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A.P. Venkateswaran

THE GREAT FAILURE

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?



S. Sivanayagam

BATTLE FOR THE LEGACY OF MGR

Contesting MGR's seat against Janaki?



MGR's niece Leelavathy



Two of the injured Congress(I) MLAs, Mrs. D. Yasoda and Mr. R. Eswaran

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AN ISLAND ON THE BRINK

THE speech that caused the enforced resignation of Ronnie de Mel from the post of Finance Minister in President Jayawardene's cabinet is significant in more than one sense. In the course of an intervention in the debate on the eleventh budget he had presented, Ronnie told parliament, 'I am a strong believer in parliamentary democracy and parliamentary elections. . . Most of our troubles stemmed from the fact that we did not hold parliamentary elections at the correct time. In fact it is strange that there are only 17 Members of this House who have been elected after 1977. . . So I think this Parliament is stale. It is obsolete and obsolescent. . . I think we should hold them (elections) before the people of this country get up and say, "In God's name go".'

Such a view, coming from a person of Ronnie's stature and position, gives the lie to the often repeated claim that Sri Lanka is a 'vibrant third world democracy'. As far as the Tamil people were concerned, parliamentary elections held no prospect. They continued to be discriminated, oppressed and marginalised by successive governments coming to power after duly held elections. In the event, through the subterfuge of the 6th Amendment to the Constitution, even their elected MPs were ousted.

The Sinhalese people defeated six governments in as many elections since independence. And it is the Sinhalese people who really lost by the abolition of elections in December 1982. Fed with a daily diet of anti-Tamil propaganda, the bulk of the Sinhalese people were hoodwinked and their cherished right to vote at periodic elections was taken away by the man who came to inaugurate a 'just and free society'.

Ronnie is right when he says that most of the troubles stem from the fact that elections were not held in due time. Mature societies have learnt by experience that the provision of space for democratic dissent and the opportunity to give practical effect to such dissent through periodic elections are guarantees against people resorting to extra-parliamentary methods.

Ronnie is one of those Ministers who strongly advocated the lifting of the ban on the Janatha Vimukhi Peramuna (JVP). The JVP has continued to remain proscribed since July 1983 for no conceivable reason. Unable to operate legally and without an opportunity to express its viewpoint openly to the people, the JVP and its leader Rohana Wijeweera have carried on their activities from underground. Presently the JVP is engaging in a

campaign of unprecedented violence in the course of which many people have been killed in the most brutal manner.

From all accounts, the campaign of violence by the JVP is escalating every day. Government party MPs and its members and supporters, senior and lowly placed government and police officials, bank employees etc. have been killed. What is sinister and dangerous about this violent campaign is that it is not confined to government targets. Those who are totally opposed to the government have already fallen victims, among whom are members of the Communist Party, former JVP members, some student union and trade union activists etc. The LSSP and CP headquarters buildings have been set on fire. Civil and human rights organisations which have campaigned for a negotiated solution to the ethnic conflict have been threatened with dire consequences. The latest victim of this campaign of terror is Vijaya Kumaranatunga, the leader of the Sri Lanka Peoples Party, who has taken a very positive line on the ethnic question.

The murder of Kumaranatunga has sent shockwaves of terror across the country. The Sinhalese people who did not miss a single night's sleep over the tragic happenings in the north and east for the last four years find that violence is at the door step of every Sinhalese home. The government in characteristic form has responded by arresting and detaining thousands of Sinhalese youth on suspicion. The armed forces have been deployed every where in the south. The Special Task Force, specially trained by ex-SAS personnel to deal with Tamil insurgency, has been deployed in the south. Already reports emanating from the area indicate many 'disappearances' and dead bodies of persons taken into custody being found in ditches.

As President Jayawardene remains in the Presidential palace enjoying his last years in office in splendid isolation, his prime Minister and Ministers are going about the country making speeches contradicting the positions adopted by the President showing signs that the government itself is in serious crisis.

In this month of the 40th independence anniversary, which the Colombo authorities celebrated with the usual pomp and pageantry while an estimated 50,000 foreign troops remain in the north and east of the country and over whom the government or the President has little or no control, Sri Lanka is on the brink of national disintegration.

IPKF OFFENSIVE IN EAST SRI LANKA

As we go to press, the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) began a concerted offensive on 13 January in the Sri Lankan eastern district of Batticaloa after having saturated the area with thousands of troops airlifted during the previous several days. An indefinite dusk to dawn curfew was imposed as the offensive commenced. A house to house search was being carried out in which thousands of troops participated.

The failure of the IPKF in its effort to contain or subdue the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the many relatively successful operations by the LTTE would appear to have persuaded India to introduce thousands of soldiers with a view to putting into effect one of the most concerted attempts so far undertaken to 'flush out the Tigers'.

Even before the operation began, a Catholic priest said that 'the town is full of soldiers. They are everywhere'.

Details of the impact of the operation are sketchy, but the curfew has no doubt severely disrupted normal life for the people. It is also reported that several young Tamils who have been taken into custody were paraded before 'hooded informers' in a screening exercise, and whenever the informer nodded his head as a person passed him, that person was taken away for further interrogation.

John Rettie, of the Guardian reporting from Colombo, quoting Indian High Commission sources, has said that some senior Tiger leaders of the area including 'Sitha', the eastern political commander of the LTTE and three

others, Francis, Simba and Subesan have been captured, although the main leaders had escaped northwards when information about the IPKF swoop leaked. Subesan is reported to have killed himself by swallowing a cyanide pill immediately after being captured, while the attempt to commit suicide by Sitha was thwarted by members of the IPKF. The report added that the IPKF had blocked the escape route to the south towards Amparai.

The same report further said that while the IPKF distributed rations to the people who ran short of food during the curfew and generally allowed female relatives to take food to their men, the LTTE for its part are reported to have lifted their civil disobedience campaign in Batticaloa that crippled the civil administration.

VIJAYA KUMRANATUNGA ASSASSINATED



The leader of the Sri Lanka Mahajana (Peoples) Party (SLMP), Vijaya Kumaranatunga was assassinated on 16 February by two gunmen outside his Colombo residence. One of his colleagues who was with him at the time of the shooting was also killed.

Two gunmen on motor cycles had waited near Vijaya's house and as he came out to get into his car was shot at point-blank range. He died almost instantly.

No one doubted that the assassination was carried out by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (Peoples Liberation Front — JVP) which has undertaken a ruthless campaign of murder in the recent past. The sheer brutality and the method of the killing bore all the hallmarks of the JVP handiwork. The method adopted in the recent gunning down of the ruling United National Party Chairman, Harsha Abeywardene, and the Police Chief of the Counter Subversion Unit were exactly

similar.

At 43, Mr. Kumaranatunga had turned out to be a charismatic and popular leader. Before entering politics in a serious way, he was one of the most popular film stars and became the darling of Sri Lanka's cinema screen. His entry into active politics came through his marriage to Chandrika, the second daughter of the former Prime Minister and leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Mrs. S. Bandaranayake. Combining with Chandrika who was more ideologically oriented than anyone in the Bandaranayake family, Vijaya soon came into direct political collision with the son of Mrs. Bandaranayake, Anura who was on the extreme right wing of the party. The ensuing battle, with Mrs. B taking the side of Anura, led to a break-up of the family and the exit of Vijaya and Chandrika from the SLFP and founding of the SLMP.

The SLMP, and Vijaya in particular

took a positive line on the ethnic question always vigorously arguing for a negotiated political solution as opposed to the military approach of the government and the SLFP. At a time when the government was pursuing crude military attacks in Tamil areas and the anti-Tamil propaganda was at full throttle, Vijaya visited Jaffna and Madras and met all the leaders of the Tamil militant groups. He was one of the few Sinhalese leaders who could and did visit Jaffna and talk with ease to the Tamil militants. The photographs of him embracing Tamil militant leaders were used in the south to vilify him politically.

Vijaya and his party strongly supported Indo-Sri Lanka accord and the grant of regional autonomy to the Tamils, but at the same time consistent and ardent in their opposition to the present government.

Vijaya's outright condemnation of the terror tactics of the JVP made him an obvious target of its assassination squads. Only two days before he fell victim to JVP terrorism, Vijaya spoke at the funeral of a Communist Party organiser who had himself been assassinated allegedly by the JVP. In the course of his speech, Vijaya denounced JVP's terrorist attacks on left politicians, human rights activists, student leaders and trade unionists and declared that he would never abandon 'the struggle against terrorism, as well as against the capitalist government even at the risk of our lives'. His attacks on JVP terrorism was given full coverage on TV. The JVP's response was quick and characteristically brutal.

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BATTLE FOR THE LEGACY OF MGR

THIRD LADY IN THE RING

(from our Madras correspondent)

As to who is entitled to the legacy of the late M.G.Ramachandran is the battle-cry that is echoing across the political skyline in Tamil Nadu. Only second in importance is the issue of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord and the role and actions of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in the island and this is likely to dominate the forthcoming electoral campaign.

The inglorious end of Tamil Nadu's shortest-lived (just 24 days) administration of Janaki, the wife of the late MGR who had the honour of ruling the State for the longest spell as Chief Minister, came following the unprecedented rowdy and violent scenes in the State Assembly on 28 January.

The AIADMK had irretrievably split into two warring factions, one supporting Janaki and the other led by Jayalalitha. The Janaki faction had the support of 97 MLAs of the AIADMK in the 234 member Assembly. When the 61 strong Congress(I) contingent decided to oppose Janaki, the game was up and it was certain that she would not win the confidence vote to continue as Chief Minister. However, urged by AIADMK's strong man, Veerappan, Janaki attempted to cling to power although a little knowledge of arithmetic and a little respect for democracy would have convinced her otherwise.

The unseemly scenes at MGR's death-bed and later at the funeral, the ferocious factional feuding and the intrigues and counter-intrigues within the AIADMK which began shortly after the funeral paled into insignificance in the context of the extraordinary tactics adopted by the Janaki faction in an effort to cling to power — the unconstitutional actions of the Speaker, P.H.Pandian, in expelling from the Assembly all AIADMK MLAs belonging to the Jayalalitha faction and the use of baton wielding policemen and armed hooligans to beat up opposition

MLAs in a clear effort to oust them from the Assembly. The State Governor, S.L.Khurana, had enabled this cynical exercise by his rather curious ruling that a simple majority of 'those present and voting' during the vote of confidence in the Assembly was sufficient for Janaki to continue in power.

Constitutional procedures were violated, democratic norms were undermined and the very image of Tamil Nadu was tarnished by the antics of the minority faction to continue in power. But the victory claimed by Janaki in the vote of confidence with the support of 99 MLAs in an Assembly where less than half the members were present proved to be short-lived. And when the State administration was dismissed and Presidential rule imposed under Article 356 of the Constitution on 30 January, there was a sigh of relief allround. Dismissal of State administrations and imposition of Presidential rule have never been a popular exercise in India. But in the case of Tamil Nadu on this occasion, the New Delhi's decision was received with universal acclaim, the obvious sole objection coming from the Janaki faction.

New Delhi and Congress(I) had promised support to an 'undivided legacy of MGR', but the AIADMK was divided beyond repair. There was open warfare and a plethora of court battles. Unable to resolve the conflicting claims, the AIADMK Head Quarters had been sealed by the police preventing its use by either faction. Despite the claim by many, there was no one large enough to make a legitimate claim to the vast legacy bequeathed by MGR. Angry at the decision of Congress(I) to topple her, Janaki, who had visited New Delhi before her dismissal and promised her full support to Rajiv Gandhi, is now said to be embarking on an anti-New Delhi crusade. One issue on which she has already expressed her views is the Indian approach to the Sri Lanka Tamil question. Although she has not so far voiced her criticism of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord which had the support of her late husband, Janaki has already made critical comments about the actions of the IPKF in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka.

Enjoying the allegiance of many Ministers of the late MGR's administration including the former acting Chief Minister V.R.Nedunchezian and M.G.R.'s confidant Panruti S.Ramachandran, the Jayalalitha faction claims to have the support of the majority of the rank and file of the AIADMK. Jayalalitha the film star had acted in several films together with the late MGR. She was very close to him and was seen with him by millions of Tamilians both in films and real life unlike Janaki who had been relegated



JAYALALITHA

to the background and never interested herself in politics while MGR was alive. Now Jayalalitha is making a determined bid for MGR's mantle and legacy. And what is this legacy?

