

# TAMIL NATION

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"It is the Sri Lanka government that has failed to learn the lessons from the emergence of the struggles for self determination in several parts of the globe and the innovative structural changes that have taken place."



Velupillai Prabhakaran  
Leader of Liberation Tigers of  
Tamil Eelam

## Nedumaran to open London Seminar 'Towards a Just Peace'



Mr. P. Nedumaran, leader of the Tamil National Movement, and the Convener of the Tamil Eelam Supporters Coordinating Committee in Tamil Nadu, will open the Seminar 'Towards a Just Peace' at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University on the 15th of February.

The Seminar is being organised by the International Federation of Tamils (IFT) with the support of several Tamil community organi-

sations in the United Kingdom including the Bolton Tamil Association, the Essex and London Eelam Tamil Association, the Federation of Tamil Associations of the United Kingdom, the International Tamil Foundation, the London Tamil Forum, the Tamil Refugee Action Group, the Tamil Refugee Housing Association and the Walthamstow Tamil Sangam. The Seminar is a response from the IFT to the initiative taken by the International Secretariat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to consult with Tamil expatriates on the issues that confront the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam and the need to concrete steps towards a just peace.

The whole day Seminar will examine the issues of the struggle in the context of the recent policy statement of the International Secretariat of the LTTE that "a permanent and lasting solution can be achieved only by recognising

the traditional homeland of the Tamil people, by recognising that they constitute a nation and by recognising their right to self determination and that on this basis, it should be possible to agree on a framework where the Tamil nation and the Sinhala nation can coexist, and cooperate in certain spheres for freedom, peace and prosperity of both nations."

In the meantime, in an interview with the Toronto Star, in Canada, Mr. Nedumaran said that Canadian Government must recognize an independent Tamil homeland and stop giving aid to Sri Lanka.

"We ask the Canadian government to recognise the Tamils struggle" said Mr. Nedumaran, praising the Federal Government for its recent recognition of the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. He told the Star that Canada should stop giving money to Sri Lanka and should instead raise the issue of the

genocide of the Tamils in Sri Lanka' in the United Nations and other international bodies. 'The Sri Lankan government uses foreign aid to buy arms to kill Tamils. Peace talks must be started. Mr. Nedumaran who addressed a gathering of more than 500 Tamils at Midland Avenue Collegiate in Scarborough, called on Tamils in Canada to spread the word about what is happening in Sri Lanka.

### Canadian Human Rights Mission Visits Sri Lanka in search of Peace Formula

In response to growing international concern over human rights abuses in Sri Lanka, a group of prominent Canadians will make policy recommendations immediately after an eight day mission to Sri Lanka which commenced on the 20th of January. The Mission will present a report of its recommendations to the Canadian Ministry of External Affairs on the 21st February.

In a Press Release, the Mission states that its visit has come about as part of an international effort to promote peace and justice in Sri Lanka where since June 1990, over 3,000 civilians have been killed and more than one million people displaced from their homes. In 1991, Canada received over 4,000 refugee claimants from Sri Lanka.

"The Mission will make recommendations on the effectiveness of the current Canadian government policy of linking human rights issues to aid development commitments and on the constructive role Canada should play in the achievement of a ceasefire, on peace talks, and in a negotiated settlement between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam."

The team leader is the Very Rev Dr. Lois Wilson is an immediate

### "We call upon the Commission to place the legitimate call of the Tamil people for self determination on an equal basis as of others now recognised by the international community" says NGO at Geneva sessions of UN Human Rights Commission

The non governmental human rights organisation, International Educational Development, in a statement read by Mr. Anton Ponnaraj, on February 3, at the 48th Sessions of the UN Commission of Human Rights in Geneva, declared:

"The Tamil population of the Northern and Eastern parts of the Island of Ceylon clearly meet the definition of 'peoples' set out under international standards. And, most importantly, their relationship to their territory was specifically recognised by the government of Sri Lanka in the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayagam Pact.

The Tamils have their own language, a religious and cultural basis distinct from the Sinhala majority, and increasingly, are united by a passionate yearning for autonomy if not independence from Sinhala

domination. The intensity and urgency of their demand for full self determination has only increased under the Sri Lankan government's actions that threaten their very physical survival.

This Commission has heard compelling testimony on the gravity of human rights violations occurring against the Tamil peoples for years. In 1987, the Commission, in its resolution 1987/91, took note of the evidence human rights violations and called upon the parties to 'pursue a negotiated political solution, based on principles of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.'

There have been many tragic events in the Tamil-Sinhala conflict since then, and the Commission, though not its rapporteurs, has been silent. Now the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the military

force defending the rights of the Tamil people, has again called for a ceasefire and a process of negotiation in order to realise the rights of self determination of both the Tamil and Sinhala peoples in a peaceful manner.

It appears that the Government of Sri Lanka intends to continue to pursue a military victory over the Tamil people and their armed forces, and to go against the wise counsel of United States President Woodrow Wilson who stated that self determination is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril.

We call upon the Commission to heed these sage words and to place the legitimate call of the Tamil people for their self determination on an equal basis as of others now recognised by the international community."

#### Seminar Agenda the political reality

parties to the conflict - armed conflict, its legitimacy and lawfulness - ethnic conflict or national liberation struggle? - multi ethnic plural society or two nations? - muslim minority - plantation Tamils

#### the political solution

negotiations: piece meal 'practical' approach or radical conceptual approach - legal framework to accord with political reality - associative structures, confederal, commonwealth - separation

#### towards a just peace

time table for steps towards a just peace - confidence building - ceasefire - monitors to supervise ceasefire - lifting of blockade - role of mediator - parties to the talks - roundtable or square table - venue for talks - ratification by referendum

Past President of the World Council of Churches. The other members of the Mission are Mr. Pierre Duquette, Legal Counsel to the former Minister of State for Immigration, Gerry Weiner; Ms. Marian Botsford Fraser, member of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Centre of International PEN; Ms. Beryl Gaffney, M.P. and Liberal party critic for Human rights; Dr. Kenneth Kuhn, Executive Director of the Lutheran's Church Division for Church and Society; Mr. Peter McCreath, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of State for Finance and Privatisation; Mr. Svend Robinson, M.P., and New Democratic party spokesperson on External Affairs and International Human Rights; and Dr. Stephen Toope, Associate Dean of Graduate Studies and Research at the Faculty of Law at the University of McGill.

Staff support for the Mission was provided by Mr. Robin Gibson who is Chairperson of the Consultative Committee on Human Rights of the Canadian Council of Churches.



# 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 participate in the effort to strengthen that togetherness. The TAMIL NATION seeks to focus attention on the unjust relationship between nations without a state and nations that have attained state-hood. And, the TAMIL NATION exists to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary, both amongst the Tamil people and outside, if the struggle of the Tamil people for national self determination is to be won.

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Rajan Sriskandarajah writing from New York says

## Do the Right Thing!

Remember Banda standing in front of the Parliament viewing with glee, the spectacle of the Tamil MPs being beat up by the Sinhala thugs on the Galle Face Green, while holding back the bridle of his police force. Remember him, two years later, refusing to mobilize troops to control the hooligans terrorizing and slaying the frightened Tamil population all over the island (And the then Governor General, Sir Oliver, having to do it for him). Then 25 years later, JR doing not only ditto, but going further in blaming the victims as well.

Through all this, and innumerable other examples of a tyrannical and despotic exercise of power, we cannot name one Sinhala leader worth his salt who was inclined, let alone had the courage, to say that it was all wrong. On the contrary, we only saw, other Sinhala leaders pushing, shoving and clambering up to seize the same power, shouting all the way that the Tamils haven't been hurt enough!

Today, the Sinhala leadership knows that there is an armed conflict in the island of Sri Lanka. They know who the parties to the conflict are. They know that the conflict can be resolved without encroaching in any manner upon the Sinhala power over their own selves. But they refuse to recognise the existence of the other party to the conflict, leave alone sit and talk with it on equal terms. They choose instead to hide behind inept formulas like "all party conferences" on the one hand and 'select committees' on the other.

They did not have all "party conferences" or "select committees" before they legislated "Sinhala Only", did they? Did they confer with all the parties when they enacted the 6th Amendment or even the 13th Amendment? Did they talk about "select committees" then? Even when they did have a National Constituent Assembly in 1972, to enact a new constitution, weren't they able to bully and browbeat their way through all opposition? But, when it comes to resolving the Tamil question it is all somehow different!

The truth is plain to see. Neither Sinhala chauvinism nor its goals, from the time of Banda's escapades, have changed. And, so the Sinhala leadership continues to reject all international attempts at mediation. Bob Hawke, the Australian Prime Minister, was rebuffed. The governments of Norway, Canada and Malaysia were told to mind their own business. The Commonwealth Secretary General Emeka Anyaoku, President Jimmy Carter, Swiss Refugee Minister Peter Arbenz, among many others were all told to go to hell!

It is clear as a bell, to anyone with a smidgen of intellect, that what the Sinhala people and their leaders want is not a resolution in peace, but a total surrender, and a life in servitude for the Tamils. They will do anything, absolutely anything, to achieve this. Preach brotherhood? Yes! Starve the rest? Yes! Murder them? Yes! Bribe them to fight one another? Yes! They are even starving themselves, to buy the arms to strike the Tamils with! What more evidence does one need?

What are our choices? Throw in our lot with the Tamil MPs in the UNP? Band together with PLOTE or the TELO, hoping that they will assist Sinhala chauvinism to beat the Tigers first, and then win the Tamils their rights from the very same Sinhala chauvinism - now triumphant to boot? Ask the LTTE to surrender, and place our trust (once again) on the Sinhala leaders' benevolence and generosity? What choice do we have?

The Tigers? No matter how you look at it, one has to arrive at the conclusion that they are probably our only (is it the last?) hope. I have done a great deal of soul searching in this regard, and I cannot, in all honesty, arrive at any other conclusion. The Tigers are, of course, not blameless in this whole tragedy of a war. They certainly need to be chastened for their excesses, but they also need to be recognized for their achievements. Their accomplishments, if one cares to look at them, are quite tangible indeed. From the days of Banda on the Parliament steps, we have come a long way.

Remember when the Sinhala soldiers were able to drive down the streets of Jaffna, beating pedestrians with sticks and rods; enter the Tamil homes, loot, rape and plunder; arrest innocent youngsters and/or murder them; burn bodies and bury them in mass graves. Even if we cannot remember these events of only 10 year ago, look at what is happening in areas recaptured by the Sinhala army, it is worse now. It is irrefutable that, today it is only the Tigers in these safe areas who prevent us meeting a similar fate.

By this, I do not seek to exculpate or absolve the Tigers for their excesses. On the contrary, I uphold and support the need to improve, strengthen and purify the LTTE. I also concur with the fact that, just because the other side is contemptible we needn't be the same, although at the same time I question the need to hold ours to a higher standard.

The devotion to high morals is our ethos, and I am proud of this fact. But, it has also been our weakness. We have spent (more like, frittered away) decades believing in the dictum "right is might", and that if we are virtuous we will prevail. I am not saying that we should now reverse this dictum and say "might is right", but for God's sake let us not be carried away by our enthusiasm for sanitary ethics and effete rectitudes, to the point of enervating our only hope.

## Multi ethnic plural society?

"The majority in this country are Sinhalese. Without the consent of the majority no one can come into power" says Ven. Galaboda Gnanassara Thera

It is fashionable nowadays, in certain circles who are in search of a solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka, to start by saying that Sri Lanka is a 'multi ethnic plural society'. It is the new 'buzz phrase'. It has a nice ring to it. Who would not like to live in a society where all ethnic groups are equal and a plurality of view points is encouraged and secured?

But legal frameworks intended to resolve a conflict, must fit the political reality on the ground - and not the other way round. And what is the political reality on the ground in Sri Lanka? The political reality on the ground is that the 'protectors of the Sinhala race and Buddhism' are busy heaping abuse on Mr Thondaman and his Peace Proposals. He is being accused of betraying the 'country'. Sinhala newspapers are whipping up mass hysteria about the security situation in the hill country, for which they claim Mr Thondaman is responsible. So much so that at a UNP Working Party Committee meeting held at Sri Kotha on 30th December 91, the UNP distanced itself from the Thondaman proposals by saying "unilateral attempts to solve the North East problem have been misrepresented and used for provocative purposes by disruptive elements, thus arousing communal passions. That is why the party prefers to make its own contribution through the mechanism of the Parliamentary Select Committee." Realising that the UNP was not prepared to take unilateral decision to settle the Tamil National question, Mr Thondaman told close associates that he would gradually ease out on his peace moves. Ven. Galaboda Gnanassara Thera, the Chief Incumbent of Gangaramaya has appealed to the Sinhala people: "If Minister Thondaman does not tow the line and acts independently, action must be taken to remove him from his position. The majority in this country are Sinhalese. Without the consent of the majority no one can come into power". The majority in this country are Sinhalese and without their consent no one can come into power - this is the 'multi ethnic plural society' that some 'moderate' circles still go on prattling about! The formation of the "Sinhala Arakshaka Sanvidhaya", which projects itself as a force "safeguard the Sinhalese", under the direction of the former Minister Gamini Jayasuriya, to mobilise the Sinhala forces - both Buddhist and Christian is but the latest manifestation of a deep rooted Sinhala chauvinism and should serve to open the eyes of those who seek a political solution to the armed conflict between two national formations, by suggesting frames relevant to a non-existent 'multi ethnic plural society' (unless of course such persons are only pretending to have their eyes closed). The truth is that there is nothing 'multi ethnic or plural' about the society over which the Sri Lanka government seeks to rule and the sooner that this is recognised by all concerned, the more quickly will the search begin for a political solution where the Tamil nation and the Sinhala nation may associate and cooperate with each other on an equal footing. And, here a good start would be, for all concerned, to begin by recognising that each nation exists.

