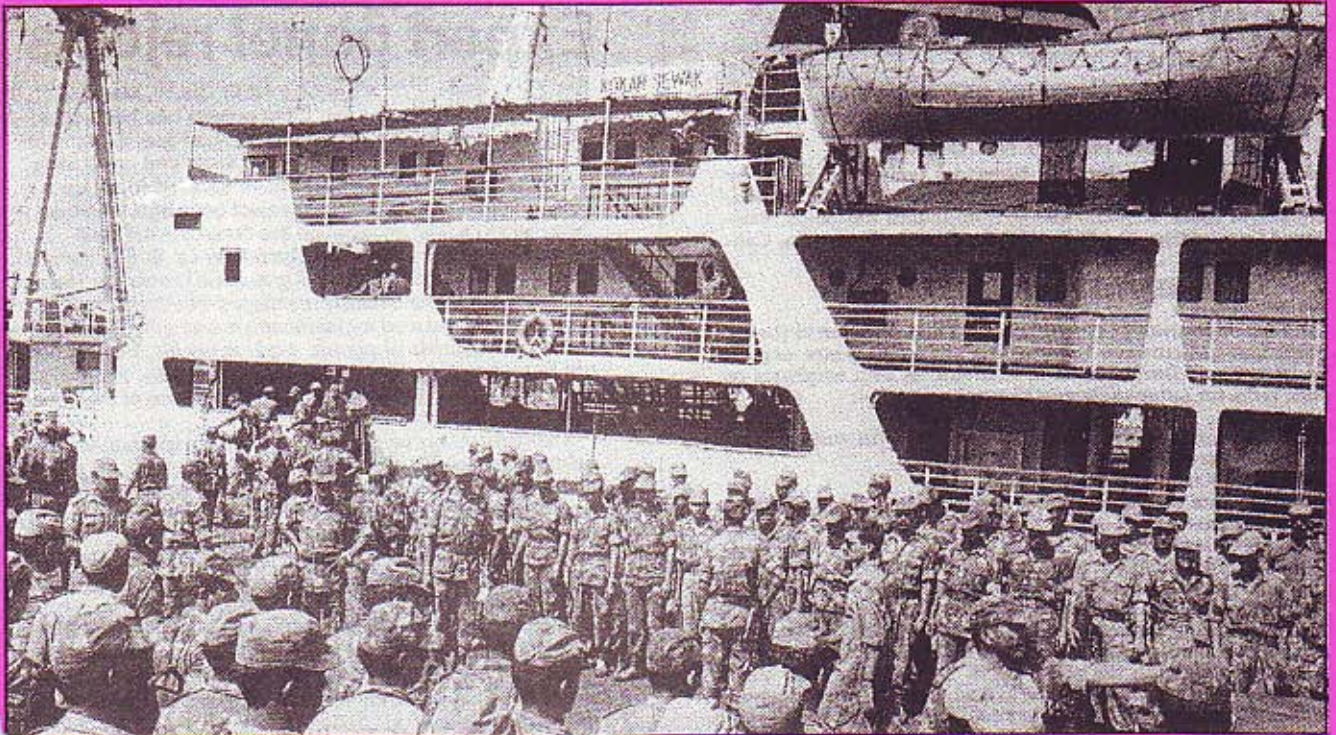


Tamil TIMES

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IPKF DEPARTS



The final batch of the IPKF soldiers who left Sri Lanka lining up on arrival at Madras harbour

● **TIGER LEADER IN PUBLIC
AFTER THIRTY MONTHS**

● ***The Trial of Perumal***

● ***Direct Rule Over N-E Council***

● **TIGERS & THE 'INDIAN WAR'**

BBC Reporter Quizzed

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DEPARTURE OF THE IPKF

Hailed and garlanded by the beleaguered Tamils of Sri Lanka on their arrival on the fateful day of 30 July 1987 in the wake of the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, the last batch of nearly 2000 soldiers of the Indian Peace Keeping Force departed on 24 March after a 32 month gruelling military confrontation in the course of which they lost an officially acknowledged 1155 of their comrades in addition to the 2984 injured. Although they were accorded a colourful ceremony in the presence of politicians and top brass from the armed forces, their departure had been called and wished for and un lamented by many. The IPKF Jawans themselves would have felt a sense of relief that their ordeal in a foreign land was over. The Indian army had fought the longest 'war' in its post independent history. It lost more men, equipment and money in this 'war' than in any other, when in fact they came ostensibly expecting to play a peace-keeping role.

At the end of this rather controversial and confusing chapter in Indo-Sri Lanka relations, claims of victory are being made by all sides. President Premadasa claims to have regained the sovereignty of Sri Lanka by sending out the Indian troops, although he happily continued to remain Prime Minister for nearly two years after their arrival without word of protest regarding their presence. The LTTE for its part has proudly asserted that it had successfully resisted the fourth largest army in the world. Having come on the basis of 'protecting the Tamils', and without giving thought to the thousands of Tamils who died in the course of their operations, the IPKF's Commander Gen. A.S. Kalkat claims that the IPKF came as a proud force and were leaving as a proud force having protected the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka!

For an army which ensured the total surrender of over 95,000 Pakistani troops in Bangladesh in 1971, by no stretch of the imagination can it be justifiably claimed that the role of the Indian army in Sri Lanka constituted one of its most glorious chapters in its history. When the balance sheet is struck, it will show more on the debit side than the credit side. As for the LTTE, when it took on the mighty IPKF in October 1987, the move had all the signs of a victory for the suicidal tendency. But today the ground reality is that the IPKF has gone having failed to tame the Tigers and the LTTE has gained unre-

cedented dominance in the Tamil areas virtually eclipsing all other political and militant groups.

Was the arrival of the IPKF on 30 July 1987 a well thought out move, and had Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President J.R. Jayawardene given serious consideration to its implications for both India and Sri Lanka? In a recent interview (The Sunday Times, Colombo, 11 February 1990), Jayawardene said, 'When Rajiv was in Sri Lanka to sign the accord in July 1987, there was an outbreak of violence. I asked the IGP why more Police were not in Colombo and he said 2400 policemen had been sent up to Kandy for the Esala Perehera (a Buddhist religious festival). He could not bring them down unless the Perehera was cancelled. I then turned to the Chiefs of the Security Forces. They said they could spare some men but did not have the planes to bring them from the North and East. Rajiv heard of my difficulty and asked, "Can I help?" I told him our difficulties and he said he would give some planes to help transport our troops. Then he asked whether I also needed some manpower to assist in the North and East if some of the troops were coming south. This was possible under the Accord. I said, since the planes are coming empty why not send some? That is how the Indian troops came to Sri Lanka'. So, the Indian troops arrived in planes which were needed to transport Sri Lankan troops from the north and east to the south and which would have otherwise come empty! It is often said that politics is too serious a matter for Generals. One wonders whether military matters are also too serious to be left in the hands of politicians, even though they may happen to be Prime Ministers and Presidents.

However, with the departure of the IPKF, those who prophesied that the Indians had come to stay permanently in the island, they would never leave, and even if they left other parts of the north and east, but never Trincomalee, have been proved wrong. The Sri Lankan media, (particularly the ISLAND group of newspapers) which thrived on a daily diet of anti-India bashing have to find some worthwhile domestic issues to concentrate on. To begin with, they can emerge from their servility to the powers that be and expose the men behind the killer-squads which go around gunning down or decapitating their political opponents.

COLOMBO NEWSLETTER by Chithra

VELUPILLAI PRABHAKARAN, the leader and supreme commander of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), made his much anticipated reappearance in public on 1 April at a press conference attended by dozens of national and international correspondents in the Tamil dominated northern city of Jaffna.

Not seen in public since October 1987, for a man presumed to have been holed up in an underground bunker located somewhere in the thick tropical jungles in north Sri Lanka for nearly thirty months leading his cadres in a battle for survival against the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), Prabhakaran presented the picture of perfect health prompting a foreign reporter's quip that he looked like a person who had spent his time in a rejuvenation health clinic.

Prabhakaran, dressed in combat uniform and flanked by many heavily armed LTTE cadres in tiger-striped military fatigues, held hands with his deputy Gopalaswamy Mahendrarajah (Mahathaya) in a gesture of demonstration of their cordial relations thereby giving the lie to the much circulated rumour that he had been killed by his deputy in a struggle for power.

The conference began with Prabhakaran reading out a statement in which he accused the Indian government of having 'completely disregarded the political aspirations, interests and security concerns of our people who have suffered long years of genocidal oppression but was primarily concerned about our arms which constituted the shield of security of our people. This was the Himalayan blunder made by India and she has learned a bitter historical lesson for such a misguided policy'. He hoped that Sri Lanka would not make such a disastrous mistake.

Describing the 'termination of the Indian intervention' as a grand victory to their struggle, Prabhakaran's statement added that it was 'a monumental event in the history of the world. For more than two years, we fought a ruthless war shedding our blood against a formidable military force, a mighty power in Asia. The supreme sacrifice made by our fighters, and by our people in this armed conflict has become a historical epic of heroism and courage'. The LTTE was not a hostile force to the Indian government or to the Indian people, but they opposed the misguided policies of the former Indian administration and resisted its military intervention, and the LTTE did not want the Indian government to interfere politically or militarily 'in our problems', the statement added.

Referring to the ongoing negotia-

tions with the Sri Lankan government, Prabhakaran said, 'For nearly a year we have been involved in peace talks with the government of Sri Lanka. I am pleased to note that the talks have been cordial, constructive and have progressed on the basis of mutual trust and understanding. As a consequence of these talks there is peace and normality...I should say that the courageous and the radical approach enunciated by President Premadasa has resulted in the present climate of peace and conciliation'.

The LTTE leader regretted that there was a campaign by the newspapers that the LTTE should surrender its weapons and said, 'Instead of demanding that the LTTE should surrender arms, one should objectively study and analyse as to why we took up arms and fought a protracted armed struggle for more than fifteen years...We wish to say that once concrete actions are taken to remove the causes and conditions that led to Tamil resistance, then the question of arms will be settled for ever. It is a misconception to assume that the ethnic issue would be resolved once the LTTE hands over its weapons...The question of arms cannot be resolved unless the ethnic issue is resolved amicably'.

The future depended on the realisation of the Sinhala political leaders of the blunders of the past and their preparedness to resolve the Tamil problem on the basis of human justice and righteousness (Dharma). 'If on the other hand, justice is denied to our people and if oppression is unleashed against our people, we will not hesitate to resume the armed struggle to uphold the freedom of our people', Prabhakaran said.

Referring to some of his close encounters with the IPKF he said that on some occasions the Indian soldiers came within fifty yards of his jungle hideout and on other occasions he had been shaken by bombs dropped from planes. Asked about his role in peacetime, he chose an unlikely role for a man described as a ruthless guerrilla leader, 'I would prefer to do social service rather than become a politician. If there is permanent peace, I will become involved in social rehabilitation such as helping handicapped children'.

A week earlier, Prabhakaran, his wife and two children had emerged from their jungle hideout in Mullaitivu and returned to Jaffna. He visited the LTTE's main camp in the outskirts of Jaffna city for a meeting with his district military commander and later addressed some of his leading cadres. On 30 March, he unveiled a portrait of Mrs. Poopathy Kanapathipillai who

died in eastern Batticaloa in a protest fast-unto-death in early 1988 demanding a ceasefire of hostilities between the IPKF and LTTE.

☆☆☆

LTTE's territorial control of the North East appears to be total and its local leaders in Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa go about their business as if they had already gained control of the administration of these areas.

'Flags and posters of the LTTE and the PFLT dominate the areas and it seems as if no other political party exists. Restaurants and street-corners play the group's patriotic songs and speeches praising martyrs and explaining why and how they fought the cause of the Tamils all these years. Area leaders of the LTTE hold durbars on local problems and even preside over peoples' courts'. (*India Today*, 15 April). The LTTE levies taxes from traders on consumer and non-consumer items. Businessmen and professions are called on to make 'donations'.

In spite of their obvious domination, the LTTE seems to place heavy reliance on security. The LTTE and PFLT offices which have mushroomed all over are on round-the-clock guard by armed cadres. Armed better than ever before, they make their presence felt travelling about in Nissan and Pajero pick-up vehicles. They man the sand emplacements, bunkers and camps left behind by the IPKF. A large number of boys in their teens are being drafted for training. It is claimed that the time has come for every Tamil family to give one of their sons to the LTTE to fight for the 'cause of Eelam'. It is unmistakable that the demand for a separate state of Eelam has not been dropped.

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'We Have Not Given-up Our Demand For Independence'

— V. PRABHAKARAN

By Kendall Hopman in Jaffna

At 35 Velupillai Prabhakaran is probably one of the youngest and most successful modern guerrilla leaders in the world. And when he surfaced here last week after two-and-a-half years in hiding, he was sure he had won, or was very near winning the battle he began 17 years ago.

