



Tamil International

Vol. 1 No. 4

1st June 1990

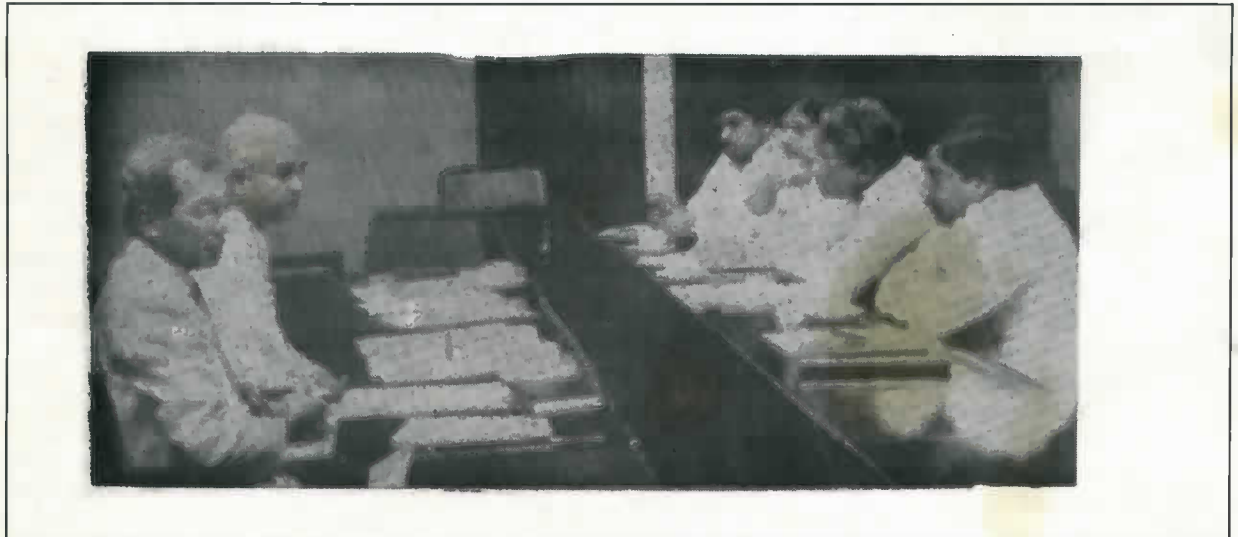
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WHAT IS COLOMBO UP TO?

Could it be "Divide and Rule" yet again ?



President Premadasa and the LTTE



Ranjan Wijeratne and the EPRLF

READERS' VIEWS

REMEMBER NEHRU'S FOLLY AND ORTEGA'S PLIGHT

Thirumalai Nathan

In the present critical stage of our almost half a century old struggle to regain our freedom and independence, I am somewhat sceptical about the wisdom of entering into pre-liberation commitments. I refer to the oft-repeated statements appearing in newspapers that the LTTE would participate in elections to the so-called North-East Provincial Council in order to establish its status that LTTE alone represents the Tamils and to demonstrate to the world at large that it commands the allegiance and support of the people. To my mind elections at this stage are a trap, very much like Jayewardene's cunning proposal for a referendum on the merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Both the provincial council elections and the referendum are fraught with dangerous possibilities leading to disastrous consequences to the Tamil Eelam cause, possibly even undoing all the gains thus far made through much sacrifice. To understand its potential for danger fully, one has only to recall the famous blunder which an inexperienced but arrogantly self-confident Jawaharlal Nehru committed in 1947 with regard to Kashmir. I vividly remember the nonchalance with which he spurned the advice of the more sagacious Vallabhai Patel when Pakistan invaded Kashmir that year using 'unofficial' raiders and took the matter to the United Nations. Then, under pressure from the UN and faced with no other way to secure a cease-fire, which he so desperately wanted, he foolishly pledged his word and committed India to hold a plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the Kashmir people whether they wanted Kashmir to join Pakistan, or to join India, or to remain as an independent state. This is a Himalayan blunder which has haunted every successive government in New Delhi since 1947, and has come to rule the roost even to the present day. You can see in the currently ongoing Kashmir crisis how India is hard put to wriggle out of it and how it affects India's credibility. I wish to God that the LTTE will have the wisdom and courage to steer clear of any similar commitments.

The recent defeat of Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua is a parallel and comparable case from which LTTE should not fail to learn a lesson, a lesson which is very persuasive and compelling. Daniel Ortega did not foresee that American money would be poured into Nicaragua's election process or that it could influence the hardened and committed Sandanistas to turn against him. But it did. Can you imagine to what lengths India (and its RAW) would not go if only they could discredit the LTTE? Do you have any doubts that they will pour millions and crores of rupees into the Muslim part and the poor sectors of the Eastern Province? Not only India. The gem rich Alutgama-Beruwala-Galle Muslim power, which is very active in the UNP-SLFP echelons in Colombo, may be depended upon to shower their combined wealth on the Muslims of the EP. The point I am trying to make is, nobody should make plans to contest elections in the EP in the hope that Muslims would stand by us.

In my reading of history I have yet to come across a single instance when a liberation army fighting for the freedom of its people takes upon itself the onus, or the necessity, to prove to the world through the mechanism of popular elections that it has the support of the people.

I am also anxious that the blame for any failure of the

negotiations now going on should not be laid at LTTE's door, now that they have agreed to sit down and talk. At the same time they should not walk into a cunningly laid trap or play into the hands of our enemies. Nor should Prabaharan leave his headquarters or go anywhere near these talks (poor Rohana Wijeweera!). I hope its leadership will not commit the same mistake which Jawaharlal Nehru and Daniel Ortega committed and lived to regret it later.

KILLINGS MUST STOP

Rajendram, Colombo

We have read of the killing of Sam Tambimuttu and his wife recently. It is said that he was to submit a list of people whom the LTTE has killed since the IPKF left Sri Lanka to the Amnesty International and other non-governmental organisations. It is also a known fact that Sam Tambimuttu was highly critical of the LTTE. I do not support the actions of Sam, but is killing the only way out?

When the Sri Lankan forces and the IPKF killed the Tamils, the Tamil expatriate community the world over raised their voices to be heard even at the UN Human Rights Commission. Now over 600 Tamils are said to have been killed and there is no one to raise the issue or even to protest!

It is the Tamil expatriate community that helped the Tamil struggle from outside. They have a duty to see that at least there are no more killings of Tamils by Tamils. I hope Tamil International is independent enough to publish this letter.

VADAMARADCHI WAS NOT LOST

Navamany, Kankasanturaj

Anton Balasingam of the LTTE is reported to have said that the LTTE lost Vadamaradchi because of false information the RAW passed on to the LTTE. Had J R Jayewardene succeeded in Vadamaradchi, he would not have invited India to send in their troops.

What made Anton to say that the LTTE lost Vadamaradchi? Is he not aware of the shock-wave that was caused by the great martyrs Miller and Kamal? May I refer him to page 15 of TVI Vol 2 No 14 of 1st September 1989 - to quote "The helplessness led to Jayewardene's surrender of Sri Lankan soil to the Indian Forces...". The spokesman turned tactician should not disgrace the martyrs, our great leader Prabaharan and our struggle.

FATHER OF THE MOVEMENT

K Paramothayan, London

Your report on page 24 of 1st April issue refers to me as "father of the Co-operative movement..". I must say that it is totally inaccurate. I was not even born when the Co-operative Movement started in 1911 and in my thesis I have paid special tribute to the late C Ragunathan and V Veerasingam as the real "Fathers" of the Co-operative Movement in Jaffna. They were the real pioneers. Perhaps you could publish a small correction. Thanks very much for your good service.

TAMIL International

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Subscription: (12 issues)
£10.00 UK, India and Sri Lanka
£15.00 or US\$30 other countries

Tamil International which is published by Tamil International Ltd aims at disseminating Tamil related news, views and information to the Tamil community at large besides attempting to create greater awareness within the Tamil Diaspora of current events and trends in Sri Lanka. We welcome contributions to the journal in the form of news, opinions, and articles that relate to socio-economic, political and cultural affairs of Tamil Eelam.

The views expressed in the journal are not necessarily those of the editor, the editorial board or the directors. Material received for publication is subject to abridgement and editing where found necessary.

