Chandrabhanu who completed his dance training under Adyar K. Lakshman, is known for his Bharata Natyam and Odissi performances in Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Singapore, India and Europe. Tina is the 31st student of Chandrabhanu from Bharatalaya, the Bharatam Dance Company, to perform her arangetram.



PEACE RALLY IN MELBOURNE



Members of the Ceylon Tamil Association (Victoria) took part in a Peace Rally organised by the Palm Sunday Coalition at the Melbourne City Centre on 24th March. The Ceylon Tamil Association (CTA), formed in 1978, has more than 450 families currently constituting the membership, and is today one of the powerful lobby groups in Australia.

DEATHS

Leela Rajakulasingham, (49), wife of Neurosurgeon K. Rajakulasingham, and youngest daughter of the late Advocate M.K. Sangarapillai and Mrs. Sangarapillai of Puloly West, Point Pedro, passed away suddenly in Chicago on April 19, and cremated on April 23. Besides her husband, she leaves two children, Sita (17) and Rajan (15), sisters Valli Sooriakumaran, Mathuri Pathmanathan and Kamala Kanapathipillai, brothers Krishnasamy, Ganeson, Sriskandan, Nadarajah and Gunanayagam. 411 Foxtail Lane, Oakbrook, Illinois 60521, USA.

Alice Nallammah Kularatnam, (84), wife of late M. Kularatnam of Uduvil and mother of Kulamany Rasiah, Navaratnasingham (California), and Kulanayagi Surendran (Colombo) passed away in London on April 23. 19 Coleridge Avenue, Manor Park, London E12 6RQ.

M. Sivapathasundaram, retired Vice-Principal Manipay Hindu College, husband of Paramsothy, father of Dr. Kalavalli (USA), Dr. Parameswaran (USA), Sundreswaran (Canada), father-in-law of Dr. Sriharan and Malini. Funeral took place on 25th April, Moonamalai, Manipay.

Ajita Tiruvani Parathalingam, daughter of Padma and late T. Parathalingam, died under tragic circumstances. 5, Wijerama Mawatha, Colombo 7.

Murugesu Durasingham, retired Senior Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Health and former General Manager, Quickshaws Ltd, husband of Bhagawathy, father of Indran (UK), Sakuntala (Melbourne), Shantini (New York), Padmini (UK), Pragashini (Melbourne), and Sanjeyan (UK). Cremation at General Cemetery, Kanatte, Colombo 3rd May. 37, Mary's Road, Bambalapitiya.

University of Jaffna Results Third M.B.B.S. Exam 1991

First Class - Miss S. Sriranganathan (Distinction in Parasitology, Pharmacology, Microbiology, Pathology and Community Medicine).

Second Class - Miss C. Ariaratnam, S. Ashok Kumar, Miss H. Duraiswamy, Miss I. Visagaperumal, P. Jeepara, Miss K. Thuraijah (Distinction in Parasitology), Miss R. Tharmalingam, Miss S. Sadachch-aranathan (Distinction in Parasitology and Pharmacology), Miss S. Nagesparan, Miss N.A. Sebamalai, Miss S.S. Sabanathan (Distinction in Community Medicine).

Pass - S. Asogan, S. Jeevatharan, Miss J. Jeyarasa, Miss S. Kanagalingam, S. Karunakaran, T.E. Malcolm, S. Navaneethan, Miss R. Namasivayam, T. Perantharajah, B. Prabakaran, K. Rajasekaran, D. Ranjith, Miss S. Ratnasabapathy, Miss N. Selathurai, P. Sivanathan, T. Sivaseelan, S. Sivayokam, Miss T. Pathmanathan, M. Thiagarajah, Miss S. Velupillai.