There was an aura of unreality even in his native Velvetiturai when the elusive Supreme Commander of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam visited the battle-scarred village. It did not seem possible that 70,000 Indian soldiers had tramped across this territory in search of this man and missed him.

Today, the fate of his people is in his hands, but the responsibility does not seem to weigh him down. And as I chatted with him over a well-prepared Chinese lunch in a house somewhere in Jaffna, I found Prabhakaran a mild man. It was hard to believe he was also founder and leader of one of the most ruthless guerrilla groups in the world.

'To win a war you have to be firm, determined and ruthless', Prabhakaran said. 'One must abhor war, but when war is thrust on you, you have to be ruthless'.

It was almost uncanny how this city had reverted to what it was before the Indian Peace Keeping Force arrived. The Sri Lankan security forces and police are once again indoors. The streets belong to the people and to the Tigers.

Young boys from the St. John's Ambulance Corps direct traffic. The streets are congested with vehicles and pedestrians. Jaffna is virtually bursting at the seams, and the people seem happy.

Until negotiations between the LTTE and the government are concluded their future is uncertain. A few pessimists warn that this is the calm before the storm. But the LTTE are confident they will get what they want. Says Anton Balasingham, theoretician of the Tigers: 'We are in a position of strength, politically and militarily'.

Here are excerpts from an interview with Mr. Prabhakaran, as translated by Dr. Balasingham.

Jaffna, April 4, 1990

Q: You appear to have won your battle. How does it feel to have won?

A: I feel very proud of my people, our movement and our nation.

Q: Are you still determined to fight for a separate state, or will you settle for less?

A: We launched this struggle for self-determination and political independence because of the systematic oppression by the state. We have not given up our demand for self-determination or independence. The President offered to talk to us unconditionally. Because of this radical approach, we are talking to him. But if the oppression of our people continues, we are ready to fight for self-determination and a separate state.

Q: Will you stand for office?

A: No. I will not participate in elections, or in the administrative set-up.

Q: What will your role be then?

A: I will remain the supreme military commander and leader of the movement.

Q: How are your negotiations with the government proceeding?

A: So far, the talks have been very cordial and constructive, and are progressing. There have been no serious problems as yet.

Q: What about your demand for the repeal of the Sixth Amendment?

A: We have told the President that the Sixth Amendment must be annulled, and we expect the government to bring an amendment to this effect.

Q: But the government needs a two-thirds majority in Parliament to do that?

A: The government feels confident they can annul the Sixth Amendment with the support of the Tamil parties, The Muslim Congress and the USA.

Q: Looking at what happened to the JVP, are you confident that you will be safe, if you go to Colombo?

A: I have not yet made any decision to go to Colombo. I have received many letters from members of the public advising me not to go to Colombo.

Q: What was the darkest day of your struggle?

A: The darkest day in our struggle was the day the Indian army landed in our homeland. The Indian military intervention in our struggle was the darkest stage.

Q: Were you prepared for what happened after the Indians came, or did it take you by surprise?

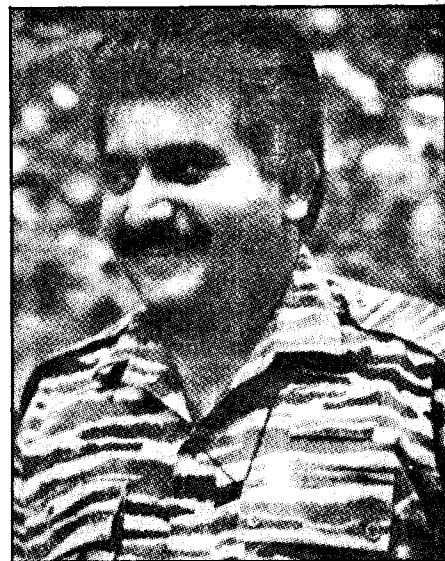
A: We were not shocked or surprised by India's military intervention. We had been anticipating such a move. We were fully aware of India's strategic objectives. We were able to withstand the onslaught because of our knowledge of India's intentions.

Q: What were those intentions?

A: India's strategic objective is to utilise the ethnic struggle to bring Sri Lanka within her sphere of influence.

Q: What caused the souring of relations between the LTTE and India? What was the flashpoint?

A: We were fully aware that the immediate strategic objective of the Indian troops was to disarm the LTTE. And without offering a substantial solution to the Tamil problem, India blundered by forcefully trying to disarm the Tigers.



LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran

Secondly. While we were surrendering arms the RAW and the Indian government were arming and training other groups. That was an act of betrayal.

Thirdly, the Indian troops here were helping the Sri Lankan government to build up state structures and to resume colonization. India helped the Sri Lanka government to induct the state system at our expense. It was at that time that Thileepan began his fast unto death, to protest at the reopening of police stations and colonization. India took no action to prevent his death.

Then, when 17 of our men were captured and placed in Indian custody, they prepared to hand them over to the Sri Lankan government instead of releasing them. India showed no concern or interest in the welfare of the Tamil people. Recently India provided security for Varatharajah Perumal and other EPRLF cadres, but at that time they did not provide any measure of protection for our people. They were collaborating with the Sri Lankan government.

Q: In retrospect though, wouldn't you agree that India's intervention helped you to reach this stage? After all, it was their arrival that precipitated the JVP uprising, which in turn brought about the present government - LTTE dialogue.

A: The original plan of Sri Lanka and India was very different to what actually happened. Everything went wrong. All their plans collapsed. The present situation is the outcome of that.

Q: Nevertheless, it helped the LTTE, did it not?

A: The aims and objectives of India and Sri Lanka were different. The LTTE also made its own efforts to force a change in their plans. On the first day of the war the Indians planned to kill me. They sent a special Sikh regiment which surrounded the area I was in. Supposing it had worked and they had killed me? Then India's original strategy would have worked.

Q: But would you have succeeded in gaining the degree of control you now have over the north and east, if the IPKF had not arrived here?

A: Even before the Indian intervention, we were in control of many parts of the north and east. It took the mighty Indian army two weeks to enter Jaffna city, and more than a month to gain control of the peninsula. Even during the Sri Lankan operation in Vadamarachchi we launched successful counter operations.

Q: But you now have more control over the east, especially Trincomalee, than ever before?

A: Even the east would have been under our control a long time ago. The Sri Lankan government would never have been able to put up as big an offensive as India did.

Q: How do you feel about the cost of your struggle in terms of lives lost? Do you have any regrets at all?

A: It is a common historical phenomenon that oppressed people all over the world suffer tremendously in their liberation struggles. Similarly our people also suffered. I feel that the entire struggle had meaning and significance. It is because we fought for so many years that the Sri Lankan government has now begun to realise the importance of our struggle. I see the historical evolution of our struggle. After 40 years, the Sinhala people are taking us seriously.

Q: Don't you think that the cause of the Tamils could have been served much better if there had been unity among the

Tamil militant groups? Why couldn't you get on?

A: I agree with you that with unity, our struggle would have progressed better. But unfortunately, we were placed in a tragic situation. We had to kill our own brothers. It is a curse and a tragedy that disunity prevailed. I find it very painful and tragic. Because of this disunity, there are cadres in our organisation who had to kill their own blood brothers. It is a matter of serious concern. This conflict arose because some groups betrayed our cause. It was unavoidable.

Q: Do you fear that this disunity will some day come back to haunt you and cause more problems for your people?

A: It may be possible that some groups may try to penetrate us and cause problems. But we are confident that we can prevent it. All over the world such problems arise. Every government has to face some sort of opposition. In Sri Lanka there was the JVP. In India there is the Punjab and Kashmir.

Q: Looking back at the early stages of your militancy, did you anticipate the backlash that resulted from the death of 13 soldiers at Tinneveli in July 1983?

A: No, we never anticipated such a massive racial holocaust. There was tension in these areas, and there had been reprisals for several incidents, but we did not expect a backlash of such magnitude.

Q: In the course of your struggle, all other Tamil political leaders and representatives have been eliminated, leaving you the only

major Tamil force for the government to negotiate with. Would you say this is the last chance for peace?

A: For a long time in our struggle, we did not have any direct negotiations with the government. There were always mediators. This is the first direct mediation to take place. It is therefore a very good opportunity for the Sri Lankan government to negotiate and settle our problems. Yes, this may be the last opportunity.

Q: Do you foresee any problems in the transition of your organisation from a highly disciplined military force, to a more flexible political organisation?

A: Political conditions led to the creation of our military structure. We are fighting for political objectives. One should not differentiate between politics and militancy. Once we achieve our political objectives, our military structures will automatically dissolve themselves.

Q: What model of government would you like to see in this country?

A: I would like to see a society that is economically self-sufficient and self-reliant. I also want a democratic system in which the people have the right to rule themselves. And there should be economic equality among the working people.

Q: To your cadres, and to many people in the north and east, you are a hero. How do you see yourself?

A: I am a fighter for my people.

(Courtesy, Sunday Times 8.4.90)

ISRAELI INTERESTS SECTION CLOSED

The controversial presence of the Israeli Interest Section based in the premises of the U.S. Embassy in Colombo is to come to an end with effect from 20 April. The announcement to this effect made by the government on 20 March of its decision has been greeted with popular approval.

A press release from the Presidential Secretariat stated that Sri Lanka would resume diplomatic relations with Israel once she recognised the Palestinian Liberation Organisation as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, withdrew from all Palestinian occupied territory and agreed to participate in an International Conference on the Middle-East convened by the United Nations.

A Foreign Ministry official in Jerusalem said, 'In supporting the PLO and organisations that continue to use terrorism, Sri Lanka is encouraging violence. It is surprising that Sri Lanka which was affected by terror many times in the past is in favour of such an organisation as the PLO'.

Sri Lanka broke off diplomatic relations with Israel nearly 20 years ago but in 1984 the government headed by former President Junius Jayawardene

allowed the Interest Section to be set up in the US Embassy which sparked off widespread protests from the island's 1.5 Muslims and opposition parties. The move incurred the displeasure of Arab countries too. The government then engaged in a ruthless military onslaught against Tamil militants also invited Mossad to train Sri Lanka's security and intelligence services.

Jane Hunter in an article in the 'Lanka Guardian' (15 May 1988) wrote, 'The Government of President J.R. Jayawardene went running to Washington, London, and Bonn for help. Not wanting to anger India - 50 million Tamils live in the Southern Indian State of Tamil Nadu and have been a source of unofficial support for the Tamils - the Reagan administration declined - as did Britain and West Germany - to give direct aid. But it did smooth the way for Israel to render assistance. In May 1984 the U.S. allowed Israel to establish an interest section under the aegis of the U.S. Embassy in the capital city of Colombo. Although it is often difficult to determine whether Israel becomes embroiled in someone else's war for its own motives or on behalf of the U.S., in this instance Israel's presence was quite clearly as a U.S. proxy. The arrival in December 1984 of Gen. Vernon Walters in Sri Lanka underscored

the continuing U.S. interest in the situation there.

'Walters, a former CIA officer and President Reagan's favourite 'trouble shooter' until he became U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. in 1985, met with President Jayawardene and Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali. It has never been clear how many Israeli agencies were involved and exactly what the Israelis were assigned to do in Sri Lanka.

Speculation is rife in Colombo as to the reason why President Premadasa made the move to shut down the Interest Section at this time. One reason adduced is that the U.S., very much angered by the persistent obstructionist approach by the Israeli government to the U.S. sponsored peace moves in the Middle-East, wanted to teach a lesson and brought its influence to bear on the Sri Lankan President. A more plausible explanation seems to be that Premadasa, being confronted with almost insurmountable economic problems and acute shortage of funds to finance his pet projects like the Poverty Alleviation Programme, wants to please the oil-rich Arab countries with a view to seeking financial aid. The timing of the government's decision is also said to be related to Yassar Arafat's proposed visit to Sri Lanka shortly.

'NO SURRENDER OF ARMS - Balasingham

LTTE's chief spokesman, S.A. Balasingham has categorically denied the prospect of the LTTE surrendering its weapons in an interview given to the Colombo weekly, The Sunday Times (8 April).

'The LTTE's military structure will never be dissolved. We will never trust the Sri Lankan Army to protect our people. We trusted the Sri Lankan Army and the IPKF and 25,000 people died', Mr. Balasingham said.

He said that plans were afoot to absorb the LTTE's armed cadres into a proposed provincial police force but not all the group's fighters would join. 'As far as the LTTE is concerned the threat of the Tamil National Army (TNA) is not over yet'. About 3000 TNA cadres were in India and were being supported by the country's external intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). 'We need to have a security system to prevent the penetration of these forces which the Sri Lankan Army cannot do. They don't know who they are', Mr. Balasingham said.