EDITORIAL

BEING ALERT TOWARDS DISINFORMATION

The euphoria of capturing power through the ballot in multi-party democracies such as Sri Lanka and India carries with it its own price : those who succeed to power also inherit the legacies of the past. One has to empathise with President Premadasa and Prime Minister V P Singh; what they both inherited were mostly bad legacies left behind by their immediate predecessors in office. While Mr Premadasa has been successful till now in clearing part of the 11-year mess left behind by Mr Jayewardene, the same unfortunately cannot be said for Mr V P Singh.

Given the fact that India with its huge land mass and population, with several nationalities welded together under one political roof, is probably the most ungovernable democracy in the world, it is perhaps too much to expect major changes from any incoming government. Given also the fact that unlike in Sri Lanka effective power lies with an entrenched bureaucracy than with politicians, speedy turns in policies cannot be expected. It is bad enough when the bureaucrats who are merely the instruments of governance become dictators of policy, but when an Intelligence outfit like Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) begins to manipulate the process of information it makes a mockery of the very idea of a Free Press - a valuable ingredient in any democracy.

Neither the Sri Lankan Press nor the Indian (mostly) came out honourably in their reporting on Eelam Tamil issues. Sections of the Colombo Press are not reconciled yet to President Premadasa's approaches towards the Tamil question, particularly on what they consider his accommodative policy towards the LTTE. In India, what is worse is the widespread suspicion that RAW has been planting "stories" with the help of obliging editors and reporters in order to wean away popular sympathy towards the Eelam Tamil cause. Where they failed to suppress Eelam Tamil nationalism through cloak and dagger methods on Eelam Tamil soil, they now resort to a continuous campaign of disinformation through the Indian media.

The most audacious attempt at disinformation was of course the widely circulated story of the killing of Prabakaran last year. One Tamil daily in Madras (the Dinamalar) even ran a 2-page report giving a blow-by-blow account of how Prabakaran's deputy Mahendrarajah (Mahathaya) had killed his leader in a shoot-out, how the LTTE leader's ashes were being brought to Jaffna, giving specific names of little-known locations in Vavuniya jungles. Such knowledge of place names in the north could not have been available to that particular newspaper unless they were furnished by an outside agency which had direct knowledge of the northern topography. But such is the power of the printed word that there are still weak-minded readers in India who are unable to disbelieve that fabricated concoction despite all evidence to the contrary. One does not have to like Mr Prabakaran in order to feel angry over being cheated by false information. But it is the fallibility of the human mind that it believes what it likes to believe. This has been the case of some Eelam Tamil expatriates too.

It is time that all Eelam Tamils become alert to this process of disinformation. If they become prey to it, wittingly or unwittingly, they would end up as self-deceivers and unhappy human beings.

SAM TAMBIMUTTU MURDERED

From our Colombo Correspondent

Mr Sam Tambimuttu, MP (EPRLF) for Batticaloa was shot dead at 1.30 p m on May 7. Mr Tambimuttu's car was intercepted by unidentified gunmen on motor-cycles at the gates of the Canadian High Commission in Colombo and sprayed with bullets at close range. His wife Kala who was severely wounded died a few days later.

In the period prior to the Indo-Lanka peace accord, Tambimuttu actively campaigned against the repressive actions of the Sri Lankan security forces. As the chairman of the Citizens' Committee of Batticaloa he spent a great deal of his time documenting cases of human rights violations and organising relief to families made destitute by the murder or incarceration of their breadwinners. Tambimuttu continued to condemn Tiger excesses, and to defend India's involvement. He also denounced his own party when it tried to prop up its crumbling power by pressganging young boys into a ragbag Tamil National Army. He knew,

as the survivor of at least two previous murder bids, that the Tigers would never forgive his criticism.

On May 7, the couple had gone to the Canadian High Commission to arrange a visa for a trip to Britain, USA and Canada. He intended to present Amnesty International with a list of the Tigers' latest victims.

Three youths were reported to have fled the scene immediately after the shooting. About 150 Tamil youths living in boarding houses in Colombo were arrested and questioned in connection with the shooting. The EPRLF blamed the LTTE for the shooting. The LTTE has denied any involvement. Campaign for Democracy and Justice in Sri Lanka, in a leaflet issued in London, accuses President Premadasa:

"...Since the newspapers had already alerted everyone that an LTTE death squad was operating in Colombo,

the Sri Lankan Government cannot plead ignorance. Moreover, with constant army road blocks and surveillance operations by the police and army, is it possible for the LTTE killers with automatic weapons to operate freely in the heart of Colombo? The collaboration of the government or at least their tacit co-operation seems obvious. The government of Mr Premadasa has violated every norm of decency and rule of law and has established a ruthless and tyrannical regime. It has created death squads in order to eliminate opposition political activists in the South, and profited from the elimination of Tamil human and democratic rights activists by the LTTE."

Mr Sam Tambimuttu had been having links with Indian Intelligence high-ups and bureaucrats of the South Block in Delhi even before the Rajiv Gandhi - Jayewardene accord was signed, according to knowledgeable sources reporting from Colombo.

FIGHTING WITH WORDS!

1977 "If you want to fight let there be a fight. If you want peace let there be peace...." (Prolonged applause)

- Prime Minister Junius Richard Jayewardene in Parliament on 18th August 1977, while the anti-Tamil riots were going on in the country.

* * * *

1979 "It will be your duty to eliminate in accordance with the laws of the land the menace of terrorism in all its forms from the island, and more especially from the Jaffna district. I will place at your disposal all resources of the state... The task is to be performed by you and completed before the 31st December 1979".

- President Jayewardene in a Special Decree issued to the then Army Chief of Staff Brigadier, T I ("Bull") Weeratunga, on 14th July 1979.

* * * *

1983 "I am not worried about the Jaffna people now... We cannot think of them, not about their lives, nor of their opinion about us..."

- President Jayewardene talking to Ian Ward of the *Daily Telegraph*, London, July 10, 1983 (two weeks before the riots began in Colombo)

* * * *

1987 "The Government has decided to completely destroy all the terrorist camps in the Jaffna peninsula".

- Gamini Dissanayake, Land Development Minister in the Sri Lankan Parliament.

The Independent, London, April 24, 1987.

* * * *

1987 "We have decided to fight them and that will go on until they win or we win.... We have taken three or four years to get ready.... Everything must be put into winning this war, if I may call it a war".

- President Jayewardene. *The Independent*, London, May 28, 1987.

* * * *

1988 "In Jaffna, the LTTE was fighting for its political survival. In the east, they are fighting only for their military survival".

- Lt Gen A S Kalkat, GOC, Land Forces, IPKF, talking to Indian journalist Anita Pratap. *Sunday Times*, Colombo, June 26, 1988

(TI readers please note that none of the authors of the above quotes are anywhere near the scene of action now!)

"BARKIS IS WILLING...."

Ram - Jaffna

The Sri Lankan Plantation Industries Minister Ranjan Wijeratne at a recent press conference has said that he "is willing", willing of course to speak to the EPRLF provided talks are unconditional. The EPRLF grasped the opportunity because they have nothing to lose but the Provincial Council. The talks are due in May. Minister Hameed was to join but appears to have developed second thoughts.

An EPRLF MP has gone to Orissa to talk to Comrade Padmanabha. Recently a foreign correspondent reported that Padmanabha sports a beard and carries a Lenin badge on his shirt lapel - characteristics of a communist! The CHRISTIAN WORKER of 1988, 4th Quarter, published a report from the "University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna)". This contains an excerpt from a letter by a breakaway EPRLF group, which states,

"Dear Leader Comrade Padmanabha, In your thirst for a rational form of politics and in your desire to build up the EPRLF as an organisation to articulate it, you used to roam Tamil Nadu, suitcase in hand, sleeping on the streets. What are you doing now when the very people for whose benefit you built up this organisation spit upon it? Have you accepted this line...."

Sinhalese racialists, of whom there are many in all classes, believe that the EPRLF and the PLOTE have some backing among the Sinhalese because of their communist jargon which speaks of the unity of workers and peasants and so on. They believe that the Tigers are blood-thirsty terrorists (not subversives, this description is reserved for the JVP by the Colombo media and politicians!). You use the word "Comrade", sport a beard and use communist jargon, even Moscow falls for it, leave alone the assorted Communist groups all over.

