

Network

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SAVITRI on European Parliament's End of Term Revels

Solution to ethnic divide - teach English!

The European Parliament's last session in Strasbourg, before the elections, added a touch of farce to the efforts being made to resolve the armed conflict in the island of Sri Lanka.

Unmoved by the joint statement of more than 17 non governmental organisations at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in February this year on the urgency to recognise the right of Tamil people to self determination, the European Parliament declared its belief that 'a useful form of aid from the European Union to Sri Lanka would be the provision of books and educational equipment for the teaching of the English language.' An explanatory

'English' are not synonyms. It is also to fail to recognise that thousands upon thousands of 'educated Tamils' speak only Tamil.

It is also to fail to recognise that the Tamil struggle for self determination arose on Tamil soil and has been shaped by Tamils who have hardly ever spoken in English. It is also to fail to recognise that Tamil is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, living language in the world, was written and spoken several centuries before English, and is today written and spoken by more than sixty million people around the world.

By all means let us study the languages of the world. By all means let the English study Tamil

tongue of their erstwhile foreign ruler.

It is unfortunate that the European Parliament did not educate itself by making an effort to understand that which was said by 15 non governmental organisations at the February 1993 sessions of the United Nations Human Rights Commission:

"We are of the view that any meaningful attempt to resolve the conflict (in the island of Sri Lanka) should address its underlying causes and to recognise that the armed struggle of the Tamil people for self determination, arose as a response to decades of an ever widening and deepening oppression by a permanent Sinhala majority,

"The Friday morning sessions, when most MEPs have left, is precisely when it is easiest to slide in a little noticed amendment to protect some special interest group"

statement went on to say: "... one of the causes of the development of conflicts in Sri Lanka, after its peaceful achievement of independence in 1948 was the segregation of schools on linguistic lines. Attempts are now being made to remedy this by encouraging the use of English. It is already the lingua franca of the educated Sinhalese and the educated Tamils, but its wider use would be valuable in bridging the ethnic divide. While there are many excellent teachers in Sri Lanka, it would seem worthwhile the EC making a special effort to assist with funds, books and teaching aids. Graduate unemployment as well as linguistic division are special problems in Sri Lanka, which would be relieved by such assistance."

To declare solemnly in this day and age that English is 'the lingua franca of the educated Sinhalese and the educated Tamils' is to fail to recognise that the true Tamil intelligentsia today is Tamil speaking and not English speaking. It is to fail to recognise that 'education' and

and the Tamils study English. Each may gain some understanding of the other in this way. But to suggest that the answer to the armed conflict on the ground in the island of Sri Lanka is to teach English to the 'natives' is to preach a cynical, ethnocentric utopianism. It is hardly likely that the European Parliament would have suggested that, say, the ethnic divide between Germany, and Great Britain would be bridged by teaching French to both Germans and the British on the basis that, French was the lingua franca of the 'educated German' and the 'educated British' (during Napoleonic times).

The segregation of schools on linguistic lines was not a 'cause' of the conflict in the island of Sri Lanka. For one thing, schools were not segregated on linguistic lines. That which was separated was the language stream within each school. But, be that as it may, the fact that two peoples are educated, each in their own mother tongue, does not have the result that these two peoples cannot associate with each other in equality and in freedom - unless they are taught the

within the confines of an unitary Sri Lankan state.

It was an oppression which included the disenfranchisement of the plantation Tamils, systematic state aided Sinhala colonisation of the Tamil homeland, the enactment of the Sinhala Only law, discriminatory employment policies, inequitable allocation of resources to Tamil areas, exclusion of eligible Tamil students from Universities and higher education, and a refusal to share power within the frame of a federal constitution. It was an oppression by an alien Sinhala majority which consolidated the growth of the national consciousness of the Tamil people.

During the past several years the Sinhala dominated Sri Lankan government has attempted to put down the armed resistance of the Tamil people and has sought to conquer and control the Tamil homeland. The record shows that in this attempt, Sri Lanka's armed forces and para military units have committed increasingly widespread violations of the rules of humanitarian law... *continued on page 3*

"We launched our struggle for self determination and political independence because of the systematic oppression of our people by the Sri Lankan state..."

