

# Tamil TIMES

"I do not agree with a word  
of what you say, but I'll  
defend to the death your  
right to say it!"

— Voltaire

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A sorrow shared is a sorrow halved: Dr. Manorani Saravanamuttu, mother of slain journalist Richard de Zoysa shares a moment with a grieving young wife at the Mothers' Front meeting held recently at the New Town Hall, Colombo.

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## A CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

*With all efforts to bring about a process of negotiation, including that of cabinet minister Mr. Thondaman, having been frustrated, focus has now turned on the Parliamentary Select Committee which has been appointed to find ways and means of resolving the ethnic conflict. It is difficult to see how a Committee comprised of Members of Parliament belonging to various political parties with divergent and very often with contradictory policies relating to the ethnic question can come to an agreed formula for solving the conflict. The other major problem is that the LTTE, which is presently engaged in a war with government forces, is not represented in parliament or the Select Committee. There are other Tamil Members of Parliament belonging to the TULF and other militant groups represented in the Committee, but the LTTE does not recognise them as legitimate representatives of the Tamil people. In fact it claims for itself the sole right to represent the entirety of the Tamil people. Hence, even if the Select Committee were to reach agreement on a formula for a negotiated political solution, the war may not end and peace will not return unless and until means are found to bring the LTTE also into the process of negotiation.*

*However, the question as to who is to represent the Tamil people at this juncture has become a crucially critical one. The leadership traditionally provided by the Tamil Congress first and then the Tamil United Liberation Front was sidelined and pushed aside with the emergence of armed Tamil militancy, and eventually many of its leaders were physically exterminated or went into enforced exile or silence. Thereafter, many of the leaders of Tamil militant groups were also killed in interminable internecine fratricidal conflicts among Tamil militant groups. The remaining leaders of some Tamil militant groups are forced to live in Colombo for fear of them being killed and with protection being provided by the government. In return, some of these groups have become allies of the government in the conduct of the presently ongoing war between government forces and the LTTE.*

*The LTTE has no doubt assumed dominance over all other Tamil parties and groups and they remain militarily powerful in the Tamil areas. On the basis of their claim to being the sole representatives of the*

*Tamil people, the Tigers are seeking direct negotiations with the government of Sri Lanka. However, the fallout from the alleged involvement of the LTTE leadership in the assassination of India's former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and more specifically the warrant of arrest issued by an Indian court against the LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran have raised a question mark concerning the acceptability of the Tigers to represent the Tamil people in any negotiations. Even if it wants to, Colombo may consider it politically imprudent and inexpedient to enter into negotiations with the LTTE for such a course may cause friction and antagonism between New Delhi and Colombo.*

*It would thus seem that, by the acts of commission and omission of those who purported to represent the interests of the Tamil people in the recent past, the community finds itself without an acceptable and effective political leadership to represent it and speak on its behalf.*

*The Tamil community has, particularly since 1983, suffered enormously. Tens of thousands have been killed and hundreds of thousands have been displaced. An estimated three hundred thousand Tamils, men and women, young and old, have fled to distant lands in all parts of the world seeking refuge and asylum. While those who went abroad are gradually establishing themselves, day by day, week by week, month by month and year by year, the community has been dismembered, and the process is continuing unabated. The lives and livelihood of those who still remain are continuing to be decimated.*

*It is at a time like this that the community can ill afford to suffer long from a crisis of leadership. It is imperative that the community should be assisted to produce a common representative leadership with all the political skill, imagination and maturity that it can muster to speak, represent and act on its behalf. Divesting themselves of previous rivalries, sectarian loyalties and of entrenched predispositions, political parties and groups, educationists and religious leaders and all those who have an abiding commitment to the interests of the people should join in an endeavour to evolve such a leadership.*

# Re-emergence of the TULF

Rita Sebastian from Colombo

The visit of a high level delegation of the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) to Delhi last month, has fuelled speculation that the party is on the way to reactivating itself.

Led by party President, M. Sivasithamparam and politburo members, R. Samabandan and M.T Thangadurai the delegation met with Indian Foreign Ministry officials for what, party sources described as wide-ranging consultations on the current situation in the island. Among the priority issues discussed with Indian officials were the problems faced by the Sri Lankan refugees and displaced persons in India and their repatriation under a joint Indo-Lanka programme.

The TULF has since then submitted its proposals to the Parliamentary Select Committee for the need for a political solution to the ethnic question. It is one of the very few Tamil parties that has been consistent on its stance that the military option must not be pursued and only a just and fair devolution package for the northeast, will bring about a durable peace.

In the 1988 parliamentary elections 10 persons were returned to parliament under the TULF symbol. Of them 4 belonged to the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), 1 to the Communist Party, 2 to the Tamil Eelam Liberation Orga-

nisation (TELO), 1 to the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) and 2 to the TULF.

Recently the ENDLF member, together with a member of TELO and two members of the Eelam Democratic Front (EDF, former EROS) formed a separate Tamil political unit and announced their decision to support the government.

The EPRLF-CP coalition however, who were signatories to the impeachment motion slapped against President Ranasinghe Premadasa last August by dissidents in his own ruling United National Party (UNP) and the opposition, stand now in firm opposition to President Premadasa.

The sovring of relations between the government and the EPRLF began with the dissolution of the northeast Provincial Council which the EPRLF dominated, and which was dissolved on the demand made by the Tiger leadership during their 13-month peace dialogue with the government.

Today the Tamil political leadership in the country is fragmented. The two TULF members, Prarajasingham Joseph and Mavai Senathirajah endeavour to occupy the middle ground and remain critical of Premadasa's handling of the northeast crisis, while

declining to be associated with opposition forces who seek to remove him.

The recent visit to Delhi therefore raises the possibility of the old guard of the TULF, (Sivasithamparam, Samabandan and Anandasnagari), having decided to provide a stronger leadership to the party.

TULF's former General Secretary, Appapillai Amirthalingam was assassinated in 1989 and it took as long as two years for an indictment to be brought against his murder. The party is yet to recover from the assassination and has tended to maintain a relatively low profile in the two years since the traumatic assassination in which Sivasithamparam narrowly escaped being assassinated as well.

To some extent the party's position revived with the Kokkadicholai massacre in June last year when, on Joseph's request President Premadasa appointed a Commission to inquire into the allegation that the army was responsible for the cold-blooded killing of 67 villagers in the eastern province.

In the first week of February the 3-man Commission, in its interim report held the army responsible for the massacre.

Whatever criticism is made against the TULF for not having worked out a solution to the northeast problem when it was the country's main opposition it is the only Tamil party that didn't take to the gun, and which could still provide the moderation needed for the resolution of the Tamil question.

## Thondaman Hits Back

Minister of Tourism and Rural Industrial Development S. Thondaman, who is also the powerful boss of the largest plantation trade union in the country, the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) triggered off a bitter attack against him by hardline Sinhala chauvinists over his proposals for resolving the island's national question.

Minister Thondaman, in an interview with RITA SEBASTIAN answers questions on some of the issues involved. Excerpts from the interview.

**Q. You promised that by January 15, after your scheduled visit to the north to meet with the LTTE leadership, the northeast question would come nearer solution. If you had made that visit, do you think you would have achieved what you had promised?**

**A.** I was working towards it since May 1991. Although the LTTE had accepted the fact that the July 1987 Indo-Lanka Accord was a positive step, they felt it was not complete. It was in this context that I felt that here was an opportunity one could snatch to arrive at a positive response from the LTTE.

**Q. In hindsight do you feel that if the proposals had not been publicised it would not have evoked the hysterical outburst it did from Sinhala hardliners?**

**A.** The opposition to my proposals

came from the usual quarter. The Bhikkhus and the disgruntled politicians. They have been beating the same drum since the 1930s. They find it a convenient ladder for their own political gains. One distinct feature of the whole issue is that no major political party has criticised my proposals. The criticism is only from a small group and a section of the press.

**Q. Two very chauvinistic Sinhala movements, Sinhala Arakshaka Sangavidhyana (Organisation to protect the Sinhalese) and the Hela Urumaya for protecting The Heritage were formed as a result of your proposals. Would you comment?**

**A.** Some of those responsible for these movements, a former Minister included have been running the Government for close on 50 years and have

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## 'Summons Against LTTE Leader Won't Affect Talks'

The proclamation of the LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabhakaran as an accused in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case is unlikely to have any impact on the negotiations the Sri Lankan Government may have with the LTTE.

This was indicated by the Sri Lanka High Commissioner Dr. Neville Kanakarathne, while talking to journalists here on February 28. 'We respect the court order and we have published it in newspapers in Sri Lanka. It is our duty to help in executing the order but how we can do that I don't know' he said, when asked to react to the Madras Designated Court's order declaring Mr. Prabhakaran an offender and directing him to surrender.

'Mr. Prabhakaran is like the Scarlet Pimpernel, an extremely elusive gentleman, and both the Sri Lankan defence forces and the Indian Peace Keeping Force have failed to catch him' he added.

Dr. Kanakarathne said he did not think the arrest warrant against Mr. Prabhakaran would prevent the Sri Lankan Government from negotiating with the LTTE as such. Pressure was on Sri Lanka from friendly Governments. Red Cross, Amnesty International and many others to seek a negotiated settlement to the Tamil problem. And, the LTTE being the 'controlling factor' and the other Tamil groups not having the base, no negotiation on the Tamils issue could be fruitful without the LTTE in it.

If Mr. Prabhakaran was in the hideout and did not emerge who else could the Sri Lankan Government negotiate with? To this, he

said: 'We can talk to the other leaders... Mr. Anton Balasingham, Mr. Kittu or Mr. Mahattiya though they are staying outside. Our government is trying to break the sober and reasonable elements from the hardcore of the LTTE so that an acceptable solution could be found. It is a question of the country's integrity, we have shed a lot of blood and we do not want to shed more blood'.

The High Commissioner, who was on his way to Colombo, expressed satisfaction over the arrangement for the return of Tamil refugees to their homes in Sri Lanka. 'Thanks to the cooperation of the Tamil Nadu Government and the Union Government, the process is going on smoothly'. The Sri Lankan Government had given the best possible assistance to the returning Tamils and to resettle them. Confidence had been established and he hoped there would be a momentum of people going back to their homes.

Dr. Kanakarathne did not think that any timeframe could be set for all the two lakhs refugees in India to get back to Sri Lanka. It was a human problem and all the causes which forced the Tamils to flee their homes should be removed which the island Government was now engaged in. People were prepared to go and the feedback was encouraging, he said.

On Indo-Sri Lanka relations, he said: 'Things have begun to move in the right direction and the overall relations are certainly better now than what they were a few months ago'.

(The Hindu)

## 'Situation in Jaffna Traumatic': G.A.

Jaffna's Government Agent K. Manickavasagar who was in Colombo recently has urged President Premadasa to call off the major military offensive in Jaffna because it could have severe repercussions for civilians.

After discussions with

President Premadasa, Mr. Manickavasagar said there was a Tiger in every house in Jaffna and thus the military offensive could affect most of the civilians. The only way out, he stressed was a peaceful political solution.

Mr. Manickavasagar said he told President Premadasa and Prime Minister D.B. Wijetunge that the people of Jaffna wanted peace. He received a patient hearing, but no firm commitments.

Explaining the plight of the people of Jaffna, the G.A. said there was an acute shortage of drugs and injections for maternity cases and for diseases such as rabies, malaria and cholera. There were also severe shortages of some essential food items. He said the President had promised action to meet these needs.

'The whole of Jaffna peninsula is in darkness. We have had no electricity for years,' the G.A. said underlining the seriousness of the crisis facing the people.

Mr. Manickavasagar said he had also made representations to the President regarding the release of 20 Tamil fishermen who were

in military custody and the release of 68 private vehicles which were being held at Pooneryn.

Asked whether he was not under threat as a government servant he said: 'The LTTE is also aware of my constraints and difficulties. Even the government realises this situation. LTTE cadres meet me often on various administrative matters.'

Mr. Manickavasagar said he could not answer questions on whether the LTTE was levying taxes in Jaffna, but he dismissed reports that the LTTE had formed any Eelam Bank or was issuing Eelam currency.

The G.A. said the situation in Jaffna was traumatic and unbearable. Hundreds were jobless while the cost of living was soaring, industry was at a standstill and courts were not functioning.

## Army Blamed for Massacre

The Interim Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the Kokkadicholai incident has noted that the death of 67 civilians at Kokkadicholai in eastern Batticaloa, was not the result of any military action, but the 'unrestrained behaviour' of certain soldiers who were provoked by the death of two of their colleagues who died in the landmine explosion. There was a connection between the landmine explosion which resulted in the death of two soldiers and serious injury to another soldier and the death of 67 civilians. The members of the armed forces who were stationed in Kokkadicholai were responsible for the death of these civilians.

The interim report was handed over to President Ranasinghe Premadasa by Commissioners Justice K.D.O.S.M. Seneviratne (Chairman), Justice Sivathan Selliath and Dr. A.M.M. Sahabdeen on 29 January. The Presidential Commission of Inquiry was appointed by the President on June 18, 1991 under the Commissions of Inquiry Act to inquire into and report on matters relating to the Kok-

kadicholai incident which took place on June 12, 1991.

At a subsequent cabinet press briefing, Col, Sarath Munasinghe of the JOC replying to a question by the media said that an officer and four soldiers were in military custody in connection with the Kokkadicholai killings. Once the final report of the Commission was out, a 'summary of evidence' will be called by the army. A Court Martial will follow depending on the summary of evidence, that will be a preliminary inquiry by the military. That is the procedure laid down in the army.