The Indian groups are also supposed to have entered the "democratic process". The following from a report by the Sri Lankan Commissioner of Elections, Chandrananda de Silva, should silence anybody talking about the so-

called "democratic process". Referring to the North and East Provincial Council elections in the report on the PC elections the Commissioner has observed that only the EPRLF handed over nomination papers in respect of five districts in the North. Questions had been raised whether anyone else who wished to hand over nominations could have managed to do so without the assistance of the IPKF. "It has to be accepted that since people had to filter through the security cover of the IPKF, the movement of the people and the political leadership may not have been freely available... If anyone claims that the necessary freedom to exercise the right to submit nomination did not prevail, it cannot be denied....The election to the Northern and Eastern Province will go down in history as an election that was wholly manned by.... one-man polling stations.... In the Eastern Province some of the officers of the IPKF had brought lists of persons (not registered electors) signed by the Grama Seva Niladhari and insisted that they be issued ballot papers to vote while in some instances the IPKF and armed men (who are they? Question mine) had prevented the closing of the vote and in such polling stations voting had continued beyond the statutory hours." This is the NEPC that JR-Dixit-Kalkat-Rajiv built!

If the Ranjan talks succeed, the "legally constituted" NEPC will start functioning. The Sri Lankan army will have to prop it. Where does the LTTE fit in? Whither bound Sri Lanka?

What do Ranjan and Shahul Hameed feel about the LTTE? When told of the popular talk in Jaffna that the Tigers

should not give up their guns, Mr Wijeratne said, "What? Do they like the continuance of gun culture? Do they like extortions to continue?" Peace broker Shahul Hameed told parliament recently that the LTTE were a bunch of fighters and it would take some time for them to transform themselves.

In *David Copperfield*, the carrier Barkis falls in love with Pegotty, David's nurse. Barkis wanted David to tell Pegotty "That Barkis is willing." "That is the message", repeated Barkis. The innocent boy conveyed it and they did marry.

Ranjan too is willing. What will be the outcome?

MATRIMONIAL

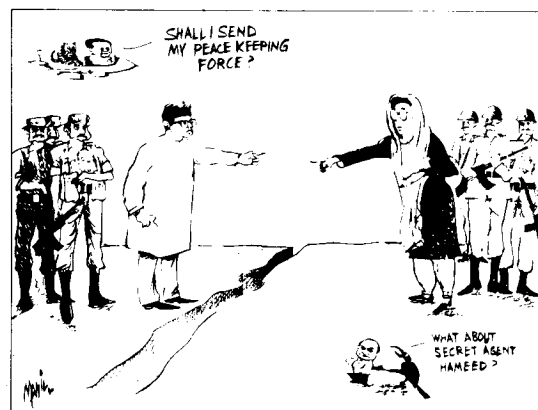
Hindu Tamil parents seek response from well qualified young men aged 30 - 35 for well educated daughter, permanent resident in the USA. Reply to: Mat. 3/190, c/o *Tamil International*.

* * * *

Alliance sought by uncle for Hindu Tamil niece, well educated US permanent resident from prospective qualified partners aged 28 - 33. Reply Mat. 4/190, c/o *Tamil International*.

* * * *

Uncle looking for partners for his nephew, Chartered Civil Engineer (London), 38 years and his neice, B.Sc Dip in Ed., 33 years. Highly respectable family in Jaffna. Reply to: Mat. 5/190, c/o *Tamil International*.



OUR LITERARY HERITAGE

NAALADIYAAR

by S Sriskandarajah

மணத்தால் மறுஇலரேனும் தாம்சேர்ந்த
இனத்தால் இகழப்படுவர் - புனத்து
வெறிகமழ் சந்தனமும் வேங்கையும் வேமே
எறிபுனம் தீப்பட்டக்கால். (நூலடி 380)

“Though innocent in intent, persons will be despised on account of their bad company. In the forest both the fragrant sandal and the vengai tree will be burnt when the brush wood which has been cut takes fire” (Translation)

“Tell me who your friend is, I will tell you who you are” is a proverbial saying. If we grant that there is sense in what this says then it is safe to presume that the saying presupposes that we learn, good or bad, constructive or destructive, through imitation.

Modern educationists say that learning is nothing but imitation. A child which is incapable of imitating never learns. A child who is deaf or blind is incapable of imitating and therefore never learns. Medical history tells us that a majority of children who are mute have been found to be deaf.

Now to the couplet under consideration. As we learn through imitation, the quality of our learning depends on the person whom we imitate. If the person we imitate is a person of exemplary character, then we imbibe and acquire the good qualities of that person. On the contrary, if the person whom we imitate is not a person worthy of emulation, then we copy his notorious characteristics.

We can imitate only people who are close to us. It is not easy to imitate people who are far away from us. If the people who are near and close to us are good then we will naturally imitate them and acquire good qualities. If the near ones are bad, then we will be forced to imitate and to imbibe their bad qualities.

From this it follows that we should be careful in the selection of people. If the selection is bad then we are doomed. But there can be exceptions also. Let me illustrate. How a person will be is determined by two

things; one is nature and the other is nurture; it is said that nature contributes 50% and nurture the other 50% of the make-up of a person. Perhaps this is true; and perhaps this is not very true. In certain instances the nature of a person is such that nurture is unable to overshadow nature. In such cases a person who is naturally good remains good and grows good in spite of his nurturing in bad company. Also there are instances where a person who is by nature notorious and wicked remains so in spite of being nurtured in the company of noble and virtuous people. The verse that is taken up for interpretation says that the way of the world is such that even a good natured person will be despised and branded as wicked if that good natured person is found mixing and mingling with socially unacceptable people. Naaladiyaar explains how this is so by citing a natural phenomenon which is observable in day to day life. In the forest when the brushwood which has been cut takes fire the fire burns the vengai tree also and no one feels sorry about it. But vengai tree is not the only tree that burns. Even the fragrant sandal which no one wants to be destroyed also gets burned. The only sin on the part of the sandal is that it had grown in the midst of bush and vengai trees.

Likewise good and innocent people are also spurned, despised and castigated by the great, if found in the company of vicious people. We therefore have to be very wary in the selection of friends. We are judged by the company we keep. In the Mahabharata, Karna the eldest son of Kunti, and the eldest brother of the Pandavas, was a personification of generosity and an embodiment of virtue. But he was befriended selfishly by Duryodhana and he happened to be in his company and in the midst of people like Sakuni. The virtuous Karna's association with people like Sakuni and Duryodhana could not change his intrinsic nature though wicked nurture at times tried to overshadow his unyielding good nature. Because of that Karna has all along been perceived as a wicked person. Even Vidura the personification of justice and fair play could not refrain from branding Karna as wicked. Such is the force of the company one keeps.

It would be well if the youthful Tamil refugees, who have flocked into this country in their prime, bear this in mind and act accordingly. If they fail in their initial selection of friends, they are doomed; once bogged down and trapped, retrieval would be a Herculean task.

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DEVELOPMENT OF VIABLE DAIRY INDUSTRY

by R Narendran, B.V.Sc, M.Sc, Ph.D.

PREAMBLE

The development strategy to be pursued in Eelam would to a large extent be determined by the nature of the political and economic relationship she has with the rest of present day Sri Lanka. This paper is written on the assumption that Eelam would be able to pursue an independent developmental strategy and maintain a mutually beneficial trade relationship with the rest of Sri Lanka, irrespective of the nature of political relationship that could evolve.

The other factor that could have a bearing on the development strategy to be pursued in Eelam is the political philosophy that would be adopted by the government. Once again this paper assumes that the government of Eelam will adopt an imaginative and vigorous policy aimed at creating wealth, while pursuing the goal of social justice.

In the above context, it is appropriate to cite a recent article titled, "Retreat from Socialism" by B K Nehru in the Illustrated Weekly of India (Feb 19, 1990). In the light of recent developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, one cannot but agree with B K Nehru when he states, *"The mistake of socialism has been the attempt at equal distribution before wealth has ever been created"*. He further states, "The fundamental weakness of socialism lies first in its refusal to recognise the incredible strength of the human instinct of greed and secondly in its belief that social justice necessarily requires economic equality". All successful economies in the modern world have exploited and channelled the greed (the strong desire to obtain a lot more than what is needed, especially food, money or power) that is inherent in every human being to create national wealth and have concurrently evolved systems to bring about social justice, utilising the surplus wealth that had become available. Eelam no doubt would pursue a similar path, instead of experimenting with systems that have been abysmal failures in much of the so called developing countries.

INTRODUCTION

The market value of powdered milk sold in Sri Lanka in 1988 was Rs 628 million. We are a nation supporting and sustaining employment and profitability in the dairy sector of milk product exporting countries at the expense of our hard earned foreign exchange resources, national development and national self reliance.