According to Panruti Ramachandran, 'MGR's legacy means that whatever issues arose in our State MGR used to solve them with a national outlook. As has been rightly mentioned by the Prime Minister, whether it was the Sri Lanka issue or the language issue, or any such problem, he always had national and patriotic feelings. . . After our late revered leader 'Anna' it was only MGR who had an allround understanding of national as well as international problems. . . Naturally people like us who have been closely associated with him and who have been fortunate enough to be trained by him have imbibed that outlook, particularly Ms.Jayalalitha, Mr.Nedunchezian. They will inherit such a legacy'. From this definition and the fact that Panruti Ramachandran was the liaison man between New Delhi and MGR on the Sri Lanka issue, and also the fact that Jayalalitha was met by Rajiv Gandhi for one hour when she visited the capital (as opposed to the half-an-hour given to Janaki), it is more probable that Jayalalitha's faction will work closely in alliance with Congress(I) during the elections as AIADMK did under MGR.

In the battle of the two ladies in MGR's life, a third lady also has entered the ring. She is Leelavathy, the daughter of M.G.Chakrapani, the older brother of MGR, and himself not an insignificant film actor in his days. As the niece of MGR, Leelavathy is also said to have been close to MGR in a different sense. It was her kidney that was donated to MGR and the kidney transplant saved MGR's life. It would seem that Janaki resented the closeness between MGR and the Chakrapani family and had contrived in the past

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JANAKI

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The Tamil saying about the man who fell off a palmyrah tree and (in his dazed condition) was trampled by a bull, was how people of Jaffna perceived their fate when on 10th October 1987 the Indian Peace Keeping Force — true to its name until then — launched its 'Operation Pawan' in the peninsula.

'Operation Pawan' came at a time when the people had hardly recovered their breath from the bombs and the blockade of the Sri Lanka Government's 'Operation Liberation' in the Vadamarachchi region in late May. In between the two came 'Operation Poomalai' — the airdropping of 22½ TONNES OF Indian relief supplies, a mere bagatelle coming to think of it for a besieged population of 850,000, but whooshing out of the rear doors of five Antonov 32 transports and dramatically floating on parachutes to land on territory which had hitherto seen only 50lb bombs whizzing from the air. While Colombo burst out in anger and called it 'naked violation of Sri Lanka's sovereignty and independence'. Jaffna went cock-a-hoop for a while; having nurtured themselves for centuries on emotional dependence on India, the otherwise hard-boiled Jaffna citizens lulled themselves into a sense of naivety which is a misplaced attribute in the new world of State power equations, where cynicism, not sentiment, is the central fact.

One would think that three 'operations' (two overt and one deceptive) within six months, involving two governments, were enough to crush the spirit of a mere 8-lakh people who had faced for over three long years every act of inhumanity possible at the hands of their own government, not barring aerial bombing and helicopter strafing. The fact that needs underlining here is that the Ceylonese Tamil has an infinite capacity to survive! Unlike the supine fatalistic Tamilian of Tamilnadu, who had never faced State terrorism anyway, and quite in contrast to the unpredictably volatile but usually easy-going Sinhalese, the Eelam Tamil is a capable crisis-manager. I was told that hardly had the Vadamarachchi operation died down leaving a trail of death and destruction, an enterprising private minibus operator was already busy recouping his losses with quick 'conducted tours' of the 'ruins'. Which only goes to show that while a certain amount of self-pity, angry remonstrance and licking of wounds is inevitable, life must go on nevertheless. And now that the wind of 'Operation Pawan' has virtually blown over in the shell-struck peninsular part-wasteland, we hear reports of moon-struck romances sprouting — among romantic IPKF personnel and local lasses, some we are assured even ending in betrothals and marriage! Under which law, Sri Lankan or Indian, one does not know.

S.SIVANAYAGAM

(Founder Editor, Saturday Review)

Since public memory is always short, let us go back a little in time. On 27 May 1987, President Jayewardene claimed that the Vadamarachchi operation was a fight to the finish: 'We have decided to fight and the fight will go on until they win or we win. . . we have taken three or four years to get ready. . . everything must be put into winning this war, if I may call it a war'. (Reuters, The Independent, London).

On 28 May, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi gave Colombo this warning: 'The time to desist from a military occupation of Jaffna is now. Later may be too late. From the rubble and the ashes there can only arise the total alienation of an entire people, a more determined militancy and more extreme options'. (John Elliott in Colombo, Financial Times, London, 29 May).

On 31 May, the Sunday Times, London, carried the headline: Rajiv urged to send troops to Sri Lanka. Reporting from Delhi, Tavleen Singh wrote: 'Rajiv Gandhi the Indian Prime Minister was under increasing pressure yesterday to intervene militarily in Sri Lanka. . . Unconfirmed reports in Delhi suggested that several hundred Indian paratroopers had already been airlifted to the southern city of Madras in readiness for an attack. The reports, which a senior Indian government source refused to confirm or deny, said the paratroopers would be used if Sri Lankan forces continued to bomb the Tamil city of Jaffna. . . '.

The London Observer of the same date reported: 'The sighting of two Indian Navy frigates in Sri Lankan waters has fuelled speculation in Colombo that the Indian Government may yet intervene in the military offensive against separatists guerrillas in the north of the country, wrote Shyam Bhatia and Lucien Rajakaruna. . . '.

The more significant part of the report said: 'Any Indian intervention at this stage would be contrary to what Colombo sources say was an 'understanding' reached between Delhi and Colombo before the offensive started. One Sri Lankan newspaper, the government-controlled Sunday Observer, claimed that Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has given the Sri Lanka Government the go-ahead for an offensive against the main Tamil group, the Tigers. Although Gandhi has since urged Jayewardene to halt his offensive, his appeal has been interpreted in Colombo as a ritual gesture to appease his own opposition and Tamil groups in southern India. But Gandhi may be forced to change his policy if the offensive is prolonged and the Tigers can mobilise support from their Tamil coreligionists in India.'

NO ROOM FOR ALTRUISM

Before the Tamils pose to themselves the question: 'Where do we go from here?', they might as well look back at these various media reports and decide to which of them were supposed to attach serious credibility — President Jayewardene's threat, Prime Minister Rajiv's stern warning, the unconfirmed airlifting of India paratroopers, the sighting of the Indian frigates, or the Sri Lankan government controlled SUNDAY OBSERVER version of the 'understanding' between Delhi and Colombo? I offer this as an exercise for thought and analysis (on hindsight) on the part of all thinking Tamils. Even if one dismisses the last-mentioned as a piece of calculated mischief on the part of the Colombo establishment. Tamils as a people have to learn to grow out of sloppy, sentimental thinking when assessing motivations and compulsions of governments. No nation, small or big, whether it is despotism or democracy, is ever guided in its policy except in terms of its own self-interest. It would be futile searching for altruism or morality in the dungheap of geopolitics. If any nation talks about them — and quite a few do talk morality now and then — it has to be recognised as acts of posture, not to be confused as declarations of policy.

One might say that this is a tragic state of affairs, but we live in tragic times when the stranglehold of the State over its citizens is becoming more brazen and the rights of the citizens vis-a-vis the State are being snuffed out, sadly enough in surviving Asian democracies. When governments opt for military solutions, the imbalance between the rights of the citizens and the prerogative of the State becomes more flagrant. What goes by the name of the defence of the citizens by the State is quite often the other way round; as in Sri Lanka where President Jayewardene had successfully persuaded the bulk of the Sinhalese citizens into defending the State. Once citizens are bamboozled into an illusory concept of patriotism, it is a matter of time for State power to get concentrated in the hands of a caucus which could decide policy not even in the self-interest of the nation, but purely as a means of self-preservation. In Sri Lanka today, the extreme position has been reached where the State itself appears to have 'withered' and has diminished into the authority of one man — President Jayewardene who might as well echo the supposed words of King Louis XIV: 'I am the State'. When any nation reaches this pass, the next phase cannot be expected to lead into any semblance of order. The residual options will be hard; they could range from anarchy, revolution or fore-

(Contd. on next page)

ign occupation! Cynical as it may sound, in such an eventuality, it is Sinhala society that would have to pay the price — for decades of monopolising the State to the exclusion of Tamils.

NO MATTER FOR SELF-PITY

While it is true that the Tamils have suffered, and suffered grievously at the hands of two governments, that need not be a matter for self-pity. One cannot think of any other liberation struggle of any small nation of people in contemporary times that had led to such far-reaching consequences or historic changes in such short period of time (less than a decade) as to what has been achieved by Tamil militancy. What Tamils have gone through in the recent past, and probably destined to go through for some more time in the near future, is what Alvin Toffler termed as 'future shock' — the 'shattering stress and disorientation' when people are subjected to 'too much change in too short a time'. The Irish Rebellion began over 800 years ago and is not ended yet! It took 100 years of revolutionary ferment and defeat and disaster in 1905 involving the deaths of over 10,000 workers and peasants before the Russian Revolution succeeded in 1917. The Zionist movement propounded the idea of a 'Jewish national home' way back in 1897 and despite qualified support by the strong imperial power of Britain through the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the state of Israel did not come into being until 1948. The Palestinian Arabs who fled their homeland for fear of death since then, are yet waiting for a home despite international recognition accorded to the Palestinian liberation struggle. But while the Jews had no common territory nor a common economic life at the time of the founding of Israel, dispersed as they were in several countries and belonging to different political systems, and while the Palestinians today are steadfastly carrying on a liberation struggle without a territory, the Tamils in Ceylon do have their own territory (even leaving out the disputed East) and do have a common economic life as well as a settled identity in the land of their birth, however distributed it may be at this point of time. Qualitatively therefore, the credit column of Tamil aspirations far outweigh the debit side — the loss of thousands of lives over the years, the suffering, loss of property and the present diaspora outside their homeland notwithstanding.

The answer to the question: 'Where do we go from here?' lies in an honest answer to the more relevant question: 'What do we want?'. Are we yet looking for an honourable accommodation within the Sinhala State? — a pursuit in which we had failed in the long 40 years of independence and which made us bravely declare in 1977 thus:

'There is only one alternative and that is to proclaim with the stamp of finality and fortitude that we alone shall rule over our land our forefathers ruled. Sinhalese imperialism shall quit our

Homeland. The Tamil United Liberation Front regards the general election of 1977 as a means of proclaiming to the Sinhalese Government this resolve of the Tamil nation. . . Hence the TULF seeks in the General Election the mandate of the Tamil nation to establish an independent, sovereign, secular socialist State of Tamil Eelam that includes all the geographically contiguous areas that have been the traditional homelands of the Tamil-speaking people in the country. . . .

REALITIES

Ten years later now, do we dismiss it as a piece of mistimed rhetoric and say: Jayawardhanapura here we come? Or do we think that in the radically changed circumstances and in the wake of the consequences that followed the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement that such a recourse is now possible? Or maybe, sensible? I asked a Tamil academic this question, and he said, hesitantly though, Yes. Or do we go to the other end of the spectrum and ask the question, hypothetical as it may seem: Do we seek an accommodation WITHIN the Indian State? Some people are prone to think that it is inescapable at some future time, or otherwise even advantageous to us in the long run. Or do we chose the third option; carry forward the liberation struggle to its logical conclusion, even if it means temporising for the moment, given the overpowering odds that we are now up against?

Whichever way one decides, there are certain sets of realities that, willy-nilly we have to face. To whichever polity we choose to belong, our future for all time, (whatever grievance we may have with Indian policy) is inextricably linked with the Indian sub-continent and the Indian people. This is not a negative assertion but a positive one. What is more, India is no longer the India of Jawaharlal Nehru which walked tall amidst the comity of nations relying mostly on a moral authority derived from the Gandhian struggle

for independence. Much water has flowed down the Ganga since then. India today is a country with a formidable military muscle, and acutely conscious of it. She is the 'policeman' of the Indian Ocean region and a tested ally of a superpower.

There are other realities. Liberation struggles are a far cry from conventional Parliamentary politics. It would be foolish to try to mix the two. The most resonant vocal chords of politicians are no substitute for Kalashnikov guns, and public platforms do not meet the needs as do landmines. On the other hand, the world does not look kindly on liberation struggles. Since most countries have their own domestic compulsions, governments usually tend to stay with other governments. They develop an identity of interest in crushing all popular movements, non-violent or violent; with a show of greater moral concern if they happen to be the latter. The United Nations itself cannot be expected to act as a watchdog of human rights or the right of self-determination of oppressed peoples. More often than not, it behaves as a lapdog of powerful nations and groups. On the question of Biafra, the UN identified itself with the Establishment regardless of the immense toll of human lives and suffering. On the Eritrean struggle it has continued to look the other way. The Kurds are faring no better. As some cynic who once threw his hands in despair, even God appears to be on the side of the big battalions!

We have therefore to find honest answers to the Following questions: Do we as a people have the stomach to carry on a sustained struggle? Do we have the bold conviction that there is no other alternative? Are we ready to pay the price for such a bold conviction?

There is an Arab proverb that goes thus: 'GOD SAYS, TAKE WHAT YOU WANT IN LIFE, BUT PAY FOR IT'. The cardinal weakness of the Tamils is that, while they would like to take what they want, they begin protesting the moment they are asked to pay for it!

