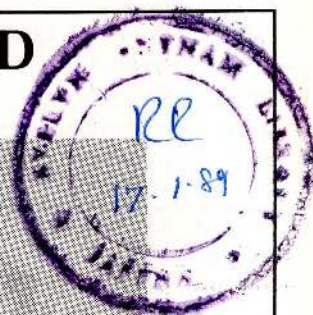


TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

Vol. 1 No. 24
1st January 1989

**'YOU PAYS YOUR MONEY AND
YOU TAKES YOUR CHOICE'**



PREMADASA ELECTED PRESIDENT, NARROWLY DEFEATING MRS. SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE.

Described variously as 'self-made', 'ruthless', 'efficient', 'fascist', 'outsider', 'rabble-rouser', 'friend of the poor' and 'ally of the thugs', can he now change the downward course the country has taken in the 11 years of UNP mis-rule in which he was a principal player?

YOUR VOICE

"YES-MEN"

R Vaheisvaran, Sydney

Congratulations TVI in your ever-expanding coverage of the Tamil struggle and Tamil community issues. It was interesting but saddening to read the letters from R Kadampan and Thurayan in your Nov 15th issue, branding you as nothing more than a Tiger mouth-piece. Being a reader from the first issue, I have many a time wanted to write requesting you to stop publishing articles which damaged our struggle for freedom. But I had refrained in the name of supporting free and open journalism. However, Kadampan's outburst has compelled me to speak up.

It is understandable if non-Tamils or Tamils not interested in the struggle were to fight shy of any association with the Tigers. But it is high time that any informed Tamil shrugs off this Tiger-phobia and was willing to face reality. No one is saying that the Tigers are saints but let us grow up and stop knocking our own, at least publicly. Individual tragedies sometimes occur in the struggle for common good. This, although not pardonable, is not something to be publicly discussed or condemned. It does not serve the community an iota of benefit. With a warped sense of providing balanced views some of us seem to want to amplify and equate our small number of wrong doings to the wholesale atrocities of our adversaries. Under the pretext of free speech and justice this surely plays into the hands of propagandists who are portraying Tamils as nothing more than terrorists and anarchists. All those who demand public criticism of Tamil misdeeds in the path of freedom had better realise that this is akin to debating your strategic weaknesses by citizens' band radio in the middle of a major military operation.

The hypocritical world and the media who crow about protecting democracy and free speech see fit to do nothing to give voice to the Tamil grievances or bring justice to us. On

the contrary many are tacitly aiding the Indian and Sri Lankan governments by maintaining a near total blackout of their actions against the Tamils and only dishing out government propaganda like the 'success' of the provincial council elections. At least let us refrain from negative publicity. If anybody believes that the world was going to come running to save the Tamils from injustice because we are willing to wash our dirty linen in public they had better wake up.

Suddenly we hear of 'No-Men'. Where did all these 'No-Men' go when injustice was being done to the Tamils in the past thirty years? They were willing to be 'Yes-Men' to safeguard their own interests while now preaching 'stand up' policies in the wrong places and against the wrong people. Yes, as the writer said, if we say 'No', the struggle will continue, and continue without succeeding. We need more 'Yes-Men' to say 'Yes' to our rights, 'Yes' to our freedom, and 'Yes' to Tamil Eelam.

PUBLISH ALL SHADES OF OPINION

N Nayagam, East Ham, UK

As one who has been following the events and the people of Tamil Eelam, I strongly suspect that there is a tinge of 'Tigerism' in your Journal. Many of my friends are also of the same opinion. I would, in your interest, advise you to avoid any bias towards any party or group. Your personal opinion should not colour a Journal meant for public reading and for true service to all the Eelam Tamils in general. Oppression has been perpetrated on all Tamils alike.

Not that we love the Tiger group less, but our opinion is that by publishing only their events and blacking out the other groups or parties you are only doing an indirect disservice to the Tigers. I hope if you consider it deeply you will agree with me, and give coverage to all shades of news and opinions without reservation.

NO TIME TO BE COMPLACENT

Siva Muttu, Croydon, UK

I can hear whispers from some quarters of our community that the JVP is not against the Tamils and that once the UNP government is toppled and the SLFP comes to power they will put it right for us. This kind of loose talk has been going on ever since independence, and we are still waiting for that Sinhalese party which will deliver us from our bondage.

One must not forget that whichever Sinhalese party comes to power it will be at the mercy of the ever increasing influence of the jingoistic Buddhist clergy. These priests have only one thing in their minds, that is, whatever the cost, even the destruction of their own people, not to give any concession to the Tamils. The British realised the perverse influence of these priests and put them in their place.

This is our last chance to achieve our objectives. Let us not be fooled by the kind of promise held out to us by the UNP before the 1977 elections.

WHO ARE THE TERRORISTS ?

S.Shanty (age 14), London

'Terrorism' came from the word 'Terror' which means frightening. People who are responsible for terrorising the civilians are known as Terrorists. 'Terrorism' and 'Terrorists' are both English words but many of the people do not seem to know the actual difference between 'Terrorism' and 'Freedom Struggle'. Is the world deaf and blind? Can't they hear the cries of the Tamil people or can't they see the oppressed people of Sri Lanka shedding blood? Why should they call the Tigers 'terrorists', who are actually the freedom fighters, and whom the Tamils think as the 'Light of the Nation'? Why should the IPKF be known as 'Peace Keeping Force' when they are kidnapping, torturing, raping and murdering the innocent civilians of the North and East of Sri Lanka? Should they not be called 'India's Terrorist Force' (ITF)?

PRESIDENT PREMADASA

The 1978 Constitution has lasted long enough to elect two Executive Presidents and one House of Representatives, (February 1989) with a national referendum thrown in. If the test is longevity, then the 1978 Constitution has lasted the second longest, Mrs Bandaranaike's 1972 Constitution being rolled up in a space of 5 years.

President Premadasa owes his narrow margin to three factors. Mr Thondaman's unflinching support, the unstable refugee situation in the island (when all votes could not be recorded) and the JVP's self-stultifying (maybe calculated) role of preventing voters going to the polls in the southern districts. Had these electors participated, the outcome could have been different. The result indicates an end, virtually, to Mrs Bandaranaike's political career; at 72 she will have to await another five years at least to contest again.

In foreign policy, Mr Premadasa's victory is cold comfort for New Delhi. Mr Premadasa has followed policies diametrically opposed to New Delhi. He went cap in hand to ASEAN and was refused the admission ticket. He has developed good relations with Japan and is kindly disposed towards the People's Republic of China. He will of course want to re-negotiate the Accord. Our view is that the changes will be cosmetic. Mr Premadasa has a battle on the JVP and LTTE fronts. He will therefore maintain a fair IPKF presence.

Mr Premadasa's internal domestic policies will be interesting when they begin to unfold. We expect that he will have a 'new deal' to offer both the Sinhala and the Eelam Tamils. But can he bell these cats, notwithstanding Mr Dixit's 'success' in securing a questionable election result in the merged North-East? Mr Premadasa must deliver on his promises to the JVP-based electors, to repudiate the Accord. The Indian Government has categorically stated that the IPKF will not be withdrawn because the treaty is a bilateral one and India has still to ensure its enforcement.

Mr Premadasa, the same as any imperialist with a divide and rule policy, has vowed that he will campaign for the separation of the North and the East. But the Catch 22 question is whether there will be adequate normalcy in the region for the orderly referendum that is required to make the decision. We trust that Mr Thondaman will bring his enormous leverage to bear on this question. We trust that Mr Premadasa would have learned the costly lessons of the past five years. No statesman would like to have his hands bespattered with blood.

Mr Premadasa's policy towards the Sinhala Buddhists, his principal constituency, is more or less predictable. He has triumphed over caste prejudices. He has consigned Mrs Bandaranaike to the oubliette of history. He must waste no time in developing the three decentralised units Mrs Bandaranaike's manifesto envisaged. Although not perfect, he could negotiate upon it. But the important factor is that like a Tory leader of the nineteenth century in Britain once did, Mr Premadasa can very well afford to steal the clothes of the SLFP and their allies while they bathe in the afterglow of their defeat, and he can walk away with their devolutionary plans. These plans are not what the Eelam Tamils need, but the move to re-establish peace must begin somewhere.

The outlook for internal political life, as the votes of the Sinhala electors indicated, is a vote for the island to go the way of the pigs that ran into the Sea of Galilee when Christ cast the devils into them. Mr Premadasa's victory is a victory for the continuance of bribery, corruption, nepotism and casteism. The devaluation of the spirituality of the people of the island, the continuation of the open economy with the exploitation of unskilled labour by the vampire itinerant multinationals will scale even greater heights. However, all this is predicated on two factors, the muting of the JVP and the taming of the LTTE. Mr Premadasa will need courage, foresight and perseverance to achieve his objectives.

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1st January 1989

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P.O. Box 228, Wembley,
Middx. HA9 8SZ, England

Subscriptions: (24 issues)

£15.00 or US \$30 UK, India and Sri Lanka

£25.00 or US \$50 all other countries

Tamil Voice International, published fortnightly by Tamil International Ltd., aims to cater for the information needs of the Tamil community across the world. Subscriptions, donations, contributions in the form of articles, letters to the editor, and news reports that pertain mainly but not exclusively to Tamil-related affairs are welcome.

The views expressed in this journal are not necessarily those of the editor, the editorial board or the directors.

Material sent for publication may be abridged and edited if found necessary.

POINTS OF VIEW

PRABAHARAN A POLITICIAN AS WELL

N Sunther, Wembley, UK

I was fascinated by Dr Brian Senewiratne's spirited reply to Mr Thangavelu's criticism of his call for *credible leaders who will be taken seriously in Colombo, Delhi, and in the international arena, until then there will be no end to the present chaos*. The saying goes that we can see through a person's thoughts from his actions or writings. This is true in Dr Senewiratne's case; he appreciates the problems of the Eelam Tamils and that he openly condemns the atrocities committed by his own community.

As regards assessing Prabakaran's capabilities certain facts should be considered. Prabakaran is not merely an expert military commander but also a strategist and a strict disciplinarian. He is devoted to his cause, sticks to his principles come what may, and studies the trend of thought of those with whom he deals before he reacts. Hence, there is an acceptable reason behind every step he has so far taken. It was his political

wisdom that urged him to try the military way, since all other peaceful attempts by others had earlier failed. We have to note here that when the citizens take to violence it is called 'terrorism', whereas when government mows down its citizens it is legitimate action.

If Prabakaran is treated as a politician, and not as a military commander, I have grave doubts whether any other politician would have acted better than him from 1983 to-date. Unfortunately his political activities have to be *under cover* because of the government's ban on his party and the price his head carries. The proclamation of a million rupees for his capture (dead or alive), reveals the weakness of the powers that confront him - with more than 100,000 military men from both India and Sri Lanka. Very few of us know him personally; only his actions speak. His sacrifice and those of his followers won't go in vain. Self-rule is the only remedy, in whatever form it comes.

