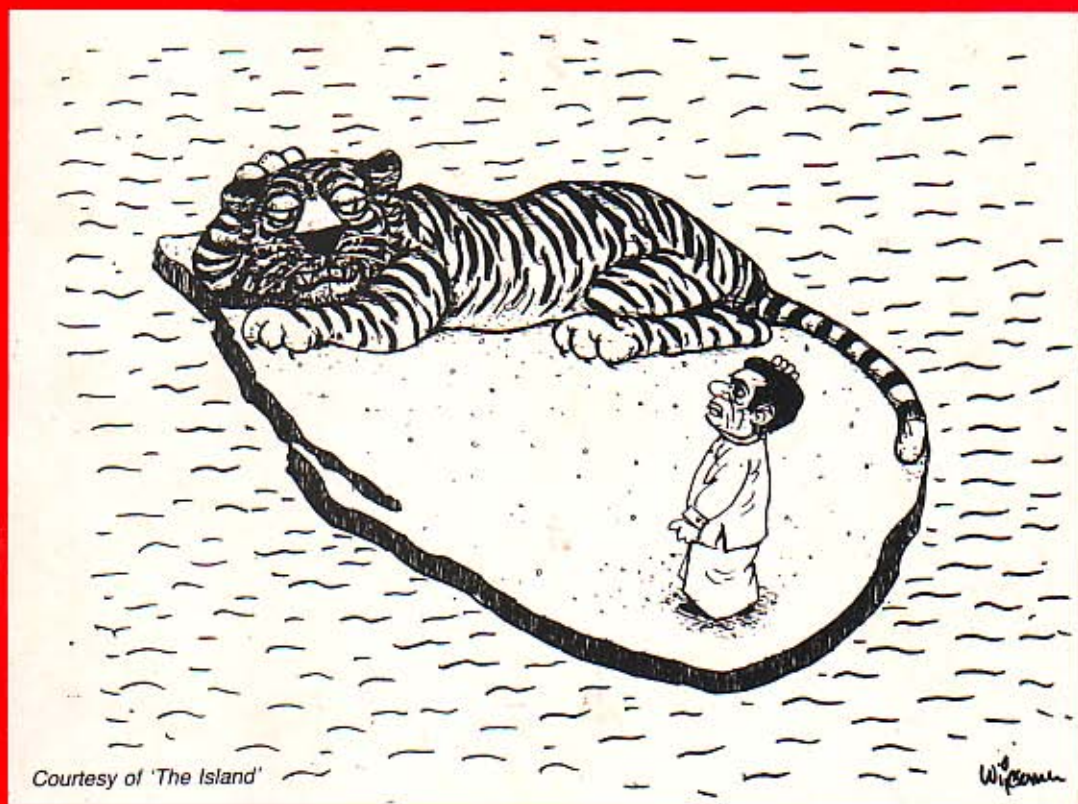


Tamil TIMES

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● LTTE GAINING SUPREMACY AND FORMS POLITICAL PARTY



Courtesy of 'The Island'

- 1989 Year Of The Bodies; Peace Uncertain in 1990
- Sri Lanka Loses Count of Thousands Killed
 - Honouring a Heroine & a Martyr
 - Conspiracy to set up Dictatorship

NINTH YEAR OF UNINTERRUPTED PUBLICATION

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DIABOLICAL DESIGNS FOR DICTATORSHIP

Over 170 persons were shot or hacked to death and their bodies were found on roadsides in the southern town of Hambantota on 21 December. These killings and indeed most of the killings that have occurred in the recent past, have been attributed to pro-government death squads euphemistically referred to in the media as 'vigilantes'. Reliable reports indicate that, in addition to deaths that result from operations by the services, groups of security service personnel in non-military attire and specially trained and armed pro-government gangs are roaming around the country executing people in their dozens at a time. No one has an accurate count of those killed, but certainly they tally up to many thousands. The victims are not confined to alleged JVP men or its supporters. They include supporters of other opposition parties and innocent people.

It is in this context that the charge made by the Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Bandaranaike, in Parliament on 12 January assumes dangerous significance. Raising a matter of public importance, she said that there was a conspiracy against the democratic opposition in Sri Lanka which, if not thwarted, would pave the way for a one party dictatorial state. She added that it was 'no secret that politically backed para-military hit squads continue to abduct and murder youth through the length and breadth of the country. In the guise of combatting subversion thousands of SLFP members had been arrested, abducted or murdered by the killer squads. . . It is my duty to tell this House of the information that has been brought to my notice with regard to the conspiracy which has been confirmed by persons in high authority. . . A group of individuals had been trained in pistol firing at the Ganemulla Army Camp and they have been given instructions to eliminate opposition party cadres, polling agents, family members and close associates of Members of Parliament. These killer-groups have completed their training and have been deployed in different districts to carry out the task assigned to them. Prior to their deployment, these killer-groups have been provided with false army identity cards. . . Certain lists of persons to be killed have been given to these killer-squads. . . .

Mrs. Bandaranaike's charge is a serious one and the conspiracy she refers to 'has been confirmed by persons in high authority'. The events that have taken place since the government claimed that 'the entire leadership of the JVP had been wiped out' and 'the match was over' as far as the JVP was concerned, the thousands who have been killed since and are continuing to be killed, and the unimpeachable evidence available concerning the activi-

ties of death squads and their connection with security forces give considerable credence to Mrs. Bandaranaike's charge.

Sri Lanka has been under emergency rule for many years. Backed by many draconian laws, the island has undergone a process of militarisation affecting many areas of civilian life. The security forces have been brought in to manage what essentially have been political problems. Senior military officers have been appointed 'Co-ordinating Officers' for districts enjoying and exercising powers over and above traditional civilian district administrators like Government Agents. With the recent escalation of violence and disruption in the south of the country, the armed forces have been drawn onto the centre stage for the management of the day-to-day political, administrative and security affairs of the country. A situation has been created in which governance of the country has become virtually impossible without the active assistance of the security forces, and the rapidly increasing role of the armed forces have made them more and more conscious of their own importance.

It is against this background that one envisages the distinct possibility of a dictatorship by a ruling clique with the active intervention and participation by the military being foisted upon the people. It could be that, in order to eliminate any serious opposition to such a move, a conspiracy has been hatched to wipe out or weaken the democratic opposition in the country under the guise of confronting the JVP. Mrs. Bandaranaike has not given out any information regarding the personalities behind this conspiracy. Democracy in Sri Lanka has already suffered serious inroads in recent years. The Rule of Law has been fatally undermined. The electoral process has been subverted. Freedom of expression has become severely restricted. Meetings and even peaceful protest marches stand banned. If a move to set up a dictatorship succeeds, it is not only the opposition parties but the entire people of the island who would lose even the limited rights they enjoy at present. Even the presently existing trappings of democracy will disappear. If Mrs. Bandaranaike is serious about preventing such a perilous and disastrous turn of events, she should identify and expose in public those personalities who are behind such a move and mobilise the people against it with assistance from other opposition parties. Making statements in Parliament will not defeat the diabolical designs of those involved being put into effect. It is people's power that has recently brought down many authoritarian regimes in eastern Europe. It is no less applicable in the case of Sri Lanka.

How The LTTE Is Gaining Supremacy As IPKF Pulls Out

By Iqbal Athas
from Vavuniya

S & D OPS

Clutching automatic weapons in one hand and lunch packets in the other, the young 'soldiers' mount two tractor trailers parked alongside one another underneath a giant shade tree. Already stacked away neatly in the centre of the trailers are boxes of ammunition and what looks like packs of dry rations. Only the shining cellophane wrappers of the cream cracker biscuit packets are clearly visible among other parcels covered by brown paper.

The young men from the tender age of 12 to youthful 24, sit in orderly rows. They are dressed smartly in jungle green uniform, khaki coloured pouches strapped to their chests and ankle high brown boots - covering their feet.

