

# TAMIL

## International

### Lanka Genocide in Paintings



**SPECIAL FOCUS  
STRAYING BULLETS**

**Premadasa Aims  
His Pop Gun  
at Delhi**

**KIDNAPPING AND HYPOCRISY**

**Balasaraswathi : The last exit**



## The Central British Fund for Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation



\* The Central British Fund for Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation (C.B.F.T.R.R.) is an incorporated national and overseas charity established in 1979.

\* The purpose of its establishment is to relieve poverty amongst persons of Tamil race or origin whose mother tongue is Tamil and in particular to relieve poverty amongst such persons who are displaced or refugees or victims of war and disturbances or oppression and the families and dependants of such persons.

\* Soon after the 1977 pogrom although assistance came from the Government and other organisations initially in the running of the Refugee Camps, no funds were available for Rehabilitation of the Refugees. This led to the formation of the C.B.F.T.R.R.

\* Since its inception, C.B.F.T.R.R. has assisted in the settlement of the Refugees in Tamil Homelands through Gandhiyam and Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation of Sri Lanka.

\* In the July 1983 pogrom, over 150,000 persons were rendered refugees and C.B.F.T.R.R. was able to release Rs. 600,000 for programmes aimed at providing immediate relief to the Victims.

\* Collected and sent over 6,000 books on all aspects of education for the Jaffna Public Library.

\* Established the Tamil Information Centre and internationalised the Tamil problem.

\* Currently involved in Rehabilitation programmes aimed at helping refugees in Tamil Homelands in Sri Lanka.

# TAMIL International

Editor: S. Sivanayagam

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*TAMIL INTERNATIONAL makes its debut before the Tamil International reading-public at a point of Time when three and a half million Tamils of Sri Lanka wait anxiously at the cross-roads of History.*

*If thirty six years of "freedom" from British rule had left them worse off than under colonialism, the past seven years of President Jayawardene's rule have made them refugees and hostages in their own country; made them manful "tigers" but also hunted humans; made them runaways and wanderers and job and asylum seekers in the five continents of the world.*

*Discriminated by law and dispossessed by constant mob attacks, dislodged from their moorings and separated from families, uprooted from their habitats, denied basic security, they have learned to break loose and brave the high seas in country boats and cross European frontiers on foot. If the laws of their own country make them "terrorists" because they are not prepared to subject themselves to injustice and State oppression, and if the laws of the big, wide world are not accommodative enough to open the doors for the oppressed, then surely the world must be taken by storm? The citadels of Human Rights have to be assailed? The conscience of humankind has to be pierced. The world has to be made to SIT UP — and take notice. TAMIL INTERNATIONAL pledges itself to this task.*

*There are over sixty million Tamils scattered over various points of the globe, some rooted in their respective soils, some clutching at old roots, but they are minorities everywhere. Do they not have a collective Tamil soul, a unifying pride, a common Tamil consciousness? If they do not have them, it is time they had them. It needs a rallying point.*

*TAMIL INTERNATIONAL dedicates itself to that role.*

*Author Alvin Toffler writing on FUTURE SHOCK, spoke of "the roaring current of change, a current so powerful that it overturns institutions, shifts values, and shrivels our roots". That change that he saw from a global perspective, and in terms of the human race, has come to the Sri Lankan Tamils with such totally unexpected rapidity that it has subjected them to too much change in too short a time. It has swept away the smugness that made them live in the "glories of an ancient past", compelled them to face a present that is riddled with insecurity and violence and fear, and is fast leading them into a future that is uncertain — and in light of the Sri Lanka government's current "war" preparations — terrifying. But that future, however uncertain and however terrifying, has to be faced. Faced squarely and now. In helping the Tamil people to face that future, with courage and fortitude, with hope and confidence, TAMIL INTERNATIONAL shall always strive.*

*Tamil society has also to learn to look inward. A clinical introspection is essential. Every society carries with it some canker in its vitals, which if not cleansed, can lead to its own destruction. Intolerance and factionalism, inability to accept a contrary point of view, self-inflated egoism, malice and mud-slinging are neither healthy nor happy attributes in a people fighting oppression and waging a struggle for liberation. If this debilitating process is not checked in time, that will be a sure way of defeating ourselves before the enemy defeats us. All guns need steady hands, but if they are used in the cause of liberation, they need CLEAN hands as well.*

# New York Conference to discuss International Tamil Centre

## INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE

on

June 30th, July 1st & 2nd 1984

Place:

HOLIDAY INN  
NANUET, NEW YORK

Organized by:

THE TAMILS OF U.S.A.  
AND CANADA

The creation of a International Tamil Centre in New York will be decided at a 3-day International Tamil conference organized by the Tamil people of US and Canada from June 30th in New York.

The conference will discuss among other things, the promotion of the cultural heritage of the Tamils of the world and matters affecting the future of the Tamils as a people. The conference will also deliberate on the Human Rights violations of the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

The three-day programme will consist of special and highly focussed presentations, panel discussions, question and answer periods, childrens programme, Tamil drama, and Bharata Natyam. Among papers that will be discussed at the conference is a Draft Constitution of the "People's Republic of Eelam" presented by Satchi Ponnambalam.

There will be a pre-conference getting to know — one another session at the Holiday Inn, Nanuet, New York, on Thursday 29th June at 6.30 p.m. hosted by Dr. W.V. Panchacharam. The conference itself will be held at the Holiday Inn, Nanuet.

Several prominent Tamil Nadu personalities including Assembly Speaker K. Rajaram, Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress leader P. Nedumaran, D.M.K. Member of Parliament Y. Gopalasamy, Janatha leader ERA. Sezhiyan are among those expected to participate at the conference.

## CIA-MOSSAD MOVING INTO TAMIL NADU ?

Under cover of the anti-Tamil operations in Sri Lanka, CIA-Mossad operators have reportedly planned to move into Tamil Nadu, according to the Bombay Weekly BLITZ of June 9th.

Israel's notorious intelligence-cum-subversion agency, MOSSAD, has become an inseparable counterpart of the CIA in its anti-national operations in Third World countries. Using their experience in joint enterprise with SAVAK, the Iranian agency, they have set up its prototypes in a large number of countries like Sudan, Egypt, Pakistan, Indonesia and the Philippines. Sri Lanka is the latest to fall to the joint CIA-MOSSAD penetration.

## FORUM

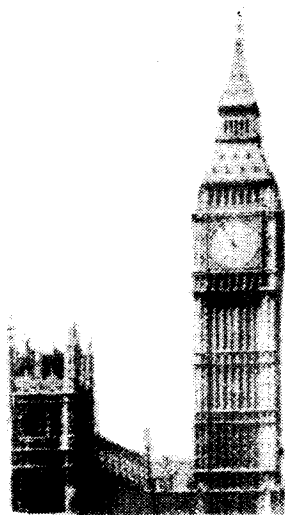
# EELAM STRUGGLE and the quest for organisation

The Tamil Eelam struggle has gone on for quite a while now but still there is no sign of that one supreme central organisation which would carry the Eelam struggle through its critical stages.

There are about 25,000 Eelam Tamils in U.K. and over 25 organisations whose fundamental aim is the same, i.e. to achieve Eelam. Besides, of these 25,000, only the same 50 turn up for all the meetings and protests. So, how do we motivate and secure the services of the remaining 24,950? Situation in U.S.A., Canada, Australia, Middle-East, Europe and Africa are all similar to that in U.K.

Tamils living overseas number about 100,000 compared to near 4 million in Ceylon. What sort of organisational structure do we need to make the efforts of Tamils living inside and outside Ceylon truly productive and complementary in order to achieve Independence. True Independence would mean not only political but also financial, Economic and Social aspects.

Since 95% of the Tamil population is in Ceylon the main "body" of the organisation would be in Eelam. But the "head" will not be safe there. The top decision-making head committee has



### LETTER FROM LONDON

**P. VAROTHAYASINGHAM**

to be located in Tamil Nadu. As South India is only 20 miles from Eelam, there should not be any communication problem between the "Head" and the "Body".

Now we come to the 100,000 or so Tamils scattered around the world with over 100 organisations of varying sizes. Those organisations as well as individuals can become members of the main organisation in the same way as trade Unions of all sizes are members of the Trade Union Congress (T.U.C.) in U.K. The Trade Unions pay part of their

membership subscription to the T.U.C. and the latter has constitutional functions.

There are many organisations which are non-political, such as the purely cultural ones. They too can become members in the same way as those unions which are members of the T.U.C. but not affiliated to the Labour party. The T.U.C. works by an elaborate committee system, the details of which can be obtained.

Alternatively, Tamil organisations in foreign countries can function as committees and sub-committees to the central organisation in South India. These committee can perform specialist tasks with the approval of the central high command which in turn gets its authority from the main body in Eelam.

The bond between the central high command and the overseas organisations (and individuals) must be flexible enough to allow people to use their own initiative and judgement and carry out actions in order to secure true Independence. Any disputes between the various organisation which cannot be resolved locally will have to go up to the central high command which has the ultimate say in these disputes and also the right to delegate its authority and functions.

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**TAMIL INTERNATIONAL invites a lively discussion on this very important and essential component of the Eelam struggle, leading to concrete proposals for a dynamic organisation.**

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The  
Allens affair

## KIDNAPPING AND HYPOCRISY

Not a shot was fired, not a drop of blood was shed, not a fly harmed. No life was lost. Not much sleep was lost — except by the Sri Lanka government. In fact, as it turned out, no killing was even INTENDED!

But what a ball was there my countrymen, when bearded American water resources "expert" Stanley Bryson Allen, 36, and his wife Mary Elizabeth, 29, were whisked away from their Beach Road residence in Army-occupied Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka on the night of May 10.

The kidnapers were eight members of the People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). Most of the kidnapers, it became known later, were English-speaking, two of them being women — showing an appreciable concern one should think, for the feelings of Mary Elizabeth Allen. The provocation for the kidnapping, it was stated, was that Stanley Allen was a CIA spy.

The kidnapping and RELEASE hapened in Jaffna where under President Jayawardene's rule human lives have become cheap; where, ordinary, peaceful citizens, men, women and children, get periodically shot and maimed by Jayawardene's armed forces; with no judicial inquests, no inquiries, no questions asked; where Tamil youths get constantly kidnapped from their homes and from highways and byways by the same armed forces, tortured in army camps, sometimes never to come back alive.

How come, that men who never felt a sense of outrage where innocent Tamil youths were bundled into army trucks for no other reason than that they were Tamils and that they were young, suddenly become "humanitarian" conscious when two Americans were kidnapped not for the reason that they were American but because rightly or wrongly the kidnapers felt that Stanley Allen was abusing the hospitality of the Jaffna people and was spying on them?