Savitri

## Multi ethnic plural society?

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

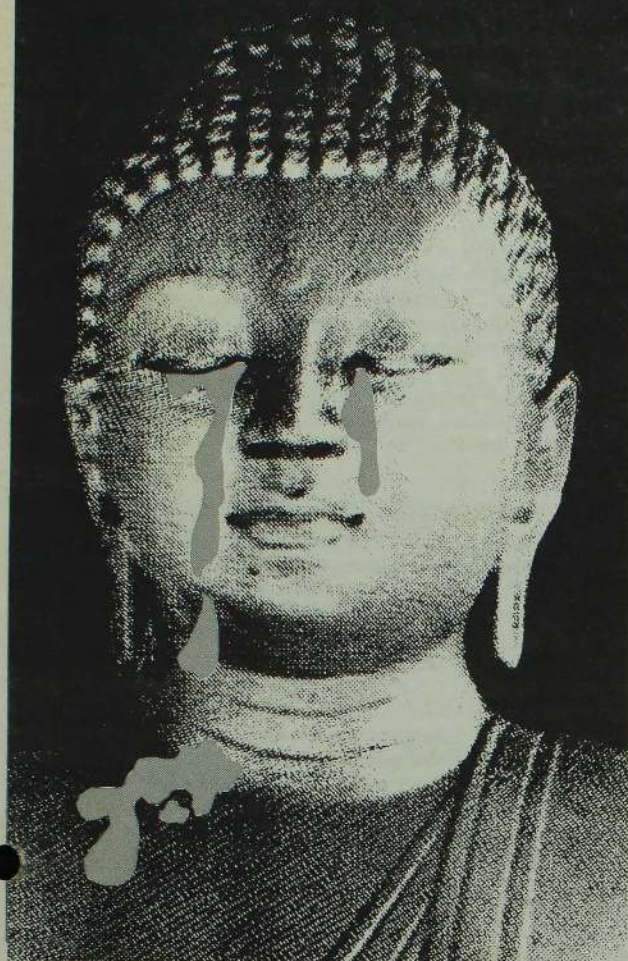
"If there is discrimination in this land which is not their (Tamil) homeland, then why try to stay here. Why not go back home (India) where there would be no discrimination. There are your kovils and Gods. There you have your culture, education, universities etc. There you are masters of your own fate... If the sleeping Sinhalese wake up to see the Tamils trying to establish a Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka, then things may not be quite calm. It would be advisable for the Tamils not to disturb the sleeping Sinhala brother. Everybody knows that lions when disturbed are not peaceful." Mr. W.J.M. Lokubandara, Sinhala M.P. in Sri Lanka's Parliament, July 1981

"If we are governing, we must govern. If we are ruling, we must rule. Do not give into the minorities. We are born as Sinhalese and as Buddhists in this country. Though we are in a majority, we have been surrendering to the minority community for four years. Let us rule as a majority community". Mrs. Wimala Kannangara M.P., Sinhala Minister for Rural Development, in Sri Lanka's Parliament, July 1981

"Since yesterday morning, we have heard in this honourable House about the various types of punishment that should be meted out to them (Tamil Parliamentary leaders). The MP for Panadura (Dr Neville Fernando) said there was a punishment during the time of the Sinhalese kings, namely, two arcanut posts are erected, the two posts are then drawn toward each other with a rope, then tie each of the feet of the offender to each post and then cut the rope which result in the tearing apart the body. These people also should be punished in the same way... some members suggested that they should be put to death on the stake; some other members said that their passports should be confiscated; still other members said that they should be stood at the Galle Face Green and shot. The people of this country want and the government is prepared to inflict these punishments on these people." Mr. G.V. Panchinilame, Sinhala M.P. for Ratnapura in Sri Lanka's Parliament, July 1981.



# In the land of the Buddha: Business as usual for Sinhala Chauvinism



**"I appeal to the entire Sinhala race to rise against implementation of Thondaman proposals"**

*says Walpola Rahula Thero*

**"Thondaman proposals are treacherous"**

*says Monitoring and Action Committee on Buddha Sasana and Buddhist Affairs*

The influential Sinhala Buddhist leader, Rev Walpola Rahula Thero in a statement reminiscent of the then Sinhala Opposition leader J.R. Jayawardene's call 35 years ago in 1957, has appealed to the "entire Sinhala race to rise against the implementation of the Thondaman proposals." In the meantime a statement issued by the Monitoring and Action Committee on Buddha Sasana and Buddhist Affairs says:

"The country should realise the dangers that are fraught in Mr. Thondaman's proposals to merge the North and the East into a single provincial council and handover the control of ports and harbours to that council, empower such provincial council to negotiate foreign aid, recruit Tiger members to the security forces and the Police and make decisions pertaining to land administration. In particular the proposal to recruit Tiger members to the security forces and the Police is a dangerous attempt to legitimize the status of the Tigers... we consider Mr. Thondaman's proposals as treacherous and leading to further aggravation of the crisis.

As stated in the manifesto of the United National Party the Government has pledged before the people that it will not merge the Northern and the Eastern provinces. Whether Mr. Thondaman should continue as a member of

the cabinet while flouting the stated policies of the Government is the question that is before the people.

... The Monitoring and Action Council on Buddha Sasana and Buddhist Affairs whilst strongly condemning the Thondaman proposals wish to emphasize that the Maha Sangha and the people need to be alert and vigilant as regards the catastrophe that would befall the country from these proposals.

Signed On behalf of the Supreme Council - ; On behalf of the Action Council Weligama Nanaratna Nayake Thera, Bellanvila Wimalaratana Thera, Maduluvave Sobitha Thera, Mapalagama Somissara Thera, Diviyagaha Yasassi Thera, Omalpe Sobitha Thera and Akuratiye Nanda Thera. Gamini Jayasuriya, (President, Maha Bodhi Society), Eric Amarasinghe, P.C., (President, Young Men's Buddhist Association), Olcott Gunasekera, (President Dharma Vijaya Foundation), Chandra de Soysa, (President, All Ceylon Buddhist Women's Congress), J.H. Karunaratne, (Vice President, Sri Lanka Temperance Association), G. Ranatunga, (President, Asian Buddhist Conference), Prof. M.B. Ariyapala, (President, All Ceylon Buddhist Congress), W.D.V. Mahatantila, (President, Buddhist Theosophical Society), Rani Karunaratna, (President, World Buddhist Women's Congress) and M.A. Silva, (Vice President, Sasana Sevaka Society).

**"Traditional Tamil homeland is an amusing bit of fiction... Thondaman proposals are an attempt to reduce the majority community of this country to a minority and should be rejected outright with the contempt it deserves"**

*says Ven. Madihe Pannaseeha Mahanayaka Thera*

Ven. Madihe Pannaseeha Mahanayaka Thera in a statement in the Sri Lanka Sunday Times on 29 December 1991 gives proof, if indeed proof was needed, that Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism is very much alive and kicking. Its intransigence finds expression with the same belligerence as in 1957, when the then Sinhala Opposition Leader, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene declared in response to the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact, which had sought to establish a Regional Council in the Northeast: "...The time has come for the whole Sinhala race which has existed for 2500 years, jealously safeguarding their language and religion, to fight without giving any quarter to save their birthright... I will lead the campaign..."

Excerpts from the Venerable Mahanayake Thera's statement follow:

"Minister Thondaman's proposals, although claimed to have emanated from his own bat, seem to coincide with the very demands of the LTTE. They are formulated on the basis of a "Traditional Tamil homeland" and self-determination for Tamils.

"Traditional Tamil homeland" would best be introduced to the world as an amusing bit of fiction... Let interested parties keep that concept to themselves. They are nothing short of an embodiment of Eelam, though the word Eelam has been tactically avoided. They also go far beyond what had been allowed even in India for Tamil Nadu.

Anyone who has any love for this country and puts the interest of this country beyond his own and his own narrow racial group, has accepted that any devolution of power should guarantee the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. These, in other words, are not negotiable. Mr Thondaman's proposals go against these. A few illustrations would prove this.

In one breath, he says the defence and the security of the country should be the preserve of the central Government. In the same breath, he says all ports, harbours and air ports within the provinces should be under the jurisdiction of the respective provinces. If Trincomalee, Kankesanthurai, Talaimannar and Palaly are handed over to the North and Eastern provinces, how can the Central Government ensure the defence, security and sovereignty of the country?

Even with these harbours and air ports in the control of the Central Government, so much smuggling of arms has been going on. Their handing over to the North and Eastern provinces would only legalize them and help the LTTE to build up powerful armed forces which no Central Government forces could contain.

Will not the LTTE declare Eelam immediately after they have built their own invincible armed forces. Can the LTTE be trusted at any cost in view of their past records?

After declaring Eelam, will they keep quiet? Will they not push their boundaries south until they envelop the hill country? The Government armed forces would not be able to resist them, once the two thirds of the coast of this country with all harbours and ports there, are given on a platter to them.

Mr Thondaman's proposals will sow the seeds of a permanent war between the Sinhalese in the South and the Tamils in the North and East until the Sinhalese are completely subjugated and reduced to the position of a minority in the whole of Sri Lanka. Should the Sri Lankan President allow this, even at the sacrifice of his own presidency?

Allowing the subject of foreign aid to the Provincial Councils of the North and East will also interfere

per cent of the land and two thirds of the sea coast to the Tamils?

There is also no justification whatsoever for merging Eastern Province with the North. The ethnic composition of the Eastern province is very different from that of the Northern Province. In the Eastern Province, Moors comprise 1/3 and Sinhalese 1/4 of the total population. The Tamils comprise only 2/5. The Tamils in this Province are a minority. Then why merge it with the North? Is it not to make the Sinhalese and Moors come under the dominance of Tamils of the North and to carve out a "homeland" for Tamils?

It is true that with the coming into power of the "people's" government of the SLFP in 1956, many of the privileges enjoyed by our Tamil brethren eroded. This has been interpreted as "discrimination" against them. Anybody, who had spoken and who now speaks for the rights of the majority community and against allowing any

**"Sinhala Chauvinism, a Frankenstein Monster" - Kittu's analysis in September 1991**

"Whilst President Premadasa talks peace he continues with his military efforts. If we look at the past we can see why. Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism has been institutionalised in Sri Lanka and today it has become more powerful than the politicians themselves. Indeed even if the Sinhala politicians seek to settle the conflict, Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism will try to prevent such a settlement. This is the political reality that those who are aware of the Sri Lankan situation are well aware of. This Sinhala chauvinism which was nurtured by Sinhala politicians for their electoral advantage, has grown into a Frankenstein monster which now has the power to destroy and make politicians. This we understand very well."

*Sathasivam Krishnakumar (also known as Kittu), Member of the Central Committee of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in an interview with Melbourne Community Radio CR3, reported in Tamil Nation, September 15, 1991*

with the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country. No Provincial Council should be allowed to negotiate with foreign countries direct. If this is allowed, as Minister Thondaman suggests, what is there to prevent the LTTE negotiating even arms deals with the foreign arms suppliers?

If two thirds of Sri Lanka's coast comes under the North and East, how can the central government enforce its immigration laws? Men, materials and arms can come freely into the North and East without any control of the Central Government.

Of the 18 per cent of the Tamils of this country, half (9%) live outside the North and Eastern Provinces. How can one speak about a Tamil homeland then? What is the justification for handing over North and Eastern Provinces constituting 30

more privileges to the minority not available to the majority, are dumped as communalists and Sinhala chauvinists. No one should be carried away and frightened by these slogans...

What is the justification to allow the North and East provincial councils any concessions, privileges, powers and functions which the government cannot give to other provincial councils? If that is done, are we not accepting that the North and East are homelands of a separate ethnic group? ..

Mr Thondaman's proposals are... a complete surrender to the LTTE of the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka and an attempt to reduce the majority community of this country to a minority and should be outright rejected with the contempt it deserves.



# LTTE and Rising Tamil Nationalism in Tamil Nadu

The crackdown on the L.T.T.E. in Tamilnadu after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, brought to light the deep involvement of extremist as well as moderate Tamil nationalists in the Tiger operations across the Palk Straits. The introduction of T.A.D.A. (Terrorist & Disruption Activities Act) in Tamilnadu, it appeared, would scare the local Tamil nationalists from the L.T.T.E. and thereby deal a mortal blow to the resurgence of the militant separatist fringe.

In the writings of the emergent (Brahmin)Hindu intelligentsia (led by Cho Ramasamy the editor of Tuglak in Tamilnadu) one could detect the assumption that Tamil nationalism would lose its militant potential as a result of clearing Tamilnadu of the Tiger.

Herein lies the general mistake about the relationship of the Sri Lankan armed Tamil

movement and the Dravidian movement of Tamilnadu. The mistake is of recent origin. It arises from the belief that the L.T.T.E. is the main cause of assertive Tamil nationalism in Tamilnadu. On the contrary it has been the internal dynamics of the Dravidian movement that made the Tiger an essential issue.

Therefore the question should be: what is the current state of Tamil nationalism across the Palk Strait rather than has the L.T.T.E. been kicked out of Tamilnadu. It is with the first question in mind that one has to examine the significance of two recent events.

The one, the diamond jubilee of the Dravidian movement celebrated by the D.M.K. in Madurai two weeks ago. The other, the anti-Tamil riots in Karnataka.

Karunanidhi has endeavoured to show that he is the genuine heir to the political tradition begun by the South Indian Liberal Federation (which later came to be known as the justice party) in 1916.

At the Madurai conference, the D.M.K. reasserted its continuity with a political movement of pro-British nobles and land lords which wanted separate dominion status under the British. The

D.M.K. leader once again raised the issue of 'genuine federalism'. The senior leaders of the party had decided to take the backseat at the conference, and a clear indication was given to the party about its new leadership.

Y. Gopalasamy, Murasoli Maran and M. K. Stalin were at the fore front of all the conference proceedings. There had been reports in the Tamilnadu press that the D.M.K. was considering the possibility of removing Y. Gopalasamy from the party following the arrest of his brother Ravichandran, accused of harbouring the L.T.T.E. There had been strong opposition to the move from many

members are Gopalasamy and Stalin.

Karunanidhi and several D.M.K. spokesmen have in recent weeks emphasised the distinction between sympathy for the Tamil cause in Sri Lanka, (along with admiration for the liberation fighters) and the investigation into Rajiv's murder. The policy is to show that they have distanced themselves from those who were responsible for the assassination while retaining their original sympathy for the Eelam cause and 'liberation Tigers' in the long run Y. Gopalasamy and Karunanidhi's son, M. K. Stalin will determine the nature of Tamil nationalism in Tamilnadu. The

75th anniversary of the Dravidian movement in Madurai gives some indication of how it will be determined.

The second event is the anti-

Tamil pogrom in Karnataka. This is not the first time that Tamils were beaten up in that state.

Some of the most militant Tamil separatist and nationalist groups have been centred in Bangalore in recent times. Friction with Kannadigar in the city and occasional anti-Tamil violence had created many a hard core Tamil nationalist there. Even leftists based among the Tamil workers of the Kolar gold fields have become Tamil separatists in recent times.

The most famous among them is a middle class intellectual whose writing had made him well known to the northern literati. When there were strong rumours that Prabhakaran had been killed by the I.P.K.F. several Tamil groups got together and put up the Tiger leader's photograph in the city with the slogan "you can't kill him, you can't conquer him".

The influence of the Bangalore Tamil groups in the A.D.M.K. and D.M.K. is considerable. The riots and the subsequent influx of Tamil refugees into Tamilnadu are bound to give a fresh impetus to the Tamil nationalists of Bangalore and their friends in Tamilnadu. (Courtesy: Taraki, Sri Lanka Island)

**"When there were strong rumours that Prabhakaran had been killed by the I.P.K.F. several Tamil Nadu groups got together and put up the Tiger leader's photograph in the city with the slogan "you can't kill him, you can't conquer him".**

D.M.K. stalwarts and seniors like Nanjil Manoharan.

It had been argued that the D.M.K. would lose support in the southern districts of Tamilnadu if Y. Gopalasamy was sacked; Now the D.M.K. has left room for doubt about Karunanidhi's political heirs. The three have one thing in common. Together they form the most articulate and influential pro-L.T.T.E. segment of the D.M.K. The fiery speeches of Y. Gopalasamy and M. K. Stalin extolling the bravery of the Tigers during the last election just before Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, had got many of the senior moderates in the party like Anpalagan and Thamilkudimahan worried.

When the anti-D.M.K. Tamil political fortnightly 'Thuglak' questioned D.M.K. spokesman, Alady Aruna, about these speeches (15.12.91) he replied "there is nothing wrong in speaking of the sacrifices made by the Liberation Tigers. They also have sacrificed (for the cause). (Thyatham).