The long pockets on the pouches hold many things - loaded spare magazines for their weapons, grenades, a torchlight, compass, etc. one of them, obviously the 'platoon leader', had a new walkie talkie tucked away in the top pocket. The six inch long antenna rose over his shoulders.

No pictures

Their 'commander' whom I was speaking to, turned his head every now and then towards the tractors. At one stage, he looked towards me, said 'no pictures please' and walked round the trailers. He gave his boys a pep talk. There was an air of military demeanour as he busied himself giving advice or simply asking a 'soldier' to straighten out a crumpled pocket or to move a package that stood in the way.

In his late twenties, the 'commander' prefers to call himself only by the pseudonym 'Dinesh'. The location is Chettikulam - a sleepy farming hamlet trapped on the one side by the Wilpattu National Park and on the other by the Vavuniya jungles.

Soon after two more armed youth take their place on the footboards and lean towards the driver's seat, the convoy moves. The men are waved off by Dinesh.

They are on one of the many 'flushing out operations' to rid their 'anti-social' rivals - or simply members of other rival Tamil groups.

Dinesh is the Vavuniya district military leader for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Together with Political wing Leader, Jeyam, he has been operating clandestinely from hideouts in Vavuniya.

Last month, after Indian troops folded their tents and moved out from the Vavuniya district, they came out to the open. He based his 'detachment' in the outskirts of the Vavuniya town.

Just before the dawn of the New Year, Dinesh was ordered by his leaders to move to Chettikulam, set up his 'Forward Headquarters' there and flush out what he calls the 'traitors'. At the butt end of this 'offensive' are cadres of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOT), the group that dominated the Vavuniya district during the pre Indo-Sri Lanka Accord days, and small groups of the 'Tamil National Army' (TNA) sponsored by Eelam People's Revolutionary Front (EPRLF).

Dinesh accuses the PLOT men of indulging in a looting spree soon after the IPKF withdrew from the area. 'In the Mussakutti village (five miles away from Chettikulam), they cut to death a businessman and robbed his gold', he charged.

'We had to deal with them. Some died, others were captured alive. Yet others fled into the jungles', adds Dinesh. He refused to give numbers but one of his aides I spoke to later put the figure at 48. Another said the bodies of nine of the dead PLOT members were brought to the Chettikulam bazaar and displayed. Twenty two more PLOT members were 'arrested'.

Dinesh said three LTTE members - Major Ahatayar, Captain Murali and Lieutenant Alex - died in the clashes on New Year's day. 'Some are still hiding in the jungles. We have made repeated calls to them to surrender. If they don't they will face the consequences', he warned.

Clearly the LTTE appears to have ousted the PLOT from its traditional home base - the Vavuniya district. There appears to be no organised resistance. On the other hand, armed LTTE men, like the ones I saw, are on search and destroy missions in the surrounding jungles where fleeing PLOT men are holed up. This way the LTTE is establishing its supremacy in the area.

Paradox

The situation is somewhat paradoxical. It seems as if there is a two-tiered civil administration in the area - the North East Provincial Council running one through its network of official establishments and the LTTE on the other hand liaising with the people on their day to day problems. Looking into public complaints has become a major pre-occupation. They handle complaints relating to law and order matters, disputes and a wide

variety of other problems faced by people in the area.

'We are looking after all matters in this area. We have asked the Sri Lanka Army to advise us before they move out to any area. When they do so, we ask one of our men to accompany them', a LTTE member told me. I asked Dinesh about it. His reply: 'I cannot speak on such matters without the approval of the leadership'.

What Dinesh and his boys are doing in Chettikulam, like his counterparts and leaders in other districts tell the story of the LTTE of the nineties.

Unlike in the seventies when the movement was born and the eighties when it fought a covert guerrilla battle, the LTTE of the nineties is a lot different.

And what makes the big difference is its emergence as a 'conventional army' in the districts from which the IPKF has withdrawn - Amparai, Batticaloa, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi.

The 'Forward Headquarters' at Chettikulam is very much like any Sri Lankan security installation. Located barely 200 yards as the crow flies from the Sri Lanka Army Camp in Chettikulam, within view of the railway station, the LTTE base is separated by the rail track that links Mannar with Anuradhapura.

Its outer perimeters are surrounded by sentry points located in bunkers walled by sand bags. Armed, uniformed youth take turns doing guard duty and report by radio to a 'command centre' located in a cluster of some eight houses.

Besides one main building, conspicuous by its protruding antennas, the other houses form the billets. Fuel lay in barrels. Double cab vehicles with long aerials lay parked outside. So is a lorry and a bus, lent by the wealthy in the area.

Battle zone

The fact that Chettikulam has become a 'battle zone' has brought life to a standstill in the surrounding areas. There is hardly any movement of traffic along the Vavuniya-Mannar road. Escorted by a young man from a camp some ten miles outside Vavuniya we drove through a jungle track for more than six miles to fall on to this main highway.

I counted only one lorry till we reached midway at Puvarasankulam, where the LTTE flag fluttered on a 15 foot high pole at the centre of the junction. From there, the nine mile journey to Chettikulam was through another track full of craters. It lasted

PFLT Leader Rules Out Peace With Rival Groups

Gopalasamy Mahendrarajah alias Mahathaya, the Deputy Leader of the LTTE, and President of the LTTE's newly created political party, Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers, ruled out peace talks with rival Tamil groups for the present, as they continue with their main task of disarming the EPRLF created Tamil National Army (TNA).

The thirty-four-year-old Mahathaya, described by the Indian military as a shrewd military strategist, surfacing publicly for the first time since the Indian offensive against the Tigers began in October 1987 told newsmen in Vavuniya last week that the other groups were 'stooges of the Indian army'.

The people will never forgive them for the hardship they were put through these two years. As you can see they have been chased away'.

Mahathaya categorically denied that the Tigers committing themselves to mainstream politics was a tactical move on their part to get the IPKF out, get control of the north-east, and declare Eelam. 'The question of Eelam does not arise'.

'We have been talking to the government from a position of strength and we believe that the Premadasa government will honour its pledges made to the Tamil speaking people'.

Responding to a question on the possibility of communal clashes in multi-ethnic Trincomalee when the

IPKF leaves, Mahathaya said they were confident that the government would not let that happen.

Although he refused to disclose details of the talks between the Tiger leadership and the government, he admitted that substantive issues had been discussed and called the dialogue a continuing process.

According to Mahathaya, except for a few pockets of resistance from TNA cadres in some of the six districts vacated by the IPKF, the others were free of TNA presence.

'A lot of them have surrendered, and we have after interrogation released them to their families. Those we still have in our custody have to be further interrogated'. He denied that some of them were killed.

Those killed in confrontations he said were less than a hundred in the six districts and dismissed news reports of a larger casualty figure as 'exaggeration'.

General Secretary of the PFLT, Mr Yogaratnam Yogi, associated with Mahathaya at the interview accused the Indian army of giving eight thousand weapons to the TNA. 'Eight or ten thousand we can take care of that'.

Mahathaya attributed the Tigers success against the Indian army to advanced military technology and the dedication of their fighters.

Fighting from the jungles as well as

from the urban areas, he himself came within a hundred yards of the Indian army but managed to escape said the man who would in the next month begin his political career by activating what he claimed was an already existing political structure that would for the first time in seventeen years of an armed guerilla struggle put them in the frontline of mainstream Tamil politics. What of his leader Vellupillai Prabhakaran. When would he surface. 'When the need arises'.

What did he think was India's future role in the politics of this country.

'When India decides her Sri Lanka policy she should take the aspirations of the Tamil and Muslim minorities into consideration, something she did not do when signing the Indo-Lanka accord in July 1987. India however, must not interfere either militarily or politically in the internal affairs of the island'.

When the IPKF withdraws in entirety from the island, Mahathaya is confident that the Sri Lanka government will decide a date for fresh elections for a north-east council in which he says rival groups can participate and give people the chance to choose their representative freely.

Mahathaya, who married fellow militant Kalpana in 1986 is the father of a one year old.

They live with him he says, 'in the jungle'.