The Commission was required to inquire into and report on the circumstances relating to the death of 67 civilians and the destruction of houses and property in the incident which took place following the landmine explosion, which resulted in the death of two soldiers. The Commission was also required to report as to whether there was any connection between the landmine explosion and the death of civilians. Also, the Commission was called upon to report as to whether any

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persons other than the members of the armed services were responsible for this incident. Among other matters the Commission was also required to report on the quantum of compensation payable to those who suffered losses in this incident and what steps should be taken to prevent

the recurrence of such incidents.

Cabinet spokesman Ranil Wickremasinghe said the Commission will submit its final report shortly covering the terms of reference which had not been dealt with in this interim report. He said the Cabinet had approved the publication of this interim report as a sessional paper.

## Tigers to Take India Before World Court?

Jaffna, February 7 - Vellupillai Prabhakaran, who is charged with, in the designated Court of Madras, the conspiracy to murder former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, made his first formal answer to the charges, through the LTTE spokesman Anton Balasingham.

Speaking at the Kondavil LTTE camp in Jaffna, Anton Balasingham along with Yogeratnam Yogi, General Secretary of the Political Front of the LTTE, said: 'We are not in anyway surprised or shocked by this action on the part of the Government of India. We have been anticipating that the Government of India will bring charges against our leaders but at the same time I should tell you that the Tamil people abroad or the expatriate Tamils are also contemplating framing charges against India in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for the large scale massacre and liquidation of 8,000 innocent Tamil people here. We feel that the Indian Government has to face a lot of charges.'

India, initially the country that the LTTE turned to in times of trouble, is now seen by them as the betrayer. Anton Balasingham speaking on this reversal of attitude said: 'We are not surprised because we know the Government of India has

been trying to undermine the image of our movement internationally and this move is also intended to undermine the current peace process undertaken by some independent countries because India is opposed to the interference of extra-territorial powers in our troubles.'

The countries interested in mediating he said, were Canada, Australia and some members of the Commonwealth as well as Scandinavian countries. He added: 'The Indian Government is unhappy that the Sri Lankan Government will take this problem out of India and resolve it internationally.'

Asked if India's geopolitical position did not make it imperative for India to be involved in the resolution of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, he said: 'India intervened politically, diplomatically, and finally militarily, and it has disastrously failed to bring about a settlement.'

It is time for India to allow other extra-territorial powers to intervene to solve the problem, because it is posing tremendous refugee problems not only to India but also to several European countries. So, naturally those European countries are interested in mediating and solving the problem.'

## Sivanayagam Continues in Detention

The Madras High Court has upheld the detention under the National Security Act, of Mr. S. Sivanayagam, a Sri Lankan refugee and the editor of the 'Tamil Nation', an

English fortnightly, which was allegedly printed at Royapettah but stated to have been brought out from London.

A Division Bench com-

prising Mr. Justice T.S. Arunachalam and Mr. Justice S. Pratap Singh, however, quashed the detention orders passed against two others - Mr. S. Gugadasan and Mr. Ananthamurugan - stated to be assistants in the Research Institute of Tamil Affairs, Besant Nagar, run by Mr. Sivanayagam.

The Bench dismissing a habeas corpus petition filed by the wife of Mr. Sivanayagam, challenging the detention, said it was true that the detenu was a refugee, who came to India in 1983 and he had been given a refugee card. Benefits and privileges were given to the refugees out of compassion and they would have to abide by the law of the land, the country which had not only received them but had also sympathetically given them the status of refugee.

'If such persons indulged themselves in illegal activities, it will be rather strange to urge that Section 3 (1) (b) of the NSA (preventive detention) could not be invoked to regulate their presence in this country,' the Bench said.

## Canadian Mission Wants Aid to Sri Lanka Suspended

The Canadian Human Rights Mission which was recently in Sri Lanka for two weeks has recommended that Ottawa should suspend part of Canadian bilateral assistance that is channelled to Sri Lanka Government projects, and reallocate the funds to other programmes in the country.

It has also called for an international arms embargo on Sri Lanka and demanded that the government avoid an offensive against the Tigers in Jaffna.

The nine-member team that included parliamentarians and church members, has urged the international community to apply pressure to get the government and the LTTE to agree to an immediate ceasefire leading to a negotiated political settlement.

The government of Sri

The three were detained under the NSA by an order passed by the State Government on July 24, 1991 with a view to preventing them from indulging in illegal activities. The detention order stated that Mr. Sivanayagam did not obtain permission for running the newspaper as well as to receive foreign remittances. Although the newspaper was printed in Royapettah, it was stated that the same was printed and published at the Tamil Forum, London.

The wives of the three detenus in their petitions stated that the paper was not supporting the activities of the LTTE. It merely reproduced what had appeared in other news media in India and abroad. They sought to quash the detention orders and to set their husbands free.

The Bench said the grounds of detention mentioned that a scrutiny of the newspapers recovered showed that wide coverage and prominence were being given to the militant activities of the LTTE.

Lanka should demonstrate its good faith by presenting proposals and a clear timetable for a concrete political settlement to the ethnic conflict as soon as possible, the team declared in announcing their recommendations in Toronto last week.

Among the 39 recommendations by the team is a demand to amend the Sri Lankan Constitution to guarantee fundamental rights, including freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press.

'With respect to the findings of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry in respect of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) must be allowed to function without interference by the state,' the mission stated in its statement.

# LTTE's Response to Charges of Human Rights Violations

In response to recent criticism by international human rights organisations, a press release issued by the LTTE's international secretariat from its London office states that the LTTE is pledged by the Geneva Conventions relating to armed conflict and recognises the importance of acting in accordance with humanitarian law.

The following is the full text of the press release dated 18 February 1992:

The International Secretariat of the LTTE has taken note of the observations in the Sri Lankan Amnesty reports of September 1991 and January 1992, and in the recent report by the Working Group on Disappearances of United Nations Commission on Human Rights which is in progress now in Geneva as well as the concerns of some other non governmental organisations, about violations of human rights, in areas within the control of the Sri Lankan government and to a lesser extent in areas within the control of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

In so far as the alleged violations of human rights in areas within the control of the LTTE are concerned, we would like to point out, at the outset, that whilst it is true that the LTTE is in control of territory in the Northern and Eastern parts of the island, the extent and nature of that control is not the same in all parts of the Northeast. In some other areas, the control exercised by the LTTE is not exclusive and in certain areas, control changes from

day to night – and sometimes from day to day. Further, even in those areas within the control of the LTTE, the character of the control exercised by a guerrilla organisation, which is in the process of establishing an administrative structure, cannot be equated to the control exercised in a well established state structure, such as Sri Lankan state, in areas within the latter's control. The reality on the ground is that the lawful armed struggle of the Tamil people is taking place under conditions of unbelievable hardship. On the one hand the Sri Lankan Army seeks to occupy the Tamil homeland by launching offensive operations and planned massacres of civilians, which has assumed genocidal proportions. The Air Force continues with its indiscriminate bombardment. On the other hand, an economic blockade has been imposed to secure military ends. Again, emergency regulations which prohibit the transport of 'soya based food, sweets and confectionery' to LTTE controlled areas on the ground that such items are 'capable of being used in a manner harmful to national security' have been stringently enforced. The conclusion is inescapable that the Sri Lankan government is engaged in a determined effort to starve out the Tamil people and bend them to its will. Well armed Sinhala settlers have been brought into border areas and housed in fortified settlements. Sinhala and Muslim 'Home Guards' have been

trained and armed by the Government and function as para military forces. The attacks by the LTTE on these para military forces and armed settlers are then sometimes falsely described as attacks on 'civilians'. Some Tamil groups are actively engaged along with the Government forces and have been sent to infiltrate the areas within LTTE control and gather intelligence and it has become necessary to apprehend such spies.

However, despite these conditions of hardship, in several areas the LTTE has succeeded in establishing a stable civil administration and helped to provide the necessary infrastructure for agriculture, fishing and small scale industrial activities. Education and cultural activities have also been cared for. Adequate law enforcement machinery has been put in place. Prisons have been established. Prison guards have been recruited. Prisoners will be permitted visits by relatives and by human rights and humanitarian organisations. Prisoners are kept in custody under conditions which accord with both local and international law and they will at all times be treated humanely.

In June last year, a Tamil Eelam Police force started functioning. The Tamil Eelam Police headed by its Chief of Police, Mr. Nadesan, is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the Tamil homeland. The police force includes both men and women. The main office of the Tamil Eelam Police is situated in Jaffna and six other branch police stations at Chunnakam, Chankanai, Kopay, Chavakachcheri, Point Pedro and Valvetithurai have been established. Complaints made by individuals are investigated and action taken according to law. Traffic control is one of the routine functions of the police force. The rule of law will be secured in the Tamil homeland. The LTTE has taken steps to ensure that the fundamental principles of natural justice are followed in all matters relating to punishment. Permanent courts and tribunals for administering justice are in the process of being set up. Persons arrested for committing a crime will be entitled to a fair trial in accordance with international legal standards.

In 1988, the LTTE pledged to abide by the Geneva Conventions relating to armed conflict, and its Additional Protocols. The LTTE is mindful of its obligations as a combatant in an armed conflict which has recognition in international law and the LTTE does recognise the importance of acting, at all times, in accordance with the humanitarian law of armed conflict. It has taken care to instruct its cadres accordingly and breaches in this regard are inquired into and suitable punishment meted out.'

## The conflict in Sri Lanka: An Open Letter

The Editor regrets that the names of the signatories to the 'Open Letter' which appeared in the last issue of *Tamil Times* (page 11) of 15 February 1992 had been inadvertently omitted.

The signatories to that 'Open Letter' are as follows:

Prof. J.M. Amirthanayagam, New School for Social Research, New York, New York; Prof. G. Anandalingam, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Mr. R. Charles, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario; Prof. Valentine Daniel, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Prof. Shantha Devarajan, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Prof. Jeevan Hoole, Harvey Mudd College, Claremont, California; Dr. S. Kesavanathan, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore,

Maryland; Mr. M. Kuananda, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina; Mr. Ram Manikkalingam, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Mr. R. Noel, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario; Dr. S. Pathmanathan, University of Maryland, Silver Springs, Maryland; Prof. S. Perinpanayagam, Hunter College, New York, New York; Mr. R. Rajmohan, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario; Prof. Lakshmanan Sabaratnam, Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina; Mr. K. Sanchayan, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts; Ms. S. Subhadra, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island; Mr. M. Sudarshan, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts; Prof. S.J. Tambiah, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.



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## 'Isolate Extreme Nationalist Forces and Seek Negotiated Political Solution'

Several leading academics from the University of Colombo have in a statement expressed serious concern at the extreme nationalist spirit, intolerance and militarism evident in the present political debate in Sri Lanka and have stated that the total rejection of the validity of a negotiated political settlement would have disastrous consequences for all communities.

The full text of the statement with the signatories is as follows:

At a time when a political alternative to the ethnic war is again being discussed, we are gravely concerned about the extreme nationalist spirit, intolerance and militarism evident in the present political debate. We feel that the leaders and spokespersons in this debate should be more in touch with the general public's awareness on the issue which, contrary to elite perception, is more tolerant and amenable to a political solution to the ethnic conflict.

Any proposal towards finding a solution to the ethnic problem requires informed and considered public debate and discussion. Given the intensely volatile nature of this problem, it is understandable that some ethnic communities view with scepticism the viability of solutions proposed from time to time. Therefore, an informed and dispassionate public scrutiny of any proposal

should constitute a healthy aspect of a political process that must culminate in restoring peaceful and democratic ethnic relations in this war-ravaged country.

The present controversy is nonetheless characterised by the denial, on the part of some nationalist and religious leaders, of a political solution based on the principle of sharing of political power among all ethnic communities. They are advocating a military solution on the assumption that a political alternative to the war would amount to the breaking up of Sri Lanka. Whatever may be the merits and demerits of Mr. Thondaman's particular initiative, we believe that the total rejection of the validity of a negotiated political settlement will have disastrous consequences for all communities, as some national and religious leaders have already warned.

As the past experience in our own country and the recent international experience too, particularly of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, testify, if ethnic problems are allowed to intensify without viable and democratic political alternatives being worked out, territorial disintegration of the country would become an irreversible process. In Sri Lanka, it is still not too late to explore a political alternative to the war. However, if the nationalist leaders continue to deny, as they did

in the past and are doing now, the legitimacy and feasibility of a democratic political accommodation among different ethnic communities, there would be little reason for Sri Lanka to remain a viable political entity any longer.

We appeal to the government and the opposition political parties to work out, without delay, a democratic political solution to the ethnic problem on the basis of genuine devolution or federalism. They must also take immediate political initiatives to arrive at a consensus on the need for a political solution so that all extreme nationalist forces are politically isolated and confidence among the masses of all communities built. We also appeal for the defence of the principle of a political solution to the ethnic conflict.

Signed by:

- ★ Prof. W.D. Lakshman
- ★ Prof. Bertram Bastiampillai
- ★ Dr. Jayadeva Uyangoda
- ★ Dr. Deepika Udagama
- ★ Dr. Neloufer de Mel
- ★ Dr. Arjuna Parakrama
- ★ Mr. Rohan Edirisinha
- ★ Ms. Jennifer Thambayah
- ★ Mr. Srinath Perera
- ★ Mr. Mari Gomez
- ★ Mr. N. Selvakumaran

University of Colombo  
Colombo 3.