A MODERN DAIRY INDUSTRY

A dairy industry by definition encompasses all activities centred around milk-producing animals such as dairy cattle, buffaloes and goats. This paper will exclusively deal with the industry centred around the dairy cow. A modern dairy industry based on the dairy cow is no longer sustainable as a cottage industry where individual cows or at most 10 - 15 cows are maintained in household backyards or farmsteads scattered across a wide area.

ORGANISING A MODERN DAIRY INDUSTRY

1. An "Agricultural Development Fund" should be set up to mobilise the capital requirements for agricultural development, including dairy development.
2. An "Agricultural Development Lottery" should be run weekly to generate capital for the Agricultural Development Fund.
3. All foreign aid for agricultural development should be channelled through the Agricultural Development Fund.
4. Foreign Aid to finance the imported components needed along with Rupee capital for local procurable components should be mobilised to initially set up a 300 - 500 milking cow model dairy farm in each district. These farms should include facilities for housing, milking and milk processing, in addition to feed milling equipment to effectively utilise agricultural by-products and other locally available ingredients. Each of these farms

should have sufficient land area reserved for cultivation of forage crops.

The aid-giving countries or agencies should be committed to providing pre-agreed support especially with regard to semen, machinery and spare-part imports, and specialised training, for a fixed period after the farms are established.

5. A large Feed Mill should be established, once again with foreign aid plus local financing, in a centralised location.

6. The proceeds from the sale of shares and government share of profits from the different farms and the feed mill should be ploughed back into the Agricultural Development Fund.

7. The model farms and the Feed Mill should be exempted from taxation for a period of five years.

8. Free land, soft loans, tax holidays, and import duty and foreign exchange concessions should be provided to individuals or groups willing to establish other modern dairy farms, forage production units, feed mills, semen production units and other ancillary support services. Surplus animals from the model farms should be sold through the agency of the Agricultural Development Fund to newer farms to form part of their nuclear stock.

9. An expert panel should be set up to establish priority areas for the disbursement of governmental support, with the priorities being periodically reviewed in keeping with the unfolding developmental pattern.

10. Universities in Eelam should be provided with funds to embark on research that would help resolve the problems facing the local dairy industry and provide the necessary extension services.

11. The Government Ministry of Agriculture should organise facilities for vaccine production, feed and soil analysis and animal-health-related laboratory services.

12. The Government Ministry of Agriculture should also set up facilities for monitoring quality control and health standards in these farms and enforce strict standards in the dairy industry.

continued on page 20

MEDIA EXCERPTS

PREMADASA PREPARES TO MEET TIGERS

President Premadasa of Sri Lanka may soon hold a meeting with Mr Velupillai Prabhakaran, the paramount leader of the secessionist Tamil Tigers group which, analysts say, has scaled back its demands for a separate State in the north and east of this tropical island.

He seems prepared to meet the Tamils more than half way, diplomats here say. "Premadasa is ready to give the Tigers so much autonomy it may almost be like Eelam (a separate Tamil State)", said one. "The Tigers may control everything on their turf except foreign affairs, the army and the police. In this way Eelam will not be accomplished but it will be approximated."

Mr Premadasa is likely to do well in future talks with the tough and ruthless Tiger chieftain, Mr Prabhakaran. The Tigers' chief spokesman, Mr Anton Balasingham, told *The Australian*: "We trust Premadasa and we appreciate his radical approach to the Tamil problem." Another diplomat said they (Mr Premadasa and Mr Prabhakaran) are both bulldozers and come from the same background. "They should be able to do business together." Other compliments were similarly backhanded.

"He (Mr Premadasa) is a vain, harsh, decisive leader and a dedicated professional politician from his toenails upwards", said one Western diplomat who has observed him at close quarters. "He is the closest thing they have here in this country to a political boss."

Critics say he has surrounded himself with cronies rather than advisers; that he does not like being advised or questioned and will sometimes slight one of his ministers in public just to show he is boss.

But the President's humble origins have earned him the liking and respect of much of the working class and the rural peasants. These sentiments

grew when he recently ordered his ministers to reduce the number of personal bodyguards they allowed themselves saying some ministers, when they travelled, had up to a dozen back-up security vehicles. [Courtesy: *The Sunday Observer*, Sri Lanka - May 13, 1990]

HAMEED ON THE HIGH WIRE

The third 'war' in Sri Lanka's several, multi-faceted political-military conflicts, is also the oldest - the Eelam or Tiger war. The LTTE is talking to the president having agreed to a 'cessation of hostilities' with the Sri Lanka Army - a diplomatic move than a military triumph; half a victory in what is also a high-risk, probably very dangerous venture.

Judging each element in a tangled situation correctly, the LTTE leadership has played the game with exceptional skill. For well over a decade, an entire Tamil generation has fought, died or lived in the jungle. And that means that the average Jaffna family had gone from war to war, knowing little peace, enjoying no physical or economic security. So much so, thousands of families have found refuge somewhere, legally or illegally.

Few communities have survived such hardships for so long a period. Since every Tamil is not a militant, nor every youth a 'Tiger', the pressure for peace, or at least a respite from endless wars, must be extremely strong. The LTTE must know that; must surely feel that. It is a guerrilla army. And much more than regular armies, the guerrilla cannot alienate the people. **The fish cannot drain the water in which it survived and swam quite freely.** The people of the peninsula, the Tamil heartland, stood by the LTTE, as the IPKF learnt to its bitter cost. The people crave for peace, the 'Tiger' needs a breather. But not at any price.

In war, regular or unconventional, the decision on laying down of weapons is of course the moment of truth. To lay down arms does not mean a surrender, if there is no winner or loser. Nor does it mean handing over ALL weapons. This is an unusual situation. An essential part of the

devolution exercise is "safety and security" of the Tamils i.e. a provincial police force. But with what powers? How is it integrated into the Sri Lankan structure? A Tamil superintendent of police (a former LTTE area commander?) would supervise police stations that have armouries. With what type of weapons? And what of the LTTE's heavy weapons, the artillery pieces, which armies, not police forces, need?

In the end, it is a question of trust. The LTTE, and indeed all Tamil parties, do not trust Colombo, this or any other administration. To them, the history of the Tamil problem is a history of betrayal; of pledges made and broken; of agreements signed and sealed and torn up - both UNP and SLFP. Thus, a legacy of distrust. Until this distrust is progressively erased, no firm accord will be reached. This is Mr Hameed's job, as top negotiator.

There is another, not so easily discernible or definable factor. If any incident, in the North-east, creates a highly charged situation in the South, the talks will break down. More. The stability of the Premadasa regime may be threatened. What turn will events take then? It is this incalculable that the LTTE must include in its calculations. Hameed's high-wire diplomacy has radically altered the calculus of risks. For the rest, it's the old story - land-mines all along the path to peace: north-east council polls, 6th Amendment, merger, referendum etc. [Courtesy: *Lanka Guardian*, May 1, 1990]

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While Sri Lanka had met all her obligations under the accord, except for the holding of the referendum, India had not fulfilled her part of the bargain. We are still in square one with the Tamil National Army cadres and the LTTE continuing to carry arms. India was expected to disarm the militants in 72 hours, but she stayed on for 27 months and did not fulfil her mission.

The Accord had spelt out that the repatriation of Indian citizenship holders and Sri Lankan refugees in India had to take place concurrently. "If India wants to violate agreements she can do so, but I don't think she will", said the minister on the question of repatriation expected to commence as soon as the ferry service becomes operative. The minister's position is that since India accepted the refugees it was her responsibility to convince them to return home.

TAMIL AT THE PALACE

Mr Norman Armstrong, a Tamil, who heads a successful cleaning company has been awarded a tender to clean the Buckingham Palace this year. This contract is one of 300 blue chips that Norman's 'Climax Cleaning Co. Ltd,' now handles. Norman has almost 700 people working for him. He uses the most up to date management methods to keep his clients happy. Norman arrived in UK almost 22 years ago as a student. To find pocket money Norman had done part time work as a car park attendant where he had occasionally to wash cars belonging to customers. Norman, like most other Lankans, hopes to lay down his bones in Sri Lanka some day. At present he hopes to start a few industries "not with the idea of making more money but to help his mother country" he says. He has his office in Neasden, London.