— Rita Sebastian

Continued From Page 3

nearly two hours. The return journey at night through the same route caused a little unease for my escort. He knew the Tigers but was worried about the wild elephants that would cross us.

There were none till we reached Puvarasankulam. From there to Vavuniya, Tiger 'patrols' on motor cycles stopped us at least three times, each time over taking us on the right, proceeding some distance and doing a U turn with the head lights pointed in our direction.

Time table

The LTTE appears to have set a time table of one month to clear the areas from their rivals. One of their senior members told me that Mullaitivu, Kili-nochchi, Amparai and Batticaloa have already been 'cleared'.

'But there are still small pockets of resistance in the thick jungles between Mannar and Vavuniya', he said.

This fact was underscored by the LTTE number two and now leader of its political arm, (People's Front of Liberation Tigers - PFLT), Gopalas-

wamy Mahendrarajah alias 'Mahathaya'.

Training

The LTTE's London office and its representatives in Colombo slotted a press conference for Mahathaya in the north last week. Local and foreign journalists including Colombo based Indian correspondents moved to Vavuniya to see Mahathaya make his first debut as PFLT leader. Their schedule was delayed by more than 40 hours. The media team was taken from Vavuniya to Omanthai and a few more miles away to a location where Mahathaya eventually appeared.

Mahathaya did not give details for his delay although his colleagues were very apologetic. But he did make one point. After expressing his regrets for keeping them waiting Mahathaya said, in a month from now the media would be able to reach him by telephone. What he did not say was about his leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran.

One high-ranking LTTE source in the area said 'Thambi Anna', as Prabhakaran is fondly called, will also

follow suit.

Whether the one month time table for 'total control' will be on schedule or not, the LTTE is also busy with a number of other preparations. Training camps in the Batticaloa and Mullaitivu districts, besides other areas, are training new recruits in large numbers. A tailoring establishment in the Jaffna peninsula is busy stitching uniforms round the clock.

With more 'soldiers' to swell its 'army' and strong public support in the areas they operate, the LTTE has come to stay.

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1989 The Year of The Bodies Prospects for Peace, Uncertain in 1990

January second marked the first anniversary of President Ranasinghe Premadasa's term of office. Addressing the nation from the historic Octagan in the premises of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, where, a year earlier he had committed himself to 'serve the people', the President re-pledged that same commitment calling on the people to 'join hands and hearts to reunite the country'.

What are the prospects for peace now, than they were a year ago?

The auspicious start to 1989 when a 'common man's man' was voted into the highest office in the land and the hope that he would see an end to the violence of the preceding year, was however short-lived, with the country soon finding itself embroiled in an orgy of unprecedented violence.

As the year wore on and the counter-subversive operations by government forces intensified, there surfaced a number of vigilante death squads who struck with unrelenting ferocity.

1989, as someone very crudely put it, was 'the year of the bodies'. Bullet-riddled, disfigured, necklaced with burning tyres, hacked into pieces or heads severed, they lay on the main highways, in the villages, or floated down the country's rivers. Unidentified, they were, after people had their fill of the gruesome sight, burnt in a common funeral pyre, dumped in a mass grave or in some instances, left to be eaten by stray dogs.

As the parties to the conflict fought it out, innocent civilians became the hapless victims.

In the closing months of 1989 however, the Premadasa government scored what it would describe as major triumphs. The Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) leadership had been eliminated and the Tamil Tigers, engaged in an armed struggle with government forces for seventeen long years, sought and gained political recognition for their political wing, committing themselves to mainstream politics.

The other Tamil groups cried foul at the retention of the LTTE's military wing, pointing to it as a very negation of the principle of democratic politics. LTTE ideologue Dr Anton Balasingham, who conducted the LTTE's first ever press conference in Colombo to introduce the LTTE's new party and its manifesto, defended their stand saying it would be suicidal to disband its military wing, when all the other groups were armed, and there was no proper security arrangement to warrant it.

The Tamil National Council, com-

By Rita Sebastian

prising the EPRLF, TELO, ENDLF and PLOTE, has admitted its own military outfit in the form of a North-East Militia.

Although the Sri Lankan government has denied any collusion between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan forces, there seems to be a tacit understanding that the government forces will turn the other way when LTTE cadres take on the North-East Militia, or for that matter its other rivals. The Tigers are of course quick to point out that they have repeatedly appealed to cadres of the North-East Militia to surrender and what they are engaged in, is a disarming exercise.

In whatever terminology one describes the internecine warfare that has been going on in the IPKF vacated areas, State Minister for Defence Ranjan Wijeratne is on record that in the townships in the six districts from where the IPKF has moved out 'there is peace'.

In a special statement issued by the Tamil National Council from their headquarters in Trincomalee (On January 1st), while reiterating their 'commitment to peace and democracy' has warned the Sri Lankan Government that unless all the Tamil groups are brought into the discussions to end the conflict in the North-East, they would be 'compelled to embark on an alternative course to find a permanent solution to the political problems of the Tamil speaking people'.

Whether the unilateral declaration of independence in the region is that alternative, has not been spelt out, given today's ground reality it would be the impossible dream.

Crucial to the North-East issue however is the withdrawal of the IPKF from the two remaining districts of Jaffna and Trincomalee which would complete IPKF de-induction in its entirety. The Tigers have demonstrated in no uncertain terms what the scenario would be when the last of the Indian soldiers has left the island.

Minister Ranjan Wijeratne's second visit to Delhi in a matter of weeks since the new government in India took office, spells out the Colombo government's dissatisfaction over the new timeframe of March thirtyfirst for a complete de-induction of the IPKF.

Colombo is anxious that there should be a more expeditious withdrawal from the two remaining districts which though they constitute only twenty percent of the land area of the North-East region, are in terms of importance, the two major districts in the region.

What next after the IPKF has withdrawn, and what of the future of the North-East Council?

There is a great deal of uncertainty and confusion about the North-East Provincial Council in the wake of the LTTE demand that the Council be dissolved and fresh elections be held for the North-East Province. The LTTE's entry into mainstream politics could only be through such an election.

Government spokesmen have not been clear on the dissolution issue and the holding of fresh elections.

Bradman Weerakoon, special advisor to the President on international affairs, in an interview with the BBC, a few months ago, ruled out the question of dissolution of the Council on the premise that it was a lawfully constituted body.

The Foreign Affairs and Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne on the other hand, in a recent statement indicated that a new election may be necessary for the LTTE to join mainstream politics.

Uncertainty also looms over the constitutional position over the dissolution. If constitutional procedures relating to such dissolution are to be followed it will be proper for the Governor to exercise those powers only on the advice of the Chief Minister of the Council, or where it appears that the Chief Minister has clearly lost the confidence of the majority of the members of the Council.

The EPRLF administration which has an overwhelming majority in the North-East Provincial Council risks losing its authority only in the event of a negative vote of the ENDLF and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress. If however there is no such vote of no-confidence the only other provision is for the President, if he is convinced that there is a breakdown of the administrative machinery, or failure indirectly of the Provincial Council to carry on in accordance with the law, to assume all powers of the Chief Minister and further declare that all powers of the Council will be exercised by Parliament. Such a proclamation will not constitute a dissolution but cripple the Provincial Council to such an extent, that it will be incapable of functioning autonomously.

Even such a proclamation by the President is subject to judicial determination, and a judge of the supreme court will be required to report on whether the grounds on which the proclamation was made were adequate.

Continued on Page 10

SECURITY ALERT FOR TULF MPs

Most of the Members of Parliament belonging to the TULF (EPRLF, ENDLF & TELO) representing constituencies in the North-East have now moved into Colombo with their families fearing LTTE attacks. A TULF MP who did not want to be identified said that he had to leave everything behind and virtually flee to Colombo fearing a Tiger invasion of the district. It looks as if we could never go back to our home towns'. Even in Colombo, their movements were severely restricted by the grim reality that LTTE cadres operated quite freely, the MP added.

It is also learnt that most of the Members of Parliament belonging to EROS also have moved their residence to Colombo.