'AGENDA FOR SETTLEMENT by Indo-Sri Lanka Society

Indo-Sri Lanka Society which met on 14 February in Madurai in south India has, by way of a resolution, put forward an agenda of four demands in order to create a conducive climate for the strengthening of the democratic process in Sri Lanka.

The resolution was adopted following a seminar held under the auspices of the Society and addressed by ex-Supreme Court Judge V.R.Krishna Iyer, President of Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress P.Nedumaran, president of the Madurai University Teachers Association and two Sri Lankans H.N.Fernando and Maheswari Velayutham.

The four demands were:

(a) Effective implementation of the

accord including a critical review of all measures taken so far towards devolution of powers and protection of the rights of the Tamil minority;

(b) Creation of a panel of eminent men and women who have distinguished themselves in the field of human rights to go into all instances of all human rights violations by the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the LTTE and put out a report;

(c) Release of all political prisoners including those belonging to the Tamil community in the north and east and up-country areas and Sinhalese from the south; and

(d) General elections throughout the island.

LTTE SEEKS MAJORITY ROLE TO SURRENDER ARMS

The leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has in an appeal dated 13 January urged the Indian Prime Minister to 'call off military offensive operation and initiate peace negotiation to end all hostilities'.

The following is the text of Mr.Prabhakaran's appeal:

In view of continuing violence, disruption of peace in Tamil areas and the immense suffering placed on our people, I appeal to you once again to call off military offensive operation and initiate peace negotiation to end all hostilities and to establish peace and normalcy.

It is our considered opinion and that of the people of Tamil Eelam that a cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of Peace Keeping forces to pre-offensive position will facilitate the return of peace and normalcy in the Tamil areas.

As a preliminary measure towards peace, we urge you to prevail upon Sri Lanka to grant amnesty to LTTE and to release our members and supporters

who are presently in custody with the IPKF.

As previously agreed in the minutes of agreement entered between the Government of India and the LTTE, we pledge to surrender our arms as soon as an Interim Administration is formed with a majority role for our organisation.

As we have repeatedly assured you, the LTTE will co-operate with the Government of India with the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord if Tamil interests are promoted and Tamil people are protected. We hold the view that the provincial council proposals in the present form falls short of Tamil aspirations and the LTTE should be allowed a crucial role in future negotiations to work out an adequate frame work with satisfactory devolution of power for a regional Tamil state.

I sincerely hope that you will give serious and urgent consideration to our suggestion and initiate immediate measures for ceasefire and negotiation to establish peace and alleviate the suffering of our people.

'FRESH INITIATIVE' CALL BY LEADING INDIANS

A group of leading Indian citizens comprising jurists, religious dignitaries, political analysts and scholars have called for a fresh initiative to end the conflict in Sri Lanka.

The appeal made on the eve of President Jayawardene's visit to attend the Indian Republic Day celebrations stressed that the initiative should aim at securing a general amnesty to all political prisoners in detention at the time of signing the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, early general elections and genuine devolution of power.

Urging the government of India to re-examine its policy relating to Sri Lanka, the signatories said that they

were 'greatly perturbed about the current situation and the likely course of events should the present trends continue'.

The appeal also urged the Indian government to reopen negotiations with the LTTE and other Tamil militant groups with the objective of bringing them together. They also favoured a serious dialogue with the Sri Lankan opposition parties on how devolution could be made acceptable to all sections of the population.

The signatories included V.R. Krishna Iyer, P.N.Haksar, Nikhil Chakravarty, Rev.Casimir, Rajini Kothari, Prof.Ashish Mandy and K.Elangovan.

First Asian Adjudicator

Mrs. J.Chatwani has been appointed by the Lord Chancellor as a full time Immigration Appeals Adjudicator based in Harmondsworth.

Mrs. J.Chatwani was called to the bar from Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1959 together with her solicitor husband now practising in Southall. Mrs. J. Chatwani served as a Counsellor in the United Kingdom Immigrants Advisory Service until 1978 and thereafter as a Legal Officer in the Commission for Racial Equality. She was appointed as a part time Adjudicator in 1980.

RS.10 Billion Trade Deficit

For the first six months of 1987, Sri Lanka suffered a trade deficit of Rs.10 billion. Total exports amounted to Rs.17.9 billion during this period while imports rose up to Rs.28.5 billion. The deficit for the corresponding period during the previous year was Rs.9.5 billion.

Japan was the largest exporter of goods to Sri Lanka during this period with Rs.4.8 billion or 17 per cent of total imports. United Kingdom was second with 7.1 per cent and the United States with 6.4 per cent.

TULF Calls for talks between India and LTTE

The Tamil United Front leader, Mr.A.Amirthalingam, in a recent press interview called upon the Indian government to resume negotiations with the LTTE with a view to enable the latter to take part in the political process. He also said that the LTTE should take some 'meaningful steps' to help in the resumption of negotiations.

Mr.Amirthalingam added that 'an interim administration representative of the Tamil people living in the northern and eastern provinces' should be set up without delay so that it could handle rehabilitation and reconstruction work thus inspiring confidence among the Tamil refugees to get back to their homes and villages.

Mr.Amirthalingam felt that all the Tamil groups should be represented on the interim administration and the number of seats that should be allotted to the different groups could be decided through negotiations between them and the Indian government.

GOVT. AGENT GUNNED DOWN

Mr.M.M.Makbool, the Government Agent of Sri Lanka's north-western district of Mannar was shot dead on 2 January. It was reported that before he was shot dead on 22 January. It was reported that before he was gunned down, the G.A. was questioned by the area leader of the LTTE regarding his continued co-operation in the carrying out of the civil administration of the district, particularly in respect of resettlement of Tamil refugees returning from south India.

It is to be observed that the LTTE has put up posters asking the people and government employees in the northern and eastern provinces not to co-operate with the Indian Peace Keeping Force in running the civil administration of these areas.

LTTE CLAIMS 1,037 IPK LIVES

Posters put up by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Vavuniya on 25 January claimed that as many as 1,037 men belonging to the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) were killed since October 10 last year when the confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE started. As against such heavy casualties of the IPKF, only 170 LTTE men were killed, according to the posters' claim.

The poster also claims that over 2,000 IPKF men were injured, and 14 Indian tanks, 30 jeeps and some helicopters were destroyed.

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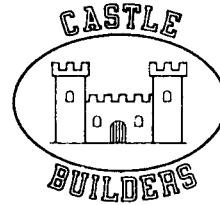
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THE GREAT FAILURE

BY A.P. VENKATESWARAN
(former Foreign Secretary of India)

CLAUSEWITZ is often quoted imprecisely as having stated that 'war is diplomacy carried on by other means'. In fact, the correct quotation is: 'War is politics carried on by other means'. But since wars take place usually between countries and nations and they therefore represent an international phenomenon, regrettable though it may be, the basic concept in this famous statement remains unchanged. Obviously, therefore, wars take place only when diplomacy fails. Diplomacy clearly is preferable to the use of violence to yield the desired results and for realising national objectives.

However unpalatable it may be to us, by this litmus test of the numbers of wars fought, there have been more failures in India's diplomacy than that of any other country one can think of since World War II. India has fought four defensive wars: in 1948 with Pakistan over Kashmir; in 1962 with China on our eastern and western borders; in 1964 with Pakistan over Kutch; and in 1965 again with Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir.

The fifth war in 1971 with Pakistan fell in a slightly different category. Although Pakistan had provided the provocation by suddenly bombing a number of military and civilian airfields in India, the strategic aim of India was to use the opening given by Pakistan, by going to the help of the Mukhti Bahini forces in the then east Pakistan, so as to bring about the birth of Bangladesh as a new state. This achievement is still without any parallel in world history after World War II. The 1971 war had many special characteristics which are to be fully analysed by future historians.

While there was great provocation and pressure at the time on India due to the enormous influx of refugees from the then east Pakistan, with over 10 million men, women and children having to be provided with food, shelter and clothing by an already impoverished India, the Pakistani bombing of our airfields provided the necessary legitimacy for the offensive mounted by us. There was a national purpose served which was understood by and had the support of the entire Indian people.

The latest hidden war which now rages in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, in the guise of a peace-keeping operation by the IPKF, however, falls in a totally different

category. Never before in independent India has one heard of a 'peace-keeping force' resorting to full-scale hostilities against citizens of a foreign country to support a tottering regime from collapsing under the weight of its own errors of commission and omission. What is more, for the first time India has placed its armed forces under the overall command of a foreign head of state, reducing our gallant forces to the status of a mercenary contingent. This is indeed a blot on the fair name of our armed forces which have only fought in the defence of our motherland or served proudly in peace-keeping exercises of the United Nations.

The India-Sri Lanka agreement of July 29, 1987 is a unique example of the failure of Indian diplomacy on many fronts. Not because our diplomats were lacking in skill, but because the political leadership could not look beyond its nose. The agreement itself was a hastily put-together patchwork without taking into account India's true national interests, the consequences that could result from such an armed intervention by India, the long-term negative impact this would have on the country's reputation and standing vis-a-vis our neighbours, and last, but not the least, the heavy cost in money material and men that would have to be borne by the nation as a whole in what is evidently a mindless and counter-productive exercise.

It is a public secret that the decision to conclude the India-Sri Lanka agreement was taken by a small coterie without consulting others who should have been involved. If the professional diplomats had been consulted, the decision may have been very different.

In this day and age of supercomputers and space exploration, when governments have to look as far into the future as is humanly possible, India's involvement in Sri Lanka has broken the basic ground rules of diplomacy and of defence. The national interest of India, which is often quoted as being served by the intervention of the IPKF, in what is essentially an internal matter of another country, has been jeopardised rather than furthered, with no thought of the repercussions. It has become fashionable to brush aside even constructive criticism and to accuse anyone criticising the armed action in Sri Lanka of being anti-national.

Not so long ago the same charge of being anti-national had been, at the highest level, against members of Parliament who had questioned the steeply enhanced defence budget. A strange charge indeed, which adversely affects the entire purpose of having an elected Parliament in a democracy, where its members have the duty under our Constitution to debate all matters affecting the nation, whether internal or external, thereby providing the necessary balance which would help in the formulation by government of mature, carefully thought-out policies.

There is sufficient evidence today to establish that the draft of the India-Sri Lanka agreement sent by Sri Lanka had been cleared within a few days by

our leadership for formal signature. No one apparently questioned the sudden change of heart of the president of Sri Lanka who had till only a few weeks earlier, been adamant that he would not merge the northern and eastern provinces and would not tolerate a unified ethnic Tamil entity to be formed. It may also be noted here that the India-Sri Lanka agreement had not been acceptable either to the Tamil population, or for that matter to the majority Sinhala population of Sri Lanka. The regrettable assault on our Prime Minister by a member of the guard of honour, which could have been fatal but for the deflection of the blow struck with the butt of a rifle, was a demonstration of how strongly the emotions run in the majority Sinhala community.

One may pause and wonder what this could entail for the future of the India-Sri Lanka agreement where it is faced with opposition all round (except for the solitary affirmation by its present head of state) including the openly hostile but forced conformity of the country's prime minister and a host of members in the cabinet. If one were to consider this in the light of the fierce resistance put up by the LTTE for the last four years against the Sri Lanka government to protect the Tamil speaking minority community from the wanton excesses of the Sri Lankan army and security personnel, aided by foreign mercenaries, how much more would the problem be aggravated by antagonising the entire Sinhala community who view the presence of the IPKF as an abdication by their president of his responsibility to safeguard the sovereignty and national integrity of their country.

The recent statement made by a lieutenant-general of the IPKF, overseeing its operations in Sri Lanka, that the IPKF took orders only from New Delhi, may appear on the surface to be only a minor peccadillo. However, this statement has already resulted in inflaming Sinhala public opinion to fever pitch, compounding the embarrassment already faced by the IPKF.

The situation is made even more bizarre by India turning a blind eye to the non-fulfilment by the government of Sri Lanka of its solemn commitments under the India-Sri Lanka agreement in regard to the devolution of powers for autonomy of the ethnic Tamil population in the northern and eastern provinces. We have been content to accept the assurances of the president of Sri Lanka who has established a record of going back on such assurances as and when it suits him. Since Annexure C was agreed upon in discussions between India and Sri Lanka in 1983 and quickly reneged upon by the Sri Lankan head of state, there have been a series of similar twists and turns on the part of the government. Sri Lanka is a signatory to the agreement and it should be all the more incumbent on it to observe its commitments both in letter and in spirit. The strident statements made by New De-

(Contd. on next page)

lhi have, alas, been directed at others who have not been party to the agreement.

The grave situation pertaining today in our relations with Sri Lanka is continuously sought to be obfuscated by self-congratulatory statements by the government and the ruling party which have described the Sri Lanka accord as a great success unparalleled anywhere else over the last 100 years! The same people constantly emphasise that the accord and the action taken by IPKF in its brutal implementation have been welcomed all over the world 'from Peru to the Philippines.'