EROS MP RESIGNS

EROS MP Mr S Sivamaharajah has resigned from parliament. In his letter of resignation to the Speaker he has cited personal reasons as grounds for his resignation.

TIGERS RECOGNISED

Lexicographers have recognized the Tigers. The Oxford Paperback dictionary (New Expanded Edition), Reprint 1989 with 4,000 new entries defines: Tiger (n) - A large Asian animal of the cat family with yellow and black stripes. Tigers (pl.n.) - A Tamil militant organisation in Sri Lanka seeking

independence for their community.

POLICEMEN DISMISSED

Six policemen formerly of the Veerangar police station at Trincomalee were dismissed after an inquiry into an alleged row between police and villagers. The police station had to be closed after the incident. Two other policemen of Serunuwara police station were also dismissed over a similar incident.

TRANQUILIZER INJECTIONS ON ASYLUM SEEKER

Tranquilizer injections are administered on some repatriates by Canadian Emigration. The Minister concerned defended the practice and claimed that there was no way of sending back persons whose asylum claims were rejected and who turned boisterous at the airport.

LTTE WILL NOT STAND BY AND WATCH

Karikalan, a high-ranking member of the LTTE has declared that the LTTE will not stand by and watch the development of a situation when a section of Tamils would be forcefully sent back to India or otherwise subjected to repression. He made the statement when he addressed a media conference in Jaffna. "If the Tamils working on tea and rubber estates in Sri Lanka want to settle in the North-East Province, our organisation is ready to help them. We are ready to provide the necessary facilities" Karikalan said.

A successful general strike (Hartal) was launched by the PFLT on May 21 in the North-East in support of the plantation Tamils. The NE came to a stand-still. All shops, schools, government and private offices were closed. All public and private transport were stopped. A statement issued from the PFLT headquarters condemned the Sri Lankan government efforts to deport unilaterally over 100,000 plantation Tamils to India without their consent. "From last week onwards the government of Sri Lanka is engaged in suppressing the protests against the deportation by using brutal military force. Several people have been assaulted by the police and several youths have disappeared after arrests by the police. Sri Lankan Government while preaching peace, compromise and dialogue is engaged in ruthless oppression of the Tamil speaking people in the plantation areas" the statement added.

The statement further said that the PFLT high command was contemplating further moves in order to put pressure on the Government of Sri Lanka to cancel the inhuman plan of deporting the plantation Tamils who have lived and worked for over 150 years for the island's prosperity.

ESTATE WORKERS STRIKE

Around 600 plantation workers from two estates in Talawakelle have resorted to strike action to protest against the arrest of Upcountry People's Front (ULF) leader P Chandrasekeram, who was now being held under Emergency Regulations. According to Inspector General of Police, Ernest Perera, Mr Chandrasekeram was arrested by the Talawakelle police on the basis of a statement made to the Nuwara Eliya police by a youth who was apprehended with a sterling sub-machine gun.

HUNGER STRIKE IN INDIA

More than 100 Sri Lankan Tamils imprisoned in a southern Indian jail have launched a hunger strike demanding freedom. The 109 prisoners have threatened to commit suicide if they were force-fed. The protesters aged between 20 and 30 want to be set free or moved to refugee camps. Meanwhile an EPRLF spokesman in Madras urged the Tamil Nadu state government to free the prisoners on humanitarian grounds and move them to refugee camps.

LTTE - COLOMBO RELATIONS DETERIORATE

The Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE held their second round of talks in the month of May on the 28th amid growing concern that relations between the two sides are deteriorating. The head of the government delegation, the Justice Minister, Shaul Hameed, said the government was exploring every possibility and wanted to find a way to comply with the Tigers' two main demands - the repeal of the sixth amendment to the constitution and the dissolution of the North-East Provincial Council.

The LTTE delegation emphasised that both conditions would have to be met before the Tigers would enter the political mainstream. There have been persistent reports that both sides are reinforcing their military positions.

SRI LANKAN NEWS

SUNDAY TIMES EDITOR RESIGNS

Mr Vijitha Yapa, the dynamic editor of The Sunday Times, had become the latest victim of the government's strong-arm tactics to muzzle the national press into submission. Mr Yapa, who resigned on May 7, refused to speak about the reasons behind his sudden exit. His only response to repeated questions was, "I believe in the freedom of the press". It is obvious to the readers of The Sunday Times that the owner of the publication, Mr Ranjith Wijewardene, had, after publishing a story, gone out of his way to placate the government. Some of the editorials in recent weeks would have made it possible for any self-respecting editor not to resign.

U S LOSES INTEREST IN V O A TRANSMITTER ?

Washington is no longer interested in proceeding with the setting up of an expanded Voice of America transmitting facility in Sri Lanka, though the US is paying lease rent for the site of the transmitting station near Puttalam on the north-western coast. Reporting this, the Far Eastern Economic Review is a recent issue says: "The waning interest in setting up this station, which is regarded with suspicion by India, and has been a bone of contention, has been verbally conveyed to Colombo but the promised written follow-up has not materialised".

CHANDRIKA BACK IN LONDON

Mrs Chandrika Kumaranatunga who returned to Sri Lanka recently after a prolonged sojourn in Britain is now back again in London. A spokesman for the SLMP (V) said in Colombo that she would return after two months to take up permanent residence in Sri Lanka.

RED CARPET FOR JAPAN'S PM

Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu with his wife arrived in Colombo on May 3 for a one day visit to Sri Lanka. The visit was part of a five-nation South Asian tour. After talks with the Lankan President and Ministers, the Japanese Premier agreed to send a high level mission to Sri Lanka to study Japan - Sri Lanka collaboration in industrial development. Mr Kaifu pledged to support a nutritional improvement programme with 300 million yen. He also pledged US \$ 230,000 for the presentation of Kandy's cultural heritage. The Prime Minister also announced that Japan would train Asian youths over the next five years.

HELICOPTER CRASH

A helicopter of the Lankan Air Force crashed near Habarana on May 5 killing all six airmen on board. The helicopter was on a mission tracking gunmen who had robbed tourists at Sigiriya the previous night.

IRAN ASSURED

An Iranian delegation visiting Sri Lanka was assured by Minister Hameed that the government's overall political settlement would take into consideration the safety of all ethnic groups and also would consider the religious, cultural and social interests of all communities.

RONNIE DE MEL CRIMINAL BREACH OF TRUST

A criminal breach of trust case has been filed against the former Finance Minister Mr Ronnie de Mel. It concerns the alleged misappropriation of a sum of Rs 889,189.50 entrusted to him on 15.1.1987. This is the second

misappropriation case filed against the former Minister now living abroad.

LANKANS DIE IN 'DOWN UNDER'

Lalini (42) and Lakshman (55) Jayawardana, who worked at the State Bank of Victoria and the Pacific Beverage Company respectively, were on their way to pick up their 13 year old daughter Tanya, when a motor accident snuffed out their lives. The time was about 1 p.m on April 28 when their car moved onto the main highway which would take them to Melbourne from their small town of Wantirna. As the couple's car entered on the highway, a front-end loader trailer carrying a tractor crashed onto it from a side. Over five hours were spent in extricating the bodies of the couple from the crushed car. The funeral of Lalini and Lakshman was held in Melbourne.

FATE OF USA

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka and the LSSP have turned down a request by the SLMP to convene a meeting of the United Socialist Alliance. The SLMP made this request on May 2. Earlier the USA's secretariat used to meet once a week, but it has not met for the last two months. Provincial Council members who were elected under the USA ticket are baffled over their future in view of the controversies that have plagued the USA.

166 PETITIONS

One hundred and sixty six petitions by or on behalf of persons being held at five detention centres have been sent to the Chief Justice, Parinda Ranasinghe, over the last five months. The petitions relate to persons being held at detention camps in the South. One of the petitions is on behalf of about 2,500 persons being detained at the Boosa Camp. The petitioners have sought the intervention of the court to provide the detainees with elementary needs, security and legal rights.

FOLK TALES AND HISTORICAL STORIES

by **Thaatha**

HOW THE KING'S EYE SIGHT WAS RESTORED

What its ancient name was, it is not known. A great lake has been made to contain the water that flows from many streams. This great task was done by King Kulakodan, the famous "Builder of Tanks and Temples". It made possible the cultivation of rice in the vast expanse of lands all the way up to the sea. That was how Kulakodan directed the tank be built.