In the meantime, the Defence Ministry has advised all TULF Members of Parliament who have moved residence to Colombo to adopt extra security measures following intelligence reports that they could be targets of certain Tamil militant groups, according to a report in 'THE ISLAND' of 11 January.

Quoting senior security officials, the report said that TULF MPs had been warned not to move about in the city and its outskirts without adequate security as the threat was real. Asked about the advice given by the Defence Ministry, a TULF MP remarked, 'We have been asked to ensure that we are covered (security-wise) at all times'.

PLAN TO KILL RANJAN WIJERATNE

The government has claimed an alleged 'subversive' plan to kill Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne by ramming a car packed with explosives into the Minister's vehicle has been uncovered.

Military Secretary Brigadier Lucky Algama told a news conference the assassination attempt was revealed by captured JVP leaders arrested during operations carried out by Operation Combine which is responsible for the security of the Colombo metropolitan area and the suburbs.

During these operations the Army succeeded in capturing the hierarchy of the subversives responsible for the campaign of anarchy - the leaders for Colombo district, the military and propaganda wings Brigadier Algama said.

By interrogating the Colombo district military wing leader, an engineering undergraduate named Pieris, they managed to find out the location of a safe house which was known only to him.

When this house was raided a 22-

year-old woman and another JVP leader were arrested and 75 kilogrammes of explosives recovered.

This raid enabled them to trace the car that was to be used in the assassination attempt which was found at the house of a medical student in Maharagama, on December 27, Brigadier Algama said. Wires and other paraphernalia required to make the car bomb were recovered from another safe house in Bomiriya, Kaduwela.

Contd on Col 3 FRESH NORTH-EAST PC ELECTIONS IN APRIL

In a recent interview, Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne hinted at the possibility of holding fresh elections for the North-East Provincial Council in April this year. He expressed this view on the assumption that the IPKF would depart by the end of February.

Stating that the LTTE would participate in the fresh elections, the Minister added, 'We should give them at least three months to go and canvass and open up their political offices and find suitable candidates to fight the elections'.

Commenting on clashes between the pro-EPRLF Tamil National Army and the LTTE, the Minister said that this was happening because the militant Tamil groups were trying to gain supremacy over one another. One group was trying to outdo the other. 'We want to bring sanity and get them to the democratic process, to accept the will of the people and to get on with the development of their areas', the Minister added.

The Minister's indication of fresh elections would seem to confirm the view that the government had conceded the LTTE's demand for the dissolution of the present North-East Provincial Council administration.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BANNED

The Government on 6 January by gazette notification under the Public Security Ordinance banned all activities, political or otherwise, in places of work, educational institutions and premises of community residence of workers and students.

These regulations have also debarred any person from entering such workplace, educational institution or residential premises without prior permission of the person in charge of such institution.

The regulations further taboo any person holding any meeting, rally, demonstration, procession, display posters or placards within such workplace, educational institution or residential premises without the permission of the person in charge.

The notification states -

Any person who contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of these regulations, shall be guilty of an offence and shall on conviction after trial before a magistrate be liable to rigorous imprisonment for a term not less than three months and not exceeding five years and to a fine of not less than five hundred rupees and not exceeding five thousand rupees.

Any Police Officer, or any member of the Sri Lanka Army, the Sri Lanka Navy or the Sri Lanka Air Force, who requires to enter such place of work, institution imparting education or premises, for the purpose of performance of their functions under these regulations, shall keep informed the person in charge of such workplace, institution or premises.

Provided that where any person is arrested at such workplace, institution or premises, the officer making the arrest shall inform the person in charge of such workplace, institution or premises of the fact of the making of such arrest.

The regulations have been made by the President under Section 5 of the Public Security Ordinance (Chapter 40).

Brigadier Algama said the plot had been hatched about one month before the assassination of JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera and it was to be put into effect shortly after Christmas.

The plan was to use the car packed with explosives to ram Minister Wijeratne's vehicle while he was riding to Parliament, he said.

However it was not known when the assassination attempt was to be carried out or at which junction. Nor did they know how the explosives in the car were to be detonated, he added.

A man named Robert had been selected by the subversives to drive the car bomb into the Minister's vehicle, but the architects of the plan obviously operating on a 'need to know' basis had not told him the car was to be packed with TNT, Brigadier Algama also said.

Because of the possibility that he would balk at the idea of a suicide attack Robert had only been told to block Mr. Wijeratne's car, Brigadier Algama said.

He put it this way: 'If the Sri Lankan Tamil groups know that there is a haven for them in Tamil Nadu, they will fight in the island and come running, swimming and jumping to Tamil Nadu'.

On the other hand, if Karunanidhi makes it clear to them that they should not expect his sympathy, goodwill and a safe shelter in his state so long as the groups fight each other, they may come to their senses and stop fighting.

'After they stop fighting, all the problems in the North and the East are resolved', Wijeratne said.

LTTE FORMS POLITICAL PARTY

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the dominant Tamil militant group, has transformed its political wing into a political party, according to a press release issued on 21 December.

Named the People's Front of Liberation Tigers, the party has received official recognition by the Sri Lankan Election Commissioner. The LTTE's deputy leader, Mr. Mahendrarajah, known as Mahattaya, is the President of the new party and Mr. Yogarathnam Yogi will function as its General Secretary. The party is to have a red flag of rectangular shape with the Tiger emblem in the centre.

The new party has announced its aims and objectives comprising ten points.

At a press conference in Colombo on 20 December, LTTE's chief spokesman Anton Balasingham said that the LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran would continue to head the military wing which would also continue and not be disbanded considering the present 'concrete conditions'.

Explaining why the LTTE had formed a political party, Mr. Balasingham said 'we have renounced violence as a means to achieve political ends, and we are registering as a political party. This is a significant development'.

He reiterated that the LTTE was prepared to accept the provincial council structure as an 'interim arrangement', although considering it 'totally inadequate', and would contest the election.

But in an earlier interview, Balasingham said the group had asked the government to repeal the controversial Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, which required politicians and public servants to disavow separatism.

'The Constitution should not constrain us from articulating our ideology', he asserted.

But he did not say whether the new party had formally subscribed to the Sixth Amendment to Sri Lanka's Constitution which requires the eschewing of 'separatism' for recognition as a political party.

Asked if the LTTE had given up its demand for a separate Tamil state of Eelam, Balasingham said: 'It is not prudent for us to give up Eelam. The demand is there'.

Post-Election Talks

He said the LTTE would enter talks with the people of the north and east after the provincial election to find a permanent political solution to their problems.

He denied reports that the LTTE and the Sri Lankan army had jointly

attacked the so-called Tamil National Army, military wing of the rival Eelam People's Revolutionary Front, in the eastern Amparai and Batticaloa districts, but admitted that the Sri Lankan forces were aware of impending attacks.

'We have advised the Sri Lankan government not to allow its forces to launch offensive operations against the TNA, as that would be used for prolonging the stay of the IPKF in the island', he said. 'The police were told that the LTTE would do the job for them.'

'If there is an understanding between the Sri Lanka government and the LTTE after six months of painstaking talks, it can't be construed as diabolical'.

In answer to a question he denied that the 'Tigers are the cat's-paw of the government'.

While upholding the LTTE's right to arm its cadres, he rejected suggestions that the group enter a cease-fire agreement with the rival Tamil groups and the TNA, which he dubbed a 'proxy army of RAW (Research and Analysis Wing)', India's external intelligence outfit.

Mr. Balasingham said that the LTTE would continue to fight the TNA and said the Tigers 'were involved in a struggle to disarm the TNA' and they had already succeeded in Amparai and Batticaloa and said that the ceasefire that the LTTE had declared did not apply to the TNA.

