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MAGNIFICENT WAR BETWEEN UNEQUALS



Tiger lair in Vavuniya



**The lone look-out for indian tanks,
helicopters and heavy armour**



**Bare-footed stretcher-bearers in
the heart of the jungle**



**The wounded - no anaesthetist
or surgeon to treat them**

YOUR VOICE

TAMIL WORDS IN ENGLISH DICTIONARY

S. Sriskandarajah, Essex,

The write-up captioned *English vocabulary enriched by Tamil* appearing in **Your Voice** column of the 17th issue made interesting reading and has inspired me to delve further into the subject. Let me begin with a comment on what *lexicographer* says. He appears to be of the opinion that the Tamil word **Arisi** comes from the root **Ari** which can mean cut or sift in the Tamil language. I am inclined to think that it has no such origin and that it is a full and separate word by itself. In other words, it is not a **Karanap-Peyar** but an **Idukurip-Peyar**. As for the word **rice** in the English language, it is a corruption of **Arisi**. The botanical name for 'rice' is *Oryza Sativum* where 'oryza' is the generic name while 'sativum' is the specific name. The word 'rice' is perhaps a corruption of the word **oryza** which in turn is possibly the sound the Arab traders gave to the Tamil word **Arisi** when they for the first time heard from the ancient Tamils of India and Eelam.

Let me now add to the list of Tamil words in the English dictionary, which has been opened by your lexicographer. **Betel** is another word that has been adopted by the English language. Betel comes from the Tamil word **Vettilai**. **Vettilai** means white leaf or free leaf. The word **Orange** in the English language though at times believed to be derived from *aura* in Latin meaning gold, has for its origin the Tamil word **Naraththai**; at least the *Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology* says so.

Many of us are very familiar with the words **Ginger ale**, **Ginger biscuit**, and **Ginger bread**. Little do we know that the word **Ginger** originates from the Tamil word **Inchi** or **Inchiver**. The botanical binomenclature for ginger is "*Zingiber officinale*." There can be no Tamilian who hasn't an insatiable liking for the **Murunkaikkaai Piraddal Curry**. The English word for **Murunkaikkai** is drumstick the botanical term for which is **Moringa indica** and the word **moringa** comes from the word **murunga**. The English word **poon** means a timber tree, and it comes from the Tamil word **punnai** the oily seeds of which were used in the olden days to serve the function of candles of today. The botanical term for **punnai** is '*calophyllum inophyllum*'.

The word **cash** in the English language owes its origin to a Tamil word **kaasu** meaning a small coin. Obviously this word 'cash' has given birth to 'cashier',

'cash book' and others.

Teak is an English word meaning a very hard, durable timber highly prized for shipbuilding and furniture making. It is an adoptee from the Tamil language, and the Tamil word is **Theikku**. The botanical name for 'teak' is "*Tectona grandis*." Many may not know that **Areca** has crept into the English dictionary. Anyone walking into the green house section of a Marks & Spencer shop cannot miss pot-palms named 'arecanut' palms. **Areca** comes from the Tamil word **Adaikkaay** which is also called **Paakku** in Tamil. **Arecanut** palm is called **Kamugu** in Tamil and the nut of this palm is called **Paakku**, chips of which together with betel leaf, lime and tobacco bits are offered and chewed at ceremonial functions of the Tamils and Hindus. **Coir** is yet another word which has lodged itself permanently in the vocabulary of the English language. It is derived from the Tamil word **Kayiru**. **Coir** is the word given to ropes of various sizes made out of coconut husk fibre.

Yet another Tamil word that entered the Oxford Dictionary as far back as 1682 was **Chunam** coming from the Tamil word **Chunnampu**. **Chunnampu** in Tamil means the cement or plaster made of shell-lime and sea sand. The word 'chunam' is also used as a verb. Many Tamils will be pleased to hear that the Tamil word **Oalai** which means the leaf of the palmyrah palm or coconut palm also has got itself lodged securely in the English dictionary. Of course the Tamil word has been anglicized into **Olla**. **Punnakku** in Tamil language means oil cake or the mass left after oil has been expelled and extracted from coconut palm or sesam seeds. This word has transformed into **Poonac** and now occupies a place in the English dictionary.

I have just tried to add to the list lexicographer has opened, and I am sure more could be added to it by Tamil researchers.

TRAINING FOR INDIAN ARMY IN LANKA

A retired soldier from Kandy

Often it is asked "**Why is India spending billions here?**" Any army anywhere in the world has to be billeted, fed and clothed in addition to being paid salaries and allowances. So, whether the Indian Army is stationed in India or Sri Lanka, this expenditure is the same. All armies have to be trained regularly and if this can be done under combat conditions, it is a god-send. Not only is the Indian Army now being trained in combat conditions but the terrain

foreign to them. In short, **Sri Lanka has given India a gift**. That is why India is spending billions here, not for the love of Sri Lanka, but for its own gain.

LALITH PROSTITUTES HISTORY!

T.Subramaniam, Colombo

A daily newspaper of the 10th August, in a news item titled "What Lalith said", stated, "*What the minister actually said was that, by Col.Olcott's non-violent campaign to revive Buddhist education and Buddhist culture after his visit to Sri Lanka, the Hindu leaders, too, were encouraged and carried out a non-violent agitation against the imperialists to win back the lost rights of the Hindus and to revive Hindu education. In 1881, when Col. Olcott called upon the Buddhists to awake from their slumber to protect Buddhist education and culture, it was not only the Buddhists who got that message but also the Hindu leaders.*"

What the minister said at Galle on that occasion does not give a correct picture or the true story of the Hindu revival in the North of the island during British rule. **Long before the arrival of Col.Olcott from the U.S.A in 1881, the movement for the revival of Hinduism and Tamil studies had been started by Arumuga Navalar.**

Arumuga Navalar was born in Nallur in Jaffna in 1822 and died on 5th December, 1879. The dates are significant. He was a student of Jaffna Central College and for some time was a teacher there. In 1848, at the age of 26, he resigned his teaching post and devoted his entire life to the cause of promoting Tamil Studies, both secular and religious, and to the revival of Hinduism and Hindu culture.

First, he established a Hindu school named **Saivaprakasa Vidyalyam** at Vannarponnai, Jaffna, and then a printing press to publish secular and religious books written by himself for school children and his pamphlets to counter the propaganda of some Christian missionaries.

During his lifetime he paid five visits to Tamil Nadu in South India. It was during the first visit that **Thiruvaavaduthurai Aatheenam** (a Saivite religious Mutt) conferred on him the title "**Navalar**" (Silver-tongued Orator) in recognition of the erudite lectures he delivered on Saivite Hinduism. He later established a Hindu school and a printing press at **Chithamparam**, the holy place of Saivite Hinduism in South India. The influence he wielded on the

continued on page 4

THUS SPOKE MR JYOTINDER DIXIT

High Commissioner Dixit's recent *ipse dixit* (a dogmatic statement resting merely on speaker's authority) makes the situation in Sri Lanka curiouser and curiouser. Bryan Johnson reports in The Globe and Mail of 22 September that Mr. Dixit had stated at several meetings of Jaffna citizens' groups that Indian public opinion "is moving toward the belief that its 50,000 soldiers in Sri Lanka are dying unnecessarily" adding, "don't take the continued presence of the Indian Army as a guarantee."

These threatening statements convey several messages to the people of Tamil Eelam. It is a request that the Tamils exert pressure on the LTTE to submit to an unconditional surrender of arms. We ask the pertinent question whether India wants the Tamils to be stripped of their defences only to be exposed to the barbarities of the Sri Lanka army. Does India's costly intervention in a vainglorious quest for domestic political gain by Congress (I) amount to no more than a Munich Agreement with President J.R. Jayewardene? Is that agreement worth the paper on which it was written (the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987)? Does not the world know that even before the ink was dry, the Accord had been broken?

Sinhala colonisation of the Tamil homelands goes on apace. Even after a grave civil war, the Sri Lanka government has settled 25,000 Sinhala colonists in the Welioya Colonisation Scheme in Mullaitivu District in the Tamil Northern province. And India unilaterally declares a ceasefire without providing any further opportunity for negotiation on the unsettled problems of the Tamil people, many of which had been left for future talks by the Chidambaram delegation of July 1986. An incomplete Accord in which President Jayewardene and his government have freedom to defraud the Tamil people will not help New Delhi even in regard to its own geostrategic interests. We warn New Delhi that a second intervention would have to take place if New Delhi places faith in Colombo.

What is worse, we understand that New Delhi has assured Colombo of "a trouble-free poll" in the merged North-East province. More grave is Bryan Johnson's report that the United National Party will nominate "its own candidates to the 71-member (provincial) council." These co-optees, "once-named", will have "its nominees ... brought to Colombo for their own protection." The world should know that with India's active assistance, the Sri Lanka government has set the stage for another of its fraudulent and undemocratic elections to a provincial council.

It is up to India to make its own decisions, if at all, on the question of withdrawal. In the absence of a negotiated settlement, it is not moral for India's High Commissioner to ask the citizens of Jaffna to virtually cooperate in their own extermination by Sinhala genocidal troops. That is what Mr. Dixit's recent statement amounts to. The LTTE and Tamil people would have responded meaningfully if India had carried out its obligations.

India must learn to negotiate with a mature armed struggle of the Tamil people determined on obtaining recognition for their demand for national self-determination. What is as important is that the Prime Minister's office in New Delhi as well as the South Block be kept informed truthfully of what passes on between R.A.W agents and the representatives of the LTTE in their complex and complicated negotiations in Madras.

Further, High Commissioner Dixit told the citizens of Jaffna (according to Bryan Johnson's report) "you can take for granted our emotions because of our long links. But you cannot take Indian politics or the Indian Army for granted." We agree. But then, India should not have in the first place intervened in our domestic politics. Not only has India intervened, but India acted and continues to act, not as an impartial arbiter in a bi-ethnic conflict, but in a partisan manner so as to promote the interests of the Sinhala ethnic majority. Having intervened, India now has a moral responsibility to discharge to the Tamil people and to the world. India has to ensure that an acceptable settlement is monitored and implemented in the correct spirit.

For Mr Dixit to state, at this point in time, after the IPKF has inflicted so many casualties, violations of human rights and widespread damage to the Tamil people, that Indian politics and India's Army should not be taken for granted, is unworthy of a regional power which was entrusted with a responsibility. Mr Dixit and New Delhi might seek to intimidate the people of Tamil Eelam. But our people have the moral strength and conviction that their only goal is freedom, freedom from the terrorist Sinhala Buddhist state and from its herrenvolk. India, nevertheless, should not desert the task it set itself nor must Mr. Dixit speak as he does. Though Mr. Dixit speaks in this vein, we are certain that he does not represent the views of the entire spectrum of India's political process. He should acquaint himself with the decisions made by the seven-party front in Madras on 17 September.

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TAMIL VOICE International

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இெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

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Point of View

Elavan, Jaffna.

MERGER; CEASEFIRE; P.C ELECTIONS; AND WHAT NEXT ?

The merger of the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, which should have been announced more than an year ago, has at last been gazetted. Although it is expected to be a temporary one, let us reckon the fact that the President has come down one step from his stubbornness, though not without purpose. Again, within four days of the merger, a 5-day ceasefire from Sept.15 has been announced by the Indian government.