It is conveniently overlooked that while a personal congratulatory message from President Reagan was received by our Prime Minister, when he was in Colombo to sign the accord, even before the ink was dry on the document, there had been no such message from General Secretary Gorbachev.

This is all the more significant since India does have a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union signed in August 1971, whereas there is no such corresponding document which we have signed with the USA.

The statement by the president of Sri Lanka, explaining to his people the reasons for his concluding the India-Sri Lanka agreement, is even more intriguing. He is on record as having said that he first tried to get help from the USA to contain the insurgency. When that was not forthcoming, he addressed the UK, Pakistan and China for the same purpose. He admitted that it was only because he had not received a positive response from any of them that he had been compelled to turn to India for help since India was 'the dominant power in the region' and was 'friendly' to Sri Lanka! This statement alone should have set warning bells ringing in the corridors of South Block. But, such is our naivety that this was instead taken as a great compliment to India's status as a regional power. Perhaps no better example exists to illustrate the true meaning of the proverb: 'Fools rush in where angels fear to tread'.

Let us now turn from this senseless involvement with Sri Lanka and examine the relative priorities given by our government to the areas of defence and diplomacy. As already mentioned, diplomacy is a low-cost option, as against defence, for safeguarding the security and territorial integrity of a country and furthering its national interest vis-a-vis other countries, whether they be located near or far.

The lop-sided emphasis on defence expenditure, now compounded by heavy war expenditure which serves no national purpose except to alienate permanently the people of Sri Lanka, will serve to illustrate the futility of such a policy. For people who are known for their intelligence and capacity to think, it is anachronistic that we should countenance an expenditure on our armed forces which is over 60 times the expenditure on the ministry of external affairs, including all our di-

plomatic representation abroad. If one were to remove that element in the ministry of external affairs budget relating to grants and loans extended through the ministry to Nepal and Bhutan in particular, and to various Asian, African and Latin American countries in general, the effective budget of the ministry of external affairs would be less than one per cent of the appropriations made for defence purposes.

No one in his senses would prefer to settle through violence what can be settled through negotiations. India which had been advocating a political solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka over the last four years has now turned a complete somersault and is trying to impose a military solution on the people of Sri Lanka.

Either we were correct in our earlier assessment and, therefore, will be seen as being dishonest now by the rest of the world, or we were wrong in our earlier assessment which we now seek to correct by a sudden volte face. In either case, our image cannot be enhanced in the eyes of the world which is watching the unfolding tragedy involving India and Sri Lanka, some with glee and some with mounting concern. It is even sadder and smacks of self-deceit when the government deliberately ignores the way in which statements are being made by the prime minister of Sri Lanka and other senior members of the cabinet, denying the commitments made in the exchange of letters attached to the India-Sri Lanka agreement in regard to Trincomalee, VOA broadcasts from Sri Lanka etc.

What can be a diplomatic alternative to the militarily unpalatable no-win situation which India faces presently in Sri Lanka? One possible way out would be for the IPKF to declare another ceasefire, this time of indefinite duration, and to call simultaneously upon the government of Sri Lanka to fulfil all its remaining commitments under the agreement. Such a move would provide an opening to suspend the ongoing conflict and go a long way to calm down and to regain the confidence of the Tamils in Sri Lanka as well as in Tamil Nadu. It would also demonstrate that the IPKF is even-handed in its approach.

If the Sri Lanka government responds positively, any remaining gaps in regard to the devolution of powers for providing autonomy to the Tamil-speaking provinces can be speedily sorted out. If, on the other hand, the Sri Lanka government does not agree to this course of action (which is more likely), the IPKF would be within its rights to halt all further action and to stay put where it is now, so as to protect the Tamil population there from a possible vendetta that could easily occur otherwise.

Our failure so far, in regard to Sri Lanka and especially in regard to our neighbours as a whole, is not a reflection on the country's diplomatic service. A professional diplomat can only report and assess the situation and submit possible options to the political lead-

ership, for minimising the damage and maximising the advantage in a given situation. It is for the political leadership then to choose an option which will thereafter be implemented by our diplomatic missions abroad under the overall guidance of the ministry of external affairs. So, to blame the diplomats for what is the result of ignorance and incompetence of the political leadership would be most unjust. In fact, the Indian Foreign Service has won the acclaim of other major foreign services of the world for its competence and effectiveness in projecting our interests abroad.

One also hears from certain quarters of blame being heaped on our diplomatic missions for not projecting a brighter and more positive image of India. One need only refer to the axiom in physics that an image cannot be brighter than the object. In any case, in the long run, we have to set our own house in order and to revise our priorities if we are to make headway in this field.

There is no altruism in international politics and it is mainly the engine of self-interest which propels nations in regard to the decisions which they take. The necessary changes at decision-making levels can be made effective only through a more active involvement of Parliament so as to ensure that right decisions are taken in time and the possibility of errors is minimised.

Professional advice is a categorical imperative in the complex world where man has already landed on the moon and is reaching futher into space. In this, there is no place for interdepartmental jealousies and rivalries and there must be an overriding emphasis on national objectives. We go to a tailor to have our clothes stitched and to a barber to have our hair cut. If, perversely, a person goes to the barber to have his clothes stitched and to a tailor to have his hair cut, he will have only himself to blame when he is seen by others to be poorly groomed.

NO TEXT BOOKS FOR NORTH & EAST

The disruption of civil administration in the north and east and the unwillingness of lorry drivers to drive their vehicles to these areas owing to fear of violence have resulted in the problem of transporting school text books to Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Trincomalee and Mullaitivu.

Although some schools, have reopened in the north and east, 197,000 students in Jaffna, 25,119 in Kilinochchi and 19,519 in Mullaitivu have not yet received their text books.

The text books printed at an estimated cost of Rs.25 million are stacked up in Colombo ready for transport. However, lorry drivers from Colombo are willing to go only up to Anuradhapura or Vavuniya and not beyond. Unless the education authorities are prepared to travel with vehicles to these towns to collect the text books, the inevitable casualties will be the Tamil school children.

DEVOLUTION PACKAGE CRITICISED

The package of devolution envisaged through the 13th Amendment to the Constitution and the Provincial Councils Act enacted recently by the Sri Lankan parliament following the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was subjected to critical analysis at a symposium recently held in Madras which was addressed by several academics and political analysts from India and Sri Lanka.

The leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front, A. Amirthalingam, stated that the legislative measures enacted to give effect to the devolution of powers envisaged by the accord fell short of Tamil expectations and unless further amendments are enacted, the solution proposed would not be acceptable. He said that currency had been given to the wrong idea that what the Tamils had been given under the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement was more than what even the Tamils demanded, and such a claim was totally misleading of the whole history of the Tamil struggle.

Recalling the speech made by the Indian Prime Minister in August last year at Marina Beach in Tamil Nadu promising that the Tamils of Sri Lanka would be assured of the degree of autonomy that the States in the Indian Union would enjoy, Mr. Amirthalingam posed the question, 'Can anyone who understands constitutional law say that the degree of autonomy given to the Sri Lanka Tamils is what the States in the Indian Union enjoy?'

In answering his own question, Mr. Amirthalingam said that the 'devolution of executive and legislative powers is not comparable to what is in the Indian Union. The powers over land are totally inadequate to meet Tamil aspirations; the emergency powers far exceed than those enjoyed by the Government of India over its States. The Indian Government tells us that these defects will be remedied. Apart from our bitter experience of Mr. Jayawardene's firm assurances, not even the Government of India is in a position to say when these assurances will be given effect to and when the shortcomings will be remedied. If somebody says that it will be done after the elections, you may as well forget about it'.

MORE S.T.F. CAMPS IN THE SOUTH

As the violence in the south is escalating, the government is moving more and more Special Task Force contingents to assist the police and armed forces already deployed there. Three STF Commando Camps have already been opened up in the southern province and the Commandos are carrying on extensive cordoning-off and search operations in the region.

Until the violent crisis in the south developed, the STF specially trained by

ex-SAS British personnel were deployed in the eastern province where its personnel acquired notoriety for their ruthless and indiscriminate arbitrary killings of civilians. Their capacity for making people 'disappear' was a well known feature of their operation. Several persons have been reported missing recently in the areas of the southern province and human rights organisations are attributing these disappearances to the activities of the STF.

The STF is neither under the control of the Head of the Armed Forces nor the Police. It enjoys a rather undefined special position in the security apparatus of the island. Although never officially acknowledged, it is widely believed that the STF is under the direct control and operational supervision of Ravi Jayawardene, the President's son, who holds no officially designated position. For the first time, in a recent press interview, Ravi Jayawardene defended the STF and its activities thus confirming his role.

More and more batches of the STF are undergoing intensive training, and as each passes out, they are being deployed in south Sri Lanka.

LTTE STORMS BATTICALOA PRISON

A ten-man LTTE unit, armed with AK-47 rifles and grenades, stormed the Batticaloa prison in the morning of 19 January and freed all the convicted and remand prisoners. At the time of the attack, the prison which could normally house about 200 prisoners held about 40 convicted prisoners and 14 others remanded awaiting trial. The guards who were on duty offered little resistance and were easily over-powered by the Tigers who took the guards by surprise.

It was reported that the prison was not guarded by security forces at the time it was stormed because no one suspected such an attack on the prison because it did not house any political detainees.

Newspaper reports which appeared soon after the prison raid stated that the Minister of Justice, Nissanka Wijeratne, under whose province the prisons operate, tendered his resignation. However the President had not accepted it.

IPKF MOVES INTO KACHCHERI AND COURT BUILDINGS

On 20 January, at least 350 soldiers belonging to the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) moved into the buildings housing the Kachcheri (Government Agent's Office), Courts and the Rest House in Batticaloa in an apparent attempt to pre-empt any attacks by the LTTE.

It was reported that this move by IPKF within 24 hours following the

attack on the Batticaloa prison was made with an intention of preventing similar attacks on these government establishments.

Some reports stated that a contingent of the IPKF has also taken up positions within the prison buildings.

FINANCE MINISTER RESIGNS

Ronnie de Mel who has functioned as Minister of Finance for ten years in President Jayawardene's cabinet resigned on 18 January ending several days of speculation about his future following his speech made during the recent budget debate in parliament.

In a rather surprising and uncharacteristic intervention, Ronnie de Mel stated that it was wrong for the government to have postponed the general elections in 1982, that he was opposed to the holding of the referendum in December 1982, that the present parliament was 'stale', that the government had no moral right to continue in power and that elections should be held before the people rose up and said, 'In the name of God, go'.

As the speech predictably received wide publicity, President Jayawardene who had been parading Sri Lanka as a unique bastion of democracy was left with no alternative but to call for the Minister's explanation. Ronnie's enemies within the cabinet itself who were waiting for an opportunity to undermine Ronnie's increasing influence ganged up against him. When Ronnie failed to retract his speech or offer an acceptable explanation, he was told by the President to resign or be sacked. He chose resignation.

The deputy Minister of Finance, Mr. M.H.M. Naina Marikar, has been appointed Minister of Finance.

FAST BY MOTHERS' FRONT

The Mothers' Front of Batticaloa in eastern Sri Lanka commenced a relay-fast on 6 February. The fast lasted seven days.

The action of the Mothers' Front was intended to focus attention on two demands: there should be an unconditional cease-fire in the fighting between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam; and the LTTE and India should resume negotiations.

Each day two members of the Front would engage in the fast which continued on a relay-basis by other members joining in the fast during the following days.

The fast attracted popular support and a large number of people, men, women and children gathered around the fasting mothers and sang religious hymns.

LETTERS

BREAKING his long silence, Dr. David Selbourne (letter in your January issue) has directed his fire in all directions — India, Sri Lanka, LTTE, other Tamil militant groups, TULF and even the Tamil Times.

He predicts prolonged suffering for the Tamils and suggests that thousands of Tamils may die so long as the Tamil leadership continues to suffer from the present illusions with which it is afflicted. Hard it may seem, Dr. Selbourne would appear to be right in his assessment of the situation.

In an otherwise bleak prognosis, he considers that unless such time as the just cause of securing genuine political autonomy and physical security for the Tamils gains real ground among the Sinhalese themselves, Tamil suffering will be prolonged. The real question is how such 'real ground' can be gained particularly in the context of the fact that Sinhala opinion is being mobilised day by day on an anti-Tamil platform. The increasing power of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna is quite evident and the JVP is daily escalating its armed rebellion against the government mainly on two grounds: against the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord which granted at least certain concessions to the Tamils and its total opposition to the setting up of Provincial Councils.

London SW17 **K.J.Samuel**

* * *

YOUR news item captioned 'Action taken against 6 IPKF offenders' (Tamil Times, January 1988) is in very poor taste. What purpose does it serve to report the names of the victims? If it was done to lend authenticity to the story, surely you should have given the names of the Indian offenders. You have added gross and calculated insult to an unfortunate injury.