What is it that makes Sinhala army kidnapping of Tamil youths without sufficient evidence not offensive to any humanitarian principle, but makes Tamil freedom fighters kidnapping of two Americans stink to high heaven? Is it because a subject people should not kidnap? Or is kidnapping an exclusive privilege of Sinhala criminals in the south

and Sinhala army men in the north? Or, do American citizens who have been getting kidnapped or killed for poking their noses into other peoples' affairs, from Vietnam to Central America, from Iran to Lebanon, become sacred cows in Jayawardene's Sri Lanka? Why this hoity-toity concern in the case of one and callous disregard in the other?

What this double standard?

To know the extent of the hypocrisy that surfaced in respect of the Allens affair, one has to view the Allens kidnapping in the proper perspective.

The Allens were kidnapped in Jaffna on May 10.

One week earlier — on May 2 — the Colombo newspaper SUN ran a 6-column headline on Page 1, which said: PUBLIC OUTCRY OVER KIDNAPPINGS.

The fact was, kidnappings and ransom killings had become a major, startling crime in the Sinhala areas in south Sri Lanka. A 14-year old boy, Saman Kumara

Tilekeratne was kidnapped on April 5, and strangled with a shoelace five days later. A second ransom killing — that of Sinhala comedian Siripala of Kuruvita, occurred ten days later. A third followed. Other attempts to kidnap schoolchildren were foiled in time. The government became so concerned that draft legislation was quickly prepared to impose the death penalty as punishment for kidnapping offences.

Let it go on record that the Allens were the only victims of kidnapping who were NOT killed — in Sri Lanka. Let it also go on record that despite some obvious persuasion used by Sri Lankan Intelligence and political circles, the Allens, particularly Mary, refused to condemn the group of Tamil freedom fighters who kidnapped them. Here are some extracts from Questions and Answers at the News conference held in Colombo 36 hours after their release:

*Question:* Did you ever fear that you would be harmed or killed during the period of your captivity?



## The Allens affair

**Answer:** They told us from the very beginning that they would not harm us. They were very kind to us and yet they were distant. But I must be honest and say that I was not quite sure in the end whether they would not kill us, even though they kept telling us that it was not their intention.

**Question:** It was reported that Stan had only a towel around him and Mary was in her night clothes at the time of the kidnapping. Were you given any clothes to wear?

**Answer:** Yes, that's true. When we were taken away we were only in our night clothes. The following day they brought

us new clothing, slippers, tooth brushes, tooth paste, cologne, soap, powder, almost everything we would need while we were there.

**Question:** Were your abductors armed and were there any women among them?

**Stanley:** Yes, there were two women who took care of any personal needs of my wife.

**Q:** Were they armed?

**A:** Oh yes, they were armed.

**Q:** Even the women?

**A:** Yes, we noticed one of them carrying a revolver.

**\*Q:** Could you make a guess on the educational and intellectual level of your captors?

**A:** They seemed to be very educated people. They were very knowledgeable about world affairs.

**Q:** How did they treat you at the time of abduction?

**A:** They treated us very well. They even brought ice for my wife when she was feeling hot...

Looking back, it is pretty obvious that the two parties involved in the whole episode — the kidnappers and the victims — had both emerged out of it with triumph, good grace and a FLATTERING IMAGE. It is the others — on the sidelines, the Sri Lanka government, the Sri Lanka armed forces, the National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali chiefly, who came out of the Allens affair with ASH ON THEIR FACES.

## The Arab View

Editorial, ARAB NEWS, Saudi Arabia — June 2, 1984

# SRI LANKA'S COMPANY

Whatever else President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka may be accused of, not even his worst enemies say he suffers from a lack of certain ingeniousness. His handling of the Tamil problem in the northern provinces may have proved very clumsy. He may have aggravated the problem by appearing to sail under the flag of Sinhala chauvinists rather than as the president of the whole island, its Tamil part included. But when it comes to fighting terrorists, Jayewardene knows that nobody could do it better than Israel, a state born in terrorism, and lives by terrorism.

The Sri Lanka government has formally announced the setting up of a limited Israeli presence in the capital Colombo to help fight the guerrillas in northern areas amid mounting criticism from the opposition parties and protests in the country. "We will get help from the devil if we can." Said President Jayewardene in Hong Kong the other day in reply to a question whether Sri Lanka had sought Israel's help to fight the Tamil separatists.

Of course, there is nothing new in the move, for Tamil separatists have been hinting at an Israeli presence in the island directed against them ever since last year's ethnic riots. According to PLO Ambassador in Colombo Khairuddin Abdul Rahman, more than 50 members of Mossad, Israel's intelligence organization, are already in Sri Lanka helping the island's armed forces.

Sri Lanka, it may be noted, suspended diplomatic ties with Israel 14 years ago calling it to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. But, according to Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed, the Vienna

Convention provides for such an arrangement when two countries having no diplomatic relations wanted to conduct business with each other. But what President Jayewardene and his foreign minister choose to forget and what the Arab states can't except at great peril to their interests, is the fact that neither the country nor the 'business' involved is an ordinary one, even though we would be the last to deny terrorist credentials to Israelis both as individuals and as a state.

It is Sri Lanka's business whether it should have diplomatic relations with a country either openly or through the back door. It is again up to the government in Colombo whether they should open the most sensitive and vital organ of the state to penetration by an outsider. But what the Arab states, in all fairness, can't refrain from pointing out is the danger involved in a country which makes no secret of its hostility to Arabs and has been carrying out acts of vengeance against individual Arabs in isolated spots in Europe whenever it is not engaged in war against them as a nation, being allowed yet another base from which to operate. Israel has killed many top Arab diplomats and Palestinian leaders through terrorist acts in various European capitals. So any attempt to have the sphere of Israeli influence extended is sure to conflict with the Arab interests and Sri Lanka's can be no exception.

In fact, considering the close economic and commercial relations between Sri Lanka and the Arab world, the danger is far greater and the implications of a Zionist presence more sinister. President Jayewardene may not mind spooning with



the devil and proclaiming it unabashedly to the outside world. But the Arabs have to, because for them it is a question of survival. So sooner or later he will have to make a choice between Israel and the Arabs and, in case he avoids making one, it will be the Arabs' painful duty to do it for him and in this they will be guided by the maxim that a country is best known by the company it keeps. Or is it by the company that keeps it?



*Sri Lankan Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel on an international 'begging bowl' mission, as seen by Sri Lankan cartoonist Wijesoma (by courtesy, The Island 3rd June 1984).*

## U.S. aid to Sri Lanka: policy changes 1953-1980

What has been the United States aid policy towards Sri Lanka over the years? Here are some revealing extracts from a report of a study mission to Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka and India (August 3-23, 1979) submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U.S. House of Representative:—

"... U.S. assistance to Sri Lanka over the last 25 years has been sporadic as a result of shifts in United States — Sri Lankan relations and in U.S. foreign assistance policies. Under the terms of the "Battle Act," in 1953 the United States was required to curtail assistance to Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) when that country signed a trade agreement with the People's Republic of China. U.S. assistance was resumed in 1956 and suspended again in 1963 under the Hickenlooper amendment as a result of expropriation of facilities and properties of several oil companies. Although U.S. assistance was

resumed in 1966, no U.S. development aid funds were obligated from 1970 to 1976; this hiatus was brought about by a combination of U.S. assistance policies which at that time did not view with favor Sri Lankan internal development policies, and by broader U.S. foreign policy interests which were critical of Sri Lanka's non-aligned status and accorded Sri Lanka relatively low priority among potential aid recipients. A modest U.S. assistance program to Sri Lanka of \$8.6 million was resumed in fiscal year 1975, which more than doubled to \$20 million by fiscal year 1977, and is expected to reach about \$30 million in fiscal year 1980.

The election of a new government in 1977 which undertook a series of economic policy reforms has stimulated both the United States and other donors to increase their support for Sri Lanka. The government of Prime Minister (Now President) Jeyawardene is much more supportive of private market development than was the previous socialist government of Mrs. Bandarnaiake and has taken steps to encourage domestic savings and local and foreign investment, promote more efficient programs to limit government subsidies to those people most in need of assistance, and above all to generate employment opportunities.

The major components of the Sri Lankan development program (1979-83) are the accelerated Mahaweli program, a

vast power, irrigation and resettlement scheme described in more detail below, an urban rehabilitation project in Colombo, and establishment of a free trade zone to encourage foreign investment. These activities have been given priority because of their employment generation impact. While Mahaweli is by far the largest development activity in the country, drawing a major share of development aid, substantial donor resources are also being made available for a range of other development activities.

The World Bank estimated in 1979 that Sri Lanka's foreign exchange gap will be roughly \$445 million in 1980, excluding sizable estimates for the Mahaweli project. U.S. economic assistance to Sri Lanka, including Public Law 480 assistance, will reach an anticipated \$60 million in fiscal year 1980. \$29.5 million in development assistance, and \$31 million Public Law 480 sales and grants. The country's current political and economic policies appear to be acceptable to other donors as well as to the United States; foreign assistance flows have nearly doubled in monetary terms since 1977. On a per capita basis, it is interesting to note, Sri Lanka is a major aid recipient. U.S. economic aid for fiscal year 1979 was approximately \$3.50 per capita, the highest per capita average in Asia, while the total from all donors is over \$31 per capita, a figure which will rise as funds begin to move in connection with the Mahaweli project...





## PREMADASA AIMS HIS POP GUN AT DELHI.

Eyes nearly popped out of their sockets in New Delhi's South Block when Sri Lankan Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa began aiming a fusillade of shots at the Indian government and Mrs. Gandhi with his verbal pop gun recently.

Dhoti-clad Premadasa who parades his Buddhism on his head like all Sri Lankan politicians do, but who has also been assiduously going for poojas and "abhishekams" at a Hindu temple in Colombo, and maintaining a loud silence during the Indian government's peace efforts in the aftermath of the July '83 anti-Tamil pogrom, suddenly began to behave like a woman going through menopause problems!

The first signs of his pugnacity occurred when speaking in the Sri Lankan Parliament on May 25, he said: "How dare Mr. (Narasimha) Rao tell us to reduce our military strength in Jaffna; have we asked him to reduce the military in Punjab?". He was speaking in a debate on extending the island's state of emergency. The emergency, first declared on May 25, 1983 (two months before the July violence) is now running into its second year.

Having challenged Mr. Rao, he began to challenge the Tamilnadu government, then Indian, then Indira Gandhi and virtually challenged the Indian army to invade Sri Lanka! He said Sri Lankans would die fighting an Indian invasion.!