'Secondly we need armed cadres to protect our leaders. These structures will never be dissolved'. Asked for his reactions to statements from the government that the LTTE's weapons was the only problem left, Balasingham said that the LTTE's position had been explained to the government and President Premadasa understood the problem.

According to Mr. Balasingham, the group's negotiations with the government would be in two phases. 'Phase one began with the withdrawal of the IPKF and would end with the LTTE being elected to the North-Eastern Provincial Council. Phase two would be discussed on more power and autonomy for that Council'.

'No Anti-Lanka Militant Activity From Indian Soil'

The Government of India would not allow any of the Sri Lankan Tamil militant groups to use the Indian soil for 'any activities directed against Sri Lanka', a statement issued in New Delhi on March 12 stated.

As if to ensure that the Indian Government's wishes are respected in this regard, the 1600-odd Sri Lankan Tamil refugees who arrived in the country by ship and air during the previous week were duly disarmed as soon as they set foot on Indian soil.

A press release issued by the Official Spokesman in New Delhi stated:

'It has already been indicated that approximately 1600 Sri Lankan refugees have been brought from Trincomalee to India by sea and air on humanitarian considerations and in

consultation with the Sri Lankan Government. These refugees consist mostly of families, a large percentage being women and children. There are also some officials of the Provincial Government of North East Province. These are persons who felt their lives were at risk after the deinduction of the IPKF.

'...It was decided that these refugees should be temporarily lodged in Orissa. They are now in camps in Koraput.

'Government of India would like to make it clear that it would not allow Indian soil to be used for any activities directed against Sri Lanka regardless of which militant group is involved. It will be Government of India's endeavour to encourage all the refugees who have come to India to return to their country as the situation normalises and once the refugees feel secure. In this context, it is to be hoped that the Sri Lankan Government will take necessary steps to create conditions for safety and security which alone would motivate early return of all refugees from India to their homes in Sri Lanka'.

PRESIDENT ORDERS DIRECT RULE OVER N-E COUNCIL

The North-East Provincial Council was placed under direct rule by the Governor, Lt. Gen. Nalin Seneviratne, by an order made by President Premadasa on 25 March.

The order stated that the President was satisfied that the administration and proper functioning of the Provincial Council had been adversely affected by the absence and the failure to function of the Chief Minister and the Board of Ministers and the Chief Secretary. It further stated it had become inexpedient to obtain the concurrence of the Chief Minister to remove those officers who had gone absent and appoint others in their place, the President had under powers vested in him by Article 154T of the Constitution appointed Sornalingam Ganeshanathan as Chief Secretary in place of V.N. Sivarajah who had ceased to hold the office. The order also directed the Governor of the N-E Provincial Council to dismiss and appoint such officers in his discretion.

In the meantime, the Speaker of the North-East Provincial Council, Pon Ram Rajakariyar left for south India after a series of consultations with the Sri Lanka Government. He held discussions with the government's chief negotiator and Minister of Justice A.C.S. Hameed, State Minister for Defence Ranjan Wijeratne, Minister of Tourism and Rural Industries S. Thondaman and other senior government officials.

The discussions are reported to have centred round convening a meeting of

the N-E Provincial Council in Colombo the members of which scattered all over having left Trincomalee just prior to the departure of the IPKF. The Chief Minister himself is reported to be in the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius. The government is said to be confronted with a constitutional impasse in regard to the dissolution of the Council, which is a demand of the LTTE. Without a recommendation of the Chief Minister it would appear that the Council cannot be dissolved by the President.

The LTTE leadership is said to be deeply angered by the moves to get the Members of the Council to meet in Colombo.

LTTE Joins to Form Peace Committee

The army and the police assisted by the LTTE are reported to be making arrangements to form Peace Committees in every village in the multi-ethnic Trincomalee district. The aim is to avoid a repetition of previous ethnic clashes which had affected the district.

The Peace Committees would liaise with both the government security authorities and the LTTE to ensure that peace is maintained at village level.

The decision to form these Committees was taken on 27 March at a

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Continued From Page 7

meeting held in the Trincomalee Kacheri chaired by Governor Nalin Seneviratne at which the LTTE's Trincomalee political commander A. Ruben, Army Co-ordinating Officer Lal Weerasoorya, Deputy Inspector General of Police T.E. Anandarajah and other senior officials were present.

INDIAN FISHING CRAFT SEIZED

Cadres of the LTTE seized an unknown number of Indian-owned fishing craft off the northern coast of Sri Lanka on 28 March. The incident occurred while the government's chief negotiator and Minister of Justice Sahul Hameed assisted by Sri Lanka's High Commissioner designate and former Defence Secretary Senpala Attygalle were continuing having discussions at the Palay Army Camp in Jaffna with LTTE leaders Anton Balasingham, Jaffna Military Commander Banu and three others.

Confirming the incident, Defence Secretary General Cyril Ranatunga stated they would be contacting the LTTE with a view to getting the fishing vessels released. Indian fishing craft described as trawlers, vallams and small boats had been apprehended by LTTE sea patrols off the coast of Jaffna peninsula along with some 200 Indians who were in the vessels at the time of their seizure.

Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M. Karunanidhi took up the matter with President Premadasa on whose instructions Minister Hameed discussed the issue with the LTTE leadership and eventually the fishing vessels and the fishermen were released. It would seem that the LTTE had explained that they intervened on behalf of the Sri Lankan fishermen following representations to the effect that the Indian fishermen had not only been fishing within Sri Lankan waters, but during the previous two months had damaged the fishing nets of Sri Lankan fishermen.

Gamini Ousted in Cabinet Reshuffle

The highlight of the recent Cabinet reshuffle announced by President Premadasa was the dropping of Gamini Dissanayake who held the portfolio of Minister of Plantation Industries. The move was not unpredicted as Mr. Dissanayake had fallen in the bad books of Mr. Premadasa having articulated views different to those of the President on many issues. Mr. Dissanayake was also a frontline contender in the presidential stakes and was close to former President J.R. Jayawardene whose known supporters have been

progressively removed from positions of power and influence by Mr. Premadasa.

The contender for the presidential succession, Lalith Athulathmudali having less disloyalty by keeping a low profile since Mr. Premadasa became President, has been moved from the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives to Education. The high profile Ranjan Wijeratne has moved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Plantation Industries while continuing to remain as State Minister of Defence.

Mr. A.C. Sahul Hameed, who is playing a key role in the government's negotiations with the LTTE has moved from the Ministry of Higher Education to the Justice Ministry. The less known and uncharismatic D.B. Wijetunga has been retained as Prime Minister and Minister of Finance for his transparent loyalty to the President whose close friend and associate Mr. Sirisena Cooray has been awarded the Ministry of Housing and Construction. The plantation trade union leader and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress is the Minister of Tourism and Rural Industrial Development.

OPPOSITION BOYCOTTS PARLIAMENT'S OPENING

Members of Parliament belonging to the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the United Socialist Alliance (USA) boycotted the ceremonial opening of the Second Session of Parliament on 4 April. The main item of the opening, besides the pomp and pageantry associated with it, is the speech from President Premadasa setting out the government's programme of work.

A press release issued on behalf of the SLFP attributed their boycott to the undemocratic actions of the government, the murders, abductions and violations of human rights, the limitless burdens being heaped by the rapidly increasing cost of living and the lawlessness prevailing in the North and East which was posing a real threat to the unity and territorial integrity of the country.

A press release issued on behalf of the USA by Vasudeva Nanayakkara stated, 'As an impetus to the mobilisation of the protest movement of all the anti-government forces on account of the escalating prices of essential commodities, the repression of mass organisations and opposition parties and the continuance of this regime and also on account of the failure of the government to set up an administration in the North and East on a democratic basis combining all sections of the Tamil speaking people, the Socialist Alliance has decided to boycott today's proceedings in Parliament to inaugurate its new Sessions'.

LTTE Takes Over Tamil Congress Head Office

The premises which housed the Jaffna Head Quarters of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress has been forcibly taken over by cadres of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

The Congress Head Office was located in the house belonging to its leader Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam who said that the Assistant Secretary of the party, Mr. R.E. Anandarajah had been residing at the property with his family; LTTE cadres had swooped down on the house and forcibly taken the keys and on their orders had vacated the residence with his family.

Mr. Ponnambalam said that on receipt of the information, he immediately contacted Minister A.C.S. Hameed and sought his assistance; the Minister had promised to take up the matter with the LTTE leadership.

Govt. Threatens Action Against Newspapers

A government communique issued by the Presidential Secretariat on 3 April stated that appropriate legal action would be taken against newspapers and their publishers who quote from deliberations and discussions purported to have taken place at Cabinet meetings when the publication of such classified information was prohibited by law.

The communique added that it had been found that some of this information was defamatory in character. Certain others were intended to create dissension or bring disrepute to the government. There were instances where they impinged on national security and the independence of the judiciary.

LTTE DENIES SIKH LINK

The LTTE has denied that it had anything to do with Mr. Nagai Mugan who had claimed to be a representative of the LTTE and offered its help to the Sikhs in their fight against the Indian government.

The LTTE statement said that there was no truth in the claim by Mr. Mugan that he was a representative of LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran and that he (Prabhakaran) would meet Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann, the leader of the Akali Dal (Mann Group), in Madurai in May. 'The LTTE does not appoint any outsider as its envoy or representative. Mr. Prabhakaran does not have any plans to come to Madurai'.

Delhi that he would be going to Madurai on June 9 and 10 to meet Mr. Prabhakaran. He had claimed that the

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NEWS ROUND-UP

● **THE LTTE** had, during its discussions with the government, sought the repeal of the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution which prescribed a compulsory oath of allegiance to a unitary Sri Lanka and prohibited advocating a separate state; the LTTE had said that its repeal would not affect the country's unitary status and sovereignty which were enshrined in the 1978 Constitution, and this request was under active consideration, Minister of Foreign Affairs and State Minister for Defence Ranjan Wijeratne said.

● **FOLLOWING** what was described as an 'unprovoked and unwarranted' attack on its jungle base at Malwatte in Amparai in the Eastern Province by the LTTE, DPLF (political wing of PLOTE) Vice President Karavai Kandasamy stated that they had sought a meeting with President Premadasa. His party had to shift its bases to jungle areas following the LTTE takeover of the areas vacated by the IPKF; the LTTE was trying to dominate the North-East and establish a one-party state by decimating the other political parties although they did not interfere with the political or military activities of the LTTE.

● **THE GENERAL COUNCIL** of the Bar Council of England and Wales has written to the High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in the UK following a submission by 12 Sri Lankan lawyers complaining about the violence and death threats against them and their colleagues. Roger Henderson, QC, stated on behalf of the Bar Council that Emergency Regulation 55FF which provided for the cremation or burial of bodies without an inquest or judicial involvement was contrary to the Rule of Law and therefore should be repealed; informed and unimpaired judicial investigation of the case, manner and circumstances of untimely death was essential to the Rule of Law; and the safety of lawyers in Sri Lanka should be secured so as to enable them to pursue such cases as those concerning fundamental human rights.

● **FOUR** Police Constables attached to the Weeraguls police station in the Gampaha district were arrested by the Criminal Investigations Department for their alleged involvement in the massacre of twelve persons, including a 19-year-old woman, at Wavulkelle in the North Central Province. According to CID sources, the reserve PCs along with some Special Task Force personnel had carried out the killings on a contract basis; and the assailants were also involved in several robberies in other areas. A police Sub-Inspector who is also accused of alleged involvement in the killings of the 12 persons has gone 'missing'.

● **A TAX** is being imposed by the LTTE on cement transported from the Cement Corporation's factory in Kankensanthurai in northern Jaffna. A receipt for the payment of the prescribed tax of Rs.5 per bag of cement is said to be a pre-condition for the issue of cement from the factory, whatever the quantity. An additional Rs.12.50 is reportedly imposed on all cement transported to the Batticaloa district. The printed tax receipt bearing the LTTE emblem carries the number of bags, the vehicle number and the amount paid in tax.

● **AN EIGHT-MEMBER** armed gang, some wearing army-type uniforms and carrying automatic weapons had arrived in a vehicle without number plates at the residence of the SLFP MP, Mr. Jeyaraj Fernandopulle, jumped over the wall, broke into the house and carried out a search on March 8. The gang had attempted to abduct some security personnel of the MP. Another SLFP MP, Ananda Dassanayake, complained in Parliament that his sister's son, 39-year-old D.D. Dingiri Banda had been abducted by a gang in police-type uniforms at Harangala in Kotmale and his whereabouts were not known. The arrest and subsequent death in custody of 57-year-old SLFP supporter Jayaweera was also raised in Parliament by Mihinda Abeykoon (SLFP MP for Kandy District). Jayaweera had been arrested by the Thalatu Oya police and when the MP

made inquiries as to the reason for his arrest, he was told that Jayaweera was wanted by the Galaha police and he would be handed over to them. When the MP later asked the Galaha police, they denied that there was any such person in their custody. The MP contacted a senior police official in Kandy and was told that Jayaweera had been assaulted by the Galaha police and was in a critical condition. The man, a poor farmer, had later died. Even his wife and children were not aware of his death and they were under the impression that he was still in custody. Bodies of two unidentified youths were found burning at Boosa in the Ratgama police area on 15 March.