The CTA office-bearers

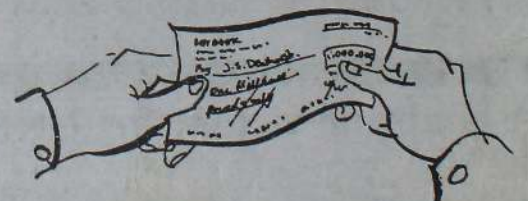
The C.T.A. office-bearers The following are the office-bearers of the Ceylon Tamil Association (Victoria) for the year 1991/92, along with their addresses and telephone numbers :-

President : Mr. R.K. Jegathan, 1 Nevin Parade, Viewbank, Victoria 3084. (459 6189); **Vice Presidents** : Mr. K. Gopalakrishnan, 9 Monterey Court, Oakleigh South, Victoria 3167. (551 7063); Mr. M. Maheswaran : 32 Marsdon Crescent, Doncaster East, Victoria 3109 (848 9763); **Secretary** : Mr. J.T.N. Handy, 6 Kalonga Court, Glen Waverley, Victoria 3150. (560 0658); **Asst. Secretary** : Mr. A. Sinnappu, 3 Denton Drive, Endeavour Hills, Victoria 3803. (706 1675); **Treasurer** : Mr. T. Shanmugapalan, 29 Marsden Crescent, East Doncaster, Victoria 3109. (848 9358); **Asst. Treasurer** : Ms. N. Kandasamy, 3/20 Toward Street, Murambeen, Victoria 3163. (568 7748); **Editor** : Mr.

M. Muralitharan, 4/20 Donne Street, Dingsbury, Victoria 3083. (467 7404); **Social Secretary** : Mrs. N. Eliezer, 9 Fair Street, Ivanhoe, Victoria 3079. (499 2284); **Committee Members** : Mrs. D. Rajendran, 20 Yaltara Avenue, Bundoora, Victoria 3083. (467 4662); Mr. S. Sundaramoorthy, 12 Sharon Road, Springvale, Victoria 3171. (547 7326); Mrs. B. Sivakumaran, 32 Somes Street, Wantirna South, Victoria 3152. (887 1489); Mr. S. Sriharan, 9/21 Empire Street, Footscray, Victoria 3011. (318 4652); Mr. K. Arumugasamy, 4 Crown Court, St Albans, Victoria 3021. (364 1573); Dr. T. Sriharan 71 Freeman Crescent, Mill Park, Victoria 3082. (404 4032); Mr. S. Satgunalingam, Unit 1 12-14 Noble St., Noble Park, Victoria 3174. (562 3529); Dr. E. Kanapathipillai, Unit 5/26 Edgevale Rd., Kew, Victoria 3101. (819 6606); Mr. T. Jeyakumar, 8 Coppin Court, Glen Waverley, Victoria 3150. (561 8445).

**TAMIL NATION
FOR OTHER NEWS
OTHER VIEWS**

FOR THE BEST MORTGAGE ADVICE
contact the Banking experts with many years
specialist experience lending to the
"PRIVATE HEALTH SECTOR"



If you are considering :

and generally seeking the Best available terms in the market place, featuring:

Bying a home (Nursing or Residential Care)
Extending/converting,
Refinancing,
New build.

- * Attractive Interest Rates,
- * Capital and Interest moratoriums to suit individual requirements,
- * Up to 110% of bricks and mortar value, (STS)
- * Complete flexibility,
- * No early settlement penalties
- * Fixed notional rates and repayments

Contact the specialists for a more personal and professional service from start to finish



INDEPENDENT BUSINESS MORTGAGE SERVICES
"BUSINESS/COMMERCIAL FINANCE SPECIALISTS"
01-650 7005 (24 Hours)
Licensed Credit Brokers

TAMIL NATION

AUSTRALASIAN TAMILS CONDEMN ATTACK ON MSF

While expressing their "deep gratitude" to the Medicines Sans Frontieres (MSF) for continuing to alleviate the sufferings of the Eelam Tamil people, the Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations has strongly condemned the recent attack by the Lankan Airforce on the French medical personnel.

The Australasian Federation (Chairman: Prof. C.J. Eliezer; Secretary: Ana Pararajasingham) has addressed the following letter to the MSF, 8, Rue Saint SABIN, 75011 Paris, France:-

"We wish to express our deep gratitude to MSF which has continued to alleviate the suffering of the Eelam Tamil people through its selfless service. We are shocked to learn of the attacks by the Sri Lankan government on a doctor and a nurse attached to the MSF and its attempt to cover up the attack. We wish a speedy recovery to those injured.

"In this connection we will be directing our requests to our own Governments (the Australian and New Zealand Governments in particular) to bring pressure upon the Sri Lankan Government to refrain from such conduct and observe the

Geneva Convention in its war against the Tamil Nation. This expression of support and concern is being directed to you on behalf of the following member associations. We are all anxious that MSF continues its service to our fellow Tamils facing the ruthless attacks of a brutal government.