Two weeks later, speaking at the opening of a model village at Herathgama, Premadasa said: "There are some Sri Lankans who try to weaken the hands of the government by asking such cowardly questions as: What will happen if India invaded this island? Well, what will happen is that the traitors will willingly go under subjugation and the rest will fight. Sri Lanka's history is the story of the treachery of some and the heroism of others. It happened when the Portuguese invaded Sri Lanka".

Premadasa was sketching out a scenario that could prove extremely tragic for Sri

Lanka, but for the fact that the absurdity of his postures and the want of dignity in such Prime Ministerial pronouncements made it look comic as well!

New Delhi, baffled at first at how to react to this outburst, and wondering whether to react at all, finally decided that there should be some strong response. The HINDU's Special Correspondent in New Delhi said in his despatch of May 31: "The Government of India is shocked, according to authoritative sources, by the recent speech of the Sri Lanka Prime Minister Mr. Premadasa in Parliament, particularly the recurring references to the possibility of an invasion of his country by India... There is a feeling of extreme unhappiness here that the Prime Minister of a friendly country should have talked in this vein about India... As seen from here, Mr. Premadasa himself created a bogey and lapped it up. There could be no other explanation for his remark that "India should not play hide and seek with us. India should invade us openly and we are prepared to lay down our lives to defend our country".

A Foreign Office spokesman who made known the Indian Government's feelings said: "The text of the statement made by Mr. Premadasa, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka in Parliament on May 24 is now available. In all these years since independence India and the P.M. personally have never been attacked so virulently. We can only deplore the use of such intemperate language. The charges and accusations hurled at India are totally without basis...".

Perhaps the most pungent reaction to Premadasa's outbursts came from Sri Lanka's Leader of the Opposition, Anura Bandaranaike. Himself the son of two Prime Ministers both of whom were the beneficiaries of a personal rapport with the Nehru family, Anura Bandaranaike, like his mother Sirima, had in Premadasa one of their deadliest foes. Political differences were only part of the explanation; a pronounced mutual distaste of their respective social backgrounds was a more

marked reason. The Bandaranaiques belonged to the aristocracy and Premadasa rose up from very humble caste beginnings. Addressing the Muslim Majlis at the Islamic Cultural Home in Colombo on May 29, Anura Bandaranaike said: India is a land of 750 million people. She has the world's fifth largest army. She has the world's fourth biggest air force. It is to this country that Prime Minister Premadasa has been issuing a challenge. If India decides to attach any seriousness to the Prime Minister's antics, the first person to run to a helicopter and land safely in the Maldives will be Mr. Premadasa himself!

The HINDUSTAN TIMES WEEKLY, New Delhi, in an editorial dated June 3, said: "SENSELESS RHETORIC FROM SRI LANKA: The fact that it took more than a week for the Government of India to react to a vituperative outburst by Sri Lankan Prime Minister Premadasa is a measure of New Delhi's statesmanlike desire to play down what can only be considered an unfortunate aberration in neighbourly relations. Even by Premadasa's well-known hawkish stance on the problem of Sri Lankan Tamils, his fulminations against India and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in person touched a new low in intemperance...

"The Tamil settlers have been in Sri Lanka for generations, contributing in great measure to the island's economic well-being. The current strife in Sri Lanka has halted a great deal of activities, including in the plantations on which the nation's economy depends. If the state of affairs is allowed to continue, as Herbert Hoover once said, the grass will grow in the streets and the weeds will over-run the fields and farms. Premadasa probably thinks he is playing baseball politics... Meanwhile, the ethnic divide continues he is playing baseball politics... Meanwhile, the ethnic divide continues unabated in Sri Lanka... Premadasa has displayed a streak of compulsive intemperance which ill befits a man in his position. All we can say is, God help him; his ideas will not."

## HOW THE SRI LANKA BULLETS SOMEHOW STRAYED...

THE MURDER OF TAMIL CIVILIANS IN THE BUSY MARKET TOWN OF CHUNNAKKAM BY THE SRI LANKAN AIRFORCE ON THE 28TH OF MARCH WAS AN OPEN AND BLATANT VIOLATION IN A CONTINUING PATTERN OF VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT. THE ATTEMPTED COVER UP BY THE NEWLY APPOINTED NATIONAL SECURITY MINISTER, AND EX OXFORD UNION PRESIDENT, LALITH ATHULATHMUDALI SHOWED THE COMPLICITY OF A GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD BLOOD ON ITS HANDS. THE MURDERS MARKED THE BEGINNING OF A BIAFRA STYLE MILITARY OPERATION WITH INTENT TO TERRORISE AND SUBJUGATE THE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA SO THAT THEY MAY ACCEPT THE ROLE OF QUISLING COLLABORATORS IN DISTRICT COUNCILS WITH EXECUTIVE POWER EFFECTIVELY VESTED IN A SINHALA PRESIDENT AND HIS NOMINEES.

**1...President Jayawardene: 'if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy...'**

1.1 President Jayawardene, in his now famous interview with Ian Ward of the Daily Telegraph, in July 1983, had many things to say. He was clearly in one of his more expansive moods. Apart from his oft quoted statement that he could not think of the lives of the Jaffna people or their opinions, he also declared: **"The more you put pressure in the north, the happier the Sinhala people will be here. Really, if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy..."**

**2...Government of Sri Lanka set on path of terrorism but described as 'Malaysian type' solution...**

2.1 President Jayawardene also wondered aloud whether the Government should not do that which the British had done in Malaysia. President Jayawardene was speaking to a British journalist, and as always he suited his words to his audience. After all a British journalist would be more receptive to a British way of doing things. But President Jayawardene's Minister of Industries, Cyril Mathew was somewhat more explicit:

"Terrorism cannot be stopped and has never been stopped by means of the law. Terrorism has been stopped by terrorism. In no other way is it possible..."

2.2 The intent of the declaration made by President Jayawardene and his Government was clear. The Government of Sri Lanka was set on the path of terrorism. The legitimising propaganda was that 'terrorism must be stopped by terrorism'. But what was the nature of the so called 'terrorism' which the Government of Sri Lanka sought to eradicate? The factual position appears from a report published by the International Commission of Jurists in March 1984. It said:

"... the scale and size of terrorism in Sri Lanka is not such as to constitute a public emergency threatening the life of the nation... and so does not justify measures permanently derogating from the rights guaranteed by the Covenant... In particular, the Prevention of Terrorism Act 1979 infringes many of Sri Lanka's obligations under the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights... and some of its provisions would be an ugly blot on the statute book of any civilised country... if terrorism is to be contained or eliminated the legitimate expectations of the Tamil community must be met..."

**3...as the answer to the Tamil National question...**

3.1 But clearly, the Government of Sri Lanka was no longer concerned with the lives or the opinion of the Tamil people. Leave alone their 'legitimate expectations'. It seemed to believe that state terrorism was the answer to the Tamil National question. In March 1984 and in the succeeding weeks, the Sinhala army moved into Tamil areas in the North and East of Sri Lanka in increased strength. A new army commander was appointed. The Government insisted that all Tamils should carry identity cards. Tamils were taken into custody as hostages. The army shot at random in Chunnakam, a busy market town in the North of Sri Lanka and in urban Jaffna as well. More than 200 Tamils young middle aged and old, were killed. And the Guardian in England reported on the 17th of April: "Most of the dead are admitted to have been passers by, shot at random by vengeful infantrymen. They reportedly included men and women in their sixties... when the security services cannot find known suspects, they detain their fathers or brothers..."

**4...supported by Goebbels type propaganda...**

4.1 And the Government sought to legitimise its actions by claiming that it was attacking 'terrorists'. Ex Oxford Union President, Lalith Athulathmudali, was appointed National Security

## SPECIAL FOCUS

by Guerilla

Minister and his pronouncements were in the style of Hitler's propaganda chief, Joseph Goebbels who said in the 1930s:

"Propaganda does not have anything to do with truth. We serve truth by serving a German victory".

4.2 It would seem that Minister Athulathmudali seeks to serve truth by serving the cause of Sinhala State terrorism. In an interview reported in the Island, appropriately enough, on the 1st of April, Minister Athulathmudali said, with reference to the killings in Chunnakkam on the 28th of March:

**"ACCORDING TO THE INFORMATION I HAVE RECEIVED, THE AIR FORCE MEN WERE FIRED ON BY TERRORISTS WHO WERE ON THE ROOFS OF SOME BUILDINGS. THE SERVICEMEN FIRED BACK. UNFORTUNATELY, WHILE TERRORISTS WERE KILLED, THERE WAS ALSO THE DEATH OF A LADY WHO HAD BEEN MARKETING. SHE HAD BEEN ACCIDENTALLY HIT BY A STRAY BULLET. THE FIRST REPORTS TO THE MEDIA WERE THAT THE AIR FORCE HAD SHOT AT THE CROWD... THE EVENTS IN JAFFNA LAST WEEK WERE BLOWN OUT OF ALL PROPORTIONS..."**

4.3 Ex Oxford Union President, Lalith Athulathmudali was not without the skills of an undergraduate debator. To ex Oxford Union President Athulathmudali it was all a question of the events in Jaffna being 'blown out of all proportions.' After all certain civilised proportions must be maintained when airforce men are accused of killing civilians. What are the appropriate proportions, Mr. National Security Minister? And, perhaps more appropriately, what are the facts?

**5...bullets directed at 'terrorists on roof tops' somehow strayed and killed a lady at ground level...**

5.1 According to Minister Athulathmudali, bullets directed at roof tops, somehow started 'straying' downwards. The air force men fired at terrorists on roof tops and they fired with such accuracy, that the bullets 'strayed' and hit a lady who was marketing at ground level! And Minister Athulathmudali was not relating an April Fool joke. But this was not all. Minister Athulathmudali who is a lawyer by profession, stated rather disingenuously:

"Unfortunately, while terrorists were killed, there was also the death of a lady who had been marketing".

5.2 Lawyer Athulathmudali deliberately led his listeners to infer that apart from the lady 'who had been marketing', the others who were killed were terrorists. But who were these so called terrorists who were killed on that fateful day at Chunnakkam?

### **...and strayed**

**6...somehow strayed and killed employee Krishnandan at his workplace...**

6.1 One of those who were killed on the 28th of March at Chunnakkam was 22 year old Krishnandan who was employed as an operator at Nathan Brothers at Chunnakkam and he was shot whilst at his work place at ground level. Was he a terrorist, Mr. National Security Minister? And was Krishnandan also killed by

a bullet which was directed at the roof tops and which 'strayed' downwards?

6.2 Krishnandan was the sole breadwinner of his family. He supported his elderly father, who is a T.B. patient, and his mother. He supported two unmarried sisters and a brother who was 13 years old. Does that concern you, Mr. Minister?