January, 1992

## Seminar 'Towards a Just Peace'

A recent seminar held in London under the auspices of the 'International Federation of Tamils' resolved to call upon the government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to accept mediation and enter into negotiations for an associative structure within which the Tamil people and the Sinhala people may live in peace and freedom.

Around 160 persons participated in the Seminar convened by the International Federation of Tamils in association with the Bolton Tamil Association, the Essex and London Eelam Tamil Association, the Federation of Tamil Associations of the United Kingdom, the International Tamil Foundation, the London Tamil Forum, the Tamil Refugee Action Group, the Tamil Refugee Housing Association and the Walthamstow Tamil Sangam on 15 February at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Eighteen papers, several prepared by

the Working Group of International Federation of Tamils, were discussed. Dr. N. Satchithananadan, General Secretary of the Federation of Tamil Associations of the United Kingdom delivered the keynote address. The seminar examined the issues that confronted the struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam and the steps to be taken to secure a just peace in the island of Sri Lanka.

The seminar concluded that the subjective political consciousness of the Tamils taken together with their objective conditions of existence in Tamil Eelam, including in particular their relationship to a defined historical territory, constituted them a 'people'. It was felt that as a 'people' they were entitled to be free of domination by any other people and that they were entitled to assert their right to self-determination. The Seminar took the view that a people are entitled, in law and in justice, to resort to an armed struggle

to free themselves from a continuing and oppressive domination by another people and recognised that the armed struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam was both lawful and just.

The seminar adopted the following resolution:

*'Recognising that a people have the right to be free of domination by another people;*

*Recognising that the right of self-determination of a people is a peremptory norm of the law of nations;*

*Recognising that the subjective political consciousness of the Tamils taken together with their objective conditions of existence in Tamil Eelam, including in particular their relationship to a defined historical territory, constitutes them a "people";*

*Recognising that a people are entitled, in law and in justice, to resort to*

**Continued on page 19**

## UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

# Sri Lanka Under Continuing Scrutiny

The United Nations Human Rights Commission had before it a damning 64 page report on 'disappearances' and 'exemplary killings' in Sri Lanka when it commenced its 48th session in late January this year. This report identified Sri Lanka as the worst case among 40-odd countries which the Working Group on Disappearances had investigated. Amnesty International also had in a series of reports covered the whole spectrum of human rights violations in Sri Lanka which included an unprecedented number of extrajudicial and summary executions, enforced disappearances and torture. The European NGO Forum on Sri Lanka assisted by a Country Working Group of NGOs based in Geneva had already prepared and circulated among government delegations and NGOs, documents detailing the enormity of the human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The scene was set for a major assault on the human rights record in Sri Lanka with a resolution being an inevitable outcome. A draft resolution calling for the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Sri Lanka was already in circulation.

The Sri Lankan delegation was reinforced by the induction of Mr. Neville Jayaweera, who was recently elevated to the exalted position of Sri Lanka's Ambassador to Sweden. Having had an illustrious career in the Ceylon Civil Service, Mr. Jayaweera had to choose early retirement in the 1970s when he fell foul of the then powerful cabinet minister Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranayake. Thereafter, as an expatriate Sri Lankan, he became well known in church and NGO circles and was identified as a friend and collaborator with NGOs on many issues including hu-

man rights. On Ranasinghe Premadasa becoming President, Neville saw in him not just a previous Prime Minister becoming President, but the emergence of the 'Premadasa phenomenon'. Now Neville was there at Geneva to explain the 'complexities' of the situation in Sri Lanka which, in his view, were beyond the comprehension of those simple minds which did not 'understand the realities of the situation'.

Canada was spearheading the move for a resolution on Sri Lanka, and there was every indication that if it was moved, it would be adopted. Sri Lanka, somehow, wanted to avoid it. Sri Lanka's case, put to many member delegations during a number of private meetings, was briefly as follows: 'We admit there have been gross abuse of human rights; we know that the security forces and death squads were involved in these abuses; the government does not approve of death squads, but we do not deny that they have been operating; but the government has taken several measures, including the appointment of Commissions and a Human Rights Task Force, to monitor and improve the human rights situation; after several years, Amnesty International was allowed to visit Sri Lanka and the government has accepted 30 of their 32 recommendations; the government had invited the UN Working Group on Disappearances and in fact they visited Sri Lanka and we have taken note of their report; in addition to the invitation for them to visit Sri Lanka again, we are prepared to invite the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions also to visit during this year; we have opened Sri Lanka for international scrutiny

and we have provided space for human rights groups in Sri Lanka to function; all this has been made possible by the efforts of individuals like . . . (names mentioned); if a resolution against Sri Lanka is adopted, the influence of these individuals would be undermined and the hawks in the cabinet and the security forces would gain the upper hand, and the situation would be back to square one'.

The case thus put had its merits. But the advocates for a resolution insisted that private undertakings and reliance on the 'efforts of individuals' were not good enough. Hence Sri Lanka was called upon to agree on a 'Chairman's Statement' which they did.

The 'Chairman's Statement' referred to and contained more substantial matters than any resolution that would have been adopted. Secondly, if a resolution was moved, that would have reflected the views of only those who voted for it; but the 'Chairman's Statement' is deemed to reflect the unanimous views of all the members of the Commission. Thirdly, the fact that a resolution was not adopted did not mean that Sri Lanka would not be on the agenda of the 49th session of the Commission (February 1993), because the 'Chairman's Statement' would appear verbatim in the Report of the 48th session of the Commission which would be before its 49th session, and it is the expressed wish of the Commission to consider the follow-up visit of the Working Group on Disappearances at the 49th session of the Commission.

What is clear is that Sri Lanka cannot escape the close and continuing scrutiny by the United Nations and the international community.

## 'The Hindu' Calls for Ban on LTTE in India

The Indian national English daily, *The Hindu* of 24 February in an editorial titled 'Bring the LTTE to Justice', has called for a ban on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

Reflecting the extent to which opinion in India has turned against the LTTE, the editorial states:

With last month's proclamation of the LTTE chief, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran and his colleague, Pottu Amman as accused in the murder of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, it is clear that the link between the LTTE and the assassination is no longer just on the basis of circumstantial evidence. The conclusion that the Tigers killed Rajiv Gandhi is based on incontrovertible and detailed evidence, which the

Special Investigative Team is now shaping into a charge-sheet to be filed in a month's time. But beyond the immediate facts of the criminal case, the country is left to deal with the shocking reality that the life of one of its most prominent leaders was snuffed out at the will of a foreign terrorist group.

The investigation of the murder of Rajiv Gandhi also helped unearth the horrifying stranglehold that the LTTE militants had on the State of Tamil Nadu. The facts made plain that not only was Tamil Nadu converted into an extra-territorial base for the militants of Jaffna but that the dangerous dreams of dominance being spun out by the Tigers included Tamil Nadu as

well. Some real gain has been made in the last several months in cracking the intricate network of the militants in the State and ensuring that its potential as a base for their activities is decisively snapped.

But unless Tamil Nadu comes to terms with the painful reality that the picture of the LTTE militants as brave freedom-fighters and martyrs is a grotesque distortion of reality, the shadow of the Tiger will never lift from this shore. That the LTTE could murder Rajiv Gandhi and in the manner it did betrays an ingratitude of the worst sort to a former Prime Minister whose approach to the Sri Lankan Tamil question, which even if on occasion

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## U.N. COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS – 48TH SESSION

### Chairman's Statement on the Human Rights Situation in Sri Lanka

*The following is the full text of the statement made on 27 February 1992 by the Chairman on behalf of all the member countries, including Sri Lanka, comprising the United Nations Commission on Human Rights:*

**'I have been requested to make the following statement on behalf of the Commission:**

The Commission acknowledges the measures taken by the government of Sri Lanka to address the human rights situation throughout the country, particularly the establishment of institutions and other mechanisms to monitor and inquire into reports of disappearances and other human rights violations, and that these measures have led to an improved human rights situation for the civilian population.

The Commission welcomes the full and valuable cooperation accorded by the government of Sri Lanka to the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances.

The Commission is, however, seriously concerned over the human rights situation in Sri Lanka indicated, inter alia, in the report of the Working Group (E/CN.4/1992/18/Add.1), particularly the large number of disappearances recorded by the Working Group, and concerned that, whilst there has been an overall decline, incidents of disappearance continue to be reported.

The Commission calls upon the government of Sri

Lanka to further intensify its efforts to ensure the full protection of human rights and further calls upon all parties to respect fully the universally accepted rules of humanitarian law.

The Commission urges the government of Sri Lanka to continue to pursue a negotiated political solution with all parties, based on principles of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, leading to a durable peace in the north and the east of the country.

The Commission urges the government of Sri Lanka to implement the recommendations of the Working Group, and expresses its satisfaction at the willingness of the government of Sri Lanka to take the necessary steps to implement the recommendations of the Working Group.

The Commission welcomes the decision of the government of Sri Lanka to invite the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to again visit Sri Lanka for the purpose, inter alia, of evaluating the progress of the implementation of its recommendations during the course of 1992.

The Commission looks forward to considering the Working Group's report of its follow-up visit to Sri Lanka at the 49th session of the Commission on Human Rights.

It is the wish of the Commission that this statement appear verbatim in the Report of the 48th session of the Commission on Human Rights.'

## 'Sri Lanka: New Killing Fields in Asia'

*In an intervention by the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women during the recently held United Nations Commission on Human Rights, twenty-four Non-Governmental Organisations directed the spotlight on the extent of human rights violations in what they described as the 'new killing fields in Asia'.*

*The following is the full text of their intervention made on 27 February:*

Mr Chairperson, the continuing armed conflicts, civil unrest and militarisation in the third world countries, particularly in the Asia-Pacific regions have brought with them an unending list of gross violations of human rights. In all these, women have suffered in silence, are continuously victimized, and are going to be faced with more human rights violations as the situations continue to worsen.

Amnesty International came out with a list of gross human rights violations against women in the third world, documenting a pregnant woman detainee punched in the stomach by police officers; an elderly woman raped in front of her family; a young girl detained and sexually abused by government agents; a wife tortured by interrogators to force her husband to 'confess'; a mother shot dead by soldiers simply because her son was a suspected political activist; a daughter threatened with death by government agents because she asks about her 'disappeared' father. These are but a few of the situations women have gone through because as women, they were performing their roles as wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, and as women working for women.

The armed conflicts have also sent countless women, their children, and other family members fleeing from their homes leaving behind their properties, friends and a way of life they have known all their lives. They, as internal refugees, have suffered brutal treatment simply because they happen to be in a particular location or because they belong to an ethnic group. They also have to deal with the mental and emotional pains of an uncertain future, of seeing their loved ones die in the crossfire between opposition groups and government forces; or of not knowing whether their loved ones are dead or alive. For us, the highest form of human rights violations, Mr. Chairperson, is for a government to turn its own citizenry into refugees in their own land.

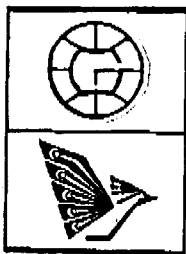
The internal refugee problem is an issue that can no longer be ignored. It has affected all sectors of society and has also highlighted the plight of women and how little has been done for them. But governments seem to ignore their responsibility.

Mr. Chairperson, we in the TW-MAEW are also concerned with the situation in Sri Lanka, which has recently acquired the reputation of being the new killing fields in Asia, and which is sending droves of women fleeing.

This is why we would like to address the next part of our intervention to the case of gross violations of human rights in Sri Lanka on behalf of 24 NGOs who are joint-signatories of this statement.

Sri Lanka has been ruled under a continuing State of Emergency declared in May 1983 under which many of the basic democratic rights and freedoms guaranteed by the country's Constitution have flagrantly been violated. Summary executions and enforced disappearances have run into tens of thousands, and prolonged detentions without trial, torture and deaths in custody have become commonplace. These violations, together with callous disregard shown for

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## UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

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the norms set by international human rights and humanitarian law in the presently ongoing armed conflict between government forces and the LTTE, in our view deserve urgent consideration and action by this Commission.

Mr. Chairperson, this Commission has before it the benefit of one of the most comprehensive reports (Doc: E/CN.4/1992/18/Add.1) of the working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances. The report states, among other things, that the case of disappearances in Sri Lanka is the worst among 40 odd countries, that security forces have resorted to the tactic of 'exemplary killing' to instil fear among the people, and that the security forces and 'death squads' linked with the army have been responsible for most of the disappearances and killings.

Mr. Chairperson, while we hold the government of Sri Lanka primarily responsible for all situations leading to human rights violations, as defenders of human rights let us state our clear positions on the violations of international humanitarian law by unofficial or non-State entities. We specifically condemn these violations by the JVP in the south and by the LTTE in the northeast of the country. While the scale of violations by the JVP has decreased recently after the capture and murder of its leadership by the security forces, we are not unmindful of the continuing violations by the LTTE, which include summary executions and unacknowledged detentions and torture of non-combatant civilians belonging to all the communities in the northeast.

