

# Tamil TIMES

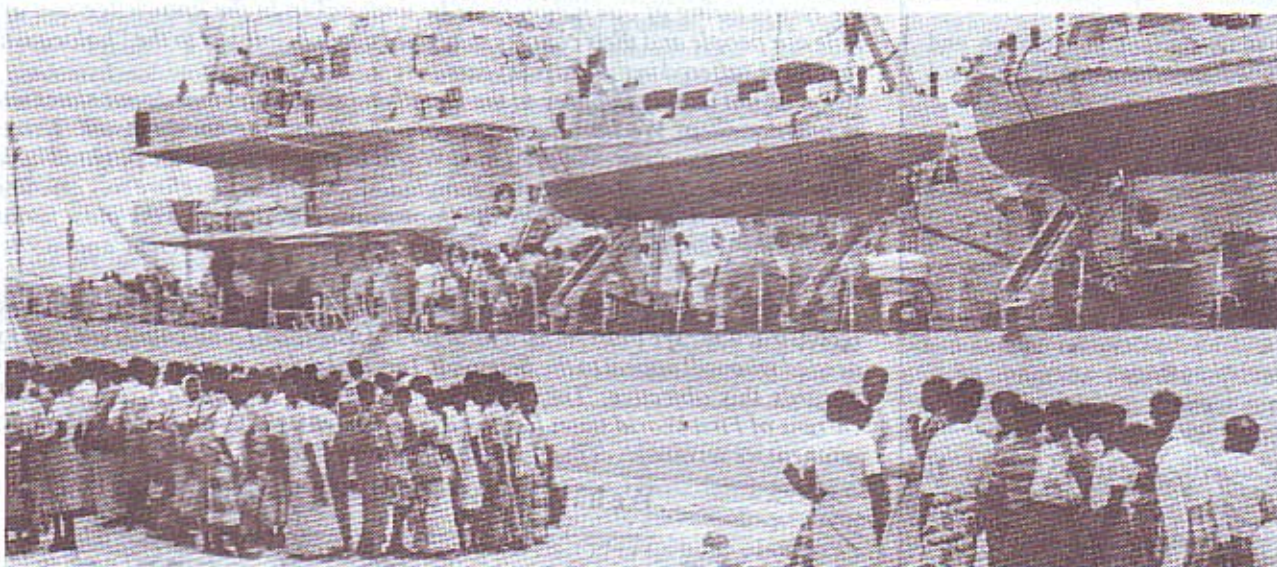
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## ON BOARD TO FREEDOM



*Tamil 'prisoners' boarding the Indian navy vessel "Nirdeshak" at Galle Harbour on their road to liberty.*



## EN ROUTE TO DETENTION?

*Indian troops at Batticaloa, guarding two Tamil fighters, arrested and held blindfolded during a drive by the Indian peacekeeping troops against the militants after a massacre among rival groups in which seventy-five people are alleged to have been killed.*

# TAMIL TIMES

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# National Reconstruction

*THE TASK OF REBUILDING* our battered nation is enormous. It baffles the imagination. Two hundred thousand have been forced into exile. Our economy has been all but destroyed by the armed forces, state goondas and Sinhala racist mobs. The best brains of our people have, if they have not had their brush with death in the course of the state-sponsored pogromisation of Tamils, been denied their due in the island's state structure and higher educational echelons. Our youths have spent five years or more in warring for basic human rights. We now are confronted with the problem of re-integrating our embattled people into a new Tamil-speaking nation.

We need however to guard ourselves against an **addiction** to optimism. Already the world media has expressed scepticism about the durability of the Gandhi-Jayewardene Accord. The British press has captured this scepticism with headlines such as "is peace premature" and "peace comes too late". The American media has echoed the same guarded criticism best encapsulated in *TIME* magazine's caption "if this is peace". Three front runners for the Presidency, persons in a hurry to get into President Jayewardene's sandals, have said what they hope to do with the Accord. Mrs. Bandaranaike has openly opposed it. Mr. Premadasa thinks and speaks no differently.

Mr. Athulathmudali has stated that he will seek to alter the terms of the agreement. So we must rebuild, looking all the time over our shoulders. In short the restructuring of our nation must be undertaken in the knowledge that at any time our people and their country may once again be subject to the "holocausting" they have suffered in the last five years.

Let us not readily fall prey to the tantalising suggestion that donor states will be at our doorstep. We introduce this note of caution for good reason. There are many peoples and states in the Third World in similar desperate plight. The latest tragedy is that of flood-devastated Bangladesh. We must therefore rely on our own strength to pull ourselves up by the bootstraps. It is therefore the most fortunate among the Tamil-speaking people who can help our weakened and withering brethren.

Our men and women must now come to the fore to organise the huge tasks of reconstruction. We must set up a fund for the war-torn Tamil country. Leaders are needed who will appeal to the better-off Tamil people in foreign states to contribute towards this objective. The possibility of seeking assistance from sympathetic citizens of First World states has to be explored. All this is possible, and more, the moment we set ourselves the task of achieving this goal.

**We have to do it now lest it be too late.**

## How to Rebuild

**PAUL REYNAUD**, the French Prime Minister at the time, on the eve of France's decision to surrender to the Nazis, said he could avoid the calamity if he were provided with planes, "clouds of planes" to halt the attacks of the Nazi German Luftwaffe. We have written off any possibility of surrender. But the second half of Reynaud's statement applies to us. We need "clouds of assistance" not in planes but in the form of supplies to engage in reconstruction.

As we stated in the earlier editorial, the Tamil-speaking people have the potential to reconstruct. And as we emphasised, reconstruction is a multi-faceted affair that needs careful thought and planning. A word of advice to our political leaders (*whoever they might be*), our administrators, our planners and our fund-raisers.

Fund-raising could be mobilised through the excellent Tamil information centres in Madras, London and Ottawa (*Eelam Tamil Documentation Centre*), through the many Eelam Tamil Associations and their like in the countries where Tamils have settled and through publications, such as *Saturday Review* and others such as ours, by appeal to the good citizens of the countries where they publish and operate, including appeals to Tamils. Tamils in each country must meet and take decision on the mechanics of setting in place these organisations.

At the political level, we must have for our Homeland a Minister of National Reconstruction. It is this Minister who will have to be in frequent touch with the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his cabinet sub-committee dealing with the Sri Lankan question. The same Minister will have to visit the capitals of the world, negotiate and appeal for aid and talk to the various

*continued opposite*

## COLOMBO LETTER

**We are pleased to publish an article by veteran journalist S. P. Amarasingham. This is a unique occasion as it marks the first such contribution specially written for the Tamil Times by an eminent journalist who has had a ringside view of the events which have shaken Sri Lanka in recent times. The article is in two parts; the second half will appear next month. We look forward to receiving and publishing similar reports from Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa.**

September 9  
YESTERDAY MORNING, the Parliamentary Group of the UNP endorsed the Gandhi-Jayawardene Peace Accord with near unanimity, meeting in the same Committee Room in the Parliament building in which hand grenades had caused such havoc - death, injury, damage and confusion - on August 18. The reservations and opposition by some members will be examined later in this article after the background necessary to understand the dissent has been set out.

The Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement for Peace and Normalcy was signed on July 29, 1987 against a background of unprecedented mob violence in Colombo, its southern environs and in the Southern Province. The agreement marked an historic event of great bilateral, regional and global significance. The orgy of violence, the attempted assassination of the Indian Prime Minister, and the wholesale destruction of property (*mainly public*) were engineered to prevent the signing of this legally binding and internationally valid Agreement. Despite this the Agreement was signed, sealed and

delivered and implementation was commenced in the early hours of July 30.

The grenade explosion in Parliament on August 18 which killed two (*a District Minister and a senior clerk*) and injured 14 Ministers and MPs was yet another attempt to nullify the Agreement - by killing President Jayawardene who with many of his Ministers was intent on implementing the Agreement.

**In this connection, it will be recalled that every time (in the last thirty years and more) well-intentioned Sinhalese leaders tried to resolve or minimise the Tamil rights minority problem, Sinhala racist chauvinists, fundamentalist Buddhist extremists, and 'Sinhala only' fanatics from every political party (even those with minority membership) have succeeded in sabotaging all such efforts through charlatan demagoguery, personal anti-Tamil violence wrought by rampaging mobs of looters, arsonists, rapists and killers.**

This is how the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact (1957), the Dudley-Senanayake District Councils Bill (1968) and J. R. Jayawardene's Development

Council (1980) were sabotaged. Thus, the contemporary history of the island from 1956 has become a story of continuing anti-Tamil violence with major episodes which attracted world-wide attention in 1956-57, 1958, 1961, 1972-74, 1975-76, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1983 - climaxing in the civil war in the North and the East from 1983 onwards.

This civil war has cost the government many billions of rupees in war expenditure. It has meant several thousands of deaths (*3,690 deaths and 3,243 missing by Government figures alone*) including innocent civilians, lakhs of displaced persons and refugees and incalculable damage to property in the Tamil areas.

**The agreement not only places the bilateral relations between Sri Lanka and India on a new footing but it also has far-reaching implications for small countries (especially) with similar problems in the region and even throughout the world.**

If the strategies on which the Agreement is based succeed in eliminating or even minimising the ethnic confrontations which have bedevilled this island for nearly five decades (*with an armed revolt for the last twelve years and intensive fighting for over four years*), many other countries with similar problems may seek the co-operation of a bigger neighbour to resolve difficult ethnic problems in the way India and Sri Lanka have done. **It is my contention that the agreement marks a radical change in the attitudes and perceptions of the Sinhala majority which have shifted from Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism to recognising Sri Lanka as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual society.** The chauvinism was most recently expressed by certain sections of the Sinhalese, who criticised the agreement as based on blatant 'interference' in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. This criticism had been first made when India air-dropped food parcels in Jaffna on June 4 to 'convey a message'.

There is no doubt that such 'interference' by India is not only inherent in the Agreement but is awedly an integral part of it. This aspect of the Agreement was objectively analysed by Mr. N. U. Jayawardene in three articles published in the *Daily News* on August 15, 17 and 18 - within a few days of the Agreement being signed. Mr. Jayawardene very correctly pointed out that this intervention and interference was brought upon Sri Lanka by the unrealistic policies and actions long pursued by the Sinhalese majority community and its governments.

In the course of his lengthy first article (August 15) he said:

*"The majority community in their conduct have to recognise that they must make amends for their past actions for the distrust they contributed among the minority community. As previous attempts to resolve the ethnic problem came to naught because of engineered and even uniformed opposition, it was, therefore, both strategically sound and constitutionally*

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## HOW TO REBUILD — continued

Eelam Tamil groups. A Permanent Secretary of the highest experience and skill has to assist the Minister. There are many able economists and administrators, retired and in service, who, we hope, will help the nation in its hour of distress. There are diplomatic skills and career diplomats with the necessary contacts who can function as advisors or additional permanent secretaries.

Planning requires technical know-how. And here too we have persons of quality serving at home or in international agencies. They do not have to give up their posts. But they can be of considerable value in the planning process, during their annual periods of vacation. We need a short-term plan, perhaps for 12, 18 or 24 months and a long-term plan, 4 to 5 years. A National Development Council for the Tamil Homeland can lay out the designs. The council should have political representatives from the Tamil-speaking districts of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and above all adequate representation of our Muslim brothers and sisters. The political representatives of each area should have technical personnel to advise them in the planning of designs to ensure an equitable distribution of development. The Minister of National Reconstruction and/or the Chief Minister will chair the council. We have models from which to adapt our planning for our own purposes, India being the nearest example. Indian planners themselves can give us of their expertise. The Tamil organisations with their funds can also have representatives in the Development Council.

The Development Council will have to strike a balance between micro (*small projects*) and macro (*large projects*) planning, between short-term objectives and long-term goals. Once a blue print is produced, it must be approved by *our* cabinet and then submitted to the Tamil-speaking peoples for their comments and input. This will ensure participation and popular support for the plans from *the grass roots*. The final plans will be the result of the exchange of ideas and *views* between all the elements which constitute the Tamil-speaking nation. We will then have a democratic plan which will be prosecuted by the people with *vigour* in the interests of the nation and for the sake of future generations.

# CANADA: CURRENT IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE-DETERMINATION POLICY

**THERE HAS BEEN of late much abuse of the generous Canadian policy of letting anyone who steps into the country claim refugee status. There are good ways to curb such abuse by having a more efficient screening system. Word had got around that one has only to step on Canadian soil to get not only a Minister's permit, but also generous welfare payments to start life in Canada.**

One major reason why both genuine refugees and dubious or undeserving cases took the path of gate-crashing and queue-jumping, using whatever available transport, is that though Ottawa professed a liberal immigration policy at home, in practice most Embassies and Consulates abroad have been instructed to be as restrictive as possible towards those who applied to enter Canada **legally** whether as refugees or immigrants or visitors. Even when the present government said that it had special programs in place for certain countries, it was mostly in word than in deed. This is confirmed by the cavalier way in which the special list of 18 countries was unceremoniously done away with.

The Canadian embassies and consular offices had their own bag of tricks to endlessly postpone and procrastinate visas of entry. Under pretext of health requirements, the 'Medical' was used to keep otherwise healthy people to wait and wait, till they gave up all reasonable hope of rejoining their families. With a lot of paper pushing and diplomatic activity, very little was done to let the people in.

If there were a straightforward policy and an orderly process at the Embassy and Consular level, there would not be all this gate-crashing and back-door entries. I know Immigration officials who have confessed to their frustration in trying to implement such a policy. A few have even resigned as a matter of conscience.

An obnoxious aspect of the Canadian policy is the basis injustice of letting in all kinds of dubious vagrants who happen to land in Canada, while thousands of genuine refugees and immigrants wait patiently for their papers to be processed. Bureaucrats give such a hard time to legally sponsored immigrants who will be no burden to the government or taxpayers. At the same time, we have the spectacle of illegal aliens (some of whom could be genuine refugees) who are accepted as a matter of course, housed in hotels or apartments, given generous allowances, a Minister's permit etc. This is not fair either to the tax-payer, or to those who have legally sponsored, or to those waiting to get their visa. Nor is it helpful to the gate-crasher who becomes a dependent parasite on the social body. Being on

welfare is a new experience, and can become an addiction in certain cases.

What makes it doubly painful is when one sees some old Canadians who built up this country with hard work and low pay, worse off than a few recently arrived 'refugees' who know where the right taps are. Even as one admires Canadian generosity and openness, one is ill at ease with the consequences. This is another important reason why a more just immigration policy should be in place; and party politics should be kept out of such issues.

Let us face it. The immigration and refugee-determination policy is not working. Many genuine refugees are suffering; many dubious 'refugees' are prospering; bona fide immigrants are waiting in line with no reasonable prospect of quick entry. Canada does appear better when one compares it to many of the Western, colonial countries which were slamming the doors shut to new immigrants.

## FATHER C. A. JOACHIMPILLAI

Turning now to other issues, Canada seems to have no problem taking rich immigrants who come from Hong Kong, South Korea or Singapore, or even South Africa. One does not see the same readiness to help those truly deserving cases who come with empty hands and poor health. To expect a poor refugee or immigrant to have perfect health is a cynical way of not letting them in. Proximate danger of being maimed or killed is not considered adequate reason to let them in. They have to show scars of torture or loss of a limb or property. No wonder, they start concocting stories!

The distinction between political and economic refugees is somewhat spurious, since most of the political refugees who come from Third World countries happen to be also economic refugees. Let us not forget that most of the U.S. and Canadian residents of today came in as economic refugees from Europe. The normal shift of population generally takes place from poorer areas to the richer ones. This is true, even for Canada where the movement is from the Maritimes towards Ontario and Western Canada.

The government's recent rhetoric of "we will take care of genuine refugees" sounds hollow, since the word

'genuine' is used to keep out many real refugees. The more complicated the bureaucratic apparatus the less the chance of a refugee getting timely aid.