**7...somehow strayed and killed 53 year old watcher Balasubramaniam on his way to work...**

7.1 Another who was killed at Chunnakkam was 53 year old Kandiah Balasubramaniam who worked as a watcher at the Jaffna Railway Station. He was shot at Chunnakkam on the morning of the 28th of March, whilst on his way to work. Was he also a terrorist, Mr. National Security Minister? And was Kandiah Balasubramaniam also killed by a bullet which 'strayed'?

7.2 Does it concern you, Mr. Minister, that Kandiah Balasubramaniam was the sole bread winner of a family of five daughters, aged 21, 19, 17, 13 and 8 years and one disabled son who was ten years old?

**8...somehow strayed and killed Yogarajah, working at his family store...**

8.1 Another of the dead was 27 year old Nadarajah Yogarajah, who helped his brother in the family store at Chunnakkam and who was shot whilst standing in front of the shop. Was he also a terrorist, Mr. National Security Minister? And was Nadarajah Yogarajah also killed by yet another bullet which was directed at the roof tops but somehow 'strayed'? Not only the Tamils of Sri Lanka, but Tamils the world over would like to know your views, Mr. Minister.

8.2 And does it concern you, Mr. Minister, that Nadarajah Yogarajah leaves behind him a 60 year old widowed mother and an unmarried sister?

### **...and strayed**

**9...somehow strayed and killed 42 year old Thiagarajah whilst he was purchasing milk powder...**

9.1 Another of the dead was 42 year old Vairavi Thiagarajah, who had left his home at Market Lane, Chunnakkam, that morning to buy some firewood and milk powder for his infant twins. He did not return home. He was shot dead in the shop whilst he was purchasing milk powder. Was this man also a terrorist, Mr. National Security Minister? And was Vairavi Thiagarajah killed by a bullet which 'strayed' into a shop selling milk powder?

9.2 And does it matter to you Mr. Minister that Vairavi Thiagarajah leaves behind a widow aged 36 years, a son aged 12 years, a daughter aged 6 years and two infant twins aged 4 months? Or is it that you and your Government feel that his is the price that the Tamil people must be called upon to pay for their struggle to be free from a continuing oppression?

**10...somehow strayed and killed 68 year old vegetable seller**

10.1 Another of those killed was 68 year old Vallipuram Sinnathurai who was a vendor of vegetables at the Chunnakkam public market. He was shot dead whilst selling vegetables and his body was eventually brought back home in a bullock cart. Was Vallipuram Sinnathurai also a terrorist, Mr. National Security Minister? And was Vallipuram Sinnathurai also killed by a 'straying' bullet — a bullet directed at the roof tops but which

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somehow found its way into the Chunnakam public market, and 'accidentally' killed a vegetable seller. Does it concern you Mr. Minister that Vallipuram Sinnathurai leaves behind his widow Ponnaama who has no one to support her?

**11...somehow strayed and killed 37 year old street hawker Suntharalingam at ground level...**

1.1 Yet another who was killed was 37 year old Thambimuttu Suntharalingam. He was a street hawker who used to supply vegetables and on the morning of the 28th he left home by cycle to go to the Chunnakam market. He did not return. He was shot at Chunnakam. Was Thambimuttu Suntharalingam also a terrorist, Mr. National Security Minister? And was he also killed by yet another 'stray' bullet? And does it concern you, Mr. Minister that Thambimuttu Suntharalingam's widow must now look after her aged parents, who live with her, and her 4 year old son and twins aged one year and eight months? Does it concern you that this widow is herself a T.B. patient?

### **...and strayed**

**12...somehow strayed and killed Kanesh who had accompanied his uncle who read palms at the Chunnakam market...**

12.1 Another who was killed at Chunnakam was Kathiravelu Kanesh who had accompanied his uncle, Suppiah Balasubramaniam, to Chunnakam. His uncle went as usual, on that day, to read palms at the Chunnakam market. Kathiravelu Kanesh was shot whilst at the Chunnakam market. Was Kathiravelu Kanesh, who accompanied his uncle, who was a palm reader, was Kathiravelu Kanesh a terrorist on a roof top, Mr. National Security Minister? And was he also killed by a 'stray' bullet? And does it matter to you, Mr. Minister, that Kathiravelu Kanesh left behind a widow who is six months pregnant and who must now fend for herself?

**13... it was a day of 'straying' bullets in the busy market town of Chunnakam...**

13.1 And so, Mr. Minister, this was not a day when merely one bullet, which was directed at the roof tops somehow 'strayed' downward and killed a lady at ground level. That would have been curious enough. But as Alice remarked in Wonderland, the story becomes curiously and curiously. It was not even a day of two straying bullets. It was not even a day of three or four or five or six or seven straying bullets. It would seem that all the bullets fired on that day at terrorists on rooftops, somehow 'strayed' downwards and killed people at ground level!

### **Malaysian style**

13.2 In fact, Mr. National Security Minister, we all know, do we not, that it was not a day of straying bullets at all. The bullets fired by the air force at Chunnakam did not stray. Like all good bullets, they went in the direction they were fired and on the 28th of March 1984 the Sri Lankan Air Force exhibited their prowess and their bravery and fired at random in the busy market town of Chunnakam with intent to kill and terrorise civilian Tamils. And if these eight persons who were killed at Chunnakam as a result of the shooting on the 28th of March were not terrorists, who were the so called 'terrorists' who were

killed on that day? Because, you will recall, Mr. Minister, that the communique of your own government stated that only seven persons were killed by the shooting. The truth is self evident. The airforce did not kill any terrorists at Chunnakam on that day because in fact, there were no terrorists in Chunnakam on that day. The airforce did not fire at the roof tops because there were no terrorists on the roof tops in Chunnakam on that day. The Sri Lankan airforce committed murder and National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali sought to insult the intelligence of the world by seeking to narrate the story of the mysterious case of 'The Straying Bullets'. The massacre marked the beginning of the Malaysian style operation which President Jayawardene had wondered about in July 1983.

**14....therefore, more than a stray interest to inquire, what was the nature of the intended 'Malaysian' type solution?...**

14.1 It is therefore something more than a stray interest that leads us to inquire as to what President Jayawardene had in mind when he referred to a 'Malaysian' type solution. What was it that was done in Malaysia?

14.2 In 1948, the British launched a campaign to counter a communist insurgency in Malaysia. It was an insurgency which was confined to sections of the Chinese in Malaysia. The British campaign lasted several years. The back of the insurgency was broken by 1957. The communist insurgency failed but the Malaysian national liberation struggle succeeded and the British handed over power to an independent Malaysia in July 1957.

### **Robert Thompson**

14.3 Robert Thompson, who served as advisor to the campaign, has written of his experiences in a publication on Studies in International Security.

That which he has written is relevant and revealing. He says:

"...the first requirement is an identity card system throughout the country... this makes it easy to check absentees and visitors... Dusk to dawn curfews outside hamlets should be imposed and strictly enforced. Bulk supplies of food and other articles of value should be conveyed between towns and villages and no individual should be allowed to take such articles outside the hamlet... Check points should be established to enforce all these regulations, and snap checks should be carried out on all roads, rivers and tracks... There are many who will criticise the harshness of the measures which may have to be used. This is a mistaken attitude. What the peasant wants to know is: Does the government mean to win the war? Because if not, he will have to support the insurgent. The government must show it is determined to win. Only in that way will it instil the confidence that it is going to win... The blame for the harshness of the measures can be placed squarely on the insurgent... There should be in the whole of the government's approach an adroit and judicious mixture of ruthlessness and sympathy..."

### **Ruthlessness**

14.4 Robert Thompson was frank and clinical. He continued:

"As an example of a ruthless measure it is worth quoting the case of a village in Malaya of about 3000 inhabitants. This was a

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very bad area... Having given the inhabitants a choice between the government and the communists, and having failed to make any headway by appealing to or persuading them to cooperate, the government surrounded it with several battalions at dawn one morning and moved the whole village out. Everyone in it, men, women and children, went into detention. All the houses were razed to the ground and crops destroyed. This did not cause a public outcry because the effectiveness of the result... silenced all criticism...

### 15...adroit mixture of ruthlessness in deed and sympathy in word...

15.1 And, so we begin to have some understanding of President Jayawardene's "Malaysian" type answer to the Tamil national question. It would seem that ex Oxford Union President and new Minister for National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, is coordinating a Malaysian style operation in Jaffna with an adroit mixture of ruthlessness and sympathy — ruthlessness in deed and sympathy in word. In the interview reported in the Island, Minister Athulathmudali said:

Q. Can you tell me one country where tough measures have arrested terrorist activities?

A. One of the best examples is Malaysia where there was a fight against Communist infiltrators and commandos. The Malaysians won.

Q. But that was against Communists?

A. Yes, but the majority of these terrorists are trained in Marxist ideology. So it is the same format.

### 16... but 'tough solution' is no answer to a national liberation struggle...

16.1 However, events and time will prove that President Jayawardene's 'Malaysian' type solution will turn out to be counter productive — because despite Minister Athulathmudali's assertion, the 'format' is not the same.

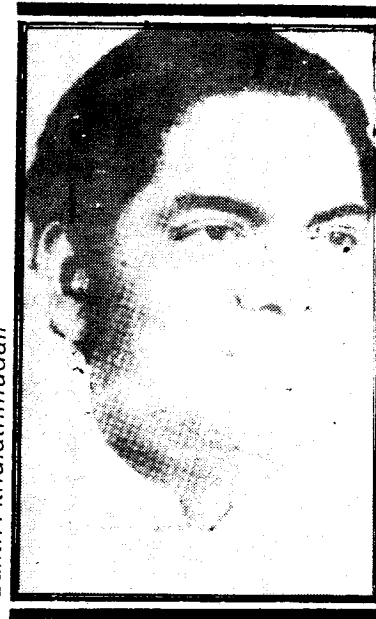
## Potent mix

16.2 The insurgency in Malaysia was communist in origin and it was confined to a section of the Chinese people. The British successfully prevented the insurgency from developing into a national liberation struggle by promising and then granting independence to Malaysia in 1957, with the Malays and Chinese sharing power. This was the major political plank of the campaign and it was this which was crucial to its success. The British left Malaysia. If they had sought to continue to rule in Malaysia, the insurgency would have developed into a fullfledged national liberation struggle to oust the foreigner from the soil of the people. This was the political lesson of the Malaysian campaign. It was a lesson which British advisor, Robert Thompson, presumably, did learn when he went to South Vietnam in 1961, after his successful completion of his tour of duty in Malaysia. In Vietnam, the tough approach resulted in the strengthening of the liberation movement — it led to a marriage of marxism and nationalism and this has often proved to be a potent mix in the developing Third World.