Mr. Chairperson, we wish you to take serious note of the human cost of the ongoing armed conflict in the northeast between government forces and the LTTE in which thousands of civilians have perished and an estimated million people have been displaced. Women have suffered most. In this conflict, government forces have resorted to a sustained campaign of indiscriminate aerial bombardment which has resulted in the tremendous loss of life and property. A virtual economic blockade has been in operation since June 1990, depriving the people of the north of essential supplies including food, medicine and fuel. The Working Group noted that the Sri Lanka army came back to the northeast publicly vowing that the same strategy which they followed in the south in dealing with the JVP was going to be used in the northeast. This has led to mass killings and arrests, and to large-scale roundups of non-combatant Tamil civilians, including those in refugee camps. The Working Group has observed that many of those taken from refugee camps have later 'disappeared'.

As wives and mothers of the disappeared, as heads of households left without their breadwinners, as victims of rape and sexual harassment at the hands of hostile armed groups, the women of Sri Lanka, Tamil, Muslim and Sinhala have been the worst affected by the gross and flagrant violations of human rights taking place in the country.

Mr. Chairperson, in our view the conditions which permit the occurrence of the persistent violations of the human rights of not only the womenfolk, but of all the Sri Lankan people continue to exist. Among them are:

- the continuing state of emergency under which the security forces are afforded virtually unlimited powers of arrest and detention;
- the impunity with which the government forces are allowed to operate;
- the readiness with which the government uses the situation of conflict to curb many of the basic rights and freedoms of the people including media personnel, political opponents and human rights activists on the alleged ground of national security; and
- the totally inadequate measures adopted by the government of Sri Lanka to deal with violators of human rights.

Mr. Chairperson, in this context, we believe that the ending of the military conflict in Sri Lanka and in other third world countries, especially the Philippines, is an essential first step towards restoring respect for human rights in these countries.

In the case of Sri Lanka, we call upon the parties to the conflict in the northeast to respect all norms of international humanitarian law, and call upon this Commission to use its good offices to urge the parties to effect an immediate cease-fire and enter into meaningful negotiations to settle the conflict.

It is also our considered view that the government of Sri Lanka has failed to fulfill its obligations under the international covenants. Moreover given the scale and extent of the gross violations of human rights, we urge you to appoint a Special Rapporteur to report on the situation in Sri Lanka to the 49th Session of the Commission on Human Rights.

Finally Mr. Chairperson, we further urge the Commission to look into the plight of women in the areas of armed conflicts.'

### SIGNATORIES OF THE NGO JOINT STATEMENT ON SRI LANKA:

- (1) Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women
- (2) Pax Romana
- (3) International Fellowship of Reconciliation
- (4) SOS Torture
- (5) World Conference on Religion and Peace International
- (6) International Movement for Fraternal Union Among Races and Peoples
- (7) World Confederation of Labour
- (8) Human Rights Advocates
- (9) World University Service
- (10) International Federation Terre Des Hommes
- (11) International Union of Students
- (12) Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- (13) Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples
- (14) American Association of Jurists
- (15) International Council of Jewish Women
- (16) International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples
- (17) Union of Arab Jurists
- (18) Pax Christi International
- (19) Regional Council for Human Rights in Asia
- (20) International Association of Democratic Lawyers
- (21) International Movement of Mothers
- (22) Centre Europe-Tiers Monde.

## Govts. Express Concern – Urge Continuing Scrutiny

Several government delegations, notably those of western countries, expressed serious concern and urged the recently held UN Commission on Human Rights to undertake a continuing scrutiny of the human rights violations in Sri Lanka; the following are some extracts:

### Australia:

'The great majority of the Working Group's caseload is of disappearances which have occurred in Sri Lanka. It is especially disturbing to learn that although the Sri Lankan Government has introduced a number of recent measures to

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## UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

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monitor and inquire into disappearances in that country, disappearances on a large scale in the North-East continue to be reported to the Working Group.

'We commend the Sri Lankan Government's cooperation with the Commission's Working Group on Disappearances, and other actions intended to improve observance of human rights and deal with abuses. However, the continuing high incidence of serious human rights abuse by both the Sri Lankan Government security forces and the LTTE is of great concern to my government. The scale of the problem demands further action by the Sri Lankan authorities and warrants scrutiny by this Commission.'

### Finland:

'Sri Lanka is a different case. The government acknowledges the grave situation and is open to discuss it. We have also noted that it has even allowed Amnesty International to visit the country and accepted 30 out of the 32 recommendations it made. We welcome the attitude and transparency adopted by the government. The Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has in its extensive report on Sri Lanka noted the complexity of the country's social structure in which the seeds of the present violence are embedded. As Sri Lanka ranks as number one on the list of countries where enforced or involuntary disappearances have occurred, the government is urged to take effective measures to prevent them.'

### Austria:

'The situation of human rights in Sri Lanka has gravely deteriorated over recent years, due to armed insurgencies and ethnic strife. The recording by the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances of up to 12,000 cases of disappearances since 1983 and of over 1000 such cases in 1991 is indeed cause for serious concern.

'Our gratitude goes to the members of the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances who, once again supplied us with a comprehensive general report and, furthermore, with a detailed presentation of the alarming situation in Sri Lanka. Although we acknowledge the spirit of co-operation prevailing among the local authorities we cannot but join in the appeal expressed by the members of the group to the Government of Sri Lanka to take more effective measures to prevent disappearances, to pursue their clarification more rigorously, to encourage more official condemnation of this practise and, finally, to protect witnesses and relatives of disappeared persons against any form of intimidation or reprisal.'

### Norway:

'My delegation has carefully studied the report of the Working Group on Sri Lanka. The human rights situation in that country still gives reason for serious concern. Although disappearances were less frequent in 1991 than in previous years and also seem to have been decreasing throughout the year, the number is still alarmingly high. We are pleased to note that the attitude of the Government of Sri Lanka is one of openness and dialogue, and that new initiatives have been taken to deal with various aspects of the human rights situation. We urge the Government of Sri Lanka to take even further action, as recommended by the Working Group.'

### United Kingdom:

'The Working Group on Disappearances has again produced an excellent report, based on a serious and methodical study and reinforced by an invaluable statistical analysis. In this context, too, depressing though it is to have to read of the widespread occurrence of the vicious practice of disappear-

ances, there is some comfort to be found. Many governments – though not, alas, all governments – are cooperating with the Working Group. The separate report of the Working Group's visit to Sri Lanka exemplifies both aspects of the problem. It is clear – and this Commission must not shirk its duty to say so – that there have been some appalling violations of human rights in Sri Lanka in recent years, with disappearances playing a prominent part in them. But it is also clear that the Sri Lankan government are making commendable efforts to rectify the abuses of the past. In this spirit we urge the Sri Lankan government to accept the various recommendations made by the Working Group. It would also be very helpful if the Working Group were invited to make a return visit to Sri Lanka so that both the government and this Commission could have the benefit of its assessment of how far the situation had improved – as we would hope that it had – and what measures still ought to be taken.

## 'Women Most Affected by Conflict'

*The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom made the following intervention during the recently held sessions of the UN Commission on Human Rights:*

'The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom would like to make use of this opportunity to focus attention on the situation in Sri Lanka, in view of the fact that the report of the visit of the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to Sri Lanka is one of the documents that has been submitted to this gathering.

As you well know, in past years this Commission has directed its attention to the Sri Lankan case because of the many reports received by member states as well as by non-governmental organisations dedicated to the cause of human rights regarding the many abuses and violations of the basic human rights of the Sri Lankan people.

Last year, at the forty-seventh session of this Commission, the Sri Lankan government invited the United Nations Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to visit Sri Lanka during the course of the year 1991 and we are happy to note that this visit has taken place.

However, the report submitted by the Working Group makes it clearer than ever that the battle for the restoration of peace and dignity to the Sri Lankan people is far from won.

As the report states, they have recorded an unprecedented number of over 12,000 cases of disappearances in Sri Lanka up to 1991; as paragraph 192 of the report says, this is by far the highest number ever recorded by the working group in its 12 years of existence. Despite a dramatic lessening in the number of cases, 'disappearances' still remain a daily phenomenon in Sri Lanka. In fact, on October 8, 1991, while the Working Group members were in Sri Lanka, three youths, ex-detainees, were abducted from their homes in the south-eastern province; their bodies were found burning by the roadside on October 9.

While commending the Sri Lankan government for its cooperation with the UN agencies and non-governmental organisations working in the sphere of human rights in the past year, we would like to affirm our continuing concern regarding the Sri Lankan situation, primarily because those mechanisms and institutions which permit the occurrence of disappearance, arbitrary arrest and detention and torture continue to exist.

The State of Emergency and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, both pieces of legislation under which prolonged and incommunicado detention are permitted, still remain in place

## UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

despite repeated appeals for their withdrawal.

In this connection, we welcome recommendation (e) of the report of the Working Group which demands that the Sri Lankan government bring its emergency regulations and the PTA into compliance with accepted international standards regarding due process and the treatment of prisoners.

We also welcome recommendation (d) which calls for the maintenance of registers of all detainees at all detention centres and for such registers to be made available to civilian authorities.

Although the Indemnity Act which secured protection from prosecution for state officials and members of the security forces for acts committed in 'good faith' formally lapsed in 1988, the dangerous precedent created by this enactment continues to provide members of the security forces with some degree of confidence that they may freely abuse and violate the civil and democratic rights of the Sri Lanka people. Recent promotions in the police force, in which certain officers linked to allegations of human rights abuses were granted promotions, lead us to fear that members of the security forces will continue to act in the belief that 'impunity' for their acts is assured.

The independence of the judiciary and the freedom of the press are two further areas in which we believe confidence has to be restored if there is to be truly a move towards eliminating human rights abuses by the Sri Lankan government.

WILPF would also like to express its deep concern regarding the generalised state of militarisation in Sri Lanka.

While it is accepted that the Sri Lankan government is engaged in a military conflict with the Tamil militant group, the LTTE, and while we condemn both parties to the conflict for their blatant rejection of the humanitarian principles of combat and for the violation of human rights of the civilian population under their control, the international community, governments and non-governmental agencies alike need to take stock of the reality of the situation in Sri Lanka today.

Since the latest outbreak of war in June 1990, it is estimated that close to one thousand civilians have been killed as a direct result of the war, while over 1.7 million persons have been displaced from their homes in the north and east of the country where fighting is taking place.

These displaced persons have been living in conditions of utter degradation and below subsistence levels for over 18 months now, with little hope of returning to their homes. Attempts to restore peace and 'normalcy' to some towns in the east and north-central provinces have so far been restricted to very small geographical areas; the repatriation of Tamil refugees from South India in the past month has also been a cause for concern, given that the situation on the ground in the eastern province holds out no long-term possibilities for the re-settlement of refugees as yet.

The political violence that wracked the south of the island in the years from 1987 to 1989 also left over 20,000 women widowed and thousands of other families destitute. These women who have lost their husbands, fathers and sons to the death squads that roamed the country with impunity in those years are economically destitute, socially ostracised and emotionally and psychologically traumatised. The Sri Lankan government, who, we believe, should bear responsibility for the wellbeing of all those persons who have been affected by the military conflict and political violence in the country, has yet to undertake any concrete steps to ensure at least basic facilities and services for these people.

Whether they come from south, north or east, whether they be Tamil, Sinhala or Muslim, the women of Sri Lanka have paid the most bitter price for the political conflicts that grip the island up to the present day.

And it is on their behalf that we address this appeal to the forty-eighth session of the UN Human Rights Commission.

We ask that the international community support a process whereby the parties to the conflict in Sri Lanka could move towards a negotiated political settlement of the ethnic conflict in the country through the involvement of an international mediatory body such as the Commonwealth.

We also ask that the Human Rights Commission take adequate measures to ensure that the recommendations of the UN Working Group are implemented by the Sri Lankan government and that the necessary mechanisms for that purpose, including a second visit by the Working Group to Sri Lanka during the course of 1992 to monitor the implementation of their recommendations as well as the progress of the human rights situation in Sri Lanka are proposed and endorsed by this meeting.

We hope that the Sri Lankan government will continue to extend its cooperation to the UN Human Rights Commission and to all its agencies and thereby reaffirm its commitment to the basic principles of democracy and human rights that are enshrined in the Sri Lankan Constitution, and appeal to this meeting to ensure that the Sri Lankan government receives the support it needs to implement the decisions contained in the report of the UN Working Group on Disappearances.

## Independent Inquiry Urged

*The following is an extract from the intervention by 'Liberation' at the recently held Commission on Human Rights:*

'Arbitrary arrests, detention and disappearances continue to occur in the island of Sri Lanka. Most pathetic is the failure of the Sri Lankan government to accept responsibility for most of the human rights violations committed by its security forces, vigilante groups, home guards and other non-military groups such as Delta Force and the Special Force Brigade who have been armed and trained by the government and put into operation. The disappearances take place under the protection of Emergency Regulations and Prevention of Terrorism Act. An arrested person can be kept in detention without trial indefinitely.

In the South over 60,000 persons have disappeared for the last few years by the action of the security forces and government sponsored armed groups. As recently as on 8.10.91 three Sinhalese youth have disappeared after being kept for some time at Thalawala detention camp. The modus operandi is clear. The three youths were released and later in the night they were abducted by the same people who released them, but in plain clothes. Unidentified 3 charred bodies were found in the jungle in Dikkapitiya, Welimada. In another incident on 21.10.91 five youths were detained at Kituwala temporary detention camp at Kalutara. They were released and again abducted. One Kingsley Karunathilaka was killed, two have disappeared without any trace, another youth was warded at Nagoda hospital with injuries. Over 25,000 persons are kept incommunicado in detention camps like Boosa, Punani, Pelwatta and Thelavala. The conditions in the detention camps are deplorable. The essentials like Food, Clothing, Water, Sanitary Facilities and Medical Attention are barely available.