● **THE BAN ON** the transport of goats from northern Sri Lanka to Colombo imposed by the LTTE in February has been lifted from the middle of March. The conditions now stipulated for the transport of goats is the payment of Rs.500 to the LTTE for each wagon load of goats and that each load should not exceed 75 goats. An average of 10 wagon loads with approximately 750 goats were transported from northern areas to Colombo before the ban. The price of goat-meat in Colombo is expected to rise.

LTTE LEADER in the Eastern Province, S. Karikalan claimed that they had spotted a hideout of the now defunct Tamil National Army in the jungles along the banks of the Kumbakan Oya and Kumana sanctuaries. The hideout was raided by LTTE cadres and a large quantity of arms, ammunition and other related equipment were recovered, but casualty figures were not available. Karikalan added that the TNA personnel most probably had been transported in an IPKF vessel to the Hambantota coast from where they could have reached the jungles.

● **THE LTTE HAS** requested the government to recruit Tamil youth to man the police stations proposed to be set up in the North-East Province, according to S. Karikalan. Now that the LTTE had consolidated its position in these areas, they had no objection to the setting up of police stations manned by Tamils, and the LTTE would not interfere with the functions of the police personnel, he added.

● **ALTHOUGH ATTENDANCE** at many of Sri Lanka's universities has reached between 90 and 98 percent following their reopening after two years of disruption, it is particularly low in some of the universities located in the south where JVP activities and anti-JVP military operations produced unprecedented levels of violence, deaths and disappearances. According to a government communique, while the Colombo Medical Faculty, Sri Jayawardenepura University, Moratuwa University, and Jaffna University recorded staff and student attendance between 90 and 98 per cent, student attendance at Ruhuna (Matara) was 76 per cent and Kelaniya was 72 per cent. Staff attendance at Kelaniya was 88 per cent while it was only 40 per cent at Ruhuna (Kamburupitya).

● **THE 2000 STRONG** Home Guards in Sri Lanka are to be given the opportunity of joining the island's main security services if they so wish and provided they have the requisite qualifications.

● **THE MINISTRY** of Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Home Affairs has given directions for the filling of all vacancies in the public sector and accordingly all ministries, departments, corporations and state-sector banks and statutory boards have been directed to collect information on the exact number of presently existing vacancies. The recruitment would be strictly based on merit following examinations held for the purpose. According to the ministry sources, this would be the first time since 1961 that recruitment would take place on the basis of merit which was a departure from the practice of selecting on the recommendation of MPs and other forms of political influence.

● **TWO JUNIOR** army officers were taken into military police custody in Hambantota for their alleged involvement in the murder of a person identified as Dingi Malli in the

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The Uncertain Future

Rita Sebastian From Colombo

With the surfacing of LTTE supremo Vellupillai Prabhakaran last week, the rumour that he had been killed in a fight with deputy leader Mahattaya was finally laid to rest.

At his first press conference in Jaffna, for the local press, Prabhakaran warned the Sri Lankan Government that if justice is denied and repression unleashed again, they would not hesitate to take up arms.

Prabhakaran was only reinforcing the thinking in the south, that the day is not far off when the Tigers and government forces will be locked in deadly battle again.

In the north however, although there isn't the euphoria that followed the signing of the July 1987 peace accord and the arrival of Indian troops in the island signalling, what seemed at the time to be the end to a bloody war that had claimed over six thousand civilian lives, there is a visible sense of relief.

The Tigers are back in control and on the surface at least some measure of normalcy has returned to the region.

The rival groups, except for EROS, blotted their copy book by having indisciplined cadres in their fold, who treated the civilian population not only with scant respect but as expendable. And of course there was the allegation that in collusion with the IPKF they perpetrated all manner of crimes.

When the IPKF launched its military offensive to disarm the Tigers in October 1987, they were compelled quite naturally to use rival groups, not only to identify Tiger hideouts, but also point out Tiger supporters and sympathisers.

To the Indian soldier unfamiliar with the terrain, unfamiliar with the language, and facing an invisible enemy, the battle was tough-going. For India, the IPKF's foray into Sri Lanka was a 'military misadventure' in terms of both men and money.

But to the Tigers it brought them the accolade of being one of the world's toughest guerrilla fighters. Not only Prabhakaran but the rest of the Tiger leadership, as well as the rank and file, will tell you quite proudly that they faced the might of the fourth largest army in the world, and won.

But the all important question now is, whether they can make the transition from an essentially military outfit into a political party able to interact with the people at a political level, allow rival parties to co-exist, and face fair and free elections.

The LTTE leadership is quick to point out that their leadership has

functioned at both levels and they have no problems of transforming into a well-knit political party under the now recognised People's Front of the Liberation Tigers (PFLT). Already they have held meetings in both north and east, which were mainly propaganda meetings to make their presence felt.

What is bothering the Colombo Government however is the LTTE's refusal to lay down arms. The Government has on several occasions come in for criticism by opposition groups for having double standards. While it vehemently opposed the EPRLF created Tamil National Army, it turns a blind eye to the Tigers carrying arms.

The Tigers of course call themselves the People's Army but that in no way takes away from the fact that they are the only groups the Government has made no headway with on the question of arms surrender.

LTTE theoretician Dr. Anton Balasingham who articulates Tiger thinking, makes the point that the 'war is ended and the Tigers will not use their weapons against rival groups'. It is an assurance he says the leadership gave Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi during their talks in India.

Rival groups however cannot be expected to accept the Tiger assurance having been in their firing line for so long. Besides, leader Prabhakaran himself has described them as traitors with whom his group will have no alliance. It is only EROS that has chosen to allow themselves to be disarmed and accept Tiger protection.

General Secretary Vellupillai Balakumar sees a new phase emerging in which the Tigers will play the dominant role. He is optimistic that the Government-LTTE deliberations will find a viable solution to the ethnic question. 'You cannot give it days or months. It is a step by step solution'.

What now remains for the PFLT's entry into mainstream politics is the dissolving of the North-East Council, the repeal of the sixth amendment and elections. State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne told newsmen recently that President Premadasa had already had discussions with the Attorney General on the constitutional procedures to be followed, but was in no desperate hurry to dissolve the Council.

Meanwhile the Chairman of the EPRLF controlled North-East Council, Pon Ram Rajakariar, is away in India meeting with the EPRLF leadership to decide on their next move. With Trincomalee, where the Council was headquartered, being out of bounds to them with the Tigers in virtual control, there

are moves to hold the Council meeting at some other venue before three months elapse, for otherwise the Council stands dissolved by law.

A fall-out of the EPRLF leadership abandoning the North-East Provincial Council is that, the senior secretaries of the Council, who comprise some of the ablest Tamil administrators, have been advised to keep away from Trincomalee. It is a sad commentary of our times that bureaucrats are often identified with the party in power, and fall from grace, no sooner the party in power moves out.

Although the day-to-day administration of the North-East Region is said to be functioning, the absence of a governing council must necessarily hinder proper governance. That is why the future of the North-East Provincial Council should be first priority.

Today after almost a year of deliberations, the Tigers and the Government have yet to reach agreement on the resolving of the national question. There are so many areas like colonisation and re-settlement of Sinhala refugees that are key issues that need the political will on both sides for compromise and accommodation. Only the months ahead will show whether the President's dictum of 'consultation, consensus and compromise', will win, over the expected 'confrontation'.

The Tigers have made it quite clear to the Government that they will accept the Provincial Council only as an administrative structure. The viable alternative to Eelam will therefore have to be a unit of administration with substantial autonomy.

Will the Colombo Government concede that to the Tigers? For it is quite obvious that in fresh elections it will be the Tigers all the way.

WARS

by Professor Kopan Mahadeva

*Wars are sores in our peace-decked souls
Inflicted by pre-conceived goals
Of lunacy in leading roles.*

*Wars are venomous snakes, nightmares,
Into which a weak nation dares
Unheeded of real needs and cares.*

*Wars are spores in old wormy gapes
Of humane hearts which suffer rapes
By men who look like mustached apes.*

*Wars are torture, tricks, cruelty,
Sickness, hunger, pain, poverty,
Wicked weapons of novelty.*

*Wars are such games of chance and choice
Where generals are those who rejoice,
With others just pawns in the maze.*

*Wars are deemed made to end wars all
And for some other motives tall
By those who shirk true human call.*

*Wars are safety valves sent by gods
When world's population explodes
And optimality erodes.*

The Trial of Perumal

LIGHT REFRACTIONS

by Lucian Rajakarunanayakes

Vartharajah Perumal did not arrive to a hero's reception in India. Although he had IPKF soldiers to guard him, he had to submit to an Indian Customs search, unlike his easy going days with Mr. Wijeratne, and his threats of Customs inquiries. To be sure there was a senior Customs Collector to check his baggage. 'Anything to declare?'

'Nothing. I am a political refugee.'

'Any undeclared ethnic baggage?'

'Well I have a copy of the resolution declaring the establishment of the National State Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Eelam.'

'Doesn't that espouse separation? We are all for unity on this side of the Palk Strait.'

'Yes it does espouse a form of separation. But you don't have the Sixth Amendment, do you?'

Mr. Perumal passed the baggage check, but he was not prepared for what happened next. As he walked out of the Customs area the IPKF escort was replaced by two Indian Police Officers. They told him he was under arrest, and quickly clasped manacles on his wrists.

'On what charges?'

'Illegal abrogation of contract.'

'What contract? Who is charging me? Can't I have legal assistance?'

'Don't worry Mr. Perumal. You will be given a fair trial. Your case will be heard in the special court of Political History, and you will be allowed counsel and the right to call any witness. This is still a free country, and lawyers are free to appear for any client and plead any case.'

Pleads not guilty

The Presiding Judge took his seat. The Court of Political History of Orissa was in session. The Court Crier's voice came out loud: Janatha vs Perumal of Eelam. Will the accused rise to plead. Perumal rose.

Judge: 'Are you Vartharajah Perumal of Eelam?'

'Yes, I am, your honour.'

'Are you a descendant of Champaka Perumal of Yapatnam?'

'Only by princely name your honour.'

'Perumal of Eelam, you are charged with the illegal abrogation of contract by the people of Eelam. You are charged with having abandoned your own promise, which they accepted, of leading them to the promised land of Eelam.'

'They charge you with having instead led them to the jaws of a Tiger, when you once entered into a bond with them to keep the same Tiger at bay. Do you plead guilty or not guilty?'

'Not guilty, your honour.'

'Well, remember then, if you are found guilty by this court, the punishment will be in the hands of history. Till such time as history decides, you will remain a permanent exile. Do you wish to change your plea?'

'No, your honour. I shall place my trust in the verdict of history. Exile is nothing new.'

Mr. Sinhabahu Pulivaliga, the special prosecutor who had been flown from Lanka rose and faced the jury. It was a special jury which comprised three Sinhalese from Sri Lanka, two citizens of Orissa to represent the original Sinhalese, one each of the later additions to the Sinhalese from Malabar and the Coromandel Coast, three Tamils from the North of Sri Lanka, one Tamil from Central Sri Lanka, two Straits Tamils from Tamilnadu, and two Moors from the East of Sri Lanka.

Not a mere Thamillelam

'Perumal of Eelam, did you not promise your people the goal of Eelam?'

'I did. I still offer them Eelam.'

'But you only gave them an Eelam Assembly which could not even meet?'

'That was only a last resort.'

'Last resort you say. I am glad you did not say tourist resort. What pray was your original resort?'

'I wanted the real Eelam for my people. The Eelam of the ages. The Eelam that encompassed all of Ilankai or Lanka.'

'But what did you give them instead. Only a fictitious assembly, not even worth the paper which carried its resolution.'

'That is what it may look today. But it is a series of abrogated contracts, broken promises, unilateral abandonments, wholesale betrayals that brought us to the point of this chimera of Eelam.'

'Betrayal. Betrayal. Always echoing in the courtrooms of history. Tell me, who betrayed you?'

'Everyone, your honour.'

'Everyone?'

'Yes, your honour. Everyone, to whom I gave my hand, held it for a while till they absorbed its warmth, and found they could manipulate things with the other hand.'

'So you shook hands with many?'

'Yes. I shook hands with Hanuman because he promised to help me lead my people to the real Eelam. The Eelam of national unity as against the Eelam of separation. The Eelam of Devolution as it is often called. I staked all on the Eelam of Devolution.'