16.3 In Sri Lanka, the struggle of the Tamil people is a struggle to be free from a continuing oppression. It is a national liberation struggle and so long as the Sinhala Government has no intention of relinquishing its rule, the struggle will continue. Every act of Sinhala "ruthlessness" will have the result of increasing the

togetherness of the Tamil people and will confirm them in their belief that they are being oppressed by a foreign army and a foreign government. President Jayawardene and his Government are bent on teaching the Tamil people, in the crucible of immediate experience, something which John Stuart Mill said many years ago in 1872, 'soldiers to whose feelings the people are foreigners, will have no more scruple in mowing them down, and no more reason to ask the reason why, than they would have in doing the same thing against declared enemies'. President Jayawardene and his Government are engaged in a 'Malaysian style' military operation, without the Malaysian style political solution. Unlike the British, the Sri Lankan Government has no intention of recognising the existence of the Tamil nation, leave alone granting freedom to the Tamil people.

Minister for Straying bullets  
Lalith Athulathmudali



### 17...without any meaningful political answer to the Tamil national question...

17.1 The Sri Lankan Government has failed to offer any meaningful political solution to the Tamil national question. Minister Lalith Athulathmudali paid lip service to the question of a political answer. He said on the 1st of April:

"I believe in a political solution. I believe that every man, woman and child must believe and work for a political solution through non-violent means."

## Blood on its hands

17.2 The rhetoric of ex Oxford Union President Lalith Athulathmudali was suspect for more than one reason. He and his Government were engaged in a planned attack on the Tamils which found its most open expression in July and August 1983 when thousands of Tamils were killed by persons identified as henchmen of leading Ministers and when the Government of Sri Lanka secured that the army and the police would look the other way whilst the grim deed was done. It was a holocaust

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which has led to a demand by fifty million Tamil people, in many lands and across distant seas, for an independent international inquiry into the allegations of murder and arson against the Government of Sri Lanka. Minister Athulathmudali speaks on behalf of a Government which has blood on its hands. But, be that as it may, what was the nature of the political solution which the Government had in mind and which Minister Athulathmudali did not spell out in his interview on the 1st of April?

**18...refusal to recognise the existence of a Tamil nation...**

18.3 President Jayawardene declared in a magazine interview on the 7th of April 1984:

"How can I say I want Regional Councils when everybody else is against them?... I am a prisoner, not of any particular group but a prisoner of circumstances, law, the constitution and the political parties. I cannot throw my weight about and say: do this, do that. I am not a dictator".

### He is no prisoner

18.2 These were the words of President Jayawardene, who had, deprived his chief Sinhala political rival, Mrs. Bandaranaike, of her civic rights, soon after he assumed power in 1977, and who had in 1982, secured the extension of the life of the Sri Lankan Parliament from six years to twelve years. These were the words of a President who has had with him for an year and more, the undated signed letters of resignations of all the members of Parliament of the ruling party, including Ministers and who cheerfully admitted in an interview reported in the Island on the 5th of February: 'Yes, I have heard that some people call it my atomic bomb'. These were the words of a President who on more than one occasion promoted police officers within hours of their being found guilty of violating human rights by the Supreme Court. These were the words of a President, whose Government had enacted the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act which was described by the International Commission of Justice in a report published in March 1984 as containing provisions which would be 'a blot on the statute book of any civilised country'. These were the words of a President who had secured the amendment of the Sri Lankan Constitution on six different occasions in six years so that a recent Sri Lankan joke was that the constitution had become a 'periodical'. And President Jayawardene would have the world believe that he was a prisoner of the law and of the constitution. President Jayawardene is no prisoner either of the law or of the constitution. And, as long ago as in June 1957, at a time when he was in the opposition he said:

*"The time has come for the whole Sinhala race which has existed for 2500 years, jealously safeguarding their language and religion, to fight without giving any quarter to save their birthright... I will lead the campaign..."*

18.3 It was President Jayawardene who also declared, twenty years later, in 1977, soon after he had assumed control of the Government of Sri Lanka that 'the Sinhala people are saying, I am not saying, that if it be war let it be war, if it be peace, let it be peace.' As always, the style was familiar. 'The Sinhala people are saying — I am not saying' — it is always somebody else who has created the difficulty. But behind the 'style' lay the reality. The Government of Sri Lanka was engaged in an undeclared

war against the Tamils of Sri Lanka — it was engaged in a fight without giving any quarter

### Tamil grievances

18.4 The Sri Lankan Government's views on the Tamil national question, should not, therefore, come as a surprise. The Sri Lankan Government refuses to recognise that the Tamils of Sri Lanka are a people with an ancient history, a common language a common culture and a traditional homeland. The Sri Lankan Government refuses to recognise the existence of a Tamil nation. The Sri Lankan Government refuses to recognise the need to sit and talk with the Tamil nation, as a nation and with its leaders, as leaders of a nation. The Sri Lankan Government refuses to recognise that which is guaranteed by the first article of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, namely, the right of a people to freely determine their political status. The Sri Lankan Government goes even further. It seems to have some doubts as to whether the Tamils of Sri Lanka have any problems at all.

**19...some doubt whether Tamils have any grievances at all...**

19.1 In a magazine interview on the 7th of April President Jayawardene said:

Q. Do you accept that the Tamils have grievances in the first place?

A. They may have in Jaffna. But what are their grievances in the rest of the island?

These were the words of the President of a country which had witnessed the planned murder of thousands of Tamils outside Jaffna during July and August 1983. A few thousands were killed but then the dead do not have grievances and perhaps that is what President Jayawardene had in mind. Thousands of Tamil wives and children have lost the bread winners of their families but in President Jayawardene's perception they have no grievances. Thousands of Tamil homes were destroyed and Tamils in Colombo and elsewhere were pauperised, but in President Jayawardene's perception, they too have no grievances. The Tamils in Colombo, in Kandy, in Amparai were assaulted and killed in 1958, but in President Jayawardene's perception the Tamils outside Jaffna have no grievances. More than a million Tamils who were born in Sri Lanka and lived on the tea estates in the central parts of Sri Lanka, were rendered stateless in 1948, but in President Jayawardene's perception, they have no grievances. The Tamils of Trincomalee and Batticaloa have protested time and again against the systemised colonisation of their traditional homelands, but in President Jayawardene's perception Tamils outside Jaffna, have no grievances. The Tamils in Colombo and elsewhere were deprived of employment in the public service by the enactment of the Sinhala only law in 1956, but in President Jayawardene's perception, the Tamils outside Jaffna have no grievances. Thousands of qualified Tamil youths were refused admission to Universities because they were Tamils, but in President Jayawardene's perceptions the Tamils outside Jaffna have no grievances. The Tamils may have grievances in Jaffna — but what are their grievances in the rest of the island? What, indeed?

**20...and so, District Councils which resolve Sinhala 'grievances' and not Tamil grievances...**

20.1 It would seem that in President Jayawardene's perception

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there are really no grievances so far as the Tamils were concerned — presumably the real grievances were the grievances of the Sinhala majority. And so perhaps not unnaturally, President Jayawardene's so called political solution seeks to resolve the grievances of his Sinhala electorate by setting up District Councils in Tamil areas, so that the Sinhala majority may more effectively manage the Tamil people and continue the oppression behind a legitimising facade.

### Quisling Tamils

20.2 The District Councils will be without executive powers and with very limited rule making powers. They will be financially dependent on the centre. A minister nominated by a Sinhala President would form a joint executive committee together with the elected chairmen and similarly nominated ministers of one or two other district councils. The joint executive committee would meet under the Chairmanship of the President. The intention of the frame is clear. The control of the activities of the District Council will be in the hands of an executive dominated by the President and his nominees. The Sinhala majority will manage and control the Tamils even in the relatively insignificant functional areas where the District Councils have some jurisdiction.

20.3 President Jayawardene's proposal has no claim to originality. It is a gambit often adopted by a colonial power in the face of a rising national consciousness — a gambit which seeks to perpetuate the colonial rule with the assistance of collaborators from those who are ruled. It is a legal frame which, President Jayawardene hopes, will help to create an appropriately servile Tamil quisling 'leadership' which will depend on the patronage of their Sinhala masters for their survival. This is President Jayawardene's political solution to the problem created for the Sinhala people by the national consciousness of the Tamils of Sri Lanka — a national consciousness which has been fertilised by the martyrdom of thousands of Tamils, brave and honest, brilliant and dedicated. President Jayawardene's political solution seeks to perpetuate Sinhala rule and Sinhala discrimination. President Jayawardene offered no solution to the grievances of the Tamils — after all, he was not quite sure whether they had any grievances at all.

### 'TULF dead as dodo'

20.4 And, he declared in an interview with the London Times, reported on the 7th of May 1984, that if the Tamil United Liberation Front did not agree, they can stay out. 'We do not need agreement with them to go ahead with our proposals'. He added that the TULF was 'dead as dodo'. And this was two days before the scheduled resumption of the Round Table Conference with the TULF, on the 9th of May. These were not the words of a leader who was concerned about amity and reconciliation. These were the words of a leader who believed that Biafra style terrorism was the answer to the Tamil national question. These were words which were intended to render the Round Table Conference 'dead as dodo'. And on the 9th of May, not surprisingly, the so called amity talks broke down. But, then President Jayawardene was being consistent. He was not concerned with the opinions or the lives of the Tamil people and he spoke with the belligerence of a conqueror about the

leaders of a conquered people. History will show that he spoke too soon and that he spoke unwisely.

*21...and a military operation without a political solution to the Tamil national question...*

21.1 The Sri Lankan government is engaged in a Malaysian style military operation without a Malaysian style political solution. This is nothing but a Biafra type terrorism which is intended to intimidate and frighten the Tamils of Sri Lanka into accepting the servile role of quisling collaborators in the proposed District Councils. And it is this state terrorism that has now unfolded in the traditional homelands of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. The random shootings in Chunnakam and in Jaffna Town during the recent past will not, however, silence: they will result in a quiet determination and a growing resolve. The Tamil people know that these are the terrorist actions of a Government which seeks to subjugate the Tamils of Sri Lanka and bend them to its will. The Sinhala Army may even temporarily conquer and subjugate the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Such conquests are not unknown in history. But there will be no peace or rest for the land or its rulers until the army departs — and depart, they will. In the interregnum, the Tamils of Sri Lanka will be called upon to pay a heavy price in suffering and pain. But pain is a great teacher. It is teaching us that we suffer because we are Tamils. It is teaching us that we are not alone in our suffering. It is teaching us that our pain is shared by millions of Tamils everywhere. It is teaching us that our cry of suffering has evoked an answering response and solidarity from millions of our brothers and sisters in many lands and across distant seas because we share with them a common heritage, a common culture and a common language. It is a pain that is teaching us that we are one and that we are not alone. And in that growing oneness and in that increasing togetherness we are finding a new and surging strength. ■

### 'Saturday Review' cases dismissed

The two applications by the publishers and readers of the "Saturday Review" challenging the ban of the paper by the Competent Authority under Emergency Regulations, were dismissed without costs by a unanimous verdict of a five member bench of the Supreme Court on 14th June. Justice D. Wimalaratne who headed the Bench said in his order that the petitioners had failed to discharge the burden which was on them, to establish discrimination. The petitioners' claim that their fundamental right to equality had been violated must also fail for the reason that the "Saturday Review" was published in Jaffna where there was considerable disorder and a threat to national security unlike in other parts of the country.