In the Tamil homeland over 3000 Tamils have disappeared in the government controlled areas, apart from arbitrary killings of over 10,000 people since June 1990. Most of them have been killed in a brutal manner and their bodies were set on fire. After the government forces took control of the small island in the Jaffna peninsula 210 Tamils have been disappeared and 365 persons have been massacred. The bodies of some of the persons were dumped into wells and covered

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## UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

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with manure and compost. Several women were carried away to army camp and raped. Death by torture in prisons is common in Sri Lanka.

Hundreds of Tamil youths in the up country areas like Badulai and Pasara have been arrested and kept incommunicado. The independent reports speak of torture during the time of interrogation of the youths.

In order to prevent the recurrence of these violations the Sri Lankan government should:

- (1) repeal the Emergency Regulation and Prevention of Terrorism Act.
- (2) repeal the indemnity act that shields the perpetrators from prosecution.
- (3) establish an independent commission of inquiry to look at the disappearances since 1983. The terms of reference and the level of resources to the commission should be adequate.
- (4) ratify the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention against torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment.'

### Call for Recognition of Self Determination

*The following is an extract from an intervention by the International Educational Development Inc. at the recently held session of the Commission on Human Rights:*

The Tamil population of the Northern and Eastern parts of the Island of Ceylon clearly meet the definition of 'peoples' set out under international standards. And, most importantly, their relationship to their territory was specifically recognised by the government of Sri Lanka in the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayagam Pact.

The Tamils have their own language, a religious and cultural basis distinct from the Sinhala majority, and increasingly, are united by a passionate yearning for autonomy if not independence from Sinhala domination. The intensity and urgency of their demand for full self determination has only increased under the Sri Lankan government's actions that threaten their very physical survival.

This Commission has heard compelling testimony on the gravity of human rights violations occurring against the Tamil peoples for years. In 1987, the Commission, in its resolution 1987/91, took note of the evidence of human rights violations and called upon the parties to 'pursue a negotiated political solution, based on principles of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.'

There have been many tragic events in the Tamil-Sinhala conflict since then, and the Commission, though not its rapporteurs, has been silent. Now the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the military force defending the rights of the Tamil people, has again called for a ceasefire and a process of negotiation in order to realise the rights of self determination of both the Tamil and Sinhala peoples in a peaceful manner.

It appears that the Government of Sri Lanka intends to continue to pursue a military victory over the Tamil people and their armed forces, and to go against the wise counsel of United States President Woodrow Wilson who stated that self determination is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril.

We call upon the Commission to heed these sage words and to place the legitimate call of the Tamil people for their self determination on an equal basis as of others now recognised by the international community.'

### 'Mass and Flagrant Abuses'

*The following are extracts from an intervention by Article 19, the London-based human rights NGO which primarily deals with the right to freedom of expression, during the recently held session of the Commission on Human Rights:*

'Mr Chairman, ARTICLE 19 calls on the Commission to take action concerning Sri Lanka. In the north and north-east of that country, one of the world's deadliest civil wars continues to rage on, marked by mass and flagrant human rights abuses on all sides. In the south, the government maintains its shaky hold on power by means of arbitrary arrests and detentions, deaths and abusive treatment in custody, unlawful exercise of emergency powers inconsistent with international standards, and censorship at all levels. Throughout the country disappearances continue to occur at an appalling rate.

The Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances produced an excellent report following its visit to Sri Lanka in October 1991. Among its conclusions are that over 1,000 disappearances were reportedly committed in 1991 by government or government-supported forces, 40 of which were in the South (E/CN.4/1992/18/Add.1, paras. 186 and 192). While a number of criminal cases are pending against members of the security forces, there was no evidence of any convictions for grave human rights violations committed in the course of counter-insurgency operations (para. 199). The Group found that various mechanisms for investigating disappearances, including the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal of Persons and the habeas corpus procedure, are cumbersome and have not proved to be effective to any satisfactory degree (paras. 201-02).

The Working Group has done a commendable job of documenting and bringing to light a number of the worst violations occurring in Sri Lanka, but it is clear that these violations are only the tip of the iceberg and that various domestic procedures by which Sri Lankans may seek redress are virtually useless.

Accordingly, ARTICLE 19 renews the call that it has made to this Commission in previous years to appoint a special rapporteur to monitor the range of human rights concerns in the country.

In addition, ARTICLE 19 calls on the Commission to request that the Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions make a visit to Sri Lanka as a matter of high priority, especially given that the government has already extended an invitation.'

### Training in Three Languages

Nearly 10,000 government officials were trained by the government last year at a cost of about Rs. 1.4 million, with a view to giving them a working knowledge in all the three languages, Sinhala, Tamil and English.

A spokesman of the Ministry of Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Home Affairs said these officials were trained at 225 centres set up at AGA level throughout Sri Lanka.

He said the use of Sinhala and Tamil as official languages and English as the link language required government employees to be proficient in all these languages.

There are nearly 200,000 public employees who need this language proficiency if they are to function effectively responding to public needs, the Ministry official said.

Under an islandwide language training programme launched by the government to teach public employees Sinhala, Tamil and English, 200 language training centres were set up in 1990 at the AGA division level. The number was increased to 225 last year, he added.

# Lessons from Sri Lanka

Manoj Joshi

**Assignment Jaffna** by Lt. Gen. (retd.) S.C. Sardeshpande; Lancers, New Delhi; 165 pages with annexures; Price Rs.180.

**The IPKF in Sri Lanka** by Lt. Gen. (retd.) Depinder Singh; Trishul, Delhi; 208 pages with appendices; Price Rs.225

These two books, the first written by the man who commanded the 54 Division that was in charge of the Jaffna area in Sri Lanka during 1988-1989 and was the Chief of Staff of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) headquarters, and the second by the Overall Force Commander of the IPKF in the critical and, in retrospect, successful phase of the operations when Jaffna was wrested from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), are full of lessons and humility, essential ingredients of learning. Hopefully they will be of some help to the present generation of Army personnel, diplomatic and intelligence officials, and politicians. (That is, if reading and learning lessons are still in vogue.)

The mission of the Indian Army, initially to assist in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord for promoting peace between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils, became a full-fledged military operation against the LTTE in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. More than 1,00,000 Indian soldiers served there and over a thousand did not come back.

The endeavour was little understood by the people of India. The primary blame for this must rest with the political-bureaucratic leadership which till September 1987, a few weeks before the beginning of the IPKF-LTTE conflict, did not involve the Army in its decision-making process. To compound this blunder, as Depinder Singh points out, when the Army argued for a negotiated settlement after the fall of Jaffna, the political authorities, advised by the intelligence and Ministry of External Affairs officials smarting under the imagined insult the LTTE had meted out to them by escaping from their tutelage, refused to accept this course and wanted the militants to be taught a lesson. Who taught whom a lesson is something that history will judge.

It is no secret that the sleek and well-fed foreign service officials and their 'cousins' in the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) thought of the LTTE men as little more than 'yahoos' as they looked underfed, dressed simply, came from poor backgrounds and did not, of course, speak the Queen's English. This was most graphically

illustrated to the reviewer when he once met the Sri Lankan militant leadership including the LTTE supremo Velupillai Prabakaran after the Thimphu talks of 1985 - they had been put up at the India Tourism Development Corporation's downmarket Ranjit Hotel in Delhi, four to a room. In July 1987 when his status had risen, Prabakaran was in the Ashok.

Within a month of wresting Jaffna from the hands of the LTTE, the locus of the war shifted to the jungles south of Jaffna towards Vavuniya, now collectively referred to as the Wannijungles. The transformation of the war into a counter-insurgency operation took off the front pages of newspapers and therefore the minds of the people. Since there were no laurels to be garnered, the political-bureaucratic-military leadership too did not encourage media coverage of the events. This 'stupidly secretive' approach has been roundly criticised by Field Marshal S.H.F.J. Manekshaw in his foreword to Depinder Singh's book.

The Indian Army did not quite understand the battle it had so casually gone into, and the same was the case with the politicians who had sent it; the Army became a hapless participant/spectator of events which it had

## BOOK REVIEW

not created. This 'forgotten war' plodded on till March 1990 when the IPKF returned to an insulting reception in Madras, not just from the then Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, M. Karunanidhi, but the nation as such; its mission had been made futile by the very party whose chestnuts it was pulling out of the fire - the Sri Lankan Government.

The two books are in many ways dissimilar but they neatly dovetail into each other. Depinder Singh's book covers the period from April 1987 to February 1988 and Sardeshpande's the period thereafter till the 'deinduction' of the IPKF. While the former, who as GOC-in-C was the overall force commander, has an overview of sorts, Sardeshpande looks at the situation from the angle of a combat commander. Notwithstanding this, both have hard words about the 'higher direction.' Depinder Singh argues that had the intention been to 'tame the LTTE,' the Army should have been told at the outset so that it could have commenced operations at a time of its own choosing. The insurgency dragged on to the point 'where both groups who we had gone to separate, joined hands to seek our withdrawal. This displayed gross political and diplomatic ineptitude and

the complete absence of a sound, long term plan.'

But can the blame be put on just politicians and diplomats? Who were the authors of the great jungle-bashing operations which, according to Sardeshpande, were nothing but brigade-level tactical manoeuvres? The Army leadership cannot be entirely free of blame.

Both books have a touch of the idiosyncratic. Sardeshpande's, for example, is based on pure reminiscences and not on notes or diaries maintained by him. It does not run as a continuous narrative. On the other hand, Depinder Singh's book, which ought to have been published as an orthodox military memoir, has been marred by bizarre sketches which have nothing to do with things military. Both have to some extent pulled their punches. But Manekshaw points out that Depinder Singh has not quite explained why the IPKF could not have succeeded. He is perhaps unaware that Depinder Singh had, in fact, argued for an end to the IPKF's military role shortly after the fall of Jaffna. Manekshaw is again right in saying that Depinder Singh could have thrown some light on the fact that the 'troops had been inducted into the theatre to carry out this operation without adequate training and equipment and lacking proper logistic support.'

In the Army, the actors who led the Indian intervention have done well: the Vice-Chief, Lt. Gen. S.F. Rodrigues, has become the Army Chief; Lt. Gen. A.S. Kalkat, whose 'political eye and bluster' was noticed by Sardeshpande, has become an Army Commander by virtue of his becoming the chief of a new training command. A remarkable and thought-provoking aspect of the Sri Lankan operations and the way in which the Army handles things are brought out by Depinder Singh when he observes that 'there must be something wrong in the system where of the 10 major-generals who served with the IPKF in Sri Lanka, and served with professional distinction, only one made it to lieutenant-general.' Likewise, Sardeshpande observes, 'Many Lt. Col. COs (Commanding Officers) in Op Pawan did not make the grade for the next higher rank of Col. . . There were several. . . (of them). . . who commanded their units in Sri Lanka. . . all of them commanded satisfactorily and successfully. Some were decorated for bravery. And yet, many did not make it to the next rank, while their compatriots sitting in peace stations doing peacetime jobs got promoted. . . It is indeed difficult to see how a Lt. Col. who commanded successfully in war is unfit to do the same job in the next, higher rank!'

An aspect of both the books is that they indicate that not all was negative

in the situation. Both recount the gallantry and the efficiency of many of the officers and men. There is also a lesson to be had from the fact that both describe the success in the pacification of Jaffna, and Sardeshpande adds Batticaloa to this. He ascribes this to a well-drawn counter-insurgency plan in these two sectors. But it was the failure in the Wannai area that was the most galling, for that is where the centre of gravity of the LTTE capability had shifted.

Both Depinder Singh and Sardeshpande have given a touch of the harsh flavour of war by sketching some tactical actions. These are invaluable lessons for future officers. Sardeshpande's study of the situations is, in fact, designed with a pedagogical purpose.

Any substantive analysis ought to bring out the fact that the Army was just one of the institutions that failed in Sri Lanka. But since it was the ultimate instrumentality of the state, its failure is all the more galling. Books like the ones under review assist in applying the needed corrective. But what about the other institutions whose failure was, if anything, greater? Nothing is known, for example, whether or not the RAW has done any soul-searching after its failure in Sri Lanka. In fact, the prime blame for the failure there rests with this agency

which is able to hide its failure in a cloak of secrecy. What about the Ministry of External Affairs?

Many people paid the price for the failure in Sri Lanka and then again many have not. There are even those whose careers have flourished despite their errors of judgment or ineptitude. Poor Rajiv Gandhi, who as Prime Minister was ultimately responsible, paid a terrible price. But his sacrifice should not obscure the need for the country to ensure that it comprehends fully the Sri Lankan venture so that it does not repeat the folly. A White Paper is a must and its need has become all the more necessary considering the partisan use that is being made of the past by the current State Government in Tamil Nadu.

Depinder Singh observes that besides the Rs. 5 crores provided to the LTTE by the Government of M.G. Ramachandran, assistance by way of training, hospital care and so on were provided. In one instance, he records how a Customs team seized a van with three men and arms and ammunition, explosives and radio sets. The authorities were asked to release the men but impound the contraband. This was in January 1988: the IPKF and the LTTE were locked in mortal combat and it was not the DMK which was in office. In another instance, he notes the capture of explosive-cord manufactured at

a factory near Wellington in Tamil Nadu in October 1987. He also refers to the radio stations functioning in Tamil Nadu under LTTE control.