- Velupillai Pirabakaran,
Leader of the Liberation Tigers
of Tamil Eelam

Tamil Eelam leader, Velupillai Pirabakaran presents TEEDOR awards to farmers:

"... the economic embargo has made our people realise the necessity and urgency of building a self reliant, self sustaining economic infra structure in our own homeland, utilising our own resources..."

Velupillai Pirabakaran, the leader of Tamil Eelam, addressing a recent award ceremony for farmers in Tamil Eelam called for the establishment of a self reliant economic structure in the Tamil homeland as an answer to the economic blockade imposed by the Sinhala state.

"Tamil Eelam is a fertile land. It has the physical and human resources to build a self reliant economy with the potential for expansion and development" Mr. Prabakaran said.

The award ceremony was organised by the Tamil Eelam Economic Development Organisation (TEEDOR). Mr. Pirabakaran presented 'King of Farmers' awards to six cultivators who secured the highest yields in paddy cultivation for the year 1993/94.

Mr. Pirabakaran added: "I am very delighted to present these awards to these six farmers who by their remarkable achievement, have utilised the potential wealth of our land.

In the history of our liberation struggle we have encountered several critical situations and challenges. We have faced immense suffering. Sinhala chauvinism has inflicted grave injustices on our people with the single purpose of breaking their will power. Yet our people have confronted these atrocities with courage and determination.

For the last four years our nation has been subjected to a planned economic blockade imposed by the Sinhala state. The blockade was imposed to disrupt the economic life of our people and to make their daily lives miserable. The ultimate objective of this economic war is to undermine our struggle for self determination by making us feel that we cannot survive as an independent people and that we are economically dependent on the Sinhala nation.

It is true that this economic embargo has caused immense suffering and hardship to our people... This profound suffering has a positive aspect in helping to awaken the national consciousness of the Tamil masses. Serious problems of scarcity and shortages resulting from the economic embargo have made our people realise the necessity and urgency of building a self reliant self sustaining economic infra structure in our own homeland, utilising our own resources without bowing to the pressures of our neighbouring nation... Their hard labour and relentless toil has brought a resurgence in the economic life of our nation. Local production has increased in several sectors of the economy. Paddy cultivation was boosted and local industrial products increased...

Our struggle for self determination is aimed at the establishment of an independent state, for which a self reliant economic base is fundamental. The Tamil Eelam Economic Development Organisation has undertaken constructive programmes in this direction and I wish them every success."

Networking to secure international recognition of Tamils' right to self determination

International Herald Tribune reports:

Rising government spending in election year and elevated military budget stokes runaway inflation in Sri Lanka

The International Herald Tribune reported on 19 April 1994 "Runaway inflation, stoked by rising government spending in an election year will dampen Sri Lanka's economy.... inflation now around 12% is expected to accelerate as the government battles to win a presidential election at the end of this year and a parliamentary election in early 1995... Last month the ruling United National

Party suffered a surprising loss to the opposition Peoples Alliance in a key regional election and is now making vote catching but inflationary gestures.

Welfare measures, such as free school uniforms and mid day meals, phased out for lack of funds are being reintroduced. 'If government finances get out of control, inflation will increase sharply,' another private sector economist said...

The Central Bank announced last month it would issue short term securities to mop up excess liquidity, but analysts said new longer term instruments are needed. Also fuelling inflation are high foreign exchange inflows and elevated military spending."

"A Western economist said that donors were also worried that inflation could get out of control this year. 'If that happens, inevitably the poor will suffer, wages will erode, and the fiscal deficit will rise.' the economist said. The annual June World Bank arranged meeting of donors helping Sri Lanka is not on this year because of the polls. The economist said that the meeting was put off ... because of the government's inability to present a sound policy strategy for 1994.

'If the government came before donors, they would be compelled to present a programme that could then dash hopes of spending more to woo votes.' the Western economist said.

Analysts said that annual

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The demand for Tamil Eelam is a national question. It is, accordingly, an international question as well.