When out of power Karunanidhi raises the issue of genuine federation, which in turn leads to greater emphasis on Tamil nationalism; and the most powerful personalities in the party on whom it has to depend on for mobilising party

say the squads still operate under the protection of powerful Ministers and a retired police inspector.

Mahinda Rajapakse, secretary of the Committee of Parliamentarians for Fundamental and Human Rights, estimates that at least three people go missing each month in the south for political reasons.

Officials are at pains to explain the Government's slow moves to solve the problem. "Justice delayed is better than justice denied," says Attorney-General Sunil De Silva. But Western diplomats are not convinced the Government is doing enough. "Why are they dragging out these commissions? We need results and soon, not excuses," said one diplomat, whose country has threatened to cut aid to Colombo.

Work has been slow on three Government committees appointed this year to deal with human rights violations, illegal detentions and finding missing persons. Diplomats are particularly un-

happy about the slow pace of an inquiry into the massacre of over 100 Tamil civilians allegedly committed by Government soldiers in June.

"Officials are discussing compensation for families of the victims but not trying to find out the culprits," one diplomat said. "I think it is a whitewash."

In October 1990, donors pledged US\$1 billion worth of grants and loans to Colombo with a warning - stop the violations or face cuts at the next meeting.

"We are waiting for some results before the next donors' meeting in February," a diplomat said. The meeting was postponed from October at the request of the Government. The Netherlands cut development aid to Sri Lanka this year, citing human rights abuses and rising defence spending. Britain also suspended new aid flows in retaliation for Colombo's expulsion of its chief envoy in June for allegedly interfering in local council polls. (courtesy New Straits Times, 27 December 1991)

## GOGGLES

by C.P. Goliard

### The Dilemma of Democracy

Too much homily and hype is being written about the blow to democracy in India as a consequence of Rajiv Gandhi's premature death. It is predictable that the gory manner in which Rajiv lost his life and the youthful charm of the victim has blurred the eyes of editorialists and commentators about the true state of democracy in post-independent India.

To provide proper perspective, one should be reminded about what two iconoclasts, Mahatma Gandhi and Bernard Shaw had written about parliamentary democracy and how it is practised by politicians in this century.

In 1909, Mahatma Gandhi wrote his manifesto Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule while returning to South Africa after a disappointing trip to England. In this manifesto Mahatma Gandhi criticised the exploitation of Parliament by prime ministers for their own narrow-minded purposes. How true it seems that the parliamentarians, especially the cabinet ministers and prime ministers of post-independent India have proved Mahatma Gandhi's prophecy to be correct even after eight decades.

Let us reminisce what Bernard Shaw wrote about the parliamentary democracy in 1928, in his preface to the play, The Apple Cart, A Political Extravaganza. "Consider democracy first as a big balloon, filled with gas or hot air, and sent up so that you shall be kept looking up at the sky whilst other people are picking your pockets. When the balloon comes down to earth every five years or so you are invited to get into the basket if you can throw out one of the people who are sitting tightly in it; but as you can afford neither the time nor the money, and there are forty millions of you and hardly room for six hundred in the basket, the balloon goes up again with much the same lot in it and leaves you where you were before. I think you will admit that the balloon as an image of Democracy corresponds to the parliamentary facts".

Shaw continues further; "... it seems impossible for statesmen to make speeches about democracy, or journalists to report them, without obscuring it in a cloud of humbug.... Government by the people is not and never can be a reality: It is only a cry by which demagogues humbug us into voting for them".

It is also interesting to re-read what Rajiv Gandhi's grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru wrote about democracy between April and September 1944 while being held in prison (Incidentally Rajiv was born in August 1944).

Nehru wrote in his book The Discovery of India. "Elections were an essential and inseparable part of the democratic process and there was no way of doing away with them. Yet, often enough, elections brought out the evil side of man, and it was obvious that they did not always lead to the success of the better man. Sensitive persons, and those who were not prepared to adopt rough-and-ready methods to push themselves forward, were at a disadvantage and preferred to avoid these contests. Was democracy then to be a close preserve of those possessing thick skins and loud voices and accommodating consciences?"

The lowest voter turn-out of around 50% in the recently concluded general elections in India (hyped as the largest democracy in the world) and a perennial 50% voting pattern in the presidential elections in the USA (also hyped as the cradle of contemporary democracy) proves that the doubts expressed by Mahatma Gandhi, Bernard Shaw and Jawaharlal Nehru about the validity of contemporary democracy are repeatedly being proved correct.

## Malaysian Straits Times comments on Sri Lanka's burning issue of human rights

Three years ago the bodies of murdered left-wing Sinhalese rebels dumped by the roadside were a common sight in Sri Lanka, as were pro-Government gangs roaming the countryside mofing out death. On the surface the country now seems largely at peace, except in the north and east where Tamil guerillas continue to fight for their own homeland.

But human rights activists are worried about persistent disappearances and foreign diplomats are urging the Government to do something about it fast or face aid cuts. Activists say between 60,000 to 100,000 people disappeared or were found dead between 1987 and 1990, excluding the ethnic conflict in the north and east, when southern left-wing rebels stepped up a campaign to oust the Government.

The campaign was crushed by the security forces and by pro-Government death squads. Opposition parties

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## Sivanayagam incarceration without trial enters 200th day

"Inhuman and degrading treatment" - Dravida Kalagam Leader, K. Veeramani  
 "We appeal to the Indian Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao to intervene and secure the release of Mr.Sivanayagam" - The Federation of Tamil Associations of Canada (FACT)

"We believe that it is wrong and unfair to have recourse to the provisions of the National Security Act to deny bail to Mr.Sivanayagam and to deny him a fair trial." - London Tamil Forum

"Sivanayagam is a man of unquestionable principles and one well disciplined to fight a cause fearlessly. There is quite a lot of crime in India today. Sivanayagam's arrest is another crime - a political crime." - late Augustine Saverimuttu

"Mr.Sivanayagam is an ideal husband, a lovable father, a loyal friend and a journalist committed to truth. If his arrest under the National Security Act cannot be termed arbitrary then what else can be defined as ultra vires? Either we have illiterate and ignorant investigators or our political systems, are taking a definite path towards darkness and destruction." - Professor U.Munuswamy, Loyola Autonomous College.

"Mr. Sivanayagam was ostensibly charged with staying without valid documents. While awaiting decision on his bail application he was also charged under the National Security Act which allows detention without trial. Apparently, the government did not want him released on bail to continue what they referred to as his 'illegal activities' which are that he edits Tamil Nation. Thus his only 'crime' has been to assert his rights to freedom of expression and opinion. We are sensitive to India's national security concerns, especially in the light of the recent and tragic assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. However national security concerns cannot justify arbitrary detention..." - Ms Karen Parker, International Educational Development at UN Sub Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

"Mr.Sivanayagam is a dedicated journalist with an unsullied reputation for integrity and independence. We respectfully urge you, (Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu) to secure Mr.Sivanayagam's release and stop this suffering and this injustice." - International Federation of Tamils, Catholic Association of Tamils UK, Ganapathy Temple Trust, Tamil Information Centre, and the Tamil Congregation

"As a non partisan organisation that defends press freedom worldwide, the Committee fears that Mr.Sivanayagam was arrested because of his work at Tamil Nation. If he is not to be charged with an offence recognised as criminal by international standards, we respectfully request your government to authorise his immediate and unconditional release." - New York based Committee to Protect Journalists



Tamil Nation offers no apologies to its readers for publishing again the photograph of a manacled Subramaniam Sivanayagam being taken in police custody in Madras. We offer no apologies because Subramaniam Sivanayagam's incarceration without trial in an Indian jail continues and Subramaniam Sivanayagam continues to be subjected to treatment usually reserved for convicted felons. Appeals to the good sense of the Indian authorities appear to have fallen on deaf ears. The land of Mahatma Gandhi appears to fear truth and seems determined to silence the pen of a fearless journalist - the founding editor of the Tamil Nation. On the 4th of February 1992, Mr.Sivanayagam entered his 200th day of incarceration without trial, in an Indian jail. A Release Sivanayagam Fund to help defray the legal and other expenses connected with the campaign to release Mr.Sivanayagam was launched by Tamil Forum Ltd in October 1991. Contributions drawn in favour of Release Sivanayagam Fund may be sent to Dr.Rajan Namasivayam, P.O.Box 373, Croydon, Surrey CR 9 6AB, United Kingdom. Each contribution will be individually acknowledged.

## 'Tamil votes will play a big role in any election' says Athulathmudali

Mr Lalith Athulathmudali speaking to a correspondent for the Sunday Island.

Q:The Tamil votes will perhaps be the deciding factor in an election in the future. How do you think you can win over these voters?

A:Correct, Tamil votes will play a big role in any election. Today President Premadasa, in the face of fast dwindling support in the South has turned to the Tamil votes in the North East. Yet the strongest democratic political elements are with us. They have pledged their total support to us and our struggle. We are very concerned about the rights of the Tamil people. Most of their demands are denied to them because of this Executive Presidency. We will join hands with only the democratic Tamil political parties. Unlike "other people" we will never seek political mileage at the expense of the territorial integrity of our country. We will solve the national problems within a unitary Sri Lanka.

Q: What is the demand of the Tamil parties you referred to as having pledged their support to you?

A: They want the implementation of the 13th amendment.

- With a Sinhala Executive Governor for the North and East appointed by the Sinhala President. Nice going, Mr. Athulathmudali!

## Which way Mr Wijetunge - War or Peace ?

The Sri Lankan Prime Minister Mr DB Wijetunge speaking in Parliament on 27th November 1991, when the votes of the Defence Ministry were being discussed said: "What the Government wants is to bring Tiger Chief Velupillai Prabhakaran to the negotiating table. Not only Mr Thondaman but anyone could talk with him. If he could be charmed by witchcraft to come, let that be done as well. Anyone who was able to achieve this great task would have his name written in gold letters. Let Prabhakaran come, the doors are always open for negotiation. We will accept him. We won't do anything to him." An opposition member shouted "Like Wijeweera"

Mr Wijetunge went on: "We are not going to compromise on the issues of sovereignty and integrity of the country in whatever settlement we arrive at. All of us have one objective. That's to win the war. They are killing our people. Do you think we are going to keep quiet and just watch? If they don't take the democratic path, they must be eliminated. After the war is won the Government would thereafter think of a political solution."

# NEWS WATCH

### FANCY ARITHMETIC

At the last Sri Lanka Aid Group meeting held in Paris in October 1990, Sri Lanka received aid amounting to one billion US dollars. At this meeting, the donors had expressed concern over the human rights violation by the Sri Lankan armed forces and said that Sri Lanka must reduce its military expenditure.

According to donor sources, Sri Lanka would have to do some "fancy arithmetic" to get aid equivalent to that of last years.

### AIR FORCE HQ ON THE MOVE

The Sri Lankan Air Force headquarters which was situated in Sir Chittampalam A. Gardiner Mawatha, has been shifted to a new location at Bullers Rd., from 1st January 1992. The shifting operation is expected to cost about Rs 20 million.

### SERGEANT IN VEHICLE FRAUD

A Sergeant Major in the Sri Lankan army and two other persons have been taken into custody and produced before the Colombo Magistrate on the charge that they have stolen or misused army vehicles. The suspects have been allowed bail and the case has been fixed for 19th February.

### STORMING OF NAVY BUNKER

The Ponnalai causeway which links Jaffna Peninsula with Karaitivu Island, where the Sri Lankan Navy has its northern command, was stormed by the LTTE, killing at least nine sailors and wounding several others.

### BEACHES OF JAFFNA PENINSULA MINED

The Sri Lankan Govt. claims that the LTTE has mined the beaches of the Jaffna Peninsula heavily, in an effort to prevent an amphibious landing of Sri Lankan troops in the peninsula.

### UNP REBELS FACE STRIPPING OF CIVIL RIGHTS

The Sri Lankan Govt is considering the appointment of a special presidential commission to probe the conduct of the eight UNP dissidents, including Mr Lalith Athulathmudali and Mr Gamini Dissanayake, and to recommend whether

they should be stripped of their civil rights. There are also plans to initiate procedures in the Supreme Court to strike Lalith Athulathmudali off the roll of attorney-at-law on allegations revolving around deceit.

### MR SL GUNASEKARA MP OPPOSES MERGER OF THE NORTH AND EAST

Mr Gunasekara MP says "While the Tamils constitute the majority in the North, they form only 41.5% of the population in the East. The Muslims and Sinhalese constitute 32.5% and 26% respectively in the East. Thus if the North is separated from the East, no one community could dominate the others. The object of the merger therefore is to gerrymander the electorate so as to give the Tamils total dominance over the entire North and East and reduce the Muslims and Sinhalese to political impotency in the East."

Is the shoe not on the wrong foot Mr Gunasekara? Under the unitary system of government, is it not the Sinhalese who seek to dominate the Tamils? What is wrong if the Tamils wanting a separate country for themselves, free from the domination, oppression and tyranny of the Sinhalese.

### FIND POLITICAL SOLUTION, URGES EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

The European Community had passed a resolution linking aid to guarantees of human rights in countries receiving aid. In this context, the European Community communicated to Sri Lanka the need to find a political solution to the country's problems. The next Sri Lanka Aid Group Meeting is scheduled to be held in Paris in February '92.

### EFFECT OF WAR ON TOURIST TRADE.

The number of German tourists to Sri Lanka in 1990 was 59,000. This has dropped to 22,000 in 1991. According to the Tourist Board Director General NV Yasapala, the question of safety in the war torn country was the main reason for the declining numbers.

## The 1-Minute Political Adviser

Recently, the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, who are the publishers of the Harvard Business Review sent out a letter seeking new subscribers. The letter read: "I think we are being insulted. The professional practise of management is as challenging and complex as the practices of medicine and law. Yet we never hear of a 1-minute trial lawyer. One minute is about how long the physician or attorney who tries it will last. The quick fix. The too simple solution. The latest fad. They have no more place in your office than in the operating room or the court room. Excellence in any profession cannot be achieved overnight. You learn the basics in school. You sharpen your skills in the practice of your profession. And if you mean to excel, you keep up with new thoughts and ideas by reading..."

Perhaps Mao se Tung had the 1-minute political adviser in mind when he once remarked that a liberation struggle was no tea party. Answers to the deeper issues which confront the Tamil national liberation struggle are unlikely to come from those who devote a few moments of their undoubtedly busy lives to suggest the 'quick fix' at afternoon tea - the 'quick fix', which they believe has somehow escaped the attention of those who have taken the struggle forward on the ground during the past several years. A busy expatriate Tamil professional in Australia once remarked to a Tamil activist: "You know, the trouble is that the 'boys' have brawn but no brains". The reply from the Tamil activist was perhaps, overly sharp but it was telling: "My dear friend, the trouble with you is that you have neither the brawn nor the brains - neither the brawn to go to Tamil Eelam and join the struggle nor the brains to look deeper into the issues that confront the struggle and make a useful contribution from outside. If you had done the latter, you would have hopefully, begun to learn that to a leadership which has gone through the University of the liberation struggle on the ground, much of what you say will seem to come from the kindergarten" The 1-minute 'political adviser' is not very different from the 1-minute brain surgeon or the 1-minute trial lawyer. One minute is about how long he will last in the struggle on the ground before succumbing to the Sri Lankan government.