Anyone reading between the lines can spy an unholy hurry about the recent events in Sri Lanka. It took 14 months for J.R. to announce the merger of the two provinces. The militants - the LTTE in particular - have been requesting Rajiv Gandhi on several occasions to call for a ceasefire so that negotiations could be opened and a settlement be thrashed out. Both Mr. Jayewardene and Mr. Gandhi kept mum all this long period. Had they acted in time, many precious lives could have been saved on both sides, the heavy damage to property avoided, and the prestige of India salvaged.

The provisions of the Accord include (1) lifting of the emergency by Aug.15, 1987; (2) the Sri Lankan army would be confined to barracks within 72 hours of cessation of hostilities; and (3) residual matters not finalised in the Accord 'shall be resolved within six weeks' from July 29, 1987. Not a word has so far been mentioned by the leaders of either government about the implementation of these provisions.

The mighty hurry in getting the events to move fast, I think, is again a face-saving device engineered by both governments or their agents. The Central government in India is losing credibility in Tamil Nadu, mainly due to the IPKF atrocities committed against the Tamils in the North and East of Sri Lanka. It cannot afford to allow this situation to continue in Tamil Nadu in view of the impending elections to be held there in January 1989 the latest.

Now, what about the North and East? When the P.C. elections come, are we to expect that the Tamil Tigers will take part in Sri Lanka's and India's "Democratic Process"? If I guess right, the Tigers will back out from con-

testing, even if allowed to contest, unless and until the state-sponsored colonisation of the Tamil areas by the Sinhalese is stopped forthwith and, the more important one, the provisions in the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, regarding Devolution of Powers to the P.C., are revised in such manner as to give some meaningful effect to the words "Autonomy to the North and East" which still remains the crux of the whole problem.

Assuming that the LTTE does not contest the P.C. elections, or even conceding that they contest and lose the elections, what would be the outcome? The readers are implored to visualise the situation. Candidates from the other militant groups and perhaps a few from the TULF and, I won't be surprised, even from the UNP, will win the seats and form the Provincial Council for the north and east. I say this so strongly because it is my conviction that both Sri Lankan and Indian governments will leave no stone unturned to see that the candidates who support the Accord and the 13th Amendment in its present form, and at the same time opposed to the LTTE (militarily and politically) do capture the seats in the Provincial Council. I am even prone to suggest that hands that cast the votes into the ballot boxes (whether during, before or after the voting time) could well be those of non-voters, members of the polling staff, and/or the Indian army personnel themselves (in mufti)!

The Indian government is supposed to have hit the Tigers so hard that it has weakened them militarily and that they will not be able to disrupt the P.C elections to be held in the near future. It must be in a fool's paradise now thinking that the LTTE will be licking their wounds and lamenting over their 'mistakes' in not swallowing the 'advice' of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to accept the Accord and its complementary P.C. Bill in their present form, and that the LTTE cadre will be confined to the deep jungles of the Vavuniya district where most of them are now. The Indian army personnel will have guards and sentries all over the place including every road junction, lane

and building situated in the north and east so that the Tigers cannot wag their tail. The Tigers, even though boiling within and itching for retaliation, cannot come out and attempt to disrupt the conduct of the elections or the working of the P.C. thereafter.

Thus, we Tamils have been driven to the stage of analysing the present situation and the future. The Indian government, having its 'representatives' in our country, is going to dictate terms to us either direct or through their State of Tamil Nadu; and our President will be saying "Amen" to India's biddings. India's representatives may be in the form of Army personnel, or its executive and administrative staff physically present in the north and east of the island to conduct the day to day affairs of the people.

The professed supporter of the Tamils would oust their true supporters and the Tamil population, I am afraid, is going to be left in the lurch, if India's visualisation does not become an illusion !

Your Voice continued from Page 2

principal Saivite monasteries in Tamil Nadu by means of learned lectures and discourses on religious subjects was as great as it was in Jaffna.

He never married but remained single as a Saivite ascetic to fulfil his life's mission. He wanted Hindu schools established in the vicinity of all major Hindu temples and education to be imparted to Hindu children in the proper Hindu religious environment. It was also his wish that the ancient Hindu temple at Thiruketheeswaram in Mannar district be restored to its pristine status. In short, it can truly be said that the revival of Hinduism in the North in the 19th century was solely due to the indefatigable labours of this one man, a colossus among the island's Tamils of the 19th century, who laid a firm foundation for others who came after him to continue his work.

All his work was done during a comparatively short span of 57 years, long before the arrival of Col. Olcott or the revival of Buddhism in the South. In those circumstances and because of the work done by Navalar there was neither the need nor the necessity for the message of Col. Olcott to go to the North of the island.

DID THILEEPAN DIE IN VAIN ?

Tamils all over the world salute their beloved martyr, and revolutionary hero, Lt. Col. Amirthalingam Thileepan, on the anniversary of his martyrdom, who in his quest for freedom and love of his motherland made the supreme sacrifice by fasting to death.

Denying himself food and even liquid, he tortured himself to death in the highest form of self-sacrifice unprecedented in the annals of the Tamil liberation struggle. By his great sacrifice, Thileepan brought to the attention of the world the genocidal state oppression and tyranny perpetrated against the people of Tamil Eelam and the inefficacy of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord that failed to secure the rights and interests of the Tamil people.

As a young revolutionary leader, heading the LTTE's political wing in Jaffna, Thileepan was deeply committed to the cause of national liberation and social emancipation of his people. He was firmly convinced that total independence of Tamil homeland from Sinhala state domination is the only and the lasting solution to the Tamil national problem. To achieve the goal of national independence, he strongly believed that the ordinary masses must be organised and united into a national force and that the people should directly and actively participate in the popular war of liberation.

Thileepan worked relentlessly to organise, mobilise and politicise the oppressed and exploited masses and contributed effectively to the consolidation of the LTTE as a mass national liberation movement. Because of his commitment and tireless work Thileepan was loved by and respected among the ordinary people, particularly among the radical Tamil youth to whom he was a constant source of inspiration.

The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, Thileepan soon realised, had miserably failed in its content and in its spirit, to uphold the interests and aspirations of the Tamil people, rather, it undermined the Tamil interests and aggravated the ethnic conflict. Both Governments of India and Sri Lanka failed to implement the pledges given to the Tamils. Instead,

the signatories to the Accord conspired and collaborated to reimpose a repressive Sinhala state system in Tamil areas. Outraged and angered by the betrayal of the Indian Government and the treachery of the Sinhala chauvinist regime, Thileepan decided to organise a mass national protest to expose the injustice done to the Tamils.



Thileepan - with Prabakaran when on his fast unto death

Thileepan's campaign was based on the following five demands:

1. To release all political detainees
2. to stop the mounting Sinhala colonisation in the Tamil homeland.
3. To suspend all rehabilitation work until the formation of an Interim Government.
4. To stop the opening of Sinhala manned police stations in Tamil areas.
5. To withdraw Sinhalese army camps from Tamil areas.

Forcussing these demands Thileepan spearheaded a non-violent mass campaign by subjecting himself to an extreme and harsh form of self-mortification - a fast-unto-death. His courage, determination and readiness to sacrifice his life for the cause of his people aroused a feeling of national patriotism and inspired the people to rally round him in organised mass protests.

On his death-bed Thileepan proclaimed that the socialist Tamil Eelam would become a reality one day and called upon the people to prepare for a peoples' war of liberation. **"Let the peoples' war erupt"** was his last cry.

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physical death he became eternal; he became an everlasting legend; a living hero of the Tamil Eelam Freedom Movement. He will ever be enshrined in the hearts of the Tamil people, in the soul of the Tamil nation as an idol of liberty.

Anniversary celebrations were held in several parts of the world, including Tamil Nadu, on a large scale.

In London it was well organised at Conway Hall, Holborn. The highlights of the commemoration meeting was the 'Composers Forum' or 'Kavi Arangam' in Tamil. The composers recited their verses of eulogy. The main theme was **"Thileepan and his supreme sacrifice"** as well as the sacrifice of the other martyrs and, of course, the Tamil Liberation struggle spearheaded by the LTTE leader and his comrades. It was brought out that Thileepan, the humble son of a School Principal, had even excelled Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, by his fast-unto-death without even taking a drop of water. The Government of India, whose freedom was won by the Mahatma through his non-violent campaign, and its Prime Minister, the bearer of the apostle's name not only failed to understand Thileepan's supreme sacrifice but also misled the others, thus insulting the revered name of the apostle. **The Tamil people were called upon to keep alive this eternal flame of the Tamil Liberation movement and to continue the struggle to fulfil Thileepan's ambition to regain the lost freedom of their homeland.**

THIRUKKURAL

By S.Sriskandarajah

"Araththaaru Ithuvana Venda Sivigai Poruththaano Doornthaan Idai" (Transliteration)

"Why search for the fruits of Dharma? Behold the one in the palanquin and the palanquin bearer"
(Translation)

Men are often confused and perplexed at the way things happen in day to day life. Even as babies at home and children in the school, we are told and taught time and again that we should do good and avoid evil. We are also taught the reason why we should engage in virtuous deeds and abstain from doing evil. Mentors at school and parents at home tell us that meritorious deeds would stand us in good stead and reward us, and also that evil deeds would plunge us into abysmal depths of danger. Being words that come from elders whom society recognizes we heed such words and try to behave as far as possible in accordance with those precepts. But when we grow up and begin to react to society's pressures we start to find life quite different from what we have been told to be. We find, for some inexplicable reason, the virtuous ones suffer and the wicked ones thrive. It is then that we begin to raise doubts and question the correctness of the morals and ethics we were forced to learn when we were young and credulous.

It is on such despairing occasions the **Kural** under consideration comes very handy to explain to us the reality. This kind of despair is not peculiar to us average people or to the people of a particular era. The Pandavas of the Mahabharata themselves fell into such melancholy and hopelessness and posed questions of a self-defeating nature. Balarama, the great archer, who visited the Pandavas while the latter were living incognito in the forest, himself unable to bear the miserable life led by the Pandavas, turned to **Krishna 100** and commented thus: "Oh Krishna, it would seem that virtue and wickedness bear contrary fruits in this life; the wicked Duryodhana is ruling his kingdom clad in silk and gold, while the virtuous Yudhishtra lives in the forest wearing the barks of trees; seeing such unmerited prosperity and undeserved privation, men have lost their faith in God. The praise of virtue in the **Sastras** seems mere mockery when we see the actual

results of good and evil in this world."

Parasurama was a learned man and he knew the implications and interpretations of the sastras and of ethical teaching. Even so, the love and regard he bore for the Pandavas were such that he, like an ordinary mortal, lamented the vagaries of the world and uttered such words.

A virtuous person may be undergoing untold hardships and a wicked one may be leading a splendidly comfortable life. It is to explain these seemingly contrary fruits, the ancient Indians formulated the **theory of Karma and re-birth**. It is only through this theory this paradoxical situation in our day to day experience could be explained.