"The publication in Jaffna cannot therefore be said to be 'similarly circumscribed' as publications in other parts of the country at the same time", observed Justice Wimalaratne.

Justice Percy Colin-Thome, Parinda Ranasinghe, Abdul Cader and H. Rodrigo were the other judges of the bench.

Messrs. K. Visuvalingam, M. Kanagarajanayagan, J.X.O. Pillai, V. Kanapathipillai, Gamini Navaratne, N. Kandasamy, Oscar P.C. Pereira and T. Upali Cooray were the petitioners in one case and V. Kanapathipillai, Fr. Tissa Balasuriya and Miss Manel Fonseka in the other.

# INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS

**NEW DELHI:** The all-India University Tamil Teachers Conference meeting here on June 2, called for promoting awareness of the cultural heritage of Tamils among Tamils living in various regions of the world, particularly in Mauritius, Singapore, Malaysia and Fiji. Speakers at the two-day conference felt that Tamils abroad had lost their roots. However, a new awakening of late was discernible in them indicating a desire to forge culturally. About 300 teachers and scholars of Tamil from various universities participated in the conference. Delegates discussed, besides other matters, sociological aspects of Tamil society, specially music, arts, literature, performing arts and cumulative culture of Tamils, and ways to modernise them.

**MADRAS:** Three Tamil films produced here have been refused censor certificates — two for reasons of overdose of sex and violence and one for its unbelievable supernatural content. The three films are "Komberi Mookan", "Idhu Enga Bhoomi" and "Malligai". "Idhu Enga Bhoomi" is only the second title of the film after its original title of "Viduthalai Puligal" was changed following a court case in which the title's allusion to the "Liberation Tigers" of Sri Lanka was objected to. "Komberi Mookan" was subsequently cleared for release with ten cuts.

**COLOMBO:** The Sri Lankan navy is understood to be looking forward to acquiring a dozen small and medium patrol boats as part of measures to augment its security forces currently engaged in fighting Tamil freedom fighters in northern and eastern Sri Lanka. According to a PTI report from New Delhi, an increase of 20 million dollars has been approved by the Sri Lankan government in addition to the current year's defence budget allocation of nearly 100 million dollars. Four of the vessels are likely to be the "Shanghai" class patrol craft from China. Some Gulf states have shown an interest in passing on a few of their older ships to Sri Lanka through international arms merchants. Sri Lanka is also negotiating with firms in U.S., U.K., Belgium, South Korea, West Germany, and Singapore for acquisition of equipment like assault rifles and light machine guns to the army.

**WASHINGTON:** Pittsburgh, where a temple for Lord Venkateswara was built a few years ago, has now a new temple for common Hindu and Jain worship. The temple, opened in June, is a

combination of several shrines — for Lakshmi Narayanan, Sita Rama, Radha Krishna, Vaishnavi Devi and Durga Devi. All major US cities now have one or more Hindu temples. Ground for a new Siva-Vishnu temple was acquired recently in a suburb of Washington D.C.

**MADRAS:** The DMK celebrated the 61st birthday of its leader M. Karunanidhi with a 3-day programme of festivities here culminating on Sunday June 3. From the morning of June 3, DMK workers streamed into the city by trains, buses, lorries and vans from all over the State and from neighbouring Pondicherry, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. A massive procession was taken out in the evening from Royapuram to the Marina Beach. Crowds, which thronged both sides of the road, cheered as Mr. Karunanidhi went in a motorised "ratham" decorated as a swan.

**JAKARTA:** Indonesia has issued a nation-wide ban on the distribution of all printed matter and activities which aim at spreading the teachings of the HARE KRISHNA sect. The Attorney General's office said that the sect which had acquired 10,000 followers in Indonesia, had created discord and concern, especially among Indonesian Hindus.

**COLOMBO:** Two "wanted" Sri Lankan left-wing political leaders, Vasudeva Nanayakkara and Dr. Wickremabahu Karunaratne who went "underground" after their party the Nava Sama Samaja Party was prescribed by the Sri Lanka government following the anti-Tamil violence last July, surrendered to the Inspector General of Police in Colombo on May 24. After 12 days of Police interrogation, both were released unconditionally on June 5.

**AMMAN:** Jordan has rebuke Sri Lanka for its decision to recruit Israeli experts to help in its battle against Tamil freedom fighters. The official Jordanian news agency Petra reported this on June 2. "The Sri Lanka government step came at a time when Israel is swallowing occupied Arab lands and expelling their inhabitants", it quoted Foreign Minister Taher al Masri as telling Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed in a letter.

**COLOMBO:** Sri Lanka Freedom Party President Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, who was twice Prime Minister of the country, has described the establishment of the "Israeli Interests" section in Colombo at the US embassy as a slap in the

face of the Arab and Islamic community, and the non-aligned world. She said: "As leader of the SLFP and head of the government which ordered the closure of the Israeli mission, I denounce this decision which may only lead to bringing the Arab-Israeli conflict and all its violence to our homeland at a time when this island itself is threatened with so much violence".

**MADRAS:** A Bronze bust of the brilliant Tamil Mathematician Srinivasa Ramanujan was unveiled at the Madras University recently. This was one of the two busts made in the U.S. at a cost of \$6,000 (Rs. 60,000) and sent to India through the efforts of Prof. Richard Askey (University of Wisconsin) and the Indian born Nobel-laureate, Dr. S. Chandrasekar. It was funded by donations from scientists-admirers of the mathematical genius the world over. The other bust has been installed at the Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore, while this has been presented to the Ramanujan Institute for Advanced Study in Mathematics, Madras University.

The busts were made by Paul T. Granlund, sculptor-in-residence at Gustavus Adolphus College, Saint Peter, Minnesota, as requested by Prof. Askey.

**SINGAPORE:** Singapore, worried by an increasing birth rate among the uneducated, announced on June 2nd big cash incentives for families ready to undergo sterilization.

The government said it would give 10,000 Singapore dollars (4,800 U.S.) to every mother under 30 who agreed to be sterilised after the birth of her first or second child.

To be eligible, the combined monthly income of the parents must not exceed 1,500 Singapore dollars (714 U.S.) and neither must have completed the equivalent of a high school diploma.

**MADRAS:** Mr. M.A. Muthiah Chettiar, Pro-Chancellor of the Annamalai University died here on May 11th. He was 79. Mr. Muthiah Chettiar was an Educationist, industrialist, parliamentarian philanthropist and a respected connoisseur of Art and music.

**COLOMBO:** The Round Table Conference on the ethnic issue which met here briefly on June 1 after a fortnight's recess, was again adjourned till July 5.

**MADRAS:** Tiger population in Tamil Nadu has risen appreciably in the



last five years. Their number went up from 65 in 1979 to 97 now, according to the latest tiger census. Of these 31 were tigers, 29 tigresses, and eight cubs, and the remaining 29 were listed under unidentified sex category. The Annamalai Sanctuary accounted for the maximum concentration of tigers in the State, with about 50 of them inhabiting this region. The Mudumalai sanctuary had 21 tigers.

**JAFFNA:** A police Sub-Inspector and two constables of the Oddisuddan police station in the northern Tamil-majority district of Mullaitivu were killed on June 5, when a bomb was thrown into the jeep in which they were travelling.

**HARARE:** Nigeria's economic problems have resulted in the abolition of one right which Nigerians have been enjoying for nearly a decade — Free Education. The decision has come at a time of severe economic recession in the country leading to large-scale retrenchment and rising cost of living.

**COLOMBO:** The use of pseudonyms in Sri Lankan newspapers will be an offence under a proposed amendment to the Press Council law. The island's Cabinet accepted on June 6 a recommendation to this effect by the Justice Minister who said "irresponsible statements" were being published under pseudonyms by newspapers.

**MADURAI:** Mr. P. Nedumaran, President, Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress, has appealed to the government of India to sever its diplomatic links with Sri Lanka in the wake of the recent anti-India outbursts of the Sri Lankan Prime Minister. In a talk with newsmen here on June 5, he said India was politically bound to grant asylum to the Liberation Tigers and the Sri Lanka Tamils.

**NEW DELHI:** Mr. K.T. Kosalram, M.P. has urged the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi to ensure that the Sethusamudram project in Tamil Nadu is immediately implemented in view of the disturbed situation in Sri Lanka. Mr. Kosalram has said that the project should be expedited irrespective of the delay involved in the planning process. He also said that Defence Minister Mr. R. Venkatraman had stated in Parliament that the strategic importance of the project was being examined by the Ministry.

**ATHENS:** Indian Bharata Natyam dancer Yamini Krishnamurti enthralled a capacity crowd when she performed at the ancient Herod Atticus theatre in the famous Acropolis complex in Athens on June 6. She was participating in the Indo-Greek symposium and Indian cultural festival being celebrated in various parts of Greece. At the end of her performance

the audience gave here a standing ovation.

**BONN:** A week-long festival of Indian classical dance will be held in Bonn from July 8 to 15. Mr. Fred Traguth, the director of Bonn's International Dance Workshop has said that a group of prominent classical dancers from India has been invited. Mr. Traguth who recently visited India in this connection, met some of the dancers who will participate. Among those performing in the festival are Yamini Krishnamurti (Bharata Natyam), Durga Lal (Kathak), Krishnaveni (Bharata Natyam), Swapna Sundari (Kuchipudi) and Sri Lankan artiste Ranga Vivekananda (Kuchipudi).

**MADRAS:** The Los Angeles-based International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKON) has received a big shot in the arm. Popular film actor Rajinikanth has taken to the Hare Krishna movement and has decided to spread the message of ISKCON. He is now planning a documentary film on the Hare Krishna Movement and a feature film on Lord Chaitanaya Mahaprabhu.

## INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS

**COLOMBO:** 43 people were buried alive and thousands of others rendered homeless when a series of earthslips and swirling flood waters hit several villages in the Matugama area in Sri Lanka on May 22. Police feared that many more would have been buried alive or swept away in the flood waters. According to the Colombo newspaper, the SUN, the villagers in the disaster area ascribed the tragedy to "the wrath of the gods against the killing of the kidnapped 14-year old boy Saman Kumara" by Sinhala criminals.