## Professor Peter Schalk tells President Premadasa

# 'Tamil people want peace with justice and, be sure, they will fight for it'

On Christmas Day, 1991, Professor Peter Schalk of the University of Up-sala wrote to President Premadasa, after a visit to Jaffna where he met with LTTE leaders. In his letter Professor Schalk said:

"I appeal to you to give all necessary support to His Excellency, Mr Saumiyamurthi Thondaman, in his efforts to start negotiations about peace with the LTTE in January 1992.

These talks between Mr Thondaman and the LTTE may be the last chance to establish a cease fire as a prelude to peace. Missing this chance, your army will have to fight not only the well trained LTTE cadres in Yalppanam, but also parts of supporting civilians, among them mothers, grandfathers and children. The support for the LTTE is still very strong from civilians. The politics of economic boycott and terror bombing of the North to the extent of starvation and malnutrition of civilians, has not turned the population against the LTTE.

It is too evident who is the culprit. The whole world knows that the battle against the "terrorists" is directed also against the Tamil people. How else can one explain the fierce combined air-raids,

long artillery shelling, helicopter strafings and gunboat shelling indiscriminately all over the villages and towns at all times of the day and night? The economic embargo makes all the Tamil people in the North suffer, not the LTTE alone.

In case of an invasion of Yalppanam in January 1992 or later, a Belfast like situation will be created with a protracted devastating guerilla war. It may last for decades. Hundreds of young Sinhala soldiers will be killed in ambush, by mines and by snipers. No efficient civil activity will be possible. The whole economy of Lanka will suffer a severe blow.

Do not believe that the army can stabilise the situation in Yalppanam within three months. This is a false and dangerous misconception which can be made evident by looking at "liberated" areas like Tirukkonamalai and Mat-takkalappu. These towns are now Lankan versions of areas of Belfast and will remain war towns for a long time to come. The hate against the army and the government is increasing day by day among Tamils in these towns. The long lists of disappearances from the East are now given priority to the lists from the South in offices of human rights organisations in many parts of the world.

Yalppanam has suffered damage to the public transportation sector, to banks, to the health sector, to the fishing industry, to schools, to co-operative society outlets, to municipal council property, to buildings owned by JMC, to buildings within the AGA divisions of Yalppanam and Nallur, and to buildings within the Grama Sevaka Division. The total cost to replace the damage caused to the city of Yalppanam only is calculated to Rs 4 014 688 468.

Through the war, traditional wealth creating, small scale industrial activities in Yalppanam have come to a halt or are run at low intensity, like canning, bakery, food production, tobacco manufacture, spinning and weaving textiles, apparels, saw mills, grain milling, furniture manufacturing, printing and publishing, soap manufacture, tools manufacture, prefabricated metal products and metal working, jewellery, professional services, construction, vehicle repair and services, electric and electronic goods repair and handicrafts.

Four local newspapers, Utayan, Ilanatum, Ilanatu (daily) and Hot Spring (weekly) are still coming out but they are printed on paper from exercise school-books. Radio and television news cannot be received because of lack of electricity and ban of batteries that may be used for exploding mines. Petrol has been replaced by kerosene. Soap is banned because it may be used for sealing mines!

It is the right moment now that you put an end to all this suffering by supporting the peace proposals initiated by Mr Thondaman.

But please remember that the Tamil people will not accept a Sinhala samaya (Sinhala peace). They want a peace with justice and they want above all security, and be sure that they will fight for it.

About 4,000 young boys and girls of the LTTE have already died since 1982 in military confrontation with the Lankan army, IPKF and LTTE opposing Tamil groups. You call these youngsters "terrorists", but remember that they also have a mother, a father, a sister and a

vati as Kalaimakal. Even if the pamyra breaks, as long as Caracuvati stands, there is hope for the survival of the Tamils in Yalppanam. Please tell the army that the Tamils of Yalppanam are highly sophisticated in their culture.

Yalppanam is nourish by the co-operative stores filled by the government via the ICRC, but only with about 25% of the actual requirements. The real suppliers are thousands of cyclists who like a chain of ants undertake the difficult travel over the lagoon down to Vavuniya and back, pushing and pulling overloaded bicycles on their way back. They roll barrels of kerosene on the hot dunes and push them through the water of the lagoon. These ambitious ants are the real lifeline for the survival of Yalppanam. They are not only carriers of food, but also creators of a very important human quality, of solidarity. I was very astonished to find that the army with or without your knowledge had threatened to close the passage over the lagoon some few miles east of Anaiyiravu. A closure would lead to an immediate starvation of the people in Yalppanam as long as Anaiyirava and Punakari also are closed.

My first superficial impression of a dynamic Yalppanam that stubbornly maintains itself in

spite of the war, was of course questioned by the information about the army's threatening expansion to the northern border of Accuveli from Palali in December 1991. That created a new wave of refugees. They have to be added to the already many refugees in Yalppanam. There are now 150 camps for displaced people dispersed over Yalppanam in the different AGA divisions.

16 camps in Tellippalai  
4 camps in Karavetti  
10 camps in Cavacacceri  
30 camps in Marutankeni  
10 camps in Paruttitturai  
9 camps in Yalppanam  
14 camps in Nallur  
15 camps in Koppay  
11 camps in Cantilippay  
18 camps in Utuvil and  
13 camps in Cankanai

Ten national and international ngos provide to these people shelter, nutrition, clothes, kitchen utensils, pre-school assistance, health education, vocational training, widow assistance, self-employment, trade training, medical assistance, etc., under extreme difficulties. They are very much dependent on national and international donors. In the present situation their efforts are limited to give mainly relief, although their ambition is to start rehabilitation programmes like shore fishing.

Out side the city of Yalppanam, the indiscriminate bombing goes on. Only in the end of November there has been continuous shelling at Ponnalai where the historic Visu temple was damaged among other buildings, and there were air raids at Ariyalai.

The lack even of fundamental medicines and medical equipment can be disastrous. I know of a two year old child that died because of a lack of vaccine against rabies. Diabetics may die, not because of the lack of insulin, but because of the lack of syringes.

A strong international support of your peace politics will make you strong in your poverty alleviation programme. Make Mr Tontaman's peace initiative an official mission by the government of Lanka by giving him the expected "green light". This is the last chance to prevent a holocaust now in Yalppanam.

## "Do not believe that the army can stabilise the situation in Yalppanam"

brother. They are not an anonymous lot, a demonised mass. Each of them has a tragic and unique life story. They died for a conviction after a conscious choice exactly like Sinhala soldiers. They are not victims of a Polpotian propaganda machine and they are not uneducated barbarians as depicted by the Sri Lankan Army.

To these 4,000 come all the supporters and civilians killed, about 15,000, the crippled and the maimed, about 50,000, and all the widows and orphans as the result of the war. The individual suffering that humans have gone through cannot be youngsters on the battlefield, the fourth generation of LTTE fighters and determined civilians, ready to die for justice and security of coming generations of Tamils. The many ninaivu cinnam, "token of commemoration (of great heroes)", in many road junctions of Yalppanam concern not only the past, but also the future of armed resistance.

In January 1991, when the bombing was still going on, I could witness that nothing functioned. Now in December 1991, city police cadres dressed in blue uniforms with white "bobby" helmets tried to bring order at the junctions in the chaos of cyclists of hundreds of school children in their white uniforms. I saw now schools, libraries, hospitals, banks, kovils, churches and the university functioning in Yalppanam city. The school examinations could be completed without interruption. I even could change dollars in a bank, the first dollars for years to appear in a bank in Yalppanam.

I was also very happy to see that the statue of goddess Caracuvati (Sarasvati), of the Hindu goddess of learning, although badly injured, is still standing upright outside the ruins of the Public Library in spite of all shooting and bombing around her. She is addressed as Kalaimakal, "daughter of arts". She is a symbol for the ultimate concern of seemingly each family in Yalppanam, to assert itself through learning and study, maintaining thereby also Tamil culture, in spite of the fact that schools were bombed and no light is available after sunset. What Caracuvati symbolises, refined and sophisticated culture and civilisation interpreted in the Tamil way, is the very ultimate concern that the Tamils defend by taking up arms. Say Yalppanam and I shall think of caracu-

# Soya based food, sweets and confectionery threaten National Security in the North says Sri Lanka!

The Emergency Regulations promulgated by the Sri Lanka Government enact that whilst in the East, articles 'capable of being used in a manner harmful to national security' are three in number viz (1). Arms/Ammunition (2). Explosives and (3). Urea fertilizer, in the North 47 items are capable of being used in a manner harmful to national security and these items include soya based food, sweets and confectionery! National Security or Economic blockade, Mr.Premadasa?

The Emergency (Restriction on Transport of Articles)

Regulations No 1 of 1991

Notification under Regulation 2

The articles specified in the Schedule hereto shall be the articles which for the purposes of regulation 2 of the above mentioned regulations, are articles which are capable of being used in a manner harmful to national security.

General SC Ranatunga, Secretary

Ministry of Defence, Colombo August 9 1991

## Schedule

### Northern Province

- Arms/Ammunition
- Explosives
- Toy Guns
- Electric Wire
- Remote control devices
- Electrical/Electronic toys
- Helmets
- Binoculars
- Telescopes
- Compasses
- Cloth material similar to those worn by security forces
- Iron and Iron Rod
- Aluminium/Aluminium ware
- Empty gunny bags
- Cement
- Bicycle razors
- Timber
- Barbed wire
- Wire cutters
- Inflammable materials
- Camphor
- Coal
- Urea fertilizer
- Batteries of all varieties
- Radio spare parts
- Electrical equipment

- Plastic cans
- Motor vehicle tyres
- Motor vehicle spare parts
- Motor cycles
- Printing papers
- Typing/duplicating sheets
- Printing machines & other equipment used in printing
- Roneo and photostat machines
- School bags
- Gold
- Alcohol
- Surgical equipment
- Medicines
- Petrol/Diesel/Lubricants
- Polythene/Polythene bags
- Wax/Candles
- Turpentine, Brasso, Shoe Polish
- Soap
- Chemicals
- Soya based food
- Sweets and confectionary

### Eastern Province

- Arms/Ammunition
- Explosives
- Urea fertilizer

## "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.

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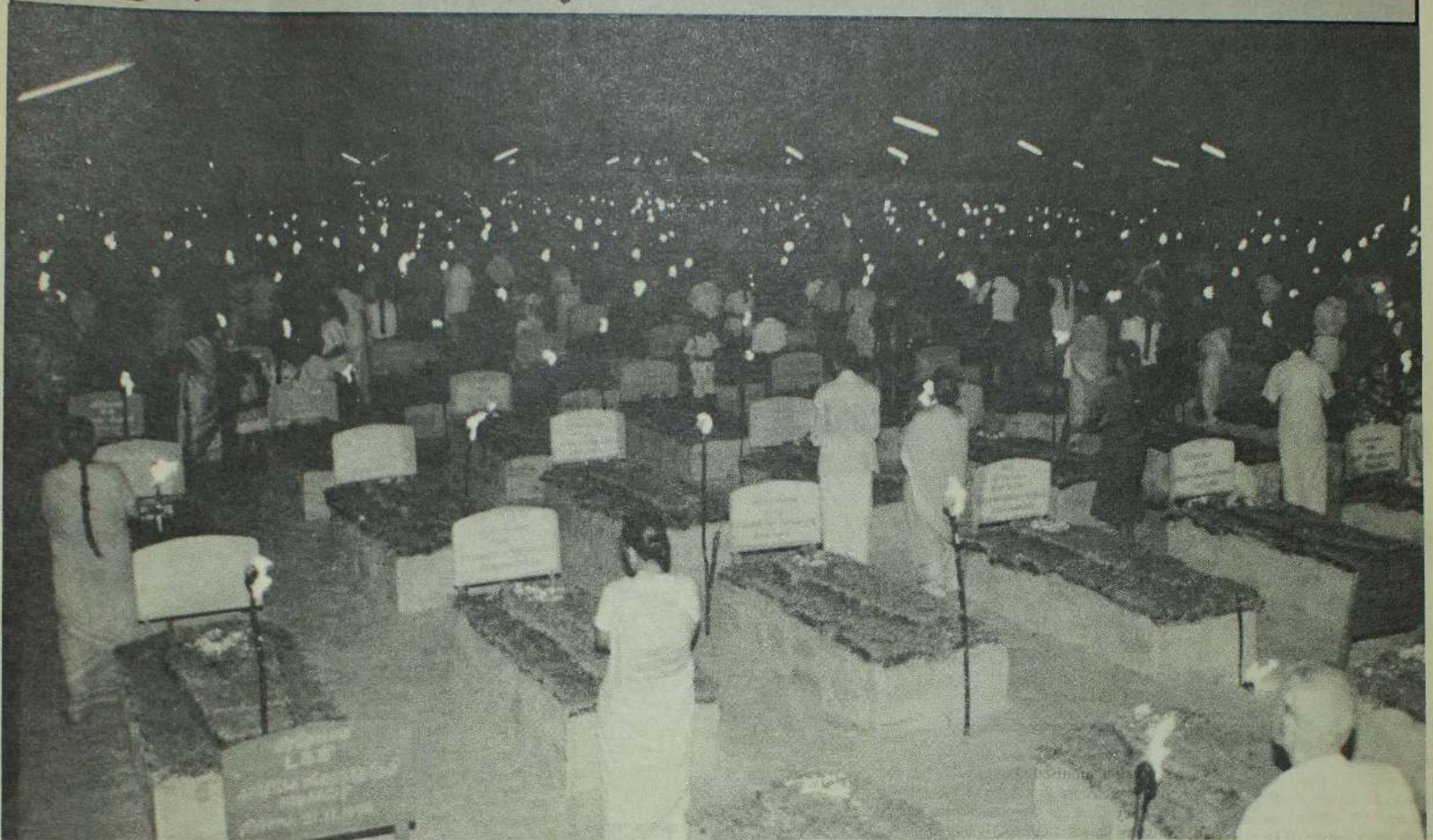
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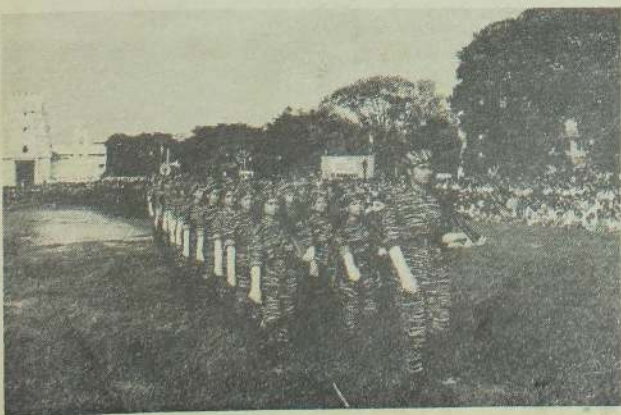


# இது அழுவதற்காக கட்டப்பட்ட சமாதியல்ல உறுதியின் உறைவிடம்.....



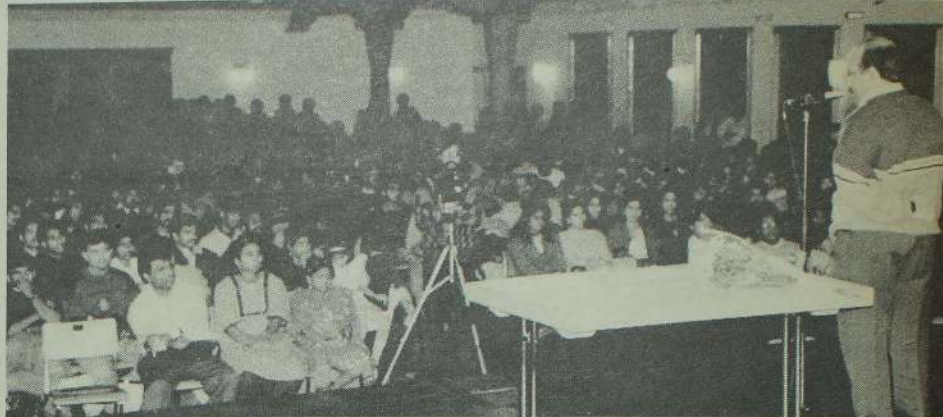
Torch lit homage at the Kopay National Heroes Cemetery on the 27th of November 1991 at 12.01 a.m.