Asked why he thought it proper that the LTTE should carry arms while the TNA could not, Mr. Balasingham said that it was not possible to equate the LTTE with the Tamil National Army. The LTTE had been in existence for 17 years and was recognised as a force fighting for national liberation. The TNA on the other hand had been hurriedly created and armed by India and was not a genuine force. Mr. Balasingham parried questions about the assistance that the LTTE had received from India in the form of arms and training in the pre-accord period, by saying that the LTTE had become a strong, self-sufficient force even before they received Indian support. Asked how long the LTTE intended to remain an armed force, Mr. Balasingham said that after the IPKF pulled out of Sri Lanka and once the TNA was disbanded, the LTTE would arrive at an agreement with the Sri Lankan Government under which the military wing can be transformed and assimilated into the security arrangements that would be made for the north and east.

He made clear that the issue of laying down arms was linked to the

safety and security of the Tamil-speaking people.

He warned that any attempt to forcibly disarm the Tigers would lead to disaster for the whole country.

According to the LTTE's press release, the aims and objectives of the party will be:

1. To fight for the social, political and economic emancipation of the Tamil and Muslim masses.
2. To fight against all forms of oppression, discrimination and exploitation of the Tamils and Muslims.
3. To fight for the right of self determination of the Tamils and Muslims.
4. To protect and preserve the geographical identity and integrity of the traditional homelands of the Tamils and Muslims.
5. To eliminate the oppressive caste system and work towards the establishment of an equalitarian social formation.
6. To fight and defend the rights and interests of all workers and peasants.
7. To work towards communal peace harmony and co-existence.
8. To fight against the oppression of women and support the struggle for women's liberation.
9. To fight for the defence of political freedoms and democratic rights of all the people of the island.
10. To support the world national liberation struggles against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The PFLT has embraced democratic socialism as its political and theoretical ideology. The Party holds the view that democratic ideals of liberty, equality, social justice and self determination are essential components of an authentic socialist system. The Party advocates a socialist political system based on democratic principles, an ideal political society that would enhance the material and spiritual development of human beings.

The People's Front of Liberation Tigers shall be constituted with the following structures.

1. Members.
2. People's Committees (Village Units)
3. Regional People's Committees (AGA Division Branches)
4. District People's Committees (District Branches)
5. Student Organisation
6. Women's Front
7. Trade Union's Federation
8. General Council
9. Politburo (Central Executive Committee)

Any person over 18 years of age who accepts the aims, objectives and the programme of the Party and is prepared to abide by the rules and regulations of the Party shall be eligible for membership of the Party.

The Party members shall be enrolled through the People's Committees or through the Political Commissar of the Region or District.

The Liberation Tigers are agreeable to multiparty democracy and they are ready for the Provincial Council elections which can be supervised by an International team of observers including journalists. All parties can contest and campaign in the poll freely. The newly formed PFLT will contest the elections under the Provincial Council framework only as an interim measure. After the elections, as the elected representatives of our people, the Liberation Tigers will negotiate with the Sri Lankan Government for the permanent resolution of the question of Tamil and Muslim people', the statement concluded.

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Sri Lanka loses count of thousands killed

COLOMBO, Dec 29 (PTI)

Sri Lanka saw so much violence during the year that it lost count of the thousands killed even though new executive President Ranasinghe Premadasa assumed office promising to restore peace through the cardinal policy of 'consultation, compromise and consensus'.

Instead of the three 'C's', the island nation of 16 million witnessed a fourth 'C', confrontation - between security forces and the extremists (both Sinhalese and Tamil), between IPKF and LTTE and among rival Tamil groups. Sri Lanka was also on a virtual 'confrontation' course for a while with India after an ultimatum by President Premadasa to India to take back all troops.

Starting with anti-Indian demonstrations demanding immediate withdrawal of the IPKF and abrogation of the July 1987 accord, a violent Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) campaign turned into an anti-government agitation demanding fresh presidential and parliamentary elections. The agitation snowballed into a transport strike that spread to government departments and hospitals.

Terming the November 1988 presidential and February 1989 parliamentary elections as 'a fraud on the public', the JVP went on with its violent campaign to dislodge the government forcing the authorities to reimpose emergency on June 30.

Five and a half years of emergency was enough and 'I hope we will never have to reintroduce it again', the President had asserted while withdrawing the emergency immediately after assuming office on January 2.

The emergency has since been extended by parliament on a monthly basis.

Despite offers of general amnesty and several rounds of unilateral ceasefire, President Premadasa failed to get the Sinhala extremist JVP to the negotiating table. The resultant confrontation saw many killings, both by the extremists and security forces, mostly in the Sinhala majority JVP strongholds of central and southern parts of the island.

The emergence of death squads of anti-JVP vigilante groups added a new dimension. Bullet-riddled bodies of suspected JVP activists and their supporters and sympathisers lying scattered on the roadside, often smouldering in a pile of used tyres, became a regular gruesome sight. The average daily death toll of 25 crossed on some days the 100 and occasionally the 200 mark. Most of these retaliatory killings generally followed the murder by JVP

of the family members of security force personnel.

The security operations succeeded towards the year end in eliminating almost all the top leaders of the militant organisation. JVP supremo Rohana Wijewera and his deputy Upatissa Gamanayake were captured and killed while in custody in early November and the official account of the circumstances created a lot of doubts. Left opposition and human rights activists said the two were eliminated by the security forces in a pre-planned manner. Most Lankans tend to believe them than the officials.

As the situation in the Sinhala majority areas worsened and mounting pressure came from the united opposition and the powerful Buddhist clergy, President Premadasa offered to consider amendment of the constitution and constitute an all-party interim government provided all political parties including the JVP agreed.

At one stage, he suggested a referendum to decide whether the executive presidency should be replaced by a parliamentary form of government with a prime minister responsible to parliament - a demand pressed by five major opposition parties.

Though the government's efforts to deal with the JVP were met only with limited success, its efforts with the Tamil militants were an unexpected success.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the dominant Tamil militant organisation, in a surprise move, accepted the offer of President Premadasa and came to the negotiating table in April.

Besides a ceasefire by the LTTE with Sri Lanka forces that was later extended to the IPKF on a reciprocal basis in September, the peace talks led to the militants converting their political unit into a full-fledged political party that has won recognition from the election commission.

This has cleared the deck for the LTTE to join mainstream politics.

While the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government say the TNA was trained and armed by the IPKF, India has categorically denied the allegation and Perumal has argued that the TNA was actually a name given by the Sri Lankan government to volunteers recruited and trained for absorption into the legally constituted Citizens Volunteer Force (CVF). The CVF was raised much before its recognition by the Sri Lankan government, Perumal said, complaining that the Colombo administration backed out of its commitment to raise the CVF strength to 7,000 from the recognised strength of 2000.

The LTTE has now offered to contest elections in the north-east expecting the Sri Lankan government to dissolve the present council led by the EPRLF, and the IPKF to completely withdraw before the elections.

The IPKF withdrawal issue continues to cause concern to the Lankan government as a section of the force still remains at the end of the year.

A sudden ultimatum by President Premadasa on June 1 to India to withdraw the IPKF before July 29 took not only India but members of his own cabinet by surprise and led to the brink of a major confrontation with India.

Hectic diplomatic activities in both the capitals ultimately saved the situation. On September 18, India declared that it would do its best to complete the IPKF withdrawal by December 31, while Sri Lanka reiterated it would take all steps to ensure safety and security of the people of the northeast and expedite devolution of powers to the provincial administration. The IPKF also announced a cessation of hostilities against the LTTE.

But the situation took a turn for the worse as rival Tamil groups fought to establish their supremacy in the areas vacated by the IPKF.

When a change in the government took place at Delhi following general elections, the Sri Lanka government was prompt in its attempt to establish rapport with the administration of Prime Minister V P Singh and rushed Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne to Delhi even before the new government could settle down.

The LTTE also expressed a similar desire. A round of discussions took place in Madras between the LTTE and Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi, acting at the behest of the Prime Minister, but a concrete outcome may take shape only in the new year.