There is a traditional story how the place got its name. A King and his retinue had encamped there on their way to Koneswaram. The king is said to have developed an infection which affected his eyesight. However, he regained his lost sight at the instance of the priest there. Hence the place came to be known as "Kan" (Eye), "Talai" (Regained). It continues to be known as "Kantalai", to this day.

WHY THEY HAD TO SUPPLY THE WICKS

He was a devout king. Para Raja Sekaram was the Tamil king of Jaffna, during the 15th century. He paid homage at Koneswaram Temple regularly.

On one of his visits to his favourite place of pilgrimage, he noticed that everything had gone slack at the temple. So, it is said that he got down to a detailed inquiry. The several oil lamps in the temple were not lit due to a shortage in the supply of wicks for the lamps. The king allotted that task to a village community. For the performance of that work a tank was built for them. Water from the tank could be drawn by the village for the cultivation of rice and other crops.

From that time that village came to be known as "Tiri" (wicks), "Yai" (suppliers). To this day the village retains that name of "Tiriyai".

HOW THE PRINCE REGAINED HIS KINGDOM

He was a forlorn figure; his kingdom was lost; he had ridden a long way and was tired. At length he reached a river bank. Both the rider and his horse had a good drink of the river water. He laid himself down by the banks of Mahaweli Ganga. The cool breeze lulled him to sleep.

In his dream he saw a sage. The sage consoled him, told him not to be disheartened. All is not lost. He advised the Prince to contact the local Chieftain, who was benign. The Prince did as he was advised. The local Chieftain provided him with a strong force; with this help, the Prince was able to regain his kingdom.

He returned and married the Chieftain's daughter. In commemoration of the change in his fortune, they built a holy place at the site by the river, where he had the dream.

THE FERRIES OF TRINCOMALEE

The Trincomalee district is along the sea coast. A roadway along the coast involves several stream crossings. Bridges are provided at many of the crossings. However some of them are very wide, and therefore cannot be bridged. At such places there are "ferries" to convey people and vehicles across.

In the Eastern region of Sri Lanka there are several such "Ferry Boat Crossings". A ferry boat is a large flat-bottomed boat, with ramps aft and forward. The ramps are kept raised when going in water and lowered at the shore for vehicles to get in or out. Once, eight such ferries had to be negotiated when travelling from Trincomalee to Batticaloa.

The ferry service across the main Mahaweli Ganga, called the Ganga ferry can be hazardous. The flood flow in the river can be deceptive due to rainfall up-country. It can take travellers unawares. The ferry-men would narrate exciting stories of how ferries have been carried into the sea.

Then there was the interesting story of the impatient doctor. Exasperated by the delay, he drove his car into the ferry and out, into the sea. Later he and his car had to be fished out of the water. However, improvements are now being effected by motorising the more frequented ferries.

HOW MANY NAMES

It is a unique place. Through eras of history, it has had more names than can be counted on one's fingers. Yet, of course, the place is one.

Dakshana Kailas, hailed Proto-history, because of a legend that a Hindu God from Mt. Kailash had taken abode there.

Tri Kona Malai, said the ancients describing its shape.

Thiru Kona Malai, said the later folks, incorporating the essence of both the above names.

Thirukoneswaram said the Prince Vijaya era in history.

Kona ma Malai, sang the Saiva Saints, eulogising the magnificent Pal-lava era temple they saw then.

Machcheswaram, said the Vaishnavites, who saw the similarity of the Hill to Vishnu's "Machcha Avataram" or Fish Form.

Konamalai, was desired by the Chola Pandiyans, as a beacon to assist in navigation.

Koneswaram, the era of the Tamil Kings of Jaffna revered the temple of their Supreme God "Iswaran".

Temple of a Thousand Pillars wrote the Portuguese, and broke it down.

Pagoda Hill, cited the Dutch and built their Fort on it.

Lover's Leap bewailed the fond father of a forsaken maid.

Trincomalee, says English Geography.

Fort Frederick, orders the British Garrison, stationed there.

To the people and folks there, it is their beloved **Malai**.

RAVANA'S REVERENCE

Ravana was the King of the Rakshahasas; he was very powerful. So much so that posterity usually depicts him with ten heads, that is ten persons in one. His capital city was Lankapuram; Lankapuram was situated, we are told, off the South East coast of the present Sri Lanka. The region had been submerged in an oceanic bed up-heaval; the islets Great and Little Basses are said to be parts of that region.

Tradition tells us that he and his wife, Queen Mandothari, were devout Saivaites. They frequently worshipped at "Dakshana Kailasam" which is the present "Koneswaram" at Trincomalee. In their journeys they would stop at several places. It is said that Ravana would carry with him a golden "Siva Lingam", a symbol of his God Siva..Wherever he stopped, he would sing and dance and perform pujas to it daily.

At all such places, a place of worship of Siva originated. Many places of worship should therefore be found frequently along the Eastern Coast Road. But actually only a few have survived. Many were said to have been destroyed by an irate monarch, later. Some have changed their function.

DEVELOPMENT OF VIABLE DAIRY INDUSTRY

continued from page 7

13. The marketing of milk produced under unhygienic conditions should be prohibited, once the dairy industry set up along modern lines finds its feet, and milk and milk products from these farms become readily available.

14. The universities in Eelam should be encouraged to establish degree and diploma courses in Veterinary and Animal Sciences, designed to produce graduates who have not only a theoretical, but also a thorough practical grounding in the various aspects of dairy production.

15. New varieties of forage crops should be introduced and the farmers encouraged through price incentives and other fiscal devices to venture into the production of these crops on a large scale.

16. The government should also venture substantial capital into identifying sources of ground water, constructing reservoirs and establishing the system to optimise the use of available water.

CONCLUSIONS

Substantial increases in milk production in Eelam can be achieved only through the increased efficiency resulting from higher yielding cows introduced from abroad, better nutrition and better management on specialised farms. Man-power, land and water are our principal resources and these have to be optimally exploited to enhance our national prosperity. Capital for investment is not an insurmountable barrier, once the national will is set on achieving the seemingly impossible. We have fought a tremendous battle with guns on the political front and almost won. Now let us prove that we can also win the even bigger battle on the economic front, with our sweat!

[Abridged from a paper submitted to the Seminar held in March by the Research Organisation of Tamil Eelam]

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BRITISH AIRWAYS 'KIDNAPS'

Three Tamil asylum seekers arrived at Rome airport on 9 April and were transferred on to BA flight 556 for the last leg of their journey. But their passports and tickets were confiscated before boarding, without explanation, by a member of the BA crew. At Heathrow they were separated from other passengers, and two British Airways officials escorted them into a BA van.

The van remained on the tarmac for an hour while the three young men's pleas, in English, to speak to immigration authorities and be allowed to put their cases for asylum were refused by BA staff. Finally, the men were escorted by officials of the airline to private BA offices at the airport, where they were locked in, given food and allowed to use toilet facilities.

One of the three, a 21 year old who was travelling under the name of Vasudeva Krishnan, then managed to make a brief telephone call to family members in London to tell them what was happening. His relatives - some of whom have been accepted here as asylum-seekers - together with a solicitor and refugee agencies, immediately contacted the Home Office Immigration Service at the airport. But officials told them they were not holding the men and had no knowledge of their whereabouts.

After two hours in the custody of BA at Heathrow, Vasudeva and the two other asylum seekers were escorted by BA staff back on to their Rome flight. No official notices of removal were served on them. In Rome they were detained by Italian police and then put back on a flight to Bombay, where two of the three were badly beaten by Indian officials and returned to Sri Lanka.

The Home Office confirmed that the incident took place and is adamant that no police or immigration officials were involved. More details have emerged in letters received by relatives in London from Vasudeva, who is now in hiding in Sri Lanka. He claims that he and his companions pleaded,

'begging and crying', to be allowed to claim asylum, but a female BA staff member allegedly told them that if they were sent back the supplier of their false papers would 'learn a lesson'.

When they arrived in Bombay they were beaten by airport police. Vasudeva writes: 'My face, nose, mouth, all were beaten up, and my face is still swollen.'

The airline's action has horrified refugee agencies. The director of the British Refugee Council, Alf Dubs, said: 'I would have thought what BA did was illegal. You simply can't have a private firm forcibly detaining people and forcing them on planes. 'This is kidnapping and abduction. If the government condones it, they are saying a private organisation is allowed to arrest people. It makes a nonsense of civil liberties and this government's commitments to the rights of refugees.'