(picture alongside) Velupillai Prabhakaran, the leader of Tamil Eelam, inspecting the parade of the Tamil Eelam Police Force on National Heroes Day, 27 November 1991 - the Chief of Police is by his side (picture below) The Liberation Tigers march to the public meeting at the Jaffna University campus.





# Maha Veerar Naal



## Zurich

Sathasivam Krishnakumar (photo above), also known as Kittu, Central Committee member of the LTTE addressing the audience at the Maha Veerar Naal Vizha at Zurich, Switzerland, on 22 December 1991. Tamil political leaders from Tamil Nadu, Mr.P.Nedumaran and Mr. Maniarsan also addressed the audience. (Mr. Maniarsan's photo alongside). Mr. Eric Schmidt, a prominent Swiss journalist lit the traditional lamp and opened the Vizha which was presided over by the LTTE organiser in Switzerland, Mr. Murali. Proceedings commenced with the observation of a two minute silence in memory of those who had given their lives for the liberation of Tamil Eelam. This was followed by Mangala Isai by the Balachandran Music Group. A dance drama 'Pongum Kadalum Poliyum Nilavum' depicted the story of the liberation struggle. The Vizha attracted one of the largest gatherings of Tamils in Switzerland in recent times - more than 1700 filled the hall.



## Melbourne

National Heroes Day was commemorated by the Melbourne Tamil community on the 30th of November at a well attended Eluchi Vizha. The programme included songs by Nithi Kanagaratnam and a drama entitled 'Ini Oru Vithi Cheivom'. A dance to the Bharathy song 'Achamillai, Achamillai' was well received by the audience. The programme concluded with the play 'Kanni Manam' and Kaviyathin Kural.





# Italy



கனம் கண்ட தோழர்களே!  
மறம் காத்த மறவர்களே!  
உலக வரலாற்று நியதியின்  
ஒப்பற்ற சுதந்திரச் சிற்பிகளே!

எமது மக்களின் விடிவிற்காக  
பயத்தை வென்றீர்கள்  
சுயத்தை கொன்றீர்கள்  
சாகவ அரவணத்து  
சாகாவரம் பெற்றீர்கள்

சத்தியம்  
உங்களுக்கு  
சாட்சி சொல்லும்  
தர்மம்  
உங்களுக்கு  
நீதி சொல்லும்  
சரித்திரம் உங்கள் இலட்சியத்தை  
சாகவிடாது  
உங்கள் உன்னதப் பாதையில் எம்  
விரப்பயணம்....

National Heroes Day was commemorated in Palermo, Italy on 8 December 1991. The Eluchi Vizha was organised by the Italian Branch of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Tamil Coordinating Committee, Italy. The audience of more than 850 who attended the Vizha, was addressed by Lawrence Thilagar, member of the Central Committee of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. (picture above). Students from the Thileepan Tamil School made short speeches in Tamil. The cultural programme included traditional Tamil dances, Kummi, Kollattam. There was also a Kaviarangam. The Tamil Eelam Cultural Group presented 'Villu Paatu' and a drama 'Vidiyalai Noki'.

"It was Mahatma Gandhi who once said that he would bow his head before one who was willing to give his life for the freedom of his people. Let all of us give a few moments of our time, and bow our heads in all humility, in memory of those thousands of Tamils who have given their lives so that their brothers and sisters may live in equality and in freedom - so that those who survive, may stand up and declare: 'Yes, we live in many lands and across distant seas, but we, too, are a people.'" Tamil Nation



# National Heroes Day



*"We desire to live in peace and freedom with our self respect intact and with the status of a nation in our historical habitat. There will be permanent peace when the Sri Lankan government recognises this simple aspiration. We are ready for peace and we are also ready for war. It is for Sri Lanka to decide whether to open the doors for peace or to proceed on the path of war. We are willing to conduct peace talks, without preconditions on the basis of equality and justice - but not under pressure exerted militarily. In our long march to freedom we may suffer exhaustion. In our life of struggle we may be compelled to experience pecuniary pressures. Many more burdens may be in store for us. But none can move us from our resolve or defeat us if we are true and sincere in our objective. Determination is the most powerful weapon for a people fighting for liberation. This is the message that comes from the graves of our fallen heroes - a message that we shall always respect."* Velupillai Prabhakaran, Leader of Tamil Eelam speaking in Jaffna on National Heroes day, 27 November 1991



(picture above) Lamps lit at the Eluchi Vizha organised by the Tamil Coordinating Committee of Norway in Oslo in December 1991, to honour those who have given their lives in the national liberation struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam. (picture below) Tamil leader, P. Nedumaran addressing the audience at the Vizha.



# London

The United Kingdom Branch of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam organised three separate cultural programmes in London to commemorate National Heroes Day 1991. The Vizhas were held in Walthamstow, Wembley and Tooting on the 4 January, 18 January and 4 February. The cultural programmes included a well received Kavi Arangam, Thesiya Geethangal and a dance drama.

# Oslo





## Eelam Tamil refugees, fleeing violence by Sri Lankan armed forces, arriving by boat in Tamil Nadu in July 1990



## But, now, New Delhi seeks to repatriate asylum seekers in Tamil Nadu to areas in Northeast Eelam within the control of Sri Lankan Army

New Delhi hopes that the repatriation of Eelam Tamil refugees later this month will help ease the 'law and order situation' in Tamil Nadu reports India Abroad. In the first phase about 30,000 of the 200,000 Eelam Tamils living in India are to be sent to Trincomalee, where Colombo has made arrangements to receive them. The first batch of 614 refugees were ferried aboard the Indian ship M.V. Akbar on 20 January.

According to official Indian sources, about 30,000 refugees living in India had 'expressed willingness' to go back to their homes. However Tamil sources say that more than 100,000 refugees are still reluctant to go back to their original homes because of security reasons. India is not a signatory to the Asylum Convention and the UNHCR has no official status in relation to the Eelam Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu.

"The LTTE is in a position to attack military targets in most of the northeast areas. Whenever there is an attack on a military convoy, the Army retaliates and there is a possibility of soldiers going berserk attacking civilians as happened recently in Kokkadicholai. So the refugees are reluctant to go back until there is complete normalcy," a Tamil lawyer in Colombo said.

In the meantime, Sri Lanka Army Colonel Sarath Munasinghe claimed in a meeting with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) active in rehabilitation work in the northeast, that the Army was looking after the refugees and he requested the NGOs to send as many volunteers as possible to assist in rehabilitation work.

Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao is reported to have told Sri Lanka's visiting Foreign Minister, Harold Herat, that it was important for the

repatriation process to progress smoothly. Political analysts comment that it appears that New Delhi's primary concern is not for the refugees and their safety but to stop the rising tide of Tamil nationalism in Tamil Nadu which is being fuelled by the continued presence of 200,000 Eelam Tamil refugees. More than 15,000 Tamil refugees fleeing from Karnataka back to Tamil Nadu has added to New Delhi's increasing sense of urgency to address what it euphemistically calls the 'law and order' situation in Tamil Nadu.

Political observers also do not rule out the possibility that under the guise of sending back 'refugees' New Delhi may also attempt to settle some of its quisling Tamil supporters in the Northeast and in this way seek to undermine the Tamil national liberation struggle. It is reported that the first batch repatriated were from Orissa which is EPRLF quisling, Varadaraja Perumal's hide out.

## Amnesty International's letter writing campaign on "disappearance" of Kandasamy Sivasithamparanathan

Kandasamy Sivasithamparanathan, his wife, Pushparani, their two children aged four and two, and three other members of Pushparani's family: they "disappeared" after being arrested on 26 November 1990 at police check-point at Valathapiddy, near Amparai in eastern Sri Lanka.

The family, Tamils, living in Ninthavur, Amparai District, were on their way to Colombo to attend a wedding when the bus in which they were travelling was stopped by police. According to unofficial information received two weeks later by relatives, the family were taken away to an army camp at Kondavattavan, near Amparai. However, by August 1991, the authorities still had not informed relatives of their exact whereabouts despite repeated appeals. Amnesty International recently learned that Mr Dharmasingham, the bus driver who witnessed the arrest and had made a statement to the Amparai police, was himself abducted by a group of unknown men from a bus stop at Amparai in May 1991. His whereabouts remain unknown. Other witnesses to the family's abduction are believed to fear reprisals if they provide information to the police.

Fighting in the north and east of Sri Lanka between Sri Lanka Government forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) broke out in June 1990. Since then, government forces have regained control of certain areas in the north and east, but the LTTE remain in control of the Jaffna peninsula. Government forces are believed to have been responsible for several thousands of "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions of Tamil civilians, including many from eastern Sri Lanka.

Please send courteous letters appealing for an impartial investigation into the "disappearance" of Kandasamy Sivasithamparanathan and six members of his family to: President Ranasinghe Premadasa/Presidential Secretariat/Republic Square/Colombo 1/Sri Lanka.

## 'Halt Repatriation' says US Committee for Refugees

The US Committee for Refugees has urged India's government to halt the repatriation of Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka. "Given the widespread violence and the human rights abuse that pervade Sri Lanka's Northeast" said USCR, a private non governmental organisation that monitors the plight of refugees worldwide, repatriation of Tamil refugees from India "is premature at best and potentially dangerous." The USCR which is often called on to testify in Congress on international refugee matters, said it could not be sure repatriation is voluntary "without the full time presence of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Tamil Nadu to interview potential refugees." There is "considerable evidence that Indian authorities have used coercive measures in the past to secure 'voluntary' repatriation." It added: "Without clear progress towards a lasting resolution of the conflict in Sri Lanka's Northeast, we cannot be satisfied that repatriation will be safe."

## Now, tell me something...

Karavai A.C. Kandasamy, Vice President of the Democratic Peoples Liberation Front (DPLF), the political arm of PLOTE, has told the Sri Lanka 'Island' that the creation of a federal state with a combined unit of both provinces (North and East) could turn out to be the lasting solution to the ongoing strife in that part of the country.

He has further proposed that the federal state of the North and East would recognise Sri Jayawardenapura as the capital of Sri Lanka. according to Karavai A.C. Kandasamy, TELO was also in agreement with the DPLF for the proposed 'Federalism'. He further stressed that it was the forced Sinhala settlements in the North and East under different Sri Lanka governments which provoked the armed revolt leading to the present crisis. "At a time like this, one must not look and think in terms of individual communities, but as countrymen of one country."

*Fine! But, would somebody or other please tell me...*

When did the Sri Lanka government stop organising settlements in the Northeast?

Aren't Sinhala settlers still being brought into the traditional Tamil homelands?

What made Karavai Kandasamy or for that matter, PLOTE and TELO to decide that it is time to relinquish their armed revolt against government sponsored settlements?

*Also, please tell me something now ...*

If federalism is going to be the lasting solution and if that is the goal of PLOTE and TELO.... why do these organisations carry such words as 'Liberation' and 'Tamil Eelam' in their names?

When are they going to become one and change their name to United Sri Lanka Federal Party?

*Oh! do tell me, please....*

Bala, Germany

## International Red Cross Official visits prisoners held by LTTE in Jaffna



## Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations writes to Sri Lanka Aid Group in Paris

*continued from page 16*

donor governments to use this forum to pressure the Sri Lankan Government to ensure the rule of law through the island. Until governments, including those of Japan and Australia, consistently take account of human rights considerations in their aid policies, a so called improvement in the aid performances will not become a reality"

Australian Council for Overseas Aid (Resolution, September 1991) "to urge the Australian Government to channel AID whenever possible through NGOs and other bodies to ensure that all victims of this conflict are assisted" - thereby recommending that aid should not be channelled through the Sri Lankan Government.

Norway has recently withdrawn its aid to Sri Lankan Government in view of its continuing human rights abuses (The Island 21.10.91)

### PEACE INITIATIVES

The need to find a peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict that has brought so much misery has been emphasised by many writers. Hopes were high when the Government and LTTE initiated peace talks in 1989. For eighteen months talks continued and it was said that agreements on several points had been reached. However, in June 1990 the talks collapsed, and the war resumed,

with each side blaming the other for the failure. It should be noted that none of the agreed provisions were implemented by the government during the eighteen months, indicating that it was not committed to the objectives of the talks but was utilising the time to rearm itself. The conflict goes on inconclusively, and friends of Sri Lanka have tried to bring about peace:

1. The Australia Government, based on a bi-partisan recommendation from the opposition, approached the Sri Lankan President twice during the past 12 months calling for a negotiated solution, involving the British Commonwealth of which Sri Lanka is a member. Positive response has not been forthcoming.

2. The European Community "communicated to Sri Lanka last week about the need to find political solutions to the country's problems" (The Island 1.12.91)

### APPEAL

We urge you to suspend aid until the Sri Lankan Government changes its policy of a military solution to a negotiated peace. Economic and political sanctions should also be considered if the Sri Lankan Government continues with its intransigent policies.



*The Tamil national liberation struggle is not taking place in outer space. It is taking place on the ground - and in the Indian region. The political impact of much that happens on the Indian sub continent is also felt by the people of Tamil Eelam. Though reports of the disintegration of the Indian Union are often greatly exaggerated, events in the Soviet Union show that empires do crumble, if they do not recognise, well in time, the political force of emergent nationalisms, and take steps to restructure in a genuine and meaningful way. And for the Indian Union the time is now. Unity will emerge only when the different nations of the Indian Union are recognised as equals, not when it is sought to deny their existence. Unity will emerge only when New Delhi acquires the vision and the strength to constitute a confederal commonwealth of free and equal nations. It will be futile for New Delhi, Canute like, to order the rising tide of emergent nationalism to recede. The rising tide of Sikh nationalism will not recede in the years to come. Neither will Kashmiri nationalism recede. Nor will Assamese nationalism. Nor for that matter will Tamil nationalism recede in the years to come. On the contrary, these nationalisms will grow from year to year. The words of Lord Avebury, in an article published in the December 1991 issue of the Tamil Nation, are apposite: "There are momentous changes beginning to take shape all over the world, and India cannot insulate herself from the new dispensation."*

## Sikhs meet in Canada

In Mississauga, Canada, a meeting of the separatist group Babbar Khalsa, which is campaigning for Khalistan, brought together participants from North America and Europe. Agian a recent convention of the World Sikh Federation held in Vancouver was attended by Jim Karpoff, an MP of the New Democratic Party in Canada, who addressed the convention. Also Wally Herger and John Porter, members of the US Congress and British MP, Terry Dicks sent messages to the Convention. At both meetings, members supported the creation of a separate Sikh state and a boycott of elections to be held this month.