As for the list of countries which need to have a visa to enter Canada, it seems to be along the old racist and ideological (capitalist) lines. No visa needed for the Japanese; visa needed for the Chinese; no visa needed for the English; visa needed for the Portuguese; no visa needed for countries of Western Europe; visa needed for Eastern Europe. And practically all Third-World countries need a visa. The racist and capitalist pattern is too evident. The bottom line is: if you are white or rich, come in; if you are coloured or poor, better stay out. To those who have, more will be given! And we are preaching to South Africa on the immorality of apartheid, even as we more readily open the doors to rich, white South Africans than to poor dispossessed Blacks. That may not be official policy; but that is what happens at the bureaucratic level.

In retrospect, the Liberal government was more enlightened on this issue – not so much because of the Liberals, as we are beginning to see – but because of the enlightened leadership of a man like Pierre Trudeau (whom a particular type of Canadian failed to appreciate) who had a better understanding of international culture, social justice and human rights. Without him or Jean Chrétien, one can begin to hear some unusual statements from the current leadership.

The Tory Government seems to have no real policy on this matter. Having basked in the good effects of the liberal policy, they are now busy trying to close all the doors left open by the Liberals. Only Mr. Broadbent seems to be championing the values of culture, justice and rights, while the current Liberals are playing 'politics', and forgetting the values they stood for. And the polls are beginning to reflect it.

The sad fact is that with the influence of current Reagan policy, the Tory government under the legitimate pretext of correcting real abuses is gradually doing away with all the uses of an enlightened immigration policy. Even Diefenbaker had much more idealism when he introduced the Bill of Rights. Besides, if not the concern for the needs of others, just plain self-interest should dictate a more open-door policy, if Canada is to prosper and grow. An aging population with zero population-growth needs **human resources** much more than GNP to compete in a world of five billion human beings.

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# DAY OF ACTION AGAINST IMMIGRATION LAWS

**Marchers converged on detention centres across the country on Saturday, September 5 in protest at Britain's immigration laws which they say are "criminalising innocent people".**

The main march organised by the Refugee Forum, an umbrella organisation comprising groups against deportation and the detention of political asylum-seekers from the Third World, began at Southall's Havelock Centre and made its way to Harmondsworth, where there is a major detention centre.

People are "refugees for political not criminal reasons. It is inhuman to lock-up people whose only crime is trying to flee from terror. The Home Office has no right to imprison and terrorise people who have done no one any harm. They have suffered enough already," said one of the organisers.

"We planned this day of action to call attention to the treatment of 'immigration' prisoners as just one sickening aspect of Britain's barbaric laws. Their aim is to keep black people out of Britain."

At a press conference last week, Ronnie Moodley, chair of the Forum, singled out for attack, conditions on the Earl William ferry in Harwich, which holds 80 detainees who are black and the numbers are increasing weekly", he said.

"They have fled their homelands and come to Britain and its age-old tradition of asylum in times of trouble. Instead they are held without trial for as long as two years, like criminals", he added.

Two former detainees from the Earl William were presented to the conference. Udeya, 21, had been shuttled

around four detention centres since his arrival in Britain 10 months ago. His last stop was the Earl William. Recently released on bail of £4,000, he has to report to police three times a week.

Speaking through an interpreter, he said: "I came to Britain after hiding in a Sri Lankan forest for several days. I had no money or clothing. At Harmondsworth where I was first taken I could not call my relatives to get bail. The food was bad, often inedible and at night, I was given just one blanket. I come from a hot country and I was very, very cold."

He added: "I think they are trying to force us back to Sri Lanka by treating us so badly. If I had known this before, I would have preferred to go back and face death rather than suffer this treatment."

Last week one Tamil who did not appeal against his deportation order was sent back to Sri Lanka. His lawyers said he was so distressed by remand conditions,

Two detainees were also taken off the Harwich ferry last week for medical treatment after one man suffered a nervous breakdown and another allegedly attempted suicide.

On September 3, three more Tamil detainees won a reprieve, for their cases against deportation to be heard at a judicial review. The High Court Judge, Mr. Justice Hodgson accepted the men's plea that they may be persecuted if they returned to Sri Lanka. In the previous week three other Tamils won similar reprieves against deportation. All will be returned to detention to await court decisions.

By courtesy of 'Asian Times',  
September 11, 1987

## NEITHER GUN NOR BULLET

**A WEEK AFTER the August 18 assassination attempt on top Sri Lankan leaders in the parliament building, mystery surrounds the identity of the attacker, the weapons used, and even the targets of the attack itself.**

Soon after the attack, a government spokesman described it as an abortive attempt on President Junius Jayawardene's life. He said that a shot had been fired at Jayawardene from an ante-room whose door was almost directly in line with the head table at which the President - flanked by Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa and another minister - sat chairing a meeting. The shot hit a clerk summoned to the table by Premadasa at that vital moment, the spokesman said. Two grenades were lobbed soon after, which injured several ministers and MP's.

Two days after the attack, Premadasa gave a detailed account of his own version to the parliament stressing that he was as much the target of the assassin as the President. Premadasa wanted to clarify that he was equally if not more vulnerable and stressed that there was nobody except the

clerk between himself and the ante-room door from where the pistol shot came. He also raised questions as to whether the attack was the work of terrorists or opportunists and whether it was "internally motivated and externally assisted".

However, further investigations by the police have revealed that there was no gunshot at all. The clerk died of head injuries on August 23 and two detailed autopsies revealed no slug or bullet in his head. One of those responsible for the forensic examination told the Review that the clerk had died of brain injuries from the grenade blast. Moreover, no signs of a gunshot - such as an empty cartridge or bullet fragments - were found at the scene of the meeting. But grenade clips were found in the room.

Although the new evidence contradicts Premadasa's eye-witness account to the parliament, neither he nor any other official spokesman has commented further, thus adding to the mystery of the whole episode.

'Far Eastern Economic Review',  
3 September 1987

## Renton in Sri Lanka

**TIM RENTON, Junior Home Office Minister in charge of immigration, is currently on a fourteen day tour of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.**

The ostensible purpose of his visit is to examine the operation of the government's discriminatory visa system which has been widely denounced for its racist essence.

But in Sri Lanka his visit will include a trip to the Jaffna peninsula where he is expected to give official British backing to the recent Indo-Sri Lankan accord. The British government gave its firm support to the right wing Jayawardene regime in Sri Lanka throughout its conflict with the Tamil people.

He will spend four days in Sri Lanka. He arrives back in Britain on September 15.

Asian Times, 11 September, 1987

## COLOMBO LETTER

continued from page 3

*correct in the President concluding the Accord with Premier Gandhi. As I understand it, it seeks to preserve both the Sinhala national identity and the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka as a Sovereign Unitary State.*

*The alternative was the loss of both, had the civil strife been allowed to continue its relentless course to develop into an unwinnable war and an explosive national crisis in which India would have been compelled to intercede for reasons of its own political stability and security. Where the Sri Lankan Authorities failed was to perceive the real geopolitics of the situation confronting India. To be intellectually honest, I must confess I had grave misgivings that those demographically identified as Sinhalese whom I would prefer to call in the present context as Sinhala Sri Lankans, ever reaching a viable settlement with those likewise identified as Ceylon Tamils, but whom I could describe also in this context as Tamil Sri Lankans.*

*As the civil strife began to escalate and the Indian involvement assumed a highly critical dimension, I was seriously debating in my own mind the balance of advantages and disadvantages of Sri Lanka reaching a stage of being forced to become the 24th state of the Indian Union, a contingency which was within the realm of possibilities, but for the thin veil of international opprobrium such action would have provoked even though it may have been merely a passing phase for the Indian Policy and perhaps more for the cumbrous burden of having to enforce peace among a hostile Sinhala community. . . First we must recognise the geopolitics of Sri Lanka's location virtually adjacent to the Indian land mass and separated by a narrow strait. From this location has sprung an affinity of Sri Lankan Tamils with Dravidian India identified with South Indian Tamils.*

He then goes on to say that this Agreement which the conduct of the Sinhalese majority had made inevitable is one which the Sinhalese and Sri Lanka had to learn to live with.

(To be continued)

# MILITANT BUDDHISM

FIFTY YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE we have been reduced to an economically dependent neo-colonial satellite. We are no longer an independent nation. Our national, cultural and economic destiny is not in our hands. Our foreign policy is only an expression of our neo-colonial subservience. When Britain attacks Argentina we must come forward to the defence of our former master...

Now we are known for other achievements, as a country where male prostitutes are readily available, and where babies can be bought at the cheapest price...

A challenge has been hurled at us by the imperialist powers who have realised the strength of the Sinhala masses who comprise 70 per cent of the population... I am referring to the so called ethnic problem – a term which I am loathe to use. I see it as the last strategy of the neo-colonial powers.

If I were to put it in a rather simplistic manner I would describe this as a conspiracy by the neo-colonial powers... If the present crisis does not provide this insight we may as well resign ourselves to our fate and face annihilation.

**Gunadasa Amaresekera**  
'A National Ideology for our Liberation'



By the time the next chronicle, the *Mahavamsa* was written in the late 5th early 6th centuries at least six Tamil kings had recently ruled in Sri Lanka. Consequently Dutugemunu's unification of Sri Lanka – if the *Mahavamsa* is to be believed he killed 32 Tamil kings to achieve that – makes him the hero of the epic. Left-wing historians in recent years have tried hard to show that there were several Sinhalese in Elara's army and that the battle was not therefore a prototypical Tamil-Sinhalese conflict. They may be right but what matters is that most people in Sri Lanka think it was. To this day the Tamil and Sinhala sets in the lower forms at Royal College, a public school in Colombo, conduct serious gang wars while pretending to form Elara and Dutugemunu's armies. (Most textbooks – in Sinhala and in English – follow the *Mahavamsa* version).

Two recently published popular novels tell the story of Dutugemunu. Colin Da Silva's *The Winds of Sinhala* is a *Shogun*-like blockbuster meant for sale at international airports; the other, *Golu*

THE DHARMARAJA CENTENARY LECTURE was delivered earlier this year, well before India and Sri Lanka signed the accord designed to bring an end to the Tamil troubles. I have quoted chunks of it in the hope they might convey something of the despair and paranoia that afflict the Sinhalese Buddhist majority. Signing the accord has not improved matters. Though this brave attempt at a settlement has won praise the world over it is now becoming increasingly clear that within Sri Lanka it is a vastly unpopular move. Buddhism may be keen on peace but these Buddhists are rejecting this peace.

Interestingly, the leading dove in the Sri Lankan cabinet today, the man who engineered the Indo-Lankan accord behind the scenes, Gamini Disanayake, is the President of the Board of Control for Cricket. At the risk of stretching a point I would say it was his cricketing links that helped him work towards a compromise.

The accord that was finally signed on 29 July was – in its essential features – ready as early as 9 February, when President Jayawardene sat and hammered out the details with Disanayake and two of his cricketing contacts, C.T.A. Schafer, a Colombo businessman and former captain of the All Ceylon Universities team, and N. Ram, associate editor of *The Hindu* (Madras), a one-time wicket-keeper. N.K.P. Salve – Disanayake's cricketing counterpart in India – helped keep contact with Rajiv Gandhi's office while Ram kept up the communication with the Tamil Tigers.

The powerful expression of Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism in 1956 baffled many. Amaresekera considers the blinkers worn by both Marxist and imperialist historians eccentric but hardly surprising.

*For both these groups the great social upheaval of 1956 has no deeper significance. They do not see in it the natural culmination of a series of events that go back a century or more in the annals of history. How can G. C. Mendis' view of history provide such a view? How can a history that fails to mention even once the greatest architect of the present Sinhala consciousness – Anagarika Dharmapala – provide such a*

*historical view? How can a servile mind think in terms of a national liberation struggle?*

Amaresekera has a point. Unlike Gandhi's Congress the nationalist movement Dharmapala led may not have actually helped push the British out of Ceylon, but Dharmapala's importance as the leader of Buddhist revivalism is crucial and he has served as a model for many Buddhist activists. Born David Hewavitarane in the middle of the 19th century, Dharmapala was a Buddhist monk who founded the Mahabodhi Society in 1891 and ordered the Buddhist revival movement along the lines of Protestant Christianity. Like his contemporary in India, the Hindu revivalist Bal Gandadhar Tilak, Dharmapala went beyond religion and connected his movement to the struggle for national independence.

Dharmapala is, of course, central to the Sinhalese Buddhist consciousness, but

## Dhiren Bhagat explains why the Buddhists of Sri Lanka are opposed to the recent attempts at peace

going by the debates on the Sinhalese identity that have cropped up with incredible regularity in the Sinhala newspaper *Divaina* these past few years if there is an historical figure who commands even more respect it is King Dutugemunu, who in 101 BC, after 15 years of battle defeated the Tamil Chola King Elara and founded the kingdom of Anuradhapura. With the rise of the Ethnic Problem Dutugemunu's stock has risen even higher; not only did he slay an important Tamil king and unite the Sinhalese nations, he is also seen as the defender of the Buddhist religion.

Dutugemunu did not always enjoy such a good reputation. The earliest of the Sri Lankan chronicles, the *Dipavamsa* (c. 4th century AD) contains but a brief reference to the young king and his exploits. This has been explained by the fact that Sri Lanka had been free from South Indian Tamil invasions for at least two centuries prior to the writing of the *Dipavamsa*.

*Muhuda*, is a shorter Sinhalese novel written, interestingly enough, by the militant Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, R. Premadasa. A fairly unreadable English translation of this work, *The Silent Sea*, has recently appeared in Colombo bookshops; despite the proliferation of journalists from all corners of the globe in Sri Lanka these days it is amazing that this revealing book has provoked hardly any comment.

*The Silent Sea* is dedicated, as one might well expect, to the patriotic youth of Sri Lanka who have pledged themselves to defend to the end of their lives the territorial integrity of their motherland.

The novel is actually about the recollection of previous lives; Dutugemunu and his father Kavantissa merely form the back-drop for this psychic play. Even so the twelfth chapter of the book, which contains a long conversation between hawk-like Dutugemunu and his moderate father, is essential reading if one is to

*continued opposite*

# FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

BY ERNEST CHAMPION

(Associate Professor of English, Ohio State College)

**RECENTLY A STUDENT asked me in my class, how I felt about being the descendant of a Christian convert who at that time, in many ways, while preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ was also a representative of the colonial and imperial policies of Great Britain.**

*I have myself given a great deal of thought to what might have been if the missionaries had not come to Ceylon at the time they did, and the island remained predominantly Buddhist and Hindu. I have also thought a great deal about the changes that have taken place in our way of thinking, our belief system, and our Western life styles.*

*The focus of our lives was not what the great Scholar-Saints of Hindu culture have said nor did we bow in worship at the great temples in our land. Rather, our angle of vision was dominated by Shakespeare and we looked towards Westminster Abbey. This particular point of view was further reinforced when I went to work in West Africa in Freetown, Sierra Leone. I saw the same process in action there.*

*Having said all this, I still make my own pilgrimage to the Church of St. John the Baptist, and in my mind's eye, I see my great grandfather proclaiming the gospel of Jesus Christ and I see more clearly the meaning of events in history that alter the lives of nations in ways we never would have thought they would. St. John's, the church and St. John's, the school, remain*

*long after the colonial masters have gone. St. John's, the church, and St. John's, the school, remain only because they have found roots in native soil. I am sure, during this time of the greatest suffering by my people, there are young men and women who kneel before the cross of Christ while being deeply committed to the culture and the life of the Tamil people.*

*The late Dr. D. T. Niles, who must remain as one of the greatest intellects of our time, expressed it very well, when he said, "Christianity was brought to Asia and Africa as a potted plant. We are now in the process of breaking the pot and planting it in native soil".*

*It was given to my great grandfather and to the men and women of his time to nurture the potted plant but it is, I believe, their commitment to the plant and to the soil in which it was planted that has enabled the Church of St. John the Baptist to survive for 125 years. We are inheritors of the faith of our fathers, the least we can do is to pass on to our children this dual heritage.*

(From the 125th Anniversary Souvenir of St. John the Baptist Church, Chundikuli).