Hong Kong **Dr.R.Natkunam**

(Editor's note: We tender our unqualified apology for the inadvertance. We can assure our correspondent that had we known the names of the offenders, there would have been no hesitation in naming them)

* * *

MAY I take this opportunity to wish you the best in the continuing service to Tamils all over the world. There were so many papers which appeared after 1983, but we do not know what happened to them. They appeared without notice and disappeared without trace.

We have been your readers since the first volume. So, keep it up.

Glasgow **Dr.S.N.Saba**

IN the last two issues of Tamil Times, two of your readers have taken you to task for your present critical attitude towards India in general, and its Premier, Rajiv Gandhi in particular. They accuse you of 'inconsistency' and 'cynical opportunism'.

I find their criticism difficult to understand as your new approach is but a response to the atrocities of the IPKF in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka. Do these readers seriously expect you to continue to sing songs of praise to Rajiv Gandhi while his army runs riot amongst innocent Tamils in Sri Lanka, killing even old women and children, plundering even the poor.

Inconsistency there has been, not on your part, but on the part of Rajiv and his advisors. You have been entirely consistent in your chosen role as the voice of the hapless Sri Lankan Tamils. Please keep up the excellent work and pay no heed to such baseless and pointless criticism.

Southampton, UK. **Dr.S.Velayutham**

* * *

REPORTS in the Tamil Times issue of December 1987 reveal details having far reaching historical significance. The custom so far among Tamils was to dispose of human bodies by burning and dispersing the ashes over sea and land. But in October 1987 the Jaffna Tamils had been obliged to bury the bodies of the dead, either partly burnt or unburnt, in their own gardens at low depth. The air raid shelters they had prepared for certain earlier eventualities, became conveniently suitable for this purpose. In this set up the bones are there for the next thousands of years, to turn up whenever the ground is dug up. Foundations for new houses, planting of trees, or laying of flower beds, are all likely to produce bones from their ancestors.

No doubt when so recovered they will be treated with respect. The children will be told of the circumstances when their ancestors' bones happened to be laid there. These discoveries will make history alive for future generations in a very effective way. What will be the result of that effect? For thousands of years the Ceylon Tamils had held their connection with India in great respect. Future friendly overtures may revive that respect to a large extent. But this historical episode, revived periodically, by the unearthing of human bones, a feature hitherto unknown to the Tamils, is bound to keep on reviving permanently a most unwelcome image of Indian Forces and thereby India too.

What has India gained? The working out of the accord was a great achievement, and does credit to the reputation of India. But it has been spoilt by the unwise manner in which the implementation was proceeded with. If as professed the solution lay in the political sphere, why rush the troops in with such haste? A senior political figure from Delhi could have arrived with the power of the mighty Indian Army at his call, and proceeded more

effectively to process the implementation. Somehow governments seem unable to restrain themselves from using the force at their disposal.

All big powers have fallen to this temptation of using the power of their arms. But recent history shows the error of such ways. U.S.A in Vietnam U.S.S.R in Afganistan, and now India in North and East Sri Lanka. If all this discourages the use of arms it is for the good. The Ceylon Tamils too have to draw the lesson that however deserving the cause, arms as a tool will not lead to the desired result.

It is an irony that the present two leaders with their antecede should be faced with these events. The Indian Prime Minister has spoken on world platforms of the greatness of India in other than military ways. The Sri Lankan leader has been professing and pointing out the futility of violence for several decades. They both no doubt regret that their well intentioned moves have produced such ugly results.

Will they have the courage to go back to their professed principles, and engineer a violenceless method of proceeding to implement the accord? Gandiji was strong. When his civil disobedience movement went wrong, he admitted he had misjudged and modified his moves.

Adelaide Australia **S.Rajan**

INDIA would appear to have rejected the latest offer of the LTTE to surrender its arms on the basis of it obtaining a dominant role in the interim administration of the Tamil areas. It would seem that what India expects rather unreasonably is an unconditional surrender by the LTTE and the acceptance of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord. The Indian government should act with a sense of responsibility taking account of the penalty that the suffering Tamils are called upon to pay during this fighting between the IPKF and the LTTE.

It has been reliably reported that under the agreement signed on 28 September last year by the Indian High Commissioner and the Deputy Leader of the LTTE, Mahathaya, with the concurrence of Prabhakaran, procedures were laid down for demilitarisation and for giving the LTTE 7 of the twelve seats on the Interim Administrative Council; the Chairman of the IAC was to be chosen from among three persons proposed by the LTTE; a degree of executive power was to be conferred on the Chairman until the Provincial Council elections were held. In short, LTTE obtained dominance in the IAC with one of its own nominee as Chairman with executive power.

In my view, the LTTE made a blunder of monumental proportions when it did not seize the opportunity it was given and decided to take on the IPKF egged on by irresponsible expatriate Tamils who, from their comfortable and secure positions in western countries, are prepared to 'continue the struggle to the last Tamil living in Sri Lanka. Colombo, Sri Lanka **K.Sivasundaram**

I shall be most grateful if you could open the pages of your esteemed newspaper, to enable us to shed our tears over recent events in Jaffna, and thus assuage our grief to a small degree.

I have heard of the journalistic saw, 'Facts are sacred; comment is free'. The facts given below have been ascertained by me from three reliable witnesses, all professionals, who have managed to come out of Jaffna.

These facts represent a small silver of the truth of what happened in Jaffna after 10th October 1987 and are confined to two small areas (a) my village of Ariyalai and (b) the central area of Jaffna in the vicinity of the hospital.

I presented these facts, without making any comment to the Executive Council of the organisation of Professional Associations of Sri Lanka on 20th Nov 1987 and the distinguished professionals present told me that I had done a service by bringing these facts to their notice.

Perhaps a wider audience should become aware of these events. What they do thereafter or how they respond to what is presented, I leave to their conscience and their sense of values.

One of the dead, Mrs P.Thambimuttu, was my late mother's classmate at Chundikul Girls College 70 years ago and a lifelong friend. About her violent death, I have penned a few lines of blank verse. This may rank very low as verse, but the feelings that impelled them are very deep.

● Mr. S.Shanmuganathan 45, employee in the Ceylon Electricity Board, going to his paddy field in east Ariyalai on a bicycle. Shot and killed on 12th October. Body left in paddy field, as no one dared to go there to retrieve the body.

● Mr. Thambaiyah 82, (Father of Mr. T.Sabaratham) living with his daughter who fled to safety with her children. Killed by shell in his home. No religious rites, no funeral due to continuous curfew. One neighbour has gone and buried him in his garden.

● Mrs. P.Thambimuthu 80, (Mrs. T.Sabaratham's mother) Shot and killed and burnt half way between Ariyalai Sithivinnayagar Temple and her home 200 metres away, where she lived with her eldest daughter.

● Kannan Iyer 28, accountant. Son of the Chief Priest of Ariyalai Sithivinnayagar Temple. Shot and killed and body left on road on 21st October 1987, this being Deepavali Day and the eldest son having volunteered to go to the temple to light the oil lamps as refugees were there. Body on road for 2 or 3 days. Dragged home by Chief Priest and burnt in his garden.

● A six year old granddaughter of the late K.Kuhathasan M.M.C. (LSSP) Jaffna. Died due to lack of medical attention during the continuous curfew.

● 2 bodies on Mampalam Junction, Ariyalai, Jaffna. May be people from neighbouring village of Colombuthurai. Putrefying bodies burnt at spot by

people living in neighbourhood.

● Mr. D.Rajendra retired secretary Ministry of Housing and his brother, retired Chief Shroff of the bank of Ceylon sons of late Sir Vaithilingam Duraiswamy Speaker of State Council, living at No.1. Sir W.Duraiswamy Road. Shot and killed on 21st October. Radio announcement on 6th November obituary on 7th November.

● 2 doctors, 1 matron, 3 nurses, 1 driver, 1 telephone operator, 2 works supervisors and 11 minor employees shot and killed while on duty at Jaffna hospital. Other eyewitnesses had a narrow shave from being 'silenced' to prevent the story leaking out.

● Mr. S.Shivasankar, Medical Student. Shot and killed.

When I showed this list to a friend who visited my home, he said he lost 9 relatives, among the 42 men, women and children who dies at Pirambady Lane, Kokuvil.

I have received information that my house in Jaffna has been damaged and looted. However, we have not taken any steps regarding this, because our first priority is to find out whether my wife's mother, sisters and their children are living or not. So far we have no firm news.

When similar atrocities were committed against the Sinhala people 72 years ago in 1915, there was a strong and clear Tamil voice, that of Ponnambalam Ramanathan to state their case.

Now it is the turn of our brothers to pay that debt.

The first step should be to carry out a special census, village by village, in the Northern and Eastern provinces and ascertain the number and particulars of those who have died or been maimed.

Human relief should take priority over infrastructure reconstruction.

The Gentle Old Aachi

The gentle old aachi,
Weak and wobbly with age,
Walking with her pollu,
Slowly to the temple.
Husband gone long before,
Children retired or about to,
Grand-children in their prime,
Great grand-children by the dozen.
Weak of eye, weak of limb,
Fond memories of yesteryear,
Longing to meet her god,
Slowly walking to his abode.
Om Ganesha! What hit me?
What burning pain,
What great thirst,
She writhed briefly on the road,
And then lay still,
White saree bathed in blood.
The gentle old aachi,
Felled by an alien bullet,
Fired by an alien hand,
In this our free land,
The gentle old aachi,
Shot like a dog and burnt at the spot.

T.Somasekaram
(Courtesy of 'Island')

COLLECTIVE responsibility is a cardinal principle of any working democracy. But in Sri Lanka it appears to be fast running on the political loopline periodically Indian aligned and maligned.

When Parliament debated the much trumpeted Provincial Council Bill our Foreign Minister compared the cabinet to a packet of assorted biscuits.

Ready wittedly the Leader of the Opposition retorted — a packet of rotten biscuits.

The general public are at a loss to understand how any national minded Sri Lankan or the Urban Guerrilla leader Prabakaran would be convinced when the ruling hierarchy had taken a surprisingly uncommon stand and perhaps ideologically divided on a crucial bill brought to parliament at the cost of thousands of valuable human lives.

The opposition too fanned the flame instead of dousing the communal fire presumably to quench their power thirst. Added to the misery the state media also stoops to opportunist propaganda with misleading and fabricated interpretations.

This had a direct bearing almost across the Palk Strait and the Indian radio too started to tune against the LTTE in combat by smoke screening the basic cause of dispute.

In fairness to the minority, the Indo-Lanka Accord was thrust on them against their will and particularly in the absence of adequate parliamentary representation of their choice. The last four and a half years, the north and east and to a little extent the south have witnessed a painful ordeal of cold blooded murders on an unprecedented scale by the terrorists and counter killing by state forces.

Prior to the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord India embarked on an anti Lanka propaganda worldwide based on the following factors:

1. Sri Lankan forces are the most indisciplined.

2. State orders the killing of its own ruling minority even to the extent of deploying air and naval force to help its regular infantry.

3. The combined state force, being given an enhanced pay packet a phenomenon unheard in the annals of any military history to combat terrorism within the country at an alarming cost to the national exchequer.

Charges of vacillation and genocide were levelled against Sri Lanka by no less a person than the Indian Premier Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his Foreign Minister for the failure of the Sri Lankan government to reach a political solution. The Indian Premier even made use of all international forums to spice his arguments advocating political solution and never any military solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem.

Consequent to the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord, the Indian army has engaged in inflicting heavy casualties among

Contd. on page 21

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Some practical examples may fall under the following categories.

- (1) Recycling of glass, tin, paper, water etc.
- (2) Any project that will result in improving the environment as reducing smoke, dust, foul smells, monitoring rubbish tips, providing murals to brighten up an area etc.
- (3) Feasibility study and experiments to promote the production of tropical vegetables and fruits in greenhouses.

All projects shall be submitted by 16th. April 1988 to enable them to be exhibited at our premises on OPEN DAY SATURDAY, 23rd APRIL 1988 from 10.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. at Stanhope Middle School, Mansel Road, Greenford.

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TAMILS — A TIME FOR SELF-EXAMINATION

Dr. R.Narendran (Associate Professor, King Faisal University, Saudi Arabia)

WE have all been directly or indirectly affected by the tragic events that have taken place in our motherland over the past several years. It is imperative that we undertake a critical and dispassionate review of our role as a people and as individuals in these events, however unflattering the results may be, in order to be able to learn lessons that may help us in a future that appears rather bleak at the present moment.

While a section of our youth and a minuscule number of their elders responded with commendable courage and considerable sacrifice to the decades of injustice and mis-rule perpetrated on the Tamils of Sri Lanka by successive governments, with the only reaction — armed insurrection — permitted to them by a pernicious political system, another section of our youth — a majority — discerned the ensuing turmoil as providing them the excuse to seek 'Political Asylum' in greener pastures in the west.