# The Indian Region

**Lord Avebury, Chairman of the UK Parliamentary Human Rights Group sees Kashmir as a case 'unfinished decolonisation'**

**"I distinguish between terrorism and armed struggle. I do not support the killing of unarmed civilians but I support the armed struggle against dominance."**

Lord Avebury, Chairman of the UK Parliamentary Human Rights Group told reporters in London at a Press Conference also attended by the Jamnu & Kashmir Liberation Front, that he supports the armed struggle against Indian dominance in Kashmir. Replying to a question at a press conference whether he would condemn terrorism in Kashmir, Lord Avebury replied: "I distinguish between terrorism and armed struggle. I do not support the killing of unarmed civilians but I support the armed struggle against domination."

Lord Avebury, who was just back from a six day tour of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, condemned the "systematic and deliberate brutality in India occupied Kashmir." He said that he had been at several meetings in Pakistan attended by lawyers, professionals, businessmen and the intelligentsia. "Surprisingly", he said "I found that most were not hostile to the third option of an independent Kashmir".

Lord Avebury said that there was a realisation that if United Nations resolutions had not been implemented for 40 years, they were unlikely to be implemented now. He said that he had suggested that Pakistan take the Kashmir issue to the UN again to ask for third option of an independent Kashmir. He will put his views on Kashmir to the UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali during the latter's visit to London in January adding that he saw Kashmir as a case 'unfinished decolonisation'. He will also seek Indian permission for a joint British American delegation to visit Kashmir. He said that he had written two members of the US Congress, Reps Tom Lantos, a Democrat, and John Porter, a Republican. Lord Avebury said that the Kashmir issue should not be linked to the secular nature of the Indian constitution. "It is Bharatiya Janata Party militancy and the alarming growth of Hindu fundamentalism that is a threat to the political stability of the region" he said.

## Truth in the eyes of the beholder?

**Advani : "Rao regime will last"**

Bharatiya Janat Party leader L.K. Advani said in New York in early January that the Narasimha Rao government will last its full term as the Prime Minister's consensual approach has worked well in the last few months. "My own appraisal is that this government will last", Advani told journalists a day after his arrival in the US on January 8 on an eleven day visit.

Advani urged the US Ambassador to the UN, Thomas Pickering to use Washington's influence with Islamabad to restrain it from training militants for 'terrorist' activity in India. Informed sources say that Pickering told Advani that Washington's influence was often overestimated and that there was only so much that the Bush administration could do. Advani also expressed concern at the Kashmir issue being brought up by Pakistan at every possible forum at the United Nations.

At a banquet in Los Angeles, Advani said that the biggest mistake India made was to emulate the economic policies of the Soviet Union. He said that one indication of this was the immense success of Indian abroad who lived in capitalist economic systems. At a meeting in Chicago, Advani advocated a voluntary confederation of India and Pakistan not only to end all conflicts but also to promote the economic development of the Indian sub continent as a whole.

**Jyoti Basu: "Rao regime may not last"**

West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu said in Madras that the way the Narasimha Rao government was functioning it might not run its full term. He was replying to questions on the stability of the government at the Madras Press Club. Asked whether his party the CPI(M) will join hands with the BJP to pull down the government, he said that the BJP was supporting the economic policies of the Center and his party would have nothing to do with the BJP. He did not agree that Rao was following 'consensus politics'. He said his party had proposed an alternative economic reform and although Finance Minister, Manmohan Singh, promised to hold talks, nothing had materialised so far. "In the meantime, the Center are announcing one after another new schemes."

**Dravida Kalazham meeting in Madras proclaims: "Prabhakaran - leader of the entire Tamil nation"**

The anti Tamil riots in the neighbouring state of Karnataka over the Cauvery waters issue which left 27 dead and forced more than 15,000 to flee Tamil Nadu, have reactivated the separatist groups in Tamil Nadu.

Asked a lady speaker at a public meeting organised by the Dravida Kazhagam (DK) in Madras recently: "What is the use of 'Desiyam' (Indian nation) if the Tamil is not safe anywhere outside Tamil Nadu? What is the use of 'Desiyam' when a Tamil here cannot support the cause of the Tamils elsewhere, for example, the LTTE's struggle for Tamil Eelam? The Tamil will be respected only when he is powerful and assertive. I urge you all to become 'theevravadhigal' and bhayankaravadhigal." The speaker said that it was in the interest of the Tamils of Tamil Nadu to support the LTTE and hailed the LTTE chief Prabhakaran as the leader of the entire Tamil nation. "We do not look upon the LTTE as terrorists or extremists but as thyagis (martyrs). The meeting closed with slogans hailing Prabhakaran as the "Thamil Thalaivar".

**Narasimha Rao: "Pakistan waging a proxy war in Kashmir and Punjab"**

Fresh tension was given to Indo Pakistan relations by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao when he indirectly charged that Pakistan was waging a proxy war against India. "I would say there is nothing like a foreign hand", he asserted. 'It is a whole government, a whole state' instigating insurgency in Punjab and Kashmir.' It was probably the strongest indictment of Pakistan at his level in recent times. A Foreign Ministry spokesman in Islamabad rejected Rao's charge but reiterated his country's "moral, political and diplomatic support" to the Kashmiri insurgents.

**but Kashmiri and Sikh nationalisms not creations of Pakistan**

Informed sources comment that the insurgencies in Kashmir and in Punjab are indigenous in origin and reflect the growth of Kashmiri and Sikh nationalisms. Pakistan has lent support to sections of these militant movements in Kashmir and in Punjab in the same way as India lent support to sections of the Eelam Tamil militant movement in the late 1980s. "But Eelam Tamil nationalism was not created by New Delhi and it will be equally wrong to suggest that Kashmiri nationalism and Sikh nationalism have been created by Pakistan."

**and New Delhi will live in a fools paradise if it believes that these nationalisms will somehow disappear without Pakistan's support**

Political analysts have expressed the view that New Delhi will be living in a fools paradise if it believes that these emergent nationalisms are simply a result of external intervention and will somehow disappear from the political arena, if there were no such intervention. The recent abduction and subsequent release of the Jamnu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) leader, Amanullah Khan has served to underline Pakistan's role in Kashmir. Khan was released in early January. The JKLF believes that groups supported by the Pakistan government were responsible for the abduction in 'an attempt by the Pakistani authorities to interfere with the proposed JKLF march on February 11 across the line of control in Kashmir.' Khan has said that he was released after refusing to sign documents under threat.

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# The Emerging Multipolar World

## US Republican Senator Larry Pressler suggests Strategic cooperation between India and US over the growing threat of Islamic fundamentalism

Republican Senator Larry Pressler from South Dakota, on a visit to India termed India-US relations as the 'best ever', gave a clean chit to India on the nuclear proliferation issue and hinted at strategic cooperation between India and the US over the growing threat of Islamic fundamentalism in 90s. Pressler expressed concern at the growth of a 'potential fundamental Islamic confederation' stretching in a contiguous belt from possibly Turkey down to Afghanistan, Pakistan and upto the former Soviet Central Republics. Pressler did not name Kashmir but other American officials have expressed apprehension of the secessionist movement in Kashmir fuelled by fundamentalist elements. Pressler said the Islamic fundamentalist threat could pose 'a problem to India' and agreed there was scope for strategic cooperation between India and the US on the issue. He said that he had discussed the issue with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and there was mutual 'concern' over it. He added: 'There is fear of an Islamic nuclear bomb (in Pakistan) and in some of the States of the Soviet Union. There is also growing concern about Islamic fundamentalism because of the experience that our country has had with Iran.' According to some diplomatic sources, US has perceived India as a last secular barrier, or a 'frontline state' as one diplomat put it, against the 'fundamentalist threat'. (Courtesy: India Abroad)

## US - India - Sri Lanka and Voice of America

Amid protests from local residents, about the high powered Voice of America transmitting station being set up in Iranawila on Sri Lanka's west coast, Bradman Weerakoon, Presidential Adviser on International Affairs said "Nobody should fear that VOA station would be used for intelligence gathering or any other activities that could be harmful to the interest of regional countries."

A senior priest representing the local residents said the people had serious reservations about the project. The VOA signed an agreement in 1983 to build the transmitter in Iranawila. The Indo Sri Lanka agreement of July 1987 said that Sri Lanka should review its agreements with foreign broadcasting organisations to ensure that they would not be engaged in intelligence gathering. In December 1991, the US Government signed a new agreement with Sri Lanka for setting up the station in Iranawila. Construction on the station and a hotel complex nearby commenced immediately. Although Indian High Commissioner submitted a verbal protest to Sri Lanka there was no follow up. Observers here say that the US assured India that the station would not be used against India's interests and that India accepted that position. (Courtesy: India Abroad, 31 January)

## Bush tells EC: "Stop hiding behind Iron Curtain of protectionism"

President George Bush, turning up the pressure on the European Community to accept substantial cuts in agricultural subsidies as trade talks reopened in Geneva, promised American farmers on January 13 that he would not agree to a global trade package without concessions from Brussels. "Sooner or later, the EC must stop hiding behind its own Iron Curtain of protectionism" Mr. Bush told 6,000 delegates to a meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation in Kansas City. "I will not let American agriculture disarm unilaterally." In earlier comments President Bush said: "We have been pound-out there by unfair subsidies and we are not going to have some kind of unilateral deal that is naive in the face of unfair world competition. We won the cold war and we will win the competitive wars." (Courtesy: International Herald Tribune, 14 January)

## India votes with US & UK against Libya

India's own concern with state sponsored 'terrorism' from Pakistan (and elsewhere) was a motivating factor in its Security Council vote in favour of extraditing two Libyan nationals on charges of bombing an air line, diplomatic sources disclosed.

Voting 15 in favour and none against, the Security Council asked Libya to hand over two of its nationals either to the United States or to Britain for their alleged in the Lockerbie explosion. The carefully worded resolution avoids specifically accusing Libya of responsibility. The accusations against the two Libyan nationals have not been proved in any court of law but have been made by American and British governmental agencies on the basis of evidence gathered during the investigation into the bombing. Indian diplomats said that Libya by listing Kashmir as one of the outstanding disputes before the United Nations two weeks ago had not helped its own case. Many Arab States are not happy with the resolution. A spokesman for the Arab League warned that the resolution was setting a dangerous precedent by bringing an issue purely under the purview of international law into the political arena.

India Abroad reported earlier that UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd who visited India in mid January was expected to seek India's support for the resolution because of its current position as a member of the Security Council. It was reported that discussions were expected to cover views of both governments on implications of the new political map of the region. India Abroad added "Problems in Punjab and Kashmir continue to hamper better relations. London expressed concern 15 times to New Delhi last year over allegations of human rights violations by security forces. Concern was also expressed by British Ministers during four debates in the House of Commons and are sure to be repeated during Hurd's visit."

## South Asia Bureau in State Department?

Washington, Dec. 25 - After six years of trying, Congress in August attached to a State Department financial authorization bill the requirement that a new bureau for South Asia be created so that the Indian subcontinent, from Afghanistan to Bangladesh, would get more attention. Now Congress wants the department to stop stalling and act on the legislation. The World Bank has already made a similar change, reflecting the importance of a region where development problems are huge and populations are growing rapidly. Said Mr. Solarz, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee: "With an incipient nuclear arms race in the region, with more than quarter of billion people, with another war possible between India and Pakistan, and Afghanistan still unsettled, and with the emergence of a series of new fledgling democracies that need to be supported and sustained, South Asia requires attention." (Courtesy: Barbara Cosssette in New York Times)

## Hugo Young in the Guardian comments on East Timor

## "Tyrants and their casual massacres flourish in a closed world"

Hugo Young, commenting on the East Timor issue in the Guardian says: "Tyrants and their casual massacres flourish in a closed world. Foetid secrecy is their peculiar oxygen. Opening this world is a way of changing it for the better. What tyrants fear is exposure, because exposure renders no longer so easy the silent acquiescence on which the tyrant depends. A shaft of light can reveal these furtive allies for what they are, and shame them into a reassessment. Or so we imagine."

East Timor, which is half of a small island in the Indonesian archipelago, has been a scene of intermittent massacre for 16 years. The number of those who have died is variously estimated at 100,000 or 200,000; Timorese nationals mostly murdered for resisting the Indonesian invasion which occurred in 1975, after Portugal's retreat from this tiny speck of empire.

Indonesia had no legitimate claim to East Timor, whose people had no desire to exchange Portuguese for Indonesian suzerainty. Starting with bombing, and moving on through the years with starvation, torture and random massacres, the autocrat Suharto, Indonesia's president, used every available method to eliminate the Timorese people along with their demands. But little was heard of all this in the West. Perhaps this was one horror-story too many.

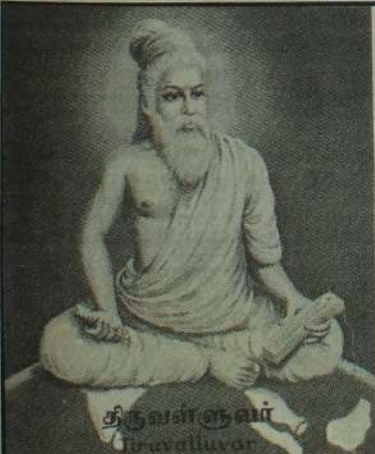
But last November, something happened. Another massacre occurred among an unarmed crowd attending a cemetery rite in Dili, but this time western reporters were present, some of them with cameras. These trained observers were able to report the cutting-down of defenceless, and largely voiceless, peasants by units of the Indonesian army. The story travelled round the world. For the first time, East Timor was on the media map, the process culminating on Tuesday evening with a film made by Yorkshire TV, whose cameraman and reporter were there. Some brave Timorese went on the screen to amplify what the cameras witnessed. Here, for once, was evidence enough to render the tyrant and his silent allies, accountable.

Throughout the years of silence, western governments were inactive or worse. Australia, a rival to Indonesia for the oil offshore from Timor, was worst. The sainted socialist prime minister, Gough Whitlam, actively encouraged Suharto's invasion. Washington is commonly believed to have known about it before, and certainly did nothing afterwards to make life difficult for Indonesia; its helicopters and other supplies, according to the CIA man in Jakarta at the time having been made available; Britain, for its part, has never "recognised" the Indonesian take-over of East Timor: a show of fastidiousness rendered less impressive by our having done absolutely nothing practical about it.