THE INDIAN POST, Bombay,
Saturday, December 30, 1989

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Honouring a Heroine and Martyr

Reggie Siriwardena

(Reporting from Jaffna)

'She was a heroine of human rights', said Martin Ennals, speaking at the Rajani Thiraganama Commemoration Meeting in Jaffna, 'and is now a martyr'. The words didn't belong to the fulsome vocabulary of post-mortem eulogies; they were nothing more than the simple truth. Rajani was an extraordinary woman, and her role in Jaffna during the agonies of her people in the post-1987 period was proof of her enormous courage, total commitment and tireless activism in the human rights causes she served.

She chose to return to Jaffna after her academic training abroad, at a time when scholars and Professionals – not only from the North but also from the South – were flying away as plentifully as migrating birds. With her brilliant intellect and distinguished academic record, she could easily have found a comfortable nest in one of the cities of Europe or America, but these possibilities she rejected.

During the last two years she single-handedly ran the Department of Anatomy at the Jaffna University, and her students testify that they found her not only an inspiring teacher but also a warm friend, a trusted counsellor and a source of succour in times of distress. But her greatest service to the people of Jaffna, and indeed to the indivisible cause, of peace, democracy and human rights in Sri Lanka, was in the founding of UTHR (University Teachers for Human Rights), in which she was the Principal activist. UTHR retained its independence of all political parties and groups, of the IPKF and the Sri Lankan State. In its three reports so far issued as well as in the manuscript *The Broken Palmyrah* (still to be published), it has recorded impartially and objectively all violations of human rights, irrespective of whether they were committed by the IPKF or by militant groups.

This however, was only part of Rajani's activity in these years. She intervened personally on behalf of people who were victims of injustice, came to the help of women who had been raped or had lost a member of the family, strove to defend the rights of freedom of speech, writing and organisation, as well as the rights of women. Her vision was one that rose above fanatical and destructive nationalism and the reliance on coercive violence. What she worked towards was the restoration of free democratic life in Jaffna, based on the activity of the people. And it is for this that she died.

Six days before her death Rajani wrote in a letter: 'One day some gun

GARLAND FOR RAJANI

*You refused to eat the bounteous and bitter bread
of exile; returned to live with the hot breath
of death pursuing you, yet held your head high.
They shot you like a dog in the street, but that death
will be remembered as their shame, your pride.
I bring you no wreath, flowers as for a bride.*

R.S.

will silence me. And it will not be held by an outsider, but by a son – born in the womb of this very society – from a woman with whom my history is shared'. Running away was alien to her nature, but what must have sustained her in this premonition of her death was the knowledge that she had built a consciousness and a nucleus of people which would live after her, perhaps that her very blood would fertilise the social movement she had begun.

'And so it proved – in the impressive two-day commemoration and peace march organised for the 60th day of her death by UTHR and the Jaffna University Students Union. 'MADAM'S VALUES ARE NOT DEAD' said one of the placards carried on the march, 'THEY LIVE ON IN THE HEARTS OF HER STUDENTS'. Over 600 people – students, university teachers and representatives from the south – attended the seminar on human rights and the commemoration meetings on the two days. The international esteem and respect that Rajani had won for her work was signified by the presence of several distinguished human rights and women's rights activists – British, Dutch, Tanzanian, Indian and Pakistani. One of them, Nighat Khan from Pakistan, proposed the appointment of an independent three-member team from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to investigate the killing, and the commemoration meeting endorsed the proposal

PEACE MARCH

The peace march through the city was a moving experience in a city that had not known such an independent mobilisation for many years. The posters plastered on the city walls and the placards (in three languages) carried on the march testified to the firm commitment of the participants to people's rights and against violence. 'NO HUMAN RIGHTS, NO LIBERATION'; 'STOP ALL POLITICAL KILLINGS'; said some of them. Others – in a newspaper-less city where papers, both Jaffna and Colombo-produced, had

been banned by different groups, appealed for the freedom of the press. Some posters and placards forthrightly condemned the practice of violence ('BARBARISM STRIKES AGAIN!'; 'MURDERERS, HANDS OFF THE UNIVERSITY!'); others sought to reason with those who resorted to it. I was particularly struck by one pasted on a city wall whose deviation from the Queen's English testified to its authenticity as a student utterance. It read: 'DEAR OUR MILITANT BROTHERS; WE SALUTE TO YOUR SACRIFICE, BUT WE DISAGREE WITH YOUR METHODS, WHICH IS DESTROYING BOTH YOURSELVES AND US. PLEASE THINK CONSTRUCTIVELY'.

I came away from Jaffna with only one regret – that there was nobody from the southern campuses among the twenty-odd people who travelled up there. If they had come, they could at least, like the rest of us, have learnt something. Would such initiative and such courage have been possible on any campus in the south two months after the killing of a member of university community?

Continued From Page 5

The only way now for the dissolution of the North-East Council is for Chief Minister Varatharajah Perumal to be persuaded to recommend to the Governor that the Council be dissolved. Although the Chief Minister did, a few months back, offer to dissolve the Council to accommodate the LTTE, it seems quite unlikely now in view of the armed conflict between the groups. Once again it will be India who will be called upon to mediate between the groups, since the Colombo government's efforts so far have failed.

Although the LTTE has committed itself to a multi-party democracy in the region, there are serious doubts whether that kind of scenario is possible now, given the reality on the ground that the LTTE holds the whip hand.

The people – Sinhalese and Tamils – yearn for peace, but prospects are quite uncertain for 1990.

ALL POLITICAL ACTIVITY BANNED IN VARSITIES

All political activities, rallies, meetings and demonstrations have been banned within the premises of all universities in Sri Lanka when they are reopened. This is one of the ten conditions laid down by the Defence Ministry for the reopening of universities.

Police will be empowered to enter any university premises and to arrest any student without the authority of the Vice-Chancellor contrary to the previous practice which required prior permission to be obtained before any police entry into the universities.

Another condition stipulated that no outsiders should be permitted in the University premises without authority and any presence of outsiders should be brought to the notice of the authorities.

All students who return on reopening of universities are to be issued with new identity cards.

The Inter-University Students Federation condemned the conditions as 'the latest conspiracy against the students delivered in the wrapping of reopening'. 'These repressive and slavish conditions alias military rule is the death knell of freedom of thought, expression and speech that is a basic ingredient not only of academic freedom but also of democracy'.

The Federation of University Teachers Association (FUTA), at a joint meeting held with the Minister of Higher Education, the University Grants Commission and the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities, asserted that several conditions laid down for the reopening of the Universities could lead to provocative situations resulting in the disruption of university education once again.

IPKF EXPEDITES WITHDRAWAL

The Indian Peace Keeping Force has effected total withdrawal from six of the eight districts they were occupying since July 1987, and they are Amparai, Batticaloa, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi districts.

The two remaining districts are Jaffna and Trincomalee. Recent reports indicate that even in these districts, the IPKF have already vacated from most of their outlying camps. In the Jaffna district, their presence is limited to the Jaffna city itself and the majority of them are in the Jaffna Fort. They had even vacated the Government Agent's Residency which was used as the IPKF Head Quarters. Reports also indicate that the IPKF is no longer engaged in any routine operations.

Even in the Trincomalee district, the IPKF presence is concentrated within a few miles radius of the city itself.

LTTE sources confirm that considerable numbers of men and enormous quantities of military hardware are being hurriedly despatched to the ports of Kankesanthurai in the North and Trincomalee in the east. Indications are that efforts are being made to effect total withdrawal before the 31 March deadline set by the new government in Delhi.

MUSLIMS WANT 33% POWER SHARING

Leaders of many organisations representing the Muslim community have told the Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology, A.C.S Hameed, who met them on behalf of the government, that they were not prepared to accept a North-East merger under one Provincial Council under the present set-up but were willing to consider it under one that provided legislative guarantee of 33% power sharing in the Eastern Province for the Muslim community.

Among the organisations which have been holding discussions, which took place on December 24 and 28, with Mr. Hameed were the SLFP, UNP, SLMC, DWC, Muslims United Liberation Front (MULF), All Ceylon Muslim League, Council of Muslims of Sri Lanka, EROS and ENDLF. The representatives of these organisations also had discussions with M.H. Mohamed, the Speaker of the Parliament.