Now to the Kural. "Why search for the fruits of Dharma? Behold the person who is seated majestically in the palanquin and the people who are carrying the palanquin. Why is the one who is in the palanquin so comfortable and the carriers miserable?" The one who is in the palanquin may be leading a mean and wicked life and the carriers of the palanquin may be honest and fair-minded people. Yet the wicked palanquin-rider is comfortable and the virtuous carriers are miserable. There is a reason. The wicked palanquin-rider reaps the fruits of his virtuous deeds in a previous birth and the virtuous carriers are reaping the fruits of their wicked acts in their earlier births. In other words, if somebody does meritorious deeds or wicked deeds in this birth he will not see the fruits of his acts in this life; he will reap them in his subsequent birth. Therefore it is idle for good ones to lament that misery follows them in spite of their good acts. They must understand that these sufferings are results of their past deeds in past births.

As good will always beget good, **Thiruvalluvar** exhorts us to unflinchingly do good, remembering the case of the palanquin-rider and the palanquin-carriers.

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அறத்தாறு இதுவென வேண்டா சிவிகை
பொறுத்தானோடு ஊர்ந்தான் இடை.

Essay On Colour

(To the Liberation Tigers
of Tamil Eelam)

Those who discuss
the depth of bright red
and write treatises
on the function of colour
never saw
the red of a wound opened
by the burst of a grenade . . .

Neither tears
nor despairs
nor helpless hatred
are the shroud
that covers
the red
of a wound opened
by the burst of a grenade

Those who have never seen
a wound opened
by the burst of a grenade
cannot understand
how much love of life
of colour
and of the flowers
of one's native land
lie in the resolve
of the guerilla fighter

Those cannot totally understand the
colour red
the grenade that steals
the companion from space
fixes the image
causes to burst out in men
the certainty
of singing in triumph
. . . unfurling gleaming 'suriya'
liberty

The dimension of bright red
of a companion's death
is another flower
sublime season
of love and of arms
clouds
of rising sun.

Estella Schmid July 29, 1987

SEVEN PARTY NATIONAL FRONT CALLS FOR END TO CONGRESS "MISRULE"

The seven-party National Front was launched at a massive rally organised by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Madras on September 17.

Tamil Nadu must fire the opening shot first

The National Front Chairman and the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr.N.T.Rama Rao, declared on the occasion that **the first proof of the Front's power and popularity should be the restoration of DMK rule in Tamil Nadu under the leadership of Mr.M.Karunanidhi.** Addressing a mammoth rally on the Marina beach, Mr.Rama Rao observed that Tamil Nadu should fire the opening shot "in bringing about a total transformation" in the system of governance in the country. "In the past the Congress freed the country and now the time has come to free the country from Congress misrule", said the Front Chairman.

Earlier, the Front presidium at a meeting held at the DMK headquarters called for assembly elections well before the end of the current spell of president's rule in the state. Expressing resentment at the failure of the Centre to announce the date of elections in Tamil Nadu so far, the Front in a resolution expressed the view that the Centre was **"desperately trying to prolong president's rule, which was nothing but Congress rule through the back-door."**

Mr.Ajit Singh, Janata Party President, said behind the President's rule in Tamil Nadu the Congress (I) was ruling the State. He also criticised the Prime Minister for creating a situation in Sri Lanka where the Indian Army was massacring Tamils. There was no sign of any solution to the ethnic crisis.

Immediate talks with LTTE urged

The Presidium called for immediate political negotiations with the LTTE

and others as a first step towards ceasefire in Sri Lanka and further negotiations for a political settlement of the problems of the Tamils in the island.

In a resolution on "Ceasefire and the present situation in Sri Lanka", the Presidium expressed its deep concern and disquiet over the continuing misery, suffering and agony of Tamils as also over the LTTE-IPKF hostilities.



Dr. M. Karunanidhi

Ceasefire 'a cheap gimmick'

The Presidium noted that the Government of India had declared a unilateral ceasefire without any prior consultations with the LTTE and not as a prelude to a negotiated political settlement. The Government had reduced the ceasefire into a cheap gimmick as in November 1987, when it was terminated within 48 hours. **"The Presidium is of the opinion that this ceasefire is a clear attempt to conceal the realities of the situation and a further attempt to impose a solution according to the needs of President Jayewardene's designs on the Tamils of Sri Lanka."** The Prime Minister was accused of having created a mess in the name of solving the Tamils, issue; and it was hoped that the people of Tamil Nadu would teach a lesson

to the Congress (I).

Merger after change of demographic complexion

The proclamation of Mr.Jayewardene to merge the Northern and Eastern provinces had taken place after an intensified effort at colonisation to change the demographic complexion of the provinces. Even the proposal for merger could be revoked at any time by another proclamation and the merger depended on the sweet will of the President without any permanency.

Arrests condemned

The Presidium strongly felt that the Government of India should not stand on false prestige and it was not too late for Mr.Rajiv Gandhi to realise that "his Sri Lankan policy has resulted not only in the betrayal of the interests in a holocaust of Sri Lankan Tamils, but also in the sacrifice of the precious lives of a large number of jawans of the Indian army." It condemned the arrests of over 200 Sri Lankan Tamils in Tamil Nadu under the N.S.A. and demanded their release forthwith.

Asked whether National Front wanted a solution within the framework of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, Mr.V.P. Singh noted that he and other leaders of the Front had already expressed grave doubts about the provisions of the Accord and the manner in which the Accord got signed. The Front wanted that the parties relevant to the issue should come to a negotiated settlement.

Later, at a press conference, questions were put on the National Front's stand on the demand for a separate Tamil Eelam, the prospects of a political settlement either within or outside the framework of the Sri Lankan Constitution, and the effectiveness of ceasefire. In response, the Chairman of the Front, Mr.N.T.Rama Rao, and the Convenor, Mr.V.P. Singh, could only say "We want a negotiated settlement and there must be talks between the LTTE and other groups and the Sri Lankan Government. We want a ceasefire in real and genuine terms." Courtesy - The Hindu - Sept.18, 1988

DIARY OF EVENTS IN EELAM - JULY 1988

29.6.88 - The citizens Committees of the Northern and Eastern provinces appealed to the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Gandhi, through IPKF Generals Kalkat and Pande and Brigadier Khalon, to find a peaceful solution to the problem without insisting on the surrender of arms by the LTTE.

30.6.88 - Over 2000 IPKF troops were engaged in search and destroy missions with the collaboration of Sri Lankan forces in Muthur area (Trincomalee). Over 100 Tamil civilians in Echchilampathai village were detained. Thousands of Tamils (including Muslims) demonstrated and held relay fasts in front of Indian camps near Thampalakamam in Trincomalee district demanding an unconditional ceasefire, the stoppage of civilian arrests, the release of Tamils arrested and the halting of all colonisation of Tamil areas. Four Indian soldiers were killed in an LTTE booby-trap attack between Thiriyai and Pudavaikkaddu area (Trincomalee).

2.7.88 - Five Indian soldiers were killed and their jeep destroyed when they were stopped by an LTTE unit between Palai and Eluthumattuval in the Thenmaradchi area of Jaffna peninsula.

3.7.88 - An IPKF convoy, on a search and destroy mission towards Vivuvamadu village, was stopped by the LTTE cadres at the 11th mile post. Nine Indian soldiers were killed and an LTTE woman soldier. In a fierce fighting at Thannimurippu, 8 IPKF members were killed and 3 sub-machine guns were captured by LTTE.

4.7.88 - In retaliation to the losses on 3rd July, the IPKF killed 3 civilians and burnt 35 houses in the villages of Tharmapuram and Visumamadu. New camps have been set up in Vahamari, Visuvamadu junction and Anaivilunthan.

5.7.88 - The IPKF's MI-24 helicopter gunships indiscriminately bombed densely-populated villages of Thannimurippu, Kumulamunai, Kallikaddu and adjoining jungles in Mullaitivu. (250-kilo bombs were used).

6.7.88 - 2000 people participated in a protest march ending in the main IPKF camp in Mannar demanding

immediate ceasefire in Tamil areas and Indo-LTTE negotiations without preconditions.

8.7.88 - LTTE (Madras) categorically states that no agreement can be reached without LTTE leader Mr. V. Prabaharan, being fully informed of current negotiations. An earlier request to cease hostilities in the area between Elephant Pass and Trincomalee, so that the LTTE leader can be consulted, was turned down by the Indian government. Large scale destruction has been caused by uninterrupted and indiscriminate shelling by the IPKF of various villages in the Batticaloa district. Villagers who fled the shelling were subsequently denied permission to visit their farms and homes.

11.7.88 - Five Tamil youths from Pavatukulam village (Vavuniya district) were shot dead for taking part in a peaceful demonstration.

12.7.88 - An Indian gunship returning after harassing fishermen in the Mullaitivu sea was sunk by an LTTE commando unit. Eleven soldiers were killed and one escaped.

13.7.88 - The IPKF entered Manthuvil village (Mullaitivu) and destroyed three homes of Tamils. In a direct confrontation on the Paranthan-Mullaitivu Road (Kilinochchi), an Indian soldier was killed and another seriously injured.

14.7.88 - At the 10th mile post between the IPKF's Vannerikulam camp and Akkarayankulam village, an IPKF contingent of 4 trucks encountered a LTTE landmine attack and one truck was blown up. 20 Indian soldiers died and many others were seriously injured. In another landmine attack on an IPKF convoy at Kokkavil (Kilinochchi), one truck was destroyed. 6 soldiers died and several were injured.

14-17. 7. 88 - 675 civilians were taken from Kiran and other villages in the Batticaloa district, detained in army camps and made to squat in the sun without any food or drink.

15.7.88 - Four Indian soldiers were killed in an LTTE attack on their sentry post at the Paranthan junction. In a direct confrontation between 75 Indian soldiers and 200 LTTE search-and-

destroy operation and an LTTE Unit at Paranthan, 4 Indian soldiers were killed and several seriously injured.

16.7.88 - The IPKF's MI-24 helicopters strafed residential and jungle areas near Murasumodai (Mullaitivu). 4 Tamil civilians were killed. An Indian patrol of armoured cars and soldiers on foot going from Poomari camp to Pottuvil were stopped by LTTE cadres at the 60th mile post. 3 Indian soldiers were killed; 2 SLR and 1 SMG rifled were captured. No LTTE casualties.

17.7.88 - Indian soldiers indiscriminately attacked civilians near their Madhu camp (Mannar) after earlier losses against the LTTE. Many civilians were badly injured.

19.7.88 - Two Indian soldiers were killed in a landmine attack at Kuchchaveli (Trincomalee). The IPKF opened a checkpoint by the side of the Pulipainthakal bridge. Under the pretext of searching for weapons, Indian soldiers continue to harass civilians passing through the bridge to buy essential provisions. **Women are forced to remove their clothes and inhumanly subjected to molestation and rape.**

20.7.88 - Over 75 houses were destroyed and 300 Tamils detained in search and destroy operations in the Mannar district. An IPKF patrol entered and looted a grocery store near Eachchankulam (Vavuniya). 17 Tamil civilians in the store were arrested and taken to an IPKF camp. The IPKF has set up a new camp at Iluppaiikkulam (Vavuniya). Residents in the area were forced to clear the jungle for the setting up of the camp.

21.7.88 - Indian soldiers assaulted civilians involved in a peaceful demonstration in the Mutur area (Trincomalee). Sinhalese soldiers, homeguards and thugs, with the blessing of the Sri Lankan government, destroyed and looted Tamil property in Trincomalee. 3 Tamils were hacked to death.