On the one hand, Sinhala chauvinism cannot succeed in its attempt to subjugate the people of Tamil Eelam without aid and support from influential sections of the international community, both in the Indian region and outside. On the other hand, in the end, Tamil Eelam itself will need to secure broad based international recognition.

To address the international frame within which the Tamil national struggle must force take shape, is therefore, not a matter of self indulgent luxury but a matter of immediate, direct and practical significance.

The new balances that are being struck in the emerging multi-polar world are not without relevance to the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam. It is said states have permanent interests but do not have permanent friends. This may be more so in the case of nations struggling to become states.

If the 1950s and the 1960s were the decades of the anti colonial liberation movements, the 1990s is proving to be the decade of the post colonial national liberation movements. Self-determination is not a dirty word. The political force that it generates will, in the end, prevail over the power exerted by many existing state structures.

Network exists to help, support and network the world wide efforts being made to secure international recognition of the Tamil right to self determination.

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"The annual June World Bank arranged meeting of donors helping Sri Lanka was put off because of the government's inability to present a sound policy strategy for 1994"

On 1 May 1994 President D.B. Wijetunga in his May Day address to the nation announced an unprecedented and wide ranging relief package for low income groups in the private and public sectors as well as the informal private sector. Some of President Wijetunga's May Day bonanza include reduced electricity, increase in wages, subsidies, reduction of taxes and return of welfare measures.

The Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Times declared on 1 May 1994: "The pre election spending spree planned by the government is certain to trigger inflation and the budget out of control, analysts said... The government is bringing back welfare measures - suspended due to high costs - like free school uniforms; books and midday meals for school children, and a poverty alleviation programme."

"In addition to that 8000 jobs will be given to unemployed graduates next month while a stalled 15,000 projects scheme is being restarted. Analysts said that the government would add millions of rupees more into renewed welfare costs which would further strain the budget."

inflation now at 14% from 11.5% in December could rise to 20% or more by the end of the year.

Other official sources said that the government was also considering whether it could curtail defence spending now at 20 billion rupees a year, so as to offset pressure on the budget from new welfare costs."

Meanwhile, the Colombo's All Share index fell on Friday (29 April) by 48 points, the highest ever drop in a single day... Moreover the prospects of the market picking up looked grim with reports of foreign investors receiving a flood of anonymous faxes and letters intended to turn them away from the market.

Assistant General Manager, Commercial Stockbrokers (Pvt) Ltd. pointed out that Fridays dip followed dips of 30 points on each of the two previous days of trading resulting in a 10% drop in the market over the last three days of trading. It is mainly due to overseas investors pulling out of Sri Lanka on an unprecedented basis due to political uncertainty

Appeal Court opened in Tamil Eelam

The Administration of Justice Division of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has opened an Appeal Court of Tamil Eelam so that litigants who are dissatisfied with orders and judgments made by the various District Courts of Tamil Eelam may have their appeals heard. Appeals may be made in respect of both civil and criminal cases and also against orders made in respect of labour disputes. Three judges have been appointed to serve as Appeal Court Judges - and one of them is a woman. Appeal Court judges sit together as a board and review the proceedings, orders and judgments that are appealed against.

Comment from Tamil Eelam Viduthalai Puligal

The Southern Province Council election results have thrown the D.B. Wijetunga government into disarray. The UNP hierarchy is in a quandary about what to do next, as the Southern Province voters have totally rejected D.B.s chauvinist politics. The United National Party explicitly asked the Southern voters for a mandate to intensify the war against the Tigers. The voters have unambiguously said 'Nay'.

Apart from the frustration and despair arising from a protracted war without any end in sight, the people of the South have seized this occasion to give vent to their hatred and indignation against the UNP.

Today the question on everyone's lips is 'What will be the D.B. government's next step?' At the time of writing it is not clear whether with the electoral defeat fresh in mind, D.B. will stop the war and attempt to negotiate or whether he will continue the war regardless.