'Yes, yes?'

'Yes, I shook hands with the Lion, when hardly anyone else who stood for Eelam did so. I even raised the flag of the Lions over my den, with the troops of Hanuman looking on and cheering, while the Tigers were growling in the distance.'

'But you said you were betrayed?'

Fragile bridge

'I was, your honour. I did not realise how fragile was the bridge that Hanuman built.'

'Surely it was strong enough to bring all his troops across?'

'Yes, that was all it was meant for. I did not know that when I gave my hand to the simian chief, that Hanuman had his own game to play. That I was only a pawn, and so were my people.'

'But you gave only one hand to Hanuman. What about the other hand you gave to the Lion?'

'No, sir. I gave one hand and both my feet to Hanuman. As for the hand I gave the Lion, I now think it was better if I had chopped it off instead.'

'What? Even after you flew the flag of the Lion?'

'Not only that. I almost gave my life for the Lion. I stood for election for the Provincial Den carved out by Hanuman and the Lion. I really stood in the face of the Tiger's snarling teeth, at that time.'

'But were not the armies of Hanuman round you at that time?'

'Of course. That was the time Hanuman was playing the game of the Lions. His troops were at all places the Lion wanted them. It was Hanuman's troops who brought the Counting Agent and his staff to hold the count for the Provincial Den. It was Hanuman and I who got the people to line up and fill the boxes, to make the count look good at least to the journalists brought by Hanuman's PR machine. The Lion could never do that without me. The Tiger was licking its wounds.'

'What wounds? it doesn't appear to have been injured at all.'

'The wounds caused by Hanuman's army. It was the jungle that saved the Tiger, not the people. It was the weakness and vacillation at Hanuman's capital at the time. It needed only a little more thrust into the jungle. Some aerial action. Maybe some defoliant. Who knows. But the simians balked. They were scared of world opinion. Scared of the Opposition and the Press at home. They are getting it all at Kashmir now.'

'But we were talking about the Lion.'

'Yes. Lions and Tigers. What a tale. What can humans do when they clash, applauded by the monkeys?'

Leo - elephant

'But what else did you do for the Lion?'

'Everything. I did the political dirty work. I did it so much that my hand was nearly caught in the box. Like in the cookie jar. Only I was filling it, not stealing from it. It was in the two great contests of the Lions. I did not trust the Hand of the Lion, because they were not even for a provincial den, let alone a united Ilankai. So I took the side of the Lion that came in Elephant's clothing. I did it once. I did it again. Each time the Leo-Elephant trumpeted in victory. I believed the goal of greater Eelam was at hand. I told my people to live in hope. I was promised greater devolution.'

'When I had doubts, Hanuman would ask me to give the Leo-Elephant a chance to settle down. Some breathing space. There were the young, angry, crazy, bloodthirsty lions roaming in the south, who also were acting as if they were betrayed. That was how the betrayal began. Hanuman pulled his punches against the Tiger, and my house began to collapse.'

'How did it collapse?'

The Lion kissed the Tiger. That was it. Even Hanuman looked on in disbelief. But it happened. The Lion kissed the armed Tiger.'

'But the Tiger was the first to ask for Eelam?'

'That is a twisting of history. Have you forgotten C. Suntheralingam who asked for Eelam, and those beyond that?'

'Eelam is not just a decade or more old. It did not begin in 1972 or 1977. It is the age old demand for equality for my people. That is Eelam. As I said there were two Eelams on offer. One was to break away from Ilankai and carve out the North and East. That is the Thamileelam of the Tigers. The other is the greater Eelam. That does not forget our brothers in the central hills as well.'

'Are you saying that your people are now blaming you for not giving them the separate Eelam of the Tigers?'

'No, your honour. It is not as simple as the learned prosecutor puts it. The Tigers offered the separate Eelam, and killed for it. Whole villages of the Lions were eaten up, beaten out or dispersed. The Lions had no means of countering that, not for want of fire-power. But because of international opinion, which was against them, and because Hanuman was playing a double game. Hanuman encouraged the Tiger, but really stood with the Lion.'

'Can you tell this court more about Hanuman and his army?'

'Yes. They never really helped. That was the truth. They did hurt the Tiger. Drove it to the jungles. The people cheered. But the monkey troops were worse than the Lions. They also could pillage, loot, burn, rape, kill, massacre.'

'Everything the Lion did, they did more. And there was no one to complain to. The world remained mostly deaf, unlike when the Lion was doing it, in the fight with the Tiger. The world wanted to teach the Lion a lesson, but it was our people who suffered.'

'And you and your goal of Eelam?'

'The presence of Hanuman only made things worse. But

what was to be done. It is just like the man who rides the Tiger, in reverse. I could not get Hanuman off my back.'

'But you raised an army?'

'Yes. Only after the Lion let the Tiger keep his weapons. What else could I do. We had given up arms.'

'But you had Hanuman's protection.'

Victory for old elephant

'That is not the same. So we begged of Hanuman to train an army. By that time we could not get good volunteers. The roar of the Tiger was already echoing, amplified on the air waves of the Lion. So we conscripted. Picked up boys from the streets and homes. It was a motley crowd, Indian trained, armed and uniformed. I knew there was little hope. The old Elephant had won.'

'What do you mean the old Elephant had won?'

'Of course he did. He brought Hanuman. To help solve his problem down South. He fooled Hanuman. He knew the demand would soon come for Hanuman's departure, even though it would tame the tiger till it came for talks. The new elephant soon made it his demand that Hanukman leave. My days were numbered.'

'You mean the old elephant planned on ultimately giving in to the Tiger?'

'No. Not that way. He expected Hanuman to finish off the Tiger and then leave.'

'So wasn't your acceptance of Hanuman, with his earlier record of betraying the Tiger, a betrayal of Eelam?'

'As I said I believed in a greater Eelam. Don't forget that even Hanuman was first greeted with flowers, namaskarams, plantains and ash on the forehead.'

Trial is premature

'So your defence is that the betrayal is not yours. It was by Hanuman and the Lion?'

'That is not all. I think this trial is premature.'

'Premature? After you abandoned all and came here. Eelam a mere scrap of paper, and the Tigers in full control over there?'

'I say I am not guilty especially when you put it that way. What do the Tigers promise? It is not Eelam, even of their own kind. In that case isn't some Eelam, better than none. So where is my betrayal. I would be guilty of betrayal only after the Tigers abandon Eelam. That is why I would say, your honour, that this trial, even if it may be fair, it is premature.'

'I pray your honour, let us see how the Lion deals with the Tiger now. Without Hanuman, and without me and my rag-tag army. This I say is the real test. I may fade out. But this is the real struggle of history. What will the Lion concede? Is it Eelam in any form? Will the Tiger really fight again? Will the Sixth Amendment go, making this struggle for the Tiger Eelam legal? Your, Honour, the real drama is yet to begin. What we had all these years was only the prelude. Bloody no doubt. A prelude of betrayals. I see no end to the suffering of Greater Ilankai.'

'Until the court decides on your comment about this trial being premature, can you enlighten us about your people's presence here in Orissa?'

'That is only a replay of history. I have come back to where, according to many readings of history, the first Lions went from to Ilankai or Lanka. What their leader Vijaya did to the native princess who gave him her kingdom, stands out as being among the greatest betrayals in history. He sent her and her two children from him into the jungle, and took a bride from Jambudeepa. The story of betrayal began there. The curse of Kuvani also began there. . . .'

The presiding judge then announced that in view of the point raised by the accused, it was time for a long adjournment. The court would resume after news of the Sixth Amendment, he said.

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TIGERS & THE 'INDIAN WAR'

Excerpts from a 90 minute conversation with Gopalswamy Mahendirajah better known as 'Mahattaya', the deputy leader of the LTTE, and a guerrilla commander regarded by IPKF top brass as a military 'target' quite as important as LTTE Supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran himself. Mahattaya was flanked by Dr. Anton Balasingham, the party ideologue, who did most of the interpretation for Mahattaya, and by (Yogar-atnam) Dilip Yogi, General Secretary of the PFLT, the Tigers' political wing recently registered as a party.

As we went along, the formal interview became more and more a free and frank exchange.

Passages and comments which I understood to be confidences have been excluded, although only at one or two points in our discussion did Mahattaya himself say explicitly that the remarks were off-the-record. However I have decided to keep out also some references to highly placed Indian and Sri Lankan personalities, references made in a lighter vein - and to 'facts' which can be regarded as sensitive from a security point of view, at the present time.

Mervyn de Silva

(Q) As I told you, my main interest is to take a look at the IPKF peace-keeping operation, which is now being wound-up. Indian troops have been part of an international (UN) peace-keeping force in many countries (Korea, Gaza, Congo, Cyprus etc) but this is India's first exercise on this scale all on its own. I realise of course the complex nature of your armed struggle, in the sense that it is both political and military at the same time. . .but right now the focus of my interest is the Indian military intervention, albeit on the invitation of the Sri Lankan President and on the basis of a hurriedly drafted 'Accord', and how it has failed, and why.

(A) You are right, the totality of this problem, the political-military situation has to be studied. And let me say right away, it is only after this 'Indian war' that we have learnt the art of war, although our fighters did very well against the Sri Lankan army. . .you see we had to start all over again. . .the so-called 'peace' didn't last too long, did it? So one day the word was spread that we were to begin fighting again, this time against the Indian army, and believe me, if you were there, you would have been amazed or amused. Suddenly somebody shouts 'the war' had started, and the 'boys' cycle away at a frantic speed or drop their bikes on the road and run. . .they go to the places where they had hidden their weapons. It really was quite a shock to them, though we the leaders knew the Indian game. . .when I look back anyway and remember the sight of those boys 17 or 20 years old, getting off their bikes, screaming and shouting, and running in search of their hidden guns, I can laugh.

(Q) What did you mean when you said just now about knowing 'the Indian game' . . .that's the phrase you used. . .

(A) Well, we had information that R.A.W. was training several hundred, maybe even a thousand or so, cadres of the ENDLF, which of course was against us, the LTTE. . .very much opposed to us. . .we had reports that large batches were being brought from

South India and were moving into Vavuniya, Mannar, Killinochchi, Batticaloa and so on. We were in the meantime talking to the Indians and handing over weapons. . .the ENDLF was of course formed in India by RAW.



Gopalswamy Mahendirajah (Mahattaya)
leader of PFLT, Deputy Leader of LTTE

(Q) I thought that the turning point was the suicide of some 16 'Tigers' who were in custody after being arrested for transporting illegal arms. President JR has recently said that his security advisers more or less compelled him to ask the Indians to hand them over to the Sri Lankan authorities. . .?

(A) As far as we were concerned they were in Indian custody, and at that stage the Sri Lanka government could never have ordered India to do anything. . .In any case, R.A.W.'s operation showed India's real intentions. . .to put the 'quislings' into place to represent the Tamil cause. . .

(Q) Why should India let you down. . .after all you were the first group to operate openly from Madras. . .?

(A) They could never completely rely on us. . .we were too independent. . .Prabhakaran and we, the LTTE fighters, would never compromise. . .the others would play the Indian game. . .We were never opportunists nor self-seeking politicians.

(Q) May I return to my principal question. . .the war. . .what you called 'The Indian War'. . .you said it was after the IPKF came that you really learnt the art of war. . .could you please dwell on that since my main interest is

the IPKF and its evident military failure. . .though I am only an armchair expert I regard what you call your Indian war a topic of absorbing interest to any student of guerrilla warfare, ethnic insurgencies, the challenges to a conventional army, the problems that face interventionist armies and so on. In short, how did the world's fourth largest army fail?

(A) That last question can be answered rightaway. You will agree that their main target was Prabhakaran, to capture him, and along with that Jaffna. Well, you may not believe this story but I'll relate it anyway. Jaffna, which they expected to take in a few days, took the IPKF more than a month. In those weeks, we took some prisoners. . . we interrogated them. . . evidently the IPKF believed that Prabhakaran was still somewhere in Jaffna or thereabouts, in any case, the orders they were given were very interesting. . . Once they picked up some intelligence on Prabhakaran's whereabouts, they were to attack in force, accepting any number of casualties, kill the 25 'Tigers' who guarded Prabhakaran, and take our leader prisoner. They did not know that this was not possible. . .the whole world knew it. . . it is impossible to take Prabhakaran or any of us alive. . . because we have chosen death. . . death rather than capture. . . now if they didn't know that how can they fight us. . .?

(Q) In other words, motivation. . .

(A) Yes but more than that . . . our resistance, our capacity to resist. . . the will of the 'tigers'. . . and of course of the people. . .

(Q) Surely you cannot deny what we all saw. . . the people of Jaffna in the streets, cheering. . . smiling. . . greeting the IPKF. . .