In the context of some current events, his observation has a bitterly ironical relevance: '... it was amusing to read of the criticism Mr. Karunanidhi's absence generated from the welcoming ceremony for the IPKF at Madras in 1990 - I am certainly not condoning that absence and I consider it reprehensible; the point is that anti-national acts were perpetrated earlier and swept under the carpet to suit political exigencies.'

The Army has done a review of the Sri Lanka operation. Since it is a secret document, it can only be speculated that it is likely to be a self-serving one. This is the real tragedy. Unless correct lessons are drawn from failures, success will remain elusive. For years, the United States Army insisted that its failure in Vietnam was because of the media and TV, the 'traitors' of the anti-war movement or the politicians back home. Finally, in the late 1970s, it confronted the fact that its own strategy and tactics had to accept some of the blame. From that day began the birth of the new U.S. Army, the one that won a signal success in the Gulf. Those who do not learn from past mistakes are condemned to repeat them.

(Frontline, March 13, 1992)

#### Continued from page 9

*an armed struggle to free themselves from a continuing and oppressive domination by another people and recognising that the armed struggle of the people of Tamil Eelam led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is lawful and just;*

*Recognising the desire of the people of Tamil Eelam for peace and believing that justice and peace are inseparable;*

*Recognising the emergence, today, of many long subjugated peoples into a new world order of free and equal nations; and*

*Being determined to respond to the challenge of history in forging a peaceful future for the Tamil and Sinhala peoples in the island of Sri Lanka.*

*Calls upon the two parties to the conflict, the Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam:*

*1. to express their willingness to accept mediation in the conflict between them and to agree upon a mutually acceptable neutral mediator*

*2. to express their willingness to commence negotiations with a view to entering into an internationally guaranteed accord to establish an associative structure within which the Sinhala people and the Tamil people may live in peace and in freedom.'*

#### Continued from page 10

might have run into problems, was certainly a sincere one.

India cannot afford to appear indifferent to the implications of this horrifying conclusion that the Tigers killed Rajiv Gandhi. The sense of outrage over this appears conspicuously lacking especially since Rajiv Gandhi's murder is still being kept within the wraps of a criminal case. The issue is not just finding out who killed Rajiv and tying up the threads of evidence. The point is to deal with all the implications of this assassination, here and in Sri Lanka. If India is serious about its sense of nationhood, it cannot allow Rajiv Gandhi's death to be used as a weapon in local political wrangling in Tamil Nadu. The various attempts to sidetrack the issues in the assassination case including the revival of a propaganda campaign by some elements in the State in favour of the LTTE must be regarded as anti-national if some politicians in Tamil Nadu are to continue to glorify the LTTE, they must know that this will render their nationalist credentials suspect. This is the moment for India and Tamil Nadu to redefine and express solidarity with the suffering Sri Lankan Tamil people only on the basis of the need to address the aspirations of these people. It cannot be on the basis of any truck with the claims of

any self-proclaimed guardian of the Tamil people.

Several strong signals need to be sent now of India's determination to seek justice for the death of Rajiv Gandhi. First, the LTTE must be banned in this country. The ban would serve the purpose of discouraging any willingness to offer the Tigers sanctuary in this country. Second, given that there are sufficient provisions legally available, all efforts must be made at the highest level to extradite the LTTE chief and bring him to justice. The provisions can be strengthened, if necessary, with an extradition treaty between India and Sri Lanka. New Delhi must also make plain to Colombo that any talks with the LTTE would be seen as an act unfriendly to India. The LTTE has forfeited its right to represent the Tamil people with this one treacherous act. The murder of a former Prime Minister is something no self-respecting nation can ignore. The LTTE maimed India when they killed Rajiv Gandhi.

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## BOOK REVIEW

### The Eluding Peace

by Taraki

FEW TAMIL journalists who contribute to the English Language media have such intimate knowledge as Taraki who it is claimed used to be a member of one of the Tamil militant groups. The Editor of *Lanka Guardian*, Mervin de Silva referred to Taraki who writes for Sri Lanka's *Sunday Island*, as the best informed columnist today of Tamil affairs.

Taraki's features on the Tamils of Sri Lanka and their political struggle range from Jaffna to Madras, Madras to Delhi, Delhi to Colombo and Colombo to Jaffna and in Sri Lanka deals with practically every aspect of the Tamil cause in a land where the majority Sinhala people continue to be hostile to their interests.

Recognising the kind of information that Taraki has published from time to time in the popular press, the Arts Social Sciences of Eelam Academy in France has brought out a publication titled *The Eluding Peace* which contains 72 carefully chosen features written over a period of 18 months. The last five features in this volume are titled *Prabhakaran's Hold on Tamil Nadu*, *The Shadow of Congress-I*, *The Third Force in Tamil Nadu Polls*, *Coercive Airpower in the Eelam Conflict* and *The Nehru-Gandhi Dynasty and the Tamil Question*.

Appropriately referred to as an insider's political analysis of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, *The Eluding Peace* is indeed a treasure house of relevant information expressed within the context of the currents and cross-currents that continue to plague the Tamils.

Taraki's intimate grassroot knowledge of Tamil militancy beginning with the decline of the TULF and the ascendancy of the Tigers and the years of bitter rivalries, Tamil Nadu interests and other factors that have come to affect the Sri Lankan Tamils, are well presented in this collection of

features. As the title suggests, peace for which the Tamils continue to wait with hope is becoming increasingly elusive as new dimensions creep into the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict.

*The Eluding Peace* is a timely document and Indian and Sri Lankan politicians are well advised to ensure that this problem that has caused so much havoc and devastation is not allowed to become enmeshed and entangled in Indian and South-Asian politics. Taraki's features provide all the warning bells about the danger of dragging a totally Sri Lankan issue beyond the borders of the island country.

Many and varied inferences can be made from the voluminous information Taraki has provided and these can even be pointers to possible solutions, not necessarily only through the creation of a separate Eelam State for the Tamils.

Copies of *The Eluding Peace* priced at £4 each are available from **Arts Social Sciences of Eelam Academy (ASSEAY)**, 3 Alle Paul Leautaud, 95200 Sarcelles, France.

Richards Karunairajan.

### Poems in Tamil

Mangoes are God's sweetest creations! Those of us who have tasted fruits from many parts of the world including mangoes the karuthakkolumbus, ambalavis and chembattans - need no

convincing. Yet Kopan Mahadeva's recent literary offer *Poems in Tamil* lends even greater sweetness to our language and all that we cherish as our own.

Jaffna Mangoes are one of his many poems and his effort at verse spans a wide area of interests very familiar to everyone from the Tamil homelands of Sri Lanka. Kopan Mahadeva proudly says that no cake icing on earth, not even honey secretions the food of the gods, can come anywhere near Jaffna's succulent mangoes!

A true poet is one to whom the entire earth is one home. The ideal that a poet is inspired with makes mockery of such divisions as the East and the West. In his Tamil rendering of the popular English nursery rhyme *Sing a Song of Sixpence*, Kopan Mahadeva brings out his impressions as if the poem was first written for children of Sri Lanka.

The major part of his book, however, deals with normal and natural events and feelings that are very much part and parcel of the culture of the Tamil-speaking people and their aspirations. All the poems have been composed with great warmth and vision. Such a book should have a pride of place on the bookshelf of every Tamil home wherever that home may be in today's world.

Copies of this book are available at **Century House, 99-101 Sutton Road, Erdington, Birmingham B23 5XA. Telephone: 021 382 0109.**

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#### THE ELUDING PEACE

72 articles by TARAKI

serialised in *Sunday Island* £4.00  
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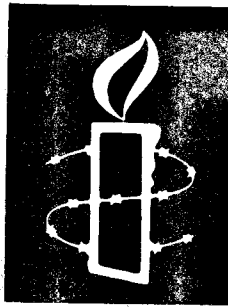
95200 Sarcelles, Tel No: 3990 8970  
France. Fax No: (01) 34 19 13 54

### Greetings From Jaffna

Oh:- What a life!  
Laments a typical Jaffna housewife  
As the hearth she doth poke  
Shrouded in a cloud of smoke  
Huffing and puffing all day  
Swearing once in a way -  
For gas and kerosene she couldn't get  
And the firewood is fresh and wet  
Wondering how she can cope  
With all the soot without soap?  
Ruining her finger-nails pretty  
Scouring the pot and the chatty  
And racking her over-worked brain  
To make ends meet but in vain -  
With foodstuffs expensive and scarce  
Balancing of diets - add to her cares.  
Since the power-supply went bust -  
Cookers and grinders are collecting dust  
Making household chores laborious  
Quite tedious and strenuous  
And when bothered by a head-ache  
There is no 'PANADOL' to take.  
Unprepared for such a crisis  
Of shortage and soaring prices  
She doubts if costs will come down  
Even if more lorries arrive in town!

When the radio batteries conked -  
The outside world became defunct!  
But being resilient by nature  
She meets the challenges that face her  
And replace cakes, biscuits and jelly  
With products of manioc, palmrah and  
gingelly.  
Taking things in her stride  
She learns a bike to ride  
Else to travel near or far  
Needs to hitch rides on the pillion or bar  
And for the children to study  
She gets the old oil lamp ready  
Torchless - as she gropes in the dark  
Philosophical thoughts do spark!  
'Trials today are for a better tomorrow'  
Thus she overcomes her worries and  
sorrow  
And to cheer herself she sings  
As the temple bell rings  
'Come rain - Come sun!  
True by god! Life is fun!  
And wishes all a Happy New Year  
Hope it brings Peace, Prosperity  
And Good Cheer!

- Chelvam, Jaffna.



## Amnesty International

# Human Rights Violations in North-East Sri Lanka

(Continued from last issue)

### 8.3 Initiatives relating to extrajudicial executions:

The government provided Amnesty International with copies of instructions issued to Deputy Inspectors General of Police in August 1990, which specify that Officers in Charge of police stations will 'be held responsible and accountable for any dead bodies which are found abandoned within their jurisdiction', and that inquiries under the normal law should be conducted into all such deaths.

Amnesty International had hoped to obtain copies of records held at Colombo High Court of inquiries into deaths in custody held under Emergency Regulation 55B-F. During discussions with officials during its visit to the country in March 1991, it was mentioned that over 1,000 deaths in custody had been investigated under these provisions. Amnesty International had previously published criticism of these regulations, on the grounds that they do not provide for full, impartial investigation, that the proceedings are held *in camera*, and that they can still facilitate extrajudicial executions being covered up. Amnesty International had asked for access to these records in order to be able to assess how these regulations have worked in practice. The Solicitor-General informed Amnesty International that these records could be made available in future.

A Sri Lankan ambassador informed Amnesty International in May 1991 that the army was drafting fresh guidelines on how to minimise civilian casualties in the northeast, and that a committee under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister was being established 'to supervise the re-establishment of command and control structures within the security forces'.

During meetings with several government officials, Amnesty International raised its concerns about the Indemnity (Amendment) Act. This Act, passed by Parliament in December 1988, provides indemnity from prosecution for government and security force members, government servants and others involved in enforcing law and order, provided that their actions were done 'in good faith'. The act applies to the period from 1 August 1977 to 16 December 1988. Press reports in early April 1991 suggested that the government was considering extending the period covered by the act. Amnesty International was assured that no such extension was planned. Nevertheless, Amnesty International is concerned that several procedural and policy positions taken by the government, such as the decision not to investigate reported 'disappearances' which occurred prior to 11 January 1991, could be interpreted by members of the security forces as an extension of the condition of impunity with respect to certain human rights violations.

The government also informed Amnesty International of its intention to provide new recruits, including home guards and members of so-called proxy groups with special training. The Commander of the Army told Amnesty International that he regularly visits army camps and checkpoints in the east and presses upon the soldiers the importance of observing human rights.

Amnesty International was also provided with information about individual cases of prosecution of security forces personnel on suspicion of human rights violations. The Commander of the Army provided details about criminal cases filed against members of the army, navy, air force, police, reserve police, Special Task Force and Home Guards for the years 1988 - 1991. All cases but one are currently pending before the magistrate's courts. In the case of Wijedasa Liyanarachchi, lawyer from Matara in the

south who died in police custody in September 1988, a judgment was reached by the Colombo High Court on 18 March 1991. Three police officers were sentenced to suspended sentences of two, one, and half a year respectively and fines after the charges had been changed from murder and conspiracy to murder to illegal detention and conspiracy to illegally detain. Amnesty International was provided with a copy of the judgment. It notes that the court had recommended that investigations be reopened to establish who was responsible for his death.

Amnesty International welcomes the government's immediate reaction to the recent incident of reprisal killing on 12 June 1991 at Kakkadichchola, Batticaloa district (see page 28) and the setting up of an independent commission of inquiry into it.

Amnesty International discussed in detail with several government officials and with the Commander of the Army and the Inspector general of Police as well as with representatives of the Bar Association and human rights activists, possible steps to take in order to avoid human rights violations, particularly 'disappearances', occurring during cordon and search operations. During such operations a significant number of those initially rounded up in a large group by the security forces and taken to the local camp subsequently 'disappear', the security forces alleging that they were never arrested in the first place and the relatives saying they saw them being taken away in several incidents described in Chapter 6 of this document. In the context of the present on-the-ground situation, several options, such as having the local Government or Assistant Government Agent or members of the Citizens' Committee take down lists of those taken, were considered impractical or too dangerous by local human rights activists and military authorities. It was thought that this would expose them to reprisals from armed groups for collaborating with the security forces.

