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Hot Spring

A Journal of Commitment

JUNE-JULY 99



Inside

A foreign policy
for Tamil Eelam

Adrian Wijemanne

Vasanth Rajah

Jayalalitha "dissected"

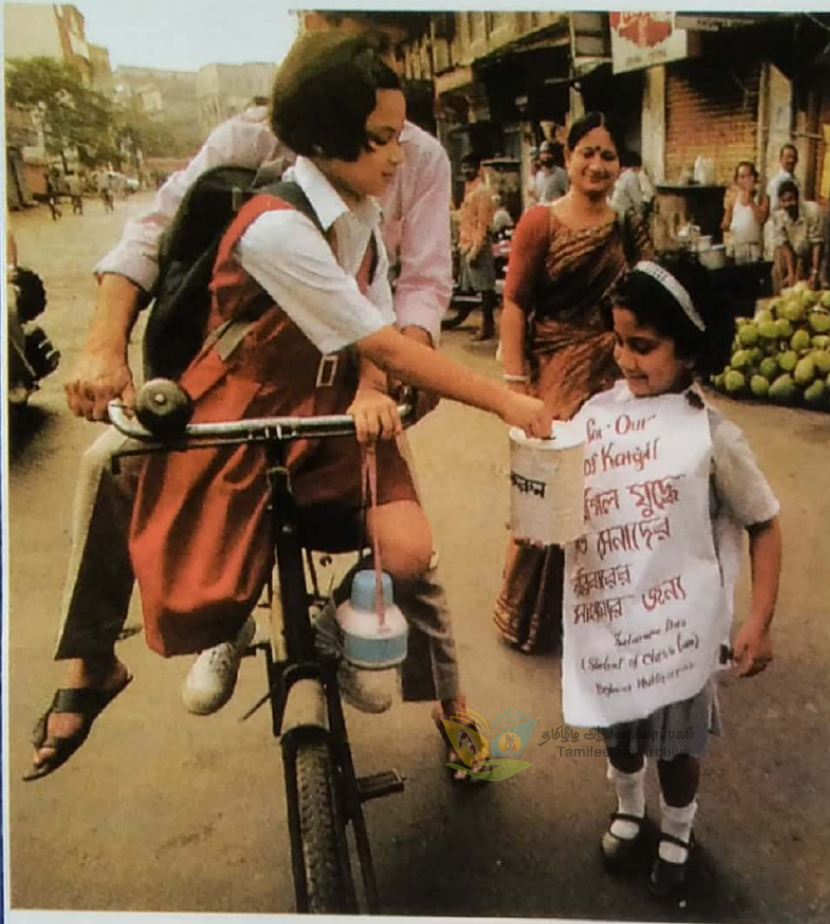
Hot Spring dinner
pictures



Jaffna's women live under
Sri Lankan army terror

Picture by Marwaan Macan Markar
(Sunday Leader)

Feeling for fellow men



mountainous terrain. The widespread anger against the sneaky/intrusion across the Line of Control and the sympathy for the families of the dead soldiers created a wave of patriotic feeling across India.

The picture you see is of a little 6-year old girl in Calcutta, Satarupa Das. She is in Class Two, and takes a 5.30 a.m. train to her school. She charms her fellow commuters in the train with Bengali songs and collects money for the bereaved families of soldiers. A recent report in INDIA TODAY says she has far collected Rs.1,000 in loose change. What impels this little one to do what she is doing? A deep concern for one's fellow men and an empathy with the human suffering of others

Today, in the Vanni jungles of Tamil Eelam, Tamil children, among them many war orphans, are leading undernourished lives, with hardly enough food, family or medical care, or proper schooling. Along with the adults they face an uncertain future under the heel of an oppressive government.

How many children of expatriate Tamil parents in the West have the same largeness of heart as little Satarupa Das of Calcutta? Please stand up to be counted. Do your own little bit for the suffering children of your parental country. NOW!

Little girl, big heart

The recent Pakistani aggression in Kashmir and the "undeclared war"

that followed at Kargil saw more than 400 Indian soldiers giving up their lives in difficult, high altitude Pakistani

Help CHENCHOLAI - the home for needy children in the Vanni.

**Tamil Women's Organisation,
Eelam House
202, Long Lane,
London SE1 4QB
Tel: 0171 -403 4554**

(This advertising space was donated by a benefactor and HOT SPRING reader.)



Hot Spring

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Editorial Comment

Living under army terror

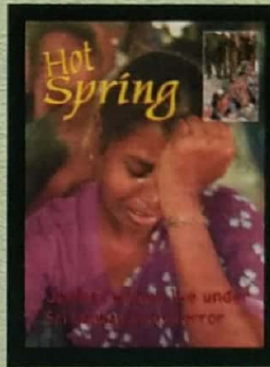
Twenty-eight year old Pathmini of Chavakachcheri is - like the woman president of the country - a mother of two. But unlike the President, she does not know whether her husband lives, or whether she is a widow. He was forcibly taken by armed soldiers three years ago from their home, never to be seen again. Two years ago, she kept on hoping against hope that somehow her husband will return alive. Today, she is not so sure. Her thoughts keep hovering over the Chemmani mass graves.

Pathmini is only one of several hundreds of women in Jaffna whose sons and husbands disappeared without trace.

When the Sri Lankan armed forces captured Jaffna in November 1995, Jaffna became, in the language of the Colombo Press - a "liberated" area. To the Jaffna man, the price of "liberation" has been that over 600 young men and women disappeared from the face of the earth!

In a country ruled by a woman, Tamil women are paying the biggest price in terms of chastity, in terms of sustaining their lives and the lives of their children without the bread-winner of the family, and without male protection or male help. Becoming easy prey to the woman president's armed forces has become the lot of the Tamil women in occupied Jaffna.

When school girl Krishanthi Kumarasamy failed to get back home, the mother, already a widow, like the woman president of the country, set out in search, along with her teenage son and a male neighbour who knowing the ways of the army, offered to escort them. They little knew when they set out, that Krishanthi was already gang-raped, killed and buried in a pit. They also little suspected that



they were going to end up in the same mass grave, strangled and buried.

We are not talking of past history. To this day, the brutality of State "liberation" of Jaffna continues. Cordon and search operations have been intensified in various parts of the peninsula, in the course of which arbitrary arrests are being

made, with no accountability towards those taken into custody.

When you plant 30,000 men with guns, in terrain to which they do not belong, amidst a civilian population of 500,000 with whom they had no previous link, and whose language they do not know, and whose customs and mores they do not comprehend, what does one expect to happen? You need not war against a people to try subjugating them. Annex their land and you achieve the same result.

There is a psychological bond between a people and the soil to which they belong. If you don't belong to it, you owe it no respect nor for the people that belong to it. Gal Oya in 1956 and Padaviya in 1958 were the places from where anti-Tamil riots germinated, because they were Sinhala colonies planted on Tamil soil. There is no way peace could come to Sri Lanka except by recognising the Tamil people's right to their own land.

S.S

An apology

We are sorry that due to financial and other constraints, there has been a regrettable delay in publication of HOT SPRING since April. While every effort is made to maintain the quality of the publication, both in editorial content and design, it becomes difficult to sustain such a publication without greater financial support from the community. Ed. H.S.

What They Say



"If the Sinhalese have remained good boys after 1983 it has been due to the fact that the LTTE have also come to Colombo. Remember Black Friday (Tiger Friday) when the whole of Colombo was running helter-skelter?"

- **Leader of the Tamil Congress G. Ponnambalam.** (Sunday Leader, June 20)



"Why did the government take so long to start the investigations? We wanted the excavation process to begin before the monsoon and also wanted it done earlier to reduce the chances of someone tampering with the graves".

- **Rev. Fr. A.I. Bernard, Rector of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, on government inaction over the Chemmani mass graves.** (Sunday Times, June 20)



"We are pleased to see the government proceeding with its investigation on the widespread report of disappeared people in 1996. Especially, for a government which is in the middle of an armed conflict, it is rather exceptional that the authorities are taking a bold step to help the victims of human rights violations committed by the state forces"

- **Amnesty International representative Ms. Ingrid Massag, giving a testimonial of good conduct to the Sri Lankan government.** (Weekend Express, June 19-20)



"As long as the Army remains in the area, it is difficult to think of normalcy. The Church has been appealing to the government and the LTTE to make the Madhu area a peace zone. But there is not much interest shown

by the President or the Army. The Government talks of peace and normalcy but little is done".

- **Bishop of Mannar Rev. Rayappu Joseph, in an interview with Sunday Times, June 27.**



"The LTTE is fighting for a cause, the foundation of which was laid by a democratic party, the TULF at Vaddukoddai. The LTTE is not working for a terrorist cause, for Eelam too was decided by the TULF and not by the LTTE as many people think. The LTTE is fighting for democratic rights begun by a democratic party, the TULF. To brand them as terrorists is nonsense".

- **Minister and Ceylon Workers Congress leader S. Thondaman, interviewed by Sunday Times, June 20.**



"We have not supported this government and we will not support either... The other Tamil parties which are in parliament and supporting the extension of emergency - it is nothing but unpardonable treachery"

- **"Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) spokesman and one-time M.P. N. Srikantha quoted in SUNDAY LEADER, June 27.**



"Tamils have been deceived by this government and I really do not think that Tamils and Tamil politicians should extend any more support to this government. We must oppose any government that tries to deceive us. This government spoke of nonvio-



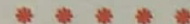
lence but to our utter dismay, is hellbent on a military solution. A self-respecting Tamil or a Tamil party should go against this government on principle".

- **Batticaloa district TULF M.P. Joseph Pararajasingam, quoted in SUNDAY LEADER, June 27.**



"It is a great pity, nay a tragedy, that our all too powerful Head of State is in no position to call the shots and has to meekly succumb to the dictates of her political warlord in so far as policing the war is concerned....."

- **Harry Goonetilleke, Air Vice Marshal (retd.) writing in Weekend Express, July 3-4.**



"We cannot contact him. But he contacts us. He is apparently on the run for security reasons".

- **EPRLF leader Suresh Premachandran talking about Varadaraja Perumal.** (Sunday Times, July 4)



"Yes, I have met him (Sai Baba) on more six occasions. And I am one person to whom he has given personal interviews. Though I am a Strong Buddhist, my wife and I respect all religions".



- **Ousted Sri Lankan cricket captain Arjuna Ranatunga, when asked whether he was a follower of Sai Baba.** Sunday Leader, July 18



"The people of Jaffna and the Wannu have suffered enough and it is about time that the government recognised this fact and decided to hold talks with the LTTE. The LTTE has also announced that their doors are open for a negotiated political solution. Then why is the government delaying?"

- **Dr. Jayalath Jayawardene - National List UNP (MP) interviewed by Sukumar Rockwood, WEEKEND EXPRESS, July 17-18.**



International

"I came here as a bride. I became a mother here, and I also became a widow in front of your eyes. India's greatest daughter Indira Gandhi died in my arms.... Every drop of my blood says this is my country"

- *Sonia Gandhi speaking at an All India Congress session recently*



"The office of a Prime Minister for her is like a toy, a doll. She is not aware what difficulties go with this job".

- *Sonia's estranged sister-in-law, and Union Minister Maneka Gandhi.*

"The Japan-US security arrangements are solely for our self-defence and do not target any countries or regions. There is no change in our policy that Japan will never become a military power".

- *Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi tells Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji.*

"Today is a proud moment: a new stage of a journey begun long ago".

- *Scotland's first Minister Donald Dewar, in his speech opening the first Scottish Parliament in more than 300 years.*



"We have an incompetent government headed by an incompetent person whose policies have left the country isolated in the comity of nations.... He is trying to normalise relations with India, because he

wants to sell sugar to India".

- *Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan's People's Party leader Iqbal Sikander on Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.*

"They took all of our things. Now it is our turn to take all of their things".

- *Albanian Peti Ajvazi, as she carried a dining table from a Serbian home.*



"We have to make a serious effort backed by the leaders and the people of the region to put an end to 100 years of conflict between Israel and the Arabs".

- *Israel's new Prime Minister Ehud Barak*

"Barak may not be the Messiah, but he's the best thing Israel's got".

- *Hirsh Goodman, vice-chairman of The Jerusalem Post*

"Will someone come down here and turn me on?".

- *First Lady and probable U.Senate candidate for New York state, Hillary Clinton after her microphone stopped working at a meeting.*



"Thailand has two comparative advantages. Sex and golf courses

- *NEWSWEEK magazine feature quoting a Western diplomat.*

"Naturally, women who are blessed by Allah with good looks are married to rich husbands. If they do not have jobs, it is still not a problem to them".

- *Malaysian Islamic party leader justifying why he asked interviewing officers to recruit less beautiful women for jobs*

"Thirty years have passed since



Man landed on the lunar surface, but still many people doubt that the moon landing ever occurred. The moon is as big as Africa and only a few football size areas have still been explored"

- *Arthur C. Clarke, space scientist and space fiction writer, addressing the Sri Lanka Astronomical Association.*

"To be fair, Kennedy will never escape his fate as the most watched, most talked about, most lusted after (married) man in America".

- *what Harpers & Queen writer wrote about John F.Kennedy Jr. two years ago, quoted after his recent death in an air crash.*

"Blessed with a handsome face and a famous name, ample wealth and five star celebrity, JFK Jr. was the golden boy of his generation, a darling of magazine covers and a sort of American royal. He was our closest equivalent to Princess Diana".



- *in a NEWSWEEK tribute to him after his death.*

"It is rather curious that in Britain my accent rather than my character becomes the main story".

- *NATO spokesman Jamie Shea, commenting on sneers made about his "Cockney" accent.*

A Novel of Tamil valour & romance

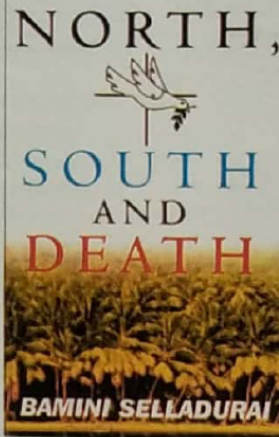
NORTH, SOUTH AND DEATH is a novel written by a second generation Eelam Tamil living in Australia.

Mrs. **Bamini Selladurai**.

The novel's locales are set in Valvettithurai, in the north, the birthplace of the LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran, and in the University town of Peradeniya in the central highlands in the south.

The book, published by the Minerva Press (315-317, Regent Street, London W1R 7YB) says in its blurb:

"Set amidst the racial conflict threatening the island of Sri Lanka, **NORTH, SOUTH AND DEATH** is a fictionalised account of the struggle by the young of both Tamil and Sinhalese background for equality and freedom for the Tamil people. In a society where the cultural majority rule at the expense of the minority's independence, revolution is always round the



corner.

"For one Tamil youth, Easwaran, it means a decision between the ahimsai method of peaceful protest, so successful for Mahatma Gandhi in India, or the use of aggressive armed tactics to bring down the Sinhalese government. Realising the ineffectual nature of the Tamil elders, he willingly gives up his education, family and fiancée, Bhawani, for the weapons of liberation, prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice in defence of his rights....."

There is also a Tamil version of the novel published in India.

Inquiries about both books could be made to - 42, Fernlea Crescent, East Doncaster, Melbourne, Victoria 3109, Australia.

Asylum seekers win key ruling

Hundreds of asylum seekers will stay in Britain after a court ruling that France and Germany are not safe countries to which to return them.

Reporting this in a recent issue of THE TIMES, London, the papers' Home Correspondent, Richard Ford writes:—

"The Court of Appeal said that Jack Straw had acted unlawfully when ordered three asylum seekers to be returned to France and Germany. Lord Woolf, the Master of the Rolls, and two other appeal court judges found that the two countries were not safe for refugees facing persecution in their own countries from forces other than the state.

(The) "judgement will affect the status of hundreds of asylum seekers who have been ordered to return to the first EU country they reached when fleeing. The ruling undermines the Dublin Convention which says a person seeking asylum must apply in the first EU country reached. A spokesman for the Home Office said officials would consider whether to take the issue to the law lords.

"The three cases involved people who claimed they would be persecuted by individuals other than the state. They claimed that if they were returned to France or Germany their applications would not be dealt with properly because they are not safe countries. France and Germany do not recognise persecution by non-state agents.

Student Liberation Day; Palermo, Italy.

Dozens of Tamil children sang, danced and staged dramas to commemorate Student Liberation Day at a function held in Palermo, Italy. The students were from various



grades studying at the Thileepan Tamil School conducted in memory of Eelam Tamil martyr who gave up his life in a protest fast against India twelve years ago.

THE ADEQUACY (or otherwise) OF THE SRI LANKA GOVERNMENT'S MILITARY EXPENDITURE

1. In the Sinhala discourse on the war there is never any questioning as to whether the sum voted for it annually by parliament is adequate for the purpose or not. Whenever the government refers to the subject it always emphasizes what a large sum has been provided and at what great cost to the country's economy and development. This diverts attention from the question of adequacy or otherwise. It is exactly the same in non-governmental circles (now increasingly called "civil society"). There is much lamentation about the many vitally important areas of the economy (education, health, public utilities etc) which are starved of funds on account of the high military expenditure. While these lamentations are justified and true, they too divert attention away from the question of adequacy or otherwise.