22.7.88 - Seven Sinhalese soldiers were killed in an LTTE attack on a Sinhalese convoy taking Sinhalese settlers from Aliya Odai into Tamil

continued on page 18

THE NATIONAL FRONT RESOLUTION ON THE "CEASEFIRE" AND THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SRI LANKA



National Front Leaders Mr.Biju Patnaik, Mr. S.R.Bomma, Mr.Saratchandra Sinha, Mr.Devi Lal, Mr.M.Karunanidhi, Mr.V.P.Singh and Mr.N.T.Rama Rao at a press conference after the Presidium meeting in Madras 17th September

The Presidium of the National Front expresses its deep concern and disquiet over continuing misery, suffering and agony of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The Presidium recalls the earlier resolutions of the National Front wherein it had expressed its deep concern over the hostilities between the LTTE and the IPKF and called upon the Government of India to take initiative for a cease-fire after negotiations with the LTTE and others. The Presidium however notes that the Government of India has declared a unilateral cease-fire without any pre-consultations with the LTTE and not as a prelude to a negotiated political settlement.

The Presidium is of the opinion that the Government of India has reduced the cease-fire into a cheap gimmick as in November 1987, where they terminated it within 48 hours. **The Presidium is of the opinion that this cease-fire is a clear attempt to conceal the realities of the situation and a further attempt to impose a solution according to the needs of President Jayawardene's design on the Tamils of Sri Lanka.** The Presidium reiterates its call for immediate political negotiations with the LTTE and others as a first step towards cease-fire and further negotiations for a political settlement.

The Presidium notes that the proclamation of President Jayawardene to merge the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka has taken place after an intensified effort at colonization of provinces by the Sri Lankan Government in a desperate attempt to change the demographic complexion of the provinces. It is also significant that

even the proposal for merger can be revoked at any time by another proclamation and this merger depends on the sweet will of the President without any permanency.

President Jayawardene himself had gone on record that he was duty bound to campaign against the merger of the two provinces and had promised to do so in the case of the referendum. He has not publicly changed his position so far and that position itself clearly exposes the new move for merger as a ploy perpetrated on the ethnic Tamils of Sri Lanka. Moreover it is in this atmosphere of escalation of tension that they want to rush through an election with the presence and active assistance of the Sri Lankan Army and the IPKF. The National Front cannot accept this as a solution or as a means towards settlement and wish to reiterate that there is no alternative to a fully negotiated settlement with the LTTE and others.

The Presidium strongly feels that the Government of India should not stand on false prestige and it is not too late for Mr Rajiv Gandhi to realise that his Sri Lankan policy has resulted not only in the betrayal of the interests in a holocaust of Sri Lankan Tamils, but also in

the sacrifice of the precious lives of a large number of jawans of the Indian Army. **The Presidium strongly condemns the recent step of arresting over 200 Sri Lankan Tamils in Tamil Nadu under the N.S.A. We demand the release of these helpless refugees forthwith.**

RESOLUTIONS ON TAMIL NADU ELECTIONS

The Presidium of the National Front expresses its resentment over the fact that no date has yet been announced for holding elections to the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly. The Presidium feels that having manoeuvred to impose President's Rule in the State, the Centre is desperately trying to prolong it on flimsy reasons, because **President's Rule is nothing but Congress (I) rule**, through the back door. As there is no valid reason for further postponement of elections in Tamil Nadu, the Presidium demands that the Election Commission should immediately announce dates for holding the Assembly elections well before the end of the present spell of President's Rule.

PRABAHARAN WILL TALK ONLY WITH TOP INDIAN LEADERS

IPKF has commenced its operations at the end of ten-day cease fire unilaterally declared by the Indian government to enable the LTTE to surrender their arms. LTTE will not surrender their arms, but is prepared to hand over their arms after a negotiated settlement. The pride of many is what is prolonging the war.

While India, through its High Commissioner Dixit, expressed willingness to negotiate with Prabaharan and Mahathaya has refused to negotiate with Kittu. Prabaharan is believed to have signified his willingness to negotiate, but with "Top Indian Leaders" only.

BETRAYALS OF TAMIL LEADERS

V. Thangavelu, Canada

It is said history repeats itself and the only lesson we learn from history is that we don't learn anything! I intend recapitulating not the betrayal, broken promises and agreements of the Sinhalese leaders but those of our own Tamil leaders who time and again betrayed and failed the Tamil nation. The criticism is not for criticism sake, but an honest attempt at self-analysis and identification of causes which led to such betrayals and failings.

The outcome of the 1965 elections saw what the Federal Party was hoping for a long time - a situation where neither the ruling SLFP nor the UNP would enjoy a clear majority to form a government. The UNP had 66 seats as against 41 for SLFP. The SLFP, because of their virulent anti-Tamil stance, felt shy to seek the support of the FP which had won 14 seats. The UNP, on the other hand, had no such inhibitions. As a matter of fact, the UNP leadership was so desperate that it was prepared to go to any length to secure the support of the F.P. Although the SLFP was soundly defeated, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike delayed her cabinet resignation. She counted on the support of the LSSP, CP and two other opposition parties who between them had 20 M.Ps. With time passing, the UNP leaders became panicky. The then General Secretary of the UNP, Mr. Wickramanayake, along with two other M.Ps, was shuttling between Sri Kotha and Alfred House Gardens to get F.P's consent letter of support to be submitted to the Governor. In exchange for FP support the UNP was prepared to sign an agreement with Mr. SJV. Chelvanayakam. The task of drafting the agreement was entrusted to Mr. Navaratnam, M.P (Kayts). The agreement was to be based on the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact. Mr. Navaratnam was hammering away the draft agreement on the typewriter when Mr. Wickramanayake bluntly told him that he was wasting time, and that the UNP was prepared to sign anything on the 'dotted line' since any delay meant they (UNP) would be rounded up, taken to the Galle Face Green and shot by the Army. This explains why the pact contained only four clauses and just 20 lines in all.

Once again despite past experience the FP leaders were ill-prepared for a situation they were clearly anticipating. **Instead of improving on the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam pact the FP settled down for a watered-down one.** The FP leadership apparently had learnt nothing and forgot everything of what happened between 1958 and 1965. It cannot be said they lacked brains. It was available in plenty. What they lacked was the foresight and the will, the spirit of sacrifice and total dedication for the cause they were espousing. Except S.J.V. and perhaps one or two M.Ps, the others were not prepared to face another general election. In the mean time the UNP, after securing FP support, displayed its true colours. The UNP promised a total of 3 portfolios to the FP. Two of them were the Ministry of Home Affairs & Local Government and the Ministry of Transport. During the next 24 hours the number of Ministries dwindled from 3 to 2 and again from 2 to 1, and finally to half. (Local Government). The choice of the FP for ministerial post was a foregone conclusion. Since a resolution passed at the FP National Convention held in 1956 at Trincomalee barred elected M.Ps accepting government office, Mr. M. Thiruchelvam was the man for the job, by default. The second post is to go for a party man from the Eastern province. Mr. Sam Thambimuttu, a lawyer and son-in-law of Ex-Senator Manickam was already on the Batticaloa train heading for Colombo not aware that the UNP had already gone back on its promise of three ministerial portfolios. (Mr. T in later years used to complain bitterly that he was a lone man in the Cabinet unable to do anything). Instead of saying the FP nominated Mr. Thiruchelvam as Minister, it is more correct to say that he himself nominated himself as the Minister! The Federal Party meeting took place in Mr. T's Colombo 7 residence. He was the power-broker between the UNP and the FP. Two most important party leaders did not participate in the deliberations. One was SJV who stayed at his residence at Alfred House Gardens, whose assent was taken for granted. The other was Mr. A. Amirthalingam who came two

days later because of the post-election violence in his Vaddukkoddai electorate. In passing it should also be mentioned that Dr. Colvin R de Silva and two other Sinhalese M.Ps called at Mr. Chelvanayakam at his residence soliciting FP support to SLFP, but it was too late.

Mr. Amirthalingam returned to Colombo on the 26th March 1965. Some of us, including Mr. M.K. Eelaventhana, activists of the Colombo Branch of the FP, went to Ratmalana to receive Mr. Amirthalingam. While on our way we briefed him of events and developments during the previous two days. He visibly got angry at the nomination of Mr. Thiruchelvam. When we reached SJV's residence and as soon as he saw him Mr. Amirthalingam said, "Sir, in nominating Mr. T. to the cabinet post the party has made a monumental blunder". SJV did not reply. What would have been his reply had he spoken was anyone's guess! But Mr. Amirthalingam's comment was prophetic as subsequent events proved.

In the election to the first Parliament in 1948 the Tamil Congress (T.C) won the majority of the seats in the Northern province. The lifetime President of The T.C Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam routed Mr. A. Mahadeva, the then Home Minister who contested the Jaffna electorate on the UNP ticket. He was called names. He was dubbed as Tamil traitor, short and simple. But G.G.P could not wait long. He was itching for a ministerial post. He had money, fame and a lucrative law practice. But what he lacked was power and glory. So he joined the D.S. Senanayake cabinet. Every one of us knows of his famous or rather infamous double-bent salute to the Singhaya (D.S.S) at the Temple Trees, thanks to Mr JKL. Fernando, the author of the book 'Three Prime Ministers'. In 1965, 17 years later Mr. Thiruchelvam was exactly in the same frame of mind. Like Mr. GGP, Mr. T. too had money, fame and a lucrative practice. What he lacked was the same power and glory. He never learnt anything from past history. He must have thought he could win where GGP had failed.

to be continued

THE ROLE OF THE EXPATRIATE TAMIL COMMUNITY

By Dr. P. Sathyanathan

LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL

We have been travelling the arduous and hazardous path to repossess the promised land which legitimately belongs to us. In the 450 years since the loss of our kingdom, the Tamils of Eelam have never been more hopeful as now. We have been making our way through this long tortuous tunnel of our freedom struggle to see the light at the end. We may not have seen the light fully, but the silhouette of Eelam, the hope of freedom, is clearly visible at the end of the tunnel. But there are some people who refuse to see the light. They simply cannot keep pace with the acceleration of our freedom struggle nor bear its impact. They find it hard to acknowledge the impetus it has given to each and every Eelavan.

ACHIEVEMENT OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

We have to learn from what we have so far achieved. Is it not true that what we achieved during the first thirty years of the post independence period is greater than what was achieved during the 450 years of colonial rule? Is it also not true that what was achieved during the last seventeen years of youth militancy greater than what had been achieved before? And, what the armed struggle achieved during the last five years is far in excess of what Eelam Tamils had achieved in all their previous history? Those who oppose the Eelam solution are those who blindly refuse to acknowledge all these achievements. In this chequered history of the Tamil freedom struggle every move is counted. The Sri Lankan Government sought to impose its will on the Tamils, and made the move to suppress our struggle; but it is regrettable that on our side we had many leaders and organisations who, while claiming to be fighting for liberation, had in fact misrepresented our cause. There was total chaos and confusion on the battle field. Internal conflicts and friction posed the greatest threat to the true liberation fighters.