In regard to the doctor's advice that *the best that can be achieved is a Federal set-up and that we must not advocate the impossible*, I concede that it was indeed a possible and acceptable remedy sometime back. But it no longer holds good. The rift has gone too wide. President Jayewardene could have easily accommodated the Tamils as early as 1977 when he had the power and the people's backing to do so; the country would have rallied round and listened to him. He could have converted his words such as forming a "Dharmishta government" into action. Now, the Sinhalese regime has missed the bus. Knowing all that has happened to the Tamils, the Sinhalese government cannot expect to have even an iota of reconciliation with the Tamils except to allow them to go their own way. The wounds inflicted on the Tamils are too severe to be healed.

THE WRITING ON THE WALL IS EXPLICIT

M K Eelaventhana, TELF, Madras

The recent events in Sri Lanka and the unreserved utterances of the future successor to JRJ be it Premadasa, Sirimavo Bandaranaike or Rohana Wijayaweera, they are all committed to one goal - that is to declare the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord null and void and to chase away the IPKF.

What then has India achieved except the killing of a large number of Tamil civilians, the destruction of property worth crores and now in the process of liquidating the LTTE - the freedom fighters who had the unstinted support of all Tamils? Was this in the interests of the Tamils or to appease JR as part of the accord? This has also resulted in the irreparable tragedy of the loss of valuable Indian Jawans. The scene is now set for the Sinhala

chauvinists to simply walk over the Tamil homelands.

If the purpose of the North-Eastern Provincial Council elections was to show the world that India has given the Tamils a stable administration with regional autonomy, it is sadly mistaken. The administration will collapse before it begins. It will not take long before India realises that just as much as the PLO the Tamils' fight is justified. PLO is fighting to get the lost land whereas the Tamils are fighting not to lose the land where they live and have lived from time immemorial.

The Sinhala attitude towards the Tamil is becoming worse day by day and the only lasting solution which will bring eternal peace is the creation of Tamil Eelam. This is not only in the interests of the Tamils

but also in the interests of the Sinhalese and India as well. Only time will prove its wisdom.

It is an irony to find India supporting the PLO - to quote the words of Mr P V Narasimha Rao, External Affairs Minister, "The establishment of an independent Palestinian state has been our cherished and single-minded objective all these years. We share the happiness of the Palestinian people on this auspicious day" - and not supporting the legitimate aspirations of the Tamils which is on all fours with the demand of the PLO. If the champion of liberty the late Mr Jawarhalal Nehru had lived we are sure the Tamils would have achieved their legitimate aspirations of a sovereign state.

FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

NEW PRESIDENT, OLD SAGA

"There is little prospect that the victory in Sri Lanka's presidential election of Ranasinghe Premadasa will help to end the carnage on the beautiful island. Mr Premadasa shows no sign of appreciating the need to reintegrate the Tamil minority in the north into the body politic; nor of any policy beyond government death squads for dealing with the JVP in the south" so mused the editorial in *The Independent* when the outcome of the election was announced.

Mr Premadasa just scraped past the statutory minimum of 50 per cent of the votes cast in an election where 65 polling stations were not open due to threats, and where only 55.3 per cent (just over 5 million people) of the electorate voted. Mrs Bandaranaike, who received 44.9 per cent of the vote, reputedly told the South Asian election observers: "The election is unjust. I cannot accept the verdict," amid speculation that she would challenge the results in court. She is also reported as accusing the government of intimidating her supporters and fostering violence in an attempt to stop the voting.

Presuming he takes office on January 2 as scheduled, Mr Premadasa faces an unenviable task. A classic rule in politics is to judge politicians not merely by their intentions but by their capabilities. During the presidential election campaign the battle cry of both main candidates was that they would abrogate the Accord and tell Delhi to take its soldiers home. But it was a hollow promise since neither had the capability to do so. Jayewardene said as much in a BBC interview prior to the election when he dismissed his prime minister's promise on the grounds that no president could afford the IPKF to leave without risking the security of the island. "I don't know what will happen man-wise and money-wise" Jayewardene admitted, if the Indian troops were not assuming total responsibility in the north.

Mr Premadasa also knows that if he gives ground to the JVP by asking the Indians to leave, he risks being snubbed. The Indian government has left no doubt that the IPKF will

depart only when it deems it suitable. That is, according to *The Guardian*, "when there is no further possibility of the Tamil problem spilling over into South India's already turbulent politics." Informed sources say that Premadasa is now likely to offer India a treaty of friendship to replace the Accord; an act that would basically change nothing.

Thus far Mr Premadasa has given away little as to how he proposes to deal with the north-east or the south. If reaction in the north to the elections is anything to go by, the turn out averaged 10 per cent. "The politics of terror have no place in the temple of democracy" he said, and the ballot may well have won over the bullet as he rightly put it. What he can do to translate rhetoric into action, however, remains to be seen. "You are entrusting the responsibility of leading our country to a person from the common people," he said last October when endorsed as the UNP candidate. "Hitherto this responsibility was the exclusive preserve of a few privileged families." As president-elect he added: "I think it is an advantage to the people and to the country that I am not a highly educated person. My highest qualification is my ability to make use of the knowledge and capacity of others and get them to work for me."



J.R. Jayewardene

THE INDEFENSIBLE INHERITANCE

His success or failure as President depends on his response to the precarious security situation, relations with India and the crumbling econ-

omy. He inherits from his predecessor an invidious legacy. During the BBC interview, Jayewardene scoffed at the suggestion that the presence of 50,000 Indian troops is an affront to Sri Lanka's independence. He said: "I don't see the presence of American troops in England as an affront to England, or the presence of Nato troops in Europe as an affront to the Europeans. The presence of Americans in Japan is not an affront to Japan." This ridiculous analogy speaks for itself.

What of the security situation which makes the Pol Pot regime look a school picnic? Jayewardene justifies the gross human rights violations in Sri Lanka thus: "Mrs Thatcher has given the answer to that. She says that those who break human rights, violate democratic freedoms, they have no right to ask for those freedoms. I totally agree with that. This is a war. I am the commander-in-chief of one side. I am fighting a war against all terrorists by that name."

He openly acknowledges that the emergency regulations that allow the army and the police to dispose of bodies without an inquest could be used to cover up excesses. "That is why I say it is a war. After that no questions should be asked," he explained with chilling callousness. When asked whether any matter was legitimate in this war, and about minimum guarantees such as the Geneva Conventions, Jayewardene's indifferent reply: "I haven't broken them, We haven't used poison gas or the atom bomb."

So far as the economy is concerned Mr Premadasa starts with a millstone round his presidential neck - his campaign promise to give Rs 2,500 per month to poor families. Part of this money is to be a straight subsistence allowance, and the rest to be banked over two years to build capital of Rs 25,000. It is an ambitious scheme that will cost an estimated Rs 30 billion - a third of the present appallingly stretched budget.

Mr Premadasa will do well to remember the words of Neelan Tiruchelvam: "The question of who becomes President doesn't really matter. The real question is whether the new President can govern."

S.Sriskandaraiah

“Ozhukkam vizhuppam tharalaal ozhukkam
Uyirinum oampa-p-padum” (Transliteration)- Kural 131

We are at the cross roads. In fact, the whole world is at sixes and sevens. None of us appears to know which way we are heading.

Still we claim that we are at the height of civilization. Having had, through technology, whatever we wanted to make our life more comfortable, we are now competently exploring the possibilities of reaching the Moon and Mars. With all the comforts and conveniences technology has secured for us we are not happy and we don't have peace. There is strife and tension everywhere. We often fall into a state of melancholy brooding and musing why we are less happy than our forefathers were. To them life might have been slow but it was full; it was more peaceful and harmonious. To us life is fast, but full of stress and strain.

What has gone wrong? Why has it gone wrong? In one of our earlier articles we had highlighted the seemingly distinctionless difference between "culture" and "civilization" and drove home the truth that it is the lopsided development of civilization and culture that is responsible for our pitiable plight today. Outwardly we have developed very well. In other words, we have become civilised but inside we have not developed and therefore we are not culturally complete. Until our interior is developed, the strife and the stress will continue. The 'interior' could be developed only through self-discipline and good conduct.

It is this realization that enabled Thiruvalluvar to show us the above Kural. Let us see the Kural once again. *As good conduct makes excellence, it ought to be preserved more carefully than life itself.* Thiruvalluvar is of the view that laws and orders cannot set social shortcomings aright if the society fails to emphasize the need for self-discipline, righteousness and good conduct. For the maintenance and sustenance of discipline and good conduct certain prerequisites are essential. These prerequisites are spelt out by Thiruvalluvar in the first four chapters of his masterpiece, the Thirukkural. Valluvar is of the view that

faith in the Almighty, unfailing rain, righteous living and respect for the great are essential for a person or a society to be a disciplined one. If they are not there, law making and law enforcement will be of no avail.

If Thiruvalluvar could be consulted today to find the cause for the indiscipline and topsyturvydom prevalent in our families and societies, he would unhesitatingly state that it is faithlessness, total disregard of righteous living coupled with callous disrespect for the elders and the great that have contributed to our present impasse.

Now the Kural. As propriety of conduct rewards one with excellence and greatness it should be regarded and preserved more importantly than one's life. If we ponder deeply we will realize that there are two things which cannot be retrieved once lost. One is our soul and the other is our conduct. It is significant to note that Thiruvalluvar who needed a comparison for virtuous conduct has chosen soul which also once lost is not retrievable.

For most of us there is nothing dearer than life (soul). Thiruvalluvar cuts in and says that there is one thing that is more precious than life itself and that is good conduct. Everyone has a soul or life and all those who have life are not regarded as great. It is those of good conduct who are regarded as great.

The importance which Thiruvalluvar gives to virtuous conduct is such that when confronted with a situation where we have to choose between sacrificing good conduct and one's life we should choose to lose our life, rather than sully our conduct.

Those who have maintained good conduct even at the cost of their life really live even after they are physically dead. Mahatma Gandhi is a case in point. On the contrary those who have saved their soul (life) at the expense of good conduct and virtue are living corpses though nominally alive.

The Kural we have reviewed needs a thorough study because it has the cure for many of the ills of today. But the

prescription is so unpalatable that many of us will find it difficult to swallow. Has it not been said that truth is always bitter and that truth, because it has few to support, is an orphan?

To those who feel diffident and confused about the prescription couched in the present Kural may we give the essence of another kural - "The world goeth on smoothly because of the men of good virtue; verily but for them all this harmony would be dead and buried in the dust." (Kural 996)

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KILLING OF LTTE LEADER FRANCIS

By M K Eelaventhana

The killing of Francis, the LTTE Political leader of the Eastern province, is not a matter for rejoicing but of grief. According to news media reports he was not killed in a confrontation but was tracked down to his hideout and gunned down.

Is this the purpose of the IPKF ? When Tamils were slaughtered successively since 1956 by the Sinhala regimes, India felt it was a domestic matter. Nevertheless, when India finally came in 1987 the Tamils and the whole world thought that the saviours of the Tamils had come at last, lo and behold ! It was not to be - *ET TU BRUTE* ! (You too, Brutus!) The brutal killings of the Tamils and their leaders go on unabated because of the might of India. This is the first time in the history of the world that the saviours have turned hunters. It appears to have been a Trojan horse. What justification is there for India to go on hunting for Tamil liberation fighters?