BY ADRIAN WIJEMANNE

2. Undoubtedly one of the reasons for this is the belief that there is no way of knowing what is adequate or not. There are no objective standards in such a matter. Wars are different, one from the other. They are waged in different contexts, both physical and economic, in widely varying cost environments and at different levels of intensity. The variables are so numerous and so diverse that an objective judgement is impossible. This conclusion should lead, logically, to an open mind and constant alertness and questioning in respect of adequacy or otherwise. But instead, the universal assumption is that because there are no means of rational judgement, the amount provided annually must be adequate. It amounts to founding certainty upon ignorance. We don't know,

we have no means of finding out, therefore, all is well !

3. Another, even less satisfactory reason, is the belief that this is a matter for military experts and not for civilians outside the military arena. War is the business of the military authorities and not of civilians and so it is the military authorities who know what is adequate or not. Civilians have neither right nor opportunity to judge matters within the military domain. If the military authorities are satisfied with the annual provision of funds for the war, that provision must be adequate. This assumption and this hands-off attitude by civil society are very unsatisfactory for several reasons.

4. First, there is never an explicit assertion by the military authorities that the annual financial provision given them is adequate. The annual budget formation system is such that every branch of government asks for more than they get eventually - the final provision is always a compromise.

5. The second, and far more serious objection is the fallibility of the assumption that the military authorities always know what they are about. The history of warfare is replete with evidence to the contrary, with evidence of the fallibility of military judgements. This is so commonplace that it has led to the truism that "War is far too serious a matter to be left to the military". Stanley Karnow in his epic "VIETNAM - A HISTORY" sets out how the Pentagon, then the most sophisticated military hierarchy in the world, came to egregious judgements about the war in which it was engaged. In Sri Lanka the highest elements within the military give constant assurances to "General" Ratwatte as to when the war will be won; he in turn gives these predictions confident publicity and they turn, invariably, to dust and ashes in his mouth. It is not that he is trying to mislead the people with these pronouncements; he himself is being misled by misjudgements among the military top brass and himself knows too little to recognise these misjudgements for what they are. The military are not by any means

infallible judges of what they are engaged in and are capable of being in egregious error.

6. Thirdly, the military and civil society are not in watertight compartments. They are interdependent in a great variety of ways - financially, economically, psychologically and in the provision of that most indispensable element of war, human beings to fight and die. Civil society, especially in Sri Lanka, knows full well how fallible its military hierarchy is and so cannot abandon to the military important judgements on military affairs. A central issue in which there needs very urgently to be civilian participation is the adequacy or otherwise of the annual financial provision for what is undoubtedly the greatest enterprise upon which the Sinhala nation has embarked since independence 51 years ago.

7. The war now has a 15-year history of its own. That history shows that the government's forces can mount a brief flurry of activity once in 6 months or so, followed by a long period of recuperation during which there are only minor skirmishes. **A sustained campaign is beyond the capability of the government's forces. It is the same with its adversary, the LTTE. The result of this method of warfare is that the LTTE grows stronger all the time - after 15 years of conflict the LTTE is now considerably more powerful than it was at the beginning despite the great increase of the size of the state's forces.**

8. As things stand now it must be clear even to the meanest intellect that the state's forces are unable seriously to debilitate the LTTE let alone hope for outright victory. That is now completely beyond the bounds of possibility. How has this situation come about? The question is inescapable and it is as much a question for civil society as it is for the military. Undoubtedly there are many answers. The object of this paper is to advance one, a reason directly related to its title, - the adequacy or otherwise of military expenditure voted annually for the war.

9. Though not commonly known there are theatres of secessionist war-

fare from which cost figures are available. The one most easily to hand is Northern Ireland where a secessionist conflict was actively in progress till 1998. Though a settlement was reached there in April '98 it has not been consummated yet and problems abound even though the ceasefire is holding. In the later stages of this war the engagement of the British forces in the province against the guerillas of the IRA cost the British government £ 3.25 billion per year. **The IRA is one-thirtieth the numerical strength of the LTTE and the physical extent of the theatre of engagement (Northern Ireland) is two-thirds that in Sri Lanka (the north-east province). It is a war much smaller in scale than the war in Sri Lanka; all the military hardware and fuel needed for it are home-produced and not imported as they are in Sri Lanka. And yet it cost the British government the annual equivalent of Rs. 373 billion.**

War- "The greatest enterprise upon which the Sinhala nation has embarked in 51 years"

10. Taking all the cost variants between the two theatres into account it is reliably estimated that anti-guerilla operations in Northern Ireland are approximately 6 times more expensive than in Sri Lanka. If the lower Sri Lanka cost factors were applied to the Northern Ireland operation the cost there would be around Rs. 373 divided by 6 which is equal to Rs. 62 billion per year.

11. However in Northern Ireland the ratio of troops to guerillas is 100 to 1 - ten times the ratio in Sri Lanka. If the Northern Ireland engagement is conducted at Sri Lankan levels of troop deployment it would cost Rs.62 billion divided by 10 which is equal to Rs. 6 billion per year.

12. Now come the countervailing factors. Whereas the strength of the IRA in Northern Ireland is reliably estimated to be no more than 300 men and women operatives, the LTTE is at least 30 times that number. Applying this factor to the number arrived at in

the previous paragraph the amount required in Sri Lanka would be Rs 6 billion multiplied by 30 which comes to Rs 180 billion per year.

13. However another element which has a vital bearing on the situation has to be factored in and that is the much greater extent of the theatre of engagement in Sri Lanka. The northeast province is about 35% larger than Northern Ireland. **In addition its terrain is incomparably rougher than in Northern Ireland which makes it greatly to the advantage of the guerillas and to the corresponding disadvantage of the state's motorized formations.** These factors have a direct bearing on operational costs. A realistic assessment would be the need for the increase of the annual financial provision by at least 50% over the figure reached in the preceding paragraph. That would take the Rs. 180 billion per year to Rs. 270 billion per year.

14. It would be wise at this stage to recall that the Northern Ireland case under comparison is not a case of success. On the contrary, after nearly 30 years of continuous engagement (from August 1968 to April 1998) the IRA, far from being vanquished, is stronger than ever before. Nothing in the Good Friday Accord of 1998 makes disarmament by the IRA mandatory - it is optional and so far the IRA has resisted steadfastly pressure from many quarters to disarm before similar disarmament by all other armed parties in that conflict. So, there is no assurance that even if the annual financial provision for the Sri Lanka government's forces deployed against the LTTE rises to Rs. 270 billion that would bring success.

15. How completely academic and unrealistic that speculation is will be revealed by the figures that follow. The financial provision for military expenditure in the 1999 budget is Rs.47 billion. This is less than one fifth of the sum arrived at in Paragraph 13 above. The Rs.47 billion is made up of two parts - Rs.39 billion is recurrent expenditure, that is, salaries, food, fuel etc and the balance of Rs. 8 billion is capital expenditure, that is, for the purchase of the required military, naval

and air force hardware. Rs.8 billion per year is abysmally small having regard to the high, and constantly increasing, prices of even third or fourth hand military hardware which is all the Sri Lanka government can afford to buy. Furthermore, that pitiable sum - which is no more than £ 69 million - is steadily eroded in purchasing power by the decline in the value of the Sri Lanka rupee vis-a-vis the stronger currencies of the arms exporting countries of the west and China.

16. Can the Sri Lanka government increase its annual military expenditure provision to some amount even remotely approaching the figure of Rs. 270 billion? Once again the figures are revealing. The entire annual expenditure budget for 1999 is Rs.301 billion. This includes servicing of the local and foreign debt, all military expenditure and all recurrent and capital expenditure, the whole shooting match as they say. **This is less than £ 3 billion - in international terms a minuscule figure, the sort of sum handled by a third level vice-president of any of the larger transnational corporations.**

17. Where can the needed funds be found? The largest single item of annual expenditure is debt servicing which takes up Rs.59 billion. Nothing can be diverted from that item to beef up military expenditure. Next comes the capital expenditure element of the overall expenditure budget which stands at Rs. 104 billion for 1999. This already includes the Rs.8 billion voted for military capital items, leaving available Rs.96 billion for possible diversion to military uses. If the capital expenditure budget is scrapped altogether and the whole of the Rs.96 billion is diverted to military uses, the 1999 military expenditure vote will rise from Rs.47 billion to Rs.143 billion which is just over half of what is barely adequate.

18. Then, as a last resort, there is the desperate Armageddon scenario - scrap civil government altogether, suspend pension payments and retain only the medical services and public utilities (power supplies, the railway, communications etc) needed for the war effort. Such drastic steps which

necessitate military government, may release, perhaps, Rs. 100 billion for military expenditure from the Rs.138 billion of the recurrent expenditure budget of 1999. This Rs.100 billion will raise the figure given in the preceding paragraph from Rs. 143 billion to Rs.243 billion, still well short of the target of Rs.270 billion arrived at in paragraph 13 above.

"If the present strength of the Sri Lankan govt. forces is increased by even 10% it would cost an additional Rs.27 billion"

19. Furthermore, all this swingeing re-deployment of budgeted funds is only for better supporting the existing 10 to 1 ratio of troops to guerrillas, not to increase that quite inadequate ratio. The occasional references to the need for conscription to raise the strength of the Sri Lanka forces never includes any mention of where the funds are to come from for the increased numbers. In rare moments of intruding realism the President has mentioned the need for a 500,000 strong cadre which too will provide a still inadequate ratio of 50 troops to 1 guerrilla provided the LTTE obligingly does not increase its own numbers. That last proviso is an unsafe one on which to depend for the LTTE has always found it easier to replenish its forces than the Sri Lanka government. However, if by conscription the present strength of the Sri Lanka government forces is increased by even 10% an additional Rs.27 billion would have to be found.

More taxation

20. Going outside the budgeted funds for 1999, it is only by additional taxation that new funds can be found. A steep increase in taxation even at the cost of ending new direct foreign investment and losing some existing direct foreign investment, is very unlikely to produce additional funds of a magnitude even remotely approaching the sums required. Increases in taxation are sensitive to the law of diminishing returns and cannot be depended upon in an export economy facing increasing international competition. Borrowing abroad is both impossible and unviable, for war

destroys rather than increases net income from which debts have to be serviced.

21. Warfare requiring modern, or recently modern, weaponry is the single most expensive activity in which a state can engage today. Even the richest western European nations have to join in coalitions to share the immense costs involved. **Sri Lanka is one of the world's poorest nations with a per capita g.n.p. per year of US\$ 740- Anybody who believes that modern war can be waged by a state dependent on an economy of that size is seriously deranged.**

The Sri Lanka government lacks even a small fraction of the financial resources needed to prosecute adequately the anti-guerrilla war in which it is engaged. The most it can do is to continue "stop-go" military operations against the LTTE as at present, but no more. Far from weakening the LTTE, continuing on this basis will strengthen it, as has happened over the last 15 years. There is no military possibility of eliminating the LTTE or of debilitating it to an insignificant rump. Throughout the last 15 years, the LTTE has been, and is now, and will continue to be a significant and formidable element of the island's geo-political scenery. It is with the LTTE that peace will have to be negotiated in peace talks with it.

Inescapable reality

It is only a peace treaty with the LTTE that will end the war and usher in peace. This is the reality of the situation and it is unaffected by the ability or inability of the Sinhala side to muster a bi-partisan approach to that negotiation. Governments must govern, whether or not there exists bi-partisan support for their form of governance. To say that nothing can be done without bi-partisan agreement is not governance but abdication. It is for the Sri Lanka government to grasp the inescapable realities of the situation in respect of the war and to make peace taking account of these realities and thereafter to sell it to the people whom it represents and whose best interests it is mandated to preserve.

CASE AGAINST LTTE BASED ON "HEARSAY"

Court sees no legal evidence that LTTE is engaged in terrorist activities, states a Press release issued from the law offices of Ramsey Clark, Lawrence W.Schilling and Visuvanathan Rudrakumaran

The United States Court of Appeals in Washington D.C. has dismissed a petition filed in November 1997 by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, LTTE, challenging its designation by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright as a foreign terrorist organization.

In a decision issued on June 25, the Court said that the Secretary of State's conclusion that the LTTE engaged in terrorist activities might be mistaken but that it had no way of judging this. **It said that the the materials compiled by the Secretary of State without any notice to LTTE, including secret information reviewed by the Court but not shown to LTTE, were based on third hand accounts such as press stories and materials available on the Internet.**

The Court stressed that the information thus compiled is not certainly evidence that would normally be received in court, stating, **"the record consists entirely of hearsay, none of it was ever subjected to adversary testing and there was no opportunity for counter-evidence by the organization affected...we reach no judgement whatsoever regarding whether the material before the secretary is or is not true."**

The decision further stated that the "designation may be improper because the Secretary's judgement that the organization threatens our national security is completely irrational, and devoid of any support. Or her findings about national security

may be exactly correct. We are forbidden from saying. That we cannot pronounce on the question, does not mean that we must assume the Secretary was right. It means we cannot make any assumptions one way or the other."



Madeleine Albright

LTTE disagreed with the Secretary of State's finding that it is a foreign organization, a requirement for designation, maintaining rather that it is a de facto government. With respect to this issue and the designation generally, the Court concluded that "the Secretary's designations embody discretion as to political matters beyond competence of the courts to adjudi-

cate." The Court expressed the belief that in reviewing the designation in this way it was not "allowing the reputation of the Judicial branch to be 'borrowed' by the political branches to cloak their work in the neutral colors of judicial action."

The Court rejected LTTE's claim that the designation denied it due process of law under the U.S constitution, ruling that a foreign entity without property or presence in the United States has no rights under the U.S constitution. The Court did not address LTTE's due process claims based on natural justice and international law.

The result reached in this case clearly confirms the political nature of the conflict and that the Secretary of State's label of LTTE as "terrorist" based on no legal evidence does not contribute to the cause of peace in the island of Sri Lanka.

LTTE is fighting to politically liberate the Tamil nation which has been oppressed and brutalized by the Sinhala state. The Secretary of State can stand on the side of justice by using her influence to bring about a negotiated settlement to the costly conflict and create a political climate that will ensure the security and recognize the right to self-determination of both the Tamil people and the Sinhala people.

LTTE believes that third party mediation is essential for the peaceful resolution of the conflict.

LTTE is consulting with its lawyers regarding its next move.

Talk to the LTTE, Hameed urges business community

The recent move by Sri Lanka's business community to bring about a political consensus between the ruling party and the Opposition on resolving the island's ethnic problem ran into rough ground when the main Opposition party called for the involvement of the LTTE as well in the exercise.

United National Party's senior parliamentarian and a former Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed has urged business leaders to start a dialogue with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam side by side with the present effort, according to INDIA ABROAD NEWS SERVICE. (IANS).

The IANS report says: "Mr.Hameed, who had led the government team to the abortive peace talks with the LTTE in 1989-90, claimed that the business leaders had earlier agreed on the need for a dialogue with the guerrillas.

"But the business group's chairman, Mr.Lalith Kotelawala denied that. "Our endeavour is to bring in a consensus between the national political parties", he said.

Mr Hameed said a national consensus would be meaningless without the involvement of the LTTE in a final agreement and urged the business community to broaden its initiative to include a dialogue with the rebels.

"Mr.Kotelawala and other leading members of the business community felt it would be best to first find consensus among the national parties and begin talks with the militants as the next step. But Mr.Kotelawala agreed to forward the final proposal emerging out of his talks with the national political parties to the LTTE.

"He pointed out that such a step would require concurrence of the two national leaders, President Chandrika Kumaratunga and opposition leader Ranil Wikremasinghe of the UNP.

"Mr.Hameed however, suggested that the business community have a simultaneous dialogue with the LTTE and any proposal emerging should be taken to the parliamentary select committee on constitutional reform.

"Political analyst Jehan Perera said the business community's reluctance to have early dialogue with the



A.C.S. Hameed

LTTE would delay the whole process. "Even if there is a consensus between the political parties, the PSC discussions could be dragged on for a long period and there would not be any possibility of a final agreement within the remaining 13 months of this Parliament's six-year tenure", he said.

AIR LANKA GETS FACE-LIFT AND NAME-CHANGE

Do you want to fly Air Lanka? Sorry, you can't; for the simple reason that there is no such airline by that name. What was once Air Lanka is now SRI LANKAN AIRLINES. The idea is, if the country cannot do it, at least the country's airline must present a new face to the world!

Apart from the name change, the national carrier has adopted a new logo with colours which the management hopes will give the airline

increased recognition and distinctiveness in the market.

Explaining why there was the need to change the name, Chairman S.K.Wicremasinghe had said, according to a UNI report emanating from Colombo, Sri Lanka is still not a name that is on everyone's lips, especially in parts of Europe and the United States. In fact, with most people Sri Lanka is still referred to as "Ceylon".

The name "Air Lanka" is not easily

identified with Sri Lanka, he said.

The peacock design which was used by Air Lanka for the past 20 years is being given up and replaced by a flying bird with three colours of the "national flag". The sarees of the air hostesses are themselves undergoing change.

All these changes follow a controversial deal under which Emirates bought 40 percent of Air Lanka and took over the complete management of the company.