These organisations are reported to have already set up a Land Matters Committee and additional Committees covering education, employment and finance are expected to be set up shortly to formulate concrete proposals to be submitted to the government on behalf of the Muslim community.

WORLD BANK CRITICAL OF JANASAVIYA PROJECT

President Premadasa's much publicised 'poverty alleviation programme', known as Janasaviya, and the school mid-day programme have come under criticism in a report by the World Bank. The report regarded the Janasaviya programme as being 'not an effective anti-poverty programme because it was poorly targeted; it did not address the long term causes of poverty and finally it was too costly'.

As for the mid-day meal programme, it says that this programme failed to reach the population which is most nutritionally at risk, i.e. pre-school children.

As an alternative to the JSP, the World Bank has suggested that in the

future it would be 'probably desirable not to discontinue the National Food Stamp Programme, but to improve its targeting'.

In view of the criticism, the government decided to contain the overall expenditure on Janasaviya, National Food Stamps and School mid-day meal to no more than 3.5 per cent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

'The decisions, together with the new tax revenue measure envisaged in 1989 and 1990 ... should allow a gradual reduction in the fiscal deficit to 10.4 per cent of GDP in 1990, nine per cent in 1991 and eight per cent in 1992', the Bank predicted.

The government's decision to restructure the JSP 'has avoided the numerous budgetary and economic pressures, as well as the social tensions, that the large scale implementation of the JSP would have inevitably brought about', the WB report said.

MP'S WIFE & SON ABDUCTED & RELEASED

Mr. Sam Thambimuttu, TULF MP for Batticaloa District, has written to President Premadasa complaining about the raid on his Batticaloa residence in the course of which his wife and son were abducted allegedly by a group of LTTE men after they had shot dead four bodyguards.

Mr. Thambimuttu said that a 30 member LTTE gang which stormed his house on 12 December had assaulted his wife and son in the course of kidnapping them. They had also damaged household goods and removed cash, jewellery and other valuables amounting to over Rs.400,000. A part of the jewellery robbed had been returned to his wife at the time she was set free two days later.

'I have protested to the President against the LTTE which entered the house of a Member of Parliament with impunity and made an attempt (as admitted by them) to remove weapons issued by the government of Sri Lanka', he added.

According to a report in the Sri Lanka English language daily, THE ISLAND, of 10 January, a foreign envoy of a European country was instrumental in getting Mrs. Thambimuttu and her son released on 14 December. The foreign envoy had informed the LTTE's accredited spokesman, Dr. A. Balasingham that counter-measure would be taken against the LTTE establishment in Europe unless they released Mrs. Thambimuttu and her son without conditions. It was not the Sri Lankan government that got them released. On the day of their release they were hosted to a party by the High Commissioner responsible for their release.

NEWS ROUND-UP

- **MANY MEMBERS** of the Tamil National Army sponsored by the EPRLF and its allies are said to have deserted and found their way to Colombo from the North-East after either throwing away or selling their weapons. At a press conference in Colombo on 20 December, the Secretary of the PFLT, the political wing of the LTTE said that the LTTE would keep all weapons they had captured from the TNA and they would not be handed over to the government.
- **MORE THAN 170** young men were killed during the night of 20/21 December and their bodies were found on the following morning dumped on roadsides in Sri Lanka's southern district of Hambantota. Most of the victims had been shot and their bodies placed on burning motor vehicle tyres. The killings have been attributed to the security forces and pro-government vigilante groups.
- **FOREIGN AFFAIRS** Minister and State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne told Parliament on 22 December that, according to intelligence reports, the JVP had drawn up plans to kidnap and murder politicians of the government and the opposition including the SLFP, LSSP, SLMP, NSSP and CP.
- **PRO-GOVERNMENT** vigilantes shot dead 19 members of two families in Sri Lanka's central province on 21 December allegedly in retaliation to the killing of a policeman three days earlier. After killing the 19, their homes were then set on fire with the bodies inside.
- **AN LTTE DELEGATION** headed by Anton Balasingham had a round of talks on 21 December with President Premadasa which concerned the LTTE team's visit to Madras and their discussions with Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi.
- **FORTY-FIVE MEN** of the Tamil National Army who were retreating after a three-day fierce battle with the LTTE were killed on 25 December at Aralagamwila in the Polonnaruwa district; 176 others surrendered with their weapons to the Singha Regiment camped at Aralagamwila, and the captured weapons included 89 T-56 assault rifles, four Chinese light machine guns, 20 hand grenades and over 10,000 rounds of T-56 ammunition.
- **SRI LANKAN** troops have moved into several camps vacated by the departing personnel of the IPKF in the Vavuniya sector. The withdrawal from this sector was completed on 30 December and State Minister for Defence Ranjan Wijeratne flew to Vavuniya, Kilinochchi and Elephant Pass with top officers of the Sri Lankan army to review security arrangements following the IPKF withdrawal.
- **TWENTY EMPLOYEES** including private security personnel attached to the Colombo University were arrested on 30 December allegedly for painting slogans on university walls defamatory of government leaders.
- **FOUR LEADERS** of the military wing of the JVP in the north western province were captured by police in a late night swoop on 30 December from a hospital quarters in Kuliapitiya. The four have been identified as Dissanayake alias Tissa Wijesundera, G. Wijesundera alias Pathirana, H.M. Chandradasa and U. Dissanayake, a second year medical student. A quantity of weapons and ammunition were also captured.
- **PEOPLES LIBERATION** Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOT) in a letter to the Minister of Information has sought time on state television and radio to express its views in the same manner as the LTTE was afforded the opportunity recently.
- **TWO YOUTHS** were beheaded by suspected pro-government death squads at Naihothpana on the Kandy-Kurunegala Road on 30 December. They were among over twenty persons killed by death squads in other parts of the country. Over ten smouldering bodies of males were found

at Gonapinuwela in the south of the island while some more bodies were found at Siyablape in the Kelaniya area. During the night of 31 December, the heads of three persons were chopped off and their house was set on fire with the bodies inside at Kerala in Moneragala; the victims have been identified as Dhammika Ratnayake, Prasanna Manamendra and their grandmother 72 year old Podi Menike. Meanwhile 'subversives' set fire to a state-run bus at Godagana.

- **SOLDIERS RAIDED** an alleged JVP hideout in the jungles of Kandy district on 1 January and killed at least 16 persons and recovered some arms and ammunition. At Elahera in the neighbouring Matale district several smouldering bodies were found on 2 December; they had been killed by pro-government vigilantes. Several burning bodies were seen on the streets at Middeniya and Beliatta in the deep south. A gang walked into the offices of the Rubber Control Department in Galle during office hours and beheaded a woman worker.
- **HEAVILY ARMED** cadres of the ENDLF, a Tamil militant group, visited the party headquarters of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress and ordered the party's assistant Secretary R.E. Anandarajah to vacate the premises threatening reprisals if he did not do so, the leader of the TC Kumar Ponnambalam said on 3 January.
- **OVER ONE HUNDRED** Tamil militants died and many more were wounded in fierce armed clashes between the LTTE and PLOT at Chettikulam in the Vavuniya district. The clashes commenced on 1 January when a contingent of the LTTE attacked PLOT positions in the area. PLOT had over a period established itself securely in the area and the effort on the part of the LTTE was to dislodge the PLOT from there. After three or four days of fierce fighting and severe casualties on both sides, LTTE claimed that it had routed the PLOT. But the PLOT claimed that the LTTE had received operational support from Sri Lankan security forces in the attack.
- **SRI LANKAN** Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne left for New Delhi on 4 January to have talks with his counter-part of India, Inder Kumar Gujral in an effort to expedite the total withdrawal of the IPKF before the deadline of March 31 unilaterally set by the Indian government.
- **SEVERAL OPPOSITION** parties have placed a no-confidence motion before parliament against the government accusing it of having failed to discharge its primary duty of giving the country peace, order and good government; of having acted in defiance of the fundamental rights of the people and the Rule of Law; of having deliberately permitted and encouraged illegal para-military organisations to kidnap, abduct, torture and murder citizens and to commit other offences; of deliberately permitting or causing the rate of inflation to go up and of allowing the cost of living to spiral to unprecedented heights; of increasing poverty by removing existing subsidies on essential food-stuffs and causing retrenchment in the public sector; of failing to stem corruption in public life; and of discriminating against political opponents while according favoured treatment to supporters of the ruling United National Party.
- **TWO LEADING** members of the LTTE were shot dead by the IPKF on 3 January at Chavakaccheri in Jaffna. The victims were identified as Capt. Nadesan and Lt. Babu. The LTTE in a statement claimed that a large number of youths forcibly conscripted to the Tamil National Army had deserted and sought refuge in India and that over a thousand conscripted students had surrendered to the LTTE.
- **POLICE IN** search operations in Banawalikana in the Kandy area shot and killed 16 alleged 'subversives' and recovered a quantity of weapons and ammunition on 4 January. In Badulla five Buddhist monks were arrested for suspected 'subversive activities'. In the Rambadagalle police area, security forces raided an alleged 'subversive