1. The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was forced down the Tamils.
2. The 13th Amendment to the Constitution by which power to the Provincial Councils is devolved falls far too short of even the limited powers spelt out by the Accord.
3. Colonisation of Tamils homeland by the Sinhala government with Sinhalese people is going on deliberately and unabated.
4. The Tamils are not only fleeing their homeland but even the country.
5. Foisting an organisation that has no credit-worthiness amongst the Tamils. They have come by default and are puppets in the hands of a third power.
6. The IPKF is undoubtedly going on a mission to totally liquidate the LTTE who are the chosen men fighting the battle for freedom like Subas Chandra Bose for India's freedom.

When one Francis is killed, ten will emerge. The sooner India stops the hunt of the LTTE cadre, the better, lest India be recorded in history as guilty of having destroyed a Tamil nation for ever.

Ask Rani

A WAR BY ANY OTHER NAME

Dear Rani

I have noticed in various press reports that the terms conventional warfare and guerrilla warfare are used. Could you please tell me what is meant by these terms and how they differ from other forms of warfare? - **Mahen, Guildford**

A: The term "conventional warfare" originates from the description of non-nuclear weapons as 'conventional' weapons. The same adjective is hence applied to any war in which nuclear weapons are not used. 'Conventional' has a misleadingly comfortable sound to it, connoting well-established rules - conventions - as opposed to the unknown nature of nuclear warfare. It is therefore germane to note that in the conventional war between Iraq and Iran, there were over one million casualties not including those who succumbed to the effects of chemical weapons.

Guerrilla warfare is practised by those who lack much of the tangible military assets that armies engaged in conventional warfare possess. The main difference lies in the objective of guerrilla warfare which is to wear down the enemy, to harass and frustrate, and in avoiding defeat demonstrate the limits of the enemy's power. Much of this is dependent on the support of the local population to ensure provision of food, supplies and shelter. As enemy morale begins to wane, and there are desertions and defections, the guerrilla force may eventually challenge the enemy openly.

One analyst, Robert Taber, calls guerrilla warfare the "war of the flea": "The flea bites, hops and bites again, nimbly avoiding the foot that would crush him. He does not seek to kill his enemy at a blow, but to bleed him and to feed upon him, to plague and bedevil him, to keep him from resting and to destroy his nerve and morale." The voluntary and highly political aspects of guerrilla warfare mean that motivation is more important than conventional warfare where ordinary

soldiers may feel that they have little choice but to obey orders. Wars can be a mixture of conventional and guerrilla warfare. In Vietnam, for instance, the American forces largely fought a conventional war whereas their opponents relied on the techniques of guerrilla warfare.

CALL OF DUTY

Dear Rani,

I have been in the UK for the past two years, and have found a fairly good job. My problem is that my mother and two sisters are still in Mannar. I feel that by being here I am not being of use to our struggle. Sometimes I think it would be better to go home and see my sisters married. At other times I feel that it would be no use going back home. Have you any advice to offer? - **Ragavan, Newcastle.**

A: I can well understand your dilemma for which there is no easy answer. One of the first things that you should consider is what you will do should you decide to return home bearing in mind that there are several ways in which you can help the struggle from the UK. I wonder too whether you have asked your mother's opinion on the advisability of returning home. She may well prefer you to stay in Britain and financially support her and your sisters rather than risking your life by going back. Weigh all the pros and cons carefully before deciding. If I were in your position, I think I would opt to remain here at least for the time being until the political situation becomes clearer after the presidential elections.

VIOLENCE IS NO EXCUSE

Dear Rani,

I am against violence and will not therefore support any of the so-called liberation movements whether in Sri Lanka or South Africa. I think you are a hypocrite saying that killing is wrong, but supporting Tamils and others who kill. - **Vijaya, Bayswater.**

A: In the first instance, I would question what you mean by being



against violence. If you are against the violence perpetrated against the Tamil people in Sri Lanka and blacks in South Africa, what have you done about it? Yes, I am against the killing of any living creature, but that places on me an even greater responsibility to alleviate the suffering of those who are the victims of violence. That does not in any way imply that I support killing by liberation movements, state armies or whomever. I would hope that you do not use your abhorrence of violence as an excuse to do little or nothing about the violence suffered by your sisters and brothers wherever they may be.

TOO MUCH LOVE

Dear Rani,

My youngest son is 18 years and a first year medical student. Unlike my other children, he expects me to wait on him hand and foot. He will not do anything for himself, and I am getting rather tired of being used as a servant. I don't want to tell him anything as I don't want to upset his studies. What should I do? - **Lakshmi, Kent**

A: Your reasons for not wanting to upset your son are understandable. However, by indulging him you are curtailing your independence and that of your son. Unwittingly you are making him dependent on you. If he is able to do medical studies then surely he is capable of looking after himself. The more you give into his demands, the more will he expect you to act as his servant. For the sake of your self-respect, and his, tell him nicely but firmly that things must change and why. He may be very resentful and even threaten to leave home. Let him. If you attempt to protect him now, you are only damaging him for later life. I doubt if his studies will suffer as a result - after all most students in Britain and elsewhere fend for themselves. My advice probably sounds harsh, but under the circumstances I feel that I can give no other.

Your Voice (continued)

AMIR CAN RELAX

T.Kumaran, USA

Although almost all Tamil politicians failed to create a climate of a good future for the Tamils, FP and later the TULF should take the most blame. TC was somewhat successful in negotiating with its coalition partners of the South 40 years ago for industrial development in the North. All that the TULF did was to pour oil on the flame while seeking re-election.

MUSTER RELIEF FOR THE OPPRESSED

C. Thambiah, Croydon

We Tamils welcomed your Journal in the belief that it would serve to voice the pathetic plight of the Tamils both at home and abroad, and their grievances to the outside world.

Your magazine is now being used to propagate and advertise only one section of our community whereas former articles were really beneficial to the Tamil community at large. Please use your Journal to muster relief for the oppressed.

INDIA'S EXPANSIONIST POLICY

Kandasamy Thuvakaran, Paris

A theory is being deliberately floated by certain people that if Indian army withdraws from the Tamil areas the Tamils will be butchered by the Sinhalese chauvinist forces. India wants to introduce its own corrupt political system in the island where 10% ruling capitalist class controls and exploits mercilessly the 90% of the population by keeping them in poverty and illiteracy. The suppression of the mass movement in Telungana is the finest example. If we compare that situation with ours, the brutality and repression unleashed by the Indian police and the armed forces are very much the same.

India wants to wipe out the LTTE, the vanguard movement that leads the struggle of the people for complete freedom from oppression. India tries to keep the Tamil people in a servile status by unleashing the campaign of terror and putting anti-social elements and quisling groups in power.

Watching the prevailing realities and catastrophic conditions created by the Indian Government in the island it is myopic and confused perception to think that India will change its policy and will support the struggle of the Tamils for freedom. If

anyone tries to show as an example the Turkish intervention in Cyprus in support of Turkish community, it is not the case here. What is evident in this region is the Indian imperialist expansion over the small states and nationalities on the lines of Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and last Maldiv Islands. No nation in the South Asian region can expect freedom, dignity, social justice and security from the present Indian political system.

I don't want to refute the statement that the withdrawal of Indian troops may pave the way for the subjugation and brutal onslaught by the Sinhalese chauvinist forces on the Tamil population. But, if mighty Indian army and its mercenary forces can be defeated and forced to withdraw by the co-ordinated efforts of the Tamils throughout the world under the leadership of the LTTE, the task of meeting the challenge of Sinhalese chauvinism is not difficult.

INDOMITABLE AND FEARLESS MARTYR

V.Thangavelu, Canada

The news about the demise of Mr Sivanandasundaram in the latest issue of the TVI has confirmed my worst fears. Another indomitable and fearless fighter had joined the thousands of other martyrs who have paid the supreme price for the liberation of Tamil Eelam with their lives. Only the week before you carried the news of Mr Sivanandasundaram meeting Dixit, the 'Viceroy' of imperial India, in Jaffna.

Siva, as we affectionately called him, was a born fighter, an able organiser to whom principles and not personalities mattered. Dis-illusioned by the duplicity and insincerity of the leadership of the Government Clerical Service Union which buckled under the weight of Sinhala chauvinism he led the breakaway of Tamil trade unionists to found the Arasanka Eluthuvignagar Sankam. That was in 1959 and from that time he never looked back. He was the first President of the AES and what began with a handful of Tamils blossomed into a 2500-strong Trade Union spearheading the fight along with the Federal Party against the governments of the day. An indefatigable worker, he used to work at the AES headquarters long hours practically every day. I had the privilege of working with him as a founder and Executive Committee member and editor of 'Eluchchi'. In 1962 he prematurely retired to

become the Administrative Secretary of the Federal Party and Private Secretary to Thanthai Chelva. It was largely due to his efforts the Federal Party founded the Ilankai Thozhilalar Kazhakam among the hill-country Tamils. He resigned from the Federal Party and joined C.Suntheralingam who had by that time unfolded the banner of Tamil Eelam. Unlike most of our leaders who raised the demand for Tamil Eelam to win elections and to enter parliament, Siva passionately believed and steadfastly worked for the cause. It was no coincidence that he was gunned down by the IPKF/EPLRF while returning from a commemorative meeting held in Jaffna in honour of late Lt.Col.Santhosam the LTTE leader, which he addressed.

In the ashes of these martyrs will Tamil Eelam be born, as day follows night.

PUBLISH GOOD ARTICLES

Jeevan, London W 13

I started subscribing to the TVI after I got so impressed with the first few issues. I was rather shocked when I saw the last few issues. Who wants Rani to solve our personal problems? There are numerous journals around the world to carry that feature. Who wants to know Tamil Greats during this crucial time when people are being killed in all parts of Sri Lanka. We are not interested to know about "Eelam Tamils abroad." They are all cowards like me who have left the country during a crucial period. Let those who want to read all these, read them in other magazines.

CATER TO OUR NEEDS

Selvy, Canada

In your publications of the Tamil Voice International, you have mentioned that the TVI is to cater to the information needs of the "Tamil community" across the world. I suggest that instead of "Tamil community" you insert the word "people." All of us are aware that all the people, be they from East, West, North or South, are interested in our Freedom Struggle, and are willingly contributing for this publication, irrespective of their race or nationality.

Also I would suggest that you please introduce a cookery column, with recipes of our traditional foods. I personally find that our string-hoppers, pittu, rice, curries, payasam etc. are much sought after here by our Canadian and American friends. As such Rani (TVI of Dec.1) will rightly feel proud of our foods as well as our culture, traditions, dress, etc.

POLITICAL ACROBATICS IN TAMIL NADU

by Sundari

THE MGR LEGACY The electoral campaign to capture Tamil Nadu is in full swing. There is the melodrama, shameless *volte faces*, wild allegations, showbiz glitter and the rest of the razzmatazz that has made Tamil Nadu politics truly Machiavellian in character. More importantly, in death as in life, MGR continues to dominate the scene. Janaki Ramachandran faction of the AIADMK faction depends on the sympathy wave. Jayalalitha on the other hand is portraying herself as the hand-picked political heir of the celluloid star. The DMK, for long a vociferous critic, now maintains a muted silence over MGR. The Congress Party, though indirectly denigrating the star by referring to the "two decades of Dravidian rule", has nonetheless posthumously awarded him the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian honour, for his "outstanding" work. The deference to MGR is testimony to the man who was canonised by the people despite accusations that he treated Tamil Nadu as his personal fiefdom. There is little doubt that the Peace Accord, which MGR had a role pushing through, will be an issue in the forthcoming elections. Virtually all the political forces of Tamil Nadu are bound to challenge Gandhi on India's role in Sri Lanka if only to gain political capital. Indications are, however, that prolonged exposure has rendered the people of Tamil Nadu relatively insensitive to happenings in Sri Lanka. But given that an IPKF withdrawal would be enough to turn Tamil Nadu voters against the Congress, there is speculation in Madras that Gandhi may well postpone the elections.