Amnesty International welcomes the decision taken by the Sri Lanka government to allow United Nations (UN) and other international human rights groups access to the country. In October 1989 the International Committee of the Red Cross was invited to the country. Delegations of the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances as well as the UN Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions are due to visit Sri Lanka shortly. Amnesty International considers these to be important steps for the prevention of human rights violations. It is calling upon the government to grant the UN delegations access to all parts of the country, including the northeast, in the interest of the victims of human rights violations and their relatives in these areas.

**Concluded.**

### Indo-British Extradition Treaty

NEW DELHI, Feb. 28

India and the U.K. have reached agreement on the draft texts of an extradition treaty and another document related to matters arising from the activities of terrorists. And with that have ended protracted discussions on an issue regarded here of crucial importance in the fight against militancy.

The drafts were finalised at the official-level discussions in London between February 24 and 27, according to information received here today. The treaty draft covers the procedures and modalities for extradition while the other document deals with the tracing, restraint and confiscation of terrorist and drug trafficking funds.

Closing date for completed grid and coupon to be received is 30 April 1992.

Answers and the name of the winner – first all correct entry pulled out of a bag – will be announced in the May 1992 issue. The winner will receive a prize of £20.00 sterling.

All entries should be sent to: Tamil Times, P.O. Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD, UK.

#### Across.

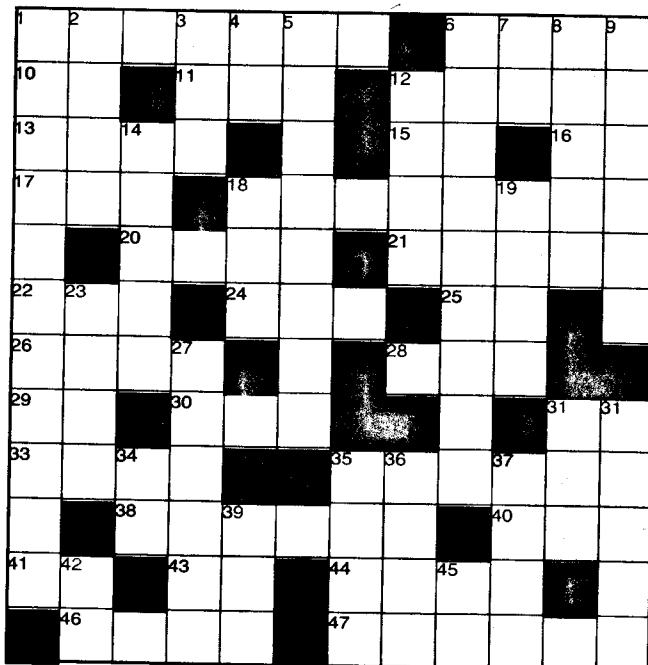
1. Tail stinger is the zodiac sign of this constellation (7)
6. Shellfish with a pair of pincers (4)
10. Anno Hegirae, of the Muslim year (2)
11. Vase usually with a rounded body (3)
12. Port Moresby is the capital of this New Guinea state (5)
13. Provide (4)
15. Trincomalee and Batticaloa in Sri Lanka are chief towns of this province (2)
16. Short glass (2)
17. Top notch British company (3)
18. Kumba the water-bearer is a constellation (8)
20. Planetary body considered as capable of having adverse influence (4)
21. Thula the scales is the seventh sign of the zodiac (5)
22. Necessary for baggage identification for the traveller (3)
24. The substance that determines Middle East politics to a large extent (3)
25. Chemical symbol for cerium (2)
26. Eager and expectant (4)
28. Hard slap on the ears (3)
29. The sun-god in Egyptian mythology (2)
30. British city known for its great cathedral (3)
31. – Law, popular North American TV serial (2)
33. Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile (4)
35. Kadaga the Crab a constellation noted for its beautiful cluster of stars (6)
38. Meena the Fishes, the last sign of the zodiac (6)
40. – polloi the common people (3)
41. Short saint (2)

43. – go, it is hopeless or impossible (2)
44. Its delta was a cradle of a great civilization (4)
46. The political alliance of the 1930s between Italy and Germany and later Japan (4)
47. Rishaba the Bull a constellation that contains the star Aldebaran, the red giant (6)

#### Down:

1. Danus the Archer, the ninth sign of the zodiac (11)
2. Elegance in dress (4)
3. Regret an action (3)
4. A necessary part in good management (2)
5. Gross injustice (8)
6. Mahara the Goat a celestial body (9)
7. Briefly Regius Professor (2)
8. Soothsayer (5)
9. Medicinal tree, a source of a kind of balm (6)
12. Loud ringing of a bell (4)
14. Kanni the Virgin a constellation with a rich cluster of galaxies (5)
18. In the past (3)
19. Wild goat of the Alps (4)
23. Certain type of seaweed used in food (4)
27. Mithuna the Twins a constellation and the third sign of the zodiac (5)
31. Simha the Lion the sickle-shaped constellation (3)
32. Mesha the Ram a constellation (5)
34. Bills payable (2)
35. A hundredth of a Sri Lankan rupee (4)
36. Continent that constitutes the third of the world's land mass (4)
37. Popular singer (4)
39. Distress signal (3)
42. A quick expression of gratitude (2)
45. Loudness Unit (2)

## QUIZ CROSSWORDS – No. 14. Compiled by: Richards



### Quiz Crosswords – 12: Solutions.

**Across:** 1. Colombo. 7. Oslo. 11. Om. 12. Prams. 14. Yam. 15. Pate. 17. Sited. 18. Enormity. 19. Nor. 21. Ra. 22. Elk. 23. Hoots. 26. My. 27. Anne. 28. Laze. 30. Ma. 31. Get. 32. Forum. 33. Ai. 34. Egos. 36. Rowdy. 38. Na. 39. End. 40. IRA. 41. Pa. 42. OIC. 43. Dam. 44. Berlin. 45. Hoes.

**Down:** 1. Copenhagen. 2. Oman. 3. Operate. 4. Mr. 5. Basic. 6. Omit. 8. Sydney. 9. LA. 10. Omar Khaiyam. 13. Styx. 16. Toronto. 20. OL. 24. Omega. 25. Par. 26. Memo. 28. London. 29. Zurich. 30. Madras. 35. Seal. 37. Wide. 41. PR.

**Winner:** Prasanth Jeyakumar, 57 Edmonton Road, Kirillapone, Colombo 6, Sri Lanka.

### Continued from page 4

not been able to save the country, how do they hope to do so now. Most of these people are those who are not backed by their own parties and feel the best way to have themselves heard is to abandon their parties and come out on their own, for their own ends.

**Q. One of the allegations against you is that you are virtually advocating the division of the country.**

**A.** I have always stood for the unity of the country. I disassociated myself from the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) only after they called for the creation of an Eelam (separate state). My proposals were meant to persuade the people of Jaffna to agree to a settlement within the framework of a united Sri Lanka without wasting time agitating for Eelam.

**Q. There have been several reports that LTTE cadres have infiltrated the plantation sector and could create a law and order situation there. Do you think so?**

**A.** They are just the day dreams of people. Some sections of the army and the police who don't want to be sent to

the northeast feel, that if they make a case that the plantation areas are also under threat then they could be posted to these areas and avoid going to the northeast.

**Q. Why do you think you are regarded with such hostility by some opposition groups?**

**A.** They can't accept the fact that Thondaman without doing anything is part of the government. They are envious of my relationship with the government and will do anything to break it. So far they have failed and they will continue to fail.

**Q. What hope do you have for the parliamentary Select Committee deliberations leading to a consensus resolution of the national question?**

**A.** I am part of it the Select Committee and I am always optimistic, people must have confidence and work towards it. We have to stop the carnage. So many young people are getting killed. So many soldiers have had their limbs blown off in explosions. We must together bring this to an end. It was the CWC determination that brought the statelessness of the plantation

workers to an end. And that too with a government that had created the situation. So what is needed is confidence to achieve peace in the country.

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**MATRIMONIAL**

**Jaffna Hindu parents, from good family in Sri Lanka seek for USA resident engineer son, M.Sc., 31, 5'10"; a handsome, attractive, sincere, educated partner with East/West blend. Please send horoscope, photo, details. M 564 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu seeks partner for his brother, 47, electronic engineer working in London, permanent resident. Send horoscope, details M 565 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Catholic parents seek suitable groom for daughter, 29, graduate of Business Studies, Sri Lanka and holder of MBA of European University. M 566 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Aunt, American citizen seeks professionally qualified partner, 35-40, for niece, 33, smart, beautiful, Canadian citizen, holds managerial position. Divorcees, Widowers. M 567 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu aunt seeks professional groom for fair, pretty, doctor niece, 31, with FMGEM qualifications to practice in USA. Send details M 568 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu seeks accountant partner under 28 for tall accountant son, 30, working for London firm. Please send details. M 569 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu seeks partner for her sister, 28, pretty, Mars afflicted. Send horoscope, details. M 570 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu parents seek bride, professional or British University graduate for their British qualified doctor son, 26, contact with horoscope details. M 571 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu mother seeks preferably qualified partner for only son, 32, British citizen, Management accountant. Send details M 572 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu parent seeks groom, 34-45, for attractive daughter, British citizen, highly educated and holding professional government position. Contact with details. M 573 c/o Tamil Times.**

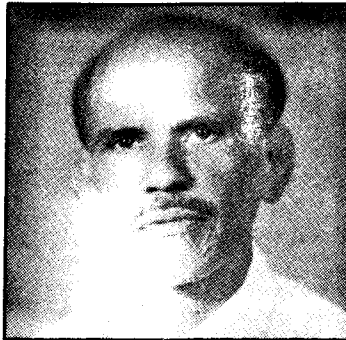
**Jaffna Hindu seeks groom for capable, fair, attractive niece, 24, accountancy student, for early marriage. Send details, horoscope. M 574 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Parents seek marriage partner for daughter; twentyfive, mixed parentage, qualified Montessori teacher with diploma in secretarial studies; doing higher marketing diploma in Australia. M 575 c/o Tamil Times.**

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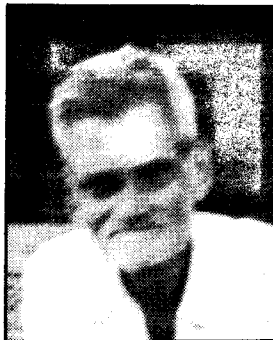
Tel: 081 864 3227

**OBITUARIES**

**Mr. Kailasapillai Kandasamy (60)** Former Deputy Principal, Jaffna Central College; beloved husband of Manonmani; loving father of Jeyashankar, Vijaishankar (both of U.K.), Mythili, Thayalashankar and Kousica (all of Sri Lanka); loving son of the late Mr. & Mrs. A. Kailasapillai of Kondavil, Sri Lanka and son-in-law of the late Mr. A.E. Tamber, former Principal of Jaffna Central College and Mrs. M. Tamber, passed away in Colombo on 1.3.92 and was cremated on 4th March. Sadly missed and mourned by his loved ones. May his soul rest in perfect peace - 115 Shakespeare Crescent, Manor Park, London E12 6LW. Tel: 081 470 9116.

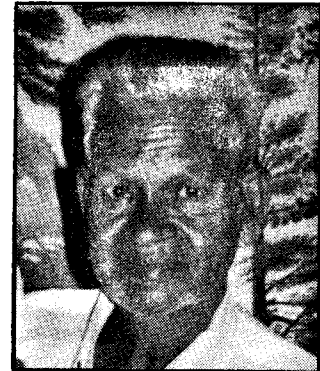


**Mr. Chelliah Sivasampu, formerly P.W.D. Sri Lanka, husband of the late Mankayarkarsy (Mankay); loving father of Bremakumar and Suriyakumar; brother of the late Mrs. Sivaratham Mutucumar, Sivasundaram (J.P., Retired Asst. Commissioner of Motor Traffic), Sivapragasam (Retired Mallakam Courts) and the late Navaratnarajah (Advocate), passed away on 9th March 1992 and was cremated on 14th March at Leatherhead, Surrey - 15 Wolsey Way, Chessington, Surrey, KT9 1XQ, U.K. Tel: 0372 464347.**



**Annamalai Thambirajah (81)** of Kokuvil, formerly Inspector C.T.B. Jaffna; beloved husband of Thangammah; father of Nadarajah-Naysun (USA) former Lieutenant Commander, Sri Lankan Navy, Mangayatarasi,

teacher, Leelawathi (both of Sri Lanka), Kirunanathan, Yogarajah and Sarojini Thevy (all of U.K.); beloved father-in-law of Rita, Manickavasagar, Ganeshamoorthy, Uma, Vathini and Perinpanathan; grand father of Lulu, Thivakaran, Piragalathan, Subashini, Sutharshini, Kavitha, Sangeetha, Sharmila, Keshana, Tharshana, Nivethitha, Nirthanan and Gayathiri passed away peacefully in Colombo on 14.3.92. Sadly missed by his loved ones and friends - 214 Demesne Road, Wallington, Surrey SM6 8EN. Tel: 081 395 8013.



**Ponniah Velauthapillai (79)** of Kokuvil, formerly of Ramakrishnas, Stanley Road, Jaffna; husband of the late Packiam; beloved father of Mrs. Karunamalar Sivanesan, Karunamoorthy, (both of Kokuvil) and Karunanathan (U.K.) passed away in Kokuvil on 8.3.92 - 10 Bexhill Road, New Southgate, London N13 2RG. Tel: 081 361 9330.