(A) True. . . that's true. . .but for how long. . .? When they couldn't take effective control of Jaffna in the 3 or 4 days they had expected then the Indian attitude changed. . . getting more and more nasty. . . towards the people, who wouldn't cooperate, who wouldn't give them information, who wouldn't betray us. . . slowly, the people became hostile. . . the IPKF in turn turned hostile and brutal. . . What was the result. . . reprisals and atrocities. . .

these things have been documented, not only by Tamil organisations but International agencies... the people saw no difference between the so-called saviours from India and the Sri Lankan forces... the people had an illusion... the illusion ended... the struggle against the 'occupying army' became a popular struggle... the links between the LTTE and the people were strengthened... new links were forged.

(Q) So, how would you sum up the mistakes of the IPKF from a purely military point of view?

(A) Before the 'Accord' you know very well that the only effective guerrilla group here was the LTTE. But the LTTE, those in Delhi knew, was NOT for India, NOT for following orders from India. So RAW built up other groups against the LTTE. Secondly, this became Indian Policy the main plank of Indian policy, when the LTTE rejected the 'Accord'. The links between these 'quisling' groups and the IPKF grew stronger and stronger; as these grew stronger, these pro-Indian 'stooge' groups were more and more alienated from the people, while the bonds between the LTTE and the people grew firmer, stronger.

From a military point of view, really from a political-military angle, the IPKF underestimated the resistance capacity and will of the LTTE, and its links with the people. In the 2½ year war, the unity of the people was strengthened and the bonds between the LTTE and the people were strengthened also... that is the achievement, shall I say, of the IPKF.

(Q) Considering the vast, and varied experience of the Indian military and para-military or counter-insurgency units, it is difficult to understand such

a psychology... any comments?

(A) Maybe because this was a 'foreign' people in a country not theirs...

(Q) Or big power complex...?

(A) That also... Big Army, Big country, small island, small guerrilla group, boys on bicycles...

(Q) Psychologically, India's Vietnam or Afghanistan...?

(A) There was no effort to win over the people. Jaffna was converted into a 'war zone'... the usual, army approach... military zone means everybody is an enemy. The IPKF did not understand that war on LTTE meant war on the Tamil people.

(Q) Didn't the IPKF attempt any 'Hearts and Minds' exercises?

(A) There was absolutely no attempt at what one may call propaganda... how could the IPKF? Even Amnesty International, I think, put civilian casualties at about 2,000 in the very first phase of the battle for Jaffna. The

'TULF Leaders Were Killed As They Were Traitors'

IPKF underestimated LTTE motivation, discipline, and mass base.

(Q) What finally would you say was the impact of this war, so tragic and costly in human, material terms?

(A) Their common suffering has united the people and strengthened the bonds between the LTTE and the masses. This will be vital in re-building our society. Also, caste-class barriers have broken down. This also will help in the reconstruction effort. All we need is peace.

(Q) In that case, you can allow free and fair polls and open multi-party politics.

(A) We're opposed to a one-party system. We are for pluralism.

(Q) Before I conclude, let me turn to politics in Colombo. You are negotiating very seriously with President Premadasa, Mr. Hameed etc. as well as the President's security advisers. Is the only basis for a convergence of interest, the mutual desire to internalise the issue.

(A) We are both against foreign occupation armies. This is the common ground. We are both patriots. And this may have helped to build up the trust that has allowed us to negotiate seriously.

(Q) If you stand for a multi-party system, why did your men kill Amirthalingam and other TULF leaders.

(A) They were not killed because they held views different from the LTTE but probably because they were acting as agents of India, in short traitors, collaborators. In the battleground the LTTE kills those who betray the cause... in a national liberation struggle, the battle is everywhere, the traitor anywhere...

(Q) You say you'll permit free expression of political opinion, and your economic policy, if my impressions are correct, will be marked by the austerity that accompanies reconstruction, scarce resources mass hardship and suffering. I suppose you have anticipated my last question, the surrender of arms... what have you to say about that?

(A) Why do you use the word 'surrender'? The only question about arms is who uses it and for what purpose. We need arms just like your police here in the south need arms. There will have to be law and order, and of course security for the people.

(Courtesy of Lanka Guardian 15.3.90)

Continued From Page 9

LTTE leader had sent him an invitation to see for himself how Tamils had suffered at the hands of the IPKF and said that the LTTE leader had sent him photographs of crimes committed by the Indian troops in Sri Lanka.

When he was asked what he would be discussing with Mr. Prabhakaran, Mr. Mann had said, 'We will be discussing redrafting of the Constitution of India and the rights of the Tamils and Sikhs'.

Meanwhile, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M. Karunanidhi, told the State Assembly that the police had been instructed to take action against Mr. Nagai Mugan as he had reportedly remarked that both Sikhs and Tamils were warrior races and opposed Hindu fascism.

RAJIV GANDHI'S ASSAILANT FREED

Vijitha Wijayamuni Rohana de Silva, an ex-naval rating, who was serving a six-year term of rigorous imprisonment at Welikade prison for assaulting the former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi with a rifle was freed on 3 April following a presidential decree granting him pardon.

Rajiv Gandhi was attacked by Wijayamuni on 30 July 1987 when the Indian Prime Minister was inspecting a Guard of Honour in Colombo following the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. Mr. Gandhi ducked and partially avoided the blow which might have been fatal. The assailant was found guilty and sentenced by a Court Martial conducted by a military court for attempted homicide and dismissed from the Navy. At the time of the attack, Rohana was a radio technician attached to the Sri Lanka Navy and

was among those hand-picked to provide the Guard of Honour to the then Indian Prime Minister. It was widely noted that Rohana was closely connected with the JVP and it was on a directive of the JVP that he carried out the attack.

The Commissioner of Prisons said that over 800 prisoners including Wijayamuni who were serving various prison terms were released under a special pardon granted by President Premadasa.

The Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, L.L. Mehrotra, said that he was 'perplexed' and 'unhappy' over the release of Rajiv Gandhi's assailant. Acknowledging that it was President Premadasa's prerogative to grant amnesty to prisoners and that it was an internal matter for Sri Lanka, Mr. Mehrotra said, 'I cannot but feel unhappy, however, at the premature release of a prisoner who gave almost a fatal blow to the former Prime Minister of India'.

READERS FORUM

SIMPLE SIMONS!

PERMIT me to express my opinion on the two letters of S. Sivasegaram which appeared in the Sept. 89 and Feb. 90 issues of the *Tamil Times*. I am continuously amused by the recurrent sniping of Ivory Tower intellectuals like Sivasegaram on everyone (Amirthalingam, Indira Gandhi, Karunanidhi and LTTE leadership) with whom Tamils of India and Sri Lanka had bestowed their trust due to the leadership qualities shown in the arenas of politics and battlefield. It reminds me of the nursery rhyme we learnt a long time ago.

Simple Simon met a pieman
going to the fair;
Says Simple Simon to the pieman
let me taste your ware.
Says the pieman to Simple Simon,
show me first your penny;
Says Simple Simon to the pieman
indeed I have not any.

For the past 25 years or so, intellectuals like Sivasegaram have been behaving like the Simple Simons, who were interested only in tasting the pies without paying for them. Leadership qualities and decision-making talents do not come canned so that anyone can buy them in supermarket for a pound or a dollar. Leaders (such as Indira Gandhi, Amirthalingam, MGR, Karunanidhi and Prabhakaran) who did gain the trust and support of Tamils achieved them in the old-fashioned way, unlike Alfred Duraiappah, for whose deeds Sivasegaram has shed some tears.

Sivasegaram's comparison of the situations which led to the violent deaths of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike (in 1959) and Alfred Duraiappah (in 1975) was misleading too. Bandaranaike was the Prime Minister of the island when he was assassinated while Duraiappah was not even an M.P. at the time of his killing. In 1959, Bandaranaike commanded the popular support of his constituency, while in 1975 Duraiappah was popularly known only as a dispenser of (SLFP) political patronage and had lost his popular support among his constituents. Bandaranaike's murder was *not a politically motivated one*. He was not killed by a group which had supported him politically. Though I do not condone the way either Bandaranaike or Duraiappah were put to death, I felt that the differences between these two murders should be brought out.

I am also not saying that all the decisions made by the leaders admired by the Tamils (but criticised by Sivasegaram) are faultless. But that should not blind our analysis in assessing the events to which these leaders'

contributions have been significant in highlighting the plight of Tamils. S. Sivanayagam's (Jan. 90 *Tamil Times*) article should be read and understood in that context, rather than persistently harping on the weakness of Tamil leadership, whether it is FP, TULF or LTTE.

Hasn't the leaders (such as Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Khrushchev, Mao and Deng) whom Sivasegaram admires committed any great blunders? *How many millions of lives* were lost due to their intolerance of opposing views? Why Sivasegaram doesn't think of this? Assuming that Sivasegaram is older than the present LTTE leadership, one would like to request, whether can he list at least three events (during the past decade) in which he had exercised his leadership qualities which should be recognized by the Tamils?

Sachi Sri Kantha

Philadelphia,
USA.

'THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY'

Your correspondent Mr. Sivasegaram of London SW20 recalled the Malayan film title - 'Nayar Pudicha Puli Valu'. May I in turn quote a Malayalam saying: 'Even if you beat your mother, there will be two sides to the story'. I thank him and your other correspondent Mr. S. Anthonipillai of Colombo 3 for presenting the other side of the story.

Let me deal with London SW20 first. Mr. Sivasegaram is partly right but not wholly right when he says the word 'tiger' in singular brings to mind the animal and its plural invariably refers to the LTTE, 'at least as far as the Tamils of Sri Lanka are concerned'. Firstly, (living in Thatcher's London it is certainly not easy to grasp that fact) - there are millions more Tamils in Tamil Nadu today to whom the word 'puli', whether in singular or plural, more readily brings to mind 'Viduthalai puli' than the noble four-footed animal, which only some of them might have seen at the Vandalur Zoo in Madras! Secondly, the Tigers of Tamil Eelam have already gained acceptance in the international lexicography of the Queen's English - a fact which I hope neither Mr. Sivasegaram nor Mr. Anthonipillai would hold against me. I am referring to the Oxford Paperback Dictionary (New Expanded Edition, Reprint 1989) which includes 4,000 encyclopaedic entries, and which defines the tiger thus:-

tiger. (n) a large Asian animal of the cat family with yellow and black stripes.

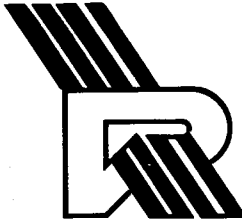



Tigers. (pl.n.) A Tamil military organization in Sri Lanka seeking independence for their community.

So it is no longer a question of 'as far as the Tamils of Sri Lanka are concerned'. Both history and lexicography are, I'm afraid, leaving Mr. Sivasegaram far behind.

Mr. Sivasegaram says that I seemed to have ignored the fact that the fascists of Germany (and for that matter all European fascists) started as underdogs and fought their way to power. Their style was based on intolerance. . . I am not prepared to yield to Mr. Sivasegaram in our common intolerance of fascism, but how careless of him that he has ignored communists and revolutionaries who fought their way to power no differently. All revolutions spring from an intolerance of the existing order (and so do liberation struggles), and are born of violence and bloodshed. History has recorded what a tremendous event the Russian Revolution of 1917 was, but how many now talk of the Red Terror that accompanied it. Even when it paved the way for a democratic assembly, it soon smashed up all tolerance of democracy. Lenin himself saw to it; and in consequence the Bolsheviks have sat on the saddle of unquestioned power for 72 years. If Ceausescu was accepted as a good communist by fellow-travellers of Communism for 24 years, they had to live those 24 years to realise what a rotten fascist he really was. The winds of change are now bringing new definitions, new perspectives, new judgements on what have preceded us over the past several decades; so it would be prudent for Mr. Sivasegaram to hold his fire and desist from attaching quick labels at a time when the situation in his home country is yet evolving; and evolving, let him not forget, towards Peace.

When he says:- 'It is interesting that the killing of innocent civilians by the armed forces of the government of President Premadasa does not attract any comment in the article. . .', he had failed to note what my article was all about. If he looks back he will see the title 'THE TAMIL STRUGGLE. . .'. It was *not* meant to be an article on the Sinhala struggle or Human Rights violations. If my article attracted comment on ex-President Jayewardene, it was because that man was directly responsible for the killing of at least 10,000 innocent Tamil civilians during his 11-year rule, and indirectly responsible for the killing of a few more thousands by getting the Indian Army to do it for him. That had everything to do with the Tamil struggle. How many thousands of innocent Tamil civilians have President Premadasa's armed forces killed during his over one-year rule? Can Mr. Sivasegaram supply the figures? Can he get Amnesty International or International Alert to provide them? As the Tamil expression goes, he should not confuse the issue by mixing the goats with the bulls.