THE MAIN PROTAGONISTS

RAJIV GANDHI: In the last two months, the Prime Minister has been to Tamil Nadu five times, and has reportedly added a few Tamil words to his vocabulary which he sprinkles around during his visits. This prompted DMK President Karunanidhi to remark that the Prime Minister is so unsure of his future that he is contemplating taking over the chief ministership of the state. Since most Congress leaders in the state have no mass base, Gandhi is being cast as the Congress leader with no mention of who will head the party if it is voted into power. It is expected, however,



M.G. Ramachandran

that G. Moopanar who has never once contested an election will be made chief minister. Though Rajiv has been drawing crowds it remains to be seen whether these will translate into actual votes for the Congress. There is no denying that he has transformed the party into a powerful contender to run the government, and the pact with the Indian Union Muslim League could help win vital Muslim votes.

M. KARUNANIDHI: This veteran 65 year old politician faces his toughest challenge yet, having been in the political wilderness for the past 12 years. So far, his experience seems to be holding him in good stead. While the leaders of other political parties have plunged into frenetic electioneering, the DMK chief has maintained a low profile and has not been provoked into issuing rash statements. His reputation for efficiency and his oratorical prowess guarantee wide support and large crowds. In the judgement of the *Illustrated Weekly of India*: "Undoubtedly, the front runner."

JAYALALITHA JAYARAM: The glamorous ex-actress has made it clear that her ambition is to hold a position of importance in state politics. Though nominated by MGR to the Rajya Sabha, she hardly ever attended Parliament after her maiden speech on textile policy. In spite of her keenness to lead her faction of the AIADMK to power to "re-establish MGR's rule", a last minute alliance with the Congress cannot be ruled out so long as she is given the chief ministership. Jayalalitha recently wel-

comed back S. Thirunavukarasu who earlier quit the party after calling her names. The reason for the *volte face* is not known though it is suspected that there could be more than mere repentance. At her public meetings where she has been drawing significant crowds, she has talked of a straight fight between Karunanidhi and herself.

V.N. JANAKI: MGR's widow has been appealing to the electorate's sympathy by portraying herself as the person closest to MGR and the one who has lost most by his death. Contrary to expectations, Janaki has belied earlier predictions of being politically naive and inexperienced by holding her supporters together. Though the odds are against her party winning a majority on its own, she will, according to present indications, command a fair proportion of seats enabling her to be in a bargaining position in the event of no party emerging with a clear majority. Already she has struck an electoral alliance with the Tamizhaga Munnetra Munnani (TMM) led by film star Sivaji Ganeshan.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION

Their ideological orientations notwithstanding, the protagonists have not refrained from playing the religious card when it has suited them. Gandhi seems set on appeasing every conceivable religious denomination in the quest for power. He has visited temples, mosques and churches, and called on religious leaders like the Sankaracharya of Kanchi who numbers among his devotees President Venkataraman and Shankar Dayal Sharma, and cult heads such as Bangaru Adigalar of Melmaruvathur. According to the president of the Tamil Nadu Brahmins Association (Tambras) even the atheistic DMK has made overtures towards the brahmin community which was once despised by Karunanidhi. The Muslims for their part have been weaned away from the DMK by the Congress as part of a political ploy, the expectation being that the DMK will be unable to stand up to the League-Congress line up in at least 20 Muslim dominated constituencies. All of this promises to make the Tamil Nadu elections a riveting spectacle.

HUMANITARIAN LAW AND THE TAMIL STRUGGLE

By Karen Parker, J.D.

(Abridged version of a paper presented at the 17th Annual South Asian Conference, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Nov.5, 1988)

INTRODUCTION

Much attention has been paid to violations by the Sri Lankan Government of International Human Rights Law. However, little attention has been given to the Humanitarian (Armed Conflict) Law Rules applicable to armed conflicts or to the enumeration of violations of humanitarian law by the parties involved in armed conflict. Application of humanitarian law has become more complex because of the involvement of armed forces of India (IPKF) in the armed conflict in Sri Lanka since the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of July 29, 1987.

After the passage of the Republican Constitution in 1972, heightened concern of oppression led the Tamil people to re-address their concerns through political channels and civilian protests. Under the banner of "Tamil Eelam", the TULF, formed in 1976 with a goal for partial autonomy in the North and East of the country, won almost all seats in these areas in the 1977 elections.

When President Jayewardene, promulgated a new Constitution in 1978 repealing the earlier one, the Tamil community felt their concerns were largely unmet. Militant groups began to utilise armed resistance to advance the Tamil Eelam agenda. In 1983, the 6th Constitutional Amendment prohibited advocacy of Tamil Eelam and the TULF members lost their seats in Parliament. Brutal attacks on Tamils and extensive destruction of Tamil property further shattered hopes of a peaceful resolution of the Tamil situation.

Since 1983, the TULF influence has waned, and the largest of the militant groups, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has maintained sufficient military strength to invoke the application of the Humanitarian (Armed Conflict) Law. Until July 1987, the humanitarian law applicable to the conflict included treaty-based and customary humanitarian law rules governing civil war. The Sri Lankan Government continued to escalate its military operations against the Tamil population, while at



Ms Karen Parker J.D.

the same time engaging in some direct negotiations with the militant forces and the TULF. The most notable of these negotiations was the talks at Thimpu in July and August 1985 that resulted from an initiative of the Indian Government.

Sri Lankan military operations against the LTTE ceased when Sri Lanka signed a treaty with India, the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of July 29, 1987. Under the terms of the Accord, the militant groups were to hand over arms, and India was to assume the role of guarantor of, inter alia, elections and referenda in Tamil areas. The IPKF, sent into Sri Lanka as a result of the Accord, began military operations of its own against the Tamil people and their militant groups - especially the LTTE. What had heretofore been a civil war became internationalised and the application of humanitarian law to the conflict accordingly changed.

THE ARMED CONFLICT

Armed conflict has been occurring in Sri Lanka since 1983. International law distinguishes between armed conflicts or wars that are international in scope and those that are internal to one country. International law also distinguishes between violence or civil disturbances that are not at the level of intensity to qualify as armed conflicts and those that are.

Between 1983 and October 1987, the armed conflict that was occurring

in Sri Lanka qualified as an internal or civil war. This is because the LTTE, and on occasions other militant groups when they were aligned with the LTTE, met the customary international law test for application of civil war rules. This test requires that the parties to a conflict utilise the instrumentalities of armed conflict - that is, military material. The test also requires that the opposition or dissident forces have a recognisable or identifiable command structure. The opposition forces must carry out military operations carrying arms openly and distinguishing themselves from the civilian population by distinctive insignia or other identification. The military operations must be relatively continuous rather than merely sporadic and occasional. When military operations are less than continuous, the opposition or dissident forces must show they have some measure of control over part of the national territory. Finally, these forces must have the capacity to implement the rules of war, including the ability to properly hold prisoners of war, provide for medical relief to sick or injured, and to establish internal mechanisms to remedy breaches or violation of the rules of war.

The LTTE has been able to meet the criteria for civil war combatants because they are constituted with an organised command; they have exercised control over territory in North and East of Sri Lanka; they have engaged in sustained military operations; they utilise insignia and uniforms, carry arms openly, and they have the capacity to assume their obligations under humanitarian law rules. Sri Lankan authorities have attested to the author that the above facts are true. Peace talks, such as those at Thimpu in 1985, imply, as well, that a state of war of some kind exists.

The international community has also acknowledged a state of civil war in Sri Lanka. For example, on October 24, 1986, the International Committee of the Red Cross, an impartial

human rights organisation of the type indicated in the Geneva Convention of 1949, issued an appeal to the international community to assist it in obtaining permission of the Sri Lankan Government to carry out its mandate. In March 1987, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights adopted a resolution calling on the parties to the conflict to comply with humanitarian law.

While a civil war does not necessarily grant dissident forces political status, the existence of a civil war is said to invoke the international obligation of neutrality. The only way that foreign powers may become involved in civil war situations without breach of the duty of neutrality or the duty of non-intervention is to engage in political actions to ensure respect for the rules of war, to offer or provide humanitarian assistance to victims in the country at war, or to afford refuge for persons who have fled the war. The pre-Accord involvement of India in the conflict in Sri Lanka, especially actions involving humanitarian relief and in encouraging a political settlement of the conflict, can in part be defended under these rules.

Despite the prohibition against intervention in a country's internal affairs, other countries nonetheless frequently become involved in civil wars. The situation in Sri Lanka is one in which the intervening state, India, has taken over most of the Government's military operations against dissident forces. Thus, India has internationalised the civil war through direct involvement in the armed conflict rather than being an aider and abettor of the Government's armed conflict.

India's motives for intervening may include, as the Accord does, what India calls "humanitarian" concerns: "Resolving the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka." India has also defended its use of arms by claiming the opposition forces were violating the Accord by, inter alia, failing to meet a perceived timetable for turning over arms. These defences are not adequate, and India can be said to violate the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another country. India is also obliged to comply

with humanitarian law norms in the course of its combat and combat-related activities in Sri Lanka.

While most human rights workers that I know, including myself, encourage peaceful settlements of disputes, we must all recognise that oppressed people will on occasion fight back with force. In its internationalised aspect, the Tamil opposition force is fighting against foreign intervention, although its internal goals remain the same.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMANITARIAN LAW

Even though the existence of an armed conflict is not a human rights violation, the way the armed conflict is carried out may be in violation of the rules of law, which prohibits, for example, military action against the civilian population including targeting hospitals, schools, and places of worship, in addition to towns or other population centres. Military actions may not be carried out against hospitals of any type, even if caring for the enemy forces, and the sick and wounded, whether combatant or civilian, are entitled to care and protection.

All of the parties to the conflict, both pre- and post-Accord, have violated the rule against targeting the civilian population. Since the Accord, India has heavily bombed civilian population centres, especially in the North, and has carried out extensive ground operations in both the North and East directed at civilian targets. Indeed, the vast majority of hospitals, markets, temples, and schools have all been devastated by the IPKF. The International Committee of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organisations have still not been able to carry out their usual war-time activities providing humanitarian aid. The Governments of India and Sri Lanka have prevented internal and international relief from reaching victims.

Civilian detainees continue to suffer under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), which has procedures that violate human rights law norms. The Emergency Regulations also continue to be utilised against the civilian

population, also in contravention of human rights law, even with the derogations allowed in human rights law by the existence of the armed conflict. Tamils in particular are routinely searched and harassed for being sympathisers of the LTTE, even though humanitarian aid to even the enemy combatants may not be criminalised. Human rights workers have also been targeted.