BA says it has been forced into such drastic action by the Carriers' Liability Act. It categorically denies any mistreatment of the three Tamils. A spokesman said: 'I'm sure you are aware we are fined £1,000 for every passenger we carry without valid documents.'

'Our handling agents in Rome suspected their documents were not in order and sent a message to London when the plane was airborne. Our staff met them on arrival and we had discussions with them. At no time did they ask for political asylum or to see an immigration officer or the authorities.'

Britain's Immigration Act states that every claim for asylum 'must be referred by the immigration officer to the Home Office for a decision'. But the Home Office refuses to get involved.

A spokesman said: 'We weren't aware of this incident until the three passengers had been sent back. We've talked to BA about it, and that's basically it.' Asked if the Home Office now condoned the action, the spokesman said: 'It is not a matter for us.'

Labour's front bench spokesman on Home Affairs, Alistair Darling, will raise the matter in the Commons debate on immigration rules. He said: 'This case has major implications for people who genuinely fear for their lives. It is intolerable that a private British company is standing between this country and refugees' rights to have their cases heard.'



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‘பண்டு முளைப்பது அரிசியே ஆனாலும்
விண்டு உமி போனால் முளையாதாம் - கொண்டபேர்
ஆற்றல் உடையார்க்கும் ஆகாது அளவு இன்றி
ஏற்ற கருமம் செயல்’ (அவ்வையார்)

ஆத்திசூடி, கொன்றை வேந்தன், நல்வழி, முதுரை என்று நாலு இலக்கிய நூல்கள் அவ்வையால் இயற்றப்பட்டனவாகச் சொல்லப்படுகின்றது. மேற்படி பாடல் அவ்வையார் பாடிய நாற்பது முதுரைப் பாடல்களில் ஒன்று. இந்த இலக்கியப் பாடலில் இயற்கை வளமும் அரசியல் வளமும் ஒருங்கே காணப்படுவதால் அப்பாடலின் இலக்கிய நயத்தை வாசகர்களுடன் பகிர் எண்ணினேன். யான் தரும் விளக்கத்துடன் எல்லாரும் ஒருப்பட வேண்டியதில்லை. ஒருப்படுவார்கள் என்று எதிர்பார்க்கவும் இல்லை. ஏனென்றால் எழுதினவன் ஏட்டைக் கெடுத்தான், பாடினவன் பாட்டைக் கெடுத்தான் என்பது தமிழ் வழக்கு. எவரும் எதையும் கெடுப்பதில்லை. நாங்கள் பார்க்கின்ற பார்வையில் ஏற்படுகின்ற வேறு பாடுகளினால் சில சமயங்களில் இப்படி ஆகி விடுகின்றது. உதாரணத்திற்கு இதைப் பாருங்கள்.

‘ஊக்கமது கை விடேல்’ என்பது நீங்கள் அறிந்தது தான். இஃது அவ்வையார் இயற்றிய ‘ஆத்திசூடி’ யில் வரும் ஓர் அடிப்பாடல். பார்க்கின்ற பார்வையைப் பொறுத்து இதற்கு இரண்டு அர்த்தங்கள் கொடுக்கலாம். ஊக்கமது கை விடேல் என்றால் ஊக்கத்தைத் தருகின்ற மதுபானத்தைக் கைவிடாதே; நன்றாகக் குடி; குடிமகனே நன்றாகக் குடி என்று இன்றைய இளைஞர்கள் இந்த ஒற்றையடிப் பாடலுக்கு ஒற்றைப் போக்கான அர்த்தம் கொடுக்கின்றார்கள். ஆனால் அவ்வை கருதியது வேறு. சோம்பி இராதே; சுறுசுறுப்பாக இரு; ஊக்கமாக இரு என்பது தான் அவ்வையின் அறிவுரை. ஆனால் இன்றைய இளைஞர்கள் இவ்வாறு தமக்குப் பொருத்தமான முறையில் கருத்துப் பிரிக்கின்றார்கள். எல்லாம் பார்வையால் விளைந்த வித்தியாசங்கள்.

பார்வையில் கோணல் இல்லாமல் மேற்படி பாடலை இப்போது பார்ப்போம். இந்தப் பாடலில் ஒரு தாவரவியல் உண்மை கலந்துள்ளது. நாம் எல்லாம் சோறு உண்பவர்கள். நெல்லைப் பற்றியும் நெல் முளைப்பது பற்றியும் நன்றாக அறிந்தவர்கள். நெல்லை விதைக்கிறோம். ஓரிரு நாட்களில் அது முளைக்கிறது. முளை கிளம்புவது அரிசியிலிருந்து தான். அந்த முளைதான் வேராகவும், தண்டாகவும் பரிணமிக்கின்றது. அரிசியைச் சுற்றியிருக்கும் கோதாகிய உமியிலிருந்து எதுவும் கிளம்பு வதில்லை. ஆனாலும் அந்த உமியில்லாவிட்டால் அந்த அரிசியிலிருந்து முளை கிளம்பாது. நெல்லிலிருந்து அரிசியை அகற்றி அரிசியை மட்டும் நட்டால் அந்த அரிசியிலிருந்து முளைவராது. அரிசியைச் சுற்றி உமியிருந்தால் தான் அந்த அரிசி முளைக்கும்; முளைத்த முளை கிளம்பும். இது முக்காலும் உண்மை எக்காலும் உண்மை.

இந்த அரிசியையும் நெல்லையும் உதாரணம் காட்டி உலகத்தின் இயற்கை ஒன்றை விளக்குகின்றாள் அவ்வை. அரிசிதான் மணி; உமி வெறும் கோது தான். ஆனாலும் அந்த மணி வெறும் கோது போலத் தோற்றமளிக்கின்ற உமியில்லாமல் வளர முடியாமல் இருக்கின்றது. இதைப் போலவே எவ்வளவு ஆற்றல் படைத்தவர்களாக இருந்தாலும் அவர்கள் பக்க பலமும் ஆதரவும் இல்லாமல் அரிய பெரிய காரியங்களை வெற்றிகரமாகச் சாதிக்க முடியாது. அதாவது பெரிய ஆற்றல் படைத்தவர்களும் ஏற்ற கருமம் செய்ய வேண்டுமானால் பக்க பலம் அவசியம். அந்தப் பக்கபலம் இல்லா விட்டால் கருமம் செய்ய முடிந்தாலும் பெருமை தரத்தக்க கருமங்களைச் செய்ய முடியாது. இந்த உண்மையை விளக்க ஓர் உதாரணம் பார்ப்போம். இலங்கையிலே எங்கள் தமிழ் மண்ணிலே எங்கள் இளைஞர்கள் தமிழ் மக்களின்

விடிவுக்காகத் தம் உயிரைத் துச்சமென மதித்துப் போராடி வருகின்றார்கள். ஓரொரு சமயத்தில் அவர்களை அப்படி இப்படி என்று விமர்சித்தாலும் அவர்கள் தான் எங்கள் விடிவெள்ளி என்பதில் எவருக்கும் சந்தேகம் இருக்க முடியாது. அவர்கள் தான் எங்களுடைய அரிசிகள். அரிசி மணிகள். அவர்கள் தான் முளைக்க வல்லவர்கள். அவர்கள் தான் முளைத்து வளர்ந்து எமக்கு ஆறுதல் தரப் போகின்றவர்கள். அவர்களால் முடியா விட்டால் இலங்கையில் இனி வேறெவராலும் முடியாது. அவர்களுடைய ஆற்றலை நாம் போற்றுகின்றோம். கடந்த பத்தாண்டு காலத்தில் அவர்கள் தமது ஆற்றலை உலகுக்கே காட்டி விட்டார்கள்.

இருப்பினும் அப்பேர்ப்பட்ட ஆற்றல் படைத்தர்களாக உள்ள அரிசிகளும் உமியில்லாமல் வளர முடியாது, இலங்கையிலும் இலங்கைக்கு வெளியேயும் இலண்டன், அமெரிக்கா, அவுத்திரேலி-

யா, கனடா போன்ற நாடுகளிலும் வாழும் தமிழறிஞர்களை அத்தகைய உமிகளாகக் கொள்ளலாம். அவர்கள் வெறும் உமிகள் அல்ல. போசாக்கும் பொலிவும் வலுவும் வழங்குகின்ற உமிகள். அத்தகைய உமிகள் வெவ்வேறு நாடுகளில் வெவ்வேறு பேர்களில் இயங்கி வருகின்றன. அவை சிந்தனைத் தருவூலங்களாக, சிந்தனைத் தேக்கங்களாக உள்ளன. ஆனால் அவை எல்லாம் தம்பாலுள்ள போசாக்கை, வலுவை அந்த அரிசிகளுக்கு முழு அளவில் வழங்கத் தலைப்படவில்லை. அவர்கள் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து ஒத்தாசையுடன் உழைத்தால் தான் ஈழத்தரிசி தீங்கின்றிச் செவ்வனே வளரும்.

