SPOTLIGHT

By: Charles Somasundrum

A London web site carried an item, that the Colombo based editor of the Sri Lanka Guardian, Nilantha Illangamuwa, had travelled to Chennai for talks with a man called B Raman who was featured in the last issue of this paper. The article held that he is a retired Additional Secretary of the Indian Cabinet Secretariat and currently the Director of the Institute for Topical Studies in Chennai. The Indian Cabinet Secretariat is a large sprawling department that, at one time, included within it the Indian RAW (Research and Analysis Wing, the Indian equivalent of the British MI5 or American CIA). The RAW was, I believe, created in the days of Indira Gandhi, who was not happy at being forced to make major decisions with very little background input from her own departmental advisers. When set up, the RAW was a '<u>wing</u>' of the cabinet office, hence its name.

Raman appears to have produced a book with a strange title, 'THE KAOBOYS OF R & AW' – 'Down Memory Lane'. Either the word 'KAOBOYS' is a word that Indians are familiar with or, Raman has just miss spelt the word 'COWBOYS'. I prefer to think that it is the latter! Raman was possibly 'attached' to RAW during his stint at the Cabinet Secretariat. He appears, from his current activities, to be still allied to them. The meeting between Raman and Ilangamuwa, said to have taken four hours, was based on an RAW plan '***<u>to install politicians, using diplomats; local politicians and human rights activists, to form pro India power cells in Tamil Eelam</u>'***. This man Illangamuwa, has been in the news himself recently, for backing 'corrupt' diplomats at the Sri Lankan High Commission in London. By the way, why is it that the word 'corrupt' is eponymous with Sri Lankan politicians, diplomats and senior officials?

The RAW is not a stranger to dirty tricks, in their attempt to ensure that India's southern border is friendly. I am afraid Raman is in for a big disappointment here. Sri Lanka's politicians and tame officials, have just one all abiding interest and that, is to build a nest egg for when they are driven out of decision making and power. Sri Lankan newspaperpersons cling to such people for the crumbs that may come their way. Raman should have been aware by now, if he has any 'intelligence' instincts left, that the group of Sri Lankans mentioned above, including newspaperpersons, are always 'available' to the 'highest bidder'!

I have just been re reading a paper published, by the South Asia Analysis Group in summer of last year that contained, a 'Guest Column' contributed by A K Verma. Readers will remember Verma as the chief of the RAW when India burnt her fingers in Eelam with her strong arm tactics, when the IPKF (Indian Peace Keeping Force) entered Eelam. India's bitter experience in the island was because of poor 'intelligence'. Not only was India unaware of the strength of feeling of the Tamil nation, against Indian intervention on the side of the Sinhalas, but Indian intelligence was also apparently, unaware, that India was being '**<u>used</u>**' by Jayawardene (the president at the time). RAW officials of this time certainly lived in cloud cuckoo land. The RAW was in its incipient stages, when the Indian army entered Eelam. The Indians, with little or no knowledge of the people or the terrain, had no doubt in their minds whatsoever; about their invincibility against what they believed was a bunch of poorly armed and disorganised guerrillas. They were convinced that they would return to India within a matter of weeks if not days, having subdued the Tamils. In effect, they were there for almost two years and their meek return to India was unsung and subdued.

Reading now, of the plans of Raman with his RAW connections and his Sri Lankan editor pal Illangamuwa, hatched in the dining suite of the Tower Hotel in Chennai, one can see that the RAW is still fumbling in the dark like the proverbial blind man searching in a darkened room for the black cat – which is not there! A K Verma the ex chief of the RAW, with his personal experience of the IPKF misadventure in Eelam in the mid 80s says, writing of the conflict between the Sinhala state and the Tamil nation, that '***this milestone has been reached only because the Sinhalas, in various negotiations conducted through the period, refused to be generous to let the Tamils live as equal citizens and not as a suppressed minority.***' Later on in his paper, Mr Verma says '***Sinhala obduracy and consistent bad faith led to the emergence of young militants who took over the leadership of the Tamil struggle from moderates'.*** It is sad that this 'new' Verma reached this mature and sensible conclusion long after his retirement – when no one listens to him. When he was in a position where he could have made a significant and positive contribution as the RAW chief, he failed miserably. We now have the harebrained scheme of Raman and Sri Lanka's Illangamuwa who appear to be behaving like a couple of boys playing with toy soldiers!

K Gopalasamy the general secretary of the Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK) has been corresponding recently with the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, about the '*firing and killing of our* (Indian) *fishermen by the Sri Lankan Navy.'* He has also accused the Indian Navy of doing nothing about it and acting like '*lame ducks'* and often endorsing the '*atrocious false statements of the Sri Lanka Navy*'. K Gopalasamy, who is affectionately known as '**Vaiko**', has said in his letter to the Indian PM, '*it is a matter of sorrow and shame that the Indian government has not condemned the murder of four Tamil Members of parliament by GoSL forces whereas its strategic help to Sri Lanka through the supply of radars and military hardware, only enabled the GoSL to pursue military attacks.'* He also labelled the red carpet treatment of Lt Gen Sarath Fonseka the Sri Lankan army commander as '*a black day for the Tamils* (he means all Dravida Tamils)*'.*

The Indian PM has, in his belated response, tried to make out that most incidents of firing on Indian fishermen, by the Sri Lankan navy, were in Sri Lankan waters close to Sri Lankan shores. Tamilnet has however pointed out, when publishing the correspondence, that the waters of Palk Strait are termed '<u>historic waters</u>' (as opposed to international waters) and were established as such by both Sri Lanka and India in a 1974 treaty. This treaty clearly permits both Indian and Sri Lankan fishermen to fish in these waters. This is yet another instance where, despite high powered RAW operatives, the Indian PM is still being '<u>fed</u>' faulty advice or, is Manmohan Singh bluffing us all and the world?