Canberra: Canberra Tamil Association (Contact: Mr. K. Ravichandra - 06-2462128); **Sydney:** Eelam Tamil Association (Contact: Mr. V. Sureshan - 02-8991072); **Melbourne:** Ceylon Tamil Association, Victoria (Contact: Mr. R.K. Jegannathan - 03-4596189); **Brisbane:** Queensland Tamil Association (Contact: Dr. E.A. Selvanathan 07-3457645); **Adelaide:** Ceylon Tamil Association of South Australia (Contact: Rev. S. Sukunananthan - 08-2616664); **Perth:** Eelam Tamil Association (Contact: Dr. M. Sivapalan - 09-3877646 or Mr. K. Nathan - 09-3101656).

New Zealand, Wellington: Wellington Tamil Association (Contact: Mr. G. Nellaiingam - 64-4-660073); **Auckland:** Auckland Tamil Association (Contact: Dr. N. Rasalingam - 64-9-5288257).

Total Contempt for international concern

In a separate Press release, the Australasian Federation (AFTA) has condemned the attack on the MSF which has been providing medical assistance to the desperate Tamil victims since 1986. Recalling the bombing by the Lankan Air Force of the Jaffna Hospital manned by the ICRC in November last year, the statement says: "The deliberate attack (on the MSF) and the cowardly attempt to twist the fact by the Sri Lanka government is a gross violation of its international obligation with regard to human rights and a cruel attempt to stop the inter-

national volunteer organisations helping hapless Tamils.

The statement adds: "The continuous indiscriminate bombing of civilian targets demonstrates the determination of the Sri Lanka government to continue the genocidal war against the Tamil Nation despite attempts made by the international community to promote a negotiated settlement. This also reflects the government's total contempt for international concern and its calculated violation of the International Law of armed conflict."

A landslide victory for UNP

The ruling United National Party swept the local polls winning 192 of the 236 local councils to which elections were held on May 11. It also bagged the Colombo Municipal Council, which it had dominated for decades.

The UNP's main contender, the SLFP and other opposition political formations won 44 of the Councils. Of the 32 Urban Councils, the UNP won 27, the SLFP two, the Communist Party one, and the independent groupings two.

President Premadasa said: "The voters had convincingly rejected political elements who are masquerading as democrats" and had "accepted practical action and rejected empty criticism".

The Ceylon Workers Congress won both the local bodies in the Nuwara Eliya district. Nuwara Eliya is the only district outside the north-east which has a Tamil-majority.

The smaller Opposition parties appear to have done better than the SLFP.

THE FINAL FLING BY THE ARMED FORCES?

Fierce battles were reported in the Vavuniya and Mullaitivu districts as last reports came in towards the end of the first fortnight in May, in what is seen as a final fling in a combined Air Force-Army-Navy offensive.

While Sia Marchetti planes, Chinese bomber planes and helicopter gunships bombed and strafed from the air, and while a flotilla of Naval craft composed of Chinese gun boats and Israeli Dvora fast craft kept pounding the entire area around the Mullaitivu coast, two brigades of 3200 ground troops were reported moving

LANKA SOURS ITS RELATIONS WITH FRANCE, BRITAIN

The French government has lodged a "strong protest" with Sri Lanka over the attack by Lankan aircraft on members of the French voluntary medical team MSF on May 3. A French embassy statement in Colombo said that ambassador Christian Lambert had, on instructions from his government warned Sri Lanka authorities that repetition of such incidents would "very seriously compromise" relations between the two countries.

Three members of the Paris-based medical team -

Medicines Sans Frontieres - along with the Tamil driver of the vehicle in which they were travelling, were wounded in the incident (Report on Page 3). The MSF said the vehicle was clearly marked with a red cross, the MSF logo, had white flags and a flashing amber beacon. The MSF had also got prior clearance from the Lankan Joint Operations Command - all of which seemed to suggest that apart from the government, even the top military brass were beginning to lose control over their own men on

the spot.

MSF representatives arrived in Colombo on the 8th and themselves made an official complaint. An embarrassed President's office quickly issued a statement expressing the government's "profound regret" to MSF and the French government for what it described as an "unfortunate incident". (MSF has 25 members working in the island). The government has also ordered a one-man inquiry into the incident.