Following the election the opinion that the war should be brought to an end is gaining ground in Sri Lanka. The

"...the Sri Lanka Government will discover that continuing the war is not such an easy matter. Further battle field disasters for the Sinhala forces will seal the doom not merely of D.B. Wijetunga but also of the United National Party..."

Opposition coalition has made this their political slogan.

At the same time, foreign countries which have come to the conclusion that the Tigers cannot be defeated militarily are pressuring the D.B. Wijetunga government to arrive at a solution through negotiation.

Notwithstanding the polls debacle and international pressure, Sinhala chauvinist forces, the top brass of the Armed Forces and a section of the ruling elite favour a continuation of the war.

It is a moot point whether D.B.'s government will publicly accept that the naked chauvinism it has spouted so far and its pretence that there is no ethnic problem but only a problem of terrorism are gross mistakes and beats its breast like a penitent.

But the Sri Lanka Government will discover that continuing the war is not such an easy matter. Further battle field disasters for the Sinhala forces will seal the doom not merely of D.B. Wijetunga but also of the United National Party. .. The D.B. government thus faces the danger of being impaled on the horns of a dilemma: whether to wage war or sue for peace. (Courtesy: Viduthalai Puligal, March 1994)

European Parliament.. continued from front page

However, despite the sustained attacks of Sinhala dominated governments over a period of several decades, the territorial integrity of the Tamil homeland in the North and East of the island has remained. The Tamil population in the North and East, who have lived for many centuries within relatively well defined geographical boundaries, share an ancient heritage, a vibrant culture, and a living language which traces its origins to more than 2500 years ago.

A social group, which shares objective elements such as a common language and which has acquired a subjective consciousness of togetherness, by its life within a relatively well defined territory, and its struggle against alien domination, clearly constitutes a 'people' with the right to self determination.

Today, there is an urgent need for the international community to recognise that the Tamil population in the North and East of the island of Sri Lanka are such a 'people' with the right to freely choose their political status. It is our view that such recognition will prepare the ground for the resolution of a conflict which has taken such a heavy toll in human lives and suffering during the past several years."

A charitable explanation for the farcical nature of the resolution of the European Parliament may, perhaps, be found in the comments made by Peter Taylor writing in the European Newspaper of 13-19 May 1994:

"The European Parliament's last session in Strasbourg before the elections was a bit like end of term in a boarding school. Metal trunks containing MEPs most cherished mounds of paper work lined the labyrinthine corridors, and from behind doors left ajar came hearty sounds of farewell. Almost half the MEPs will be gone for good - either through retiring, being dropped from their national lists or losing the election..."

The European Parliament is a bizarre institution... Parliament which shares the Council of Europe's chamber is the cuckoo in its nest. Its own symbolism - forest of flags, the ubiquitous 12 star logo, Beethoven suborned to EU service - shows no such restraint. 'Official dignity tends to increase in inverse ratio to the importance of the country in which the office is held' wrote the English novelist Aldous Huxley. Judged by that standard, 'Europe' must rank alongside, say, Chad.

In the Chamber itself, ushers dressed in white tie and tails, like sommeliers, fuss around an amphitheatre of desks. Of 518 MEPs (soon to be 567), there might be

NEWS WATCH BY GUERILLA

President Wijetunga calls off China visit

It is believed that because of a fear among Sri Lanka government circles of an internal plot in the UNP, the Presidential delegation which was due to leave Colombo on 8 May 1994, on a visit to China has put off the trip. Even apart from President Wijetunga's need to watch his flanks, it is learnt that India (and even the West) has not been altogether happy with Colombo turning towards China.

The joke doing the rounds in Colombo political circles is that when Sirisena Cooray was dragging his feet about admitting Gamini Dissanayake to the UNP and President Wijetunga called upon Sirisena Cooray to resign from the post of General Secretary of the UNP, Cooray had replied: "Mr.-President, Gamini Dissanayake does not want my job, he wants your job."

Sri Lanka offensive on again - off again?