AUSTRALIAN M.P. BACKS AN INDEPENDENT TAMIL EELAM

“I strongly urge this parliament to support the independence of the Tamil people from the state of Sri Lanka”.

This was what Mr. John Murphy, Federal Parliament Member for Lowe in the Australian House of Representatives said while speaking in the Australian Parliament on June 1, 1999.

He said:- “It is foolishness for us to ignore this 15-year bloody conflict that sees no end in sight because the Tamil and Sinhalese people cannot peacefully coexist under one government. Our immediate regional history has shown that Sri Lanka is one clear example where the demographic reality requires a separation of states.”

Here is the full text of Mr. Murphy's statement as reported in the Hansard of the House of Representatives, Australian Federal Parliament House (01 June 1999, Page reference P4624).

Mr MURPHY (Federal Member for Lowe) (10.48 p.m.)- I rise tonight to speak about the plight of Tamils in the war-torn country of Sri Lanka. The Tamil community constitutes one of the most significant cultural entities in my electorate of Lowe. It is widely acknowledged that the Lowe electorate is the Tamil 'capital' of Australia. On 4 August 1998, the Sri Lankan government extended its state of emergency to the whole of the country. This measure was in force in the capital Colombo and in the north and east of Sri Lanka, where separatists belonging to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have been waging a bloody struggle for independence.

Today, the civilian Tamil population continues to be a target of military operations by the Sri Lankan armed forces. As a consequence, disappearances, extrajudicial killings, rape, torture, arbitrary arrest and indefinite detention are continuing to occur reg-



Mr. John Murphy (MP)

ularly within the Sri Lankan army-occupied regions of the Tamil homeland. There are more than 825,000 displaced Tamil civilians living under appalling conditions that include acute shortages of water, food and medicine. In the northern Vanni region of the Tamil homeland there is an embargo of essential food and medicine in violation of humanitarian law.

At the present time we are hearing so much about the horror of war in Kosovo. Why are we not hearing about Sri Lanka's war? Because it is a hidden war due to the strong ties between the Sinhalese dominated Sri Lankan government and the major Western powers. Both scenarios depict a racially dominated military oppressing an ethnic minority. Both have resulted in massive displacements, sightings of mass graves and evidence of genocide. Both situations have resulted in two of the gravest disasters and crimes against humanity. Multiple massacres have occurred in townships in the east and north of Sri Lanka. An attempted democratic mandate proved by a 70 per cent vote by Tamils to separate from Sri Lanka in 1977 has been systematically denied.

I have the greatest respect for the Tamil community. They are perhaps one of the best organised ethnic communities in Australia. Since I was elected to this House in 1998 I have received representations from several Tamil organisations and individuals. These and other associations form an international network of Tamil community organisations seeking a peaceful solution to the ongoing bloodshed in Sri Lanka. What then is the solution to the 15-year civil war in Sri Lanka? In fulfillment of this drive towards a peaceful solution, the Tamil community is asking for a withdrawal of security forces from the occupied Tamil homeland, a lifting of the embargo on essential food and medicine and a political solution to the conflict with the Tamil people that would enable the Tamil people to choose their own political and national status.

The Tamil people call on Australia to assist them in their appeal for negotiations to take place under the auspices of a neutral third party acceptable to the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil leadership under the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. I strongly urge this parliament to support the independence of the Tamil people from the state of Sri Lanka. It is foolishness for us to ignore this 15-year bloody conflict that sees no end in sight because the Tamil and Sinhalese people cannot peacefully coexist under one government. Our immediate regional history has shown that Sri Lanka is one clear example where the demographic reality requires a separation of states.

The alternative to this course of action is for Australia to participate in the grave destabilising influence of Sri Lanka melting down into a further 15 years of protracted civil war that may threaten to further destabilise our immediate region. Like Kosovo, a polit-

ical and peaceful solution to the conflict can be achieved only in the absence of ongoing-armed conflict. The Tamil people cannot negotiate under the auspices of military oppression.

I call on the Australian government to take urgent action to press the Sri Lankan government to

(1) withdraw its security forces from the occupied Tamil homeland; (2) lift the embargo of essential food and medicine; (3) seek a political solution to the conflict with the Tamil people that would enable them to choose their own political and national status; and (4) recognise the Tamil right to self-determination as stipulated in article 1 of the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which states:

All people have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

I call for negotiations to take place and to be overseen by a third party acceptable to the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil leadership, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Australia has an obligation to play a role in bringing about a lasting and plausible peace for Sri Lanka and the achievement of a peaceful Tamil homeland—a dream shared by the million Tamils worldwide.



Set up a "Tamil Eelam Bank" says S.A. David

"An item of priority for Eelam Tamils abroad is the setting up of a "Tamil Eelam Bank", says S.A. David, writing in the June 1999 issue of "Periyar Era", published in Chennai in India. 82-year old Mr. David is a Melbourne educated architect and Town Planner and one-time President of Gandhigram now living in exile in India.

Writing under the title : **Time is running out for Eelam Tamils**, he writes, inter alia,

"At the height of his political power around 1983, J.R. Jayawardene let loose racial riots on Eelam Tamils in Sri Lanka to force them to leave the island. At the same time he is reported to have given instructions to the Sri Lankan Immigration authorities to issue passports to Eelam Tamils to leave the country without delay.

"This vicious plan of J.R. Jayawardene has been a blessing in disguise to Eelam Tamils. Within a couple of years they spread across the globe. Most of them found gainful employment at salaries against which Sinhala salaries in Sri Lanka are a pittance.

"It is tragic that the Eelam Tamils

have not used this windfall to win freedom from the Sinhalese. Instead, there are frightful reports of extravagant life styles and wasteful expenses among Eelam Tamils overseas.

"There are four lakhs of Eelam Tamils living in highly developed countries around the world. If we take 1 in 4 as gainfully employed and an average of US dollars 1,000 per month as salary, Eelam Tamils are earning US dollars 100 million a month. If 10% of this amount is deposited into the Eelam Tamil bank, US dollars 10 million will be saved every month. In a year US dollars 120 million can be saved. In terms of Indian rupees this amounts to nearly Rs. 4800,000,000 (Four hundred and eighty crores of rupees)....

"Brave, courageous Eelam Tamil boys and girls are facing fearlessly the wrath of the Sinhala armed forces. They are laying down their lives to defend Tamil Eelam land. If the overseas Tamils discard luxury living they can save millions for the Tamil Eelam war effort. Let not history record that one section of Eelam Tamils were only enjoying life while thousands were giving their lives to free their fellow Tamils from Sinhala rule".

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The racism behind the NATO rescue

BY ANA PARARAJASINGAM

The international response to the Kosovo crisis has shown, if more such evidence was needed, that there are some "victims" worthy of our sympathy and others that are not. The Kosovo Albanians are unquestionably worthy of the support and sympathy that they have received. But so too are many other peoples: the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Kurds and the East Timorese, to name just some.

How can we explain the fact that the Tamils, to take one example, have experienced similar tribulations to the Kosovo Albanians - and over a longer period - and yet the international media have shown scant interest? Why was there no international outcry when an offer by the then United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to provide immediate humanitarian assistance was rejected by Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, who declared that "the Government does not intend to permit outside agencies, including the UN, to carry out independent operations"?

The indifference to the plight of the Tamil people is certainly not due to ignorance. Their treatment has been reported for years by reputable international agencies. Reports by Amnesty International since the 80s show that the killings of Tamil civilians have increased exponentially in this time.

To discover why the West responds in different ways depending on the identity of the "victims", we have to look beyond alleged ignorance.

Perhaps, as some commentators

suggest, Slobodan Milosevic's defiance of the West was seen as a destabilising factor, and therefore a threat to the Western alliance. Yet other political observers dismiss this argument, given the huge disparity between the military power of the European Union and impoverished Serbia. They simply refuse to see Milosevic as a threat to Europe.

A more plausible reason is that Milosevic invokes in the Western mind ugly memories of a previous genocide - that of the European Jewry. Hence its reaction to the actions of the Serbian leader.

But if it is to genocide in Europe that the West objects, then surely it is morally obliged to respond to situations in other parts of the world that have also been described as genocidal.

Perhaps, the operative word here is "European". Genocide, or for that matter any atrocity committed against EUROPEANS, is what seems to have provoked the reaction by NATO.

And, if that is the case, then NATO's policy on military intervention must be seen to be driven by a racist

ideology - which is the very stuff that the crime of genocide is all about.

If Bill Clinton and Tony Blair, or for that matter any other NATO leader, are indeed driven by an urge to prevent crimes against humanity, then of course they should be applauded for that.

But the applause would be louder and more sustained if they acted, and acted swiftly against ALL governments that engage in atrocious behaviour.

(The above article appeared in the Australian paper, *THE AGE*, on Friday 2 July).

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A FOREIGN POLICY FOR TAMIL EELAM: THE WORLD BACKGROUND

Since the mid-nineties, North America and the European Union, reinforced by nominally-hesitating but actively-aligned partners Russia and Japan, are in an ever-increasingly aggressive manner interfering in the affairs of almost every country in the rest of the world in a cartel mode.

The artifice-laden instruments for this interference are the World Bank, IMF, WTO, NATO and such and similar regional alliances and institutions under the de facto operational control of the above powers. The United Nations (UN) with its rigged system of veto power in the Security Council and the UN General Assembly where dozens of small member-countries who are politically and financially beholden to the Majors and are mostly constrained to vote in accordance with the Majors' wishes, are two such other instruments.

Thus the world today has already in place an efficient international network to portray the collective will of six or eight white rulers as 'the consensus decision of the international community', which is the fashionable phrase currently in vogue.

The ultimate sanction behind this political facade is naked military power, as has always been so

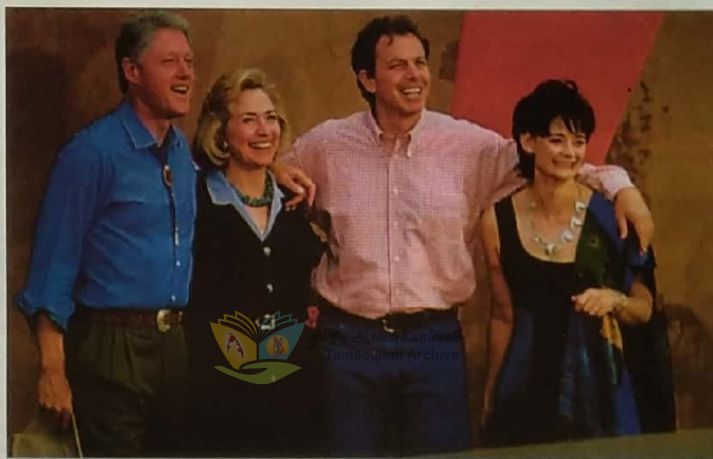
in history. Every city and built-up structure in the Third World today is as defenceless against the U.S Air Force and cruise missiles and nuclear

High-speed information technology and elaborate surveillance systems make development of military prowess by the Third World an impossible task today. Any such attempts are being put down with an iron hand in the name of non-proliferation. A dead-pan control of strategic knowledge is considered by the West as an essential ingredient of the continuance of the present imbalance of power.

Since 1500, tens of thousands of galleons have carried away looted wealth from African, Asian, Inca and Maya Empires into white homelands and huge expanses of territory in the New World and

Australasia have been converted through genocide and slave labour and convict labour into prosperous new white societies. Meanwhile, 500 years of colonial rule and the withdrawal of advanced education has condemned the Third World into a giant slum except for a few tiny pockets.

The intelligent consolidation of the looted riches and the fruits of usurped land and free slave labour led to the great material advancement of the white people, higher education and still further technological expertise. But the recent emergence of potentially rich and powerful large nation-states like Japan, China, Indonesia and India seems to have triggered a new wave of anxiety



"The Pax Americana under the leadership of Clinton-Blair"

weapons as were every port in Africa, Asia and the entire coastlines of the New World against the cannons of the Armadas of Vasco De Gama,

A POINT OF VIEW BY RAJA CHOLAN

Christopher Columbus, Hernando Cortes and other conquistadors at the commencement of the 16th century. But the principle was the same: the predator could subjugate the locals from strategic locations, which were out of range of the striking-power or fire-power of the locals who chose to fight back. The loss to the predator was minimal.

amongst the leaders of the present power structure. The last decade is witnessing a mad scramble by the West for the consolidation of the present power structure in a fixed-mould as it-is-basis. No new kaleidoscopic formats are to be allowed and will not be tolerated.

The future of North Korea seems secure as it is needed as a counterpoise against Japan. Tibet, Sinkiang and Taiwan questions have eternal life as they are needed to keep China on the defensive. Pakistan, Kashmir, Punjab, Assam-North East questions will never go away as they help to keep India on its toes. East Timor, Irian Jaya with Sumatra to follow are only the beginning of Indonesia's troubles if it ever dares to assert itself.

The West has positioned itself in such a way that they can intervene in the affairs of any outside country on the basis of

(a) human rights issues like civil liberties;

(b) ethnic rights issues like grievances of minority races;

(c) political rights issues like whether the President of another country is really a Dictator or whether he enjoys the support of the people;

(d) election issues like whether international observers should be sent to observe a national election;

(e) judicial issues like whether foreign lawyers and press should attend local court proceedings;

(f) employment issues like the salaries and ages of local workers and whether garments made by prisoners could qualify for export.

The actual list could be much

longer than the above.

But with the entire range of the above options available, the West always exercises the options of kissing and killing on a strictly case-by-case basis of favour and disfavour. No gen-



Indira Gandhi: "Eelam Tamils will always cherish her memory"

eral principles are involved.

It is imperative for Tamil diplomacy to ensure the success of Clinton-Blair being lobbied and persuaded to choose the Tamil Eelam question as a priority on their anti-genocide and anti-ethnic-cleansing agenda. The recent initiatives of Senior American diplomat Inderfurth in Colombo seem to indicate that the U.S government has at least partially made up its mind in this matter.

But the most important thing to remember is that in 1999, all North American - European decisions are made on a cartel basis in any strategic situation.

The Indian diplomatic service with 50 years of unequalled mundane mediocrity behind them has failed monumentally in its tasks because of the lack of understanding of the above realities while the Chinese have won most of the way. The main roadblocks to the generation of goodwill in the diplomatic field towards the concept of Tamil Eelam have been placed by India. The time has come for massive diplomatic effort to be made to supplement the 22-year heroic struggle of valliant Tamil soldiers in Sri Lanka.

The Indian complication: Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi were the only two great Prime Ministers independent India ever had. Nehru supported liberation movements worldwide. An overwhelming majority of Eelam Tamils will always cherish the memory of Indira as the flesh-and-blood personification of Mother India or Bharat-Mata. Without her love for the entire Tamil and Bengali people, neither would Bangladesh have been born nor the Eelam Tamil liberation movement attained its present position.

But the past is past and the Eelam Tamils in their sentimentalism cannot afford to forget the grim realities which face them today. Since 1987 every successive New Delhi government has been actively collaborating hand-in-glove with every successive Colombo government towards the physical liqui-

dation of the Eelam Tamil Liberation movement. The Indian Foreign Service and the Indian mass media have relentlessly been tarnishing the image of Eelam Tamils internationally. In his recent controversy with George Fernandes, the Defence Minister, the Indian Admiral Bhagawat admitted to what amounts to effective piracy on the High Seas by intercepting foreign flag vessels bound for neighbouring countries by the Indian Navy.

The position in Tamilnadu state populated by over 60 million ethnic

Tamils is still more queer. When Black Africans struggled against apartheid, or when the Jews established and defended Israel, or when the Palestine Arabs fought for their homeland or when ethnic Kurds took up arms against oppression in Turkey, or when the Catholics in Northern Ireland demanded their rights, it was only natural and humane and spon-

taneously effusive that Blacks, Jews, Arabs, Kurds and Catholics on other lands would extend moral, political, emotional and even institutional and financial support to their brothers in distress. But amazingly and beyond all sense of belief, the Holy Cow government in New Delhi has unleashed such a political and police reign of terror in Tamilnadu state that the actual competition between every major political party in the State is to proclaim aloud how each hates the Tamil Eelam Liberation movement very much more than the other. The heavens will fall and lightning from New Delhi will strike if they dared to behave any other way.