British envoy under fire

Meanwhile, members of the ruling UNP government have accused British High Commissioner David Gladstone of "meddling" in the Local Bodies elections of May 11, which the UNP won with a sweeping majority. UNP Secretary-General and Housing Minister Sirisena Cooray, a close confidante of President Premadasa, has lodged a "strong protest" with the Foreign Ministry and the Elections Commissioner accusing the British envoy of undiplomatic conduct. The complaint was also referred to the 16-member International Observer team which monitored the polls.

Mr. Cooray's charge related to a complaint Mr. Gladstone had lodged with the Dickwella police in the southern Matara district (once controlled by the JVP), alleging that UNP supporters were guilty of impersonation and of erasing the indelible ink on their fingers. The UNP M.P. and party organiser for the area, H.R. Piyasiri then lodged a counter-complaint with the Dickwella police accusing Mr. Gladstone of "deliberately interfering in domestic politics and violating the code of conduct of diplomats". Mr. Piyasiri alleged that Mr. Gladstone had made the charge "maliciously" because he had

exposed the British envoy in Parliament last year "for giving patronage to drug peddlers and those who promote use of dangerous drugs". He said he had told Parliament that the High Commissioner kept company with a man arrested in the United Kingdom for possession of drugs.

Mr. Sirisena Cooray in his complaint to the Foreign Ministry, had alleged that Mr. Gladstone had deliberately chosen Dickwella to lodge his complaint as an act of revenge against Mr. Piyasiri and to bring the UNP under disrepute.

The House of Lords reference

Readers of Tamil Nation will remember that the British High Commissioner had come in for complimentary references in the House of Lords in Britain in the course of a debate on Sri Lanka on 23rd January this year. (Tamil Nation: March 15). Lord Taylor of Gryfe said on that occasion:

"... I want to pay a special tribute tonight to the representative of Her Majesty's Government in Colombo. I want to pay a tribute to David Gladstone, who is our High Commissioner, and who has not been afraid or intimidated in standing up for human rights. David Gladstone has

been threatened. One member of parliament in Sri Lanka, taking advantage of the privileged position of a Member of Parliament, went so far as to accuse him of drug trafficking, in order to diminish the standing of Her Majesty's Government and their representative. But I am glad to say that David Gladstone has maintained his firm line publicly.

"When I was there I was interested in the case of a young man who had just disappeared. I was associated with the religious Society of Friends and still am. They have a Quaker mission engaged in

medical work and reconciliation in the island. When one of the workers disappeared, I went to David Gladstone to ask him to make representations. The Swedish Embassy also made representations, and I stated that I would raise the matter with the Foreign Secretary on my return. Mr. Gladstone was summoned to the Foreign Office in Sri Lanka and was asked, "What is all the trouble you are making about this chap? We will make sure that he is returned". But like so many others who are caught in that conflict, he has never been seen since."

forward in a virtual face-to-face confrontation with an estimated 300 LTTE militants across scrub jungle.

A military official in Vavuniya was reported as saying: "We are combating and clearing the area of the LTTE, but not securing ground. Our main priority at the moment is clearing. Every LTTE fighter killed means one less".

Way beyond a military checkpoint in Nellukulam, the LTTE is said to man a road block preventing people moving into the war zone in south Vavuniya. Rita Sebastian reporting from Vavuniya says:

"Ramanathan, just returned from the Middle East, invested in a bicycle in Vavuniya. With his suitcase strapped behind, and his wife perched on the front, he was heading towards Jaffna to join his family. It would take him at least four days to reach Jaffna, he said, on the circuitous route via Mannar.

"A 38-year old woman, a university lecturer, was travelling in the opposite direction. She had walked seven days from Chavakachcheri. "We walked during the day, slept under the trees at night. There is no transport of any kind",

she said, pointing to a group of people with whom she had made the long trip.

Meanwhile, a booby-trapped house in Kays exploded as a group of Sri Lankan troops walked in on May 12, killing at least eight soldiers and injuring several others.

Curfew which was imposed in the Mullaitivu district at the beginning of the month itself, appeared to continue, without anyone in a position to know whether it was yet in force by the end of the first ten days.

By the end of the fortnight, the military authorities had announced a total curfew in the Jaffna peninsula as well.