The Virakesari reported on 24 April that according to very reliable information the major assault by the Sri Lanka Armed forces planned originally for the end of April, on the North and particularly in the Jaffna peninsula has been

30 in the chamber most of the time - vastly outnumbered by herds of puzzled visitors in the public galleries. Hardly any of the MEPs are famous faces... Soporific litanies do not however mean that nothing important is happening. Quite the contrary. The Friday morning sessions, when most MEPs have left, is precisely when it is easiest to slide in a little noticed amendment to protect some special interest group. MEPs are supposed to register their financial interest but the system is widely regarded as inadequate. For commissioners themselves and for the huge army of 'research assistants' (many in the pay of lobbyists), no such register even exists..."

Whether the resolution on the situation in Sri Lanka was 'slid in' is a matter of conjecture. But, that it was passed on a Friday is a fact. Again, what is not a matter of conjecture is the colossal ignorance that the resolution displays - an ignorance which would be laughable had not the resolution been intended to be taken seriously. It seems that the European Parliament has preferred to live up to Peter Taylor's description of it as a 'bizarre institution'. But it would be slighting Chad to say that 'Europe' ranks alongside Chad. After all Chad, a third world country, does not display the arrogance of neo colonialism which believes that English is the panacea for the world's ills.

postponed by a month. The embarrassing defeat of the ruling United National Party in the recently concluded Provincial Council elections in the Southern Province is thought to be the main reason for the postponement of the onslaught.

Later reports from Sri Lankan Army sources indicated that President Wijetunga has given the go ahead to the Security Forces to launch a major offensive on the Jaffna peninsula by the end of May. The Sri Lanka government planned to increase the number of the armed forces personnel in the Jaffna peninsula from the present 75,000 to a minimum of 100,000 before the assault begins. In the first two weeks of April, 12,000 personnel from various army camps in the East were air lifted to the Palaly Army Camp. Virakesari also reported that Lt. General Hamilton Wanasinghe has ordered the Sri Lanka airforce to carry out raids in the North before the planned onslaught begins.

But it appears that internal divisions within the ruling Sinhala establishment and the fear that any offensive may well suffer the fate of last year's disastrous Operation Yal Devi, with hundreds of Sinhala deaths, has forced President D.B. Wijetunga to pause and reflect on the consequences of hasty action, particularly in an election year.

Medicines for Jaffna from UNICEF

The UNICEF in response to a request for essential medical supplies from the Medical Division of the Jaffna Municipal Council, has agreed to send medicines valued at Rs.2 million.

Anonymous letter writers wreck lives of innocent Tamils

Innocent Tamils from other districts, who attend births, weddings and deaths of relatives in Matale are being arrested by the Matale police on information provided in anonymous letters sent to them. Some are interrogated and then released after a few days, whereas many are detained for weeks on end with no charges made against them

Sudden interest in Thirukovil

During the second week of April, the Sri Lanka army cordoned and searched the town of Thirukovil in the Batticaloa District. A large number of youths were rounded up and taken to the army camp for interrogation. After a while they were all released. The Security forces are busy collecting details of all who travel from Thirukovil and surrounding areas to Colombo. Those taken into custody are questioned on details of their bio-data,

the reasons for their travel, place at which they would stay and details of people they would visit in Colombo.

Sri Lanka Army commits arson

A landmine explosion at Panichangkerni in the Vaharai Division of Batticaloa District damaged one Sri Lankan army vehicle and injured a few army men in mid April. Following this incident, a number of Sri Lankan soldiers went on a rampage in Murugankovil area in Panichangkerni, setting fire to most of the houses. Fifty of the sixty houses were completely burnt, over ten civilians suffered serious injuries and Mr. Vairamuttu, a fifty year old father of five children was burnt to death. The Sri Lanka Army continues to violate with impunity the humanitarian laws of armed conflict whilst Amnesty International continues to report endlessly on the Sri Lanka situation and continues to make pious pleas to the Sri Lanka government to reform itself!

Referendum postponed yet again

According to a Gazette notification issued by President Wijetunga, the referendum to decide the permanent merger or otherwise of the North and East has been postponed yet again for the eighth time in the last six years. The Referendum is now scheduled to take place on 26 May in the East and 14 June in the North.