A human rights lawyer in Canada once remarked that the number of Tamil asylum seekers claiming to have participated in the assassination of Mr. Alfred Duraiappa exceeded one hundred! The latter youth were aided and abetted in this endeavour by a cross section of our people with the ability to command the financial resources required for these forays. This section of our population shamelessly believed that it was commendable for other people's sons and daughters to die fighting for their cause, but their own should not do so! Yet another section of our youth lacking either the financial resources or the sponsors necessary to help their foray abroad, found the on-going liberation struggle an ideal cover to raise the required finances or improve their station in life.

They shamelessly resorted to robbery, murder, kidnapping and drug dealing in their pursuit of money and glorified their brigandage by claiming to be freedom fighters! The ingenuity and intelligence of the Tamils were some times more discernible in the antics of the latter groups than in those who had vowed to deliver the Tamil people from injustice.

THE HYPOCRICY

It was also not uncommon to see staunch Eelamites living permanently as citizens or landed immigrants in other nations, desperately endeavouring to save their kith and kin through the device of sponsored immigration, while at the same time encouraging the armed insurrection in Sri Lanka with their money, words and deeds.

These people were incapable of discerning the hypocrisy and immorality



inherent in their actions. They were condemning the weaker, meeker and the idealistic segments of our people who for want of alternatives or by deliberate choice had chosen to live on, in their land, to suffer exclusively the after effects of the insurrection they were encouraging!

This period also saw a large section of the educated and professional elements in our society seeking permanent exile, with the active and sympathetic assistance of the Canadian and Australian governments, in order to provide a better future for themselves and their children. We were also witnesses to the ugly spectacle of our professional politicians seeking safety in Tamil Nadu as privileged guests, while continuing to nurture their political ambitions through means they were master at.

The common thread one could discern in most of the above instances, which unfortunately embraced a significant and an important segment of our people, was an overwhelming desire to 'Run Away' from their problems, rather than confront them head-on.

Amidst all this activity based on different perceptions of the lofty ideal of self preservation, most of us chose to remain idle spectators to an unfolding drama. 'Our Boys' and the 'Enemy' were enacting a play to which we responded with tears, cheers and jeers as appropriate to each passing scene. Some paid for the privilege of watching the show by way of financial contributions to the 'Boys' of their choice or creation, while others had the privilege of viewing it at no material cost to themselves. The so-called liberation struggle of the Tamils of Sri Lanka was thus beset with the most sublime and the most venal in human actions from its very onset, with the latter overwhelming the former in most instances.

It was indeed a curious mix of bravery, sacrifice, hypocrisy, immorality,

selfishness, chicanery and brigandage that presented itself to the discerning.

A SENSE OF SHAME

The inability of large sections of the Tamil people to respond with anger and rage at the repeated injustice that had been perpetrated on them for four decades and identify themselves completely with the struggle for their very survival as a people, has led to the present unfortunate situation in our land. Few other people have been subjected to what we have been in the past four months and suffered it so stoically. Unfortunately this was very effectively shielded from the prying eyes of the world by democratic India. When I see in the visual media the Palestinian men and women and, boys and girls, defying the heavily armed and brutal Israeli army with only sticks and stones, I feel ashamed for our people.

The scenario that emerged after the recent, brutal Indian 'Peace Keeping' onslaught in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka is quite revealing. The very same people who had hailed 'Our Boys' as heroes and did their bidding unhesitatingly when the 'Boys' were successful against the 'Previous Enemy', on being adversely affected by the brutal onslaught of the Indian 'Peace Keepers', began to consider the 'Boys' a big nuisance almost overnight.

The intent behind the brutality of the Indian onslaught was none other than to evoke this response. The Indians knew very well that the general Tamil population in Sri Lanka was incapable of standing up for a cause in the face of overwhelming odds. The Indians provoked the anticipated reaction swiftly and with uncanny accuracy! This was one Indian calculation that did not go amiss in Sri Lanka.

DESIRE TO 'RUN'

The response of most of our people to the murder, plunder, rape and numerous other crimes committed by Indian troops under the guise of peace keepers was not moral indignation and righteous fury, but fear and an accentuated desire to 'Run'. When hundreds of innocent civilians of all ages were deliberately, callously and brutally murdered by the Indian forces, the logical questions an indignant population should have asked is, 'Who gave the Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) the right to act the combined role of policeman, prosecutor, judge and executioner?' and 'Who gave them the right to behave as an invading army having come in under the guise of a peace keeping force?'. Instead most of our people have bent over backwards to discover reasons to justify the IPKF actions and play the role of Devil's advocates!

Purported overt or covert support for the LTTE in various forms — meals, money and physical assistance, are

(Contd. on next page)

being trotted out as crimes to justify the brutal slaying of 90 year old women and hospitalized patients! Are not a large number of Sri Lankan Tamils whether resident in Sri Lanka or abroad guilty of related crimes? Are not the central government and Tamil Nadu politicians in India who covertly trained, financed and armed the LTTE responsible for these same crimes to a larger extent?

It is indeed a sad spectacle that a majority of our people despite their education and innate intelligence are unable to discern facts and feel even righteous anger at what is transpiring in their land. The very right of a section of our population to express their indignation at the injustice and mis-rule perpetrated on us for four decades and seek a just solution is being smothered by the brutality of the Indian army.

The LTTE, whatever its faults may be, is an expression — a symptom — of the deep malaise affecting us Tamils. Any discernible faults in the LTTE are the faults of the Tamil people. The destruction of the LTTE implies a destruction of the aspirations of the Tamil people. The destruction of the LTTE would only suppress the symptoms of our malaise, but would not cure it. Wilting under the brutal onslaught of the Indian 'Peace Keepers', most of us have chosen to conveniently forget why in the first place the Tamil insurgency commenced.

Our memories are indeed very short!

We want 'PEACE' now and at any cost and the IPKF with the courtesy of Rajiv Gandhi has presented us with this 'PEACE' now! We should be happy as a people for ever after now! It is indeed heartrending to hear of several 'Tamil Eelam Liberation Groups' betraying their avowed cause and their people and swaying to the tunes of the IPKF and the Sri Lankan army! Alas! such things can happen only amongst us Tamils.

MORAL FURY

I wonder whether the westernized education and the century and a half long pursuit of crass materialism have sapped our moral strength as a people. We have become a people incapable of reacting to rank injustice, brutality and betrayal with justifiable fury. Our 'LIBERATION' as a people will be achieved only if a majority amongst us defy injustice, without fear for our limbs, lives or property. Such a response can only arise out of passionate fury flaring up in every Tamil breast.

This moral fury does not need guns to reach its logical target! This was the principle that Mahatma Gandhi so successfully taught the world. He was not a messiah of passivity as mistaken by many. He showed us how to give vent to moral indignation and fury when confronted with injustice. We Sri Lankan Tamils have missed a wonderful

opportunity during the past few months to teach Rajiv Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi's lessons! What this missed opportunity will signify for our children and grand children is for history to judge.

This note is being penned out of despair at what has befallen the Tamils of Sri Lanka and with an intent of provoking a process of self-examination and self-assessment in every one who reads it. Our enemy is a combination of the timidity, fear and selfishness within each one of us and this is the hardest one to subdue. Let us seek out and destroy this enemy first if we are to keep our identity as a distinct people and our trust with destiny.

We would become very much the stronger for this. Only a weak people can be trodden by others. This is a lesson repeatedly taught by history but which we seldom learn. Let us also not forget that we can live with pride and a sense of belonging and identity only in our land and in our own cultural environment.

Time will show our people the material comforts and life styles of the lands of their adoption cannot cater for these aspirations which would sooner or later surface. Let us cease being a people, who always want others to fight our battles! Let us learn to fight the most important battle of our lives — a battle we owe the future generations — by ourselves with courage, principles and lofty ideals.



Lily Rajah Age 76

A young woman from Jaffna lodged a complaint at a Colombo police station that her mother and three young children were massacred on November 3, 1987 by the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

According to the statement made by Mrs. Vasanthi Sivapathan (38) to the police Mrs. Lily Rajah (76), the mother of the complainant and her three young children Suresh (20), Priyanthi (16), and Mahendraraja (15) were brutally gunned down by an Indian soldier after being called outside their house premises by the Indian Army during the curfew hours.

She is presently residing at Rajagiriyaya, Meda Welkada Road. She has complained to the OIC Welkada Police against the Indian soldiers deployed in

MURDERS MOST FOUL



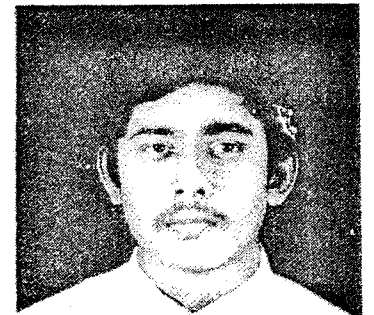
Mrs. Vasanthi Sivapathan

Uduvil area as Indian Peace Keeping Force during October- November 1987.

She herself was shot in this incident and came down to Colombo and was admitted to Sri Jayawardenapura Hospital on December 28. She was discharged in January 8.

Raja Mahendran (44) former Air Force Officer, is brother of Mrs. Sivapathan and the son of the victim Mrs. Lily Rajah. Her complaint to the police about these killings is as follows:

'I was residing at Lilistan Uduvil,



Suresh Age 20

Chunnakam in my own house which is about 700 metres from Maruthanadam Junction with my mother by name Lily widow of Sabapathi Raja aged 76 years, my two sons S.Suresh Aged 29 years and S.Mahendra Rak (Student) aged 15 years and my other daughter S. Priyanthi (student) aged 16 years.

On 3rd of November 1987 at about 6.45am I was about to enter the kitchen from the main house, which is visible from this main road. One of the two IPKF soldiers who was patrolling on the road shouted and signalled me to come out. I straightaway went towards the gate which was locked with a white flag hoisted on it with both hands raised. My mother, two sons and daughter who had also heard the call of this soldier followed me, with their hands raised.

FORMULA TO BREAK DEADLOCK

A nine point package of suggestions has been submitted to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and to President Jayawardene by Dame Judith Hart, Chair of the International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka and Martin Ennals, Secretary General of International Alert.

The suggestions are designed to assist in breaking the deadlock which currently prevents the implementation of the Peace Accord reached between the leaders of India and Sri Lanka on

28 July 1987. Under the Accord, the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) landed in Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) agreed to surrender their arms. Provincial councils were to be elected throughout Sri Lanka.

The Accord still appears to represent a basis upon which the long term settlement of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka can be resolved. The summarised proposals include:

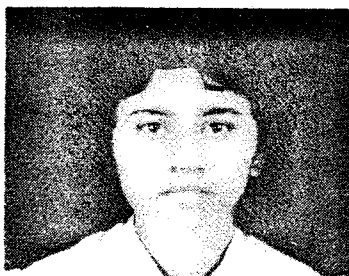
- Agreement of all parties not to use

The soldier seeing us approaching pulled out a fence post adjoining the gate and ordered us to come out to the road. We did so still with our hands raised. He then marched us towards the Uduvil Girls School at the point of his gun. The other soldier followed from behind. We were led about 50 metres from our house and then stopped at a point opposite the house of Mrs. Solomons. Mrs. Solomon's son-in-law, Mr. Jayanthakumar was at that time sweeping the verandah of his house. On seeing him the soldier who was taking us shouted and ordered the man to come out. But that person went inside and did not come out. The soldier then ordered the other soldier to fire at the house. The other soldier fired twice which was followed by a volley of bullets — from the gun of this soldier. A few moments later the inmates of the house which included three men, two women and a child came to the road with their hands raised.

Rev. Sathiyam Kadirgamar and I independently tried to explain and plead our innocence but the soldier paid no heed to our pleadings.

He aimed his gun to shoot the Solomons family but when they raised cries he turned his gun towards us and shot us all in a row.

My mother and elder son were hit on their heads and fell dead on the spot before my very eyes. My second received the shot on his left hand near the shoulder and my daughter on her right thigh. I was shot just below the neck on the right shoulder. The other soldier



Priyanthi Age 16



Mahendraraj Age 15

who was coming along with us had moved away as though he did not wish to be party to this act. The first soldier having finished the crime hurriedly went away, towards the Uduvil Girls School to join the other IPKF soldiers about 15 in number standing at Ark Lane junction near Uduvil Girls School, leaving us two dead and the other three critically injured and bleeding. It was curfew time and no help was forthcoming for some time. When ultimately some help came and we were taken to the hospital at great risk to the good samaritans. My second son and daughter died on admission to the hospital and I after three days of treatment (Naganathan Nursing Home) — survived.