SRI LANKA PANICKY

The past five years of turmoil have been described by many Tamils as a time of curse resulting in enormous loss of life and property. Yes, I do par-

tially agree. The years of turmoil highlighted and helped us to pick out the organisation which bravely withstood all the temptations, never letting down the Tamil cause and never compromising the principles on which the whole struggle was initiated. That organisation was none other than the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. This message has been clearly perceived by the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments. Thus, Sri Lanka is panicky over the massive support the Tigers command among the Tamils, and are truly scared that the Tigers will achieve their goal. The Indians are impatient because they have learnt the lesson that the Tigers will never compromise on the issue of self-determination for the Tamils in order to safeguard the geo-political interests of India.

LTTE, A SOCIAL PROJECTION

I visited Sri Lanka in March and spent most of my time in Eelam, especially in Jaffna. I met people from all over the Peninsula, and also talked to people from different walks of life. I conducted a systematic study of the mood and morale of the Jaffna man in the aftermath of the Indian military assault. I was astonished to find that more than 90 per cent of the people have the unassailable belief that salvation for the Tamils is only through the Tigers and more than 75 per cent of the people displayed absolute faith that the Tigers will definitely deliver Eelam. When I submitted my findings to the Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria, some critics commented that my report was biased and untrue, but, within a month of my report, The Hindu newspaper published an interview with a top-ranking Indian Army officer, General Pande, whose observations were in complete agreement with my findings. General Pande said, "... the Peninsula which was the stronghold of the LTTE would continue to be so because ninety per cent of the population were pro-LTTE. If the people did not support the LTTE, there would be something wrong with them, because the group was a social projection of the accumulated grievances of the island's minority Tamil community for the past forty years. The LTTE had fought for their honour and safety and it is part and parcel of the society."

When he was asked why the IPKF went into conflict if it felt that the LTTE enjoyed popular support, General Pande countered, "Why don't you address this question to the political leaders and top military officials?" It is significant that these words did not emanate from the LTTE camp but from no less a person than a top Indian Army Commander in the field.

COURAGE TO TAKE ON THE INDIAN ARMY

It is a matter of relief that the Tamil world has at last awakened to realise the inherent dangers in the Peace Accord and the irreversible damage it would have caused the liberation struggle had it not been rejected by the LTTE. When all the so-called Tamil liberation groups were prepared to accept the Accord wholeheartedly even before reading the contents, we should be proud of the fact that it was only the LTTE which had the wisdom and the moral courage to reject this as being totally inadequate. They also had the courage to take on the mighty Indians for what they believed to be right.

It has thus been proved to us that the Tigers, and Tigers alone, are the one and only organisation who will stand up for, and never compromise on, our rights to self-determination. I therefore appeal to all expatriate Tamils to realise that what we want at this moment is Tamil solidarity behind the LTTE and help to achieve their noble objective of winning freedom for our nation. The expatriate Tamils may proceed to express this solidarity either individually or through the Tamils organisations to which they belong. Each and every Tamil organisation around the world should pass resolutions to show their solidarity with the Tigers. They should also endeavour to persuade the Governments in their respective countries to understand the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of the Tamils. Every effort should be made by these Tamil organisations to convince their governments that the LTTE truly symbolises the aspirations of the Tamils. For the purpose of enlightening the host governments, the expatriate Tamils should analyse the background to the origin, growth and achievements of the LTTE.

Sri Lankan News

INDIANS HERE TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS SAYS MRS.B

Mrs.Sirima Bandaranaike said that the Indian Army is present on Sri Lankan soil today not to restore peace but to look after their geo-political interests.

Mrs.Bandaranaike, who is on a tour down south to canvass support for her at the Presidential election, was speaking at a public meeting in Galle. She said India feared that the foreign policy followed by the UNP Government would be a danger to India's security and that resulted in the infamous Indo-Lanka agreement.

Mrs.Bandaranaike said with an SLFP government in office there would be no need for an Indian army presence or for an accord. She said, **the SLFP was confident India will withdraw the IPKF as soon as the**

UNP is defeated. "Lots of people are asking what the SLFP's position is on the Accord. Our position has always been clear. We demonstrated against it and also voted against it, unlike others who tried to hoodwink the people by taking a vacillating position", she said.

Mrs.Bandaranaike said the SLFP will negotiate with India for the abrogation of the Accord. "They are not here to establish peace or capture Prabhakaran. They are here to allay their fears. None other than the Indian Defence Minister K.C.Pant has said so. We always lived in peace with India as equal partners. The SLFP will see that Sri Lankans can live once again with peace, harmony and self-respect" she said.

SRI LANKA IS PARALYSED BY STRIKE

A strike called by the JVP paralysed Sri Lanka on Sept.12, over the death in police custody of a respected civil rights lawyer. One state-run bus still operating in Colombo was bombed, injuring 14 people.

Mr.Wijedasa Liyanaarachchi died in police custody. A post-mortem revealed he had more than a hundred injuries and death had been caused by blunt weapons. The death of this lawyer, who acted for families with relatives gone missing allegedly after being taken into police custody, in the previous week, provoked Sri Lanka's lawyers to strike for the first time in the Island's 40 years of independence. Their call for an inquiry has been granted.

The paramilitary wing of the JVP mounted a poster campaign ordering a general strike during an extended period of mourning for the lawyer.

In the capital, Colombo, streets were unusually quiet for a Monday with no buses on the roads and shops, restaurants, schools and offices closed. A similar situation was reported in other parts of the country with a massive response to the strike call.

'EXTEND THE PARDON' CALL BY PROMINENT MEN

A large number of political leaders and prominent citizens have joined in an appeal to President Jayewardene to extend the pardon offered to some persons arrested in connection with terrorist activities and political violence to 29 others who are not in custody. Among these is K.Padmanabha, leader of the EPRLF which is now a recognised political party.

The signatories to the appeal have pointed out that the persons released have signed affidavits promising to eschew violence and support the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord. However the same amnesty has not been applied to 29 others who have also submitted similar affidavits. Most of them are Sinhalese youths who have not indulged in any acts of violence, it has been further pointed out.

"We fail to see why the state should not drop the charges against these people also. For it is clear that such a step would enable them to come into the open and work towards the intensification of peace", says the appeal which has been signed, among others, by Kalawana M.P. D.E.W.Gunasekera, Dr.Colvin R.de Silva, Y.P.de Silva, Ossie Abeygunasekara, A.Amirthalingam, Dr.Neelam Thiruchelvam, Dr.Vickramabahu Karunaratne, Vasudeva Nanyakkara, N.G.Ponnambalam (Jr.).
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

J.R. holds out olive branch

In what appears to be an olive branch held out to the Tigers, President Jayewardene is also reported to have issued a proclamation merging the north and east into one province - a main demand of the Tigers since the rebels doubted the government's intentions on this central issue. The government has also said it intends to release the majority of Tamils still being held in detention to persuade Tamils to take part in the poll. The various separatist organisations fear that the Tigers, if excluded from the political process, could still cause chaos at the polls.

Although the presidential proclamation gave an impression of permanence to the merger of the north and east, this is not the case. A referendum will eventually have to be held among the people of the East to decide whether the linkage should remain.

PREMADASA CHOSEN AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Sri Lanka's ruling United National Party (UNP) has chosen Prime Minister, Mr.R.Premadasa, as its candidate for the Presidential election.

Though the new candidate has been in politics since 1950, little is known about him outside the country. He does not have the high profile image of either the National Security Minister, Mr.Lalith Athulathmudali, or the Lands Minister, Mr.Gamini Disanayake, or the former Finance Minister, Mr.Ronnie de Mel.

In keeping with his image as a devout Buddhist, Mr.Premadasa, who has a strong following among the clergy, will help to propagate his belief that Sri Lanka has been chosen to spread the ideals of Buddhism to the rest of the world. Mr.Premadasa's religion, which he practises publicly, will be a great help in the presidential campaign. His strong Sinhala-Buddhist sentiments are shared by the masses and even in the JVP-dominated

southern province. The prime minister's mixture of religion and politics (anti-Accord and anti-Indian) will have a potent appeal.

The JVP's line at the moment is that it will support the SLFP if the latter has an alliance with other parties like the ELJP (a break-away group of the UNP), the Tamil Congress and the Muslim Congress. In case the SLFP wants to go it alone, the JVP will not work for it. The prime minister, who has never been publicly criticised by the JVP, had at one time close links with it. He is reaching out to them, but whether JVP now will choose to have an understanding with him is open to question.

Meanwhile, the only point that works against Mr. Premadasa is his caste. He belongs to a lower caste and not to the ruling 'goigama' elite which has been ruling Sri Lanka since independence. Many of the rich and the upper class look down upon the prime minister for his unpretentious family background. Many of the caste-conscious UNP supporters may possibly prefer Mrs. Bandaranaike, who comes from the feudal landed aristocracy of Kandy, to Mr. Premadasa.

The common people both in rural and urban Sri Lanka support Mr. Premadasa. In fact, the prime minister's appeal is to the same anti-Accord, pro-Sinhala and anti-Indian sections as Mrs. Bandaranaike. He is thus expected to cut into her base. Added to this is the fact that Mr. Premadasa is being backed by a well-knit party organisation.

SUBVERSIVE KILLED

One subversive was killed and a police constable wounded when a group of subversives attacked a police road block at Konwewa, Kahatagaskigiliya in Anuradhapura. According to police, a group of about 30 subversives had attacked the police manning the road block at about 2 a.m. Two weapons belonging to the police party are believed to have been removed by the attackers. *In current Sri Lankan parlance, Sinhalese killers are subversives and Tamils are terrorists. Ed*

TULF WELCOME RANARAJA'S APPOINTMENT

The appointment of Mr. Shelton Ranaraja as governor of the Northern and Eastern Provincial Council has been welcomed by the Tamil United Liberation Front. The TULF General Secretary, A. Amirthalingam, said, "Mr. Ranaraja was a good choice. We welcome his appointment and most

of the Tamil people will appreciate this." He added that the TULF had viewed Mr. Ranaraja as a well-balanced politician throughout his long political career and above communal and anti-religious feelings.

UNP CANDIDATES FOR THE NORTH & EAST

According to reports reaching London, Ranjan Wijeratne, a senior member of the UNP has indicated that the UNP will field its candidates for the Provincial Council election for the merged North and Eastern Province of Sri Lanka.

RONNIE DE MEL CEASES TO BE AN M.P.

Mr. Ronnie de Mel, normally known as the 'Weather Cock' in Sinhalese politics, who resigned from his post of Finance Minister a few months ago, has now renounced his membership as a Member of Parliament.

CABINET MINISTER KILLED

According to Reuter reports, gunmen, thought to belong to the People's Liberation Front, killed a Sri Lankan Cabinet Minister, Lionel Jayatileke, on Monday, hours after President Jayewardene said that the police had been ordered to "destroy" the Marxist group.

CEASEFIRE ENDS IN SRI LANKA

The ten-day old ceasefire declared by the Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka ended on 24.9.88 without a single gun being surrendered by the main Tamil guerrilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Sources close to the LTTE in Madras say that it was an expected outcome in view of the fact that the said 'cease-fire' was a unilateral declaration meant for international consumption.

Special Presidential Commission Act to be repealed

The Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry Act No 7 of 1978 is to be repealed. This law was introduced soon after the UNP came into power. This Act provided for the institution of inquiries into irregularities alleged to have been committed by persons associated with the SLFP government.