Ashraff supports merger of North-East

On 9 April at the annual conference of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, the SLMC leader Mr. Ashraf said that should the North and East be de-merged, it will spell disaster not only for the Tamils but for the Muslims as well. He said that the de-linking of the two provinces will strengthen the hand of the Sinhala community to the detriment of the Tamils and the Muslims and this will enable the Sinhala chauvinists to accelerate the planned process of state aided colonisation in the North-East.

He said that if Tamils are denied their rights, it will not be long before the Muslims suffer the same fate. The majority Sinhalese are out to create a dictatorship by denying the legitimate rights of the Tamils and Muslims.

Thonda calls upon Tamils and Muslims to unite

The CWC leader and Minister of Tourism, Mr. S. Thondaman speaking at the SLMC annual Conference on 9 April appealed to both Tamils and Muslims to sink their past differences and build a strong,

lasting bond of friendship and struggle as a united front until they obtained their legitimate rights.

Tamils hounded - whilst Amnesty reports

The Sri Lanka police in Colombo have been searching and rounding up over 500 Tamil youths, male and female, from the NorthEast and the Central Province in the aftermath of the five bomb blasts in Colombo on 8 and 9 April. Those rounded up are being held in detention centres without any specific charge being laid against them. The police are being assisted by the army and navy in this operation. In February this year Amnesty called upon Sri Lanka to stop arbitrary arrests of young Tamils in Colombo.

UNHCR - What is its (hidden) Agenda?

The majority of the 39,604 refugees who were returned to the island of Sri Lanka with the knowledge of the UNHCR are still languishing in resettlement camps in Mannar, Trincomalee, and Vavuniya. There are still 78, 396 refugees in camps in Tamil Nadu and more than 90,000 refugees live in towns throughout Tamil Nadu, outside these camps. Although the majority of these refugees do not want to be sent back to Sri Lanka, they are being 'persuaded' to return. Meanwhile, 3000 more Eelam Tamil refugees from refugee camps in India are to be sent back by air to Sri Lanka, according to a report issued by Thilak Chandrasekera, the Director of REPIA.

CHIT CHAT

Housing Minister Sirisena Cooray in an interview reported in the Sri Lanka government controlled Sunday Observer, 1 May 1994: "Let me tell you this. I came to know that many people had gone and told President Premadasa: 'Why don't you appoint Sirisena as the Minister of State for Defence.' He gave them a very convincing reply which was true to his character. He told them: 'The Minister of Defence will have to take tough decisions. Do you want me to make Sirisena look like a killer? I know the man very well. I do not want him to be branded as a killer.' That was his reaction to killings of any sort. He never killed anyone"

Sri Lanka government owned Lankapuwa newsagency report in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Times, 1 May 1994: "17 Ministers were backing Mr. Gamini Dissanayake to be senior Minister of the government, possibly the Minister for Defence..."

V.Balakumaran writes from Tamil Eelam:

"Today our people realise not merely the military but also the political value of the arms in the hands of the Liberation Tigers"

A voice sounding the clarion call of liberation from a corner of South Asia is resounding throughout the world today...

Actually a liberation fighter does not die. The fiery idealism that inspires him also becomes a historical force enthusing others and rousing a nation's soul from slumber. Tanks, aeroplanes and cannons are powerless against fighters who draw spiritual sustenance and strength from the sacrifice of their lives to attain their objective...

"Do these people who think that politics means merely the ingestion of various ideologies, and military operations merely the picking up of arms, know that armed struggle is the shedding of blood to attain a firm and clear political objective? Do they know the amount of planning and gathering of intelligence, the skill, training and courage that go into a well conceived military operation, and all the risks to life that are attendant to it?"

At the beginning of this century there occurred struggles against colonialism. Later socialism and communism ushered in an era of struggles against economic inequality and exploitation....

... from the beginning of history there has been one constant, underlying factor: one could say that it is virtually a law of history that man always struggles to break the fetters that bind him; he struggles to establish and confirm his existence and identity.

The struggle being waged by the Liberation Tigers is further confirmation of this 'law' ...