## Current Immigration and Refugee-Determination Policy

continued from page 4

To conclude: the procedures outlined in Bill C-51 are neither just, nor fair nor adequate, since they are designed not to bring genuine refugees and immigrants in, but rather to keep bogus refugees out. Genuine refugees are made to pay a steep price in inconvenience and anxiety and frustration, because others have abused and benefitted from a system with too many loopholes. Instead of being firm and reforming the defects in the system, one is penalising the very people it is designed to help.

The gate-crashing by boat-loads and plane-loads orchestrated by unscrupulous sharks both within and outside Canada has to be checked by sterner legal measures. And one way to take the wind out of these sharks is to formulate a more liberal immigration policy. Both self-interest and others' needs seem to indicate that.

## JAPAN PLEDGES BIG AID

**JAPAN, which contributes almost a third of Sri Lanka's foreign aid, has pledged about Rs. four billion as fresh economic assistance to the island Government this year. The assistance, in the form of yen loans, commodity and cultural grant aids, would be used for expansion of Colombo Port. The Rs.39.30 million loan facilities to Sri Lanka was 14 per cent more than what was granted last year.**

## MILITANT BUDDHISM

continued from page 6

understand the debates that rack the Sinhalese leadership today.

Kavantissa has come to an agreement with the Tamil King Siva whereby certain paddy fields, irrigation canals and a thousand houses built by the Sinhalese in the north are to be made over to Siva's subjects. As soon as the 16 year-old Dutugemunu learns of it he barges into his father's palace unmindful of the lateness of the hour. 'Tell me, are all these for us Helas or are they for Elara's migrant nationals?' he demands.

Kavantissa grows angry. 'The Head of Rohana can come to any agreement with the Head of Seru.' 'To any agreement?' Dutugemunu asks insolently.

Kavantissa explains why the pact was essential. The army was weary, defeat was certain and anyway under the terms of the pact Siva has agreed to be a provincial ruler paying allegiance to Kavantissa, not Elara. Dutugemunu is not impressed. 'This is a Buddhist country,' he says, 'Migrant foreigners have no claim to it.' Then he storms out of his father's palace threatening war with the foreigner. There are no prizes for guessing who Premadasa fancies himself as.

All this militant Buddhism boils down to a central paradox that has been nagging the Lankans for at least 2,000 years: a Buddhist state is a difficult proposition

because Buddhism is peaceful and states can only be maintained by the use of force.

Perhaps as a resolution of this problem the myth of the Buddha's visits to Sri Lanka developed. Though none of the Indian sources - or the Pali canon in Lanka - corroborates these 'visits' both the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa* contain accounts of the Buddha visiting Sri Lanka on three occasions. Of these, it is the first visit that is the most interesting.

In both accounts the Buddha became a conqueror, acquiring a personality at variance with that presented in the rest of Buddhist literature. In the *Dipavamsa*, the Lord Buddha appears in the sky over the assembled *yakkhas* (aborigines - though the chronicles do not accord them human status) and afflicts them with rain and cold winds. Then in return for a place to sit he offers to relieve their distress. As the *yakkhas* agree he sits on a rug and scorches them with intense heat. When they flee he brings another island, Giridipa, near Lanka so that the escaping *yakkhas* may jump onto it. As they do so he restores Giridipa to its original location. Substantially the same story is told in the *Mahavamsa* except that here the *yakkhas* offer the Buddha their whole island if he gets rid of the cold. Burning flames surround the Buddha's rug and force the *yakkhas* off the island.

For those who fail to see the point the

chronicles spell it out: the *yakkhas* in their ignorance opposed the *sāsana*, the moral rule of the Buddhas and therefore had to be eased out just as a king must resort to weapons to preserve the Buddhist *sāsana*. After all the Buddha himself intended Lanka to be *dhammadipai*, the island of righteousness where Buddhism was to be preserved.

The account of Dutugemunu in the *Mahavamsa* provides another instance of the amended Buddhist ethical rule. Having slaughtered Elara and several million others, Dutugemunu can find no joy. He sits on the terrace of the palace surrounded by 'nymphs in the guise of dancing girls' but thinks of his sin. A group of *arhats* - monks - read his mind and come to console him.

*From this deed arises no hindrance in thy way to heaven. Only one and a half human beings have been slain here by thee, O lord of men. The one had come unto the (three) refugees, the other had taken unto himself the five precepts. Unbelievers and men of evil life were the rest, not more to be esteemed than beasts. But as for thee, thou wilt bring glory to the doctrine of the Buddha in manifold ways. (Mahavamsa XXV 109-11, trans. Wilhelm Geiger, 1912).*

It is a mad arithmetic but one that has parallels in our time.

You have to do violence to the doctrine of the Buddha if you wish to sling a machine-gun around his shoulders.

By courtesy of *The Spectator*, 5 September, 1987

# MEDIA REPORTS

## August 9 – September 19, 1987

### LANKAN TAMILS IN TAMIL NADU TO BIDE TIME

SRI LANKAN REFUGEES in Tamil Nadu have started going back home, to a comparatively peaceful situation there, but their movement is expected to remain a trickle for some time.

According to observers, there can be no mass movement of people from Rameswaram to any Sri Lankan port until the regular shipping service is restored. The Rameswaram-Talaimannar passenger service run by the Shipping Corporation of India is presently suspended.

The refugees number an estimated 130,000 and need financial and other assistance. A Tamil leader, Dr. Janarthanam, has urged the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to have the shipping service restored. Sources here say that the refugees prefer to wait in Tamil Nadu till the political process in the island nation takes a tangible shape and violence, though sporadic in the eastern and northern provinces since the implementation of the July 29 accord, dies down than return to an uncertain situation at home.

*The Times of India, 9 August*

### General Sets New Deadline For Tamils

GENERAL SINGH SAID he wrote to LTTE leaders to reaffirm promises made by New Delhi to ensure their safety. "We have given a six-point assurance that an interim government will be formed, that this government will have its own police force, the release of Tamil detainees, the reconstruction of the Northern and Eastern provinces, financial aid to the interim government and Indian responsibility for the LTTE's security". *The Guardian, 10 August*

**NOW CAME UP MR. YOGI.** Though calm and collected but looking a trifle crestfallen, he laid down the pistol on the table and Gen. Attygalle, rising from his chair, touched it with his hand. In a very short speech, Gen. Attygalle said: "Citizens of the Jaffna peninsula, today is an historic day for the future of Sri Lanka. This act of surrendering all arms signifies an end to the bloodshed and violence that has affected the entire fabric of our democratic society".

We sincerely hope that from now on, all of us Sri Lankans will live in peace and harmony in this our own, our native land." *The Hindu (I.E.), 15 August*

### ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON SRI LANKAN LEADER

FACING SHARPLY DIVIDED RANKS in Cabinet and party, Mr. Jayawardene has used all the resources of his office and his personal acumen to try to reconcile differences. He also appears to have silenced the Prime Minister, a fierce critic of the accord.

Indian MP's have expressed shock and horror. The Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, who yesterday morning welcomed a high level team of Indian legal experts to help sort out residual problems arising from the agreement, described the attack as "dastardly".

*The Financial Times, 19 August*

### ENEMY WITHIN

THERE HAVE BEEN RUMOURS recently that the job of guarding the President may be given to the Special Task Force, the white police commando group trained by Keeny Meeny Services, the British security consultants. *The Guardian, 19 August*

**COLOMBO – PRESIDENT JAYWARDENE SAID** yesterday that the attempt on his life would not deter him from implementing an accord with India to end Sri Lanka's Tamil rebellion. "We intend to carry on our work, irrespective of the evil forces that are ganging up against us." Mr. Jayawardene said. *The Independent, 20 August*

### Sri Lanka's Soft Underbelly

SRI LANKA HAS RECENTLY IMPORTED foreign expertise to help with various aspects of the Tamil emergency. Experts from Israel have instructed the police interrogation and criminal investigation techniques. British former SAS men who notoriously helped to create and train the elite poice commandos of the Special Task Force, and foreign pilots have stiffened the Sri Lankan air force.

Pakistan has trained army commandos. China has given help with naval equipment. South African expertise has been used in trying to solve a mine-proof armoured car. There has been no sign so far that special heed has been given to VIP security. *The Times, 20 August*

**ANY GOVERNMENT MINISTERS still opposed to last month's Indian-sponsored deal to end the Tamil separatist conflict should "in all honour resign",** the Sri Lankan Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel, said yesterday.

In his most outspoken attack on opponents of the accord, he said: "Either they have to be with us or they should leave us." He was speaking in his first interview since Tuesday's assassination attempt on President Jayawardene. He estimated that up to 5 per cent of the country's 30,000-strong security forces had been infiltrated by the Marxist People's Revolutionary Party. By making such public comments on the performance of the security forces Mr. de Mel is indirectly attacking the competence of Mr. Athulathmudali.

*The Independent, 21 August*

### BRITAIN ORDERS 5 TAMILS HOME

FIVE TAMILS SEEKING ASYLUM in Britain are to be sent back to Sri Lanka, the Home Office said yesterday. Mr. Barry Stoyale, of the UK Immigration Advisory Service, said: "The decision is ridiculous. It's far too early to say it's safe to return people. I'm amazed that the Home Office is even contemplating it."

The view of Amnesty International and the United Nations was that no Tamil should be returned yet, he said. "It could even be irresponsible for European governments to send back Tamils as it could upset the chances of keeping balance and calm in Sri Lanka – there could easily be a Sinhalese backlash."

*The Guardian, 21 August*

### Sri Lanka Assembly Gags Press:

SRI LANKA'S PARLIAMENT, which met under rigid security after Tuesday's assassination attempt on President Junius Jayawardene, yesterday imposed censorship on press reporting of a debate to extend the state of emergency for another month. The Speaker said that under present conditions great restraint was necessary and some statements by MP's might have to be expunged. That was why a censorship committee was being formed to vet press reports.

But at the end of the day the Prime Minister, Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, asked the Speaker's office to lift censorship on his own winding-up speech. Mr. Premadasa, who, initially at least, had strongly opposed the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord, said all 168 MP's should be able to vote freely and independently on legislation arising out of it without fear of a reprisal.

*The Guardian, 21 August*

### 'FREEDOM TRAIN' TO JAFFNA

JAFFNA: MORE THAN 500 TAMILS a day are returning to their war-damaged homeland on the 'freedom train'. Thousands of ethnic Tamils are returning to their home in Sri Lanka's northern Jaffna Peninsula.

At Kurunegala, a Sinhalese town 51 miles north of Colombo, the train made a brief stop. A Sinhalese man strode up to the platform and shouted: "You Pariah Tamils, go back to Jaffna and do not ever come back. We will get another chance. Another chance to get you. – AP. *The Guardian, 22 August*

### Indo-Sri Lanka Accord Hurdles Not Insurmountable, PM:

"THE ACCORD IS GOING on all right. There will be difficulties, we had anticipated these difficulties, but they are not insurmountable". This was how the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, reacted to a question on the progress of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement here today.

The question related to an exclusive interview published in THE HINDU today about the LTTE leader, V. Prabhakaran's fears on the presence of the Sri Lankan army camps in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and asked when Mr. Gandhi was talking to press persons informally after the Bharat Ratna investiture ceremony for Badshah Khan at the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

The LTTE leaders had indicated their concern about these camps before the agreement was signed, Mr. Gandhi said, the camps which existed after a particular date as stipulated in the agreement will be removed. "Post-accord, we were told those camps were being wound-up. If they are not, we can go into it". Mr. Gandhi said. *The Hindu, 22 August*

### 20 KILLED NEAR BATTICALOA

*COLOMBO, Sept. 13*

AT LEAST 20 PERSONS were killed in internecine clashes which started this afternoon in the eastern Batticaloa district of Sri Lanka. Seven persons were seriously injured. According to reports reaching Colombo, 11 more persons were injured in the clashes in areas between Thalankuda and Kirankulam.

It has not been possible so far to confirm how the deaths and injuries were caused. However, the first report said the 'warfare' was between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and another rival faction, and four were shot dead. The rival faction is said to be the umbrella organisation called "Three Stars" comprising PLOT, TELU and the EPRLF.

UNI reports: The toll in fighting among the militant groups in the north and east since it started about 10 days ago has gone up to about 60.

### I trust Rajiv Gandhi, says Jayawardene

*COLOMBO, Sept. 13*

THE SRI LANKAN PRESIDENT, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, answering questions on whether the agreement could work when the Tamil militants were never consulted, and on various issues

continued opposite



# TIGERS DENY DRUG-TRAFFICKING ALLEGATIONS

Representatives of the Tamil Tigers in London this week vehemently denied allegations of drug-trafficking made in a national Sunday newspaper on August 30.

And while furious representatives issued a press statement condemning the report by freelancer Mazher Mahmood as "sensationalist, malicious propaganda aimed at discrediting our just struggle", the British Customs Office, Scotland Yard and the Home Office, who were quoted extensively in the article to embellish its case, rejected outright any knowledge of the alleged "Tamils drugs racket".

In his report, Mazher Mahmood claims to have penetrated two drug rings operated by "hundreds of Tamils in Europe" while posing as a drugs dealer himself.

The front-page article in the *Sunday Times* reads: "The *Sunday Times* has infiltrated a heroin racket run by Tamil terrorists who are using Heathrow Airport as a staging post in a multi-million pounds drugs trade. The Tamils are using the drugs traffic to continue their armed struggle in Sri Lanka, despite the peace accord signed last month to end hostilities".

The "scurrilous" report alleges further evidence backed by "quotes" from "senior customs officials" in London who are apparently worried that "so many Tamils are smuggling heroin that we just cannot cope".

But, puzzled customs officials denied any such evidence had been presented to the newspaper. Hugh Rodgers, chief spokesperson for Customs in Britain, told *Asian Times*: "The entire *Sunday Times* report is dubious in the extreme and utterly unsubstantiated. If there were so many cases we would not let it go by so easily". "These scurrilous reports

certainly do not emanate from our office. In fact they seem to be a fabrication," he added.

Scotland Yard and the Metropolitan Police confirmed that no "investigation" was in progress regarding the alleged drugs racket. They also denied claims by the newspaper that a dossier of facts had been handed in to their offices.

A Scotland Yard spokesperson told us: "This is the first we have heard of it. If a *Sunday Times* dossier had been handed in, it would have been looked into immediately."

Detective Superintendent Flint of the Drugs Intelligence Unit said: "We have found no trace of the alleged dossier in our

by Deepa Lakshmi pathi

offices. We will be making enquiries and interviewing the reporter on his allegations shortly."

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in London also refuted claims made in the article that an LTTE spokesperson in West Germany had offered the reporter a part in the drugs trade.

"The *Sunday Times* approached LTTE spokesperson Sooriyakumaran Selvadurai on August 24, 1987 in West Germany and offered to do business in drugs. The spokesperson said that neither he nor LTTE would involve themselves in drug-trafficking and showed him the way out within three minutes of his visit," a spokesperson said.

LTTE countered the allegations, claiming that the *Sunday Times* article was

a deliberate move to "damage the peace process and the peace accord signed last month to end hostilities in Sri Lanka".

Jeremy Corbyn MP (Islington North Labour) confirmed the LTTE statements at a press conference last week, held to discuss the continued detention of Tamil asylum-seekers from Sri Lanka. "Every time a positive outcome is achieved by a community in its struggle against fascism, the British establishment and the media, we can be sure, will find a way to discredit them," he said.

By courtesy of *Asian Times*,  
11 September, 1987

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Rs.1,000,000,000 FOR THE REHABILITATION OF MILITANTS

THE GOVERNMENTS OF SRI LANKA AND INDIA will spend one thousand million rupees on the rehabilitation of the Tamil militants. A part of the money will be given to families of the dead militants. This was told by Major General Harkirat Singh the Commander of the Indian troops in Sri Lanka. He also said the Government of India will give a further sum of money in due course and that the rehabilitation work will start immediately after the surrender of arms.