Remembering Thanthai Chelva

BY: M.K.Eelaventhan

To remark the 110th Birth Anniversary of Late Mr. S.J.V.Chelvanayagam, we reproduce an article written by M.K.Eelaventhan former TNA parliamentarian for Jaffna district.

The issues that the post independent Sri Lankan Tamil was likely to be confronted with was identified by SJV. It is the outcome of his political acumen and foresight. The leadership in this country are yet to formulate a solution either by themselves or as prescribed by him. It is a tragedy of our times.

The switch or ditching of the formula of "communal representation" to that of "territorial representation" by the Donoughmore Constitution precipitated the differences, of linguistic, cultural, inherited characteristics. Fortuitous advantages that were bestowed, by history, colonialism etc was to be discounted by the majority. This naturally fell foul of the minority Tamils. They were to be discounted by various manoeuvres. The approach was to hold the minorities back instead of planning and implementing strategies that were to catch up with the advantaged.

The Tamil minority was in no mood to accommodate, designs that were to seriously disadvantage them of their entitlement to an equivalent quality of life. I t was this ambience that quite justifiably and quite rightly prompted SJV to propose a federal structure of government as a suitable formula. The federal structure was nothing new. It was the format in which multiethnic, multilingual, multi-religious nations were governed. It is relevant to point out that Honourable SWRD Bandaranaiyake himself at one point of time advocated the federal form of government. Mr.S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake addressing a meeting presided by Dr. Isacc Thambyah at The Jaffna College in July 1926 on the subject of "Federation is the only solution to our political problems " said "A centralised form of Government assumed a homogenous whole. He knew no part of the world where a Government was carried on under such conflicting circumstances as would be experienced in Ceylon. There would be troubles if centralised form of government was introduced into countries with large communal differences.""In a Federal Government each federal unit had complete power over themselves. Yet they united and had one or two assemblies to discuss matters affecting the whole country" At the same meeting during question time a member of the audience had asked if there was difficulty in arriving at a suitable form of Government "Why should not we continue to remain under the British" to which the speaker responded by replying "No Nation deserved the name of a nation if it did not want a measure of self Government ". The worm has since turned.

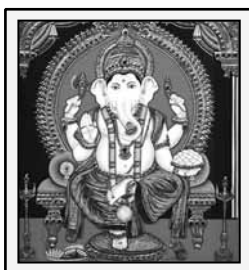
I had the privilege to be with SJV at his home in Alfred House Gardens when The BC pact was abrogated. Mr Stanley De Soysa arrived in the evening with a note from SWRD announcing that he was unable to honour the implementation of the pact he had entered to with him. SJV said that he was very sorry that SWRD had found it difficult to implement the pact and went on to say that the consequences would be disastrous in that there would be blood shed and turmoil to follow.

He was a man of vision. One of courage and conviction. The Tamils always trusted him. He never betrayed the trust. Born in 1898 and left his work unfinished in April 1977.

SJV after his long and tedious struggle to arrive at a suitable form of Government acceptable to all had this to say in The National State Assembly before his death in 1977.

Quote "Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism 'Page 110 by A.Jeyaratnam Wilson. Speaking on 19 November 1976 at the second reading debate of the Annual Appropriation Bill for 1977,he admitted poignantly to his inability to trust in united Sri Lanka. His 'Federal movement' had failed to achieve the objective of winning "the lost rights of the Tamil-Speaking people." Earlier his approach had been to treat 'a modern problem in a modern way 'Now he looked back to the past. Our ancient people he said, "were wise" they had their own kingdom. This seemed to imply that the FP should at the very start have confronted the proposition of a separate state. He took the ultimate plunge when he concluded.

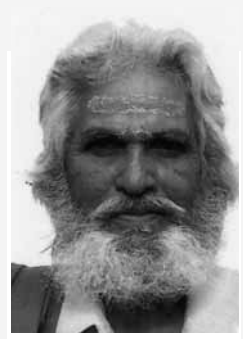
Reverend Bishop Ambalavanar in his funeral oration on the death of SJV said"Like Moses Mr.Chelvanayagam showed us the promised land but failed to reach it on his own. We who are his sincere followers are left to fulfil his dream.



ஸ்ரீ கணபதி ஜோதிட நிலையம்

இந்தியாவில் இருந்து வருகை தந்துள்ள பிரபல ஜோதிட நட்சத்திரம் **அர்ஜூனா ராஜூ குருஜி ஜெங்கம்மா**

கைரேகை, சாமுத்திரிகா இலக்கணம், சாதகம், பிறப்பியல், நாம நட்சத்திரம் ஆகியவற்றைக் கொண்டு உங்களின் கடந்தகாலம், நிகழ்காலம், எதிர்காலம் ஆகியவற்றை மிகவும் துல்லியமாகக் கணித்து வழங்குவார். இவரை ஒரு முறை சந்தித்துப் பாருங்கள். பெயர் வசிகம், தொழில் வசிகம், கையெழுத்து வசிகம், காதல் வசிகம், கணவன் மனைவி பிரச்சனை தீர, திருமணப் பிரச்சினை தீர, தொழில் முடக்கம், வியாபார வசிகம், உத்தியோகத்து தடை நீங்க, குழந்தை பாக்கியம் இல்லாமை, தாம்பத்தியக் கோளாறு, அனைத்து விதமான தோசங்களுக்கும் பரிகாரம் வழங்கப்படும். ஆயுர் வேத மருந்துகள் சகல விதமான வியாதிகளுக்கும் நாடி பார்த்து மருந்து தரப்படும்.



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