Continued On Page 19

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Ponnambalam Sangarappillai

– An Appreciation

Nearly three score and seventeen years ago, to be exact on the 15th of December 1913, in the hamlet of Maviddapuram, under the shadow of the Kandasamy temple, Ponnambalam Sangarappillai was born not with the silver spoon but with the 'soolam' in his mouth – which accounted for his brilliance in studies.

Bagging the initial degree – B.A., while under 21, within the next six years he had collected about everything the London University could offer – B.Sc. (Econ), B.Com., M.Sc. (Econ) – all of them Cum Laude – not to mention the ancillary ones like the Associate Member of The Institute of Transport. The subjects he offered – Sanskrit for B.A., Banking and Currency for B.Sc., Transport for B.Com., were as diverse as his talents. From Sanskrit, Economics, Trade and Transport to Astrology, Religion and Philosophy was but a hop, step and jump to him.

Within a year he was 'finished' and was astride all astrological data, permutations and calculations and came out with his classic text book 'Kalyana Portuham' – a must for all practitioners of the art – a do it yourself guide. Though astrology is mainly the art of foretelling what the stars have for others, Sangarappillai knew what was in store for him too. He was aware of his impending demise and had written to me and his daughters in Australia that in the event he escapes his 'Thalthu' he would make it to Australia next year.

Never a Friday vegetarian temple going man or a holy ash sandalwood paste plas-

tered exhibitionist, he was a good Hindu who knew what his religion was all about. His lucid interpretation of Saivism in his book 'Saiva Sithantham' ranks among the best.

Very few knew that he was a first class volley-ball player in his days and later an all Ceylon volley-ball referee to boot. Even though his school could not afford cricket, he picked up the finer points of the game later and was seen at all big school and league matches in Colombo. After migrating to the U.S.A. in 1983, he gathered nuances of American football so well, that he could give any professional coach a tip or two on a tackle. With his ubiquitous Jaffna cigar – which he had to give up in the States due to illness – he had one more passion – playing Bridge.

Long before Prabhakaran and his ilk of freedom fighters had surfaced on the beaches of V.V.T., Sangarappillai was among the first of the very few self-respecting Tamils who chose the non-violent way of jettisoning their promising careers in the government service, as a protest against Sinhala only edict. To do 'ethirneechal' and swim against the rising tide of Sinhala racism, with a wife and seven school going kids was his humble contribution to the cause of self determination of the Tamil race. Later, he translated English Economic books into Tamil and initiated the vast horde of Tamil educated youth at Aquinas and Technical Colleges into the intricate theories of Keynes with his kind, witty and consummate skill.

Ponnampalam Sangarappillai, former Chief Executive, Ceylon National Chamber of Industries, Director – C.T.B., Deputy Commissioner of Motor Traffic, Lecturer – Aquinas and Technical Colleges, President – Colombo Tamil Sangam, leaves behind his wife Manonmani, five sons – Drs. Chandra Mohan, Asokan, Nagendran, Manoharan and Mahendran (accountant) all of U.S.A., two daughters and a host of relatives, friends and old students to bemoan his loss and live with his memory.

May he obtain the much coveted, ultimate – Moksha – the subject of his swan song in his posthumous book offering to the great Tamil race – 'life after death'.

C.K. Jeyeratnam

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Mariampillai Philomin
LL.B, MBIM

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As for the rest of his arguments Mr. Sivasegaram was merely drawing several red herrings – by charging me with *not* writing about matters which had no relevance to my article. But now that he had raised them, and if that would satisfy him, may I say that I agree substantially with many things he has said: about the cynical use of the Tamil National question by Indian politicians (of which, unlike him, I had almost a ringside view for six-and-a-half years now); about intolerance among ‘some’ of the liberation organisations (but why ‘some’, he should have said all, otherwise why should so many of them have sprung up on a mutual murder spree?); about Dr. Rajini Thiraganama’s killing (what made him imagine that I condone it? Did I even mention Mr. Kanthasamy’s killing in my article, a man whose ‘contribution to the Tamil community’ would have been as ‘invaluable’?). It is unfortunate that Mr. Sivasegaram has indulged in an exercise that some clever lawyers with weak briefs do in courts – ascribe or suggest imagined positions to the opponent and then happily go on demolishing them, thereby impressing their clients that they had scored several legal points!

Your other correspondent Mr. S. Anthonipillai who reacted so speedily to my article from Colombo 3, has my sympathy. I can even forgive him that little extravagant misquote about the ‘Devil quoting Scripture to justify its devilish acts’, because he sounds like a person who has his heart in the right place; it is his head that seems to be letting him down. If one is genuinely concerned about ‘basic human rights and values’ – a very vast subject which

as I said was not within the purview of my article – one has to view the question in a total perspective. One should not, as Mr. A has done, pick and choose a few alleged killings (*and some of the wrongly assumed*) that suit one’s arguments or prejudices, and leave out a whole vista of violations to which at least one million Tamils in the north-east fell victims during the past three years. That would be like swallowing a whole camel and straining at a few gnats. Instead of going on a moral rampage against one particular group, he should do some more homework on the ground situation that prevailed in the northeast these past few years and see the whole issue of Human Rights violations in proportion. May I help him?

(1) Killings are the extreme form of violations. There are dozens of others covered by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, and by the two International Covenants of 1966.

(2) Even accepting for the purpose of his argument (which I don’t) the partial terrifying picture that he presents – ‘LTTE has killed MPs, College Principals, Government Agents, Asst. Government Agents, DROs, University teachers, Undergraduates and other public figures’ – (how many MPs, College Principals, Govt. Agents etc. does he estimate to have been killed – 1,000? 500? 100?), don’t the killings of 10,000 other innocent civilians come within his range of vision? And who were *those* killers? And why does he want to portray the other groups, some of them absolutely undisciplined, in a more favourable light, by singling out the LTTE?

(3) Mr. A. must also not imagine that only MPs, College Principals etc. are entitled to life and liberty. Does not his heart that beats for them (who were at least in a position to choose their own fate) not bleed for the thousands of his fellow Tamils – nameless, faceless, defenceless men and women, who were not involved in politics, or in the exercise of power and authority, whose names do not appear in newspapers (only statistics for the sake of record) whose lives were plucked away for no fault of theirs, whose property was snatched away, who were denied freedom of movement, deprived of their livelihood, subjected to arbitrary search and torture, robbery and plunder, abuse and humiliation, made refugees in their own soil, not to mention rapes and molestations – does Mr. A. think that Human Rights violations mean the killing of MPs? If Mr. A. wants to bring in the Human Rights argument and not a political one, then he must at least pay heed to the words of the UN Declaration:- ‘All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights’.

Mr. Anthonipillai was kind enough to refer to my editorship of the SATURDAY REVIEW and my contribution in the Kandasamy Commemoration volume. If he remembers my concluding words in that article where I quoted the words of poet Donne – ‘Every man’s death diminishes me’, then he would understand why I think Human Rights violations have to be seen from the human point of view – and not politicised; for or against any one political or militant group.

Madras
Tamil Nadu

S. Sivanayagam

LTTE LEADERS TO BE QUIZZED ON MURDER OF TULF LEADERS

— Ranjan Wijeratne

The LTTE leaders would be questioned in regard to the murders of the TULF leaders, A. Amirthalingam and V. Yogeswaran, in July last year, State Minister for Defence and Cabinet Spokesman Ranjan Wijeratne told a press conference in Colombo on 5 April in answering questions from media-men following the public admission of responsibility by the Deputy Leader of the LTTE for the killings.

G. Mahendrarajah (Mahathaya), the leader of the Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers (political wing of the LTTE), in a recent interview with the Editor of the ‘Lanka Guardian’ in answer to the question: ‘If you stand for a multi-party system, why did your men kill Amirthalingam and other TULF leaders?’, replied: ‘They were not killed because they held views different from the LTTE but probably because they were acting as agents of India, in short traitors, collaborators.

In the battleground, the LTTE kills those who betray the cause... in a national liberation struggle, the battle is everywhere, the traitor anywhere...’

The Sri Lankan daily, ‘The Island’ of 6 April carried the following report in regard to the Minister’s press conference:

‘Addressing the weekly cabinet news briefing at the Cabinet Office in Colombo, the Minister said that there could not exist two sets of laws in the country. If the LTTE in actual fact admits that they killed Messrs. Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran, they will have to be interrogated by the police and the laws of the land allowed to take its own course.

‘Mr Wijeratne said that he would be bringing to the notice of the President the queries made by the media about press reports quoting the LTTE as having killed the two TULF leaders. When told that even ‘The Island’ car-

ried a report where LTTE’s ‘Mahathaya’ had admitted that his movement was behind the two slayings, the Minister replied, Those were news reports. They (the LTTE) could deny having made such statements. We must first find out whether they actually made such statements and if so, the police will have to question them. We will have to take cognisance of those reports and make inquiries.

‘Q: But the LTTE had so far not denied having made those statements to the Press?’

A: We will see. If they admit having plotted and killed Messrs. Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran, we will have to question them. In fact one Mariyadas had been arrested by the police in connection with those two killings. Available evidence does not indicate that the LTTE was behind the slayings. I have seen those reports. Anyway there is more to it than meets the eye. The LTTE, according to press reports claim they were responsible,

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Ambalantota area. Three more soldiers had also been arrested for their alleged involvement in a rape case in Aranayake. A few weeks earlier five army personnel, including a Non-Commissioned Officer, were taken into custody in connection with the murder of a Provincial Council Member's brother.

● **E. RATNASABAPATHY**, the founder leader of EROS and one of the EDF (political wing of EROS) MPs in the Jaffna district has resigned his position as a Member of Parliament 'for personal reasons'. The Speaker made the announcement in Parliament on 20 March.

● **THE IPKF WITHDREW** its last contingent of soldiers from the north on 20 March thus ending a thirty-two month military presence in the Jaffna Peninsula. About one thousand soldiers left Kankasanturai as Sri Lankan soldiers presented a guard-of-honour to the General Officer Commanding (GOC) the IPKF, Lt. General A.S. Kalkat and the departing contingent. Sri Lankan Army Commander Lt. General Hamilton Wanasinghe was also present.

● **1500 TAMIL YOUTH** from the plantation areas would be recruited into the National Police Force, according to the State Minister for Transport, Mr. M.S. Sellasamy. They would be appointed to police stations in the central hill country. Mr. Sellasamy also said that 96 grama sevakas (village headmen) would also be recruited shortly from the plantation sector.

● **ALL GOVERNMENT** employees attached to Trincomalee Kachcheri (Government Agent's Office) who had kept away from work from April last year reported for work as from 26 March. More than 100 Tamil police constables have been posted for duty in Trincomalee, according to T.E. Anandarajah, Deputy Inspector General of Police for the North-East. A special arrangement is to be introduced by the Ministry of Home Affairs in the districts of Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Mannar, Puttalam and Pollonnaruwa with immediate effect appointing Tamil speaking Assistant Government Agents alongside Sinhala speaking AGAs.

FAREWELL TO THE IPKF

The Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, Mr. L.L. Mehrotra speaking at Trincomalee on the occasion of the IPKF departure said:

'A time when a fratricidal war had reduced peace in this land to ashes and the very unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka, our friendly neighbour, was in peril. It was in a moment of such grave crisis that the Sri Lankan Head of State, in his sovereignty, decided to invite the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

It's tenure was to be short and its task simple since all the militant groups had agreed to surrender arms and to keep the Sri Lankan unity intact. Our troops came to Sri Lanka to implement the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987, to end the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka and their despatch underlined India's firm commitment to the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka.

'As one of the groups went back on its promises and quite an unexpected war was thrust on the IPKF, it carried out the task of maintaining peace and keeping Sri Lanka whole with unflinching dedication.

'In the process it lost more than a thousand lives. Despite the war it was commonly acknowledged that the North Eastern Province with the IPKF in charge of law and order responsibilities was most of the time the most peaceful part of Sri Lanka.

The Indian Peace Keeping Force leaves Sri Lanka with a sense of fulfilment. All the elements in conflict have turned away from war to the negotiating table seeking peaceful and democratic solutions within a united Sri Lanka.

'A new province has come into being in the North East of Sri Lanka acknowledged as the traditional habitation of its Tamil speaking people. Tamil has been accepted as one of the

official languages of the country, and both provincial and national elections have taken place in conditions of peace guaranteed by the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

'The Government, the people and

the press of Sri Lanka have all expressed their appreciation for the achievements of the IPKF. It is our fond hope that the IPKF's legacy of peace will last and that the crimson of the morn-

Continued On Page 21

Kalkat Interview

Frontline: What, in your estimate, are the achievements of the IPKF, during its stay of 32 months in Sri Lanka?