Witnesses:

Mr. N. Airiaratnam, (Retired Bank Officer) Mr & Mrs. A.P. Jayanthakumar, Mr. & Mrs. G.J. Watson, Mrs. Balasingham, 'Krishnapathy', Mrs. Dr. Selvachandran, S. Somasabesa Kurukkal, Kuhan Mills, Mr. P.L. Patrick, Retired AGA, Malvam Lane, Nuns of Ark, Ark Lane, Joseph Pathinathan, Dutch Lane, Miss C.V. Chelliah, Principal, Girls College, Mr. Thambithurai, Secretary, YMCA, Jaffna, Grama Sevaka, Chunnakam, Dr. Selvarajah (Presently England), Rev. S. Kadirgamar, Kataveli Church, Pt. Pedro, Dr. K. Yogeswaran, Consultant Surgeon, General Hospital, Kotte.

All of Manipay Road Uduvil Chunnakam.

Vasanthi Sivapatham

weapons while a dialogue based on the Accord continues.

- The creation of an independent disputes procedure to prevent any violation of the agreement not to use weapons in order to avoid the escalation of violence and consequent threat to the peace process to which violation of the agreement would inevitably lead.

- The talks should provide a phased timetable — for elections; for the withdrawal of the IPKF; and for surrender of arms by militant groups.

- The International Committee of the Red Cross to be invited to fulfill its humanitarian role throughout Sri Lanka as recommended by the United Nations Human Rights Commission

The message to both leaders stresses that it is important that Sri Lankan opposition groups endorse any long term settlement achieved.

International Alert calls upon governments who have received Sri Lankan refugees not to return them to Sri Lanka against their will but to work with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to ensure a regulated return over a period of time once the settlement has been reached.

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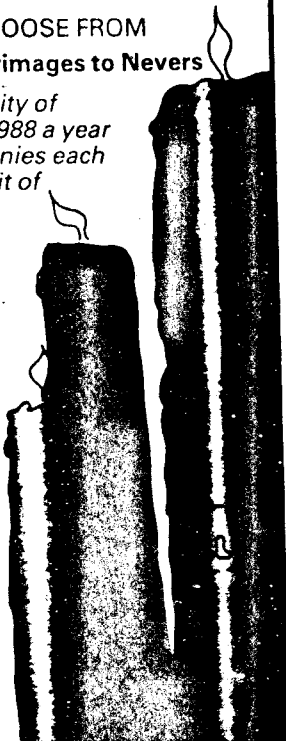
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BRIEFS

DIED: Akilon (P.V.Akilandan) noted Tamil writer died in Madras on January 31. Known for his contributions of short stories and novels to Kalki, Kalaimagal and Ananda Vikatan, he was the winner of the Sahitya Akademi award for his historical novel, 'Vengaiyin Maindhan', in 1963 and the Jnanpith award for 'Chithirappavai' in 1976.

RESIGNED: Well-known Tamil cinema actor Sivaji Ganeshan quit the Congress-I along with four Congress-I MLAs on January 29. He said the decision of the party high command to vote against the Janaki MGR ministry constituted a 'betrayal' of MGR.

HONOURED: Noted Mridangam player Umayalpuram Sivaraman awarded 'Padma Sri' on the occasion of India's 38th Republic Day celebrations on January 26. A similar award went to Sudharani Raghupathy for Bharata Natyam.

HONOURED: Awarded posthumously India's highest military award, the Param Vir Chakra (PVC) to Major Ramaswamy Parameshwaran for 'conspicuous bravery' in the IPKF operations in Jaffna on November 25 1987. The award was received by his widow in the presence of President Jayewardene at the Republic day celebrations on January 26.

DIED: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, known as Frontier Gandhi died in Peshawar, Pakistan on January 20 at the age of 98.

APPOINTED: Dr.A.Gnanam as Vice-Chancellor of Madras University succeeding Dr.B.B.Sundaresan. Dr.Gnanam was earlier Vice-Chancellor of Bharatidasan University.

KILLED: Sri Lankan Army officer (name not revealed) killed in landmine explosion at Triyai in Eastern Trincomalee district on January 30.

ANNOUNCED: M.Kalyanasundaram expelled from the Communist Party of India in Tamil Nadu announces formation of new party called Indian Communist Party to be formally launched on March 31 at Tiruchi.

DEBARRED: Indian cricket captain Dilip Vengsarkar debarred from representing his country or state for a period of 6 months for violating the contract which did not permit writing of articles.

REVERSAL: The Janaki Ramachandran AIADMK groups earlier policy of total support for the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement has been reversed with the Madras Assembly dissolution. 'Let us pledge today that the Centre restrain the IPKF from attacking innocent Tamils in the regions of Eelam where they live', she said in the presence of a huge crowd of supporters at the Marina on the occasion of C.N.Annadurai death anniversary on February 3.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DISRUPTED IN NORTH AND EAST

The civil administration in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka continue to be seriously disrupted. In some parts, it is virtually paralysed. The call by the LTTE through posters not to co-operate with the Indian Peace Keeping Force in re-establishing the civil administration in these areas appear to have had its intended impact. Many government employees and teachers have continued to keep away from attending their places of work. The posters put up by the LTTE stated that those who went to work in defiance of its request would be regarded as traitors.

Even in the Jaffna peninsula where the IPKF would appear to have asserted overall military control, the administration remains, by and large, severely disrupted.

There appears to be no doubt that in the test of strength between the IPKF and the LTTE, the latter has displayed a capacity to show that the Tamil areas are ungovernable without its support. The Government Agent's offices are the focal centres of civil administration and for the provision of services to the people of the area. Besides the Mannar and Amparai Kachcheries (Government Agent's offices) which are said to be functioning partially, all the others, Jaffna, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi and Batticaloa are reported to be at a standstill.

The most affected by this disruption

of civil administration have been the ordinary people. There are an estimated 50 to 60 thousand pensioners in the two provinces who are seriously hit by the non-payment or the long delay in the payment of pensions. The other category, which includes the poorest of the poor, directly hit are an estimated 300,000 people entitled to receive food stamps without which they cannot obtain their essential daily needs.

EDITOR IN DETENTION

Mr. S.M.Gopalaratnam, Editor of 'Eelamurusu', who was taken into custody by the IPKF in November 1987, is still under detention.

He was kept at the abandoned K.K.S. hospital premises for most of the time, under the IPKF unit based at what was formerly Paradise hotel.

His wife was allowed to see him for the first time only on 24th December.

On 15th January (Thai Pongal), she went to the detention centre but was not allowed to see him.

She was told it was a 'public holiday' and was asked to come the next day. She saw him on 16th Jan. and again on 23rd Jan. She said that her husband was on a very weak condition and that his eyesight was failing.

Appeals by the Editor of this paper to the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. J.N.Dixit, against his unwarranted detention have not been fruitful.

BOMB ATTACK ON HINDU TEMPLE

At least ten people were killed and 26 injured on 16 February when two bombs exploded at the Kathiresan Hindu temple at Bambalapitya in Colombo.

All the victims were Hindus belonging to the island's Tamil community. The bombs exploded in the midst of hundreds of worshippers who had gathered for the annual all-night Shiva Rathiri festival. Those who planted and triggered off the bombs would appear to have deliberately intended and certainly would have had no doubt as to the consequences and casualties that would result from the explosions caused in such a crowded place.

No one or group has so far claimed responsibility for this outrage, but suspicions have predictably fallen on the JVP. However, it must be observed that although the JVP had engaged itself in a variety of attacks since July 1987, none have so far been directed at members of the country's Tamil community. If the suspicions turn out to be true, then it would mean that the JVP has opened up a new front in its terrorist campaign.

DR.P.C.ALEXANDER, the Indian High Commissioner in the UK, has been appointed Governor of the State of Tamil Nadu in succession to S.L.Khurana. Hailing from Travancore in South India, Dr.Alexander previously held the post of Principal Secretary to the former Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi.

TAMIL NADU, former Chief Minister, the late M.G.Ramachandran, has posthumously been awarded Bharat Ratna, the highest civilian honour in India.

LT.GENERAL A.K.CHATTERJEE, has been appointed the new General Officer. Commanding-in-Chief of the Southern Army Command and the overall Commander of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka in succession to Lt.Gen. Depinder Singh.

FOUR MEMBERS, of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) who were arrested by the Sri Lankan security forces in eastern Sri Lanka have been released following the intervention of the Indian High Commission in Sri Lanka. The hartal organised by the EROS in the Batticaloa area in protest against the arrest was reported as successful.

'CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATE'

Indian PM urged

The following is the text of a letter dated 12 January 1988 sent to the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, by the London based Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People (SCOT):-

'We wish to address you again on certain matters concerning the present plight of Tamils of Sri Lanka in the hope that you will give your earnest consideration and take appropriate steps to remedy the situation and bring relief to a harassed and suffering people.

'Firstly, despite the reported reduction in the scale of the fighting between the IPKF and the LTTE in the northern province, especially in the Jaffna peninsula, we are still receiving reports from affected families which make it clear that innocent civilians continue to be targets of retaliatory attack by IPKF personnel.

'Secondly, for the last several weeks, the violence resulting from the fighting has escalated in the eastern province. We are receiving reports of mass scale displacement of people of the area and a large number of civilian deaths.

'Thirdly, we are particularly shocked at the number of reports of Tamil

women having become victims of rape and personnel belonging to the IPKF. We note that action has been taken against a few in respect of such offences, but we must advise you that the situation in this connection has become very grave. Particularly revolting are reports where mothers and daughters of the same families being raped at the same time in the presence of each other. In some cases, fathers have been ordered, under pain of punishment, to produce their daughters at the army posts.

'Fourthly, a considerable number of houses have been taken over by IPKF personnel for use as their army posts and living quarters and the occupiers of these houses have been rendered homeless and destitute.

'Fifthly, a large number of the major school buildings have been taken over by the IPKF and converted into 'army camps', and this has severely disrupted the education of children.

'Now we wish to deal with the plight of Sri Lanka Tamils living in India. Tens of thousands of them fled to Tamil Nadu and other countries following the unprecedented violence of July 1983 and the violence and terror unleashed upon the Tamils thereafter by the Sri

Lankan security forces. We recognise with deep gratitude the timely sanctuary and support given by the Central and Tamil Nadu governments to the fleeing Tamils. Now, those Tamil refugees living in the camps as well as those who live outside and fend for themselves are being asked to leave for Sri Lanka. In fact, according to reports in the Sri Lanka press, nearly 20,000 have already been returned to the island.

'We are advised that the large majority of the Sri Lanka Tamils living in Tamil Nadu do not want to return to the island because of the continuing violence particularly in the Tamil areas. Although we recognise that the Peace Accord provided for their return, the prerequisite for such return was a restoration of peace and normalcy in the island, and this has certainly not been achieved yet. In fact the situation in the Tamil areas have become so intolerable that thousands of Tamils have gone to Colombo and its suburbs in search of physical security. Even western governments which have been waiting for an opportunity to repatriate all the Tamil refugees back to Sri Lanka have so far not thought it fit or safe for them to return to the island. India has always taken the view that the Sri Lanka Tamils in India would not be compelled to return until the situation is such that they can do so in safety and honour. In this context, we regard the attempts to return them to the island against their will as both premature and unjust. Besides, many Tamils while living in India during the last few years have been sending their children to schools in Tamil Nadu and a forcible repatriation at this stage would result in a sudden disruption of the children's education.

'The confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE which began on 10 October 1987 is still continuing after three months. There have been high casualties on both sides. But the death, destruction and suffering to which the ordinary defenceless Tamil civilians have been subjected during this period have been unprecedented. Despite the enormous loss of life and destruction of property, there is yet no indication of an end to this tragedy.

'India has always adopted the view that a military approach would not bring about a solution to the ethnic conflict and restore lasting peace, and this was the advice it always gave to the government of Sri Lanka. With respect, we believe that this advice holds good even in the context of the present confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE.

'We urge your goodself and the government of India to take relevant and appropriate remedial measures in regard to the matters referred to above and also to immediately bring about a cessation of hostilities between the IPKF and the LTTE with a view to reaching a solution by negotiation.'

APPRECIATION

DR.A.SIVAPATHASUNDARAM

I came to know Consultant Paediatrician Sivapathasundaram as a fellow House Officer at Ratnapura Hospital 24 years ago. He was an internee in Paediatrics, a speciality he was to pursue later on. He was a pleasant colleague with an amiable disposition, a keen sense of humour and an infectious laugh. He led an austere life style, being a devout Hindu and a vegetarian.

Sivapathasundaram was educated at Hartley College, Point Pedro and entered the Medical College in Colombo in the late fifties. After qualifying as a doctor, he held various appointments in government service and specialised in Paediatrics. He worked at the Lady Ridgeway Hospital and passed the Diploma in Child Health. Later he proceeded to England to complete his training and obtained the MRCP.