*In the 1930s, Mohamed Ali Jinnah remarked that the demand for Pakistan was a national question - and that therefore it was an inter-national question. Ever since the Thimputalks in 1985, the international dimension of the Tamil national liberation struggle has become increasingly open and manifest. The bottom line is that Sinhala chauvinism cannot succeed in its attempt to subjugate the Tamil people without aid and support from the international community. It is also true that, in the end, Tamil Eelam itself will need to secure broad international recognition. To address the international frame within which the Tamil national liberation struggle must perform take shape, is therefore, not a matter of self indulgent luxury but a matter of immediate, direct and practical significance. The new balances that are being struck in the emerging multipolar world are not without relevance to the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam. Again, if the 1950s and the 1960s were the decades of the anti colonial liberation movements, the 1990s will prove to be the decade of the post colonial national liberation movements. Self determination is not a mere phrase. Neither is it a dirty word. The political force that it generates has begun to prevail over the power of many existing state structures.*

When news broke of the Dili massacre, acquiescence was no longer a comfortable option. Ministerial expressions of dismay spilled out. The ambassador was summoned for wiggling. The EC assembled a statement deploring what had happened, demanding that it should not be repeated and asking that any guilty soldiers be brought to justice. A for further action, the aid-givers and arms-dealers decided to await the findings of Indonesia's own inquiry into the massacre. This did not take long to produce, and was published, presumably to assure it maximum attention, or Christmas Day.

Its eight pages are not an impressive example of the forensic process. Conducted by Suharto trustees, it concludes by attaching a heavy weight of blame for the massacre to those who were killed. They were "yelling" on the road to the cemetery, waving liberation banners, "insulting the security apparatus". The EC has yet to reach a conclusion on the report. But it seems that the Foreign Office may take comfort from the report's shrewd reluctance to endorse every detail of the government's apology. Ignoring the blatant partiality of the rest of the document, the official line may be about to declare that it is not a whitewash. End, mercifully, of story.



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## Threat to close the Medical Faculty of the Jaffna University

Displaced students, professors and lecturers have caused a problem in the Jaffna University, especially in the Medical Faculty. The Medical Faculty was started in 1978 at the Kaithady Ayurvedic College. At present the Jaffna University Medical Faculty has 408 students and since its inception 50 have completed the course and are practising doctors. The Medical Faculty, unlike the other faculties is the only one which has the best facilities, equipment and buildings. On the pretext that some students, professors and lecturers have moved out, the University Grants Commission has ruled that there should be no new admissions to the Medical Faculty and that the Faculty of Medicine be moved to a site away from Jaffna. Educational institutions and public departments have joined in the attempt to keep the Medical Faculty open. Discussions and seminars are being conducted at town and village levels. Many people are fasting and several processions have been organised to bring this threatened closure of the Jaffna University Medical Faculty to the notice of the Sri Lankan Govt. and the world community.

## Satyagraha by Sarvodaya Volunteers in Jaffna

Rs 180 million in foreign financial assistance, one million bags of dry rations and a large amount of cement donated to the Sarvodaya by foreign organisations to be distributed in the North & East has not been distributed at all. Sarvodaya volunteers in the North staged a Satyagraha in Jaffna on the 1st January 1992 against the Sarvodaya leader, Dr. Ariyaratne, for not making the foreign aid meant for them, available to them.

## DEATHS

**Rose Alagumany Ponnambalam**, nee Clough, wife of the late G.G.Ponnambalam, the founder and first President of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, mother of Kumar Ponnambalam and Vijayaluckshmi Sivapragasapillai, passed away in Colombo on January 2nd, aged 84. The cremation took place at the Hindu Section of the General Cemetery Kannate, on 5th January 1992. 15 Queens Road, Colombo 3.

**Edward. R. Appathurai**, Professor of International Relations, Glendon College, York University, Toronto, Canada and formerly of the Sri Lanka Foreign Service, husband of Carol, Father of Raneer James and Anne, brother of Joseph, Ernest and Ruby, and of the late Marjorie Jeyasingham, Navam and Reginald died December 18 and interred at York Cemetery, Toronto.

**Pansy Rajakarier nee Sandrasagra**, wife of late Angelo, mother of late Gerard, sister of Jim, Harry, Simon (London), Siri Joseph (Montreal), Annapooranie Arasaratnam (Toronto), Carmelita Jeyanayagam (Darwin) died London. Buried Wimbledon, December 31.

**Cherish Deivendra Muttunayagam** (53) husband of Dr Gracelyn, son of the late Mr & Mrs V.T. Muttunayagam of Manipay, brother of Chandra Jayarajah, Emily Rajkumar, Rev Noel Muttunayagam, Nancy Veerasingham and Lemina died suddenly 8 January. Funeral Bagshot, 14 January. 87 Heath Park Drive, Windlesham, Surrey

**James Henry Ariyaratnam Hensman** (75), elder son of the late J.H. (Babu) Hensman of Madras, and Natlana Hensman (nee Vairakiam) of Irupalai, husband of Nesam (nee Watson) and father of Shyamala, Mrinalini, Mohini and Shiranthi, brother of Dr E.R. (Nesa) Hensman of 25 Malvern Road, Ashford, Kent, and of the late Bimala Watson and Indira Joseph recently died in Sydney after a heart attack. Ariya graduated in Mechanical Engineering from Guindy College, Madras and served in the Indian Army, rising to the rank of Major. He saw active service on the Burma front and in Indonesia. At the end of the war, he returned to Ceylon and served the Govt in various capacities, retiring in 1979 from the post of Deputy General Manager, Central Engineering Consultancy Bureau. He emigrated to Australia in 1986.

**Ponnampalam Kamalanathan** (B.A., Co-ordinating Consultant North and East Provincial Councils Merger, Ministry of Home Affairs Sri Lanka) beloved husband of Rasammah of Govt

Hospital Vavuniya, loving son of Mrs P. Annapooraniam 'Ponnampalam Farm Vavuniya', Kiri Kharshan, Kiri Sha-keesan, brother of Kameleswaran (Rana Bros) Kamalendran, Kamalaharan (Germany), Mrs Kamaladevi Veerasingha, Mrs Kamaleswary Sabanayagam (Australia) Mrs Kamala Rani Dharmarajah, Mrs Kamalini Muraleetharan (H.N.B. Vavuniya) passed away suddenly at his home at 28 Aruthusa Lane, Wellawatte, on December 18 1991.

**Dr Vimal Rajah Gunaratnam** (62), retired consultant surgeon, Accident and Emergency Dept, Mayday University Hospital, Thornton Heath, Surrey, husband of Patsy, father of David and Yasmin, brother of K. Gunaratnam, Colombo, Sri Lanka, Chandra Amirtharajah of Melbourne, Nirmala Williams of UNDP, Mahes Gunaratnam of Darwin, Australia, Kirude Silva of Croydon, UK, passed away. Funeral took place on Wednesday 22nd January at Croydon Crematorium, 4 Saville Gardens, Croydon.

**M.E. Marnickam** (97) retired Railway Station Master, father of late E.N. Thanmavarasan, late M.A. Thev-akirupai, Mrs C.G. Kanapathipillai, M.D. Jesuratnam (High Court Judge, Fiji) & M.P. Jacob, died Batticaloa November 11, 1991.

**Sivapackiam Arasaratnam**, wife of late Arasaratnam (Arasco Industries), mother of late Vimalabai Ruthiralingam, Pathmini Thanabalasubramaniam, Skanthakumar, Shantini, Anandarajah, Senthilkumar, Ramani, Rajamanohari, Nalini, Sivagumaran. Funeral Kanatte, Colombo January 19, 1992. 31/11, Sulaiman Terrace, Colombo 5

**Rev N. Kathiravelu**, Retired Minister of the Jaffna Diocese of Church of South India, husband of the late Nallamah, loving father of Thangarane and Nirmalanathan, father in law of R. J. Gunaratnam (Ceyma Silk Industries, Thinnevely) and Yogambihai, passed away peacefully after a brief illness on November 16, 1991. The funeral service was conducted by the Bishop Rt. Rev D.J. Amabalavanar and the interment took place at the Pannai Cemetery on November 17. He leaves behind a host of friends, relatives, grand children and grand children to mourn his death.

**Padma Ramanathan**, internationally acclaimed as one of the finest exponents of Bharata Natyam and who was particularly noted for her Nattuvangam and Ballets, passed way in New York on November 23, 1991. She is survived by her husband, Ramanathan and her daughter Raja Rajeswari. She will forever remain in the memory of her students and art lovers.

## Dear Editor.....

Dear Editor, I have been a regular reader of your esteemed journal from its inception and do very much appreciate the enormous problems that you would have encountered in its publication. The problems would have multiplied with the tragic assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Since then there has been a witch hunt of Eelam Tamils in Tamil Nadu. A victim of this trend has been Mr. S. Sivanayagam, your Editor - a reputed and fearless journalist. Let us all hope that this estranged relationship of Eelam Tamils and the present rulers of Tamil Nadu would soon end.

It is in this context that Tamils world over should begin to think about the modern Indian state. India, today, is ruled by a powerful wealthy class with international connections. Their connections to Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru are very remote indeed. It is important that Eelam Tamils bear this in mind and continue their traditional friendship with Tamils from Tamil Nadu as both people share a common heritage. It is indeed very encouraging to see people like Nedumaran, Veeramani and others speak on behalf of Eelam Tamils.

India's heterogeneous population is at varying stages of development. With unequal development sooner if not later liberation movements are bound to emerge. If a monolithic Soviet Union can crack up, the same is possible in India. Tamils in Eelam and India must wake up to these realities. Maps drawn by mighty colonial empires have to be redrawn. The youth as they have demonstrated in Eelam are bound to rise to challenge the ruling establishment. It remains to be seen whether the leadership in Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan will come to their senses, read the writing on the wall, and redefine power structures in order to share power with the emerging national identities. Failure to do so will lead to turmoil and blood shed.

I would suggest that your journal take the lead in publishing news and views that focus on this emerging trend and prepare the Tamils world over for a sustained struggle so that future generations of Tamils would not be subjected to alien domination but be free to develop their own destiny as a free people. Sincerely, Dr. S. Rag-hunathan, West Yorks, U.K.

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Anbudaiyeer, Vanakkam. I was extremely happy to receive the latest issues of the Tamil Nation directly from London after a brief gap. We, the Tamils of Bombay, presently face stiff resistance from different quarters of government agencies to our efforts to champion the cause of Tamil Eelam as we had done in the past. But though it may seem that we are silent, our hearts and thoughts are always with the suffering masses of Tamil Eelam. I hope that the present impasse and the shadow over this issue in the Indian sub continent will come to an end shortly. I commend and congratulate your efforts in bringing the Tamil Nation to every nook and corner of the world. Let us march ahead with confidence and self respect. Anbudan, S. Kumanan, Bombay, India

Dear Editor, I am writing this brief note to congratulate you and your team for the remarkable improvement that has been achieved as far as the standard of articles and presentation are concerned. Undoubtedly, Tamil Nation is the only periodical that reflects the past glory, the present agony and the future dreams of the Tamil people of this planet. Thank you. R. Sathiyathan, Stratfield, NSW, Australia

Dear Editor, It was so nice and interesting to hear the news from back home. I feel it is really wonderful and most commendable that people take time and trouble to do this and I thought you should know it is greatly appreciated. Personally for people like myself who miss our country - it is a link to our nation. I sincerely hope this will continue. Sincerely, Taraka.A, Toronto, Canada

Dear Editor, Yours is the only printed newsletter I know of that gives me presently some facts about the situation in the land of my birth - the land and people I care for and love most. Although I am unable to contribute materially towards the TRO at the moment, I shall, will, before I part this world, that all the little that I leave behind will go towards the remembrance of our young heroes and the development of my beloved land. Sincerely, S. Ramalingam, Malaysia

## Orator Subramaniam feted by Canada Branch of Skantha Varodya Old Students Association

Mr. C. (Orator) Subramaniam, former Principal of Skantha Varodya College and Mrs. A. Subramaniam were given a warm reception by the Skantha Varodya Old Students Association in Canada on September 28, 1991.

In his speech, Mr. Subramaniam said: "My wife and I came to Canada on the 7th of July and since then many old pupils and friends have been calling on us and I have been reliving with them the memories of the 'good old days'. It is nearly 30 years since I retired and the affection shown to me at this date both here and in the United Kingdom, heartens me in my old age. Ethnic groups who have a language of their own speak them at home; but I am sad to see, both here and in the UK, our people speak in English with their children at home. They think that otherwise their children would be poor in English. Most children do not know even the Tamil alphabet. At this rate they will soon lose their identity. The Tamil language and literature are over 2000 years old. The love poetry of the Tamils contains the finest ideals of courtship and wedlock - Katpiyal and Kalaviyal - arranged marriages and love marriages. Our ethical poetry has been the wonder of the world. Dr. Albert Schweitzer says about the Thirukural 'There hardly exists in the world a book which contains such lofty maxims'. Our sacred hymns are great in bulk and depth and in the intensity of emotional fervour and piety. It will be a gross neglect of parental duty if you deny your children at least a basic knowledge of our precious heritage."

## London Swami calls for Saiva World Council

Swami Siva Nandhi of the London Meikandar Aadheenam in a message to all the heads of Saiva Mutts and Presidents of Saivaite Hindu Temples and Chairpersons of Saiva Community Centres has called for the establishment of an autonomous Saiva World Council at the First International Divine Tamil Conference scheduled to be held in Madras from 23 to 26, February. In his appeal, Swami Siva Nandhi says: "There is not even one complete and authoritative Saiva Book of Theology in English for use by young Saivaites in the West."

## Tail piece

"To be able to take the inner life of my neighbour seriously, it is necessary that I take my own inner life seriously... That you cannot love your neighbour unless you love yourself; that you cannot understand your neighbour unless you understand yourself; that there can be no knowledge of the 'invisible person' who is your neighbour except on the basis of self knowledge - these fundamental truths have been forgotten even by many professionals in the established religions. Genuine understanding of one's neighbour is replaced by sentimentality, which of course, crumbles into nothingness as soon as self interest is threatened and fear of any kind is aroused. The enormous popularity of the crudest and meanest psychological and economic doctrines, purporting to 'explain' the actions and motives of others - never of ourselves! - shows the disastrous consequences of the current lack of competence (in this field of self knowledge)... (E.F. Schumacher, author of *Small is Beautiful*, in his later book - *A Guide for the Perplexed*)



# PEOPLE & EVENTS

## Maha Sivarathri

Maha Sivarathri falls on the 2nd of March this year, the fourteenth day of the dark half of the Tamil month Masi (February-March), i.e. the day previous to the new moon day of this month. It is a festival in honour of Lord Siva and, as a majority of Hindus are devotees of Siva, this is a widely observed festival. It literally means 'great night of Siva' for during the whole night worship is offered to this deity.

An orthodox follower would take only a single meal on the previous day. On the morning of this festive day he would take a bath, preferably in a river considered sacred, and would go to the temple for ceremonies connected with Siva worship. At night he has to offer pooja at every one of the four yamas. At first he should worship with lotus flowers and offer pongal or boiled rice to the deity. Then in each succeeding yama he should worship with thulasi leaves and payasam, vilvam leaves and food mixed with seasm powder, and blue lotus (neelothpalam) and food.

Maha Sivarathri poojas are offered in all the major Hindu temples. People who keep up the whole night generally proceed to a temple. For their benefit, recitals of devotional music and talks on religious subjects are arranged. The following morning, the devotees have their bath and attend the morning poojas. In some temples the deity is taken in procession in the morning. After these observances the devotee may break his fast.