Lt. Gen. A.S. Kalkat: I think the biggest achievement is that we have maintained and accomplished the objectives of the Government of India's policy towards Sri Lanka which is to have a friendly and united Sri Lanka in which the minority Tamil issue is resolved politically to ensure the Tamils' rights. Our contribution to upholding India's policy has been in the following:

(1) We have made sure that Sri Lanka remains united, by preventing the creation of an independent Eelam state which was the LTTE's irreconcilable demand and we had to fight (it) to prevent this from happening:

(2) We prevented the continuation of the Sri Lankan policy of seeking a military solution (to the Tamil problem) on which it had embarked since 1983.

We have a situation today where the Sri Lankan Government itself is fully satisfied that the LTTE poses no threat of breaking away from Sri Lanka and at the same time the LTTE is saying that it fears no threat from the Sri Lankan Government regarding its safety, security and rights.

Now, what we have achieved specifically as a consequence of the IPKF's operations are:

(1) Out of all the militant groups, four gave up their demand for Eelam and swore their allegiance to the Constitution and integrity of Sri Lanka and joined the political process in September, 1988. The remaining one, the LTTE, after further operations by the IPKF, has reconciled to and accepted the sovereignty of Sri Lanka.

(2) For the first time in the history of modern Sri Lanka, a legally and duly elected Tamil Government was established in the Tamil province.

(3) The merger of the North and East (traditional Tamil homelands) was recognised and concretised constitutionally as a single Tamil-predominant province in Sri Lanka.

(4) The Government's decision to send in the IPKF and the sacrifices made by it have signalled to any outside power who may have designs to use this part of the world as a playfield India's concern for peace and stability of the South Asian region. We have spent money and made sacrifices and the message is that India's involvement, exclusive to all parties in the region, is for peace and stability in the region.

(5) The 13th amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution became legitimised and the rights of the Tamils to administer the Tamil-predominant North-Eastern Province were legitimised. Tamil was also recognised as the second official language of Sri Lanka.

Today there is a realisation that the minority Tamils are an important factor in the totality of the Sri Lankan polity and that they have a useful role to play in it.

(Frontline, March 31-April 13, 1990)

Festival of Music & Dance



Smt Pathmini Gunaseelan of Narthana Kalalaya, a carnatic vocalist and Bharata Natyam dancer who gained her skills under the tutelage of Padmasri Adyar K. Lakshman and Sangeetha Kalanithi M. Thiagarajan and Smt Kalaivani Indrakumar of Natha Vidyalaya, Sangeetha Vidwan and a violinist of repute, well known to audiences in U.K. have linked their skills and are presenting a festival of music and dance which includes the Dance-Drama 'The Abduction of Sita', at the Camden Centre, Bidborough Street, London WC1. Tickets are moderately priced at £3.00. For tickets and information Tel: 01-968 7816 & 01-509 1263.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

May 6 1.30 p.m. Mass to celebrate the Festival of Patron Saints at Westminster Cathedral, Victoria Street, London SW1. 3.30 p.m. Cultural Programme in Cathedral Hall. For details. Tel: 071 222 2895.

May 12 7 p.m. to midnight Chundikuli - St. John's Past Pupils' U.K. Association Dinner/ Disco in aid of St. John's Building Fund at Copeland Community School, High Street, Wembley, Middx. For tickets Tel: 081 366 5137, 081 998 5470 & 071 402 8340.

May 13 3.30 p.m. Novena at the Asian

Chaplaincy, 48 Gt. Peter Street, London SW1. Tel: 71 222 2895.

At Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. Tel: 071 381 3036/4608.

May 5 7 p.m. Karnatic Vocal by Maharajapuram Santhanam.

May 12 7 p.m. Bharatanatyam Arangetram by Veena, student of Prakash, Bhavan's Bharatanatyam teacher. For invitations Tel: 071 575 2245.

May 18 7.30 p.m. Yakshagana (Dance Drama from India) with 20 artistes

Continued From Page 20

ing sun that greets the IPKF in salute to bid them bye will cover this land in abiding glory for time to come.

'It is my signal honour to express the admiration and gratitude of the Government and people of India to the IPKF for a difficult task, very well done and to the Government of Sri Lanka, its people and most of all its Armed Forces, for the cooperation extended by them in the fulfilment of IPKF's onerous responsibilities.

'We are all proud of you, soldiers of the IPKF! History will record your achievements in golden print and the memories of those of the IPKF who have laid down their lives to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of a friendly neighbour will last in our hearts for ever. A proud and grateful nation awaits your arrival back on Indian shores'.

Foreign Minister and State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne told both local and foreign reporters in his speech at the farewell ceremony that the IPKF had made a great sacrifice after arriving in the country to disarm the militant groups in the country.

'Unfortunately one militant group did not agree to the Accord signed to end the ethnic war. But we have to face realities', he said.

The Minister paid his compliments to the former Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi for the cooperation given until late last year and added that the present Prime Minister V.P. Singh and External Affairs Minister, Inder Kumar Gujral had shown sincerity in their purpose by pulling out the troops one week before the March 31, deadline.

Mr Wijeratne stressed the need of strengthening relations between the two countries and said that the Indians are always welcomed as visitors to the country.

The Minister expressed his sympathies to the families of the Indian soldiers who laid down their lives for the 'great good of all'.

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but the police think otherwise. Anyway those reports do not mean the end of the story. If new evidence surfaces, the police will change their views. Mariyadas would be indicted shortly. The matter would be settled by courts.

'Q: Hasn't the Police questioned the LTTE on those reports yet?

'A: I don't think they got that opportunity yet. I am sorry to say that. If there are new leads, the police would investigate. They may have already done so. The laws should apply to everybody'.

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MATRIMONIAL

Jaffna Tamil seeks professional partner for her beautiful sister, 34. Enclose photo, horoscope, full details in first letter. M 379 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Parents seek qualified partner for doctor daughter, British citizen, 25. Reply with details, horoscope, M 380 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu seeks partner in U.K. for his accountant brother, 32, working in London. Details to M 381 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu mother seeks partner for accomplished, good looking daughter, 34, divorcee with son 6 years, American permanent resident. M 382 c/o Tamil Times.

Christian Tamil parent seeks educated partner for pretty daughter, 22, 5'5". Nationality, religion immaterial. M 383 c/o Tamil Times.

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage.

Parthipan son of Mr & Mrs Subramaniam, 'Thamilakam', Urumpirai South, Sri Lanka and **Chitra** daughter of Mr & Mrs Ratnasingham, Gnanavyavar Road, Kondavil East, Sri Lanka at Sri Murugan Temple, London E12 on 31.3.90.

Shankar son of Mr T. Visvendran and the late Mrs Visvendran, 27 Cromwell Road, Stevenage, Herts., U.K. and **Jyoti** daughter of Mr & Mrs Sant Parkash Singh, 24 Oakdene Avenue, Darlington, U.K. at Sadberge Village Hall, Darlington on 7.4.90.

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Basil Joseph Benjamin (DIMO'S and Director - De Croos Ltd) husband of Dr Nirmala; father of Shobana, Arjuna and Aravindan; son of Mr Benjamin and the late Mrs Benjamin; son-in-law of the late Srinivasan and Mrs Srinivasan; brother of Zelina Ariyanayagam, Thiliga Segarajasinghe, Kamala Nagalingam and Shanthie Xavier expired under tragic circumstances on March 6th - 9 Rudra Mawatha, Wellawatte, Colombo 6.

Mrs Nesaratnam Navaratnarajah (73) beloved wife of the late T. Navaratnarajah, B.A. (Hons), London, Lecturer Jaffna Hindu College, sister of the late S. Sittampalam (Sri Lanka); mother of Balendra (U.K.), Sarojini, Lalitha (both of Sri Lanka); mother-in-law of Shanthi (U.K.), Buvanendran, Sothirajah (both of Sri Lanka); grandmother of Chrishanthi, Jasmin (U.K.), Gobika, Vaseekaran and Gajanthi (Sri Lanka) passed away at 'Nesastan', Kondavil East, Sri Lanka on 21.3.90 - 10 Hill Road, Pinner, Middx., HA5 1JZ. Tel: 01-429 1691. A poojah in her memory was held at the Highgate Murugan Temple, London N6 on 22.4.90.

IN MEMORIAM

In loving memory of our father **M. Muttiah** (Retired chief clerk) Called to rest 27.4.89.

Remembered with love and affection by wife Grace, children Ranji, Mahen, Son-in-law Albert, Daughter-in-law Chris; grand children Priyantha, Dharshini, Dilan, Miran, & Dushka - Mahen Muthiah, 5 Babworth Crescent, Retford, Notts.

A Tribute to Dr. Daniel Selvarajah Sanders

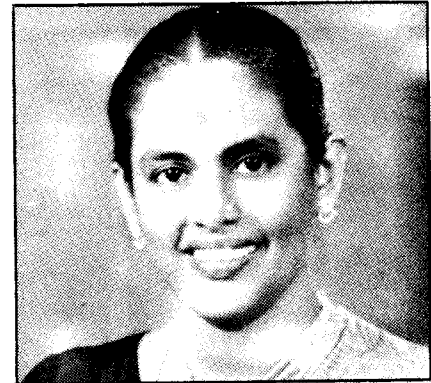
(Dean, Professor & Director of International Programs, University of Hawaii School of Social Work - 1971-1986, USA; Dean and Professor, University of Illinois School of Social Work, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois - 1987-1989, USA)

By **Dr. Richard J. Parvis**, Secretary-General, Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development (also Professor, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University).

While attending the National Association of Social Workers Conference at San Francisco, Dan died from an unanticipated heart attack. To those of us who worked closely with him, there was never any question of his health or vigour. His passing has left a deep void which will be hard to fill, not only within Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development ranks, but in a wide range of other professional and internationally affiliated organizations. For example, in recent years, he helped us obtain special NGO (Non-governmental organization) status within the United Nations. He also served on the International Committee of Council on Social Work Education where he strove to bring international content and economic development to the curriculum content of Schools of Social Work in the USA.

Were I to begin to respond adequately in this salutation I would need to prepare several volumes. However, I will leave that task for future historians. Knowing Dan, he would object vigorously even to these few lines as being much too lengthy.

Dan's concerns have long been closely intertwined with those of IUCISD. Not the least of these have been the struggle for peace over the possibility of war, the depletion of natural resources, the suppression of human rights, over population and widespread ignorance. He had a rare ability to see the good in others with diverse views and



Vemalaranee Kanagaratnam, retired teacher, St Pauls, Milagiriya, Bambalapitiya, Sri Lanka; beloved wife of the late P. Kanagaratnam; loving mother of Sara (Hong Kong), Brem (Airport Garden Hotel, Sri Lanka), Dubsy (U.K.); loving mother-in-law of Lalitha (Sri Lanka), Shyamala (U.K.); loving grandmother of Janarthan, Mahala, Uthistran (Sri Lanka) Arani, Anuja (U.K.); loving sister of Pathma (U.K.), Vimalendran (Vims Jaffna) Niruba, Dolly (Sri Lanka) Robin (Switzerland) passed away in London on 31.3.90 - 19 Huxley Place, Palmers Green, London N13 5SU. TEL: 01 886 5966.

✕ 429 1691. A poojah in her memory was held at the Highgate Murugan Temple, London N6 on 22.4.90.

somehow identify the common factor which would enable them to work cooperatively.

At the Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development organizational level, we have only begun to see developments taking shape. Many of these were due in no small measure to the encouragement of our recent President.

One needs only to pause and reflect on our personal and shared experiences at Hong Kong, Sussex, Japan, Aland, Montreal, Patzcuaro, Heidelberg and Gothenburg to appreciate the contributions which Dan has persistently made to IUCISD philosophy and development.

Drawing from his professional education, which was centered in social work of three countries - Sri Lanka, Wales U.K., and the USA, he believed in a multi-disciplinary approach to meeting problems of human needs. Never for a moment did he lose sight of the need for both economic and human development to grow concurrently in partnerships, but he was equally convinced about the need for teamwork between all disciplines. This was reflected not only in his approach with IUCISD, but within his university as well. Here he helped build a special working relationship between his department and a number of other disciplines.

But more than being a person with convictions, Dan constantly worked at interpreting his beliefs and helping translate these into action even at possible risk of being viewed with raised eyebrows by some of his more cautious contemporaries. None, however, doubted his sincerity or willingness to work constructively with others. The role of a pioneer is not always an easy one, and Dan was frequently in that position.

The impact of his presence will continue to be felt in this organization and in the world at large.

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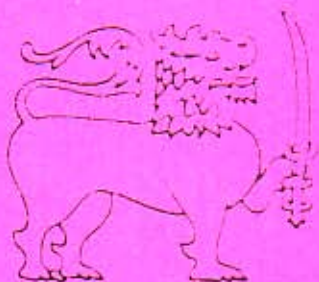
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