It is extremely important that Tamil diplomacy be under no illusion that the enmity of New Delhi to the establishment of Tamil Eelam is a passing situ-

ation. Political giants like Indira Gandhi are a rare phenomenon. New Delhi never ruled over Tamilnadu in the entire history of India and received the state as a gift from the British. **Tamilnadu state governments of every party have always refused to accept Hindi as an official language and Tamilnadu is almost like a different nation. New Delhi can never accept Tamil Eelam independence as this may serve as an example to Tamilnadu. New Delhi feels very insecure.** Thus U.S support is essen-

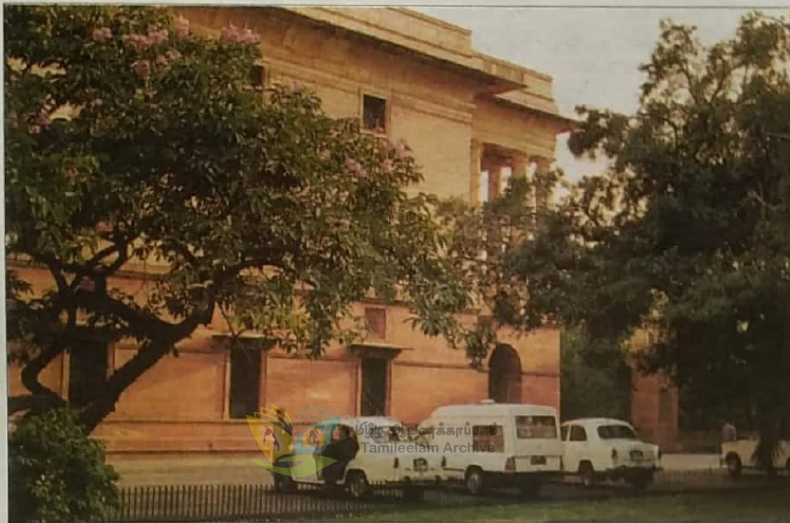
support to Colombo's war effort. It is an integral part of New Delhi's administrative philosophy that ethnic uprisings as with the Sikhs in the Punjab, Muslims in Kashmir and Assamese and tribals in the North-East should be brutally drowned in horrendous blood-baths. Colombo under Indian tutelage followed the same system in both South Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelam. The Indian police and military are world-famous for their physical extermination of radical opposition political cadres and activists by faking encounters. Colombo now follows.

Secondly, it is stated that an agreement between the two major Sinhalese political parties SLFP and UNP concerning the political reforms package to be offered to the Tamils should constitute the first step in any negotiations. **Such an agreement will NEVER NEVER be reached as either party is viewing**

the Tamil concessions proposals as the ace trump card to defeat the other party in the next elections and all succeeding elections.

Thirdly, the LTTE seems to have made a wise move in attempting to invite President Mandela to be a facilitator in negotiations with the Colombo government. If Mandela can at least mobilise sufficient international moral and political support to even bring about a cease-fire he would have performed yeomen service to the Tamils and the concept of humaneness. But the Colombo government is most likely to reject his services.

Fourthly, the new system of Pax Americana now emerging under the leadership of Clinton-Blair is reasonably pragmatic in the sense that many variegated formulae depending on special conditions are being offered to



The South Block in New Delhi: "Mediocrity in diplomacy"

tial to securing the rights of the Eelam Tamils. The present 22-year war is only a holding situation militarily, for, if the Tamils were on the point of winning, again as in 1987, the Indian Army will ruthlessly re-enter Tamil Eelam under some pretext.

The strategy of mediation: Firstly, it is in the interest of the Eelam Tamils to have an early cease-fire as the carnage has been going on for too long. There have been over 70,000 deaths in a small community of 2 million people and more young men and women are continuing to be killed every day. But the certain truth is that the Colombo government will prosecute the war with relentless ferocity whilst making appropriate noises periodically for propaganda purposes about the **desire for peace. New Delhi will always stealthily provide all-out**

subject people seeking ethnic and social justice through armed rebellion. For example, whilst the Kosovars get full autonomy and armed UN protection, the Kosovan Liberation Army is to be retained in a new form as a National Guard; East Timor is to have a referendum to choose between total independence and autonomy; the IRA are not being compelled to surrender arms until the Sinn Fein is installed in a power - sharing situation under a new constitution; the West supports the Burmese people's freedom struggle through economic sanctions now and may take more radical steps in the near future; the Palestine 'terrorists' have now been recognised as a legal authority with their own armed forces; Russia has been, through Western pressure, compelled to abandon its war of destruction on Chechenya with the Chechen armed forces still intact and the question whether Chechenya is independent or otherwise still in dispute; **US for 28 years has recognised Mainland China and Taiwan as a single ONE CHINA but will not tolerate Mainland troops to intrude into Taiwan.** Such is the nature of the many-splendoured thing called Pax Americana.

If still today the 'Line of Control' (LOC) in Kashmir has any legal legitimacy left, it is only because of the insistence of the US State Department towering over Indo-Pak impotence.

Fifthly, Tamil Eelam should learn from the example of the Kurdistan independence movement. Bravery and sacrifice are not enough. Without successful international diplomacy, both movements are left without many friends on the world stage. This aberration must be corrected. The Tamil liberation movement ruled over its own separate state of over 8000 square miles for many years before the invasion by the Indian Army. Very few other freedom fighters had this history. The Tamils must now fashion their next step in the light of the above background.

The Tamils should single-mindedly place before the United States their situation and endeavour to obtain their

support and consensus for a formula to suit our special needs. Tamil Eelam territory is located in a highly strategic area of the Indian Ocean and the United States can never be blind to the value of our extended hand of friendship. And we Eelam Tamils as a com-



Karunanidhi: " Butterflies inside his stomach"



Sonia Gandhi: Doubts about the Rajiv Gandhi killing

munity have to live today to survive for another day. Eelam Tamils know all too well how the friendship and support of the United States and Britain brought prosperity to Hong Kong and Singapore. Tamils also know how colonised areas can sometimes take centuries to regain their independence and perhaps could be totally absorbed forever by the colonising neighbouring country. The examples are many.

The battle for Tamil Eelam must be fought NOW NOW NOW and should NEVER NEVER be lost. Our children are dying every day and all our diplomatic roads must lead to Washington, London and the EU countries.

Forget India. It is now being ruled by a new generation of cheap skate politicians. For 45 years Vajpayee criss-crossed the Hindi heartland with his fiery oratory proclaiming the Hinduta New Testament of the R.S.S which is something of an **Eighth day adventist Vaishnavite Fundamentalist militant sect that insists the humans Krishna and Ram are gods and ignores the supremacy of the Brahma-Shiva-Vishnu trinity and treats Shiva-worshipping Tamil Emperor Ravana as a demon.** And Vajpayee instantly forgot his 45-year past to save his Prime Ministership.

Similarly in Madras, Karunanidhi with a similar 50-year past of verbal thunder, now has the feeling of butterflies creeping inside his stomach when the word Dravida Nadu is mentioned. But there is a fresh wind in India called Sonia Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi made the Congress Party into a mass organisation in the 1920s and Indira Gandhi and Sonia Gandhi brought about the almost miraculous second and third resurrections of the Congress in 1969 and 1998. Perhaps these three stand out as India's three greatest political organisers of the 20th century.

Only time will tell whether Sonia will follow Indira's path of seeking the emotional integration of the Tamils with the main Indian bodypolitik. It would be a very difficult personal decision for her though she has given many indications of doubt whether the truth in the Rajiv Gandhi murder case has

been fully established.

There had been many theories that though the hands that performed this gruesome deed on Rajiv were identified as LTTE cadres who were acting out of a sense of Tamil patriotism, still doubts persist whether some of these over-zealous unsophisticated hyper-active youngsters on the periphery of a necessarily loosely-controlled guerilla movement, were brain-washed by out-siders and anti-Rajiv conspirators to play the role of a Lee Harvey Oswald or a Sirhan without fully realising all the implications. **During the last days of Rajiv's life, relationships between him and the LTTE had been re-established according to press reports and the LTTE leadership had nothing to gain and everything to lose by a murder on order.**

The LTTE leadership is too mature to make such silly mistakes.

The relationships between the Tamil race on one side and the Hindu Malayalees and Madras Brahmins on the other side may need some consideration at this point, because to ignore caste and race realities in Indian society is to live in a dream world. The Malayalees have been piggy-back riding on the Tamil population and the Tamil voters to secure many important positions for themselves like President Devan Nair of Singapore, ICFTU International President P. P. Narayanan from Malaysia, Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran of Tamilnadu and many important Police and administrative positions even in Tamilnadu are held by Malayalees.

The only Indian President ever from Tamilnadu was a Brahmin and the wonder of wonders is that the AIADMK, the largest party of the Dravidian movement, which was founded to oppose Brahmin Power now finds itself with Brahmin Jayalalitha as its supreme leader.

The Hindu Malayalees and the Madras Brahmins have a vice-like grip on the Indian Foreign Service, all Indian Administrative Services, Intelligence agencies, the mass media, and policy forums particularly when it comes to Tamil affairs and most members of these two

communities are by no means friends of the Eelam Tamils.

In fact, one particularly infamous Madras Brahmin journalist is considered by many Eelam Tamils as being instrumental in persuading Rajiv to abandon his mother's policy of support to Eelam Tamils and being the conduit to establish the collaboration between Rajiv and the Sinhalese leaders which ultimately resulted in the death of over 10,000 Eelam Tamils at the hands of the Indian Army. As long as this Hindu-Malayalee/Tamil-Brahmin mafia-like caucus wields such enormous power in the New Delhi establishment, Eelam Tamils will be foolish to look up to India.

It looks as if a few Eelam Tamils are now left the only option of prayers to the Hindu Gods by their different names and to exclaim: Oh Kartikeya! Oh Raghava! Oh Navaneetha! Oh

Subramanya! Oh Swami! Oh Chandra! Oh Swami! Oh Sunderji! Oh Parthasarathy! Oh Lalitha! (any resemblance of these names to Brahmins dead or alive is purely coincidental and unintended) and tell the Gods: "Cover-up is a crime; quick execution destroys evidence; an open trial in an open court may bring out new truths". But the priest caste can often prevent prayers from reaching the Gods. Even Sonia Gandhi may never know the full truth.

The future of Tamil Eelam and perhaps of all Tamils lies in aligning ourselves with the new ethnic and social justice policies set out by the United States and brilliantly expounded and pioneered by Tony Blair. The time has come for the Tamils to LOOK WEST.

(Reader responses are invited on the views expressed by "Raja Cholan" - Ed.HS)

"Give war a chance" says U.S. strategist

"War has a role: it lets groups fight out their differences, and so leads to peace. Trouble is do-good westerners keep interfering in foreign conflicts, imposing short-term ceasefires that only delay the process", says Edward N Luutwak, writing in the U.S. journal Foreign Affairs. Mr.Luutwak is Senior Fellow at the Centre for Strategic & International Studies.

He writes: **"Although war is a great evil, it does have a great virtue: it can resolve political conflicts and lead to peace. This can happen when all belligerents become exhausted or when one wins decisively.** Either way, the key is that the fighting must continue until a resolution is reached. War brings peace only after passing a culminating phase of violence.

"Since the establishment of the United Nations and the enshrinement great-power politics in its Security

Council, however, wars among lesser powers have rarely been allowed to run their natural course. Instead, they have typically been interrupted early on, before they could burn themselves out and establish the pre-conditions for a lasting settlement. Ceasefires and armistices have frequently been imposed under the aegis of the Security Council to halt fighting. NATO's intervention in Kosovo follows this pattern.

"But a ceasefire tends to let belligerents reconstitute and rearm their forces. It intensifies and prolongs the struggle once the ceasefire ends - and it does usually end. The Arab-Israeli war of 1948-49 might have ended in weeks if two ceasefires ordained by the Security Council had not let the combatants recuperate.....

"Today, it might be best for all parties to let minor wars burn themselves out.....



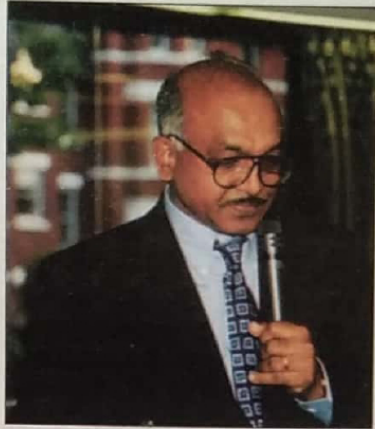
HOT SPRING



3rd Anniversary
Family Get-together & Dinner
Arranged by "Friends of Hot Spring"

Saturday, June 5, 1999
Putney Leisure Centre
U.K.





A GALA EVENING

Covers were laid for 200 ticket holders at the Hot Spring dinner, but a lastminute rush for tickets made the Putney Leisure Centre hall stretched to overcapacity. A crowded affair it became, but it was a jolly, pleasant evening by all accounts, thanks to the *second* organisational skill of "FRIENDS OF HOT SPRING" headed by Mr.R.Ganeshalingam of TAMIL CONCERN.

Speakers at the function were (from top left, clockwise): Mr.Nadesan Satyendra, HOT SPRING subscriber from Singapore Mr.S.Sivakolunthu, Dr.Pararasar Arulanandan, Mr.Adrian Wijemanne, Mr.R. Ganeshalingam, Dr.S.S.Kumar, the Editor, and Mr.Prem Pydiah from Mauritius.





Mrs. Geetha Ravi Shanker of Stoneleigh, writes:

Dear Editor,

As one who happened to be present at the Hot Spring dinner as a guest and found the occasion so enjoyable, will you permit me to write something about it. Men and women of all ages bonded by a common purpose appeared to have graced the function. Delicious food was aplenty. Good wine flowed to the delight of many. A group of charming young ladies weaved in and out neatly to serve the over 200 dining friends and families.

Speeches were short and to the point. Mr. Satyendra spoke of Mr. Sivanayagam's commitment to the





Tamil cause all the way from the seventies and the privation he suffered in India because of that commitment. Mr.Wijemanne, a Sinhalese scholar observed that the Tamils' right to self-determination should not and cannot be denied. Full autonomy, if not separation, was the only way out of the impasse. Mr.Sivakolunthu from Singapore spoke of the communal harmony that is vigilantly preserved in that tiny island nation. It refuses to be dragged down and be trapped by inter-racial conflict.

There was not a dull moment at the dinner. ^{தமிழர் அறிவுரைகள்} Three elderly ladies evoked much laughter from the diners with their London bus stop chatter in Tamil. Their twenty minute performance with their witty play of words was truly good fun. It was nostalgia galore ! But these grandmas also did not fail to pay tribute to the heroic struggle of the LTTE.

The organising committee wisely led the audience towards the end of the evening to a great depth of feeling and understanding by presenting the guest of honour with a silver salver, which obviously carried some words of tribute to him.

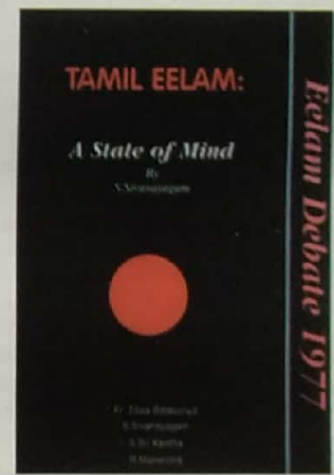
Understandably, Mr.Sivanayagam was overcome with emotion. That moment was indeed solemn and ennobling to everyone present. I sincerely thank the organisers for a wonderful evening.'

Events at the function that Mrs.Geetha Ravi Shanker missed mentioning:

* Miss Yasodha Mitradas, a classical singer known to all listeners of

IBC Radio, delighted the audience to three light classical songs, despite the absence of instrumental accompaniments which are so necessary for a vocalist.

* A bound copy of HOT SPRING issues was auctioned. Beginning with a £60 starter announced by the garrulous auctioneer Bala, the bids swiftly reached £250, when Ms.Eliza Mann gave no chance for anyone else by clinching the whole thing by a bold flourish of £300. (See pictures)



This 24-page monograph titled - TAMIL EELAM : A State of Mind was released at the dinner. It is a reproduction of some articles that appeared in the TRIBUNE during the post-election period in 1977. They took the form of an ongoing debate covering two subjects - (1) The viability of a future Tamil Eelam, and (2) the mandate for Tamil Eelam at the 1977 elections.

While TRIBUNE editor, the late S.P.Amarasingam questioned the viability of an independent Tamil Eelam, Fr.Tissa Balasuriya , Director, Centre for Society and Religion questioned the claim of a popular mandate for Tamil Eelam by quoting statistics.

The booklet contains the polemical contributions of Fr.Balasuriya, S.Sivanayagam (now Editor , HOT SPRING), Sachi Sri Kantha, (now in Japan) and a letter from R.Mahendra of Jaffna.

Priced at £2, it is published by "Friends of Hot Spring".

LETTERS

JAYALALITHA DISSECTED

Mr.S.Sivanayagam
Editor,
HOT SPRING

From Sachi Sri Kantha
Fukuroi City
Japan

I was amused by the reported comment of AIADMK leader Jayalalitha that "I lived one-third of my life being dominated by my mother, another two-third by MGR" (*Hot Spring, April 1999*). As an ardent fan of MGR, I analysed her statement and came to an inference that either Jayalalitha's arithmetic is weak or MGR is still living somewhere.

Let me explain. Jayalalitha was born in 1948. When MGR died in 1987, she would have completed 39 years. According to the records of Tamil movie history, she came into contact with MGR with the "Ayirathil Oruvan" movie (Padmini Pictures) which was produced around 1964-65, when Jayalalitha was 16 years. Her debut movie was "Vennira Aadai", directed by Sridhar. Thus, if one believes the statement that she was dominated by her mother until 15 years, she should have been under MGR's spell for 30 years. In simple arithmetic, 15 plus 30 equals 45. But MGR died when Jayalalitha was 39, and subtracting the first 15 years she mentions as was dominated by her mother, then MGR's "domination" of her life would have lasted only 24 years. **Even within this period, one should subtract the 4-5 year period (between 1972 and 1977) when Jayalalitha had an "extra-marital" dalliance with Telugu actor Shoban Babu, and thus was out of MGR's**

circle. This was the time when MGR was pushed out of DMK, and was involved in building his own AIADMK party.