Morning Star, August 2

### Troops Want Skirts Down

INDIAN PEACEKEEPING TROOPS HAVE TOLD WOMEN IN JAFFNA to keep their skirts down while cycling, a newspaper reported today. The independent *Sun* said Indian troops had advised girls who ride bicycles - the most popular transport in Jaffna - to wear saris. "They want Jaffna girls to follow the example of their modest counterparts across the Palk Straits (in India) where girls do not expose their knees in public", the paper said.

economic dimension to the close bilateral ties recently fortified by the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement. The Hindu (I.E.), September 19, 1987

### Accept peace of death PLOT tells Prabhakaran

TWO LEADING MEMBERS of the Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOT) led by Mr. Uma Maheswaran, have issued an ultimatum to their rival, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, to subscribe to the peace or be prepared to face death, the state-owned Daily News reported yesterday.

The daily, according to the story, had an interview with the two PLOT leaders of Vavuniya, Mr. P. Manikkam Dasan and Mr. S. Castro, in Vavuniya itself on Friday. "If Prabhakaran rejects peace, we have no alternative but to liquidate the Tigers. We are prepared to die for the cause," one PLOT leader said.

Both of them explained; "True, we did not surrender all the arms we had. Not because we propose to fight the Sri Lankan army, but because of the intransigence of the LTTE." The PLOT had no objection to Sinhalese buying land wherever they liked in the North and the East, they said. The PLOT had no faith in the outlawed JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna).

## MEDIA REPORTS

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related to the agreement, was quoted as having said "the whole world accepts India's pre-eminence in this part and India is a big power in the region. The U.S. will not lift a finger to help me without first consulting India."

Asked if this included his recent request for American help to fight "terrorists" in the south of the island, the President said "Yes, I had to ask the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, if he had any questions. He had no objections to my getting help from any country to fight the terrorists."

On whether he was satisfied with the U.S. response, the President said "it was very inadequate, because they (the U.S.) consider India as the guardian of this part of the world, the protector of democracy."

Mr. Jayawardene answered in the affirmative when asked if he was seeking help from the Soviet Union, but said "I am very happy that I have been abandoned. I do not trust a single power."

How could he have Indian troops in his country since he did not trust any power?

Mr. Jayawardene replied he "trusts" Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and that the "Indian troops were within his control."

Asked if many Sinhalese fear that the agreement is the first step towards division, he replied "Sri Lanka did not always have nine provinces. The union of provinces and the separation of provinces is part of the history of Sri Lanka."

The Hindu (I.E.), September 19, 1987

### MORE INDIAN CREDIT TO SRI LANKA

NEW DELHI, Sept. 9 INDIA TODAY INCREASED the quantum of its concessional credit to Sri Lanka by Rs.5 crores. This, together with a rehabilitation grant of an equal amount, adds up to an aid package of Rs.50 crores.

The decision to increase the credit was conveyed to the visiting Sri Lankan Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Mr. De Mel called on Mr. Gandhi before he and the Finance Minister, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, signed the agreed minutes of the three-day meeting of the Indo-Sri Lankan Joint Economic Commission, which concluded today.

The deliberations of the Joint Commission, which met after a gap of 11 years, served to add an



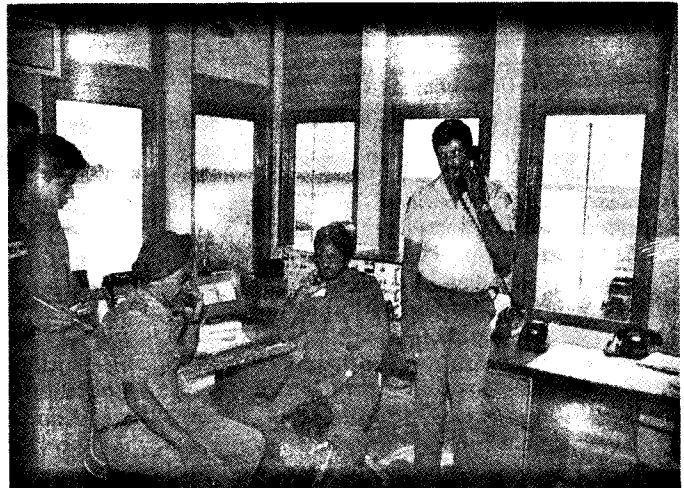
*Prabhakaran with aides.*



*Members of the Indian peacekeeping force near their camp at Pulolay in Vadamaradchi.*



*BICYCLE BELLES: Cycles are the main mode of transport in Jaffna.*



*Indian Air Force officers at their communication room at Palalay air base.*



*Brig. Fernandez, civil liaison officer of the Indian peacekeeping force, making a point as LTTE's Yogi keenly watches.*



*Tamil detainees behind the barbed wire fence of the army detention camp at Boosa, awaiting release.*



*Devotees flock to the Tellipallai Durgai Amman temple.*



*Mediapersons travelling in an Indian Army vehicle to the Suthumalai Amman temple to cover LTTE meeting.*

# GAMINI ON THE ACCORD

**Q:** Why has the government agreed to amalgamate the Northern and Eastern Provinces into one province when presumably the vast majority of people in the Eastern Province, the Sinhalese and Muslims, are opposed to such a merger?

**A:** The government has not agreed to amalgamate these two provinces or, as you say, merge them. All we have agreed to is that, to begin with, both these provinces will constitute one administrative unit with one Provincial Council. The government will hold a referendum in the Eastern Province before the end of next year, probably sooner, whereby the people of the Eastern Province will be allowed to choose whether they wish to have a separate Council for themselves.

The President has already gone on record as saying that he himself prefers to have a separate Provincial Council for the East.

**Q:** But then, why have it at all? Why not allow two separate councils at the very beginning?

**A:** Negotiations with the separatists floundered in the past on this one question – the linkage of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. When the government of India entered into the final round of negotiations which led to the Accord with us, this concession – a temporary one – was requested in return for the benefits that will accrue to Sri Lanka in terms of the Accord.

As you know, these include the disarming of terrorist groups, dismantling of bases in Tamil Nadu and the stoppage of the flow of arms across the Palk Straits. Further, for this accord to succeed, we must create the conditions whereby all ethnic groups could live and work together in peace and harmony. Where better could this be done than in the Eastern Province, where the population is, ethnically, so evenly balanced?

The government has underwritten its commitment to the Muslim and Sinhala population of the East by the pledge of a referendum. Give this proposal a chance. Nobody's rights are being infringed. Don't forget that control of the armed services and police in these areas is still the prerogative of the Central Government.

**Q:** I must press you on this. Why can't the referendum be held now? There are some doubts voiced to the effect that during the course of the coming year, the Provincial Government of the North/East may effect a redistribution of population to achieve a single Provincial Council at the referendum.

**A:** The referendum is being held later in order that the request for a single Provincial Council for these two provinces be given a trial.

The referendum will be held on the basis of existing electoral lists. In terms of the Accord, even those persons registered in the Eastern Province but who have subsequently been displaced owing to the violence will be eligible to vote. So the

possibility of swinging the referendum by a fresh settlement of Tamil people will not apply.

Your doubts on the question of settlement are unfounded. All future land settlement schemes in these areas, and for that matter, the whole country, will allocate land on the national ethnic ratio. You must also remember that in the case of small and medium scale schemes, two former Prime Ministers had agreed with the Federal party not to settle outsiders.

We have gone beyond that now and worked out in detail all the future settlement plans on a national basis. In this sense, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims must all live and work together.

**Q:** How do you envisage the working relationship with India to develop?

**A:** India is, as you know, the most powerful nation in this region. She is also the largest and most influential. She has her own interests, fears and apprehensions in the region, and we must understand some of these. This is not to say that we yield our sovereignty to India's interests. It simply means that we have to be conscious of Indian attitudes and aware of her sensitivities. We shouldn't pose a threat to her.

**Q:** It appears to many people that we have established this Accord only because India threatened invasion if we continued the war?

**A:** At no time did India threaten invasion. A lesser statesman may easily have yielded to the temptation of domestic political popularity and imposed a military solution on us. But Mr. Gandhi did not.



Gamini Dissanayake

**Q:** Some suggested an appeal to the United States. It has often been mooted that the USA would lease Trincomalee harbour.

**A:** Now that would be a poor reflection on our independence besides being contrary to our policy of non-alignment. Let's get one thing clear. In this age of nuclear power, warships can and do remain at sea for periods in excess of one year. Strategically placed harbours are a thing of the past. As for an air-base, the USA has the use of Diego Garcia, not far from here, and has no interest in Sri Lanka.

President Reagan's Ambassador to the United Nations, General Vernon Walters, who visited us about two years ago made this very clear to us. "Solve this problem with India", he told us. Most of our other friends have given us the same advice. The acclaim with which this Accord has been greeted internationally, particularly by the main aid-giving countries, is ample proof of this.

Excerpts from an interview with the 'Ceylon Daily News', August 8, 1987

## Excerpts from a Statement issued by the LSSP on the Accord

THE INDO-SRI LANKAN ACCORD of 29th July, 1987 has brought peace to the North and East of Sri Lanka. The introduction of Indian military forces into these Provinces has brought the Eelamist insurrection to an end. The cease-fire has held and the handing in of arms by the Eelamists has gone well forward.

It is possible already to say that the Accord does open a way to the resumption of the grievously interrupted process of building a Sri Lankan nation out of the multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious population which peoples Sri Lanka. The circumstances of such resumption are no doubt enormously more difficult after the last four traumatic years; but success in the effort will also spell the establishment of firm foundations of a single state in a physical undivided Sri Lanka.

The next and possibly decisive step to be taken under the Accord is to get going the proposed Provincial Councils system as speedily as possible throughout the country.

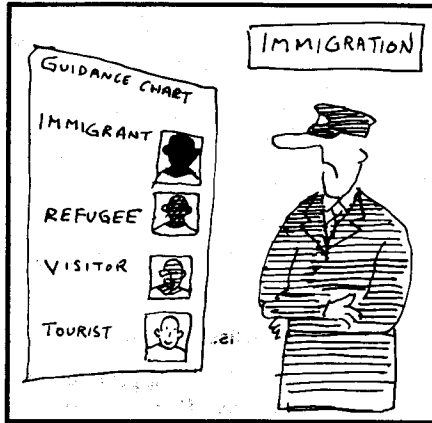
Another step which we urge should be taken without delay is to pass into law the provision in the Accord for making Tamil also an Official Language. A root cause of Tamil discontent will thereby be removed. If only this had been done as the LSSP demanded when English was displaced by Sinhala as the Official Language of Sri Lanka the great rift which developed between the Tamil minority and the Sinhala-majority-dominated Sri Lanka state might have been happily avoided.

With regard to making English too an Official Language, we consider it to be a needless step which we shall oppose. That every effort should be made by the Sri Lankan state to teach English widely and well in our schools and colleges has always been our stand; it is not necessary to make English an Official Language.

In conclusion, the LSSP would like to point out that although this Accord can itself be a forward step in establishing better ethnic relations in Sri Lanka, it is only a start and not an ending.

August 20, 1987

## FROM THE EDITORIALS



### "OUR ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACY"

THIS WEEK FOUR TAMILS who had sought asylum in Britain will find out whether they will be allowed to stay. This is not a victory for the Tamils and the rights of the refugees so much as an assertion of the rule of law over the enormous discretionary powers of the Home Office. All the High Court has done, in granting an injunction last Friday against the deportation of the Tamils, is to insist on their right to have their appeal heard in a court of law.

The Home Office was happy for this right to fall into obedience because of the shortage of appeal judges in the summer. It is this approach to law and the civil liberties of refugees which is causing such alarm among refugees and the organisations which take up their neglected cause.

It is a measure of Britain's small status that there are now fewer applications for asylum here than in almost any other country of comparable political tradition. Far from being 'flooded' with people who wish to enjoy Britain's liberal democracy, last year only 3,900 sought asylum in Britain compared with the 15,000 who sought it in Sweden and 99,700 in West Germany.

This is what the government wants. As

### INDIAN MISSION REJECTS LTTE CHARGES

The Indian High Commission today denied that the Indian peacekeeping force had not been responsive to the "genuine concern" of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam about the security of its members against attacks by militant groups.

"We cannot simply move militarily and disarm the other groups without at the same time

### A Last Chance For Sri Lanka

PRESIDENT JAYAWARDENE had anticipated a stormy session during yesterday's Parliamentary sitting, and because of this he had postponed a vote on the peace agreement for at least another month. This was a wise decision given that nearly 100 Sinhalese, including two MP's from the ruling United National Party have died in the rioting. However, until Parliament does vote on the agreement there is little prospect of the Tigers surrendering all of the thousands of weapons still in their hands.

Many of the guerillas fear that, given Sinhalese opposition to the accord, they may have to resort again to the gun to achieve their objectives. That said, the

senior Home Office officials said to Robin Cohen for his report 'The Detention of Asylum Seekers in the UK', tough measures for those seeking asylum are necessary 'as a public indication of the difficulty of getting into the UK'. And this measure of Britain's illiberality and insularity is getting worse; treatment of refugees has become noticeably more restrictive in the last year says Barry Stoyle, head of the refugee unit at the United Kingdom Immigrants Advisory Service. It makes him, at least, feel deeply ashamed.

The desire to prove that Britain does not welcome those whose lives or liberty are at risk, to show that all foreigners must be treated with distrust, is not only small-minded; it is also yet one more testament to the damaging power of a fervour against immigration. Although the government claims to stick to the letter of the law on both immigration and on refugees, the dwindling number of those seeking and receiving asylum speaks rather to a zealous enforcement of a policy of exclusion. Immigration officers, who frequently make snap and arbitrary judgements on refugees as soon as they set foot in Britain, usually see their job as one of holding back a tide of other races who threaten to 'swamp' Britain.

Immigrants seeking a better life, people wanting to join their families here and people fleeing political or religious persecution in, at the moment, Iran and Sri Lanka, are all judged through this hostile lens. They are encouraged by a popular press which is quick to describe all black foreigners as 'illegal immigrants'. Legally, all are processed under the 1971 Immigration Act with its discretionary powers of detaining people with no recourse to bail, and no right to make an appeal against deportation inside Britain. As Barry Stoyle says: 'It's not much comfort having a form to fill in when they're pulling out your fingernails.'

'The New Statesman', 28 August

disarming LTTE also," he said, adding that despite claims to the contrary, the LTTE was yet to complete the surrender of its arms. The LTTE's allegation that the Indian Army was supporting the rival groups was not in conformity with facts.

It was only a few days ago that the Indian troops, investigating a complaint by the LTTE at Mankulam 70km south of Jaffna, had opened fire when they were fired upon, by members of another group.

The Hindu (I.E), September 12, 1987

amount of progress made so far towards implementing the agreement has been impressive. Thousands of Tamil political detainees have been released. Even more Tamil civilians have returned to the Jaffna peninsula which, until a month ago, was under a virtual state of siege. Both the Sri Lankan army and the Tigers have acted with some restraint, while the Indian army has managed to calm the fears of the Tamil population.

The universal relief of Tamil civilians at the restoration of peace has made the Tigers realise that a resumption of guerrilla war would be neither easy nor popular. Sadly, the same cannot be said about the Sinhalese terrorists nor about a sizeable proportion of the Sinhalese civilian population. The Independent, 19 August

### Let the Tigers Rule!

WHILE IT IS STILL questionable whether the India-Sri Lankan Accord can bring about permanent peace for the present, an interim administration is about to be set up for a united Northern and Eastern Province. Differing opinions have arisen as to whom the administration of such a Province should be handed over.

When the Eelam Tamils were oppressed by the racialsists the people who rose up and were ready to throw their lives away in resisting such oppression were the militants. Especially this was true of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam under the leadership of Prabhakaran. Apart from this, with the support of the people, the Jaffna peninsula was fully under the administration of the Tiger organisation. Even when Sinhala armed forces besieged the Jaffna peninsula and cut-off all supplies from reaching the people from outside with a view to starving them into surrender, the Tiger organisation's administrative efficiency ensured that the people did not starve. Even as they were fighting off Sinhala attempts at a military solution the Tiger organisation had gained administrative experience.