Since this basic law has not been grasped in all its complex ramifications, many a struggle has been derailed, with the original objective being lost sight of, many a struggle has suffered the indignity of being halted and abandoned mid way...

A look at our own history will be instructive. At the start there were several opinions about the path our struggle should take. Some said that the proletarians of both countries (Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelam) should unite and carry out a total revolution. Some said that the plantation workers

should be given prominence in the Eelam revolution. Some were of the opinion that producing militants was the only function (of the struggle). No, no said some others: it is none of these, after all round preparation, through military operations the goal of liberation can be achieved, they opined.

There were other differences of opinion as well. Some tried to give prominence to internal contradictions, counterpointing North Tamil Eelam and South Tamil Eelam and playing

summit agreements between Sinhala and Tamil political leaders, the Indo Sri Lanka Accord, the All Parties Conference, and the Parliamentary Select Committee. All these opportunities have proved fruitless as the myopic Sinhala leadership has spurned them.

Today Colombo's political circles talk glibly about the post Pooneryn phase. Do these suave talkers know the heroic sacrifices of life that made the Pooneryn victory possible? Do these people who

off the military wing against the political wing.

The struggle was in danger of getting bogged down in these interminable sterile debates. The only ones who benefited from these verbal squabbles were several poets who used them as thematic material for their poems.

What happened ultimately? The Tamil Eelam liberation struggle which at the start accommodated all these trends, through the litmus test of experience accepted some (of these trends) and rejected others. Consequently today, when one talks of North Tamil Eelam and South Tamil Eelam, these are purely geographical expressions, nothing more.

The goal today is the liberation of any and every territory of Tamil Eelam, wherever it may lie.... So it is not important where this struggle to recover our captured territory starts. What is significant is that this historical task should be inaugurated somewhere. Today the Liberation Tigers are carrying out this task which has been delegated to them by history.

An overview also reveals another truth. History has presented the Sinhala leadership with several opportunities:

think that politics means merely the ingestion of various ideologies, and military operations merely the picking up of arms, know that armed struggle is the shedding of blood to attain a firm and clear political objective? Do they know the amount of planning and gathering of intelligence, the skill, training and courage that go into a well conceived military operation, and all the risks to life that are attendant to it?

Today our people have become familiar, thanks to the Liberation Tigers, with the phenomenon of military operations simultaneously turning into political statements. Today our people realise not merely the military but also the political value of the arms in the hands of the Liberation Tigers...

This is the background for President Wijetunga's infamous statement that if the Government does not send food, the people of Tamil Eelam will have to eat the soil. Time will teach President Wijetunga the truth that our people have put their trust in our good earth and are self reliant. Ultimately it is President Wijetunga and others of his ilk who will bite the dust.

A VIEW FROM THE ENEMY'S CAMP

HELL HATH

NO FURY

AS JAYALALITHA SCORNED

"Thwarted in her attempt to convince Prime Minister Narasimha Rao to remove her adversaries Channa Reddy and Vazhapadi Ramamurthy from their posts has come out with some stinging allegations. .. While the Tamil Nadu Government was being accused of allowing the Tigers to operate in the State, RAW was maintaining clandestine links with the LTTE and negotiating deals' (Chief Minister) Jayalalitha told the (Tamil Nadu) state assembly. Damning the centre for alleged double standards, she claimed that quid pro quo arrangements had been struck..." - *India Today, 30 April 1994*

RAW - DOUBLE GAME?

"During the past four months evidence has been piling up that RAW and the LTTE have reached an understanding.... The fact that New Delhi is vacillating on the LTTE issue has established beyond doubt the RAW-LTTE nexus. According to an Indian magazine, when Prmier Rao was briefed of this relationship., he had endorsed this in his own style by stating that 'Do as you please'. RAW as usual is playing the double game.' - *Journalist, Agni, in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island, 24 April 1994*