The puckish reminiscence of Jayalalitha about her mother Sandhya also reveals something of her character. Other than orphans, everyone's first 15 years of life is more or less dominated by his or her mother. So there is nothing unusual about this. It all depends on how each individual reflects his or her link to the primal bond in the life cycle in munificent gratitude or malignity.

Christopher Kemmar has noted in his portrait that Jayalalitha's role models are Indira Gandhi or Margaret Thatcher (*Hot Spring, April 1999*). Maybe, this is how she wishes to be. **In reality, her actions in the public arena and showbiz professional life had revealed that she is a cross between Jiang Qing (Mao Ze Dong's infamous wife, who was labelled as one of the "Gang of Four") and Imelda Marcos. Like Imelda Marcos who first**



courted the voters as a singer, Jayalalitha has also stated in a recent interview as follows: "I am a trained singer. I like Carnatic, South Indian music; I like Hindustani music, I like Western classical music". Also, only Imelda Marcos can be on par with Jayalalitha's accumulation of wealth, including shoes, sandals, and slippers. The public expression of mourning that Jayalalitha demonstrated after MGR's death in 1987 was also on par with the actions of Imelda Marcos when her husband died in Hawaii in 1989.

However, in the political arena, Jiang Qing (1914-1991) is undoubtedly the role model of Jayalalitha. Jiang Qing came to be known first to the Chinese public by the name Lan Ping, as a stage and movie actress. She joined the communist movement in 1937 and became Mao's third wife in 1939. Though prevented by Mao for over 15 years since 1949 from entering politics, she became a leader in the Cultural Revolution of China in 1956, and after Mao's death in 1976, Jiang Qing transformed herself as one of the "Gang of Four". **Jayalalitha's origin as a politician from a career in the movie world is astoundingly similar to that of Jiang Qing, than that of either Indira Gandhi or Margaret Thatcher.**



Imelda Marcos: Shoes, sandals and slippers

Furthermore, Jiang Qing defended her unpopular actions on the grounds that she had never been anything more than Mao's dog: "Whomever he told me to bite, I bit". Now, consider how Jayalalitha had described her entry into Tamil Nadu politics in an April 1, 1999 interview in Rediff On the Net. She has stated: "Mr.MGR invited me to join the party in 1980, but I wasn't sure whether I really wanted to enter politics. So I took about a year and a half to make up my mind, nearly two years, and it was finally in 1982 that I took the plunge. And did join the party".

To another question, Jayalalitha has responded, "I entered the film industry because of the influence of my mother, and I entered politics because of the influence of my political mentor, Mr.MGR. I really came into politics just to be of help to him. Because he said he could not trust



Jayalalitha: the actress during early years

the people around him, and at that time, his health was beginning to fail, and he wanted someone whom he could trust one hundred percent, someone whom he thought could be totally dependable and reliable".

In so many write-ups about Jayalalitha, MGR has been described variously as the leading man, benefactor, mentor, companion, and common-law husband. She had described MGR as her "God" ("En Theivam"). But this Eelam fan of MGR is yet to be convinced that Jayalalitha had learnt any of the good deeds which made MGR an "adorable phenomenon" among the Tamil leaders of the 20th Century.

Mr.S.Sivanayagam
Editor **HOT SPRING**

From: R.Krishnapillai
9, Alderbury Drive
Markham
Ontario L3S 2R5
Canada

Dear Sir,

A Tribute

I went through your Editorial in the **HOT SPRING** of April 1999. It clearly and unmistakably reveals to the readers your manifold talents as a very powerful and poignant writer and journalist who has a very deep knowledge and feel for the history and cultural background of the Eelam Tamils, as well as the present manifold problems confronting them.

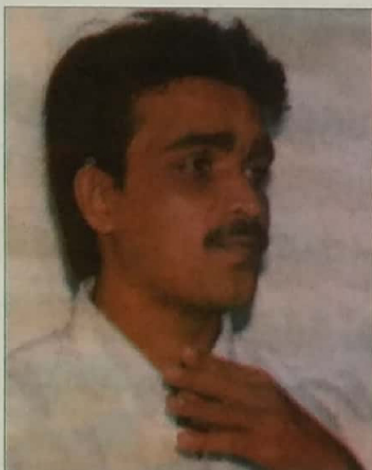
Through your writings and matured journalism you are doing a yeoman service to the Tamils of Eelam from a very lofty level. I am fully convinced that your services to the Tamils are widely appreciated by Tamils both in Sri Lanka and abroad not to speak of the other English-reading public who get a very clear picture of the existing problems of Eelam Tamils.

May Providence help you in every way to continue uninterruptedly this sacred mission till death.

R.Krishnapillai
Deputy Principal Emeritus

JAFFNA'S MASS GRAVES: CORPORAL RAJAPAKSE'S CONFESSIONS

Corporal Somaratne Rajapakse of the Sri Lankan army was among five soldiers convicted of the rape and murder of Jaffna schoolgirl Krishanthi Kumarasamy. In a statement from the dock at the Colombo High Court, after he and four other soldiers were sentenced to death on a charge of rape and multiple murders of Krishanthi, her mother, her brother and a neighbour, Rajapakse said: "We didn't kill anyone. We only buried bodies. We can show you where 300 to 400 bodies have been buried".



Somaratne Rajapakse

This totally unexpected statement made in open court in the presence of several witnesses made it impossible for the government to cover up the issue of hundreds of disappearances that occurred in Jaffna, after Sri Lankan forces captured the peninsula. An inquiry was then instituted, although the government kept dragging its feet on the question of excavation on some pretext or other. At last, on the morning of Wednesday, June 16, 1999, Corporal Rajapakse was brought to Jaffna from the Bogambara Jail, in Kandy

and produced at the Jaffna Magistrate's court under heavy security.

One of the very few fair-minded journalists in Colombo, Marwaan Macan-Marcar of the SUNDAY LEADER, quoted in his paper excerpts of the confessions made in court by Rajapakse:

"I was in the Ariyalai camp doing civil administration. At that time I worked under Captain Lalith Hewa. My job was to register family names and the names of youths. We would prepare two lists.

"Once, Captain Lalith Hewa and Lieutenant Wijesiriwardene brought soldiers from another section to work under me. We were given a list of people who they said were Tiger suspects. I was asked to show the places where these suspects lived. Thereafter they conducted cordon-and-search operations.

"Major Weerakkody and Major Gunasekera brought people before two Tiger informants and the informants were asked to point out who the Tiger suspects were. The ones they had identified were separated

"Captain Hewa raped the woman, and then killed her and her husband"

from the rest. About 50 people were identified and photographed.

"At Ariyalai I can show how people were arrested, killed and buried. At the beginning some people were arrested and brought to a camp and



A Tamil mother holds the photograph of her son who disappeared in Jaffna under army custody.

kept at the Jaya building. Some were kept at a school. The ones who ordered this were Captain Lalith Hewa, Lt. Wijesiriwardene and Lt. Thudugala.

"They were also the ones involved in the arrest of the government servant Selvaratnam. He was brought to the camp. The next day his wife came and asked me whether I had seen him. I did not have the answer then. At that camp there was a building used to torture people. I can show it to you now. When I went to the camp there were 25 people in that building. Selvaratnam

was also there. His legs were tied. He pleaded with me saying he did not have any Tiger connections. I asked Captain Hewa to release him. He agreed. But that night they killed him.

"The next day when I went back I saw 10 more dead bodies. When I was working at the Jaya building, another man, one Udayakumaran was arrested. His family came and pleaded for his release. I went and asked Captain Jayawardene to do so. That afternoon he was taken to another camp. When I went there, they got a radio message asking to release this man. He was hanging by his feet and his body was cut with blades. They couldn't release him. He was killed later.

"I know the weapons they used for torture very well and I can show them to you in that building.

"There was a day when I was asked to bring a mamoty by Captain Lalith Hewa. When I got there, Captain Hewa was with a woman who had no clothes on. This woman and her husband had been brought to the camp earlier. Lalith Hewa raped the woman. Later he attacked the woman and her husband with the mamoty I brought and he also used some rods. Both of them died. He tried to bury them but he couldn't. Then the bodies were brought to Chemmani. I can show you where they were buried.

"Lots of people disappeared from Ariyalai. I can tell you how many were arrested. I also know how many people were buried. Although I was accused of murdering Krishanthi Kumarasamy, I didn't do it. I buried her body, but didn't know at that time it was her. My four colleagues who were convicted and I all gave statements.

"I can show you 10 places in Chemmani where bodies are buried. ASP Perera can show five places. D.M. Jayatileke can show one place near a kovil where a number of people were buried.

"There is also an area behind the Jaya building. I know of two workers in a garage owned by one Ravi who were taken to the main camp. They were killed. I know where they have been buried".

Corporal Rajapakse - A scapegoat to be sent to the gallows?



to take army action on the matter. Six soldiers and three policemen were arrested in that connection, and one of them was Corporal Rajapakse.

By this time, there was already an outcry about the escalating violation of human

. . . while the real culprits go free ?

On the 7th September 1996, schoolgirl Krishanthi Kumarasamy was brutally gang raped and killed by Sri Lankan soldiers in Jaffna. When her mother, her brother and a neighbour went in search of her, they themselves were hacked and strangled to death and all the bodies were buried in a shallow pit in Chemmani, a deserted area under army control.

A hushed conspiracy on the part of the military authorities and the Sri Lankan Defence Ministry and the Colombo Press prevented the news leaking out until more than a month after it happened. It was only during the second week of October that the military police traced the bodies after an inquiry was ordered by the Jaffna magistrate. They were later flown down to Colombo and cremated at the General Cemetery, Colombo under strict police guard. Strict orders had been sent that no recorders or cameras be allowed inside or close to the Colombo JMO's office or the mortuary during the post-mortem examination. On the orders of the magistrate only very close relatives of the family were allowed to perform the last rites, among whom was the only surviving member of the family - Krishanthi's sister, Prashanthi. Their father had died earlier.

The publicity that followed made it impossible for the government not

rights in the peninsula, the large scale disappearances and sex attacks on women, after the government forces occupied Jaffna. Apart from issuing a routine directive to Defence Secretary Chandrananda de Silva, the President did nothing else.

In December that year, Justice Minister G.L. Peiris told reporters that two of the accused soldiers had not been involved in the rape and murder but only helped to dispose of the bodies. They were being pardoned in return for testifying against seven other soldiers and two policemen who were, according to them, involved in the rape and murder incident. Corporal Rajapakse was thereupon named the first accused and along with the others sentenced to death. It all seemed a neat solution to the problem, finding the required scapegoats to save the actual culprits.

Corporal Rajapakse's testimony in the Jaffna magistrate's court specifically mentioning names, places and incidents carry a palpable ring of truth in it. Will the government now order a further investigation and get to the bottom of the whole affair and punish the higher officers under whose authority the disappearances and murders were carried out? Maybe that is too much to ask from this government.

Sri Lanka, Kosova and the world media

[Text of the speech made by Mr. Vasantharajah at the Ottawa Conference on Tamil Nationhood and the Search for Peace on May 21-22, 1999]

I am presenting this paper at a time when the whole world is going through one of the most enlightening - though tragic - experiences ever, and one which has tremendous implications for the world organisation, the UN, as well as for the world media.

Of course, I am talking about Kosovo.

And I am referring to the human obligations of UN officials, and the world media, to help avoid Kosovo-type catastrophes and Nato-type military operations in the future, while helping at the same time to defend the democratic rights and human rights of oppressed minority peoples.

It is interesting that in the later stages of the crisis, Nato in a sense started to re-interpret the objective of its attack as an effort to prevent ethnic cleansing. But at the beginning, Nato politicians were seen referring to the KLA as 'freedom fighters' and forcefully defending the Kosovars' democratic rights, including the right to independence.

The Kosovo crisis indeed is an eye-opener for every democrat and every humanitarian.

Even those who vigorously opposed Nato intervention had to dissociate themselves from what Milosovic was doing to Kosovars. They were merely arguing about better ways of achieving the Nato objectives.

Nobody could challenge the Kosovars' right to self-determination, including the right to independence, although alternatives to total independence, at least as a temporary measure, are being discussed on pragmatic grounds.

BY VASANTHA RAJAH



Vasantha Rajah

So the obvious question is, how do we defend the democratic rights of minority peoples and secure their existence against chauvinist threats in such a manner that Nato-type military operations are rendered unnecessary.

One clear answer is to strengthen the UN mandate and international law, enabling the UN's effective intervention on behalf of abused minority peoples vis-a-vis the dominant sections of people within sovereign states - in other words, removing the existing inconsistencies in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It may also be useful to enlighten the editors of powerful world media networks such as CNN, BBC and SKY of their humanitarian obligation to

make a special effort to inform the world community about the true nature of Kosova-type conflicts raging in many parts of the world, thus enabling the World Organisation to intervene effectively to make sure minority peoples' aspirations are realised through democratic means - as can be seen, for instance, happening in Scotland at present.

It is in this context and spirit I would like to raise some issues in relation to the world's media giants.

As a Sri Lankan deeply affected by the country's ethnic conflict, I cannot but discuss my topic with special reference to Sri Lanka, even though my observations have direct relevance to many ethnic conflicts around the world.

Therefore, nobody should complain if my presentation ends up as a contribution to the growing chorus of appeals from concerned Sri Lankans to world media giants such as the BBC, CNN and Sky networks to show more interest in the continuing human catastrophe in Sri Lanka caused by the ethnic conflict there.

For, we are gravely disturbed by the somewhat baffling lack of concern shown by the world media to developments related to the ongoing ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

Our appeal is not to conduct propaganda on behalf of any side to our conflict, but to provide adequate space within your news/current-affairs formats to keep the international community properly informed about the true brutality of the ongoing war. For, as the world media's wide-ranging coverage of the Kosovo crisis has shown, it is clear how effectively the media can mobilise world opinion in order to ease

the suffering of hundreds of thousands of refugees, and also to influence decision-makers on all sides to strive to achieve peace with justice.

So, it is only to be expected that many Tamils in Sri Lanka will wonder why some oppressed minorities around the world have to go on suffering for decades without anyone noticing, while others attract world attention almost immediately.

It is of course true that even the conflict between the Kosovars and the Serbs only began to receive urgent coverage from the world media when US and western governments' involvement in the Balkans started to gather momentum.

This is understandable in some ways. For, the events in the area did begin to assume immense international significance with direct implications to the west, and thereby to the world.

Obviously, the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka cannot reasonably be expected to achieve that same level of significance, or anywhere near it, within the international media.

But the point is not that. The point is that the world media's ridiculously minimal coverage of the dragging war in Sri Lanka—in proportion to the scale of the human tragedy—is nothing less than scandalous.

And, even the occasional reporting we get is lop-sided and selective in favour of one side of the conflict—namely the state.

It's as if the world's media giants have somehow become unwitting partners in prolonging the human tragedy there.

Out of the ostensible factors responsible for this media bias, the most prominent one seems to be common prejudices shared by most westerners against armed struggles within what are internationally-recognised 'democratic' states friendly to the west.

There is also the prevalent opinion of some reputable 'think-tanks' that the independence struggles carried out by 'subordinate peoples' within states dominated by 'majority peoples' are the real culprits in the disruption of world peace at present.

Hence the tendency among most opinion-makers to subscribe to chauvinist regimes' efforts to criminalize liberation movements as terrorist organisations.

Western governments, led by the US, tend to help states that are threatened by such freedom struggles, ostensibly in the interests of world stability. But as long as this mindset is firmly in place, at the top-most level of western establishments, it is only natural for the west's media giants to share the prejudices that flow from it.

In this respect, the present Sri Lankan government of Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranayake Kumaratunga has had no difficulty in convincing the west that her government's so-called 'war for peace' to eliminate a 'bunch of terrorists' is a necessary evil that her armed forces have been forced to carry out.

“Priority to human right considerations over the sovereignty of states”

Hence, neither the Tamils nor the LTTE independence fighters have any hopes of securing the sympathy and favours that the Kosovars and the KLA have obtained from the west, even though the conditions and the principles involved in both conflicts are very much similar, [if anything, the Tamils' plight was, and is, immeasurably worse in terms of duration and atrocities inflicted upon civilians.]

The west's bias against the LTTE, the Sri Lankan state's hiring of western PR firms to place 'anti-terrorist' news items on their behalf, and the clamping of stringent rules and regulations by the state barring journalists from the war-zone and making foreign journalists dependent on military press briefings—all these factors have combined to produce a very sad state of affairs indeed: even the sporadic coverage of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka in the world media began to look like a conspiracy to back one party to the conflict.

However, fortunately for Tamils and their leadership, the 'Kosovo

experience' in the west looks set, hopefully, to help change the western perception of similar conflicts quite dramatically. It is becoming clear to many that it is Milosovic-type regimes which are the real threat to peace and not the democratic aspirations of subordinate peoples.

An extremely healthy international awareness that is emerging at present, giving priority to human rights considerations over the sovereignty of states, may provide campaigners like us with new arguments to convince the media giants of the necessity to adopt new guidelines for covering Kosovo-type conflicts in other parts of the world. I shall return to this point later.