While the Tigers were fighting off the attacks of the Sinhala armed forces those politicians and groups who had stood aside from the struggle cannot now come running forward to bask in the glory of their success. In any country after a revolution, whatever form of government may be established, it is only those who have made the necessary sacrifices for such success who would be raised to the pedestals of power. In this respect it is only the Liberation Tiger Organisation that qualifies to take charge of the interim administration of the new Province. There can be no two differing opinions in this regard.

It is not only just but also wise to hand over the interim administration to those heroic young men and women whose death-defying courage proved unconquerable to Sinhala armed forces.

If a "Sinhala Only" military solution had been possible in Jaffna, Jayawardene would not have run to Rajiv for a political solution - and Rajiv would not have got Trincomalee and other concessions perceived to be in line with India's national self-interest.

Ananda Vikatan, 23.8.87

### Sinhalese opposition to accord declining

Opposition to the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement among the Sinhalese population of the island had declined and were confined to extremist and fanatic elements. This was the assessment of Mr. Ronnie De Mel, Finance and Planning Minister of Sri Lanka, who arrived here (New Delhi) today to take part in the Indo-Sri Lankan Joint Commission's two-day meeting.

The opposition began to decline as the majority of the people became aware of the benefits of peace, he said.

Mr. De Mel was happy about the satisfactory progress in the implementation of the agreement in the first month - particularly about the ceasefire and the laying down of arms by the militants. Similarly he was confident that the 'residual matters' concerning the power devolution package for the provinces would be resolved soon.

The visiting Minister, who was replying to questions at the airport on his arrival, did not expect a split in the ruling United National party on the issue of the agreement.

K. K. Katyal in The Hindu (I.E), September 12, 1987

## BLOODY ACCORD

IT MAY HAVE TAKEN an India throwing its weight about like the regional superpower it is to pacify the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka, but the key figure in the state's foreseeable future remains the octogenarian President Jayawardene. The island is therefore more fortunate than it perhaps knows that this week's determined attempt to assassinate him in the Colombo Parliament failed.

Had it succeeded, all bets would have been cancelled, including (especially) the precarious Tamil settlement, which is doubtless what the plotters intended. The man who telephoned our correspondent, John Rettie, to claim responsibility on behalf of a new group called the Patriotic People's Movement (PPM) provided no absolute proof, but circumstantial evidence leaves no room for doubt that Sinhalese extremists are behind the outrage.

This means that Mr. Jayawardene is

nowhere near being out of the wood yet. It would appear that the Tamil militants, however slowly and reluctantly, are prepared to trust the Indian Army with its exemplary discipline and restraint sufficiently to offer guarded cooperation with the peace-plan concluded three weeks ago. But as the Tamil Tigers prepare to lie down with the lamb, the Sinhalese Lions (as they call themselves) once again show a growing taste for the same kind of murderous violence they condemn in their compatriots of the minority.

We see no difference between the racialist atrocities all too readily resorted to by the extremists in both communities and therefore take no side and make no distinction; both menace an already battered democracy, but whereas minority militants present a palpable threat to social stability, those from the majority threaten the very survival of the state.

*The Guardian, 20 August*

## Every Step is Crucial

THE REAL TASK of the Indian peace-keeping force in Sri Lanka has begun with the LTTE's eventual decision to lay down arms. Surrender of arms and restoration of peace are the very first of many steps that are needed to win over these non-Tamils and non-Hindu Tamils in the eastern province and convince them that their legitimate interests will be fully protected in the unified administration unit.

The task of winning over the Sinhalese in the eastern province will be especially difficult. Mr. Prabhakaran will thus be on trial. From being an able organiser of a guerrilla movement, he has to emerge as the political leader accepted by a mixed population.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Prabhakaran is fully conscious of the high stakes involved in the effective discharge of his responsibilities. *'Indian Express', 5 August*

## WARNING SIGNALS

THE INDIAN POLITICAL CLASS pursues the line of least resistance despite its loud protestations to the contrary, that a large part of it was opposed even to the relief missions undertaken by New Delhi, and that it was only too anxious to turn the proverbial blind eye to the inevitably dangerous consequences of the increasingly bloody Sinhala-Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka. President Jayawardene is too knowledgeable about India not to have been perceptive of these points. So if he has still chosen to go in for an accord, it must be because he is determined to save his people, both Sinhalese and Tamils, the terrible consequence of a virtual civil war. The cost for him will be heavy. But the objective is worth the cost. So is it for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi?

Hopefully, the LTTE will not seek to disrupt the agreement by engaging in violent activities even if it is at this stage reluctant to fall in line and surrender its arms. Active violence by it will place India in an unenviable position because this would compel it to use its troops to disarm the Tigers. The agreement obliges it to do so.

It is no secret that the Sri Lankan armed forces, though small, are highly politicised, the officers no less than the men. It is not going to be easy for Colombo to ensure disciplined behaviour on their part; perhaps the presence of the Indian contingent would be a sobering influence.

India has come of age even if against its own deeply ingrained escapism. It must begin to behave as such.

*The 'Times of India', 31 July*

## Hope in Sri Lanka

IT IS POSSIBLE to argue that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi should not have signed an agreement with President Jayawardene on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

President Jayawardene has shown extraordinary courage in ignoring this sentiment, backed as it is by significant sections of his own Government, party and the security forces. But he is an old man; he is unlikely to contest the next election; and his victory can by no means be regarded as certain even if he were to go into the arena once again. What happens then? The Tamils cannot be expected to ignore the realities on the ground.

## A Formidable Task

THERE COULD NOT have been a better way of hastening an end to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka than what has been envisaged in the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement on the question.

Apart from the fact that the accord provides the best possible framework for restoring peace to Sri Lanka, there are unexpected gains in it for India.

How difficult it has been for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to save his accord with the late Sant Longowal to put an end to our own internal conflict has been amply demonstrated. The task of ensuring that the well-conceived scheme embodied in the Indo-Sri Lankan accord is bound to be far more formidable.

The peace-keeping role itself can get India embroiled in the greatest possible difficulties, vis-a-vis the Sri Lankan Government, the Sinhalese population, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, as well as the Tamils within India. *'Indian Express', 31 July*

## BEYOND THE CRISIS

TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, the general direction of Colombo's relations with Pakistan and the United States has been at variance with New Delhi's own assessment of the role played by these two countries in South Asia. New Delhi has made known its stand as regards any Pakistani involvement in the Sri Lankan crisis. But it does not appear to have seriously discussed the U.S. interest in the island republic.

## THE LAST MINUTE HITCH

THE DRAFT AGREEMENT on the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka is a sensible compromise between President Jayawardene's anxiety to safeguard the integrity of his country and the Tamil minority's legitimate aspirations.

Despite the intrinsic soundness of the draft accord, however, it cannot be taken for granted that the way has been opened for the restoration of peace in Sri Lanka. As usually happens in such conflicts, the sticking point now relates to military withdrawals.

While the proposed agreement on the ethnic issue is welcome, it is strange that India should be one of the signatories to it. It is for the Sri Lankan government and the Sri Lankan Tamil groups to sign an agreement on what is their internal issue.

By inducing it to sign, is President Jayawardene luring New Delhi into acknowledging that it in fact controls the militants? *'Indian Express', 29 July*

No-one can ignore either America's long-term strategic interest in Trincomalee or the influence of the conservative think tank in the uppermost reaches of the current U.S. administration. This is why any dialogue between India and Sri Lanka which takes their respective foreign policy interests into fuller account could create a more durable basis to promote their bilateral ties.

*The 'Times of India', 28 July*

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's penchant for accords, sometimes in disregard of the possible adverse consequences, must also reinforce scepticism about his decision in respect of Sri Lanka. But it must be conceded that in this case he just did not have any other option.

Both leaders have shown extraordinary courage. It is difficult to say who has been more daring. Both have been besieged at home and besieged leaders often go in for adventure and not accords. As it happens the agreement is not tilted against the Tamils. It deserves to be welcomed in India even if for "negative" reasons.

*The 'Times of India', 30 July*

## Ambassador's Gift

A CHEQUE FOR Rs.7 lakhs was gifted to Dr. Nachchinarkinniar, Medical Superintendent, Jaffna Teaching Hospital by the American Ambassador in Sri Lanka, Mr. James W. Spain, when he visited the Hospital on 30th August. The Ambassador and his party visited the damaged wards; it was towards the repair of these wards the donation was made.

*Saturday Review, September 12*

# LAUNCHING PEACE IN SRI LANKA

**"HOW COME SUDDENLY there is an agreement after four years of violence, talks and ups and downs in the negotiation?", I asked President Junius Jayewardene soon after he and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi signed the historic document in Colombo last Wednesday. "It's all because of the conjunction of planets and stars", said the President, as everyone at the Press Conference laughed, "It's true", the President told me in an aside lest his remark should be taken in a lighter vein or simply as an attempt to parry the question that was meant to find out how after so much bloodshed and bitterness, the two leaders had been able to find a solution to Sri Lanka's most intractable problem.**

President Jayewardene does believe in interventionary activities of planets and stars, and has sometimes spoken about how that kindly Jupiter is generally well disposed towards him. But this agreement could not perhaps have been reached but for the violence that has occurred in the island nation, the resultant battle fatigue that must have been setting in among the Sinhala and the Tamils, the growing realisation that it is futile to settle by arms what can be settled by negotiations; New Delhi's evolving a coherent policy on Sri Lanka, some pressures from western powers, and particularly President Jayewardene's showing a high degree of statesmanship, foresight and courage.

It was more difficult for President Jayewardene to lend his signature than for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. The Sri Lankan leader has built his long political career on Sinhala nationalism. But now he was to face opposition from his own Prime

Minister, Minister for National Security Lalith Athulathmudali, his main political adversary, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and the Buddhist clergy who have never diluted their Sinhala nationalism. President Jayewardene had himself spoken so much about Sinhala aspirations and attacked India in so many statements.

**BY H. K. DUA**

He is a man with a sense of pride in himself and believes in Sri Lanka's destiny. For him to think of signing an agreement with India required those qualities that only a few leaders can display. Whatever that impelled him to go in for the accord (the word is no longer popular in India) it was the Sri Lankan President who was taking a political risk.

The ground realities also convinced President Jayewardene and some of his colleagues like Finance Minister, Ronnie

De Mel, and Lands Minister, Gamini Dissanayake that the Tamil militancy cannot be fought by military means. Mr. De Mel has been impressing upon the President how defence expenditure has gone up since ethnic violence broke out in Sri Lanka four years ago. Wars cost a lot and sap a nation's energy; so do wars within. With bills mounting Colombo was finding it difficult to sustain prolonged military offensive against the militants.

There can be some truth in the reports that western countries, particularly the United States, tried to convince President Jayewardene that it was no use fighting a war that he could not really win. Washington also realised that no solution of the problem was possible unless India helped. There could be several reasons for Washington's assessment of the situation. One was simply realism; there was actually no solution to the ethnic conflict in sight without India's help.

The other was the re-emergence of the Trotskyite militant group - JVP - which is no believer in democracy and has shown its capability to exploit the educated unemployed.

President Jayewardene's confidence in his ability to sell the agreement to Sinhala emanates from the insular position he enjoys under the country's Constitution. He made it clear at his Press Conference after the agreement that if Parliament tried to obstruct its implementation he would dissolve Parliament. When N. Ram asked him in *The Hindu* interview whether there was possibility of a political revolt within the UNP against certain features of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement, President Jayewardene said this in Napoleonic words:

*"Not at all. Because the revolt can come if they vote against the bills I am bringing? Then I go to the people and say 'you choose anybody you want'. I don't go! You see, this is the great value in my Constitution."*

Now when peace is returning to Sri Lanka, India has to give all its support to President Jayewardene because on him depends the success of the agreement. At the same time India has to see that its troops do not stay in Sri Lanka a day longer than necessary. New Delhi will have to avoid getting stuck in Sri Lanka although it has been sucked in. Besides ensuring peace in Sri Lanka, efforts will have to be made to win the confidence of the Sinhala.

One way to do this is by launching a massive economic programme for helping Sri Lanka rebuild its shattered economy and find jobs for the unemployed, in both the Sinhala and the Tamil majority areas. The U.S. decision to launch Marshal Plan for the reconstruction of post-war Europe was useful to both the U.S. as well as Western European nations. It should not be difficult for India to find ways to help its neighbour on the economic front also.

*Courtesy of The Hindustan Times, 5 August 1987*

## Business as usual in Jaffna Peninsula

AS THE LANDING CRAFT of the Indian Navy, L-31, came into beach at Kankasanturai in the Jaffna peninsula recently, a "dusty" vignette came into view. The giant cement factory's kilns on the shore were belching smoke continuously, creating a haze all round.

"The factory works three shifts a day now," an officer of the Indian Navy said. "The ash emitted by the chimneys are so thick that we have to close the windows of the building where we sleep in the night," he added.

Nothing can perhaps explain more vibrantly the normality to which life in the Jaffna peninsula has returned than the reopening of the cement factory at Kankasanturai. The shoreside town itself, which was totally deserted as late as August 4, is humming with activity again. Shops and banks have reopened; children in bright, white uniforms are going to school; and private mini-buses are plying with a full complement of passengers.

As we drive into town, we realise it is a Friday of the Tamil month of Avani. At Kankasanturai, we see a beautifully decorated chariot with a pole aloft from which is hung a devotee with hooks all over his back. There are other devotees dressed in yellow clothes and needles piercing their cheeks.

A short distance away, we encounter another religious procession with devotees dressed in silk dhooties and their foreheads smeared with "vibhuti", carrying "kavadis" of various sizes. The "kavadis" themselves are decorated with garlands and peacock feathers. Shouts of "Arohara, arohara, vettrivel Muruganukku arohara" fill the air.

**Traffic snarl:** We are in Tellipallai and there is a traffic snarl. Student-scouts blow their whistles, regulating traffic and asking people to stick to the sidewalks. A shandy is in full swing. There is a profusion of colours in makeshift stalls with a display of toys, balloons, ready-made dresses, sweetmeats, etc. A big crowd is surging into the entrance of the Tellipallai Durgai Amman temple. Loud-speakers blare devotional songs of Sirkali Govindarajan and Yesudass. The driver of the Indian army jeep, Velu, who hails from Vellore in Tamil Nadu, remarks: "These people love religion more than we do."

The centre of the Jaffna town - Bazaar Road, Powerhouse Road, KKS Road - is more alive than it was about 20 days back. The shops, damaged by the Sri Lankan army's shelling from the Jaffna Fort garrison, have been reconstructed and fully stocked now. A seminar is to take place in the town and academicians from Colombo have arrived.

**Marriage takes place:** Also, the LTTE's regional commander for Jaffna, Mr. Kumarappa, got married that Friday. In the evening, he attends a function got up to unveil a huge cut-out of an LTTE leader, Ponnammam alias Aputhan Yogarathnam, who died in an accidental explosion a few months ago.

Thus, life flows everywhere in the Jaffna peninsula and as a young resident put it, "the nightmare is over."

T. S. Subramaniam in *The Hindu* (I.E.),  
September 19, 1987

# INDIA'S NEW RESPONSIBILITIES

## The Agreement

The Agreement signed by Gandhi and Jayewardene on July 29 has not solved the ethnic problem. At best, it has postponed and put a new dimension on the struggle of the Tamil people for justice and equality in the country of their birth.

Two desperate leaders struggling for their political survival have agreed to terms that have angered both sides in the conflict. What can only be described as an incidental fall-out from the pact has been the only welcome result – saving the Tamils in the north and east from the relentless slaughter at the hands of undisciplined Sinhalese Security Forces and armed Sinhalese hoodlums. For this much needed respite everyone must be thankful to India. However, the new problems created and the new responsibilities which India has bestowed on herself must be appreciated.