According to reliable political sources a bill to repeal the said Act, which was primarily enacted to trap

in the SLFP, is expected to be presented in parliament in mid October.

It may be recalled that under this infamous Act, the conduct of several political leaders of the SLFP was investigated and they were stripped of their civic rights by the Sri Lankan Parliament.

Sri Lankan police begins to know of human rights!

Inspector General of Police has written to Secretary of Defence, General Sepala Attigalle calling him to ask the Attorney General to file a petition in the Supreme Court on behalf of the Police Department.

The IGP is said we have requested the Defence Secretary to grant the police permission to file a petition through a private Counsel in the event of the Attorney General refusing to do as requested.

The police also has complained to the Director, Human Rights D.P. Kumarasinghe that the resolution of the Bar Association not to appear for any police officer contravenes the human rights of the police officers.

It is further learnt that a complainant has also been dispatched to Amnesty International head quarters on the same matter.

Vadamaradchy medal for 50 officers!

Fifty officers of the Security forces who were involved in "Operation Liberation" in Vadamaradchy last year, when thousands of infants, the aged and the ailing were brutally murdered or amputated by the unbridled Security forces of Sri Lanka are to be awarded a medal according to informed sources.

It is further learnt that this medal will be known as the Vadamaradchy medal and that it will be awarded by the President himself at the Presidents House on 10, October 1988.

Call To Reinstate Strikers

Thirty trade unions have petitioned President Jayewardene seeking the reinstatement of all employees who lost their jobs following the July 1980 strike. It is noteworthy that the 1980 strike almost paralysed the Jayewardene government for months and the intransigent President chose to ban the unions and dismissed the strikers consequent upon which hundreds of Tamils also lost their jobs.

ELECTIONS AT ANY COST

Dr K James

Eight hundred million Indians are yearning for democracy. The world-wide human rights Organisation, Amnesty International, in its latest report condemns India for violating the democratic and human rights of its own citizens. Democratically-elected governments in many states of India have been dissolved by the rulers in New Delhi. The elections to the State Assembly of Tamil Nadu have been postponed under specious excuses. However, the Indian government is very anxious to hold elections in the Tamil areas of the North and East of Sri Lanka. It wants to achieve this by hook or by crook, with the help of its hirelings and by coercing the civilian population, unleashing its military might. Its design is to hoist a quisling leadership on the Tamil people, who will be amenable to the whims and fancies of New Delhi and of Colombo, and thus subjugate the Tamils once again and manipulate them to toe the line of the Indian and Sinhalese politicians.

Sri Lanka, of all Asian countries, has a long and enviable history of holding elections. In fact, universal adult franchise was exercised in Sri Lanka as far back as 1931, long before India. It was the Jayewardene government which, for the first time in Sri Lanka's modern history, extended the life of the Parliament without proper elections. The last General Election in Sri Lanka was held as far back as 1977, eleven long years ago. Until then both the Tamils and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka had voted in many elections and even brought about changes in government not once but many times, whereas in India the opposition parties have only once been elected to govern.

Furthermore, the Tamils in the North and East of Sri Lanka have used these elections to democratically exercise their constitutional right and express their demands and aspirations. They overwhelmingly voted first for the Federal Party and then the Tamil United Liberation Front. It was in the elections of 1977 that the Tamil-speaking people in Sri

Lanka exercising their free will, without intimidation or coercion, gave their historic mandate and asserted their inalienable right to self-determination. This democratic mandate of the Tamil people called on the Tamil leadership to work towards the creation of a separate state for the Tamils, so that they may live without fear of genocide, in safety and security. It is pertinent to recall that the first Tamil national political party that was formed after independence, namely the Federal Party, was founded by its leaders mainly because the plantation Tamils, numbering over one million, were disenfranchised and their civic rights were removed. The Tamils of Sri Lanka are not only accustomed to democratic elections, but also have exercised this right without fear or favour, seeking similar rights for their fellow-Tamils in the plantations. *Those who preach about elections and democratic processes would do well to learn from the history and experience of the Tamils.*

What are these elections? And for what purpose and under what conditions? These so-called democratic elections are to be held under the inadequate provisions of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and the Provincial Councils Act. These supposedly devolved powers have

been rejected even by the Tamil moderates, as they do not meet the minimum demands and safeguards the Tamils have sought. The Indian government tells us that Jayewardene has problems, and he cannot concede more at this stage, as then he will have even more problems. Indian officials confide that if Jayewardene gets into serious difficulties then Rajiv Gandhi will have more problems in enforcing the Accord and face more opposition on the eve of imminent elections in Tamil Nadu Assembly and General Elections in India. So, the Tamil struggle, where thousands of them have lost their lives and limbs, has all not been about their continued existence in Sri Lanka with dignity and honour but about the political survival of Jayewardene and Rajiv Gandhi! Therefore, we must somehow or other have these farcical elections with some unrepresentative Tamils to stand, with just a few Tamils to vote and to elect Tamils who are subservient to the IPKF hoping this will salvage Jayewardene and Rajiv Gandhi's prestige, pride and popularity. Forget the electoral lists, displaced people, post-1987 Sinhalese colonists in the North and East, refugees, genuine devolution of power, etc. All these can be worked out 'later'!!

AN EVENING FOR YOUR CULTURAL COMMITTEE of THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TAMILS presents

“KATHAMBA MAALAI” (CULTURAL EVENING)

Date: Sunday the 13th November 1988

Venue: Hammersmith Town Hall

Time: 5.00 p.m.

For Further Details ring

(01) 204 5113 (Jaya)

(01) 904 0343 (Selvi)

IN MEMORIAM



Florence Ariyamalar Rajasingham
Born: 24.07.1922
Killed : 16.10.1987



Rajasingham Manoharan
Born: 30.07.1949
Killed: 16.10.1987

*"And how can man die better
than facing fearful odds,
for the land of his fathers
and the temples of his Gods?"*

We miss you both more than we could have ever thought. As each day dawns the despair and anger grow. Until the treacherous hands that killed you both, and left your bodies seven long days for dogs to feast, are unmasked to

reveal their role in these murders most foul, Our hearts will know no peace. We pray that your souls have found the peace we so sadly lack.

Fondly remembered on their first death anniversary by C.Rajasingham, Vasuki Manoharan, Saratha Manoharan, Priyan Manoharan, Dr Narendran, Monohari Thevathasan, Selvi Rajendran, Neela Navaratnaraj, Jayadevan and Gowri Surendrakumar.

KNOW YOUR FACTS

More than a quarter of the United Nations member states are smaller than Tamil Eelam in population.

(From the Statesman's YEAR BOOK 1988-89)

	Population	Area (Sq.miles)		Population	Area (Sq Miles)
Antigua & Barbuda	81,500	171	Lesotho	1.63M	11,720
Bahamas	235,000	5,353	Luxemburg	369,500	998
Bahrain	416,275	265	Maldiv Islands	189,000	115
Barbados	253,055	166	Malta	343,334	95
Belize	171,000	22,963	Mauritania	2.01M	398,000
Bhutan	1.30M	18,000	Mauritius	1.04M	797
Botswana	1.13M	222,000	Mongolia	1.97M	605,022
Brunei	221,900	2,226	Oman	1.20M	105,000
Cape Verde	350,000	1,557	Qatar	371,863	4,468
Comoros	422,500	1,557	St.Christopher & Nevis	47,000	104
Cyprus	673,100	3,572	St.Lucia	143,600	238
Djibouti	470,000	8,960	St.Vincent & St.Lucia		
Dominica	94,191	290	The Grenadines	138,000	150
Equatorial Guinea	384,000	10,831	Sao Tome & Principe	113,000	387
Fiji	714,000	7,078	Seychelles	67,000	175
Gabon	1.22M	104,557	Solomon Islands	270,000	10,640
The Gambia	698,817	4,180	Suriname	370,000	63,992
Grenada	88,000	133	Swaziland	676,049	6,705
Guinea-Bissau	935,000	13,948	Trinidad & Tobago	1.22M	1,978
Guyana	812,000	83,000	United Arab Emirates	1.77M	32,300
Iceland	244,009	39,758	Vanuatu	141,400	5,700
Kuwait	1.77M	6,880	Western Samoa	163,000	1,093

Tamil Eelam (Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka) has a total population (1981 Census) of 2,087,943, and a total land area of 2,111 square miles).

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E. SABALINGAM

Born 4 February, 1919;
Died 3 August, 1988

Vice-Principal, Kokuvil Hindu College 1960-64; Principal, Jaffna Central College 1964-71; Principal Jaffna Hindu College 1971-75.

JAFFNA IS IN NEED OF THEE

(From a tribute by Mr.N.Sabaratham, retired Principal of Jaffna Hindu College)

The late Mr.E.Sabalingam was so much a part of Jaffna that when I heard the news of his death, Rupert Brooke came into mind. In far away Britain, in the midst of his many children, he passed away after a prolonged illness. That is as it should be, for where your treasure lies, there will your heart be also. But the man loved the soil of Jaffna so much that it is not difficult to adapt the English poet to describe what possibly could have been our friend's last feeling: **"If I should die, think only this of me: that there's some corner of a foreign field, that is forever Jaffna."**

The Northern Province Teachers' Association in its halcyon days in the fifties dominated the professional thinking of the country; as the most influential unit of the All Ceylon Union of Teachers it exploited Sabalingam's capacity for leadership, his willingness to undertake difficult tasks that required organisational ability and his flair for settling Trade Union disputes.

No wonder that in the fullness of time he grew into a front rank leader who represented the A.C.U.T. in various international conferences. The Ministry of Education was not slow to recognise his worth; and in consequence he was able to crown his teaching career by headmastering two leading schools in Jaffna. As a popular sportsman he was in the thick of sports activities in the North.

On the eve of retirement he looked the robust pillar that he always was, that he could stand four square against all ill winds; in fact he did a short stint in Nigeria (1975-79) to keep the home fires burning. How did this Colossus that bestrode the well-known Arasady Road of Jaffna and orbited many parts of the world, crack so soon? Jaffna expected him to continue his labour of love at this crucial hour.

"Little strokes fell great oaks" they say; but it is not those little strokes - he had many - which he took in his stride that brought the end even before he was three score and ten. It is the greatest misfortune that can happen to a man in his life time; for he lost his loving partner almost suddenly in the most unexpected manner in Malaysia. They were such a devoted couple who raised a large family and saw all sons and daughters well settled in life: "To lose the better half of one's life" is as Avvaiyar said, 'to lose all'.

EELAM NEWS

Plans to transfer the detenus of Boosa Camp

It is reliably learnt that the Sri Lankan authorities are contemplating steps to transfer the Tamil Custodees in the Boosa Camp to another camp, (Belawatte camp) with a view to defeating the spirit and momentum of the fast unto death which has recently been undertaken by the Tamils detained in the Boosa Camp. It may be recalled that the Tamil detainees who are now languishing in the Boosa camp in the South of Sri Lanka under very miserable and inhuman conditions had started a death fast demanding that they be brought to trial soon or released forthwith.

Palmyrah planting month

The promotion department of the Palmyra Development Board has in its renewed effort to popularise the idea of growing more and more palmyras for economic self-sufficiency, declared the month of September as a month of Palmyrah planting for students.