இது தொடர்பில் தமிழீழ ஆய்வு நிறுவனத்தார் அண்மையில் நடாத்திய கருத்தரங்கில் தமிழன்பர் A T S இரத்தினசிங்கம் அவர்கள் கூறிய ஒரு கருத்தை நினைவுகூர விரும்புகின்றேன்.

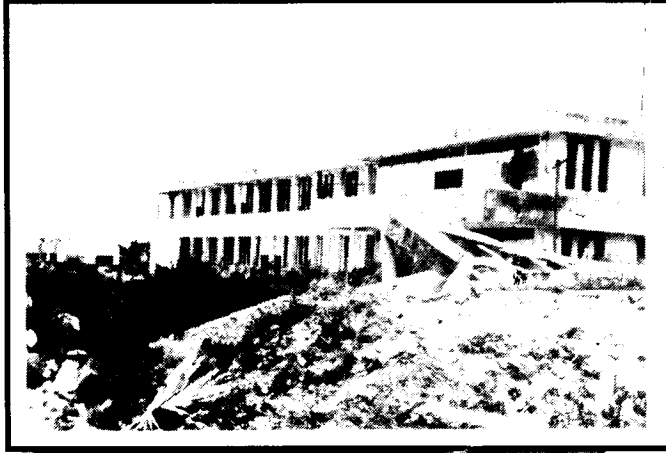
அவர் சொன்னார்:- 'தமிழீழத்தில் பையன்கள் என்ன செய்கின்றார்கள், எப்படிச் செய்கின்றார்கள் என்று தட்டிக் கேட்க முயலாதீர்கள். நாம் எல்லாம் இங்கே ஒடோடி வந்து விட்டதன் மூலம் அந்த உரிமையை இழந்து விட்டவர்கள். ஏனென்றால் ஈழத்தில் அவர்கள் படும் கஷ்டம் எதிலும் நாம் பங்கெடுக்கவில்லை. நாம் கால் இழக்கவில்லை. கை இழக்கவில்லை; உயிரிழக்கவில்லை. கால் இழந்தும், கையிழந்தும், உயிரிழந்தும் தமிழ் மானத்தை இன்று வரை கட்டிக் காத்துக் கொண்டிருப்பவர்கள் அவர்கள் தான். எனவே போராட்டத்தை அவர்களிடம் விட்டு விடுவோம். உரிமை எமக்கில்லை. ஆனால் கடமை எமக்குண்டு. நம்மில் தொண்ணூறு வீதமானோர் ஈழத்தில் பிறந்தவர்கள். அந்த மண்ணில் வளர்ந்தவர்கள். தமிழ் மண்ணில் வளர்க்கப்பட்டவர்கள். ஆகவே நாம் எல்லாம் தமிழீழ மண்ணுக்குக் கடமைப்பட்டவர்கள். எனவே எமது கடமையைச் செய்ய முன்வாருங்கள்'. இவ்வாறு திரு இரத்தினசிங்கம் உருக்கமாக அறைகூவல் விடுத்தார். இந்தப் பாட்டின் பொருளைத் தான் அவரும் சொன்னார்.

அரிசி அங்கே முளைக்க வேண்டுமானால் இங்கிருக்கும் நாங்கள் உமியாக உதவ வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்து இப்பாடலில் அடங்கியுள்ளது. உமியின் முக்கியத்தை அரிசியும் உணர் வேண்டும். அரிசியின் ஆற்றலை உமியும் புரிய வேண்டும். அரிசியை அரசனுக்கு ஒப்பிட்டால் உமியை மந்திரிமாருக்கு ஒப்பிடலாம். அரசன் பிழைவழி போவது போலத் தெரிந்தால் அரசனுக்கு அறிவூட்டல் மந்திரிமாரின் கடன். அரசன் சொல்வழி கேளான் என்று எமக்குள்ளே எண்ணிக் கொண்டு அறிவுரை கொடாதிருத்தல் மந்திரிக்கு அழகல்ல. மந்திரியின் பண்பைக் கூற வந்த கம்பன்: 'தம் உயிர்க்கு உறுதி எண்ணார் தலைமகன் வெகுண்ட போதும்; வெம்மையைத் தாங்கி நீதி விடாது நின்றுரைக்கும் வீரர்' என்று விளக்கினான். உயிர் போவதாக இருந்தாலும் சரியானதையும், நீதியானதையும் உணர்த்தல் மந்திரியின் கடன். ஏற்கப்படுமோ ஏற்கப்படாதோ என்ற கேள்வி மந்திரிக்கு எழக் கூடாது. ஏற்றாலும் சரி ஏற்காவிட்டாலும் சரி அறிவுரை வழங்கல் அமைச்சரின் பணி. அத்தகைய ஒரு பணி உமியாம் நமக்கும் உண்டு என்று அவ்வை கூறியுள்ளார். அவளது பாடலின் பொருளைச் சிந்தித்துச் செயற்படுவோம்.

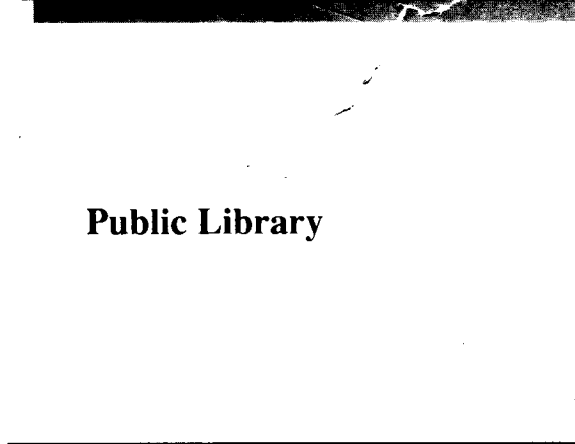
செ சிறீக்கந்தராசா



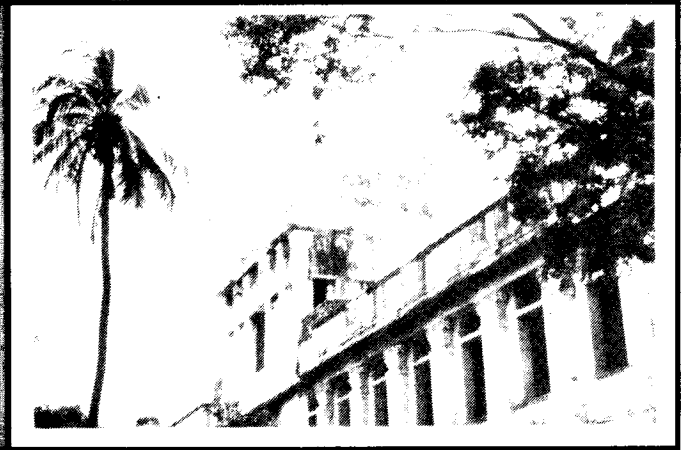
THE RUINED CITY OF JAFFNA



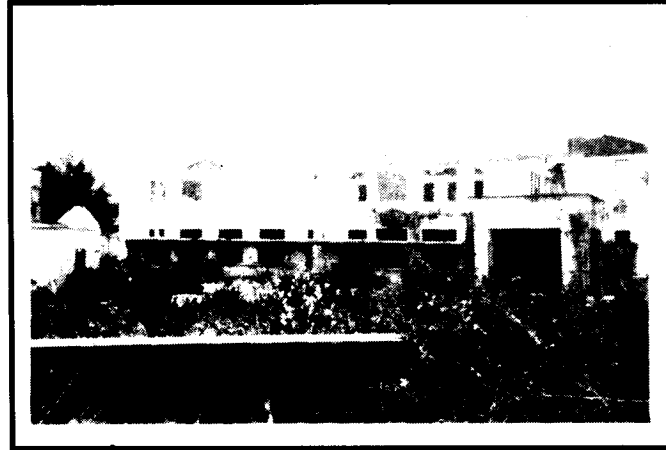
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