CONTRACT KILLERS AND DEMOCRACY, SRI LANKA STYLE

"The people have so far suffered silently the unbearable cost of living, youth unrest due to acute and widespread unemployment and the conviction that under the UNP there is no hope of better tomorrow. Hitherto these frustrations have been suppressed by the display of firearms which filled every Pajero that followed Ministers and MPs wherever they went and the shadowy underworld of contract killers who turned ruthlessly against the few who dared to dissent. With the tide turning against them, the pillar of the UNP has begun to crumble. The bitter internal factionalism has now taken the form of a no holds barred struggle for power between the two major groups within the UNP... This deadly turn in internal politics of the UNP has now spread like a cancer to the regions. The murder of Razmar Hussein, a UNP member of the Matale Municipal Council and the relentless pursuit of Mohan Weerakoon another UNP councillor by the same gang of contract killers from whom he has appealed for state protection is now being repeated elsewhere... Susil Moonasinghe, a prominent UNPer, the former Chief Minister and now leader of the (UNP) Opposition of the Western Provincial Council is also under death threat for stating that there is no law and order in the country today. In the Nuwera Eliya Municipal Council there is a bitter clash between two factions of the UNP and members receiving death threats are similarly asking for protection.. With Ministers preoccupied with intra part conflicts... the government itself is slowly coming to a stage of paralysis" - *Press Statement of Sinhala Opposition Peoples Alliance in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island, 1 May 1994*.

SRI LANKA ARMY 'TOTALLY BEHIND' THE 'GREAT STATESMAN' SAYS LANKAPUWATH!

"Official sources told Lankapuwath that Army Commander Gerry De Silva and the entire army were totally behind President Wijetunga .. Political sources pointed out that certain anti national opportunists and government elements were trying to spread dissension but the large majority of Sri Lanka's police and army were totally behind the great statesman who had kept the country together... Meanwhile a senior law enforcement officer told Lankapuwath that all inciters and law breakers will be dealt with firmly." - *Report of the government owned news agency Lankapuwath published in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island, 1 May 1994.*

AGREEMENTS THAT HAVE BECOME OPINIONS!

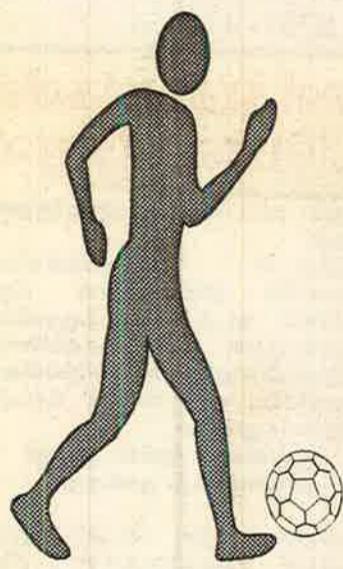
"Q. Do you think the annexures of the (1987 Indo Sri Lanka) agreement are still valid? A. Those were merely opinions we had at that time, relevant to that time and I don't think that anybody is bothered about them now. Some of them have been implemented like the Peace Keeping Force coming here. They are merely suggestions for each country to implement if they wish to." - ex President J.R.Jayawardene, in an interview reported in the Sinhala owned Sri Lanka Sunday Island on 1 May 1994, speaking on the annexures which he had solemnly signed, as President, in July 1987

இலண்டன் நம்முரி புனரவூழியுக் கழகம் நடாக்கிய உதைப் போட்டியில் தமிழர் உதைபந்தாட்டத்தின் போது...



பிரதிவே - பாடும்பிள் விளையாட்டுக் கழகத்தினரும் (மஞ்சள் - ரீவ்பு நிறம்) நெட்டேவே - தமிழ் விளையாட்டுக் கழகத்தினரும் (வெள்ளை - பச்சை நிறம்)

இத்தாலி விளையாட்டுக் கழகத்தினரும் (பச்சை - மஞ்சள் நிறம்) இவங்டன் சங்கீடால் விளையாட்டுக் கழகத்தினரும் (வெள்ளை - பச்சை நிறம்)



வெற்றிக் களிப்பில் இலண்டன் - புளஸ் விளையாட்டுக் கழகத்தினர்



உதைபந்தாட்டப் போட்டியில் சில கழகங்கள் மோதிக்கொள்ளும் விறுவிறுப்பான காட்சிகள்