The world media today is dominated by a few English-speaking television and radio networks and news-agencies based in the west. Rapidly-developing communication technology keeps enhancing the unprecedented powers these institutions possess in informing about world developments instantaneously to the world community, and thereby, shaping world opinion.

Although it is true that the fast-increasing power of the Internet continues to undermine the hitherto monopoly of disseminating information by those with power, money and 'contacts', still, the impact of moving pictures and information that reaches millions through CNN, the BBC and Sky is unmatched and inimitable.

To their credit, it must be admitted that the services these TV networks provide for the world community—through constantly refining journalistic technique—are quite unique.

Whatever the limitations these TV networks have in reflecting today's fast changing world, they are the best the humankind has at present in disseminating information in a 'balanced' way.

They are sensitive to many universally-accepted democratic values. They are sensitive to the norms of the journalistic profession. And they are sensitive to criticism. [my close monitoring of the coverage of the NATO attack on Yugoslavia by the three media giants, namely CNN, BBC News24 and Sky, has convinced me that they are making a commendable

effort, despite some reservations, to inform their viewers about what is really going on.]

For one thing, they are in tough competition with each other to grab the biggest portion of the world audience in this communication age of ours, and—mind you—winning credibility is the strongest factor in this business.

Perhaps, that factor, more than anything else, makes sure that they try their best to be seen as impartial and objective.

Let me make two assertions at this stage:

One: since I consider the moving pictures of the BBC, CNN and Sky TV to be the most powerful and dominant feature of the world media, I have these networks in mind when I refer to 'world media' from now on, even though, most of my observations are valid with regard to a number of influential journals and radio networks as well.

Two: whatever the deficiencies I want to point out in this contribution, I would do so in a constructive spirit in the hope that our concerns would not be totally ignored by the editors of their South Asia desks.

Sri Lanka may be a tiny country in a remote corner of the world. But the ethnic conflict that has been dragging on for over a decade now in that island is one instance of the most significant world phenomenon currently hampering the peace and welfare of the globe since the second world war.

Refugee crises

Not only has this phenomenon caused unprecedented levels of refugee crises in many parts of the world, and inflicted enormous pain upon millions of people, it has also raised some fundamental democratic issues involving the emergence of a new world order, which has brought into conflict the sovereignty principle against the rights of minority peoples within established states.

I shall talk about the significance of this point in relation to the role of world media in similar cases later in this paper. For the time being let me mention a few things to elaborate the situ-

ation within the Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka, which dwarfs the Kosovo conflict in terms of the humanitarian crisis caused - at least prior to the Nato bombing campaign:

Large-scale military operations involving tens of thousands of troops, indiscriminate artillery onslaughts and aerial bombing, which has resulted in the mass exodus of Tamil civilians and the displacement of hundreds of thousands, and the blowing up of Tamil property and places of worship etc., have been taking place for years in the Northeast region of Sri Lanka. (Amateur video films depicting most of these events are available in the west).

Have the images of these events been seen as newsworthy by the editors of the world media? Apparently not.

Mass graves

Reports of 'mass graves' containing hundreds of dead bodies continue to come to light and the large scale disappearance of Tamils and raping of Tamil women by occupying Sinhalese troops, as raised repeatedly by Amnesty International, continue to take place within Tamil areas that are under military occupation.

Have these events been deemed newsworthy, or worth telling the world community about? No.

There have been countless allegations by numerous NGOs about the Sri Lankan government using food as a weapon of war in an effort to starve Tamil civilians living in rebel-controlled areas into submission. Did the world community come to know about the plight of these communities? No.

How many in the world community know about the hundreds of thousands of Tamils who have been rotting in refugee camps for years deprived of the most basic conditions of life? Not many.

The truth is that the brutal repercussions of the Colombo government's war to crush the Tamil independence struggle have been kept hidden from the world community for too long.

But then, how about the political aspect of the ethnic conflict there? Has

the world media bothered to bring out the efforts by many on the Tamil and Sinhala side to achieve peace, including big rallies and demonstrations in Colombo, to the attention of the international community? Apparently not.

The leadership of the Tamil independence struggle (the LTTE), for example, has been consistently calling for political negotiations with third party mediation, and many countries, including Nelson Mandela of South Africa, have responded positively to mediate if invited by both sides to the conflict.

LTTE politicians have even produced papers outlining a federal solution with power-sharing possibilities at the Centre. Peace movements in Sri Lanka have welcomed such LTTE moves and there have been a number of demonstrations and rallies in Colombo expressing anti-war sentiments to promote peace talks.

The main parliamentary opposition in the country (the United National Party) too has called on the government to restart negotiations with the Tamil leadership and blamed the government for continuing the war for political opportunism.

Recently some extremely influential Buddhist monks called upon the government to re-start peace negotiations with third party mediation, while representatives from the business community make similar efforts to exert pressure on the government to change course and initiate peace talks with the LTTE.

Arms sale

So, there have been many political and social developments in the country towards resolving the conflict.

But, have any of these developments, in the context of a devastating war that impoverishes millions of human beings in a small country, been of any significance to the editors of our media giants? No.

Then there have been other instances where world powers, including the UK and the US, have been assisting the Colombo administration either by selling arms or directly training the Sri Lankan military. [Incidentally, some military

analysts have pointed out the United States' alleged intention to establish intelligence facilities in Sri Lanka to enable them to monitor India's activities, in return for America's assistance against the Tamil struggle.]

Were these developments of any significance to provoke interest from our media giants? Again, apparently not.

Perhaps some of the above-mentioned developments are not of international significance. But then there are many 'regional formats' within these organisations to accommodate such developments.

How come even those regional current affairs programmes tend to ignore such developments? After all, we are talking about global media giants whose primary responsibility is to inform their audiences precisely about such events, together with analysis, aren't we?

In the Kosovo crisis we have seen—and we continue to see—how effectively the international media, with their indisputable power to shape world opinion, can bring out the sheer brutality of a genocidal war conducted by a chauvinistic regime, which is hell-bent on crushing the democratic aspirations of a minority people... all this, right onto our TV screens.

All major TV networks did this, in fact to the point where a military intervention by a third party to stop a humanitarian tragedy appeared "justifiable" to western audiences.

Milosovic types

Among the many factors which determined this effective media strategy, some are quite prominent—editors and reporters alike shared similar attitudes and sentiments towards the parties to the conflict, and both held a similar perception of the political situation. Westerners generally despise Milosovic-types, who they see as remnants of the Stalinist-Communist past.

Therefore, it has been quite easy for them to ignore Milosovic's efforts to brand the KLA as merely a "bunch of terrorists". Many have no difficulty seeing the KLA as essentially "freedom

fighters".

These sentiments, when combined with the obvious news-value of the events unfolding, produced a kind of magic which worked out very much in favour of the oppressed Kosovars.

So, in spite of real efforts to "balance" the war coverage by giving air time to opposing views about the conflict, the net result was to the Kosovars' favour - perhaps because the truth was on their side.

Tamils in the Sri Lankan context, unfortunately, have not been so lucky. The Colombo government is still seen in the west as a friendly democratic country.

And, at a time when the South Asia giant, India, is pursuing a fiercely independent line in relation to the development of its nuclear capabilities, the United States is extremely keen to maintain a very close relationship with Sri Lanka, which provides the west with mouth-watering facilities for intelligence activities.

So, unless there is a compelling reason, moral or otherwise, for the world's media giants to encourage their reporters to cover Sri Lanka more aggressively, they are likely to continue their unofficial policy of turning a blind eye.

Scottish nationhood

Does this mean that westerners necessarily fail to appreciate that leaderships like the LTTE are not terrorists but freedom fighters, in the same sense the KLA are freedom fighters? Don't they understand that the Tamils are entitled to the same right of self-determination, self-rule etc., in the same sense the Kosovars are, and that the Sri Lankan government is, like the Milosovic regime, hell-bent in depriving them of that right?

I do not think westerners are necessarily so gullible. Western nations, indeed, have a tremendous history of national liberation struggles of their own, and they understand perfectly well what the right to self-determination is all about.

Take for example, the separatist movement in Scotland. As a direct result of the strong Scottish indepen-

dence movement, the London government was forced to constitutionally acknowledge the Scottish people's nationhood and their homeland. The London government presented a devolution package offering a Scottish parliament with wide-ranging powers, and that package was put to the Scottish people alone to accept or reject—that is, implicitly recognising the Scottish people's right to self-determination.

And, presently the Scottish National Party is contesting in elections to the Scottish parliament with a separatist agenda in mind, and it is well known that an SNP victory is bound to create a constitutional crisis in Britain. But if the Scottish people wanted total independence, would London have any other option than to negotiate precisely that?

I ask you: could the London government even begin to contemplate sending in military forces to crush the separatist administration there? Of course not. Principles of democratic rights are too deeply embedded in the British psyche, I would say, even to think about such a course of action.

Perhaps, the maximum they could do is to negotiate further to try and secure Scottish agreement for new constitutional structures, to accommodate their independence sentiments within a united framework. But if that too fails, then nothing on earth can stop the two nations going their separate ways only to rejoin as equals through the European Union.

Democratic alternative

[When Chandrika Kumarathunga says that the LTTE cannot be trusted she means that the LTTE will never change its mind on having a separate Tamil state. But the point is that the answer to the LTTE's agenda is not to unleash war but to offer a genuine democratic alternative for them to pursue their program, while she herself might use the same framework to convince the Tamils that 'keeping the marriage' in some form is mutually beneficial. This is what the Labour government did in relation to the Scottish nationalist challenge. That is the

democratic way of dealing with separatist aspirations - not war. **War will only guarantee the eventual emergence of hostile neighbours in two ultra-nationalist states.]**

I believe the western mindset is quite capable of understanding the democratic rights of the Tamil people in the same way. And most western reporters know very well that the LTTE cannot genuinely be characterised as a bunch of fanatical terrorists. Western journalists are well aware of the sufferings of the Tamil people in general, and of desperate refugees in particular. They know that what one sees in Tamil areas is a military occupation of one race by another, and nothing less. (Some have privately confessed to me that what is happening there amounts to a genocidal war.)

Well, if that is the case, how do you explain the conspicuous silence by the media giants at present? How can they ignore the brutality of the ongoing war and the suffering of hundreds of thousands of Tamil refugees? Is there some sort of a conspiracy between the Sri Lankan government, western governments and the western-based media giants? I do not think so.

I have already given one explanation for this in terms of the existing western mindset which perceives the independence struggles within sovereign states as the primary factor destabilising the world order - when, in fact, Milosovic type regimes are the real culprits.

Vested interest

The other explanation is much more tangible: both the editors and reporters of these TV networks have a vested interest in not antagonising the Sri Lankan government in the same way that western governments want to maintain friendly relations with it. But the TV giants' interests are of a different nature.

Let me explain: one of the fundamental needs of the BBC, CNN and SKY is to find TV outlets for their broadcasts in our part of the world. In Sri Lanka's case they have managed to sell their product to a few TV companies based in Colombo. But these companies, who are delighted to broadcast such internationally-presti-

gious programmes, have one big problem. If they broadcast anything that is damaging to the government in Colombo it can ruthlessly clamp down on them by using some excuse to cancel their licence. So, if they want to get their licence extended periodically they have to be in the government's good books.

So, on the one hand they want to use programmes from the BBC, CNN and SKY, but on the other hand they want to make sure that the media giants don't do anything "naughty". But surely, no prestigious broadcaster would come to an open deal involving some sort of censorship.

In order to get round this uncomfortable situation, a kind of "unofficial understanding" seems to have emerged between TV companies based in Colombo and the international TV giants, namely, to take extra care to avoid using any material that would unduly provoke the government. It is kind of an unofficial "self censorship".

At Tamil expense

Reporters, whose livelihood is dependent on the TV giants' editorial willingness to use their products, soon learn to abide by this "unofficial understanding". Also, the Colombo government knows how to "discipline" any "over-enthusiastic" foreign journalists, initially by using a few high-handed methods and finally by threatening not to extend their stay-permits. (Some honest BBC journalists are known to have gone through this experience.)

Soon, these journalists, too, learn to behave themselves rather than jeopardise their careers trying to please their consciences as professional journalists. After all, why imperil a comfortable existence in a city like Colombo by making programmes their own pay-masters are not happy to use!

Isn't it more prudent to have a smooth relationship with the Colombo establishment so that they have easy access to top politicians enabling them to produce "not too controversial" saleable programmes which do not displease anybody?

So, this convenient arrangement between the Colombo government, local TV companies and the world media giants seems to work quite smoothly—albeit at the expense of millions of Tamils suffering at the brunt of a brutal invasion of their homeland.

Now, the bosses of these prestigious international media companies, too, have a very interesting rationale for this unholy compromise. If they begin to use programmes that expose the true brutality of the war, like they are doing in Kosovo, then before long their channels will lose their existing ability to reach millions of Sri Lankan viewers. So, isn't it better to keep Sri Lankan viewers informed at least about other important world developments? Wouldn't that help Sri Lanka as a whole in the long run, even if the Tamil refugees suffer in the short term?

This argument may sound extremely unkind, but it can be the only possible justification for the current inaction, if justification were possible at all.

A cover-up

Mind you, deep-rooted journalistic traditions in the western media stop TV bosses allowing too much to be compromised either. As long as they sincerely believe that despite all the understandable 'mistakes' the Colombo government makes, on the whole it is a democratic country trying hard to solve a difficult problem (Chandrika Kumaratunga after all is seen as trying her best to introduce a 'substantial devolution package' to solve the problem... it is seen as mainly due to the intransigence of the Tamil Tigers that the war is dragging... and so on) western media bosses may not have too much difficulty in maintaining the above-mentioned compromise. Hence there is a tendency, I believe, on the part of the world media leaders, to readily subscribe to many myths disseminated by the state to cover up the fundamental democratic principles involved.

As far as I can see this is the most plausible explanation for the present

lack of Sri Lankan news in the world media despite the continuation of the brutal war. A sad state of affairs indeed!

Global awareness

The problem is how to get round this situation.

Perhaps the newly-emerging global awareness that the international communities' moral obligation to swiftly act on humanitarian issues—even at the expense of the sovereignty of states—may, I hope, help persuade the bosses of media institutions to modify their unofficial editorial policies in relation to those countries where colossal humanitarian crises are dragging on.

They must not allow safe, convenient arrangements with such countries affect their coverage of sensitive events within those countries.

Their moral obligation, as leaders of the world media, to expose crimes against humanity wherever they take place, and even help such countries achieve peace, is far more important than any amount of revenue and esteem they can generate through ever-increasing audiences.

They should, I believe, have the honour to do this even at the risk of jeopardising existing contracts with various media institutions in those offending countries.

Nasty regimes

In what is a ruthless competition to grab the biggest share of the world audience for themselves, the temptation to compromise even with the devil, at the expense of honourable journalism, is unpardonable.

If the media giants believe that they might somehow be able to strike a reasonable balance between their selfish interests and journalistic ones they are mistaken. Nasty regimes in this world are too clever for that. The more they realise the dependence of the world media on them, these regimes know how to increase pressure on them,

until they lure them away totally from their own heinous activities against humanity.

This is exactly what the Sri Lankan government has, I believe, done quite effectively to the BBC, CNN and SKY.

Otherwise, how could you explain the following: As I am presenting this paper, something extremely gruesome is happening in the Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka. Some twenty odd skeletons of Tamils have been dug out of a mass grave in Jaffna. And this is on top of another revelation by a Sinhalese government soldier that some 400 Tamils were killed and buried in another mass grave by the military in a village called Chemmani in the north. This was revealed about an year ago, and the government has still failed to locate and excavate this site, despite tremendous pressure from human rights organisations all over the world. A local MP in the eastern part of the Tamil homeland also has recently called upon the government to investigate the alleged existence of mass graves in his constituency.

தமிழ் அடையாளம்
Tamil-ealam Archive
"Anti-terrorist" -
mantra

But our world media giants are yet to realise their obligation to bring these events with adequate background analysis to TV screens all over the world.

Compare this with the day and night coverage being given to the sufferings of Kosovars under Milisovic.

It is clear to me that, somehow, the world's media giants have failed to adequately appreciate an extremely significant phenomenon taking place in the world today—namely, stepped-up moves by the international community to act decisively on humanitarian issues. As the Pinochet and the Kosovo cases demonstrate, there is an ongoing battle between 'the humanitarian imperative' and the issue of 'the sovereignty of states. The former, at least in these two cases, has won.

Whatever the real motives of

NATO's attack on Yugoslavia, and whatever the prudence of the timing and manner of the western intervention in the humanitarian crisis in the Balkans, one thing is clear: Most observers accept and believe in the Kosovars' right to self-determination, and that their homeland is real, and that the humanitarian crisis created there by a chauvinist regime (under the guise of defeating terrorism) has warranted decisive international intervention.

Whatever the differences of opinion about the wisdom of military intervention under such circumstances, there is little argument about the fundamental principles involved, and the inalienable rights of a people. And, after Kosovo, the "anti-terrorist" mantra that is energetically used by chauvinist regimes to justify oppression of ethnic communities, has virtually run out of steam.