**IN MEMORIAM**

**In loving memory of Mrs. Annapooranam Thillainayagam on the first anniversary of her passing away on 22.3.91.**

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by her children Kugathas (Sri Lanka), Mrs. Navamany Kanagasooriam, Mavinthiridevi (both of Canada), Patkunadas (France), Mrs. Umadevi Balasubramaniam (Sri Lanka), Dr. Sivathasan and Arulthas (both of U.K.); sons-in-law Kanagasooriam and Balasubramaniam; daughters-in-law Rajeswari, Suntharavalli, Jeyamani and Vamarani. - 23 Spring Rice Road, Hither Green, London SE13. Tel: 081 318 6703.

**In treasured memory of  
S. Shanmugasundaram  
A.G.A.**

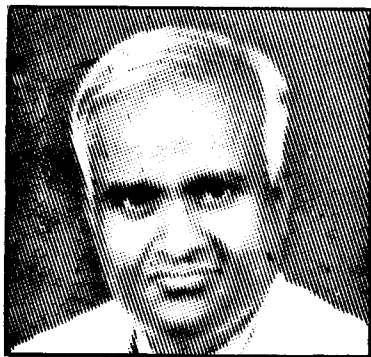
Born: 17.01.1926  
Died: 09.02.1985

We keep in our hearts  
Your love of the past,  
For there it was planted  
Forever to last.

Fondly remembered by wife, daughter and family and all loved ones.



## IN MEMORIAM



**P. Kanapadhipillai**  
J.P., Attorney-at-Law  
Udupiddy  
Anniversary Date  
23rd March

*A decade has passed painfully without you  
Your memories linger day and night through  
Not because of anything  
But because of you*

*Sweet memories of sincerity  
Honesty and service to humanity  
Are ingrained in us too  
All because of you*

*Fondly remembered on their death anniversary by their loved ones – Mrs. M. Kanapadhipillai,  
Karanavai North, Udupiddy.*



**Saro Gnapandithan**  
Attorney-at-Law  
Udupiddy  
(D/O P. Kanapadhipillai)  
Anniversary Date  
16th March

*Your loving daughter too  
A rose bud richly blossomed  
A year ago she succumbed  
And bid us farewell too*

*The little rose has faded  
But the rich fragrance remains impressed  
Like father like daughter dedicated  
Your values in us remain engraved*

## In Loving Memory of Our Beloved

**Daddy**  
**Ponnampalam Kanagaratnam**  
Born: 11.10.1908



Rest: 2.3.1982

*Gently with love your memory is kept  
Your affection and kindness we will never forget  
You both are always in our thoughts  
And for ever in our hearts*

*Remembered with love and affection by sons Sara, Brem and Dubsy; daughters-in-law Lalitha  
and Shyamala; and grandchildren Janarthan, Mehala, Uthistran, Arani and Anuja. – 19 Huxley  
Place, Palmers Green, London N13 5SU. Tel: 081 886 5966.*

**Mummy**  
**Vemalaranee Kanagaratnam**  
10.7.1923



31.3.90

## Bishop Kulendran – A Tribute

Pastor Sabapathy Kulendran of the South India United Church became the first Bishop in Jaffna of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India, an avant-garde union of churches that set the pace for churches the world over to seek the unity intrinsic to their faith and commitment.

As a little boy not yet in my teens, I remember vividly the historic occasion on the 10th of October 1947 for the pomp and pageantry of the day and the awesome majesty of the enthronement of Bishop Kulendran. I was, however, old enough to be proud of a man of my community to be raised to such a position but never dreamt that in the years to come he will have a major impact in my life.

As I grew up in the village of Vaddukoddai and its surrounds, I began to perceive Bishop Kulendran as an exceptionally gracious person, a scholar in his own right and a man with a unique sense of humour that has stood him well in his many years as head of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India and chairman of the Jaffna College Board of Directors.

In discharging his responsibilities, he was an exceptionally good chairman, a just and fair mediator and one who had a heart of gold. On one occasion when I was all but ready to exact a pound of flesh over a proven issue, he gently reminded me that I should give some consideration to the blood that I may spill in the process. On that day he delivered the basic tenets of our faith deep into my system.

As a chairman, he allowed the free flow of ideas in council and board sessions and whenever time was taken by some with minimal and trivials, he employed his humour to great advantage. Even over tricky and stormy situations he sailed with care without hurting the feelings of others. As a scholar he had strong views on many issues borne out of his personality, scholarship, research and convictions. As a believer in his faith, he never had any doubts and submitted his talents for the full flow of his commitments to the faith and the wellbeing of the community he served. As a friend, he was very human and felt one with anyone who had the privilege of knowing him in that capacity – and there were many.

Above all, Bishop Kulendran was a humble man who stayed firmly on the ground but walked ten feet tall. One may not always agree with his views often freely expressed but he also made others comfortable enough to express their own with equal freedom. He never sought any fortune or glory for himself or his family and was content with small things in life.

He must have been a great sportsperson in his youthful years. He was often present at cricket and football matches in Vaddukoddai and enjoyed making his observations loud and clear whether welcome or not. He always wanted Jaffna College to win but a defeat never ever discouraged him. At the end of the game, all that mattered to him was that the game was played in the true spirit of sport aware that winning and losing are two necessary parts of proper growing up for young people.

He was very privileged to share his married life with one who was a tower of strength to him. Mathuram Kulendran, affectionately Bishopammah to everyone, was a deeply



**D. Senathirajah**  
B.Sc., F.R.I.C.S.  
Chief Govt. Valuer  
Zambia (1974-1985)

*Resting where no shadows fall  
Never more than a thought away  
Quietly remembered everyday  
O Mighty God, grant him eternal rest*

*Fondly remembered by his loved ones on  
his death anniversary – 2nd March – Nanda,  
Raj & Ramesh, 390 So. Hauser, Suite 8F,  
Park Labrea, Hancock Park, Los Angeles, CA  
90036, USA.*

**Continued from page 25**

caring and sympathetic person who was richly entrenched in the ethics and values very traditional to us. She made far-reaching contributions to church worship with her passion for lyrics composed with meanings very much part and parcel of our culture.

I have had many special moments with Bishop Kulendran spanning a period of 45 years. I could knock at his door at any time and be accepted in as a friend. He never bore a grudge against anyone and in all his actions, held the institutions that he served as greater than the individual. If he had to make a decision against a friend for what he perceived as for the larger good of the institution, it was the latter that received his uncompromising support.

Bishop Kulendran was an extraordinary man of our time and our community is richer for his scholarship, leadership and above all his personality. Here was a man to whom an extra cassock was a luxury. The little he had as his basic necessities went a long way just like in the parable of the fishes and loaves, and the man I saw enthroned in 1947 said his final amen at the age of 92 having served his Master admirably.

**Richards Karunelrajan.**

A service of thanksgiving to the life and service of the late Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Kulendran, Bishop Emeritus of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India will be held at the Putney Methodist Church on Saturday 11th April 1992 at 3.00 p.m. The principal speaker on this occasion will be the Rt. Rev. Dr. Leslie Newbiggin, Bishop Emeritus of the Madurai-Ramnad Diocese of the Church of South India. Members and friends are cordially welcomed to participate in this testimonial fellowship.

**FORTHCOMING EVENTS**

**March 28 7.00pm Tamil Union of Herts.** presents 'Kalatta Kalyanam' at Salisbury School, Nightingale Road, Edmonton, London N9. Tel: 0923 226000/237650.

**April 2 Amavasai.**

**April 4 6.30pm Hounslow Hindu Sangam** presents Variety Entertainment of Dances from North & South India at Hounslow Manor School, Cecil Road, Hounslow, Middx. Tel: 081 577 3588/572 6263.

**April 4 6.30pm St. Patricks College, Jaffna Alumni Association's Dinner Dance** at Civic Centre, Wandsworth Town Hall, Wandsworth High Street, London SW18. Tel: 081 446 1825.

**April 5 2.30pm Alamail Palm Dance Company** presents Indian Classical Dance combined with dramatic experience of theatre at Commonwealth Institute, Kensington High Street, London W8. Admission free.

**April 5 4.30pm Institute of Tamil Culture** presents a Cultural Evening of South Indian Instrumental Music and Dance at Surbiton Assembly Rooms, Maple Road, Surbiton, Surrey. Tel: 081 949 3012/399 7848.

**April 6 Chathurthi.**

**April 11 9.00am to 6.00pm Tamil Literary Conference** at Matthaus-Alber-Haus, Jos-Weissaal, Leder Str. 81, 7410 Reutlingen 1, Germany. For details contact S. Kumaravel, Spitzengassle 2, 7412 Eningen u.A.

**April 11 6.00pm Medical Institute of Tamils** presents 'Naatiya Munjarl' in aid of refugees of Mannar Camp at Copeland Community School, Wembley, Middx. Tel: 081 551 3411/550 6899/464 1587/904 1789.

**April 12 11.00am Abisekham and Guru Poojah for Colombuthural Yogar Swamigal** at Shri Ghanapathy Temple, 123 Effra Road, London SW19.

**April 12 6.00pm Thurga Amman Society** presents Bharatha Natiyam by Rajashree Gautham, Carnatic Vocal by Lakshmi Rangarajan and Percussion Ensemble at Acton Town Hall, London W3. Tel: 081 864 0375/868 0429.

**April 13 Hindu New Year Day.**

**April 16 Full Moon Day.**

**April 18 7.00pm Jaffna Old Centralites Sports Committee** presents Cricketer's Night of Dinner and Disco at Waltham Forest Theatre, Lloyd Park, Vinns Terrace, London E17. Tel: 081 689 4638.

**April 25 1.30pm The Tamil Association of Brent** celebrates the Tamil New Year with a Variety Entertainment and Indoor Games at Alperton High School Hall, Stanley Avenue, Alperton, Middx. Tel: 081 206 2378/902 2000/908 6993.

**April 28 Ekathasi.**

**At the Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. Tel: 071 381 3086/4608.**

**April 3 7.45pm Gottuvadyam** by N. Ravikiran & musicians from India.

**April 4 7.00pm Hindustani Vocal** by Rajan & Sajan Mishra.

**April 5 6.30pm Gita Govindam** in Bharatanatyam style by Prakash Yadagudde.

**April 11 & 28 5.30pm Mahabharata Lectures** by Mathoor Krishnamurthi.

**Careers Convention**

The London Tamil Academy & North West London Training Enterprise Council jointly organised a well attended Careers Convention at Wembley High School, East Lane on 22.2.92.

Ambitious students were given a nudge in the right direction; Paul Boateng, M.P. for Brent South and Hugh Dykes, M.P. for

Harrow East were among the large number of enthusiastic supporters of the project. Representatives of the Banks, R.A.F., Brent Careers Service and the Independent School Careers Organisation answered questions on University courses leading to careers.

**Padma Shri Award for Chitra**

Chitra Visweswaran, one of the finest exponents of Bharata Natyam, has been honoured with the Padma Shri in the recent India Republic Day Awards. She brings an enlightened mind, cultured taste, refinement and grace to bear on her dance technique. Her art goes beyond the merely picturesque. Tradition gives her the confidence to innovate and improvise within the demands of classicism. Her performances are unique, because having trained in the three sub-styles of Bharata Natyam, they reflect a mingling of the characteristic features of each sub-style - the precision of the Pandanallur, the clear footwork and emotive abhinaya of the Thanjavur and the grace and visual beauty of the Vazhuvur.

Chitra has given dance performances all over the world and has helped several charitable organisations in U.K. viz Standing Committee of Tamils, Keerimalai Sivan Temple Trust, British Association of Young Musicians.

She is due to perform in aid of another charity 'Sutton Subrang' on 26.9.92 at The Secombe Centre, Sutton, Surrey.

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PROFESSOR REZVI BHERIFF MD FRCP  
 PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE  
 CONSULTANT PHYSICIAN & NEPHROLOGIST

January 28, 1992

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Mr. Kumar Pancharatnam Nimal, a 21yr old Engineering Faculty first year undergraduate at the University of Peradeniya was admitted under my care at Nawaloka Private Hospital in advanced kidney failure. He has a long history of Nephrotic Syndrome following glomerulonephritis. From a detailed history and physical examination I believe he has acute on chronic kidney failure.

He has been recommended a course of regular Haemodialysis therapy which will be followed by kidney biopsy and it is hoped that we could get back sufficient kidney function with medical treatment and put off the need for urgent kidney transplantation.

The above therapy may cost the patient approximately Rs.200,000/=-.

*Prof. Rezvi Bheriff*  
 PROFESSOR REZVI BHERIFF MD FRCP

The above refers to the son of Mr. V.K. Pancharatnam, Retired Postmaster, Second Cross Street, Point Pedro, Sri Lanka & also a former employee of Northrop Aircraft Services, California in one of its bases in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Mr. Pancharatnam is unemployed and has spent his savings of Rs.250,000 on the treatment of his son. He is in dire circumstances. Any voluntary contribution to help this Engineering Student, may be drawn in his name, K.P. Nimal, A/C No.34-01-45275, Bank of Ceylon, Kollupitiya, Colombo 3 and posted to K.P. Nimal, 67 Galpotha Street, Kotahena, Colombo 3, Sri Lanka by Registered Post. Prayers of our well-wishers towards Nimal's early recovery, will be very much appreciated. Thank you for your kindness.  
 Parents.

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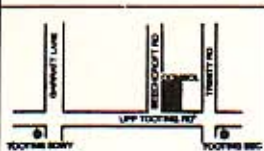
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