Many Sri Lankans, particularly Tamils, have fled Sri Lanka seeking permanent and temporary refuge from the war and the humanitarian violations. Unfortunately, many of these persons are denied refugee status by refugee-receiving governments. Yet all governments are obliged toward Sri Lankan victims, even if they are not directly involved in the armed conflict. **No refugee can be sent back (refouled) to a country where his or her life would be in danger due to civil strife or ongoing hostilities.** This rule is especially compelling when the armed conflict is characterised as one where there are many violations of humanitarian law occurring. Without international verification possible as to the fate of civilian Tamils, involuntary repatriation of refugees is particularly egregious.

NALIN STOOPS TO CONQUER

Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne had a single line brief from President J R Jayewardene in 1984 when he was asked to conquer Tamil Eelam militarily. He could not carry out the instructions due to the fierce resistance from Tamil liberation fighters. He went back to President J R empty handed.

Today, Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne is back in Tamil Eelam as Governor attempting to accomplish the conquest with the assistance of the EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO. It is a pity that India which continues to raise its voice loud for the oppressed people in South Africa, Namibia and Palestine is assisting in the subjugation and oppression of Tamils in Eelam.

P C ELECTION IN INDIAN PARLIAMENT

(Excerpts from debate in the Indian Parliament on November 22, 1988)

SHRI V GOPALSAMY: This statement (of Shri Narasimha Rao, Minister) is a cover-up to legitimise the undemocratic and fraudulent elections held at the point of the gun and by massive rigging, worse than the Tripura elections.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: How can elections be undemocratic?

GOPALSAMY: Yes. Just like the elections in Tripura. There is a reference to the elections in the Northern Province. There was no contest, of course. In 'The Indian Express', which is always critical of the LTTE, a report dated the 21st October, 1988, by Rita Sebastian, says: "What has aggravated the already volatile situation in the peninsula is the fact that the LTTE's bitterest rivals, the EPRLF, have been declared the uncontested winners in the North by virtue of being the only group that filed nominations for the North-Eastern Provincial Council elections. The irony of it is that they have put themselves into the seat of power without any single vote being cast to test their popularity in the North, says a high-ranking Government official in the peninsula."

In the case of the Eastern Province, the people were terrorised, they were intimidated and they were marched from their houses to go to the polling booths.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr Gopalsamy, have you anything by way of proof to substantiate what you are saying?

GOPALSAMY: I have got. Should I bring a video cassette?

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will look into the records and see whether anything is to be expunged.

GOPALSAMY: You want to kill democracy even inside the House. It is wrong.There was the question about the executive and legislative powers of the provincial councils. Vital subjects like agriculture, land, fisheries, education and employment have not been vested with the provincial councils. Even after the 13th amendment of the Constitution vital subjects have not been vested with the councils. Then you are talking about giving greater auton-

omy to the States. It is contrary to the truth. Then, look at the discretionary powers given to the Governor. The Governors will be more powerful than the Governors in India and with one stroke the President can dissolve the provincial councils.

In paragraph 3 of the statement there is a reference to the merger, but Mr Premadasa said, and I quote his speech which appeared in The Hindu: "Mr Premadasa reiterated his opposition to the merger of the Northern and Eastern Province, one of the basic demands of the minority Tamils brought about through Presidential proclamation. He said that, when elected President, he would provide at the earliest an opportunity to people of Eastern Province, to reject it in a referendum."

These EPRLF people mercilessly killed important Tamil leaders in Jaffna peninsula in cold blood. Mr Sivagnana Sundaram was killed on 21st October - the most important popular leader of the Tamil masses whose name was included in the panel (Interim Administration). EPRLF have killed important Tamil leaders, like Rev Fr Chandra Fernando and Sivagnana Sundaram, in cold blood with the help of IPKF. They are under the protection of the IPKF. They are fully in the ranks of IPKF.

Madam, the Government wants to decimate the LTTE, and annihilate them. The Minister is happy. The Americans were also happy when they put up their puppet Government in Saigon; but the Vietcong taught a bitter lesson to them. Likewise, you are also trying to put up a puppet regime in Sri Lanka with your protection of fully arming them.

At the same time, in the second paragraph you are criticizing the LTTE. I would like to know from the honourable Minister why they are throwing napalm bombs in the jungles in the name of Operation Checkmate. The IPKF is liquidating all important Tamil group leaders of the LTTE and their supporters. They entered their houses and killed them in cold blood. Therefore, with these elections, I am afraid, you have only created more chaos and confusion because you have armed the EPRLF with sophisticated weapons to ter-

rorize the Tamil masses and kill the important Tamil leaders.

But once the Presidential elections are over in Sri Lanka, they will not support the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and will ask the IPKF to clear out. Therefore, I would like to ask the Government whether this Government would stop the war and the operations against the LTTE even at this stage. I do not ask you to withdraw the IPKF immediately. This Government has committed betrayal after betrayal against the Sri Lankan Tamils. This is yet another.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

"MEA CULPA" SAYS PRESIDENT J R

In a remarkably frank exchange with Edward Gorman of 'The Times' (London), President Jayewardene admitted that his Government, which has ruled through emergency law for five and a half years, had presided over what he described as a "very regrettable" assault on human rights, first in its battle against the Tamil insurgency in the north and east and, more recently, against the JVP.

He said although the armed forces were under "perfect control", they had been "allowed to do various things which are against human rights. This is very regrettable but it cannot be helped", he said. Either we have to give in, hold up our arms, and say: 'come and run the country' or we have to run it."

The Sri Lankan President did not rule out government connections with paramilitary groups like the People's Revolutionary Red Army, which has been carrying out scores of brutal revenge killings against suspected JVP activists in the south in recent weeks.

"There are several groups, there is killing on all sides", he said. "We have been arming a large number of people for security purposes to protect Members of Parliament and the so-called United Socialist Alliance. Weapons are available and they are being used for self-protection."

Asked about connections between his government and the People's Revolutionary Red Army, the President said, "There may be something - I don't know. It may not be a connection but there may be members who are supporting the government who are in these groups."

Tamil Greats

SUBRAMANIAN CHANDRASEKHAR

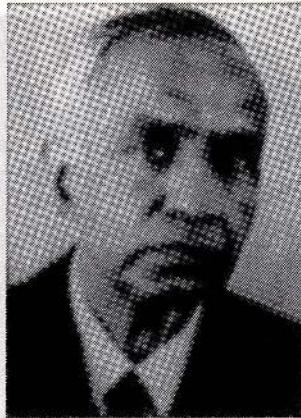
By S.Ranjitham, Oman

The Copley Medal of the Royal Society is the most prestigious award the UK can bestow upon a scientist. It was awarded in 1984 to Prof. S.Chandrasekhar who is Marten D Hull Distinguished Service Professor of Theoretical Astrophysics at the University of Chicago. Earlier in 1983, he became a co-recipient of the Nobel Prize for Physics - one of the few astronomers to be awarded the Prize.

Chandrasekhar, a nephew of the late Sir C.V.Raman who won the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1930, was born on 19 October 1910. He had his university education (B.Sc and M.A) from the Presidency College, Madras, up to his 20th year. At the age of 18 he submitted a paper to one of the leading professional scientific journals in the USA which, on the basis of the opinion given by a referee, turned down the paper. Chandrasekhar wrote back stating that he merely wished to point out where the referee had gone wrong. Chandrasekhar's views were found to be correct and his paper later accepted for publication.

His precocity was recognised early. Unlike Ramanujan, who nearly disappeared into total oblivion and C.V.Raman who had to put up with a number of years of drudgery as a government official, Chandrasekhar was accepted at Trinity College, Cambridge, as a research student when barely out of his teens. At Cambridge he was in the company of scientists and mathematicians of the calibre of A.S.Eddington, G.H.Hardy, J.E.Littlewood, Bertrand Russel and P.A.M.Dirac. They would naturally have had a great deal of influence upon him in the development of his own interests in theoretical astronomy. Relativity and Quantum Mechanics were then new developments which provided Chandrasekhar with an entirely fresh insight into the mysteries of the astronomical world.

He was elected Fellow of Trinity College at the age of 23 and held this position from 1933 to 1937. During these years he further developed his ideas about the structure and development of stars



Subramanian Chandrasekhar

and wrote a book titled 'An Introduction to the Study of Stellar Structure' which became a classic in this field. Later on he discovered the upper mass limit for the very dense stars known as the 'white dwarfs'. The 'white dwarfs' represent one of the possible end points of 'stellar evolution'. **Chandrasekhar proved that the 'white dwarfs' cannot exceed 1.44 times the mass of our sun and this limit is known as the 'Chandrasekhar Limit'.** A star which towards the end of its life exceeds the 'Chandrasekhar Limit' will not go into a "peaceful old life" but will either explode as a 'supernova' shedding enough of its material so that the remnants are each below the 'Chandrasekhar Limit' or will become a much more highly compressed body. The latter alternative led to the development of ideas about 'Neutron Stars' and 'Black Holes'. Black holes are astronomical bodies whose surface gravity is so enormous that not even light can escape from them. Astronomers are optimistic about the existence of Black holes but has yet to be established conclusively.

As research opportunities in India were limited in 1937, Chandrasekhar went over to the USA from England where he continues to live and work at the Chicago University. He made so extensive a range of contributions to Mathematical Astronomy that as Laura Fermi (Widow of the great Physicist late Enrico Fermi) states in her book 'Illustrious Immigrants', **there is hardly a field of important development in mod-**

ern astrophysics which has not in some significant way been influenced by Chandrasekhar.

Chandrasekhar became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1944 and the recipient of several prestigious awards and fellowships such as Member, National Academy of Sciences, USA (Henry Draper Medal); American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Rumford Medal); Bruce Gold Medal, Royal Astronomical Society, London; Royal Medal, Royal Society; and National Medal of Science, USA, 1966. When Dr.Homi Bhabha, India's foremost nuclear scientist died under unexpected circumstances in 1966, Mrs.Indira Gandhi requested Prof.Chandrasekhar to take over the Chairmanship of the Atomic Energy Commission of India. He declined the offer saying that he was only a mathematician and there were in India men who were more suitable for the position.

..... GORBACHEV NOT IMPRESSED

In the course of the recent visit by Soviet President Gorbachev to India, Rajiv Gandhi is said to have tried hard to convince him on the importance of the role of IPKF and the presence of 55,000 Indian troops, with more than 600 casualties already reported, to safeguard Sri Lanka's integrity. But Gorbachev, on the contrary, wanted India to withdraw its troops and to support Mrs Bandaranaike, (as Mrs Indira Gandhi did) who is backed by Russian aids and the JVP, whose leader Rohana Wijeweera is a graduate of Patrice Lumumba University of Moscow. Although Rajiv supported Russian approach to Pacific security, Gorbachev was not prepared to appreciate the sufferings of the Indian origin (55 %) population in the Fiji Islands. Even in the UN, Russia did not support India on this issue. Rajiv also wanted Gorbachev to use his good offices over Libya and North Korea to stop the armed and material help to the LTTE and JVP, but failed to carry weight. [Courtesy - 'Organiser' (New Delhi) - Dec.4, 1988]

TAMIL AND SINHALA VIEWS ON THE ELECTION RESULTS

BBC WORLD SERVICE 20.12.88

Questions which would arise from the presidential elections were discussed with two Sri Lankans in London: James Karan of The World Federation of Tamils and Douglas Wickramaratne of the Sinhalese Association of the United Kingdom.