In 1978, he was appointed Paediatrician at Point Pedro and in 1983 transferred to Jaffna General Hospital as a teaching Hospital Consultant, a position he held until he was killed in tragic circumstances. About a year ago he visited the UK and had told a friend that he had to live with constant dan-

ger in Jaffna. During the days and nights when the Hospital was the target of frequent shell fire by the Sri Lankan security forces, he stayed on to care for the sick children in Jaffna and eventually paid the supreme penalty for his dedication and devotion to his duty.

In October 1987, 68 innocent people, including 19 members of the Jaffna Hospital were killed by members of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. Dr.Sivapathasundaram turned up for work the following day and was challenged by a soldier of the IPKF inside the hospital. He raised his hands as in act of surrender. The soldier having identified him as a doctor shot him in cold blood. As he fell crying, 'Muruga, Muruga', he was left to die bleeding inside the hospital where he had served to save hundreds of lives.

It is hard to explain this tragedy, but I see in his death an act of sacrifice in the course of his duty in the service of his people. May his soul find Peace at the feet of God.

— Dr.P.Arulanantham (former Paediatrician, Jaffna Hospital)

Contd. from page 4

to drive a wedge. Now that MGR is no more, the estrangement seems complete with Leelavathy throwing in her lot with Jayalalitha. Leelavathy is now threatening to contest in the Andipetti constituency against Janaki.

Having helped to topple Janaki, Congress(I) is in no better position than before. Five of its MLAs resigned from the party on the very question of opposing Janaki. Its most popular leader and well known film star, Sivaji Ganesan has also resigned from Congress(I) in protest against its decision to oppose Janaki. His decision is a big blow to Congress(I) as he commands widespread support among his thousands of fan clubs throughout Tamil Nadu.

Although comprehensively beaten during the last two elections, the former Chief Minister M. Karunanithi has kept his organisation intact. One time close associate of MGR and scriptwriter for his films, Karunanithi became MGR's arch enemy when he expelled the latter from the DMK. That expulsion and the subsequent founding of the AIADMK resulted in the downfall of the once mighty Karunanithi and the rise to power of MGR. MGR never forgave the DMK leader and very often

used, and sometimes abused his enormous power and influence as Chief Minister to beat his arch rival. Last year, when the DMK launched an anti-Hindu agitational campaign in the course of which some of the DMK MLAs including Karunanithi burnt the Indian Constitution, MGR used his steamroller majority in the State Assembly to expel ten MLAs belonging to the DMK, including Karunanithi, from the Assembly on the ground that they had brought the Assembly into disrepute by their action.

During the recent factional feuding in the AIADMK, Karunanithi maintained a dignified silence only recalling occasionally to newsmen about how close he was to MGR when they were together until fate separated them.

Karunanithi has consistently supported the Sri Lankan Tamil cause and tried hard to bring about unity among the Tamil militant groups. However the LTTE had kept its distance from Karunanithi probably because it did not want to displease MGR who, during his Chief Ministership, bestowed enormous support, material and otherwise, upon the LTTE. Lately the LTTE has made some friendly overtures to Karunanithi with a view to getting his support.

Karunanithi has always been critical

Contd. from p13

the Tamil civilians and also does a subtle and spiteful propaganda against the LTTE to camouflage the excesses by its own military units. The undue haste shown by Sri Lanka and India for the re-settlement of the eastern sector and the surrendering of the arms by the LTTE are inadequately reflected in their efforts to implement the peace accord.

This cannot be achieved by muzzling the regional press, clamping down indefinite curfew, indiscriminate killing of defenceless civilians, shelling of educational institutions and intellectuals and damaging the agricultural and fishing industry of the north and the east. Instead the IPKF could negotiate with the LTTE, disband the 'Three Stars' undoubtedly an IPKF's Trojan horse and create a climate conducive to the fearless, secured, healthy and happy living of the minority Tamils.

It has become sine qua non for the LTTE too to take stock of the dire consequences of fighting a losing battle resourcelessly with the Indian army and go to the negotiating table. Indian Gandhism, Lankan Buddhism or Hinduism cannot be taught through the mouth of machine guns. The concept of truth and non violence should not be taken for a ride. The leaders concerned must practise what they preach and that too when the writings are on the wall in the simmering south of Sri Lanka.

M. Selvasunderam
Sinnamalai, Thondaimanaru.

IT IS time that the militant groups found a way out of the impasse caused by the vacuum in the leadership of the Tamil people.

Leaving aside the wild claims and the failure to evolve a united leadership which will be a very wise thing, whatever the disagreement one may have with the accord it is best to avail of the opportunity of the elections and use it to know the wishes of the people and determine the leadership.

An indication of the support each group has will also facilitate the possibility of resolving many issues that prevented the structural evolution of unity. When we know the support each group has, it will permit a sharing of power on a reasonable basis.

The struggle was meant to bring to the people peace and prosperity. Instead, of strife, tension, fear, insecurity and death are delivered as the end result of their sacrifices, the people will look to alternatives.

There seems to be no other alternative other than going through the electoral process to end the deadlock. The factional strife and illusions are not what the people want. It has not liberated the people. The attempt to impose any one group as the sole representative of the people, by whatever the method, has wrecked the movement.

The problems faced by the Tamil community can be solved only if the leadership problem is solved. There is no other option but to understand and adhere to the traditions of democracy and accept the verdict of the people and coexist in a multi-party system

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of the Centre's 'soft' approach to Colombo. It must be certain that he and the DMK will raise this issue and the role of the IPKF in Sri Lanka in a significant way during the forthcoming election campaign.

In the context of the present state of the parties in Tamil Nadu, it is probable that no one party will achieve an overall majority. In that situation the possible scenario is that the Jayalalitha faction will align with Congress(I) and the Janaki faction, which is reputed to have a substantial number of Karunanithi fans, will align with the DMK. Whatever happens, if one goes by past record, any administration that is set up in Tamil Nadu will gravitate towards New Delhi and support the Centre.

NEW NAVAL TRAINING BASE

A new naval training base is to be established at Boosa in the south of Sri Lanka which is expected to provide all necessary training facilities to recruits to the Navy.

Hitherto main naval training facility was provided at the eastern port of Trincomalee. Although the officially attributed reason for the shift is that Trincomalee had already reached its limits as a result of the rapid expansion of the Navy's manpower, it is widely believed that the real reason is the instability and violence in and around Trincomalee resulting from the continuing ethnic conflict.

The new project is expected to cost about 30 million Sri Lankan rupees, and construction works are planned to begin this year. Boosa was selected by the government as a suitable site for the project because of the availability of land and its proximity to the Galle Harbour in the southern tip of the island.

GRADE A AT O'LEVEL BY 8 YEAR OLD

Ganesh Sittampalam, aged 8, has become unique in passing his O'LEVEL examination with an A Grade in MATHEMATICS. He is believed to be the first to achieve a grade A in O'LEVEL at 8 years and one of only three to pass the O'LEVEL at all at this age.

He is a pupil at Arundel House School in Surbiton but he did his maths at home. He was taught by his father who himself has a 1st class degree in maths and a Ph.D and is currently in a senior investment position in the City. His mother also has a maths degree.

Ganesh's father, though very busy with his City work, managed to devote some time during weekends among other activities to teaching and guiding Ganesh, who increasingly worked on his own during the latter stages.

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JAFFNA TAMIL, Hindu lady secretary in U.K. professional firm aged 31 seeks suitable partner write with horoscope and details to Box M211 c/o Tamil Times.

JAFFNA TAMIL, Hindu male, highly qualified professional in U.K., aged 35 seeks suitable partner write with horoscope and details Box M211 c/o Tamil Times.

SISTER, seeks suitable bridegroom and bride for her highly academically (Double Master & Ph.D) qualified, 35 year old brother in U.K. and 30 year old B.Sc (Hons) sister working in Colombo. Please send charts & particulars to Box 212, c/o Tamil Times.

SRI LANKAN, Doctor, former staff member of United Nations, with two sons finishing their Post Graduate studies (M.B.A. & Electrical Engineering) in United States, 26 and 25 years respectively wishes to contact Sri Lankan parents, preferably Christians, settled in United states with a view to finding suitable marriage partners for his sons. Please contact Dr.K.Balasubramaniam 524C, Sea Home, Tanjung Bungah, 11200 Penang, Malaysia.

IN MEMORIAM

DR. VALENTINE JEYARAJAH — Valentine was called to rest on the 27th of October 1987. He had a recurrence of his former illness and finally succumbed to cardiac arrest, at Bulawayo Central Hospital, Zimbabwe. He leaves behind his loving wife Betty and children Praveen and Jayanth. The funeral service was held at St.Johns Cathedral, Bulawayo, close to Mpilo Hospital where Valentine was the Head of Department of Anaesthesia. Fondly remembered by his family.

'And God shall wipe away all the tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away.'

Rev.21:4

MANIAM, A.P.S. (Palasuppiramaniam, Annamalai) passed away in October 1987 in the wake of the IPKF onslaught at his home in Urelu, Jaffna. He was the brother of Chanmugarajah, Saraswathy, Mrs.Sivasubramaniam, Mrs.Thiagarajah (Lincoln), Sivapathasunderam and Mrs.Arumugadas (Harrow). He was the uncle of Shyamala Kumarakulasekari and Kumaradas (Harrow) and Dr.Chitra Velauthapillai (Lincoln). Fondly remembered by all his nephews and nieces for whom he lived — 39, Walton Road, Harrow, Middlesex.



Dr. (Mrs) PARAMES DURAYAPPAH — Expired in U.K. on 15th January 1988 after a sudden illness. She is the widow of the late Alfred T.Durayappah — former Mayor & M.P. for Jaffna and the eldest daughter of the late 'Beauty' Coomaraswamy (Irrigation Engineer) and of Mrs.Rukmani Coomaraswamy.

'Parames' — as she was dearly known qualified from the Ceylon Medical College and served at the Lady Ridgeway Hospital, Castle Street Maternity Home, and the Jaffna Hospital.

She also served as the School Medical Officer in Jaffna and later as the Chief Medical Officer of Health, Jaffna Municipality.

In 1967 she took up an assignment with the Brunei Government where she served in the Medical services for the past 21 years. She represented the Brunei Govt. in various international conferences in Geneva and other countries. In recognition of her services she was promoted last year as the Asst. Director of Health Services which post she held until her untimely death. The Brunei Govt. also honoured her last year by conferring on her a very distinguished title.

She leaves behind her only daughter Esha (Rochana) and son-in-law David Begho (Accountant U.K.).

Dr.Parames Durayappah is the niece of the late G.G.Ponnambalam Q.C., the late Rev. Father Balasunderam and the late Mrs.Spencer Rajaratnam and the beloved sister of Pushpa Somaskandan (Teacher, Vaddukoddi) Puvanam Pathmanathan (Brunei) Mahen Coomaraswamy (Engineer-Brunei) Dr.Vijendra (Eastbourne U.K.), Pathma Wimal Sockanathan (Solicitor — U.K. & Dr.Sivandran (Perth-Australia).

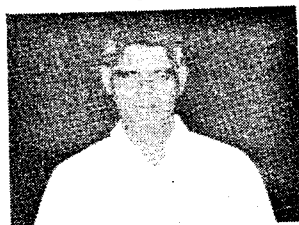
The funeral took place at West Norwood cemetery and the rites were conducted by S.Sabapathipillai Esqr (Chairman, Britannia Hindu Temple Trust).

Justice A.Nithiyanthan

OBITUARY



ANGEL (Mathuram) beloved wife of Giri, Daughter of Mr & Mrs Rasiah (Karainagar), sister of Mrs Ariaratnam (Karainagar), Amirthanayagam (Welling), daughter-in-law of Mr & Mrs Selladurai (Nallur), sister-in-law of Kathirgamanathan (Bexley), Nathan (Epsom), Mrs Ganendran (Burton) and Ravi (Kotahena) passed away peacefully on 18 January after a short illness — 32 Southview Close, Bexley, Kent.



A.SIVAGNAM — Retired Electrical Engineer, Ceylon Electricity Board, Formerly Lecturer, Ceylon Technical

College and the Katubedda Institute of Technology died suddenly in Colombo on 16-2-88 (Maha Sivarathiri Day). He was the eldest son of the late Mr & Mrs. E.Ariacutty of Chunnakam, Sri Lanka. He had his early education in Kuala Lumpur and St Thomas College, Colombo and later qualified as an electrical engineer from the University of Ceylon. He leaves behind two brothers Ganason (Power Division, Asian Bank, Manila) and Dr. Maheson (General Practitioner, Coventry, U.K.)



MRS. KANAGAMMA PONNUDURAI, Born 28-11-1921. Passed away 4-1-1988 in Tinnevely North, Jaffna.

சின்புலன்
பெற்றொடுத்தீர்
ஆதையுடன்
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மகிமையினை காட்டினார்
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