## Golden Jubilee for Jaffna Bishop

The Catholic Bishop of Jaffna, His Lordship the Rt. Rev. B. Deogupillai celebrated the Golden Jubilee of his entry into priesthood on the 19th of December 1991. He was ordained in Rome, after his studies in Propaganda College, in 1941. On his arrival in Ceylon, he was stationed in Jaffna, taught Christianity and Apologetics and later served as rector of many colleges - St Henry's Ilavai, St Joseph's Anuradhapura, Sacred Heart College Karaveddy and Training College Columbuturai. As Rector he was kind and genial, yet firm in principle. He served as auxiliary Bishop of Trincomalee and Batticaloa Diocese from 1961 to 1972. He has held the post of Bishop of Jaffna since the 1st of January 1973. During the period from 1973 to 1991 which has been fraught with many problems, especially in the Jaffna Peninsula, Rt. Rev. B. Deogupillai has been a source of strength and solace to all the people irrespective of their religious persuasion. His down to earth concern for the suffering thousands of Tamils in the conflict and his extended hand to help them, have endeared him to the people. He has proved himself to be a man for all seasons in the constant struggle and changing phases of the conflict in Eelam. God bless him and we hope he will continue to be the loving shepherd of his flock. (AE)

## Weddings

UMASHANKAR - SIVAMALAR

Umashankar (Gopu) son of Mr & Mrs S. Mahesa of Schlesien Street, 12, 6920 Sinsheim, W. Germany and nephew of Mr M. Theagarajah of 11 Kingsley Road, S. Harrow, Middx, and Sivamalar, daughter of Mr & Mrs S. Veerasingham of T23 Gnana Olivu St, Thirunagar, Jafferkhanpet, Madras 95 on 22 January at Hotel New Woodlands, Cathedral Road, Madras.

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## New York Tamils - Thai Pongal Vizha

The New York Tamil Sangam in association with the New Jersey Tamil Sangam, the Bharathi Society and The Ilankai Tamil Sangam presented a 'Pongal Vizha' at the New Dorp High School Auditorium on Saturday, January 18. The welcome address was delivered by Mr. M.N. Krishnan, President of the New York Tamil Sangam. The programme included folk dances and Bharat Natyam. A light music concert was provided by the Isai Thendral Group with Artistic Director Sivapatham Sivagnanam.

## Victorian Tamil Team retains Cricket Shield

The Victorian Tamil Cricket team beat the Sydney Tamils at their annual encounter in Sydney recently. The group photograph below shows the Sydney team on the left and the Victorian team on the right.



## LOOKING AHEAD

February

12th Wednesday Charles Darwin Abraham Lincoln Birthday  
13th Thursday Sarojini Naidu Birthday  
14th Friday Ekathesi Viratham  
15th Saturday Gallileo Birthday  
16th Sunday Pradesha Viratham Vijaya Kumaratunga Remembrance Day  
17th Monday Muneswaram (Chilaw) Chariot Festival  
18th Tuesday Nepal National Day  
20th Thursday Thiruvalluvar Kurupooja  
27th Thursday Sri Ramakrishnar Birthday  
28th Friday Rajendra Prasad Remembrance Day  
29th Saturday Vannai (Eelam) Vaideswarar (Kodi) Flag Festival

March

1st Sunday Pradesha Viratham M.K.Thiagarajah Bagawathar Birthday  
2nd Monday Maha Sivarathiri Viratham R.P.Sethupillai Birthday  
4th Wednesday Amavasai Viratham Kavi Yogi Sudhanantha Barathi Remembrance Day  
7th Saturday Tellipallai Old Students Association, 'Eelam Kanda Pandiyar' at Heath Clark High School, Cooper Road, Croydon, 6 p.m.  
Kallady Velupillai Birthday  
8th Sunday Sathoorthy Viratham  
10th Tuesday Shashdi Viratham Karthikai Viratham  
11th Wednesday Alexander Fleming (Nobel Prize Winner) Remembrance Day  
14th Saturday West London Tamil School, Natya Gana Brindham at Acton Town Hall, 5.30 p.m.

## Karen Parker

Human Rights Lawyer, Ms. Karen Parker, an enthusiastic and able advocate of the Eelam Tamil cause in international fora, gave birth to a baby boy, on October 17 at 7.47 p.m. in San Francisco. Mother, father and child are doing well.

## Joay Mahesh's 'Melbourne Mellisai Kuzhu' to perform in Melbourne and Sydney in aid of Tamil Eelam orphans

The Dravida Cultural Association of Victoria and the Eelam Tamil Association of New South Wales will present a series of music concerts by the popular Melbourne based light music group, Melbourne Mellisai Kuzhu, led by Joay Mahesh. Concerts will be held in Melbourne on the 7th and 8th of March and in Sydney soon thereafter, on dates to be announced shortly.

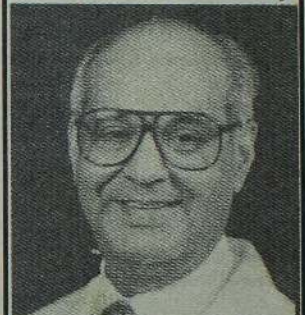
The Melbourne Mellisai Kuzhu was formed ten years ago and has rapidly gained in popularity over the years. Last year, around 800 in Melbourne and about 1000 in Sydney attended the Isai Kuzhu's 3 hour performances. Funds raised through the concerts this year, will be donated in its entirety to resettle and rehabilitate orphans in Tamil Eelam, through the construction of a home for them. Mr. S. Chelendra, Programme Coordinator for the Concerts has appealed to advertisers to come forward to support the venture and also take the opportunity to reach a market of approximately 2000 Tamil families in Melbourne and Sydney. A common brochure is being produced to cover concerts in both cities. Further details and information about rates for sponsorship and for advertisement in the brochure may be obtained from the Programme Coordinator, P.O. Box 4254, Knox City, Victoria 3152: phone (03) 560 6036.

## Eelam Tamil Justice of Peace in Adelaide



Mr. T. Kandasamy of Kensington Park, Adelaide took his oaths as a Justice of the Peace for the State of South Australia recently. He is the first Eelam Tamil to be appointed a J.P. He is a well known social and religious worker and has served as the President of the Ceylon Tamil Association, Committee Member of the Hindu Society and Treasurer of the Strata Corporation of South Australia.

## Eelam Tamil Chairs GYN Tumor Board in Danbury



Eelam Tamil, Thampu Kumar, M.D., Gynecological Oncologist at Danbury Hospital, Connecticut serves as Chairman of the GYN Tumor Board. Often GYN oncology professors from Yale University attend these board meetings. "Our patients benefit from the combined knowledge, information and experience of this group" said Thampu Kumar in a recent interview.



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# TAMIL NATION

## Australian Council of Trade Unions calls upon Sri Lanka to stop economic blockade and resume peace talks

The International Committee of the powerful Australian Council of Trade Unions resolved on 16 January 1991 to call upon the Australian Government to use its influence with the Sri Lankan Government to abandon its economic blockade and seek a negotiated solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka. The text of the resolution reads:

"Reports were received from Professor C.J. Eliezer and Rev Richard Wooton as well as correspondence from the Jaffna Teachers Union, all of which provided accounts of the continuing situation in Sri Lanka.

The Committee resolved that having received reports of the continued destruction and repression in Sri Lanka that it,

noted the plight of workers in Tamil Eelam and particularly the plight of children growing up under deprived conditions

calls upon the Australian Government to use its influence with the Sri Lankan Government to abandon the economic blockade, bring about a ceasefire, resume peace talks and seek a negotiated solution to the situation,

and that it would request the appropriate international labour organisations, including ILO, ICFTU and CTUC to organise visits to Colombo and Jaffna"

Political analysts consider it significant that a powerful and influential trade union such as the ACTU, should have, in its resolution, given express recognition to Tamil Eelam and to the plight of workers and children growing under deprived conditions there. The ACTU counts as its Past Presidents, the previous Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke as well as Mr. Simon Green, a well respected Senior Cabinet Minister in the current Australian Cabinet.

## What is a nation?

"What, then, is this... idea of a nation? Discussion of two very makeshift, temporary definitions will help to pinpoint this elusive concept.

1. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.

2. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognise each other as belonging to the same nation.

Each of these provisional definitions, the cultural and the voluntaristic, has some merit. Each of them singles out an element which is of real importance in the understanding of nationalism. But neither is adequate. A mere category of persons (say occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognise certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non members." (Ernest Gellner, *Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge in Nations & Nationalism, 1983*)

## Canadian M.P. calls for UN investigation of Sri Lanka's abuse of human rights

Mr. Bill Attewell M.P., speaking in the Canadian House of Commons on December 12, 1991 said: "Over a year ago, Amnesty International issued a stinging report condemning Colombo for carrying out indiscriminate campaigns against Tamil citizens. The report stated: 'Many people have been arbitrarily rounded up, and some times killed, on the basis of anonymous accusations of subversive involvement.' We must organise a United Nations sponsored commission to investigate the killings and to bring an end to the violence and tragic abuse of human rights. Also the Tamils in the northern province, especially the Jaffna District, are in dire need of food and medical supplies. People are starving to death. Mr. Speaker we must offer assistance".

## Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations writes to Sri Lanka Aid Group

# Sri Lanka is one of the killing fields in the world today

The Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations in a well argued memorandum to the Sri Lanka Aid Group meeting on February 8 in Paris called for the suspension of aid to Sri Lanka.

The memorandum sent by its Chairman, Professor C.J. Eliezer says: "Sri Lanka is one of the killing fields in the world today. During the last 30 months, almost 100,000 civilians have been killed by the Sri Lankan Armed Forces and their Special Task Force (150,000 since July 1977). There is little doubt that the Sri Lankan Government was enabled to commit these crimes on its own citizens because of the resources in arms and personnel it has been able to purchase through funds received from such bodies as the aid group, World Bank, IMF etc. While donors believe that their funds are earmarked for certain development projects, they have little means of ensuring this (examples of diversion for military purposes will be given later). Further, even if funds are used for the intended development, it does not mean that Government's own funds, which would otherwise have been used for development projects, have become available for arms and personnel.

### SRI LANKA'S WAR MACHINE

The Sri Lankan Government is a mighty war machine. Through a Special Task Force (STF) it killed over 60,000 Sinhalese civilians who were believed to have sympathies with a Sinhalese Anti Government Group - the JVP. Having disposed of Sinhala opposition, it resumed with new ferocity the war on the Tamils.

It has been estimated that in 1991, the Sri Lankan Government spent 16.7 billion rupees, as against the budgeted 11.7 billion rupees, 43% more than the budget, on its genocidal war on the Tamil nation. This amount was more than 25% of the total revenue of the country. (Sunday Times 17.11.91; The Island 10.11.91)

The Government is able to spend this high percentage of its revenue on the war, by diverting what it would normally have spent on development to military purposes, while international donations are available for development.

### WHERE THE FUNDS WENT

Some reports from Sri Lankan newspapers:

(a) "Government signed a New Arms Deal with Iraq" (Sunday Times 28.4.91)

(b) "Army has taken delivery of a new regiment of medium range 130mm artillery... from China (Island 28.4.91)

(c) "The Sri Lankan Air Force will soon take delivery of a new squadron of supersonic jet fighters..." (from China) (Island 26.5.91)

(d) "The Sri Lankan Army is strengthening its armoured corps with the addition of Several Dozens Tanks from China and Poland..." (Sunday Times 29.9.91)

(e) "The Sri Lankan Navy would commission three new Chinese gun boats..." (Island 8.11.91)

Whether donor institutions are multilateral or not, their finances are provided by some states, and these are answerable to their taxpayers. We believe it is the responsibility of donors to ensure that funds:

(a) benefit all people of the country equitably, and are not used to promote ethnic disadvantages;

(b) support development purposes of long-standing benefit instead of short term programs and repetitive requests;

Among the factors which the Aid Group would need to consider is the continuing human rights situation. Recently, the EC Parliamentary Group, Representatives of Amnesty International, World Council of Churches, US Committee for Refugees, Working Group on Disappearances of the UN Commission on Human Rights have visited Sri Lanka and reported on the horrifying human rights situation. These groups were not able to visit the Tamil areas and ascertain first hand the devastation and destruction caused by Government actions. The European and British Parliamentary Team after their November 1990 visit, stated that 60,000 Sinhalese had disappeared and envisaged that a similar number (60,000) would be the equivalent dead in the North and East

The Sri Lankan Government has been aware that its human rights record jeopardises its applications for international aid. It has become customary, at times when the Aid Group is due to meet, to talk about negotiation, peace, devolution etc. At the October 1990 meeting, donor countries pledged a massive US\$1000 million with the hope that Government-LTTE talks at that time would result in lasting peace (Island 27.10.91).

Acknowledging the aid, the Sri Lankan Minister declared in Paris:

"the government would honour its international obligation regarding human rights"

Such assurance are for the moment only. The Sri Lankan government has a history of treating International Human Rights organisations and their reports with a degree of contempt.

For example, "Sri Lankan Minister of State for defence Ranjan Wijeratne Thursday renewed his charge that Amnesty International was a terrorist organisation.... "I don't take any notice of it (the report), Mr Wijeratne said" (AFP Colombo 20.9.90)

Certain third world countries have had human rights records. What they desire is for large international donations to spend as they like, and have the freedom to kill off all their opponents without international objections.

### INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATIONS

As the war escalated and human desolation increased, international re-

lief and humanitarian organisations became concerned. Some overseas NGOs were able to enter and render relief. The International Red Cross was for years refused admission. Eventually, under international pressure, permission was granted reluctantly to IRC in 1989. These relief organisations have done great work, despite shortage of funds and other handicaps. Government, however, has disliked them and created difficulties, as the following reports will show:

"Sri Lankan Air Force bombed the Jaffna Hospital on Friday, two days after the Red Cross opened it under a safety plan, ICRC said" (AFP 10.11.90)

"Three expatriates working for a French Volunteer Organisation are to be flown to Paris after being wounded in an aircraft attack on their car..." (AFP 4.5.91)

"ICRC complained that a rice warehouse operated by them had been bombed in Point Pedro. The military spokesman confirmed this." (AFP 19.10.91)

"The NGOs operating in Sri Lanka have been brought under 'investigation' by a Committee appointed by the Sri Lankan Government. The object is apparently to discredit these humanitarian workers who are giving relief to the Tamil people.

"International Commission of Jurists, a non-Government organisation with a consultative status at UNESCO, has expressed concern at the probe into NGOs in Sri Lanka" (Sunday Times 8.12.91)

### HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The International Community has a collective responsibility for the maintenance of human rights in every part of the world. While internal affairs within States are accepted as matters for non-interference from outside, human rights is a different matter. These responsibilities on the International human rights is a different matter. These responsibilities on the International community are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. To take an example, the nations which combined to impose economic sanctions on South Africa did so under their commitments to the human rights of all people.

Some International statements would be of interest:

*European Community Statement (22.10.90):* "The Community and its member states urge the Government to observe its international obligations in the field of human rights. The Community and its member States wish to draw attention to the fact that member states will be considering their future assistance for the development of Sri Lanka's economy with reference, among other factors, to the Government's performance in regard to human rights."

*Amnesty Director to Australian Financial Review (6.11.90):* "Amnesty International and a number of NGOs have for a number of years urged the

continued on page 11