According to reports reaching TVI newsroom, the idea of palmyrah propagation, which was initiated decades ago by Tamil patriots like P.Kandiah (Udupiddy) and Vanniyasingam appears to be "gaining momentum" and "catching up." Ancient Tamils of Jaffna called the palm "Kalpataaru" meaning a tree that gives whatever you want.

New road to Wali Oya

While appearing to appreciate the anxieties of the Tamils of the north and east of Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan government continues assiduously in its effort to see that small and strategic "Sinhala population pockets" are created in the body of the Tamil areas of the north and east of Sri Lanka. One such effort of the government is the construction of a trunk road connecting the ancient capital of Anuradhapura with the recently transplanted Sinhala Colony at Wali Oya in Mullaitivu. According to reports in Lankan papers, the road construction work has been completed.

No pass unless there is Shramadana

The starving Tamil population of Pooneri who had asked for "passes" from the IPKF, authorising them to engage in fishing activities to ward off

starvation have been asked to clear the bushes surrounding the IPKF camps at Pooneri as a prerequisite for the issuance of passes, according to a news item appearing in the Tamil daily "Murasoli."

Lecturers and Students of Jaffna Campus humiliated

According to confirmed sources, lecturers, students and supporting staff of the Jaffna Campus continue to be harassed and humiliated by the IPKF. It is further reported that Mr. K. Kugapalan of the Dept of Geography and Dr D. Gunarajasingham of the Faculty of Medicine were recently attacked and assaulted by the unbridled Indian forces in spite of the "polite complaint" already made to the senior officer of the IPKF a few weeks ago.

Muslim Congress realises the reality

It will be impossible to conduct provincial council elections in the north and east of Sri Lanka without the co-operation of the LTTE. M.H.M. Ashraff, president of Muslim Congress, had said. He is reported to have pressed the government to negotiate with LTTE before deciding to hold elections for the north and east.

Sinhala colonisation goes on pell-mell

According to a news item published in the MURASOLI OF 2.9.88, Sinhala colonisation goes on unabated in the boundary areas of Mangala Oya, Kevuli Oya in the Amparai District which forms part and parcel of the Tamil East. It is reported that this state sponsored colonisation is encouraged and effectuated post haste with a view to creating a stalemate during the imminent election for the provincial council of the North and East. It is further learnt that the reluctant Sinhalese have been promised all kinds of perks and concessions for the supreme sacrifice they are required to perform.

Don't fish at night says IPKF

The IPKF has ordered the people of Vadamaradchy East not to go fishing at night. Two weeks ago the IPKF is reported to have summoned the people of Kaddaikaadu, Arliyawalai and Vettalaikerni and issued a warning prohibiting them from fishing in the sea after 6 p.m. As this prohibitory

order deprived the fishermen of the areas of their livelihood the order was observed more in the breach and the "law breakers" have been summoned for "questioning", it is reliably learnt.

Private bus service may not operate

Sri Lankan Transport Ministry is reportedly taking steps to prevent private buses plying between Colombo and Jaffna. According to confirmed sources the Ministry of Transport has recommended to the Cabinet of Ministers that private buses should be permitted to operate only between the points serviced by Yarl Devi.

Water Water every-where, but!

"Despite the fact that many Tamil doctors are specialists in Cancer treatment it is unfortunate that today we don't have enough cancer specialists in the Tamil areas to treat our cancer patients", said Dr.N.-Jeganathan, President of the Society for the Northern Region Cancer Patients, lamenting the political situation that has willy nilly forced the Tamil doctors out of the country.

Three soldiers killed at Mudalikkulam

During an ambush attack by the LTTE on the IPKF, three Indian soldiers attached to the Mine Cleaning Division of the IPKF, are reported to have been killed at Mudalikkulam in the Trincomalee District.

New Identity Card for Kodikamam citizens

The IPKF has directed that the Tamil people living within vicinity of the Kodikaman Camp of the IPKF should forthwith obtain an identity card. It is reported that the issuance of these identity cards which is being currently undertaken by the Kodikamam camp involves a lot of procedures and formalities and that no identity card would be issued unless a written application for the same is endorsed, certified attested and recommended by the Grama Sevaka, and the Citizens Committee. The IPKF is said to have issued a warning that those who fail to obtain the said identity card would be treated as anti-social elements and dealt with accordingly.

SRI LANKA NORTHERN, EASTERN PROVINCES MERGED

The Sri Lankan President, Mr J.R. Jayewardene has issued a proclamation merging the Northern and Eastern Provinces paving the way for a formal gazettement of elections to a combined provincial council.

The politically sensitive proclamation was issued with no publicity on the midnight of September 8 and published in the gazette last night. There is sizable opposition within the country's Sinhalese majority towards the merger.

The merger announcement was preceded earlier in the week by an equally unpublicised amendment to the Provincial Councils Act which allowed the President to merge the two provinces even though there has not been a complete cessation of hostilities or a surrender of arms by the militants.

Mr. Jayewardene has directed the Elections Commissioner to gazette the elections, and a formal notification of the elections can be expected before the end of seven days. This would mean that elections can be held in the third week of November at the earliest.

An Indian High Commission spokesperson said that Mr. Jayewardene had also agreed to release 500 to 600 Tamil prisoners who fall under the amnesty offered by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. This is something that the Government of India has been pressing for to build confidence

among the Tamils, and the release of prisoners is expected to start next week.

The other confidence-building measure that is now in the pipeline is the introduction of legislation to make Tamil an official language, as stipulated in the accord. The Government of India is also pressing Sri Lanka to use a modified version of the 1982 electoral register for the elections, so that Tamil refugees who fled to India after 1983 would be able to vote.

A major concern in the elections will be the providing of security to candidates and voters if the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam do not participate and instead threaten candidates. In this context, it is significant that the Sri Lankan Government has been informed that the Indian Peace Keeping Force will only provide "basic security" for the elections, but the personal security of the candidates, as well as all administrative arrangements will be the responsibility of the Sri Lankan Government. In the earlier round of elections to provincial councils in the Sinhalese majority areas, each candidate was provided six guns for security, and candidates in these elections will receive the same number.

Informed sources said that all the Tamil groups, including representatives of the LTTE, had been in touch with the Indian High Commis-

sion here during the past two weeks to discuss the elections. The sources, however, said that **there was no sign so far that the LTTE was willing to participate in the process**, and their main interest had been to discuss the possibility of a ceasefire. So far, the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front, the United National Party and the United Socialist Alliance have agreed to participate in the elections. The Muslim Congress which is strong in the Eastern Province might participate, while the Tamil United Liberation Front is still undecided.

The focus will now shift to the timetable for the election to the single North-East Provincial Council, the attitude of the LTTE leadership and a fresh effort by India to facilitate the switch to political processes, envisaged in the agreement.

INDIA HAILS DECISION

India today hailed the proclamation, issued by the Sri Lankan President, Mr.J.R.Jayewardene, merging the Tamil-majority northern and eastern provinces of the island.

Promptly reacting to the Colombo announcement, an official spokesperson described it as "a further step towards the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and fulfilment of the aspirations of the Tamil people." *The Hindu*(International Edition) Sept. 17, 1988

ANNIVERSARY OF 'FIXIT' DIXIT'S VISIT TO JAFFNA

Second 'watered-down' offer to LTTE

The Indian High Commissioner Mr.J.N.Dixit has formally appealed, on behalf of the Government of India, to the LTTE leadership to avail itself of the current ceasefire by the Indian Peace Keeping Force and come forward for negotiations if necessary.

Mr.Dixit, who made this appeal in Jaffna on Sept. 17 while addressing the Coordinating Committee of the Citizens Committees of Jaffna peninsula, later specified **that the talks could only be with the top leaders of the LTTE, Mr.Prabaharan and 'Mahatiya'.** He said India would guarantee the safety and security of the leadership and a delegation from the Government of India

would be sent to hold talks.

The High Commissioner, who flew to Jaffna to meet groups of citizens and assess the response so far from the LTTE to the ceasefire, later told presspersons in Colombo that the ceasefire had been universally welcomed, and the predominant feeling appeared to be that it should be extended. The High Commissioner said he would be passing on these requests for extension to New Delhi, where a decision would be taken. Besides the Citizens Committees, Mr.Dixit met Mr.C.V.K.Sivagnanam, Municipal Commissioner of Jaffna, who is known to be close to the LTTE, the leaders of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS), and Mr.Sivagnanam, Chairman of the Tamil Eelam

Peoples forum which is also close to the LTTE.

Tamil groups' apprehensions Tamil groups conveyed their apprehensions that the Accord might not be implemented fully by the Sri Lankan Government, and that the devolution package offered by Sri Lanka was inadequate.

Mr.Dixit responded by pointing to the various measures that had been taken in the last few weeks such as the proclamation of merger, the announcement of elections and the release of prisoners, and said that the devolution issue could be tackled once a Provincial Council was set up in the North-East. *Courtesy - 'The Hindu' - Sept.18*

DEATH COMES TO A DICTATOR

A.S.Rajah, Jaffna

When thirty men are instantaneously incinerated in a mid-air explosion and burn down to earth together, it is hard to sort out which portion of the ashes was President Zia's and which the American Ambassador, Arnold Raphal's. Still an assorted mixture of Pakistani and American ashes rode a Pakistani flag-draped gun carriage to be interred as Zia with Islamic rites in the great Faisal Mosque, the biggest in Asia. 200,000 people lined the streets. It was a grand show. They had no doubt that the casket was bearing Zia's ashes; and that was all that mattered. They hadn't come to mourn. There was universal relief throughout Pakistan that merciful Allah had at long last rid their land of a hated tyrant.

Seizing power by an army coup in July 1977, he had jailed his country's elected Prime Minister, Bhutto, and had him hanged two years later. During his 11-year rule he repeatedly promised to hold elections, but never did - elections by evasion. It was army rule to the end.

Bhutto's daughter, Benazir, today's popular heiress to the democratic succession, was jailed, detained under house arrest and finally exiled, reportedly under American pressure. No other power could have moved Zia. She returned only when Zia lifted martial law two years ago.

His policy of Islamization introduced flogging, banned television viewing of women's athletics and decreed that a woman's evidence weighed far less than a man's in a court of law.

During his long dictatorship the black market flourished. Bribery and corruption were rife throughout. Gangs traded drugs openly. Political parties were suppressed. Anyone who raised his voice for democracy was beaten or done to death by death-squads. People were too frightened to express any opinion. Fear stalked the land and men spoke in whispers.

Zia's foreign policy was based on subservience to U.S. interests. The situation in Afghanistan and in Iran favoured him and he was quick to build

his power and fortunes up as America's man in South Asia. In return he received generous aid, mainly arms, estimated at 4 billion dollars a year,



Benazir

second only to Israel's 10. **American weaponry and other assistance to the Afghan guerrillas were channelled through Zia, but in spite of stringent supervision by U.S. officers some of it were diverted to the booming world market in militaryware.** There may be some poetic justice that one of the heat-seeking Stinger missiles that Zia had traded on the black market, did seek back the criminals and struck their C.130 Hercules transport plane, fusing them all to ashes, givers and receivers alike, literally hoist by their own petard.

Even little Sri Lanka has not escaped involvement. Pakistan under Zia, it will be remembered, provided military training to the ageing President's Sinhalese soldiers before he sought help from Rajiv to help him against the Tigers.