**COLOMBO:** Large numbers of Tamil youths are leaving Sri Lanka for Western Europe where they hope to obtain political asylum, a spokesman of the Lanka Immigration Department said. He said that at least 4,000 Tamils left Colombo during the month of May. Although most of them listed "holidays" as the purpose of visit they carried one-way tickets to European destinations, he said. Most of the Tamils currently favour Switzerland as the country of their destination. According to Foreign Office statistics there are well over 10,000 Lankan asylum seekers in Europe.

**BEIRUT:** Libya has told Sri Lanka it will reconsider their relations if Sri Lanka

lets Israel open a diplomatic mission at Colombo, the Libyan news agency Jana reported on June 11. Libyan Foreign Minister Ali-Abdel Salam-Al-Tureiki wrote to Sri Lankan Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed saying Libya resents the move to open an Israeli interests section in the US embassy. Jana quoted Tureiki as saying the reasons given by Sri Lanka for opening the office were totally unconvincing, adding: "This act will never help develop relations between the Islamic world and Sri Lanka"

**COLOMBO:** An Israeli diplomat arrived here to head his country's controversial special interests mission amid mounting protests by Opposition parties and Muslim organisations at home and reports of warnings by the Arab world. "We are happy to be here to renew our friendship", Mr. David Matnai told the government-controlled Daily News. Colombo broke off diplomatic relations with Israel 14 years ago.

**MADRAS:** A 3-day music festival on Thirugnanasambandar, one of the four great Saiva saints, began in the pilgrim town of Thirukalukundram, about 55 km. south of Madras on June 15. About 35 "oduvars" (temple singers) from all over the state gave concerts on Thevaram Thirumurai songs during the festival being organised every year for the past 12 years.

**SINGAPORE:** A new course on marriage will be introduced in Singapore schools to teach pre-University students how to choose life partners and cope with marital responsibilities. The move follows calls by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew for educated Singaporeans to have more children to boost the country's talent pool. The course Director, Robert Balhetchet told Reuters the subjects would cover love, children, sex and divorce.

**LONDON:** For the first time in modern history, the growth rate of the world's population has declined. However, because there are now 4.76 billion people, the number being added to the human race every year is a record 80 to 90 million, according to a report of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities.

**COLOMBO:** Sri Lanka President J.R. Jayawardene on the eve of his visit to the United States on 14th June denied reports that he is seeking a defence pact with the United States. "I want no military agreement with anybody", he asserted. Replying to a question, the Sri Lanka President said he did not think the Tamilnadu government was asking for a military operation against the island. "It is some crackpots. You can't stop people from talking. The Indian Defence Minister has distinctly said there won't be any military intervention", he said.

# INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE

**Chándrika Somasundram** reports:

At Adayar in Madras stands a building, aloof but aesthetically pleasing with the name board — "International Institute of Tamil Studies". Its remote location is apparently no handicap for the hundreds of Tamil lovers who have benefited by the Scholastic experience that this centre has been providing.

In the absence of the Institute's ever-green Director Dr. S.V. Subramaniyam, the Superintendent Mr. Veerabaghu briefed me on the background and the objects of this institution.

A blue-print for the establishment of the Institute was presented during the second International conference of Tamil Studies held at Madras in January 1968. The man behind the move was Dr. S.M. Katre, the then Director of Deccan College post graduate Research Institute, Poona. His main aim was to carry out co-ordinated and comprehensive academic Research in all aspects of Tamil Studies and allied fields.

This idea was strongly supported by the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Dr.C.N. Annadurai, who thought that the Institute could be best modelled on the lines of the French Academy. The proposal was unanimously accepted by the

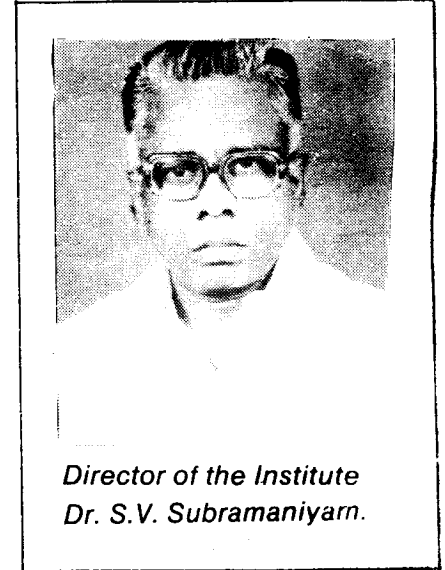
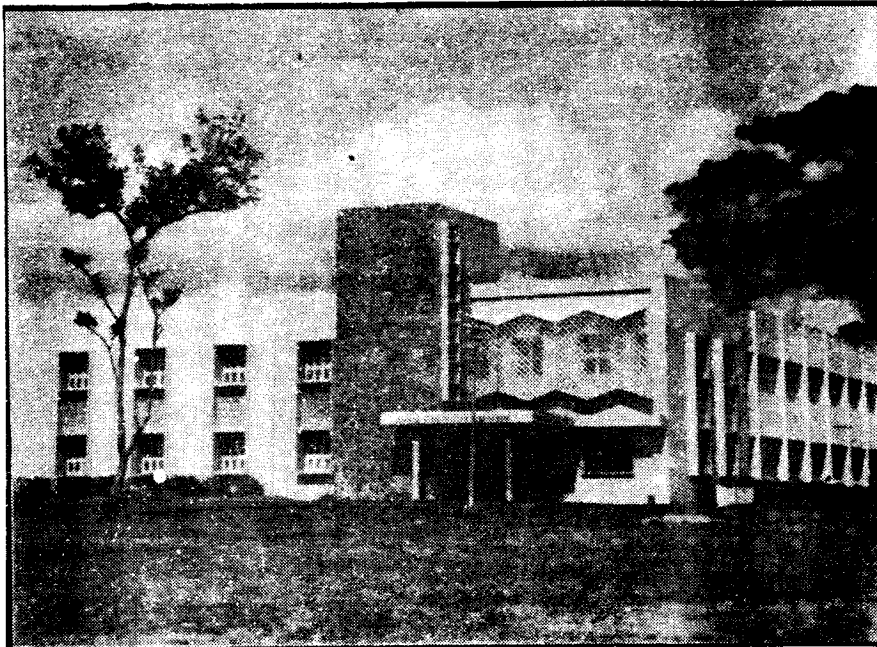
conference body and sent to the UNESCO for sponsorship.

When the Third International conference of Tamil Studies took place in Paris the then acting Director General of UNESCO, Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah gave strong backing to the setting up of the Institute. The same year in 1970 the Institute was founded in Madras. It was resolved that active Co-operation of International Scholars involved in Tamilology be sought. Today the Institute provides and promotes a congenial atmosphere for studies in Tamil Research and provides training programmes, organises contact programmes between specialists in Tamilology and organizes collaboration activity among academic, government, International and private organizations.

The well furnished and equipped reference library contains 26,000 books of which 16500 are in Tamil, 8391 in English and the rest in other languages.

Although UNESCO was responsible for the financial care of the centre in its formative years, the government of Tamil Nadu has since 1976 undertaken to provide an annual grant of Rs. 3 lakhs.

*The International Institute of Tamil Studies a front view of the building.*



*Director of the Institute  
Dr. S.V. Subramaniyam.*

Perhaps one of the most attractive features of the Institute is the Language Laboratory which teaches Tamil to Non-Tamils by means of audio-visual equipment. This was a gift from UNESCO, but unfortunately the Institute is doing without the visual equipment which had been lost in transit. This laboratory is used to teach colloquial Tamil to foreign and Indian Non-Tamil Students. There is an Introductory course of 3 Months, and an advanced course lasting six months. So far two-hundred foreigners and 75 Non-Tamil have benefited.

Apart from this, the Institute has initiated two courses of nine month duration to provide Diplomas in Manuscriptology and in translations. Four batches have successfully come out. Since 1983 outstanding students of these courses are provided stipends worth Rs. 200 Manuscriptology include collections and maintenance of palm leaf scripts, preparation of index and editing of unpublished Manuscripts for printing.

An auto-learning system is also being introduced in recent years with pre-recorded Cassettes, Explanatory hand books, Exercise books, and text books. A set of auto-learning materials can be purchased to help learn conversational Tamil by being at home.

The Institute is also playing a pivotal role in organising seminars periodically on various subjects.

# CIVIL WAR, INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERVENTION:

## P. Varothayasingham

In the recent past, with remarkable consistency, the modern rules of International law have been applied to hold a state liable for any use of force from its territory to attack the territorial integrity, political freedom, citizens, armed forces or other sovereign interests of another state.

The rules are said to recognize the inherent right of "Individual and collective self-defence" in peace-time — that is, the right of a state being attacked, and of Countries helping it, to use a limited, proportional amount of armed force if peaceful remedies are not available. The expectations of the law have been made clear in the conditioned reflexes of foreign offices and Defence Ministries.

But the rules of law on the International use of force rest on a policy of preserving the state system created during the Colonial era. It is claimed that the International law does not protect the "STATUS QUO" and it establishes procedures for encouraging peaceful change. It says nothing about the right of a people to revolt against tyranny.

During Biafra's attempted secession from Nigeria, the Ex-colonialists regarded aid to Biafra as illegal, while military support for Nigeria was accepted as proper. Similarly, Libya's assistance to rebels against the government of Chad is considered as aggression, whereas French and U.S. help to the government of Chad is considered normal.

It is true that the forces of a foreign Country may not invade the territory of another under the cover of insurgents, recruited, equipped and trained by them. It is also true that, in accordance with the

International law, as it now stands, Criteria based on the legitimacy of the causes for which a civil war is waged ("SOCIALISM", "NATIONAL LIBERATION", "SELF DETERMINATION") do not legalise foreign assistance.

However, such assistance may be granted to insurgents against a government in office if and when the insurgents have succeeded in exercising a de facto authority on part of the population and of the territory of their state. If this is the case, assistance to the insurgents by a foreign country is no more illegal than assistance to the established government.

There are other conditions which may affect the international validity of foreign assistance to contending parties in a civil war (i.e. the nature of the government in office or the objectives of the insurgents). But they apply to both the established government and the insurgents.

### Continued from page 16

It has held 111 Research forum seminars, 270 weekly seminars and 10 annual seminars. The Institute also offers an International visiting Senior fellowship annually for 3 months spending Rs. 2000. A Junior fellowship of Rs. 1000 is also offered.

The Institute publishes a bi-lingual, bi-annual journal — the Journal of Tamil studies — which helps to disseminate the current trends in the area of Tamil Research. The journal publishes articles in the field of comparative literature, Applied Criticism, Language, Linguistics, History, Culture, Dance, Music, Sculpture, Folklore, archaeology and Translation. The forthcoming issue will be the 28th volume.