## Lack of Consultation

The Tamils were not consulted, only coerced by India into accepting the terms of the agreement. In doing so, India has committed itself to seeing that the reasonable demands of the Tamils to live with equality and dignity and without discrimination are delivered. If these basic needs are not met, then the accord will be no more than a sell-out of the Tamil people in exchange for (temporary) political benefits to the Indian leadership, benefits to India in the regional power struggle and the commercial benefits (to India) from the oil farm in Trincomalee.

Where the degree of devolution of power, a critical factor in the ethnic conflict, is concerned, it must be stressed that the 1987 agreement adds nothing to what was on offer in August 1985. In other words, the Sri Lankan government has not conceded any reduction in the power of the central government in Colombo or its ability to strangle the periphery. It can be reasonably argued that the Agreement provides a fragile peace without justice.

India thought it fit to sign an agreement which has no reference to the continuing disenfranchisement of the northern Tamils by the exclusion of their elected representatives from the Sri Lankan parliament. Presumably India will take on the responsibility of representing and safe-guarding the interests of these people.

**BY BRIAN SENEWIRATNE**

India has disarmed the militant Tamils, the only force that stood in the way of the Sinhalese government in Colombo riding rough shod over the Tamils, as they have done for three decades. **India now has a mandatory obligation to exert equivalent pressure on the Sri Lankan government to ensure equal rights and opportunities for the Tamil minority. If India fails to meet this obligation, then disarming the militants without insisting on a simultaneous dismantling of the now massive Sri Lankan military machine, would be an act of irresponsibility.** If India now withdraws its troops and leaves the defenceless Tamil civilians to the dubious mercy of the undisciplined Sri Lankan Security Forces, it will be an act of monumental irresponsibility.

## Dangerous Aspects

Rajiv Gandhi has, both in the main agreement and in the 'Exchange of Letters' which was attached, agreed to provide training facilities and military supplies to the Sri Lankan Security Forces. By the same token, having equipped Security Forces whose undisciplined behaviour has attracted world-wide condemnation, India must also guarantee the disciplined behaviour of these forces, both in the Tamil areas and in the rest of the country.

The Agreement (section 2.4) enables the relocation of large numbers of people in the eastern province. India cannot be unaware of the dangers of such a clause which can be used by the Sri Lankan government to introduce thousands of Sinhalese into the Tamil areas and alter the ethnic composition which will disadvantage the Tamils. Jayewardene's statement on July 25 (four days before the agreement was signed) mentioned in the Far Eastern Economic Review (6.8.87) that there is little doubt that the eastern province will opt out of a single provincial council

arrangement with the north, once a referendum is held after a year, cannot be insignificant.

India must be aware of the deep divisions which the Agreement has created in the Sinhalese south, divisions which will almost certainly preclude the political survival of President Jayewardene and probably of his party, the UNP. The alternatives for Jayewardene, both in the UNP and in the SLFP opposition, are virulently anti-Tamil and anti-Indian. The unpopularity of the Agreement and the probability that it will be abrogated if either of these groups comes to power could not have been ignored, especially in view of the extensive violence which erupted in the south well before the pact was signed.

Section 2.16c states that India will give Sri Lanka "such military assistance as and when required". This refers to the activity of any militant group, not necessarily the Tamils. The Indian government has thus committed itself to the control of a civil war in the south i.e. of assisting President Jayewardene to use armed force on his own people. It would be naive to believe that Sinhala extremists already propagating anti-Tamil and anti-Indian sentiments in the south, will not use such action to whip up even a greater war hysteria in the south than exists today.

**As has been mentioned, there is more than a chance that the agreement will be abandoned by a future Sri Lankan government which may not be too far away. The course of action which would then be open to India and more importantly to the Tamil people, is far from clear.**

## Lasting Solution?

There is no doubt that Rajiv Gandhi's 'Sri Lankan adventure' was prompted by major domestic problems in India (which have nothing to do with the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict) and the threat to Indian security by President Jayewardene getting Pakistan, Israel, China and the United States, countries hostile to India, more and more involved in the conflict in Sri Lanka. Whatever his motives were, the consequences of his action are serious and may well be long-lasting. A few problems have been settled. Firstly and importantly, the killing in the north and east has stopped. Secondly, the Tamils, chronically devoid of a leader, have had a leader in the form of Prabhakaran, created for them by Gandhi and Jayewardene. He has shown himself to be the only Tamil leader willing and capable of standing up for the rights of his people against overwhelming odds. Thirdly, the responsibility for the future welfare of the Tamils has been taken over by India. If these new responsibilities are appreciated and honoured by India, then the Agreement could be a step towards solving the complex ethnic problem. If they are not, then the Agreement can be added to an already impressive collection of meaningless pacts which have contributed nothing but have added to the increasing chaos in Sri Lanka.

## PASTOR AND THREE OTHERS KILLED

**ROHAN DISSANAYAKE (49), Pastor, and Upali Gunathunga (25), both of Nuwara Eliya, along with Sekar Don Bosco (25) and Pullandran William Sebaratnam (18) of Navaly, members of the Assembly of God, were shot and killed on Monday night (September 7) at Uduvil while they were travelling in a van. Four others were injured and admitted to hospital.**

Pastor Rajasooriar, in his evidence at the Magisterial inquiry, stated that when he went up to the van in question he saw four masked men running away from it.

The occupants of the van, he added, were returning from his house, and two others and he followed on scooters when they noticed the van halted at the Uduvil junction. They had gone up to this van to find the dead and injured lying in pools of blood. They had then stopped a passing lorry and another van and taken the bodies of the dead and those who were injured to the Tellippalai hospital.

Saturday Review, 12 September

# Sri Lanka looks for aid to restore war-torn economy

RECONSTRUCTION in war-damaged Sri Lanka, particularly in the north and east of the country, is expected to cost between \$600m (£375m) and \$700m, the Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel said.

He was speaking in London on his way to a Commonwealth finance ministers' meeting in Barbados and a World Bank meeting in Washington where he will discuss international backing to restore his country's economy.

A 12-man team of World Bank officials is now in Sri Lanka, inspecting the former war zones to assess damage and to draw up plans for reconstruction and the resettlement of refugees, he revealed. Mr. de Mel said a meeting of Sri Lanka's main Western aid donors was scheduled to take place in Paris on 4 December, when fresh financial commitments were expected to be made. He said many countries had already expressed their support.

Mr. de Mel is considered something of a radical in the Sri Lankan government because of his early support for a negotiated settlement to the island's ethnic conflict, and his belief that the militant Tamil and

Sinhalese groups should be brought within the governmental process.

He was the first to see that the war was not only destroying the island's relative prosperity, which his open-door economic policies had helped bring about, but its social fabric as well.

He said parliamentary opposition to President Junius Jayawardene's accord in July with the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, had fallen away, and he expected unanimous support when legislation establishing provincial councils comes before Sri Lanka's parliament. Elections for the councils are scheduled for the end of the year. He expected the councils to be in place by January.

A proposal by the Jayawardene government to establish an interim provincial council for the Tamil-dominated northern and eastern region comprising representatives from each ethnic community and the militant groups had come to naught because of internal struggles among the former guerrillas.

Michael Fathers in 'The Independent', 19 September, 1987

## APPRECIATION

### Swarnam Sivaprakasam

ON THE LAST NIGHT of August 1987, a large crowd gathered at the Uniting Church in Strathfield to participate in a service of thanksgiving for the life of the late Swarnam Sivaprakasam who was widely-known and loved.

In his address, Revd. David Manton who conducted the service dwelt on Swarnam's early and rigorous training in western classical music and eastern classical dance both of which gifts she showered on the Sri Lankan and wider community, for their enjoyment. The service which reflected her diverse cultural interests was a graceful blend of east and west.

The offerings made in Swarnam's memory ranged from the soaring notes of Handel's "I know that my Redeemer liveth" sung by the golden-voiced Navaranjini Olegasegaram to a lively hymn sung in Tamil by the Tamil Christian Fellowship Choir of which Swarnam was so integral a part.

The cumulative effect of the evening was to recreate so poignantly Swarnam's own special joy in teaching the young from the days when she taught music at St. Thomas' Preparatory School where her father, the late J. T. R. Perinpanayagam, was Headmaster to her later years in suburban Sydney where she instilled the joys of music and dance in an evergrowing number of young pupils.

All in all, it was an unforgettable way of saying farewell to a very exceptional and gifted individual - by bringing alive, in the church that evening, what gave her immeasurable joy in life.

Nalini MacIntyre

## Danger in Sri Lankan coup threat

IT IS RATHER surprising that any reasonably perceptive observer of the scene in Sri Lanka can seriously believe that an agreement could in fact have been negotiated between Colombo and the Tamil militants under Indian auspices. All evidence points in the opposite direction.

A negotiated settlement between the parties concerned has been out of the question for months, if it ever was feasible which is highly doubtful. Faced with enormous and growing resistance from his own partymen, including members of his cabinet, the principal opposition party led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Buddhist monks and Sinhala community, President Jayewardene just could not have offered terms which the Tamil militants would have accepted. India's mediatory efforts had become an exercise in futility.

Reports have appeared in a section of the Indian press to the effect that President Jayewardene faced the prospect of a military coup. Clearly we are in no position to confirm these reports.

In the given situation, Mr. Gandhi has, at the very least, bought time so that there is at least a possibility that a grave tragedy in Sri Lanka is avoided. He and his advisers have shown enormous daring.

They now need to demonstrate the necessary skills. And in this kind of business, there are no thanks; there are only brick-bats and plenty of them.

The Times of India, 5 August, 1987

## DETENTION: CONCERN GROWS

THE BRITISH REFUGEE COUNCIL is becoming increasingly concerned by the number of asylum-seekers being held in detention following their arrival in Britain. The government, it feels, is ignoring the role voluntary organisations can play in providing proper accommodation and counselling for vulnerable new arrivals. Many authorities believe detention can have serious debilitating effects - both mental and physical - on asylum-seekers who have often fled their own countries to escape just such internment.



Asylum-seekers on the Earl William.

Tamil asylum-seeker Sivakumaran Sinnathamby had been in detention for over 12 months when he spoke of how - overcome by depression - he had tried to hang himself. "I was held in Pentonville for 48 days. When I was there I was served a deportation order. I was handcuffed and my arms tied down with a belt. I felt I was being treated like an animal. I have spent so long in detention here after hiding from the military in Sri Lanka, I feel as though I'm still being persecuted."

From EXILE (Newsletter of the British Refugee Council - Sept./Oct. 1987)

## U.S. Asians are academic highflyers

ASIAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS have become the educational pace-setters of the United States and are admitted in increasing proportions to the country's most competitive universities, Time magazine reported in a cover story.

Twenty-five per cent of new students entering the prestigious University of California's Berkeley campus this year will be of Asian origin while the figure at the elite Massachusetts Institute of Technology will be 20 per cent.

## PERSONAL Cambridge Schol

MR. P. N. SUGANTHAN, after his unparalleled achievement in the G.C.E. (A/L) Examination in August 1986, has been awarded a full scholarship by the Cambridge University to follow an Engineering Tripos course in Electronics. He secured distinctions in all four subjects at the A/L examination, obtaining an all time record aggregate of 372 (average of 93 marks). He left for the U.K. on 23rd August. Mr. P. Suganthan is the son of Mr. P. Nagarathnam, Principal of Skantha Varodaya College, and Mrs. Vallinayagi Nagarathnam of Tellipallai.



## Post Rajiv Gandhi-Jayawardene Peace Accord Parleys on Devolution FIRST ROUND BEGINS



Picture of official discussions between the Sri Lankan and the Indian team at the Presidential Secretariat. Sri Lankan delegation was headed by Mr. W. M. P. B. Menikdiwela, Secretary to the President and the Indian delegation by Indian High Commissioner J. N. Dixit.

### Official talks on devolution begin

OFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS to resolve residual problems related to devolution of power, as stipulated under paragraph 2.15 of Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement to establish peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka, signed on July 29, have begun.

The Sri Lankan Official delegation was headed by Mr. W. M. P. B. Menikdiwela, Secretary to the President. Other members of the Sri Lankan delegation were Messrs. K. H. J. Wijedasa, Secretary to the Prime Minister; Felix Dias Abeyasinghe, Secretary, All Party Conference; G. Kumaranatunga, Deputy Secretary to the Treasury; D. B. I. P. S. Siriwardena, Secretary, Ministry of

Public Administration; Cyril Gamage, Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs; Nalin Abeysekera, Legal Draftsman and R. Abeyratne, Acting Commissioner Local Government.

The Indian delegation was led by Mr. J. N. Dixit, High Commissioner for India. Other members were Ms. S. Balakrishnan, Legal Adviser, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India; K. S. Sastry, Addl. Secretary, Ministry of Finance; Kuldip Sahdev, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; V. K. Jain, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs; Nirupam Sen, Deputy High Commissioner of India, Colombo; H. S. Puri, First Secretary, High Commission of India, Colombo and B. S. Prakash, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

### WHEN I HOVERED BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH

An extract from an account sent by Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali from his sick-bed after he was seriously injured when grenades thrown by fanatics of his own Sinhalese community exploded in Parliamentary Committee Room A on August 18.



"As the car (from Parliament to Hospital) speeded, it all dawned on me. This was possibly it - the end could be inevitable, it could be near - it could be soon. I had to be ready for it. There was, surprisingly, no fear. The worst worry related to those close to me - child, wife, nephew, niece - brother and sister and close friends. . .

I then thought about those who had wronged me. One or two of the current ones came to mind. I could not think of them all. I quickly forgave them and dismissed them from my mind. I thought of those whom I may have wronged. I could not think of anyone specific in a personal sense and nevertheless if there were any I hoped they would forgive me. I thought of those who might feel wronged by my exercise of public duty, sometimes against my moral preferences, and I hoped that they would one day be generous enough to understand."

The Sunday Times (Ceylon),  
September 6, 1987

## Statistics Tell Part Of The Bloody Tale

**Nearly 100,000 families in the Jaffna District took heavy body blows as the Armed Forces went on the rampage during the four year period 1983-1987.**

The number of registered deaths is 2,548!

1,759 persons are 'missing', 2,873 disabled and 11,750 injured.

The total loss of property is estimated at Rs.7 billion.

The Government Agent, Jaffna, has drawn up plans for rehabilitation and compensation.

Applications for compensation will have to be made on special official forms.

The deadline is 2nd September.

Here is the breakdown, for the period 1.1.83-10.8.87.

1. Total number of affected families	88,000
2. Number of families whose movable property was damaged	60,241
3. The number seeking economic rehabilitation	40,034
4. Total value of loss	Rs.7,382,373,245

The figure is made up as follows:

i. Residential Property	
a. Immovable	Rs.1,878,695,388
b. Movable	Rs.2,001,522,335

ii. Commercial Property	
a. Immovable	Rs.1,447,325,624
b. Movable	Rs.1,568,006,621
iii. Livestock	
Rs.135,295,407	
iv. Vehicles	
Rs.139,591,940	
v. Fishing	
Rs.211,935,930	
5. Number of registered deaths	2,548
6. Number of missing persons	1,759
7. Number of disabled persons	2,873
8. Number of injured persons	11,750
9. Number of houses completely damaged	24,737
10. Number of houses partly damaged	27,876
11. Number of commercial properties completely damaged	8,085
12. Number of commercial properties partly damaged	2,908
13. Number of Temples and Churches damaged	398
14. Estimated cost of reconstruction of Temples and Churches	Rs.97,991,354
15. Number of vehicles destroyed or damaged	1,301
16. Number of Motorcycles & scooters destroyed	1,361
17. Losses sustained by 57 departments and Corporations	Rs.1,372,794,284
18. Losses incurred by 34 Cooperatives	Rs.96,153,462

## Accord Runs Into Snags?

**THERE ARE ALREADY** disquieting signs that the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord has begun to run into snags.

Reports say that attempts are being made to expedite the settlement of Sinhalese on 2,500 acres in Mullaitivu.

The Government is reportedly planning to settle Sinhalese in Mundhirikulam and the areas round Dollar and Kent Farm.

To implement this scheme a special project has been started in Welioya and a Sinhalese has been appointed Additional Government Agent.

The Mullaitivu Citizens' Committee and high Government sources have confirmed these reports.