Finally, let me point out another relevant factor that emerges from the Kosovo crisis and show how that factor strengthens my appeal to the world media giants:

As the debate over the 'justifiability of NATO attack' was raging on the TV screens some critics tried to expose NATO's 'hypocrisy' by pointing out its indifference to many other similar cases in other parts of the world. Most NATO politicians' response was to come up with pragmatic reasons which make such world-wide military interventions virtually impossible. **Such reasons even sounded plausible - if one conveniently ignores the US and UK support extended to the Sri Lankan government's Milosovic-type efforts to crush the Tamil struggle.**

Let us, for argument's sake, assume NATO's sincerity in raising the above-mentioned pragmatic arguments to rule out military intervention in all Kosovo-type cases, and let us turn to some western liberals' opposition to even this military attack against Yugoslavia.

NATO and UN

These liberals, not willing to be seen to be supporting Milosovic, criticised NATO action from a different angle. Any intervention of this nature could only come through the UN's security council, and if it was necessary to use force to stop Milosovic at all, it should have been through a 'legitimate' UN force and not a NATO force - they argued.

Britain's foreign secretary Robin Cook replied to this argument on TV, by placing the blame on the UN's inefficiency due to its existing undemocratic structures, thereby justifying NATO action considering the enormity and urgency of the deepening humanitarian crisis.

Now, this whole debate over NATO intervention has clearly brought out at least two important issues on which world community should act.

One: Urgent steps must be taken to democratise UN structures, enabling it to act swiftly—even using force as a last resort—to discipline chauvinist regimes anywhere in the world which precipitate humanitarian catastrophes in their efforts to eradicate the freedom struggles of ethnic minorities.

Two: the importance of finding ways of effectively using UN authority in conflict resolution, giving priority to humanitarian and democratic principles rather than to the sovereignty of states, in such a way as to render military intervention unnecessary and unjustifiable.

It is in the latter case that my appeal to the world media giants becomes relevant.

Because, keeping the international community well-informed about all aspects of the national conflicts raging today in many parts of the world, is one of the surest ways of promoting effective, lasting, and just, conflict resolution. Perhaps, it is high time the World Organisation itself coming up with its own channel dedicated to conflict resolution and peace. ●

The Clintonian Doctrine

BY MICHAEL KELLY

Editor, *National Journal*, U.S.A. June 30, 1999.

The Clinton Doctrine is still barely more than a glimmer in a proud papa's eye, born as it was in the usual existential fashion of this White House on June 20, in the moment, on television.

"Mr. President", asked CNN's Wolf Blitzer, "is there, in your mind, a Clinton doctrine?"

You bet, said legality-minded he: "While there may well be a great deal of ethnic and religious conflict in the world...whether within or beyond the borders of a country, if the world community has the power to stop it, we ought to stop genocide and ethnic cleansing".

On June 22, addressing NATO troops in Macedonia, Clinton elaborated: "If somebody comes after innocent civilians and tries to kill them en masse because of their race, their ethnic background or their religion, and it is within our power to stop it, we will stop it".

The Clinton Doctrine is a perfectly Clintonian doctrine:

(1) It is unprecedentedly sweeping. It appears to commit the United States to the task of redressing grave crimes against humanity world-wide, even within the boundaries of sovereign states and even when no American interests are involved.

(2) It is half-baked. What happened in Kosovo, and what happened earlier in Bosnia and what happens all over the world, was not merely about people doing bad things to other people because they are different. It was about people



exploiting differences with other people, and killing other people, in order that they might steal their land and their wealth and their share of power. The difference is everything.

(3) It is a promise with an out. The pledge is not to stop every great crime: it is to stop the crime when it is "within our power". Which means whatever any president says it means.

(4). Finally, it is at bottom, a fraud. Note the use of the term "world community". There is no world community. The war against

the Serbs in Kosovo was an exercise not of any global village but of the great powers, and the great powers pick and choose their moral causes. The great powers stood complacently by in the summer of 1995, when the Croats ethnically cleansed their turf in Bosnia of 300,000 Serbs, and they are standing by now, as the Kosovo Liberation Army and returning Albanian refugees rapidly cleanse Kosovo of 200,000 Serbs.

The emerging all-Albanian reality of Kosovo underscores the underlying fraud of the Clinton doctrine, which is the idea that what the West is forging in the Balkans is a triumph for pluralism and democracy.

It was a very good thing that the United States finally acted to stop the Serbs' slaughter in Kosovo, as it was a very good thing when it finally acted to stop the Serbs' slaughter in Bosnia. But it is nonsense to pretend that these accomplishments gave rise to a reversal of ethnic cleansing or anything like a pluralistic democracy.....

(...as one could see of what is happening in Sri Lanka - Ed.HS.)

How many more skeletons will Chemmani yield after Sept.6?

More exhumations will begin at the Chemmani mass graves in Jaffna on September 6, following the order given by the acting Jaffna magistrate Manikavasagam Illanchelivan on July 15.

Two male skeletons, one with its hands tied with rope, and the other blind-folded, which were found during the initial exhumation on July 15, at the spot shown by Corporal Rajapakse, were of two men who were assaulted and killed. This was confirmed by the forensic experts in a report they filed in court.

The two skeletons were identified by family members and an employer as those of Rasiah Satishkumar, 22, and Mahendran Babu, 26, who disappeared in 1996.

The magistrate also ordered four other soldiers who were sentenced to death along with Rajapakse for the murder of Krishanthi to be brought to

Jaffna and produced in court on August 30, prior to the exhumation. Field work on the sites is expected to be completed before the onset of the inter-monsoon in the peninsula expected in early October.

Even Clinton knows

"The most expensive peaceful reconstruction is still cheaper than the cheapest war"

-President Bill Clinton on the price of rebuilding war-torn Kosovo.

President Kumaratunga, are you listening?

Armoured cars come to Colombo

Armoured cars, operating only in the war zone, have now come to the streets of Colombo, following demonstrations by Opposition parties, both Right and Left, and also by media persons.

The police fired tear gas into thousands of anti-government demonstrators on July 15 and ordered armoured cars onto the streets of Colombo to break up a march on President Chandrika Kumaratunga's official residence, "Temple Trees".

Two armoured cars were brought on to the street at Green Path at the entrance to a road leading to "Temple Trees", while hundreds of heavily armed soldiers and helmeted police used tear gas, batons, and high pressure water cannons on journalists and cameramen covering the demonstration.

Several journalists who were hospitalised or sought medical treatment allege that the men belonging to the President's security division had deliberately targeted them.

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Suicide: A Socratic Revenge

Socrates (c.469-399 B.C.), the son of an Athenian sculptor was one of the most influential of all ancient Greek philosophers. He taught people to think about good and evil, in order to improve their own behaviour. Some people did not approve of his ideas and he was forced to commit suicide.

(Note: This year marks the 2400th anniversary of the famous trial held in Athens, where Socrates stood accused for corrupting the young minds. This year also marks the 25th anniversary of the martyrdom of Pon. Sivakumaran, who like Socrates, made a political statement by using the cyanide necklace. Since 1974, hundreds of young Tamil heroes and heroines have demonstrated their mental courage by standing up for their beliefs and following the footsteps of Socrates and Sivakumaran.)

Nearly 2400 summers have passed since Socrates made a political statement against his accusers, using the hemlock extract. Plato, then a 28 year old protege of the master of irony, has transmitted to posterity, a case history of the final moments of Athenian iconoclast who rebelled against the dictum of the then Democrats. Plato's penetrating description of the final moments of his mentor still astounds me.

Socrates: 'You, my good friend, shall give me directions how I am to proceed'.

Prison attendant: 'You have only to walk about until your legs are heavy, and then to lie down, and the poison will act'.

Socrates: (with the cup of poison in hand) 'What do you say about making a libation out of this cup to any God?

by Sachi Sri Kantha

May I, or not?'

Prison attendant: 'We only prepare, Socrates, just so much as we deem enough'. Socrates: 'I understand. Yet I may and must pray to the Gods to prosper my journey from this to that other world - may this then, which is my prayer, be granted to me.'

Plato, in the words of Phaedo, had written that his mentor, "then holding the cup to his lips, quite readily and cheerfully he drank off the poison...and he walked about until, as he said, his legs began to fail, and then he lay on his back, according to the directions. . ."

It seems ironic that Socrates who was charged in 399 B.C. as "an evil doer and a curious person, searching into things under the earth and above the heaven; and making the worse appear the better cause, and teaching all this to others" refused to contemplate the alternative to death, a fine. Socrates, who offered the philosophical argument that man is the property of Gods and must wait for their decision concerning the termination of his life, chose to end his life prematurely by drinking a cup of hemlock extract.

Down the history, those who supported and those who protested the act of suicide forms a formidable list. The pendulum of opinion swung in the opposite direction from that of Socratic

era three centuries later. The Stoic school (founded in 108 B.C. in Athens by Zeno of Citium and which exerted its greatest influence in the Roman empire) held the view that, given adequate reason, suicide is appropriate and perhaps required. Seneca, born nearly 2000 summers ago, not only argued this position, he practised it when accused of involvement in a conspiracy against Emperor Nero.

St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the medieval philosopher-theologians living in the 13th century, pushed the pendulum back to anti-suicide camp by preaching that suicide violates the obligation of oneself, to others or to God. Then David Hume, in the 18th century, expressed his allegiance to Seneca's view that suicide is an honorable and sometimes praiseworthy act. However, his contemporary William Blackstone, while codifying the English law, categorized suicide as 'self-murder' and a grave felony. For the past 250 years, these two schools of thought presented by Hume and Blackstone had split the global society vertically on how to deal with the dilemma of suicide.

I have been living in Japan for the past 12 years. Before the beginning of this century, the predominant symbols of Japan for outsiders were samurai (with their characteristic suicide ritual of disembowelment, vulgarly known as hara-kiari among non-Japanese) and geisha. During the Second World War,

kamikaze pilots with their daredevil suicide acts tried their best to turn the tide of war towards their advantage, though without success. Japanese lost the war, not because for want of heroism among the young fighters who volunteered their lives, but due to the bungling actions of spineless politicians who dictated the policies.

Even with the passage of nearly 2400 summers, the pathos recorded in Plato's words about the final moments of Socrates can move many hearts.

"The man who gave him [Socrates] the poison, now and then looked at his feet and legs; and after a while, he pressed his foot hard, and asked him if he could feel; and he said, 'No'; and then his leg, and so upwards and upwards, and showed us that he was cold and stiff. And he felt then himself and said: "When the poison reaches the heart, that will be the end ". He was beginning to grow cold about the groin, when he uncovered his face, for he had covered himself up, and said (they were his last words) - he said:

"Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius; will you remember to pay the debt?... "

With the 20th century running its last lap, newspaper headlines still report frequently about the rise in suicides in many countries. America projects itself as the greatest show piece of democracy. But it is also plagued by the increasing rates of teenage suicides! Sometimes I wonder whether Socrates is still having the last laugh at the Athenian Democrats who tortured him.



Who needs the IMF & the World Bank

I have a dream of an Eelam that will not only be prosperous and productive but also a role-model for the free-world. With the widespread dispersion of our people all over the world, I envisage an Eelam with French, Italian, Indian, Scandinavian and English speaking sectors to name but a few.

When I first arrived in England in 1969, you could get cheap take-away food, as long as it was fish and chips! Now, just thirty years later, you can find a variety of eating places, selling foods from the USA to China, on virtually every main street in Britain. However the English don't speak the lingo of any of the immigrant societies which have brought this cultural wealth to the country. In Eelam, if we don't succumb to the forces of extreme nationalism, like the Sinhalese, I personally can foresee our people returning from their adopted countries to build and maintain a state of similar diversity, character and wealth. The beauty of this type of wealth, as opposed to material wealth, is in its intangibility which means no one can take it away from us. **When I mentioned this to one of the distinguished speakers (Mr Satyendra) at the Hot Spring Dinner, he said, ' I can see Foreign Embassies in Eelam manned by the**

locals who could not only speak the lingo but also know the terrain and culture of the country'. If information and knowledge is power then this is Mega Power.

I have been running my own business for the last 15 years, and am proud to say that I am a self taught, self made business man. To be a success in business you need to satisfy your customer's needs. Customers

from all over the world.

Sadly in this life to get people's attention and/or respect, money is the primary and most influential method. Let us look at the materialistic wealth we have acquired. In his article dated June 1999, Dr. S.A David writes in the 'Periyar Era', a monthly publication in Tamil Nadu:

"There are 400,000 Eelam Tamils living in highly developed countries around the world. If we take 1 in 4 as gainfully employed and average of US \$ 1,000 per month as salary, ETs are earning US \$ 100,000,000 a month. If 10% of this amount is deposited into an ET bank US \$ 10,000,000 will be saved every month.". Who needs the World Bank and the IMF.

Let us then look at the technical, commercial know-how we have acquired.

BY SIVA MUTHULINGASAMY

are people and essentially people have very similar needs, and one of the most important social needs is respect. What better way to flatter a fellow human than to be able to speak their language? It shows a respect for their culture, upbringing and a willingness on your behalf to make an effort to understand them. With the amount of experience in different cultures shared by our people around the world, we would take to Eelam, not just language skills but a phenomenal amount of "insider" knowledge on the successes and failures of many of the world's great powers. For all the positive experiences I've had in England, the one I believe has enriched me the most is the opportunity to meet and socialise with people

1. On the Medical, Engineering, Accountancy side we have always had a good in-depth expertise.

2. IT is the new kid in town and that too we have been fortunate enough to be in the thick of it.

3. Capitalism, its benefits.

4. How to survive in climatic and prejudicial conditions to which we are not used to.

5. One only needs to look at the Tamil Commercial Directory to see the number of Tamils in commercial ventures.

I would like to see us Tamils competing with the rest of the world in all fields:- sports, commerce and education - because, as in most things, balance = success.

DEATH OF A VETERAN JOURNALIST

MERVYN DE SILVA on PRABHAKARAN

It is said about journalists that they always "die in harness". The doyen of Sri Lankan journalists, Mervyn de Silva, who died recently at the age of 69, was no exception. He was reportedly active and alert mentally until he was admitted to Intensive Care in hospital.

Mervyn was one of two newspapermen who left a lasting impact on the political life in Sri Lanka, the other being of course, the more colourful and ebullient Tarzie Vittachi who passed away a few years ago. I had known both of them, but only briefly.

Five years ago - in 1994 - when I was in Paris, I learnt from a Colombo newspaper that Mervyn had celebrated his 65th birthday on September 4. I sent him a personal note as "from one tribesman in the same profession to another", and as "one fellow September-born to another" conveying my belated birthday wishes; and not knowing his personal address, I sent it to the **LANKA GUARDIAN** address. I did not expect him to acknowledge that chatty little note publicly. He did not only print the whole thing in toto in the **LANKA GUARDIAN** of October 1, 1994, but added a note in italics at the end which read: "The writer was editor of the independent Jaffna-based **SATURDAY REVIEW** and was jailed in India!"

Not that it mattered anyway, but what was a little embarrassing, he also included the political aside that I had made which said: "After 1956 when SWRD spoke of "the revolution of rising expectations" this is the first time I believe that his daughter is leading another "mini-revolution of rising expectations". She has made a brave beginning and may she succeed!



Mervyn De Silva

But frankly, I wouldn't place any bets on it. The odds, one feels, are against her unless she succeeds to the

Executive Presidency....

Reading it back today, it does cause me embarrassment. I can only pass on this advice to all fellow scribes. **Never try to make any prophetic pronouncement on any politician, the female variety particularly.**

All the Colombo newspapers have been full of tributes to the late Mervyn de Silva. While adding my own, I must add a footnote about Mervyn which for good reasons others did not mention in the Colombo Press. Although Mervyn occupied high positions in Colombo's mainstream newspapers, the **LANKA GUARDIAN** was his own personal flagship and pet baby which he managed to sustain until almost the end of his life. A good part of his objective journalism was reserved for that fortnightly journal of his.

Nine years ago, in the issue of January 1, 1990, he did something which he would have felt squeamish to do in 1999. He voted Mr. Prabhakaran as the "Man of the Decade" and had his picture on the cover.

Explaining the rationale behind the selection in a well-balanced article titled - **PRABHAKARAN: THE EYE OF THE STORM**, he wrote, inter alia, "...As we look back then to the 1980s, and study the decade as a whole, we are inclined to concede primacy to the Tamil threat to the unity, and, indirectly, the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. In that struggle, there is one commanding personality, the LTTE supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran, regarded by many western experts as leader of one of the toughest guerrilla organisations in the world, and by military analysts as a "genius" in the theory of unconventional warfare. At least one Sri Lankan politician, now at

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**V. PRABHAKARAN:
MAN OF THE DECADE**

WHY RAJIV SENT THE IPKF — J. N. Dixit
Beware, A Slump Ahead? — Sumanasiri Lyanage
Delhi's Foreign Policy Priorities — Dilip Mukerjee

the pinnacle of power (the reference was to President Premadasa - Ed.HS) is on record as saying that he might have been an excellent choice as the island's army commander. Though a mere aside, it was no frivolous jest.