The Institute, comprises a Board of Governors including the Tamil Nadu Education Minister C. Aranganayagam as its Chairman and nine others which includes the Director Dr. S.V. Subramaniyam. Dr. Subramaniyam who was appointed as the first Director and who continues to hold the same position has been described as the "spinal cord" of the Institute.

Aged 55, Dr. Subramaniyam has a teaching experience of 21 years, administrative experience of 16 years and a Research experience of more than 26 years behind him. He has authored and

### Non-Tamil Students learning Tamil at the Language Laboratory.



published nearly 30 books. A widely travelled scholar, and a voracious leader, who practised his teaching profession in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, Dr. Subramaniyam had been the Chairman in various academic organisations associated with Tamilology.

It came as no surprise to learn that the Institute had hitherto brought out 90 publications and helped produce the same

number of Ph.D. Research Scholars.

It is the Institute's fervent objective to serve as a nucleus to bridge all the Research and literary outputs from various faculties, under a common head, there by bringing out the inter-relationship among various wings of Tamilology; though this objective has yet to be fulfilled due to financial constraints, the Institute has never failed to aim and attempt at the same.

## THE ARTS

For the first time we have a breakthrough in Indian art, when we see the oils and ink drawings of two contemporary South Indian painters, V. Santhanam and Sam Adaikalaswamy, at the Lalit Kala Gallery, Greams Road, highlighting the blood bath, the merciless killings of innocent Tamils, desecration of temples and churches, bonfire of the Yazh Library, mutilation of statues of Valluvar, Gandhiji, Bharathi, and destruction of hundreds of homes and huts. The harrowing tale is vividly portrayed with a trenchant brush, dipped in Indian Red, laced with Vandyk brown, light grey and jet black.

The total effect of the paintings and drawings conveys in lurid terms the senseless slaughter, the harassment and privations of the Tamils, who cry aloud for help from the oppressive heel of an authoritarian regime, aided by the Army, the Police and the unruly mob.

Of the four huge canvases by Santhanam, the most striking one "Kuttimani's Blood" bathed in a red and brown background, shows blood dripping on the Buddha's head from the beheaded freedom fighter. "Batticoloa Jailbreak", sums



*Declaration of Human Rights – One of the paintings by Santhanam.*

## MADRAS: MASSACRE OF LANKA TAMILS IN PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS:

up the inhuman conditions of prisoners, leading to the demolition of the gates, while "Declaration of Human Rights", shows wounded hands pleading ineffectively for freedom and rights.

The plastered mouths and chained hands of prisoners drawn in Indian Ink by Santhanam is a powerful study with linear motif.

Others in three dimension, depict demolished churches with hanging crosses, pillaged homes and hamlets, piled up bodies consumed by flames, the bonfire of the "Yazh Library", containing the precious collections of Ananda Coomaraswamy and the arid landscape littered with skulls and with shops hawking human flesh of Tamils. The agonising ordeal which has not yet abated, is focussed in all its barbarity and violence,

*The two painters Sam Adaikalasamy (far left) and V. Santhanam (third From left) pictured at the inauguration of the exhibition along with Tamil Eelam Liberation poet Kasi Ananthan (Second from left) and Kovai Mahesan.*



## THE ARTS

in other drawings with a deft brush drenched in Indian Ink.

Sam Adaikalaswamy's oils on canvas (6) concentrate on modern modes of torture and execution of the Tamils. Two of his searing works titled "we want peace", show the chained and handcuffed

prisoners, shouting for help. Other impressive works are: "Social crucifixion," "Liberation", "Massacre" and "Helpless Hands."

Those among painters and writers, who had watched these scenes from their ivory towers, or who maintained an ostrich-like attitude, will now be compelled to

think anew and take positive steps for the liberation of the oppressed, the establishment of peace on earth and goodwill among men. The exhibition will be on show till June 6, daily from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

(Hindu — June 1, 1984)



*Against a gloomy background and across solid iron bars are bound together the grim and bloated hands of a jail inmate, behind whom drops the blood of innocents and against whose backdrop is the blurred image of the Buddha... this then is the image that haunts a painter's mind who translates it into a work of art and captions it as "Kuttimani Blood"... From this, you should be able to get a fair idea of the subject of these paintings and drawings — a collection on the Genocide of Lanka Tamils*

— Indian Express, 25th May 1984.

## The Arts



Balasaraswathi

When on February 9 this year, Balasaraswathi breathed her last at a nursing home in Madras, with her went a flawlessly classic tradition of Bharata Natyam that had been part of our International Tamil pride. New York-born Luise Elcaness Scripps, who became a disciple of Balasaraswathi in 1962 says of her: "...When people ask me if I have learned much about Bharata Natyam my eyes glaze over and I attempt to answer coherently. Yes, but that is just the beginning... for through her I have understood more about the art of acting, the elements of theatre, aesthetics, music, rhythm, the validity of history and culture, the nature of evolution, religion, the presence of gods, the action of fate, the attributes of reverence, survival, the reality of the exotic, myself... Except for Bala I would never have learned so much, nor realized how much there was to learn..."

California-based ballet dancer Renee Renouf, who was among the thousands of Americans who were bewitched by Bala's art wrote in 1963: "For the Westerner seeing her for the first time Balasaraswathi's impact has the effect and force of an emotion hurricane following a period of unexpected calm. Whether he be enlightened or ignorant regarding the subtleties of Bharata Natyam Balasaraswathi engages the spectator's total being. When the barrage of sight, sound and feeling upon one's emotions and intellect ceases, calm returns, but it is the peace which comes from the same catharsis brought by Greek tragedy. The spectator leaves his seat fully aware he never will be quite the same individual he was before"

## Balasaraswathi: The last exit

What made Bala's art so profound to Western audiences brought up in a totally different ballet tradition? What made her become a living legend in her life time? TAMIL INTERNATIONAL asked the question from the one and only Sri Lankan disciple of Balasaraswathi — Shrimathi Shyamala (nee Nadarajah) who teaches Bharata Natyam in Madras now. There is one thing that is extraordinary about Balammah's art, said Shrimathi Shyamala, and that is the perfect co-ordination of body, limb and music. "When I first came under Balammah's care in 1961, I was so terrified, but only she could blend the uncompromising discipline of a guru with the humaneness of a person." The spine should always be ramrod straight and straight it should be. It was Yoga and inner discipline that she always stressed. Any shaking of the body was an unpardonable lapse. She would get furious, said Shrimathi Shyamala. The result was, there was a clean, synchronised line of movement, and a fluid harmony in her art that set her apart from most other dancers.

One cannot of course talk about Balasaraswathi without talking of "Sringara Rasa" which in the art of Bala, found many nuances of improvisation. This stemmed from her own deeply felt philosophy of Bharata Natyam. In the course of her Presidential address at the 33rd Annual Conference of the Tamil Isai Sangam, Madras in 1975, she said: "The flesh, which is considered to be an enemy of the spirit, having been made a vehicle of the divine in the discipline of the dance, "Sringara", which is considered to be the greatest obstacle to spiritual realisation, has itself, we shall realise, become an instrument for uniting the dancer with Divinity"

It hurts to accept the fact that the Queen of Abhinaya is no more. "Balasaraswathi's art will vanish with her", said Dr. Narayana Menon, Chairman of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, "There's not likely to be another like her"

# TAMIL INFORMATION CENTRE

11, BEAULAH ROAD, THORNTON HEATH,  
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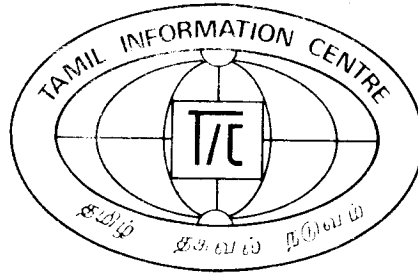
**MADRAS Representative:**  
**Editor, TAMIL INTERNATIONAL,**  
**E-114, 16th Cross St. Besant Nagar,**  
**Madras 600 090.**

**MADURAI Office:**  
**18, South-North 1st St.,**  
**Singarayar Colony,**  
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**Madurai - 2**

*"Without the knowledge that Human Rights exist, people cannot seek their own protection.*

*Without the knowledge that Human Rights are violated, no individual or organisation can seek to provide protection .*

*Both the promotion and protection of Human Rights therefore require that INFORMATION BE AVAILABLE FOR ALL...."*



## TAMIL INFORMATION CENTRE

தமிழ்த் தேசிய ஆவணச் சுவடிகள்

# Want to win a Baby Benz?....

Dear Friends and Members of the Tamils of California,  
I can't begin to tell you how excited I am about this raffle sponsored by the Tamils of California! Can you imagine that for a mere \$2.00 donation, some lucky person will become the proud owner of the new "Baby Benz", the 1984 Mercedes-Benz 190E. I just know that with your help and support this fund-raising drive is going to be a big roaring success!

Enclosed are your raffle booklets containing 10 raffles each. Each ticket requires a \$2.00 U.S. donation. Be sure that each donor fills out the top stub of the ticket(s) carefully. Each ticket has a number on it along with the same number on the stub. The donor is to get the larger portion of the raffle ticket. The stubs are what must be turned in for the drawing along with the corresponding money. Any tickets left must remain intact to the stub and also must be turned in. Since control of the tickets is important in any drawing, please keep careful accounting of the tickets and money. Keep a master list of all the people you gave booklets to and their corresponding numbers. As funds are collected, please forward them to me instead of waiting until all tickets are gone. We need the funds urgently now.

Since we want those donations pouring in, please distribute the booklets to your friends who can help you with them, especially those who work in offices. Our goal is to cover the whole of the USA, Canada and our friends all over the world! Therefore, if you have contacts outside of your area, please send out the raffles as soon as possible so that we may start collecting from abroad. On the next page are the equivalent US rate of \$2.00 for the various countries. Be sure to stress to your friends the urgency of the funds and for them to remit as they are collected. What I suggest is this: if your friends are abroad, let them make a draft in U.S. equivalent to your name and you in turn can turn the funds over to me and I will account to the Tamils of California. If you should have any questions, call me. Thank you! GOOD LUCK! LET'S GO FOR IT!!

Sincerely,  
*Mae Balachandran*  
Mae Balachandran  
tel: 739-3148 (work)  
930-1170

P.S. Try to get as many \$20.00 donations as possible. All this takes is for a donor to take a whole booklet (10 raffle tickets x \$2.00 donation each). Tell them their chances of winning is that much greater.

....and help the Tamil cause?

Buy a \$ 2.00 ticket. Or, you can

do better by buying a \$ 20.00 book. Now!

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