These sources say that more than 20 years ago Tamils were given lands in these areas on a long term lease basis. After Black July 1983 the Tamils settled here, fled these areas and sought shelter elsewhere due to the military operations carried out by the State. Up to now these Tamil colonists have not been able to return to their settlements as the situation is still unsettled.

After the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord was signed, plans had been formulated to settle Sinhalese colonists in these areas.

Similarly in Suriyanaru close to Kokkuthoduvai, about 1,500 acres which had been allotted to Tamils under a middle

class scheme are being forcibly reallocated to Sinhalese settlers with the help of the Security Forces.

Again in the Kokkulai area 80 houses were allocated to Tamils more than 20 years ago. They were forced to flee the area abandoning their houses due to military activities. Now these houses are being forcibly taken over by Sinhalese colonists.

A special vesting order has been made to settle 250 Sinhalese families on 53 acres in Nayar East and West where Tamils had been settled earlier.

The Citizens' Committee says that Home Guards and the Armed Forces are destroying the houses earlier occupied by Tamils in Kokkulai, Kokkuthoduvai and Karunattukerni.

In Trincomalee the reports indicate that the Sri Lankan armed forces are continuing to harass the Tamil people.

The Trincomalee District Liberation Tiger representative has complained to the Commander of the Indian Peacekeeping Force in the district about this harassment. But apparently no action has been taken so far. These developments indicate that there is no room for complacency just because an Accord has been signed on paper.

What is India going to do about all this?

Saturday Review, 22 August, 1987

## THE CLARIFICATION AT SUTHUMALAI

ALL BUT DROWNED in a flood of humanity, Prabhakaran, the LTTE leader on his first appearance at Suthumalai on a public platform on August 4, 1987, displayed a clear and subtle understanding of the conflicting currents in the contemporary situation.

He made two points very clear to the people. The arms which the LTTE had taken to fight the cause of the security and freedom of the Tamil people are now being handed over to the Indian government which from the date of the 'surrender' will assume the responsibilities hitherto undertaken by the LTTE.

He also made it clear that the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord has to be viewed in a larger perspective that only an accord that relates to the relationships between Sinhalese and the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Accord has a special relevance to the realities for India and Sri Lanka of geo-politics in the South

Asian Region. Events were marching despite our little selves. In this larger context it would be incumbent on India to uphold the Accord whether anyone in Sri Lanka likes it or not.

India has, however, the LTTE leader said, given him the assurance that there will be no more any question of ethnic violence or genocide in Sri Lanka. It is to ensure this that the LTTE arms have been surrendered to the Indian Army. With this clarification given by the LTTE leader in person at the Temple grounds of Suthumalai, the three-day demonstrations and turbulence in Jaffna that marked the signing of the Accord, came to an abrupt end.

Long and argumentative days are now over. The country has now to revert to working order. A new sensitivity has to take root in the minds of the people.

(The gist of the address of the LTTE leader taken from the Tamil dailies).

## Indian Troops Intervene in Tamil-Sinhalese Clash

**INDIAN TROOPS**, whose role in keeping the peace had become a matter of growing controversy in the Eastern Province, were involved recently in a clash between Sinhalese and Tamils, in which two people died.

According to reports from Trincomalee, supporters of the Tamil Tigers organised a demonstration near the town in sympathy with a "fast unto death" by one of the Tigers' political leaders in Jaffna.

Trincomalee is a mixed community district, and it was not long before a group of angry Sinhalese appeared on the scene and attacked the Tamils with knives, stones and clubs.

Sri Lankan police accompanied by Indian troops, who have been carrying out more joint patrols recently, hastened to the site and fired tear-gas to disperse the crowd.

Reports from military and other sources say a hand-grenade was thrown from the back of the crowd, killing two people. Indian sources deny that their troops used any kind of firearms or threw grenades.

The Indians are locked in a battle of wills with the Tigers over the hunger strike by their chief ideologist, Thileepan, who is demanding Indian action against what the Tigers say are abuses of the peace accord by the Sri Lankan Government.

**The complaints are that police stations are being set up before the formation of an interim administration; that the Government is settling Sinhalese in Tamil areas, while Tamil refugees are not being resettled; and that not all Tamil detainees have yet been freed.**

John Rette in 'The Guardian', 19 September, 1987

## TULF Meeting In NP Soon

**THE TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT (TULF)** will hold a General Council meeting in the Northern Province within the next three weeks to decide on the party's future strategy, sources said.

Sources said TULF leader Mr. A. Amirthalingam will preside at the meeting which is likely to be held in Jaffna.

These sources said it had not been finalised whether the meeting would be in the North or East but that the likely venue was Jaffna.

The party will at this meeting decide whether to contest the forthcoming Provincial Council elections and the TULF role in the implementation of the Indo-Lankan agreement.

It will be Mr. Amirthalingam's first visit to the province after July 1983.

Meanwhile the interim Provincial Council is expected to start functioning this week.

The TULF trio of Messrs. A. Amirthalingam, M. Sivasithamparam and R. Sampanthan are now at hand in New Delhi to assist in the discussions on "residual matters" pertaining to the devolution of power in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The Sri Lankan delegation for the Indo-Lankan talks led by Mr. W. M. P. B. Menikdiwela and comprising Messrs. Felix Dias Abeyasinghe, D. B. I. P. S. Siriwardene, K. H. Wijedasa and H.

Paskaralingam will leave for Delhi on September 1, sources said.

The delegations will have one more round of discussions in Colombo later next month before finalising the list of powers to be delegated to the administration in the provincial council.

The third delegation is expected in New Delhi on September 3 to discuss matters related to the revival of the ferry service between Rameswaram and Talaimannar. It will be led by Mr. N. Vamadevan, Additional Secretary to the Ministry of Transport.

It will also discuss the financial arrangements for the purchase of 500 buses that Sri Lanka urgently needs to buy from India to strengthen its fleet of public transport buses.

The Island, 30 August, 1987

## Letters to the Editor

FATHER JOACHIM PILLAI'S criticism entitled "Temptations From The Right" (July 1987) calls for some criticism in turn.

There is an underlying assumption that "liberal, community-oriented Socialist options" are the progressive highway to success. This in turn implies that the older capitalist formula is self-oriented, belongs to a past century and is ready for instant burial. The idea that old is evil and discardable is tantalising, but hardly true, as is evidenced by the fact that capitalism is embraced with vigour by the more affluent nations in the last half of the 20th century.

If capitalism were self-oriented, no democratic leader could afford to espouse it, for to do so would ensure instant defeat at the polls. In making such an assumption, one ignores the politician's burden of playing to and satisfying his constituency. The only way in which self-orientation can make itself appealing to others, is if it has the effect of uplifting them as well, making it by necessity community-oriented.

The second presumed hypothesis is that members of a Socialist Society are a more noble-spirited lot than their Capitalist counterparts. A look around the world is sufficient to assure us that selfishness motivates the embracers of all philosophies, Socialist or Capitalist. One does not have to be too hard-nosed or cynical to reach this realisation. By contrast also, individuals in either society have, of necessity, to consider the community impact of their self-serving actions to determine their acceptability, and consequent feasibility.

Another misconception propounded by implication is that Socialism is more synonymous with "Equality" than is Capitalism. This is based upon the notion that State-generated wealth is more equitably distributed amongst its workers, and that consequently, the Capitalist method of

## TILTING TO SOCIALISM

earning and spreading wealth is less desirable. This ignores two facts, one that the Capitalist method engenders greater wealth for distribution, and two, that it has not been shown that a greater percentage of State-earned wealth seeps down to its workers.

In using the word "Liberal", the Reverend Father seeks to invoke concepts of contemporary humaneness, synonymous with progress. The word "Liberal" could also connote a ready and hasty adherence to the mood of the moment, making it again, seemingly progressive, but not necessarily wise. In this regard, one wishes in retrospect that the British Labour Party of the late '40s was less liberal, and more cautious, when granting Ceylon Independence in 1948. A touch of guarded caution and delay may have resulted in the grant of a Federal Constitution, instead of a slavish imitation of the British Parliamentary model, which might have helped to avert our recent holocaust.

Finally, it is in the same spirit of Liberal Socialism that the Reverend Father characterises pre-Jayawardene foreign policy as "Bold and Enlightened", which fought "Colonialism, Feudalism

and Imperialism". Has the Jayawardene government embraced any of these concepts as part of its foreign (as opposed to domestic) policy? Is aligning oneself to the capitalist west any more colonial than tying oneself to the socialist bloc? Does, on the other hand, a proclamation of neutrality make us less dependent on nations of either bloc? The policy of his forebearers in office were no more enlightened or independent-oriented than his own. This writer's objection to Mr. Jayawardene's foreign policy is the adverse effect it could have on the minority battle towards Eelam. The danger lay in the possibility of the United States aiding his effort to suppress the minority struggle, because he was the last bastion of capitalism in the region.

Thank goodness, that in the end, they wisely chose not to enter the fray, and let India exert its expected role in the region. In other respects, there could be no objection to his preferring the West to the Socialist bloc, unless one was an undemocratic Socialist.

U.S.A  
August 21, 1987

## LOSING THE PEACE?

THE INTERNECINE CLASHES between the militants seem to have erupted again in the North and East. They appear to be entangled in a power struggle before the forthcoming elections to the Council of the merged provinces.

The reported demand by LTTE for a major stake in the interim administration of the merged Province is in keeping with its policy of achieving a socialist state ruled by a single party as declared by its leader V. Prabhakaran at numerous interviews with the Press. When this demand became unwelcome to the authorities the LTTE appears to have resorted to the tactic of silencing by force those who are opposed to them.

Although no one is enamoured with the behaviour of the smaller militant groups, getting rid of them by violent methods cannot be condoned. If the Tamils are to win over the Muslims in the Eastern Province to support the merger of the two provinces at the proposed December 1988 Referendum, then what the militants are doing now may be counterproductive. Even the Tamils or at least some of them in the Eastern Province will be reluctant to support the merger campaign. It is high time that the militants see reason and, even at this late stage, resolve their differences and put up a united stand so that the Tamil people will not be led up the garden path.

Edmonton, Canada

S. Maha Indra

## CLOSING DOWN

FAMIL INFORMATION CENTRE,  
LONDON

is ceasing its activities. Already the recorded news report service which has been such a boon to expatriate Tamils not only in the U.K. but also in distant parts of the world, ended on August 31. The signing of the "Peace Accord" has resulted in fewer violations of human rights by the Sri Lankan Security Forces with its consequent impact on news stories.

The Chronicle and the paper cutting service are being terminated as from this month. The Management hopes that the Library will be maintained by another organisation.

## HERTS TAMIL SCHOOL Cultural Show

THE TAMIL UNION OF HERTS organised a successful Cultural Show in aid of the Herts Tamil School on 31 August at Brent Town Hall.

The President, Mr. Logan Rasiyah, thanked the Chief Guest, Mr. Jeremy Corbyn, M.P. for his enormous contribution to our welfare.

In his address, Mr. Corbyn welcomed such efforts by our community and highlighted his own experiences of the sufferings and hardship he had witnessed in our Homelands and listed the necessary steps Western Countries should take. He produced a letter written by one of the detained refugees in the ship Earl William, which he had visited just before he came to the function. It was written on behalf of all those detained and appealed to all Tamil people to work with Mr. Corbyn in his efforts to obtain fair treatment.



Opening of new school premises by  
Mr. Hugh South

The Herts Tamil School is based at Park Gate Junior School, Southwold Road, Watford, Herts, and classes are held on Sundays between 3.00 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. Facilities are provided for all to learn Tamil Language, Speech, Miruthangam, Dance, Music and Karate, and to play table tennis and badminton.

For information, please telephone:  
0442-40815, 0923-662811 or 0923-222157

## J.R. SAYS HE IS NO BANDA

"I AM NOT A BANDARANAIKE", President Jayawardene told the Editor of the Saturday Review, Gamini Navaratne, in reply to a pointed question whether the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord signed on 29 July would go the way of the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact of 1958, which was torn up after protests by Sinhalese chauvinists led by the Buddhist clergy. "I will go through with it, implementing it in both letter and spirit, come what may", the President said.

A gigantic problem of resettlement and rehabilitation of those affected by the ethnic violence is on the Government's hands. The Government cannot handle this problem on its own. It needs international assistance. . .

First priority should be the revival of the fishing industry in the North. For the fish is there, waiting to be caught. Over 25,000 fishing families comprising nearly 150,000 people, have been severely affected by the declaration of the Northern seas as a

"security zone" since 1984. Many of their houses have been demolished and their boats and nets destroyed, all by the Security Forces. With the revival of the fishing industry, the Northern economy will also begin to revive. So also would Sri Lanka's economy.

The second priority is the early restoration of the telecommunication services and rail, road and air transport.

Vast vistas promising a golden future for the people of Sri Lanka are there - provided our politicians seize the unique opportunity afforded by the Accord.

Saturday Review, 29 August 1987

**STANDING COMMITTEE OF  
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**Annual General Meeting (1987)**

**11th OCTOBER 1987**

'Preliminary Notice' of the Annual General Meeting (1987) has been sent to all members. If any member has not received such notice kindly contact the Secretary, Dr. S. Arunachalam, (Tel: 01-904 6472).

\* \* \*

**DEEPAVALI LUNCH**

Deepavali Lunch this year will also mark the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of S.C.O.T.

**Venue:** Lola Jones Hall, Greaves Place,  
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**Date:** 18th October, 1987

**Time:** 1.00 p.m.

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### MATRIMONIAL

**JAFFNA HINDU FAMILY**, settled Singaporeans seek professionally qualified bridegroom for pretty educated daughter, 36 years (please note correct age). Bungalow owner, financially stable. Write with horoscope. **Box M185** c/o Tamil Times.

**JAFFNA HINDU PARENTS** resident in Europe seek professionally qualified bridegroom for their doctor daughter, educated and working in Europe, fair, slim and good looking. Please send horoscope when replying. Write **Box M188** c/o Tamil Times.

**MOTHER SEEKS BRIDE** for a son, age 27, U.S. engineering graduate, temporarily living in Canada to pursue further studies. He is fair, handsome and good-natured. Please write **Box M189** c/o Tamil Times.

**JAFFNA HINDU PARENTS** seek suitable partner for 20 year-old daughter, U.K. citizen, employed in London. Please write with details. Write **Box M190** c/o Tamil Times.

**BROTHER (in Australia) SEEKS** suitable partner for 38 year-old lady doctor (spinster) at present in Malaysia, with prospect of migration to Australia. Financially stable. Please write **Box M191** c/o Tamil Times.

**JAFFNA HINDU PARENTS** seek partners for their three children, son 30 years and daughters 28 and 24 years. All U.K. citizens and professionally employed in London. All three charts have Mars afflictions. Please reply with chart. **Box M192** c/o Tamil Times.

### Marriages

**S. UMAPATHISIVAM**, son of Mr. S. Sithamparappillai, retired teacher, Alaveddy and brother of Mrs. T. Sabaratnam of 86 Portland Crescent, Stanmore, Middlesex and **SUSITHRA**, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. T. Kanagaratnam of "Selvamalihai" Urumpirai, presently of No.6 Warren Road, Colliers Wood, London SW19 on August 29 at Highgate Temple.

**MANOHARAN**, son of late S. R. Arulambalam and Mrs. Arulambalam of 32 Kirkley Road, Merton Park, London SW19 and **BRIDGET LEONS**, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Leons of 13 Halley Road, Forest Gate, London E7 on August 30 at Wimbledon Pillaiyar Temple.

**KUHENDRAN**, son of Mr. and Mrs. N. S. Kandiah, 48 Connaught Road, Sutton, Surrey and **MANJULA**, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. T. Yogarajah, 18, Inner Fairline Road, Dehiwala on August 30 at Saraswathy Hall, Bambalapitiya.

**NEELENDRA**, son of Dr. N. and the late Mrs. K. Pararasasingam and **MATHUMATHY**, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. V. Kathirgamarajah, of 8 Ennismore Gardens, Thames Ditton, Surrey on September 13 at Wimbledon Town Hall.