DOUGLAS WICKRAMARATNE: I think that the people expected a decisive victory for one candidate or the other in order to solve the problems of the country. This result of course has not given a mandate to either person although Mr Premadasa has won the election only with a very small majority and already there are signs that the opposition has not accepted that as a fair election. One must understand that the elections were heavily loaded against Mrs Bandaranaike from the outset. For one thing, only a few months ago this government granted 250,000 Indian estate workers citizenship and a right to vote with a guarantee that they would vote for the government. Also she had to put up with intimidation from the government as well as the JVP which is unfortunately being described as the Sinhala Extremist Party but it is nothing of that sort, it is a Marxist Party that has very close links with the Tamil separatist parties in the North.

JAMES KARAN: As far as the elections are concerned and for the Tamils this is a non event. Because neither of the two major candidates namely Ranasingha Premadasa and Sirimavo Bandaranaike, had positive proposals to resolve the problems confronting the Tamils in Sri Lanka. So neither the election nor its result of any consequence for the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

INTERVIEWER: Surely it has some consequence because Mr Premadasa as part of his platform said he would end the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord and ask the Indian Peace Keeping Force to leave Northern Sri Lanka. Presumably this will have some effect on the Tamils in the North and East.



James Karan

KARAN: Yes, the fact is that we must infer now he seems to have a weak mandate because the validity of the election itself is being questioned. Therefore one wonders whether he will have the capacity first of all to deliver what he has promised the Sinhalese people, primarily sending the so-called Peace Keeping troops out of Sri Lanka, and also to do away with the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord. So if he hasn't got the capacity to deliver what he has promised to the Sinhalese people one wonders how he is going to resolve the problems of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think, Douglas Wickramaratne, that he is actually going to put into effect the ending of the Accord. Can he, even in terms of the troops, afford to do that at the moment?

WICKRAMARATNE: I don't think it can be done straightaway. What has happened after the Accord is unfortunately the country has been effectively partitioned. We have a situation in the north of course where every single Sinhalese has been driven out of the north a few years ago. And the same is happening now in the eastern province where the Sinhalese have been massacred where of course the Indian army has just kept quiet while the Tigers were massacring the Sinhalese. Now we have a situation where the north and the east is going to be exclusively for

Tamils. It may be very unfortunate but the time will come where the Sinhalese may say to more than half the Tamils living in the Sinhala areas, 'You wanted your separate state. You got it. Might as well all of you go there.' Tamils are talking about self determination for Tamils, so when are the Sinhalese going to have some self determination?

KARAN: The Tamils right to have self determination is not exclusive. They are not in anyway saying that the Sinhalese should not have their own rights. The Tamils recognise Sinhalese as a nation, who have their traditional homelands, their language, their culture, the same way the Tamils would like to preserve their own existence in Sri Lanka.

INTERVIEWER: Mr Wickramaratne first of all that the National Assembly elections are due in the beginning of February. How do you see those going and do you think that they will in any way alleviate the situation as you see it for the dark days of Sri Lanka?

WICKRAMARATNE: The opposition doesn't accept the present Presidential election verdict. I think right the way through they have been campaigning for the end of the government that has a lot of authority and power to rig elections, and this happened in the case of the provincial council elections that were held previously. So there is a genuine fear among the people that they may not be fair elections.

KARAN: There must be a fair and free election in Sri Lanka. As we have witnessed only recently, there were Indian managed elections in the north and east of Sri Lanka. In the eastern province there was only one UNP candidate returned. Now we are told that in the eastern province there was a landslide for Mr Premadasa. So the whole results are puzzling.

INTERVIEWER: You have no faith in the National Assembly elections coming up in February?

KARAN: Not at all.

PEOPLE AND EVENTS



**PAUL SIEGHART:
A SINCERE FRIEND OF
THE TAMIL PEOPLE**

It is with great sorrow that we record the untimely death of Paul Sieghart in London on 12 December, aged 61. He was one of the few people in Britain who stood by the Tamils in their struggle. Soon after the anti-Tamil pogrom of July 1983, Mr Sieghart visited Sri Lanka, and on his return published a book 'Sri Lanka - a mounting tragedy of errors'.

Henry Lawrence Paul Alexander Sieghart was born in Vienna in 1927 in an outstandingly intellectual family. One of his grandfathers had risen to be head of the Austrian Imperial Civil Service. His mother was the first woman Doctor of Law at Vienna University. Though she did not learn English until her forties, she managed within 10 years of her arrival in Britain to write a scholarly book in English. Forced by death threats to flee from Vienna, Mr Sieghart and his mother had a narrow escape from the Nazis in 1939. Even though he was a Roman Catholic as were his parents and grandparents, his great-grandparents had been Jewish. The horrors of Austria after Anschluss, gave Mr Sieghart the lifelong conviction that the rights and liberties of individuals can never be taken for granted and must be jealously defended.

After education at Harrow, Berkhamsted and University College, London, he was called to the Bar by Gray's Inn in 1953. After a distinguished career at the Bar, he devoted himself to the broader pursuit of justice both in Britain and abroad. His campaigning work in the field of human rights was carried out on many fronts. In more than 50 articles he exposed the threats to individual liberty posed by develop-

ments in technology, nuclear power, medical techniques and police methods of interrogation. His programme 'The State of the Nation' won the Royal Television Society Award in Britain, and was runner-up for an Emmy in the United States. Yet remarkably, Mr Sieghart's greatest efforts were always made outside the public eye on committees, working parties and in private discussions with ministers and civil servants.

The pace and diversity of his life was such that in the last three weeks of his life he addressed a Vatican conference and the Pope himself on the subject of the Church and human rights; conducted a seminar in Paris to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; finished a 10,000-word paper on the ethics of dealing with Aids; wrote and delivered the Cardinal Heenan Memorial lecture; and addressed a dinner organised to thank him for his work. Paul Sieghart died a few minutes after returning home from that dinner which the Council of Justice (the British Section of the International Commission of Jurists) had given in his honour. No more appropriate end for him can be imagined. Of all the organisations with which he was connected, 'Justice' was the one about which he cared most; from 1978 he had served as Chair of its Executive Committee. At the dinner Mr Sieghart was told that Justice had nominated him for the Council of Europe's Human Rights Prize. His nomination was supported by leading figures in the human rights movement throughout the world. We, the Tamil people, also lend our support to a man who deserves the highest awards, posthumous though they may be, for a life spent in the service of others.

"YUGATHARMAM"

The Tamil Performing Arts Society staged two plays at the Acton Town Hall on Nov 23rd.

The main play 'Yugatharmam' is an adaptation of Brecht's 'The Exception and the Rule'. Presented in a narrative form, it has some resemblance to our 'Koothu', yet with an entirely fresh approach.

It tells the story of a merchant going in the desert, with a guide and a coolie, in search of oil. He mistrusts his guide and dismisses him. The merchant and the coolie eventually

lose their way and also run short of water. When the coolie approaches him with a water bottle the merchant suspects that he is going to attack him and shoots him. In the last scene, the coolie's wife brings the matter to court.

The argument is, whether the merchant killing the coolie, in self defence, is justified.

The story is told with simplicity and lucidity. The acting is imaginative and dynamic. The musical compositions, melodious and well sung, are used with good effect to bring out the essence of the action and text. It is a thought-provoking and a fabulous entertainment.

'SAMBANTHAM' - The short play (A translation of Chekov's 'The Proposal') was the perfect foil to 'Yugatharmam' and demonstrated the versatility of this theatre group. The adaptation is very authentic and the actors just merge themselves into the characters. A delightful performance.

There will be a repeat performance at East Ham Town Hall on Jan 14, Thai Pongal day; and it is an opportunity not to be missed by serious drama lovers.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

A GRAND VEENA CONCERT

The London Veena Group, in association with Oriental Arts and Music Society, presents a Programme of Light & Classical Music: At ARTS THEATRE HALL, Brian O'Mally Library and Arts Centre, Central Library, Walker Place, Rotherham SUNDAY, January 29 at 3.30 pm INFORMATION: (01) 543 2126 or (0709) 823606

A MUSICAL EVENING

The London Veena Group presents a Musical Evening, in aid of The South London Tamil School - Croydon on Saturday 14th January 1989 at 6.30 p.m.

AT: South Norwood Adult Education Centre Sandown Road (Off Portland Road) South Norwood. London SE 25

Doors open at: 6.00 p.m. Donation £2.50

For information ring: Rajah: 01-543 2126 Yoga: 01-654 1381 Kumar: 01-689 0710 Gunam: 01-653 7811

EELAM NEWS

NO ELECTRICITY FOR THE NORTH

The Northern province of Jaffna has been plunged in darkness without power from November 23, and as a consequence small factories have been closed down, rendering thousands unemployed, and making life miserable.

ROBBERIES IN JAFFNA

According to reports reaching our news desk, robberies in Jaffna are daily occurring in the town and its environs during curfew hours, mostly between 7.00 pm and 10.00 pm. The suspicion is mainly on the IPKF and EPRLF.

COMMISSION FOR IPKF EXCESSES

Mr Narasimha Rao, Indian Foreign Minister, has rejected the request made by the opposition in the Indian Parliament to appoint a commission to inquire into the excesses committed by the IPKF in Sri Lanka, saying that the IPKF was performing a task under trying conditions.

WHERE IS KITTU ?

Kittu, the former LTTE commander who was released from the Madras Central Prison and left unguarded in Jaffna is said to be wanted by the IPKF. Kittu was given protection by the people in Valvettiturai. Suspecting the motives of the Indian government and to avoid being murdered by the IPKF, Kittu has apparently gone underground.

NAVY LOVES PONY !

Sri Lankan navy warned the owner of the boat 'Kumataputavi', one of the boats operating between Neduntheevu and Kurikaduwan, not to operate without bringing a pony from Neduntheevu. When the boat came without the pony, it was prevented from unloading the goods and passengers and returned to Neduntheevu. The owner of the boat had no alternative but to 'pay' the price. He bought two ponies and the boat was welcomed by the Sri Lanka Navy.

V RAJASANGAREE'S MURDER

Various organisations, including citizen committees, Students Co-ordinating Committee, Mothers' Front, Tamil Eelam National Women's League, and Tamil Eelam National Youth League have severely condemned the murder of Mr V

Rajasangaree, the President of Thenmaradchi Citizens' Committee, on October 26 at the Post Office Junction, Chavakachcheri.

JAFFNA STUDENTS APPEAL

The Jaffna Students Co-ordinating Committee has appealed to all sections of people to join hands to stop the murder of the Tamil leaders who openly fight for the reasonable demands of the Tamil people, says a report from the committee.

IPKF PERSONNEL KILLED IN EELAM

According to information released by the government of India, 605 IPKF soldiers have lost their lives in Sri Lanka in one year. This figure included 33 officers. Unofficial sources say that the death toll of the IPKF could be well over 2,000.

AID TO PALALY TEACHERS COLLEGE

The Asian Development Bank has come forward to grant Rs 50,000 to move the Palaly Teacher Training College, which is not functioning now as a result of the damage caused to it by military operations, to another suitable site, states our Jaffna correspondent.