"Our choice of Prabhakaran as man of the decade is no value-judgement. It is a compelling historical verdict based on the turn of tumultuous events, and the cruel fate of a little Indian Ocean island, struggling helplessly to escape from the vicious grip of a multi-dimensional crisis. How did we get to where we are?

"A folk hero in Tamilnadu, Prabhakaran's picture, **HINDU** editor N.Ram told me years ago, could be found in many a suburban home and remote hamlet in the South Indian state's rural areas. To the Indian newspaper reader too, his is a familiar name. But his real claim to fame is that he got the world's fourth largest standing army bogged down in an increasingly futile war in Sri Lanka's north-east, threatening to convert a peace-keeping operation into India's Vietnam or Afghanistan. Or Lebanon vis-a-vis the Middle East major military power, Israel.

"Prabhakaran's war will soon be a case-study in the Indian defence institutes. And as a senior Indian officer told me in late 1988, "we have to learn a lot, and are still learning....at least because your terrain, the jungles especially, are somewhat different to ours". In any event, the army top brass and the Indian strategy planners regard the Sri Lankan experience, whatever its human and material cost, as an extremely valuable "exercise".

"Internationally, Prabhakaran's name has probably been as widely publicised as President JR's. So he is our choice as Lanka's man of the 80s."

Only a journalist at the top of his profession could have afforded to say all that about the LTTE leader, when hacks in the same trade keep calling him a terrorist.

That was Mervyn de Silva in 1990. Had Mervyn lived to the year 2000, he could not have made a different choice as Lanka's man of the 90s. !

S.Sivanayagam

Grateful Tamils and a jittery govt. both remember "Black Tigers"



"**B**lack Tiger" Day, July 5, was observed throughout the island, both by Tamils in the liberated areas as well as by the Sri Lankan government - but in totally different ways.

July 5 was the day on which 12 years ago, "Capt. Miller", the first "Black Tiger" rammed an explosive-laden truck into a Sri Lankan army camp in the north, killing over 40 soldiers. Since then, nearly 150 "Black Tigers" have given up their lives in death missions.

While Tamils in the Vanni heartland and in parts of the Batticaloa district paid homage to the memory of those heroes with commemorative functions, the Sri Lankan government stepped up security in Colombo and elsewhere, with President Chandrika Kumaratunga herself leaving the island

on a pre-arranged visit to Nepal.

The President's "Temple Trees" residence in Kollupitiya was sealed off to traffic and vehicles in many Colombo roads were stopped routinely and checked by armed policemen, causing irritation to many Sinhalese motorists themselves. The Nepal police themselves, placed in a state of high alert in readiness for President Chandrika's visit, (with Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar in tow) went and took into custody a few Tamils who were trying to use Nepal as a transit point on their way to the West - on the stern logic that any Tamil is a potential Tiger waiting to kill the President, not to mention her Foreign Minister.

Mercifully, the week passed off without any major incidents!

Sabapathipillai - the U K's Hindu Saivaite pioneer

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Embarking on the S.S.Himalayas - the P&O shipping liner in October 1965 (from Colombo, destination, London), Barrister Sabapathipillai had already chalked out his Himalayan mission in his mind. This was his second visit to UK. The first was in 1930 when he came on a scholarly pursuit. But it was not until the July of 1986 that Sabapathipillai's dream of building a Saivaite temple in the UK come true - with the grand "Kumbabishekam" (consecration) of the massive Murugan Temple complex in Highgate hill.

The Britain of the 1960s was not the kind of Britain of today. The society was different, the values were different, and there was only a sprinkling of Tamils here and there.

Mr.Sabapathipillai had an uphill task. But he was not daunted. The few Eelam Tamil Hindus had no way of fulfilling even the basic traditional wedding rites, funeral rites and so on.

There were no priests, no organised worship. Barrister Sabapathipillai decided to assume the role of a Saivaite priest himself.

For a beginning, he earmarked all the auspicious events in a year, such as Thai Pongal, Sivarathri, Navarathri,

Thirivembavai, and observed all of them in his own home, and invited others to join. He then enlisted families to sponsor such events in public halls,

Parishad with which organisation he jointly established the first joint Federation of Hindu Organisations in UK.



Mr.Sabapathipillai also took an active interest in the establishment and running of the "LONDON MURASU", and astutely enough, made full use of the publication to promote his religious activities.

Mr.Sabapathipillai's greatest contribution however was the floating of the Britannia Hindu Temple Trust into a sophisticated "democratic" organisation, into which he built legal safeguards to ensure the sound functioning of the massive Temple complex, managed and run by its own coaggregation. Those who trained under him in various capacities launched more temples in UK and Europe.

Ten years ago, on 26th May 1989, Tamils

turned out in great numbers on his death and paid obeisance for the grand last journey of a visionary who nurtured a great heritage in a hostile environment, the benefits and fruits to be reaped by future generations of Tamils in Europe.

(A special pooja was held in his memory of his 10th death anniversary at the Highgate Hill Murugan Temple on 26th May 1999)

and thus aroused the Hindu consciousness.

His third strategy was to enlarge and encompass Hindus from various regions: those not only from Ceylon, but also from South India, Malaysia, Mauritius, and so on. Finally, he developed links with other non-Tamil but Hindu communities like the Gujaratis, Punjabis, Guyanese. He also made contact with the Vishwa Hindu

Malaysian Tamil Eelam activist passes away

Thomas Yogaratnam Hunt, former Deputy High Commissioner for Malaysia in Singapore died on 11th May 1999 at the age of 76, reports Mr.A.Kanesalingam, Trustee of the Tamil Relief Fund, Kuala Lumpur.

For more than 16 years he worked indefatigably to promote the Eelam Tamil cause although he himself was born in Singapore. Mr.Yogaratnam was born on 20th February 1923 to George Deechaiya Hunt and Isabella Ranjithamani Lee who went from Chavakachcheri in the Jaffna peninsula to Singapore to work in the British colonial administration there.

He began studying in Peninsular Malaya when his father was forced by the slump in 1930 to return to Jaffna. He then studied in Christian Mission School in Kopay. He returned to Malaya thereafter and continued his education and then completed his tertiary education in Raffles College in Singapore. Graduating from the University of Malaya, he was selected for the newly formed foreign service of independent Malaya. One of his stints was as Assistant High Commissioner to India based in Madras.

He married Pushpavalli Thillaimuthu from a well known Christian Ceylon Tamil family in Malaya. He gave his three children Tamil names - Veeman, Vasuki and Kannahi. Two of his children live in the United States. Kannahi lives in Kuala Lumpur.



Thomas Yogaratnam Hunt



July 1983 was a turning point in his life. The genocide of Tamils in Colombo and other parts of Sri Lanka focussed his attention on the problems of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Having retired from the Foreign Service in 1976, he spent all his time from 1983 until his death in helping the Tamil Eelam cause and supporting the resistance movement of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

He wrote a booklet "Why Tamil

Eelam?" in 1995 and "Readings in Tamil History" in 1998. He was honoured by the Tamil Eelam leadership with the title "Naattu Patran" (or Patriot) at a simple ceremony in Kuala Lumpur in 1998.

Mr.Yogaratnam's funeral service was held at the Presbyterian Church in Jalan Raja Chulan in Kuala Lumpur on 12th May, and his remains were cremated, in accordance with his wish, the same afternoon at the modern Cheras Crematorium in Kuala Lumpur. Final honours were given to him by a group of Tamil Eelam enthusiasts and sympathisers. His coffin was draped with the Liberation Tiger flag as a mark of recognition to the Tamil Eelam cause that he had espoused until his death.



Remembering Dr. James T. Rutnam

On his 94th Birth Anniversary

Birth: 13th June 1905

Death: 4th November 1988

Jaffna Hindu Daughter, 28, BTec in Business and Finance, currently employed in London, 5ft 7" tall seeks educated Hindu in good employment in the UK or abroad. Please send details. Ref: MPG218 Hot Spring

Father seeks a Tamil speaking Jaffna Hindu professional, working in US or prepared to move there, for his daughter, 28, vegetarian 5' 9" tall, Canadian citizen with degree in Electronics, currently working in the US as software engineer. Ref: MPG220 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Daughter, 29, graduate, currently teaching in Madurai, South India, with brothers, sisters settled in other European countries, seeks suitable partner. Willing to move. Please write forwarding horoscope. Ref: MPG219 Hot Spring

South African Diplomat, 34, of Asian descent, not Tamilian, divorced, someone with great interest in Tamil culture and people, but more importantly with Tamil fight for self-determination. Hence seek a Tamil partner. Having served in the South African Embassy in London, presently serving in the Embassy in Moscow until August next year. Seeks Tamil partner, aged 27-33. Ref: MPB 101 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu daughter, 29, graduate, high school teacher in Canada, 5'6" tall, vegetarian, seeks professionally qualified person who would settle in Canada. Please forward horoscope and details. Ref: MPG221 Hot Spring

Daughter, 25, Jaffna Hindu, graduate, in good position in Sydney, Australia, seeks a professional partner, either settled in Australia or willing to move there. Please forward details. Horoscope is not a criterion if both parties like each other. Ref: MPG223 Hot Spring

Hindu daughter, 29, British born, graduate, in good employment in London, seeks suitable Hindu partner with long UK background and education. Please forward details in confidence. Ref: MPG225 Hot Spring

Niece, 24, Hindu, originally from Jaffna, now settled in the United



Respondents are invited to write to
**THE MEETING POINT, PO Box
24360, London SW17 7FF, UK.**

Tel: 0181 767 1230,

Fax: 0181 672 6433

Please ensure that you quote the
appropriate Ref.No. given at the end of
the proposal in which you are interest-
ed.

All letters will be forwarded in strict
confidence to **THE MEETING POINT.**
(See details opposite).

Kingdom and in secure employment in London seeks suitable groom. Horoscope is not essential if both like each other. Please forward details in confidence. Ref: MPG226 Hot Spring

Son, 30, Hindu, British born, Masters degree holder, working as Academic Research Assistant in a London teaching hospital seeks suitable partner. Please send horoscope and other details. Ref: MPB110 Hot Spring

Son, 27, Doctor, British born, of Hindu parents originally from Jaffna, currently working in a London hospital. Horoscopes are not of primary importance if persons, families etc suit well. Please forward details. Ref: MPB111 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Daughter, 38, MSc working as research assistant in Sri Lanka, vegetarian, with brother settled in USA, seeks Hindu partner, preferably a professional settled overseas. Please forward horoscope. Ref: MPG215 Hot Spring

Niece, Doctor, 32, practicing in a London based hospital, UK citizen, Hindu, fair, slim and attractive, Mars in the 12th house, seeks professional Hindu partner. Please send horoscope and details in confidence. Ref: MPG212 Hot Spring

Daughter, Tamil Doctor, 29, British born practicing in UK, non practicing Christian, seeks easy going sociable partner, religion immaterial, professional with education and upbringing in UK suitable. Please forward details. Ref: MPG206 Hot Spring

Sister, B.Com (Hon), 42, Teacher in Colombo, Jaffna Hindu, seeks partner preferably in UK, horoscope immaterial but will provide if necessary. Ref: MPG214 Hot Spring

Daughter, London Degree Holder, 28, in the UK Civil Service, slim 5 ft tall, vegetarian, Mars in the 8th house, seeks suitable professional Hindu partner 29-32, with UK background, not necessarily a vegetarian, flexible on horoscope if both parties agree. Ref: MPG213 Hot Spring

Daughter, Doctor 32, completed MRCP, Specialist Registrar in a London hospital, Hindu, British citizen, UK educated, 5ft 1in tall, medium complexion, seeks smart compatible partner, doctor or similar profession, religion immaterial. Ref: MPG211 Hot Spring

Jaffna Christian son, 26, UK citizen, professionally qualified and employed in London, seeks Christian partner 21 - 25 with degree or professional qualification. Please send details. Ref: MPB 105 Hot Spring

Daughter, Doctor, 27, training to be a GP, currently working at a hospital near London, Christian, 5ft 4in tall, seeks pleasant friendly Christian professional, 27- 33 years, resident in UK, above 5ft 8in tall. Ref: MPG 207 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu daughter, 28, London Graduate, British citizen, Vegetarian, Sai Baba devotee, completed Bharatha Natya Arangetram, seeks suitable partner willing to settle in UK. Forward horoscope. Ref: MPG209 Hot Spring

Tamil Doctor Boy 33, UK citizen, vegetarian, practicing in London, Mars dosha, seeks vegetarian Hindu partner over 30, preferably UK educated. Send horoscope and details. Ref: MPB 106 Hot Spring

Respondents are invited in the future to write to the new P.O.Box number **The Meeting Point, P.O.Box 24360, London SW17 7FF, UK.**

Jaffna Hindu Son, 26, MSc, Computer Consultant in London, seeks suitable Hindu partner 20 - 24, university education and UK residence preferred. Send horoscope and details. Ref: MPB 107 Hot Spring

Tamil Roman Catholic Daughter, 39, Masters degree holder, divorced with 2 children, now resident in, USA, and gainfully employed, seeks suitable partner. Please send details. Ref: MPG 204 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Daughter, 31, British Born and employed seeks partner, preferably UK born, intelligent, sporty, in secure career. Forward details. Ref: MPG 203 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Daughter, 28, British born, graduate and in good employment, seeks Hindu partner with long UK background and education to suit, not over 33 years. Please send horoscope and details. Ref: MPG202 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Sister, 34, graduate in Chemistry, with post graduate diploma in Computing, presently in the United States with relatives in Canada, seeks suitable partner in the US or in Canada. Please send horoscope and details. Ref: MPG201 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Girl, 29, 5ft 4" tall, mars in 8th house, educated in the UK graduate in Management and Admin. Studies, employed with British Telecom, currently pursuing Masters degree in computer science seeks suitable professional partner. Please send horoscope and details. Ref: MPG210 Hot Spring.

British Born Jaffna Hindu Daughter, 29, doctor training to be a GP, 5ft 2" tall, seeks professional partner, preferably with long UK background, religion immaterial. Please send details in confidence. Ref: MPG216 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Daughter, 37, awaiting PhD in History resident in Chennai, India, seeks Hindu vegetarian partner with academic interests. Please send horoscope details in confidence. Ref: MPG222 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Mother seeks a suitable partner in his forties, for her daughter holding a senior position in the Scientific Civil Service in London. Please forward details in confidence. Ref: MPG224 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Daughter, 34, studied and worked in USA, with Masters Degree in **computing** presently System Analyst in Washington DC,

vegetarian, seeks suitable qualified partner in USA or willing to migrate to the US. Ref: MPG217 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu Son, 27, resident in the UK during last 9 years, holding a degree in Pharmacology and currently doing Masters degree, seeks suitable partner. Please forward details and horoscope. Ref: MPB108 Hot Spring

Jaffna Hindu son, 27, with long residence in the UK, with Masters degree in Computer Science, currently working in software engineering for an investment bank in London, seeks sociable professional girl with traditional cultural values, Please send details. Ref: MPB109 Hot Spring

Daughter, 27, Roman Catholic, of Jaffna origin, presently working as an accountant in London, parents now settled in Australia, seeks a professionally qualified Roman Catholic or Christian partner aged between 28 to 35. Horoscope or numerology immaterial. Ref: MPG227 Hot Spring

Niece, 30, Christian, educated in Colombo schools throughout, father practicing as a doctor in Colombo, presently visiting London, seeks a suitable Christian professional of suitable age in the UK. Horoscope is immaterial. Ref: MPG228 Hot Spring

The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora has in recent years spread to many different countries in the World - to the UK and other European Countries, to America, to Canada and Australia. As a result contacts between those who were previously friends and neighbours back in Sri Lanka have become almost non-existent. The hardships and pressures in trying to establish ourselves in the new country of residence have made matters even more difficult.

Many young men and women of marriageable age are therefore faced with difficulties in finding suitable

The Meeting Point

Tel: 0181 767 1230 Fax: 0181 672 6433

partners in their own community.

The Meeting Point was inaugurated in London on 17th May 98, at a meeting attended by a large number of Tamil parents. The Meeting Point will operate as a voluntary organisation manned by a few respectable retired persons who are keen to serve the community by helping parents find suitable marriage partners for their sons/daughters. These volunteers understand the nature of this exercise

and will ensure utmost care and discretion in divulging information of individuals.

The Meeting Point also organises events such as parties and forums where young people will have opportunities to meet and get to know each other in a leisurely atmosphere. Suggestions, help and contributions are most welcome.

Parents/guardians/friends, desiring to seek a partner for a girl/boy, are welcome to make an application to The Meeting Point. Applicants are also welcome to visit the office of The Meeting Point by prior appointment.

M.O.T

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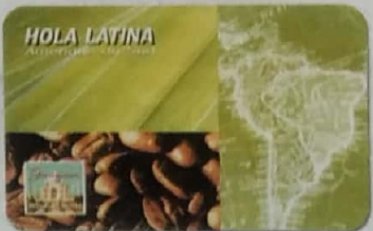
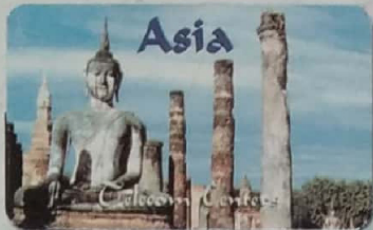
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