A dictator's death does not necessarily ensure the end of a repressive regime. There are his army men long used to living on the backs of his people. They cannot be easily moved out to where they belong as defenders of their country. The transition may never come and the old ways may continue under another one set up by the old masters.

Can freedom ever flourish except hand in glove with the despots around Digitized by Nizagana Festival Democracy that has appeared in history

pander, for some reason, to the men who have shamelessly violated all human rights in governing their countries. And Zia was the vilest of them all.

Even his Western partners could find little to praise him at his funeral. With his tongue stuck deep in his cheek, Secretary of State Shultz said, "Zia was a great fighter for freedom." Whose freedom? Not of the people of Pakistan!

DIARY OF EVENTS

continued from page 8

areas. No LTTE casualties. At the 8th Channel (Trincomalee), an IPKF military truck was destroyed and 5 Indian soldiers killed in a landmine attack. In the Jaffna city, at the sentry post of the Secretariat (Kachcheri), LTTE cadres killed 2 Indian soldiers and injured 7 others.

25.7.88 - A Tamil woman who went into an IPKF camp in Sampoor (Trincomalee) to get relief supplies that had been earlier confiscated by the IPKF from a social services organisation, was brutally raped. She was later admitted to hospital. An IPKF truck was destroyed and 7 soldiers killed on the Alankulam-Madhu Road (Mannar) by an LTTE landmine attack. In a direct confrontation with an IPKF convoy on the Nedunkerni-Maruthodai Road, an LTTE unit killed 4 soldiers and wounded 3.

26.7.88 - The IPKF declared a curfew in the Mannar district to last till 30th July. As a result of continuous aerial attacks and shelling from nearby IPKF camps, over 4000 Tamils from the villages of Ramanathapuram, Visuvamadu and Kamadu (Mullaitivu) had fled into nearby jungles. The IPKF forced the remaining residents to construct new camps for them.

28.7.88 The IPKF rounded up Vaakarai village (Batticaloa) with air cover provided by the Indian Airforce as part of "Operation Checkmate."

29.7.88 - 3 people were killed when an IPKF helicopter sank a passenger boat on the Panichankeni river.

The houses of LTTE cadres and sympathisers continued to be looted and destroyed by collaborators with the assistance of the IPKF and Sri Lankan army.

World News

JAYALALITHA REMOVED

A meeting of the members of the General Council of the AIADMK convened by the "group of four" on Sept.11 removed Ms.Jayalalitha from the post of General Secretary and chose new office-bearers with Mr. V.R.Nedunchezian as President and Mr.S.Ramachandran as General Secretary. With this, the split in the Jayalalitha faction of the AIADMK has become formal. A resolution adopted at the meeting took exception to the style of Ms.Jayalalitha's functioning. It stated that the "authoritarian attitude, improper utterances and the questionable handling of party funds by Ms.Jayalalitha" seriously affected the interests of the party and the chances of restoring MGR's rule in the State. She had to be removed from the party post as she did not have the "qualities, capacity, culture and behaviour to wear the mantle of leadership."

AIADMK MINISTER STABBED

Mr.K.K.S.S.R.Ramachandran, AIADMK propaganda secretary (Jayalalitha group), was stabbed and acid thrown on him by some miscreants at Sattur in Tamil Nadu at about 11 am on Sept. 5.

ALL TNV INSURGENTS SURRENDER ARMS

A gory chapter of 10-year-old insurgency in Tripura's history came to an end on Sept.10 with all the 425 TNV extremists led by its supremo, Mr.Bijoy Kumar Hrangkhawl, surrendering their arms before the Army in a simple ceremony at Gobindabari in north Tripura. The extremists, who had killed 1200 men, women and children mostly non-tribals, deposited 60 arms and ammunition which have been sealed by the army authorities.

MIZORAM UNDER PRESIDENT'S RULE

The Central government of India today took over the administration of Mizoram as a sequel to the 'political crisis' caused by the revolt in the ruling Mizo National Front, headed by the Chief Minister, Mr.Laldenga. The

Centre had signed the Accord after 20 years of insurgency but did not let the democratically-elected government function for 20 months.

MASSIVE PROTEST BY JOURNALISTS

All sections of the newspaper industry - journalists, press workers and proprietors - served notice on the Rajiv Gandhi government at a massive rally in New Delhi on Sept.5 to withdraw "unconditionally and unequivocally" the authoritarian Defamation Bill, 1988. The notice went on to say, that "we cannot and shall not compromise or be cowed when the freedom of the press is threatened."

Journalists throughout India struck work on Tuesday, Sept.6, and held demonstrations to force the withdrawal of the Defamation Bill. As a result, newspapers did not appear in a number of cities on Wednesday.

At last, the government has decided to withdraw the Defamation Bill.

D.M.K. MEMBERS MEET KITTU

Mr.V.Gopalsamy (M.P.) and Mr. N.Y.U.Somu (M.P.) visited Kittu on 22nd September at the Central Jail. They were accompanied by advocates Radhakrishnan and Veerasekaran. It is reliably learnt that the D.M.K. M.Ps and the lawyers are contemplating legal proceedings against the Indian Government challenging the validity of the arrest and detention of the members of the LTTE under the National Security Act of India.

Mr.KANTHASAMY'S ABDUCTION -

An Appeal Australian Federation of Tamil Associations

It is now three months since Mr. K.Kanthasamy was reported as abducted from his Jaffna residence. It is also a tragedy that his whereabouts or even his existence are still not known.

The abductors, despite numerous appeals from human rights organis-

tations around the world and activists, Tamils and others, have not responded in any manner. They have not accepted responsibility nor have they justified their actions.

Fr.Chandra Fernando was killed approximately a month before Mr.Kanthasamy's abduction. These actions, whoever be the perpetrators, have the same result, namely, damage the sympathy the international governments, organisations and respected human rights activists have for the Tamil liberation struggle, which the Tamils in Sri Lanka can ill afford at this time. They also have the effect of frustrating and alienating the expatriate Tamils.

Undoubtedly, Mr.Kanthasamy, whatever his affiliations might have been, has done an invaluable service to the Tamil community and the Tamil liberation struggle for several decades. It is important that, even at this last moment - if Mr.Kanthasamy is still alive - he should be released immediately. It will be an excellent service to humanity and tribute to the liberation struggle, and to the battered Tamil community as a whole.

We strongly appeal to those responsible to release Mr.Kanthasamy without any further delay.

BEN JOHNSON LOSES HIS GOLD

Ben Johnson, the world's fastest man, has woefully failed a test for anabolic steroids. The International Olympic Committee's Executive Board has stripped the Canadian sprinter of his world record and Olympic 100 metres title. Ben Johnson, 27 years old from Toronto, won the gold medal in 9.79 seconds. The World Record now will revert to 9.83 seconds, the time the same Johnson set last year at the World Championships in Rome when he gave a negative test for drugs. The decision of the International Olympics Committee has now made Carl Lewis, the American who finished second, the gold-medalist, and Linford Christie of Great Britain the silver-medalist. The only sentence, under the rules of International Amateur Athletic Federation for any athlete caught, is a life suspension from competition. But in every previous case the suspension has been lifted after 18 months.

SRI LANKA'S 'OLD FOX' SAYS HIS TIME HAS COME "TO DIE" AND ENDS 50 YEARS IN POLITICS

President Junius Jayewardene, yesterday announced he would not run for a third term, and nominated his Prime Minister, Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, as his potential successor.

"Attempts have been made on my life four times but they did not succeed", the President, who marks his 82nd birthday today, told a rally recently. But he added: "The time should come for one to die."

Mr. Jayewardene has invoked emergency powers to make sure public services keep running today during a strike called to mark his birthday.

The president led the UNP to victory in the country's last general election in 1977 with an unprecedented majority of more than 80 per cent of the seats in Parliament. He immediately changed the British-style parliamentary system to an executive presidency, giving himself sweeping powers. He dismantled import and foreign exchange controls and launched an open economic policy which won popular support. In 1982, Mr. Jayewardene called a presidential election 16 months early and was re-elected with a 53 per cent majority. He also held a referendum the same year which extended parliament for a further six years.

Popularly referred to as JR or by his critics as "the old fox", Mr. Jayewardene has won a reputation as a shrewd politician. **"He got his**

parliamentarians to give him undated letters of resignation so that he could make use of them whenever he wants", said a UNP member. But a western diplomat commented, "The failure to hold a general election in the past 11 years, continuing violence across the island and the sky-rocketing cost of living have eroded some of Jayewardene's support."

Mr. Jayewardene, the son of a former chief justice, was born on September 17, 1906, and started his career as a lawyer, turning to politics in 1940 when he entered the Colombo city council.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, named yesterday as the ruling party's presidential candidate, will be the first leader to come from the lower classes if he wins the December election. All Sri Lanka's heads of government have come from the upper classes since the Indian Ocean island gained independence from Britain in 1948.

Mr. Premadasa comes from a low caste middle-class family in Colombo's slum-ridden Kehelwatte district - and makes the most of his origins. "He is widely travelled and has moved with kings and queens ... Even so he has not lost the common touch and is still very much a man of the masses", says an official biography. Known as a strong Sinhalese



nationalist, Mr. Premadasa, aged 64, has criticised India for assisting Tamil separatist guerrillas on the island. He opposed last year's peace pact with India and boycotted functions when the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, flew to Colombo to sign it.

An astute politician, he has not criticised the accord publicly, but is known to have opposed some of its provisions within the confines of the cabinet room. A teatotaler, non-smoker, and vegetarian, Mr. Premadasa has won the hearts of thousands of people by providing houses for the homeless. Born on June 23, 1924, he first studied under a Buddhist monk but later attended a leading Catholic school.

He entered politics in 1950 becoming a member of the Colombo Municipal Council, and was elected to Parliament in 1960.

(Colombo, 17, September)

INDIANS STALEMATED IN GRUELLING JUNGLE WAR

Hidden away in Sri Lanka's dense jungles and forgotten by the world at large, India's war with Tamil separatist fighters is grinding on with growing casualties and no sign of any conclusion.

It is 11 months since the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), now something of a misnomer, staged its first offensive against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in their stronghold of the northern Jaffna peninsula. In the fighting that has followed, more than 500 Indian soldiers have died and 1,500 have been wounded. More than 300 Tigers have "attained martyrdom" and some 3,000 civilians have been "killed

in the crossfire."

The Tigers' strong military presence in the North and East, the areas they regard as their homeland of Tamil Eelam, ended, as the IPKF grew from 6,000 to 50,000 strong and drove the LTTE cadres into hiding. **The Indians say they have pinned down the last of the Tigers including their leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran. But a visit reveals they have merely located the haystack where the needle is hidden.**

Recently the IPKF's overall commander, General A.S. Kalkat, flew in a party of journalists from New Delhi to announce a major success in the

jungle operations. The back of the Tamil militancy has been broken, he said. In two weeks of operations more than a hundred Tigers have been killed and an equal number captured. **But commanders on the ground say this is far from the truth. They say only 17 separatist fighters died while 18 Indian soldiers were killed. Further, they accuse their overall commander of a major error.**

However, the message from the jungles is that the military operations codenamed 'Checkmate' **have instead reached a stalemate, and peace is not in sight.** Extracts from *The Guardian* - Sept 17, 1988)