NOVEMBER'S TOLL OF THE DEAD

JAFFNA

3.11.88 : In Jaffna IPKF declared a curfew in the Bazaar area from 8 a m to 6 p m purportedly to avoid civilian loss of life due to few bombs placed by militants in market area. A meeting arranged between the Sri Lankan Army Co-ordinating Officers and local heads of various departments in Jaffna was consequently cancelled. A bomb exploded in the market square at 12 noon.

POINT PEDRO

In Point Pedro several youths were arrested by the IPKF during a search conducted in Kandarudayar street. They were taken to the IPKF camp at Puloly.

PANDATARIPPU

In Pandatarippu the IPKF patrol opened fire at random when it was attacked. A 36 year old woman was killed; several were injured. 'Cordon and search' was conducted for two days.

KANAKARAYAN KULAM

In Kanagarayan kulam, near Manakulam, an IPKF sentry post was

attacked by a suicide squad. 5 members of the IPKF were killed. In retaliation two civilians were killed and their bodies burnt. Several houses and shops were also burnt.

BATTICALOA

In Araipattai in Batticaloa, Arokiyanathan, a youth, was shot dead by the IPKF during a 'cordon and search' operation by the IPKF.

KOKKUVIL

In Kokkuvil, 2 senior students of the Kokkuvil Hindu College were arrested by the IPKF from their homes.

JAFFNA

M.Sandirasegaram, aged 19 years, of Koddady, Jaffna, arrested by the IPKF on 20.10.88, was found shot dead opposite St. Anthony's College.

VAVUNIYA

At Ilamaruthan kulam and Velar Sinnakulam in Vavuniya, 3 persons who allegedly attempted to flee during a 'cordon and search' were shot at by the IPKF.

TRINCOMALEE

4.11.88 : In Trincomalee an IPKF soldier, a Sri Lankan policeman and a civilian were killed in a land-mine attack. Several others were injured.

JAFFNA

5.11.88 : In Jaffna, curfew was clamped down in the Bazaar area from 3.30 pm. Several persons were detained at check points till 6.30 p m. Many were compelled to seek refuge for the night in the Jaffna hospital premises as they could not possibly reach their destinations before 7 p.m., the curfew hour.

KOPAY

6.11.88 : In Kopay, consequent to a bomb exploding near an IPKF camp, several civilians were injured when IPKF opened fire at random.

PARANTHAN

In Umayalpuram near Paranthan, 2 IPKF soldiers were killed when a bomb exploded on the rail-track. 2 others were injured.

TRINCOMALEE

In Panmathawachchi in Trincomalee, one IPKF soldier was killed in a grenade attack.

JAFFNA

9.11.88 : In Jaffna, a car bomb explosion near the Jaffna Secretariat claimed the lives of 5 school children and few others. Over 20 were injured, many grievously.

NELLIADY

In Nelliady, an IPKF camp was attacked. In a counter-offensive 2 of the attackers were killed. A 3 day curfew was enforced and intensive searches conducted. IPKF went on rampage. 8 persons were shot dead. Of those killed one is a woman and another a child aged 7 years. Several were assaulted. 20 of them were hospitalised. Shells were fired on surrounding areas for 10 hours. A shop was hit and completely destroyed by fire and suffered loss estimated at about Rs.30 lakhs. Several other shops and houses were also damaged by the shelling.

JAFFNA

11.11.88 : In Jaffna Sarath Babu, Jaffna leader of LTTE, was shot dead by unidentified gunmen. Newspaper and radio reports ascribed the killing to the IPKF.

NELLIADY

17.11.88 : In Nelliady, the IPKF on patrol with some youths were attacked by LTTE. One of the youths was killed. IPKF opened fire. 3 women working in a farm closeby were hit and injured. A 54 year old woman's leg had to be amputated.

MULLAITIVU

18.11.88 : In Mullaitivu two civilians were killed and 3 injured in cross-fire during an encounter between the IPKF and the LTTE.

JAFFNA

In Jaffna, Kiruparajah and Rajkumar of the LTTE were shot dead by the IPKF. A woman is reported to have been killed in the cross-fire. 19.11.88 : In Sarasalai a few IPKF personnel were injured in an attack on the camp. The retaliatory action was on 23.11.88 when a local curfew was imposed. All males were ordered to assemble at a central place and all of them irrespective of age were subjected to assault; 3 seriously injured were hospitalised. 21.11.88 : In Jaffna, Balasingham Hall of the Jaffna University campus was searched. 35 inmates and the warden were subjected to severe assault. They were all removed for questioning and released the same evening. 26.11.88 : In Jaffna, there was a confrontation between the IPKF and Tamil fighters in St. Mary's Cathedral premises; casualties one on each side; and Church was desecrated. A 17 year old organist practising on the church organ was removed and his dead body found dumped on the roadside. Four priests and 5 hostellers from St. Patrick's College were summoned to the camp. Two priests released same day; two released the following day. Four hostellers yet detained.

SRI LANKAN NEWS**FOREIGN EXPERTS
TO LEAVE**

The Sri Lankan government has called all Japanese, British, and Indian experts employed in development projects in the provinces of Sri Lanka to report to Colombo. This call was made after three Indian experts employed in a Sugar Project at Moneragala were killed on November 24. It is reported that many experts have left the Island fearing for their lives.

UTHR AND FUTA DEPLORE

The University Teachers for Human Rights described recent Emergency Regulations as an "iron fist policy" and announced that it was seeking international pressure to withdraw these regulations. The group claimed that 67 school and university teachers had "disappeared" in the 12 months preceding September 1988.

The Federation of University Teachers Associations has warned that the new regulations which permitted the Security Forces to dispose of the dead bodies without an inquest have given rise to "a grave risk of concealed killings". Professor Siriyananda, the Chairman of the FUTA said that his organisation strongly condemned terrorism from any quarter but as citizens of Sri Lanka "we are responsible for what our government does; we are not responsible for what other groups do. We find that what is being done by the government in our name and in the name of the people is not compatible with civilized society."

**SINHALESE SUBVERSIVES
IN BOOSA**

750 Sinhalese subversives are now detained in the famous Boosa Camp, of whom 450 are those arrested in the past few weeks in Galle, Hambantota, and Matara, says a report released in Sri Lanka.

**NISSANKA WIJERATNE'S
RESIGNATION**

Srimavo Bandaranaike, commenting on the resignation of the Justice Minister, Nissanka Wijeratne, over the riots in the jail and the escape of prisoners, has said that he should have resigned in 1983 when 53 Tamil political prisoners were murdered in noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

the Welikade prison.

DEFUNCT SECRETARIATS

According to information gathered from Sri Lankan Ministry Sources, Government Secretariats in 20 out of 26 Districts are not functioning regularly since the beginning of November. This administrative paralysis has brought the civil administration in those districts to a lamentable halt.

**EPRLF TRAINS
NSSP CADRES !**

The Nava Sama Samajist Party has at last admitted that it had trained cadres to meet JVP threats. Rohana Wijeweera is reported to have stated that NSSP cadres were being trained by the EPRLF at Amparai to meet the threats posed by the JVP.

**MINISTRY OF BUDDHA
SASANA**

The Buddhist Prelates have called for the establishment of a Ministry of Buddha Sasana. In a memorandum, the Prelates have requested that the Buddha Sasana should be given the foremost place and not assigned a position of mere equality with others. They are also said to have demanded that laws of the country should be framed in conformity with Buddhist ethics.

**DIRECTOR GENERAL
OF ARMS**

According to sources close to the Ministry of Defence a new post called the Director-General of Arms is to be created at army headquarters in due course. No one has been named for the position yet, says the same source.

**DY TRANSPORT
MINISTER RESIGNS**

A letter of resignation of the Deputy Minister of Transport, H B Abeyratne has been received by the Secretary-General of Parliament with a Middle-East country post mark, says a news report published in Sri Lanka. Mr Abeyratne is the son-in-law of former Finance Minister U B Wanninayake.

BRAINWASHING A GREAT NATION

From our New York correspondent

On December 19, Sri Lanka went to the polls to elect a new president. The previous month, Americans voted for a new president as they do every four years. Forty million Americans watched the two presidential debates, each a 90 minute TV special, where the candidates debunked each other and their programs. What then is the background to the American presidential election?

THE AMERICAN DREAM

There have been only two main parties in the U.S., the Republicans and the Democrats. The differences between the two are not deep. A Republican may vote in Congress with the Democrats, and vice-versa. During his campaign, president-elect George Bush publicly declared his admiration for great Democratic presidents, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman and Kennedy. But he carefully abstained from invoking the name of Abraham Lincoln, a Republican and the greatest of all American presidents. Republicans hardly ever mention him for fear of losing white votes in the South where Civil War memories still linger. On major foreign policy the two parties are more or less close. On defence, anti-Soviet invective, Nato and free trade they agree with minor differences. Even on domestic legislation there is considerable bipartisan adjustment.

America is an immense half-continent plus distant Alaska and Hawaii. Candidates have to jet to them to address their people. They have to move with a big personal staff; reporters, television crew, handlers, speech-writers and so on. Clerks to attend to an enormous mail, telephone calls, and a complete office set up, computers and all. Impossible without a ready flow of money. Not surprisingly most candidates are from the millionaire class.

THE IMAGE MAKERS

Handlers, as they have come to be called, are trained professional image makers, who shape the way the candidate looks, speaks and smiles, to project the sort of TV appearance that wins votes. These publicity people receive outrageous salaries for their exceptional skills and shrewd-

ness. Free service also comes from those who look to be rewarded with high office.

It is a time for slogan-slinging. *'Peace through Strength'*; *'the Nation's Mainstream'*; *'American Values'*; *'I Care Deeply'*; *'Tough Choices'*; *'I am Your Side'*; *'Mainstream America'*; and of course, *'The American Dream'*, which never fails to intrude into every election. Besides the flags, the buttons and the placards, all that sleazy stuff was dished out to help the people pick the better man.

The special interests lobbies with their inexhaustible financial resources control the media, and the media confuse, confound or divert minds from significant issues and focus them on emotive trivialities. Issues like patriotism, the pledge, the flag, prison furlough and the like were raised to knock out Dukakis. With that he lost his considerable initial lead and never recovered. kakis also appeared on TV, riding a gun carriage in military gear. It was a blunder. He looked a ridiculous little guy playing soldier. Not very unlike Puss in Boots. Did his handlers make a genuine slip, or was one or more of them covertly working for the other side for a second fee?

Bush proclaimed, 'I want to be your education president.' But the school record of the Reagan years is dismal. He also drew particular attention to the filthy condition of the Boston Harbour under Governor Dukakis' administration. But conservationists have been blaming Reagan for years for the continuing deterioration of the national environment.

Bush also attacked Dukakis as a 'liberal' and as a 'card-carrying' member of the American Civil Liberties Union. The words, 'liberties', 'liberal' and 'libertarian' have become dirty words like 'communist' in the land that thrilled the world with "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Strangely enough, Dukakis did not fight back immediately, as if the word 'liberal' were a slur.

Dukakis claimed that his gubernatorial administration of Massachusetts was the best in the country. Bush produced a news-sheet to prove it. It was by Bush claimed he had more

experience of foreign affairs and Dukakis none. Dukakis insinuated that Bush's foreign deals were with the disreputable drug-promoting Panamanian president Noriega and the disgraceful Iran-Contra bungle.