**UNCLE SEEKS** for Hindu niece, age 33, well connected, U.K. citizen, a suitable partner with good educational background and holding a responsible position either in the public or private sector. Please apply with details and horoscope. **Box M193** c/o Tamil Times.

**JAFFNA TAMIL GYNAECOLOGIST**, well-established in the USA, seeks doctor groom for his only daughter, age 19, studying Business Management and Law in American university. Assistance in settling in USA offered. Medical student considered. Please write to **58 Farquhar Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 3RE**.

**SISTER SEEKS MARRIAGE** partner for her 42 year-old, Jaffna Tamil, Hindu, graduate engineer brother educated and based in London. Relevant information and returnable photo please. **Box M195** c/o Tamil Times.

**ENGLISHMAN, GRADUATE**, 25, London-based, studying for chartered accountancy, seeks well-educated good looking Asian girl, for sincere relationship. **Box M196** c/o Tamil Times.

**CEYLON TAMIL PARENTS** seek attractive and educated girl of fair complexion for their tall handsome son, 25, B.Sc. Computer programmer, London born. **Box M197** c/o Tamil Times.

**JAFFNA HINDU MOTHER** seeks suitable marriage partner for her 29 year-old son, studying final year degree in Electronics (London), Mars in the Seventh House. Please send horoscope with full details. **Box M198** c/o Tamil Times.

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Called to Rest 15th September, 1981

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In our hearts you are always there  
As we loved you  
So we miss you"

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Children - Rohini, Renuka, Rajiv

Sons-in-Law Vijayan, Sriharan and  
grandchildren Vasi, Ravi, Prathi, Jayanthi, Ajit.

85, Windsor Avenue, Hillingdon, Middlesex,  
UB10 9AX.

### OBITUARIES

**SUPPIAH, Mrs. Rajamalar**, wife of C. Suppiah, mother of Siriskandarajah, Ilango, Saradevi, Jayaseelan (Kuwait) and Mahendran (London). 3 Wasala Road, Kotahena.

**CHINNIAM, Nagulambikai**, wife of late P. Chinniah, mother of late Thiru, Pathma, Thirugnanam, Leela (U.K.), Arasu (U.K.), Claudette (U.K.) and Balasubramaniam 105, Inner Flower Road, Colombo 3.

**GNANARATNAM, Atputham Jayamalar** of Chundikuli. Relict of S. J. Gnanaratnam (Rtd. station master), mother of Ranjith (England), Shyamala, Nirmala and Shiromala (all of Canada). 291/6, Edward Avenue, Colombo 6.

**YOGESWARY**, wife of Manickam Suntharamoorthy, retired postmaster, and mother of Ravindramoorthy (Canada), Mahendramoorthy (West Germany), Yogendran (Colombo), Balendran (Saudi Arabia), Kunenthiran (West Germany), Wijendra (Canada), Niranjala, Devendran (U.K.) and Sachikala (West Germany). Cremated West Germany on 31 August. Kolner STR 4, 2800 Bremen 41, West Germany.

**TAMBIMUTTU, Florence**, wife of late E. D. Tambimuttu, mother of Cynthia (Sri Lanka), Ranji (U.K.), Dr. Leila (U.K.) and mother-in-law of Denzil Vilathgamuwa (U.K.) and Lt. Col. Anton Nevins Selvadurai (U.K.). Died August 23, 29 Welikadawatte, Nawala Road, Rajagiriya.

**JESUDASON, Rasamanie**, wife of late Edwin Jesudason, retired postmaster, mother of Rajes Thiruchelvam (New Zealand), Dr. Kanages Hunt (U.K.), Dr. Mahes Arulchelvam (Peradeniya), Thavarajan (Nigeria), Dr. Selvarajan (U.K.), Vimalas Gunaseelan (Jaffna), Manorajan (U.K.) and Mahil Arasaratnam (U.K.). A2, Govt. Flats, Colombo 4.

**SELVADURAI, Mrs. Lucille Thangaratnam**, wife of late J. A. Selvadurai, former teacher of Jaffna College, died 10 August, Vaddukoddi. She leaves behind her sons - J. S. Selvaratnam (Thirunelvely) and E. S. Selvarajan (U.K.), daughters - Selvaranie Mahadeva (California) and Selvamani (Vaddukoddi).

**SIVAPRAGASAM, Swarnam**, wife of late Dr. Kulam Sivapragasam, mother of Shamista de Soysa, sister of Mahen, Gnani, Sounthy and Selvendi Perinpanayagam. Cremated Sydney, 28 August. 67 Stafford Road, Artarmon, Sydney, NSW 2064.

**KENNETH SOMANADER**, retired Director of Information and Journalist passed away on June 1. He leaves behind his wife Doris nee Senaratne. His daughter Rebecca predeceased him some years ago. Kenneth was a son of the veteran schoolmaster and naturalist, S. V. O. Somanader.

**NAGENDRA, Victor**, (53) son of late Mr. and Mrs. C. N. Nagendra, husband of Shirley (nee Chellar), father of Kyle and Chrissy, brother of Rani Emmanuel and Alex Emmanuel died September 19. 54 Naylor Road, Totteridge, London N20.

**Mahajana College, Tellipallai**  
**Old Students Association**  
 (U.K. Branch)

**Jayaratnam Memorial Day**  
**General Meeting and**  
**Lunch**

Lola Jones Hall,  
 Greaves Place, Off Garratt Lane,  
 Tooting, London SW17.

at 12 noon

**Sunday, October 25, 1987**

For Tickets: Adults £3.00, Children £1.00  
 Contact: Dr. S. Navaratnam 0277-223 981  
 K. Gengatharan 01-691 7671

**A WORTHY GIFT TOWARDS**  
**A WORTHY CAUSE**

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India proposes to celebrate the 60th Birthday of Bishop Ambalavanar, which falls on February 28, 1988, by establishing an Endowment Fund for the benefit of sixty needy children in the North of Sri Lanka.

It has been worked out that at the present rate of interest a capital sum of Rs.30,000 is necessary to look after one child annually.

*The Rev. S. Jeyanesan, Co-ordinator of the J.D.C.S.I. Orphans Endowment Fund, Diocesan Office, Vaddukoddai appeals for contributions.*

Cheque/Draft/M.O. may be drawn in favour of the Treasurer, American Ceylon Mission, A/C No. 1001737 - 001 National and Grindlay's Bank.

**JAFFNA COLLEGE**  
**ALUMNI ASSOCIATION**  
**(UK Branch)**

The annual get-together took place at Lola Jones Hall, Tooting on

**August 30, 1987**

The following were elected Office-bearers for the ensuing year:

**President** - Mr. A. Selvaratnam, BEM, JP

**Vice-Presidents** - Dr. Preman Jayaratnam  
 - Dr. K. E. Chandrapal

**Joint Secretaries** - Mr. Winthy Jeyasingham  
 - Mr. Anandan Ratnarajah

**Treasurer** - Mr. R. S. Chandrarajan  
 18 St. Bride Court,  
 Colchester, Essex.

**PROFESSOR DANIEL SELVARAJAH SANDERS**, formerly Dean and Professor of Social Work at the University of Hawaii School of Social Work, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA is currently Dean and Professor of Social Work at the University of Illinois School of Social Work at Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, USA.

The following were elected  
**PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY and**  
**TREASURER of the**  
**Jaffna Central College Old Boys**  
**and Old Girls Association**  
 (UK Branch)

at the General Meeting held on  
 8 August, 1987:

**President:** Dr. S. Shivanathan

**General Secretary:** Mr. S. D. Balarajah,  
 21 Haydon Park Road,  
 London SW19  
 (Tel. 01-543 8210)

**Treasurer:** Mr. V. Sabanathan

**CONGRATULATIONS!**

*The following have recently obtained their M.B.B.S. degree from the University of London:*

**VIJANDRA IYER**

*(Charing Cross & Westminster Medical School)*

**JAYENDIRAN MOHANDAS JAYARAJAH**

*(St. George's Hospital Medical School)*

**AHALIA NAVINA JAGADEVA**

*(United Medical and Dental Schools of Guy's and St. Thomas' Hospitals)*

**SURESH THARMARATNAM**

*Charing Cross and Westminster Medical School*

**KRISHNAKUMAR PANIKKAR**

*(United Medical and Dental Schools of Guy's and St. Thomas' Hospitals)*

**STEPHEN ROMESH RASANAYAGAM**

*United Medical and Dental Schools of Guy's and St. Thomas' Hospitals*

**RAJ CHANDRAN THURAISSINGHAM**

*United Medical & Dental Schools of Guy's and St. Thomas' Hospitals*

**ON SABBATICAL**

**PROF. S. SUSEENDRARAJAH**, Head of the Department of Languages and Cultural Studies at the University of Jaffna will make use of his sabbatical leave this year to pursue post-doctoral research at the University of Edinburgh under Tamil scholar R. E. Asher of international repute. Professor Suseendrarajah will be in Edinburgh from September for one year.

**Forthcoming Events**

**Saturday, November 7, at 7 p.m.,**  
**INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL EVENING at**  
 Wandsworth Civic Centre,  
 Wandsworth High Street, London SW18.

\* \* \*

**S.C.O.T. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,**  
 3 p.m., **Sunday, 11 October, Putney**  
 Methodist Church Hall, Gwendolen  
 Avenue, London SW15.

\* \* \*

**S.C.O.T. DEEPAVALI LUNCH at 1 p.m.,**  
**Sunday, 18 October, Lola Jones Hall,**  
 Tooting, London SW17.

\* \* \*

**Saturday, October 10, at 6 p.m., St. John's**  
**OBA-Chundikuli OGA A.G.M. and**  
**REUNION DINNER, Riverdale Hall, Rennell**  
 Street, London SE13.

\* \* \*

**Sunday, October 25, at 12 noon, Mahajana**  
**College, Tellipallai MEETING and LUNCH,**  
 Lola Jones Hall, Tooting, London SW17.



**Sumathy Ponnambalam's**  
**Bharata Natya Arangetram**  
 at the Logan Hall,  
 Bedford Way, London WC1  
 on Saturday, September 12th

was one of the highlights of the Autumn London Cultural scene. She was presented by her Guru Selvaluxmy Ramakrishnan who is fast turning out to be among the top teachers of this delicate and intricate art. The performance was under the patronage of Mr. K. Padmanabhaiah, Minister of the High Commission of India, London, and Mrs. Padmanabhaiah.

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# Senior RAW mole caught with his pants down

At his farewell speech the outgoing chief of the Indian Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), S. E. Joshi "made the stunning announcement that a senior RAW-man had been arrested and charged with spying for the Americans. Most shocking was the revelation that the accused, K. V. Unnikrishnan, 47, had been in charge of coordinating what many consider to be India's sensitive covert operation - dealing with Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka."

Unnikrishnan had been posted as RAW's chief representative in Sri Lanka six years ago. According to Indian Home Ministry sources he had confessed to having been on intimate terms with a Pan American stewardess, who was either on the CIA payroll or was temporarily recruited for the job of obtaining information about Indian affairs classified as secret.

At the time of his arrest he was, for all

intents and purposes, the top intelligence man in Madras responsible for Sri Lankan operations.

"But what began to cause suspicion in the Home Ministry about the possibility of a mole in an intelligence agency was that Sri Lankan authorities appeared to know in advance the details of Indian talks with Tamil militants.

During the year's protracted nego-



tiations, the Indian side seemed unable to pull off any surprises vis-a-vis the Sri Lankans, who appeared to possess sensitive information on arms shipments to, and weapon confiscations of, the militants."

Courtesy of "India Today",  
September 30, 1987

## LATE NEWS

### TIGERS ON LINE FOR DELHI CLASH

The Tamil separatist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), killed 16 members of a rival Tamil group yesterday in an attack which followed strong criticism of India's role in Sri Lanka. The LTTE seems bent on an irreversible collision course with New Delhi.

The Tigers used mortars and machine-guns in the attack on a camp occupied by their rivals, the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam, a few miles from the northern town of Vavuniya. The weapons should have been surrendered to the Indian peacekeeping force weeks ago.

India has warned that its forces will open fire on anyone caught with weapons and resisting their confiscation. But in a statement in Jaffna, the LTTE leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, made a strong attack on the Indian Government.

He exonerated the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as an "honourable and honest" man, but accused his Government of violating the assurances Mr. Gandhi had given him.

He claimed to have been promised a "predominant role" for the LTTE in the interim administration to be set up in the north and east. Significantly, he spoke of "the interim government of the LTTE."

The LTTE has nominated nine representatives for what it supposes will be 10 council seats. That leaves just one seat for the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front and none for other Tamil groups, not to mention the Sinhalese. Even the Muslim community would be represented by the LTTE.

All this is unacceptable to the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments, the Muslims, the Sinhalese, and many Tamils. Commenting on Mr. Prabhakaran's statement, an Indian spokesman in Colombo said Mr. Gandhi had only ever promised that he would try to get the LTTE "pride of place" on the council.

The Guardian, 23 September, 1987

John Rettie reporting for The Guardian from Colombo

## Tigers preparing to confront Indians

The Tamil Tigers are shaping up for a confrontation with India, following the failure by a senior Indian diplomat at the weekend to persuade them to abandon their agitation campaign.

Mr. Nirupam Sen, India's deputy high commissioner in Colombo, flew to Jaffna yesterday for talks with the Tigers' deputy leader, Mahattiya, and their political adviser, Mr. Anton Balasingham.

In a statement issued yesterday, the Tamil Tigers said the talks had failed because Mr. Sen had given them no assurances on their complaints. These concern Sinhalese "colonisation" of Tamil areas, the failure to resettle Tamil refugees, the appointment by the Sri Lankan authorities of police in Tamil areas, and a delay in releasing Tamil detainees.

It is to press for action on these complaints that the Tigers' chief ideologist, Amirthalingam Thileepan, is in a coma and near to death, after six days of fasting without water. The Indians had hoped that, by talking to the Tigers' leaders, they could persuade them to call off the fast.

But the Tigers are presenting Thileepan as making a heroic self-sacrifice for non-negotiable principles. To the Indians, on the other hand, who find Mahatma Gandhi being quoted at them by the Tigers, the present demands are the stuff of political negotiation, not of principle.

Mr. Sen told them that no one fasts against a friend, or against a positive process - that is, the Indo-Sri Lankan peace agreement. In a later statement, the Indian high commissioner accused the Tigers of obstructing the agreement, and Mr. Sen told them this could lose them friends in India as well as in Sri Lanka.

But in another statement earlier yesterday, The Tamil Tigers' top leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, accused the Indian secret service, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), of responsibility for the violence of the past few weeks in the North and East, which has cost at least 100 lives,

mainly of Tamil militant groups opposed to the Tigers.

He said that the RAW had brought the rival groups, whom it had armed and trained, over to Sri Lanka and unleashed them on the Tamil Tigers. This was denounced by the Indian high commission here as "a mischievous and motivated allegation designed to cover up their own fratricidal killing of their fellow Tamils."

With their increasingly acerbic exchanges, there now seems no way to prevent Thileepan's death, or the trial of strength between Indian and Tigers' forces which is likely to follow it.

The Indians fully expect trouble if Thileepan dies and are prepared for it. What will now be put to the test is the relative popularity of the Tigers and the Indians in Tamil areas.

The Guardian, 21 September, 1987

### Citizenship Deadline

ALL THOSE who hold Commonwealth passports should regularise their applications for British citizenship under the new Immigration Law coming into force on December 31, 1987. Unless they apply for British Citizenship before this date they will lose their automatic right to become British citizens. After that date, it will be at the discretion of the Home Secretary to grant citizenship.

All information and citizenship and naturalisation forms can be obtained from the **Nationality Division, Home Office, Lunar House, Wellesley Road, Croydon CR9 2BY** or by phoning **01-696 3441**.

The forms could also be obtained from Citizens Advice Bureaux, Community Relations Councils and other Community Organisations.

The registration fee for Commonwealth citizens is £60.