THE GREASE MACHINE

The public cost of the once-in-four-year barnstorming is 92 million dollars. The two candidates share it equally. This national financing of the presidential race is a recent innovation. After the Nixon election scandals Congress moved to purify the campaign by collecting a dollar apiece from willing taxpayers and dividing it equally between the two. However this Congressional generosity hasn't made the campaign spending leaner, or for that matter cleaner.

It has not halted the spending. The campaign was awash with money. The richest in the land are generally Republicans. Big businesses, banks and corporations do not mind throwing a few thousands into the party coffers. Peanuts to them. Some even fund the Democrats. It is good sense to be on easy terms with whoever governs.

There are devious ways of making this sort of bribery look respectable. An interested group could invite a candidate to a public dinner. Each guest pays an inflated fee for his plate and the extra goes to the candidate as campaign money. That makes it clean.

Deception is an integral part of the democratic way. 'Pragmatism' is a more acceptable term. Reagan came breathing fire and brimstone against the 'evil empire'. He is leaving with the halo of a peace maker with that very empire. Bush has come promising not to raise taxes as his predecessor had done. But he can if he has to, his promise notwithstanding, and call it 'revenue enhancement'. It has been done before.

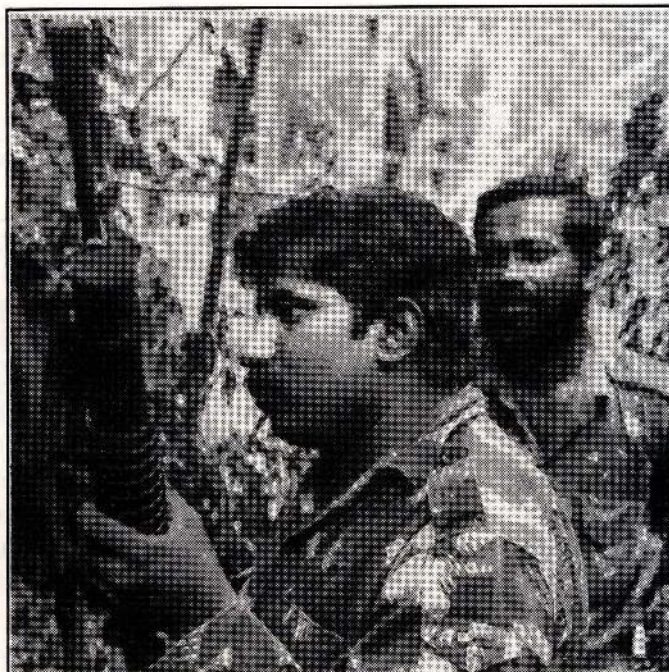
With all the muck-raking and mud-slinging nation-wide, only 48 per cent of the people cared to cast their votes. Compare that with the Sri Lankan presidential election turn out. Moreover, corruption it seems is not the preserve of Sri Lankans or Asians.

ALIVE AND KICKING

We have received these pictures of Prabakaran and some of his hunted lieutenants from Tiger Hqs in the Wanni. We are informed that despite the set-back they suffered in the populated parts of the North and East, their spirits are high and their determination to liberate the Tamil homelands has in no way diminished. The photographs clearly show that Prabakaran and his valiant band are alive and kicking.



Praba with two body guards



Second in command Mahataya



LTTE women fighters



Soldiers armed with only guns



தமிழ்ப்பக்கம்

தமிழ் ஈழத்துக்கு வெளியே வாழும் தமிழ்ப்பிள்ளைகளுக்கென எமது ஏட்டில் ஒரு பக்கம் ஆகுதல் ஒதுக்க வேண்டும் என்று பல பெற்றோர்கள் பல முறை கேட்டிருந்தார்கள். ஆனால் தமிழில் அச்சிட்டு வசதி கிடைக்காதபடியால் தமிழ்ப்பக்கம் என்று ஒரு பக்கத்தை இதுவரை அச்சிட முடியவில்லை இப்போது அந்தவாய்ப்புக் கிடைத்திருக்கிறது. இனிமேல் தொடர்ந்து தமிழ்ப்பக்கம் ஒன்றை அச்சிடத் தீர்மானித்து இருக்கிறோம்.

தமிழ்ப்பக்கத்தில் குழந்தைகளுக்கான விடயங்களை மட்டுமல்லாமல் ஏனையோர்க்கும் பயன்தரக்கூடியவிடயங்களை அச்சிடுங்கள் என்று பலர் அபிப்பிராயம் கூறினார்கள். தமிழ்ப்பக்கம் சிறுவர்களுக்கான பக்கமாக மட்டும் இருக்கட்டும் என்று இன்னுஞ்சிலர் கருத்துத்தெரிவித்தார்கள். டென்மார்க், நோர்வே போன்ற நாடுகளில் வாழும் தமிழ்க் குடும்பங்கள்பல ஆங்கில அறிவு போதாமையால் நமது இதழை வாசிக்க இயலாமல் இருக்கின்றார்கள் என்றும், அதனால் தமிழ்ப்பக்கத்தில் தமிழர் பிரச்சனைகள் பற்றிய விடயங்களை அச்சிட்டால் அது பயனுள்ளதாக இருக்கும் என்றும் இன்னும் சிலர் கருத்துரைத்தார்கள்.

அவர்கள் அனைவருடைய கருத்துக்களையும் ஏற்று, சிறுவர்க்கான செய்திகளையும், பெரியோர்க்கான சங்கதிகளையும் வெளியிடலாம் என முடிவுசெய்துள்ளோம். தமிழ்ப்பக்கத்தில் தமிழ்ச் சிறுவர்களுக்கென எதனை அச்சிடலாம் என யோசித்துப்பார்த்தோம். இதழின் ஆறாவது பக்கத்தில் திருக்குறள் விளக்கத்தை ஆங்கிலத்தில் அச்சிடுவது போலத் தமிழ்ப்பக்கத்தில் தமிழ்ப் பழமொழிகளை விளக்கி எழுதி வந்தால் அது சிறுவர்களுக்கு உதவியாக இருக்கும் என்று அன்பர் ஒருவர் ஆலோசனை கூறினார். அதே அன்பர் இரண்டு பழமொழிகளைத் தேர்ந்தெடுத்து அவற்றிற்கு இணையான ஆங்கிலப்பழமொழிகளையும் கொடுத்து விளக்கம் எழுதி அனுப்பியிருந்தார். எளிய தமிழில் அழகாகவும், அளவாகவும் எழுதப்பட்டிருக்கும் அந்தப்பழமொழிக் கட்டுரையுடன் தமிழ்ப்பக்கத்தை 1989 சனவரி மாதம் 15 ஆம் தேதி இதழுடன் தொடங்குகின்றோம். அதன் பின்னர் உங்கள் வேண்டுகோளுக்கேற்பத் தமிழ்ப் பக்கம் அச்சிடப்படும். இயன்றால் நீங்களும் எழுதலாம். தரமானவை என்று கண்டால் அவற்றையும் தமிழ்ப்பக்கத்தில் பிரசுரிப்போம்.

பழமொழிகள் பற்றி ஒரு வார்த்தை சொல்ல ஆசைப்படுகிறோம். பழமொழிகள் வெறும் பழைய உழுத்துப் போன மொழிகள் அல்ல. அவை உயிருள்ள, உண்மையுள்ள மொழிகள். பழமொழிகள் எல்லா நாடுகளிலும் எல்லா மொழிகளிலும் உண்டு. வாழ்வழிசொல்லும் அல்லது புத்தி புகட்டும் கூற்றுக்களே பழமொழிகள். அவை பொய்யா மொழிகள்; வெள்ளம் வர முன்னர் அணைகட்டுவதற்கு எம்மை ஊக்கும் மொழிகள். மனித உணர்வுகள் அன்றுதொட்டு இன்றுவரை ஒன்றாகவே இருந்து வந்துள்ளன என்பதை இந்தப் பழமொழிகள் எடுத்துக்காட்டுகின்றன. ஆறாயிரம் கட்டைகளுக்கு அப்பால் இருக்கும் இலங்கையில் ஈராயிரம் ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னால் வாழ்ந்த தமிழனின் அனுபவமும் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னர் இங்கிலாந்தில் வாழ்ந்த ஆங்கிலேயனின் அனுபவமும் ஒன்றாகவே இருந்தன என்பதை இந்தப்பழமொழிகள் பறை சாற்றுகின்றன.

இதை விளக்க சில உதாரணங்களை மட்டும் தருகின்றோம். எழுதுகருவியான 'பேனை' க்கு அந்நாளில் தமிழர் கொடுத்த பெயர் 'தூவி'. ஆங்கிலேயர் இதனை 'பென்' என்கிறார்கள். தமிழ் மொழியில் 'தூவி' என்றால் பறவையின் இறகு என்று பொருள். ஆங்கிலச் சொல்லான 'பென்' 'பின்னா' என்ற இலத்தீன் சொல்லிலிருந்து வந்தது. இலத்தீனில் 'பின்னா' என்றால் இறகு என்று பொருள் ஆகும். இதிலிருந்து அந்நாளில் மக்கள் எழுதுவதற்குப் பறவையின் இறகைப் பயன்படுத்தினார்கள் என்பது தெளிவாகின்றது.

பழந்தமிழில் புத்தகங்களை நூல் என்று சொல்வார்கள். இன்றும் புத்தகத்தை நூல் என்று சொல்லிவருகின்றோம். நூல் என்ற சொல் புத்தகத்தை மட்டும் குறிக்காமல் துணி நெய்ய உதவும் இழையையும் குறிக்கும்; அத்தோடு நூலால் நெசவு செய்யப்பட்ட துணியையும் குறிக்கும். பாட்புத்தகங்களை ஆங்கிலத்தில் ரெக்ஸ்ந் Text என்பார்கள். துணியை ஆங்கிலத்தில் ரெக்ஸ்ரைல் (Textile) என்பார்கள். தமிழில் 'நூல்' என்றசொல் புத்தகத்தையும் துணியையும் குறிப்பதுபோல ஆங்கிலத்தில் Text, Textile என்ற ஓர் உரிச் சொற்கள் புத்தகத்தையும் துணியையும் குறிக்கின்ற ஒற்றுமை வியப்பாக உள்ளது. மனித உணர்வுகள் அநுபவங்கள் ஒன்றே என்பதற்கு இவை சான்று.

பனையால் விழுந்தவனை மாடேறி மிதித்தது போல்; வழியில் தேங்காயை எடுத்து தெருவில் பிள்ளையாருக்கு உடைக்காதே; கல்விகரையில் கற்பவர் நாள்சில; கல்லில் நார் உரிக்க இயலாது என்ற தமிழ்ப்பழமொழிகளை Misfortunes never come singly; Don't rob Peter to pay Paul; Art is long and life is short; You cannot get blood out of a stone; என்ற ஆங்கிலப்பழமொழிகளோடு ஒப்பிடும்போது வியப்படைகிறோம்.

இவ்வாறுவியப்பூட்டும் பழமொழிகளை ஒப்பிட்டு நோக்கி விளக்கி உரைப்பது நமக்குப் பயன்தரும் என்ற நோக்கோடு அடியெடுத்து வைக்கிறோம். குறள்கள் இருந்தால் பொறுத்தருளி ஊக்கமும் உதவியும் தரும்படி தமிழ் அன்பர்களை வேண்டுகின்றோம்.