hideout' at Navgalakanda in the course of which they shot dead three persons described as 'subversives'. Two other alleged 'subversives' were killed at Ranna in the Ratnapura district. On the same day, in continuing nighttime 'anti-subversive' operations 85 persons were arrested in the Ahangama police area. In similar operations at Kalegama in Galle and at Tangalle over 160 persons were taken into custody. Two student Buddhist monks, identified as Ven. Polgaswatte Pemananda and Ven. Kokmaduwa Indrajothi both of Heenetigala Vidyakeerthi Pirivena were abducted by armed men from a temple in the Habaraduwa.

● **TWO ARMY OFFICERS** and a civilian produced under Emergency Regulations for extortion of two million rupees from a wealthy businessman were remanded to custody by the Colombo Additional Magistrate on 5 January. The suspects who posed as members of the Deshapremi Janatha Viyaparaya (DJV), the military wing of the JVP, had contacted the complainant businessman W.P.G. Stanley de Silva of Ward Place, Colombo and demanded the money. Later two of the suspects had called over at the businessman's residence on a motor cycle and collected the two million rupees in cash. They were injured in a police ambush, but managed to escape. However they were apprehended later while still undergoing treatment for gunshot injuries sustained by them during the police ambush.

● **ALMOST 12,000** people were killed in violence throughout the country during 1989, according to statistics compiled by the security forces. The month of August saw violence reach a peak with about 1435 killings reported. On the first of January 1990, 52 violence-related deaths were reported.

● **ARMY COMMANDER** Lt. General Hamilton Wanasinghe has proposed to the government to take back all arms and ammunition issued to various political parties. This follows several disclosures of some weapons issued to various politicians had been used in criminal activities including murders. Gen. Wanasinghe revealed that 1500 soldiers were trained to give security cover to politicians. Most of them have been deployed to protect ruling party politicians. Some of the opposition parties have been allocated weapons which are used by security guards employed to protect leading members of those parties.

● **ALL POLICE** officers in the country have been instructed by the Inspector General of Police to identify themselves before conducting any search operation in a house, and accordingly members of the public would be able to request any police officer to identify himself before entering a house to search or arrest any inmate.

● **THE UNIVERSITIES** of Peradeniya and Moratuwa reopened on 8 January and those of Kelaniya, Colombo and Jayawardanepura reopened on 11 January. All the universities in the country, except those in the North-Eastern province had remained closed for more than a year due to unrest and violence. Reports indicated that attendance on the first day of reopening was below twenty per cent, but was expected to improve.

● **THE POLICE** in the southern city of Galle took into custody 137 persons in a sweep of the entire Galle district. Four smouldering bodies were found at Bandattara in Matara on 8 January; motor vehicle tyres had been used to burn the bodies - a common method adopted by the security forces and pro-government death squads. Eight bodies of young males were seen floating in the Nilwala Ganga at Wellatota on 7 January. On the same day the charred remains of six more bodies were seen at Akurugoda.

● **THE CHIEF MINISTER** of the North-East Provincial Council, A. Varatharaja Perumal left for Madras on 8 January to 'persuade the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi to unite all Tamil militant groups in the interests of the Tamil speaking people. He stated that he would make use of his visit to India to explain to the new Indian Prime Minister V. P. Singh the obligations of the Indian Government under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

● **THE SLFP LEADER** Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a commemorative meeting on January 8 to mark the 91st birth anniversary of the late S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike accused the government of supplying arms to the LTTE in order to destroy its rivals. Dr. Balasingham who is not a Sri Lankan citizen had been provided with STF security at the Colombo Hilton International Hotel. He was given vehicles and even helicopters to travel. The LTTE had not given up its demand for Eelam and its insignia was still the Tiger, Mrs. Bandaranaike said. She also charged the government of killing thousands of SLFP supporters by claiming that they were members of the JVP.

LANKAN TAMILS IN SHOOT-OUT

MADRAS (PTI). Five persons, three of them policemen, suffered bullet injuries while nabbing a group of Sri Lankan Tamils who were fleeing after committing a dacoity in Salem town

Tamil Nadu director general of police P. Dorai told reporters that three Lankan Tamils were arrested and an AK-47 rifle and a pistol with American markings seized from the culprits, who were in the age group 25 to 30. A special police team from Madras left for Salem for further investigation.

Giving details, Dorai said five persons stated to be from Sri Lanka went on three motorcycles to the house of one Natarajalingam, also a Sri Lankan Tamil, settled in Salem. They demanded Rs. one lakh, threatening the occupants with firearms. They then got away in a car belonging to Natarajalingam with a typewriter and a two-

in-one.

Dorai said all the border police stations in the district were then alerted.

40 KILLED, SLTB BUSES BURNT IN RENEWED VIOLENCE

COLOMBO, Dec. 11, (Reuter) - Left-wing Sinhalese rebels killed about 40 people and set fire to buses and government offices in a sudden outbreak of violence across Sri Lanka, military sources said yesterday.

The attacks occurred on Sunday in southern, western and central areas.

The sources said two railway engines, 20 other government vehicles and eight bulldozers were burned.

Four small railway stations, a bus depot, two tile and phosphate factories and post office were among buildings damaged.

Among the victims, most of whom were killed in separate attacks, were

families of security personnel and relatives of politicians.

The leftwing People's Liberation Front (JVP), fighting to overthrow the government, was blamed for the attacks.

In other violence, two Buddhist monks were killed and dumped on the road in central Kandy district and the bodies of four other people were set afire in the same area.

Kandy residents blamed pro-government vigilantes, hunting JVP rebels, for the attacks.

Military sources said JVP attacks had eased after front leader Rohana Wijeweera and other top rebels were killed last month.

'Yesterday's attacks come at a time when we want to thin out troops in the rebel's southern strongholds', an officer said.

He said it was possible that the attacks were a ploy to prevent Sri Lankan reinforcements being sent to the north and east where Indian troops are withdrawing.

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THE TAMIL STRUGGLE: *This Is No Time To Fall Behind*

'In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was weeping bitterly by a grave. The Master pressed forward and drove quickly to her; then he sent Tze-lu to question her. "Your wailing", said he, "is that of one who has suffered sorrow on sorrow". She replied: "That is so. Once my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed, and now my son has died in the same way". The Master said, "Why do you not leave the place?" The answer was, "There is no oppressive government here". The Master then said, "Remember this, my children: oppressive government is more terrible than tigers".'

— quoted by Bertrand Russell in his book
POWER

* * *

S. Sivanayagam

Both these quotations, selected from two disparate sources, divided in time by centuries, one from the wisdom of the ancient Chinese four centuries before Christ, the other from a book dealing with present-day nuclear terror, bring of course as a focal point of interest (and in a symbolic way) the four-footed animal known as the tiger. A dictionary defines this quadruped as 'a type of very large fierce wild cat that has yellowish fur with black bands across, and lives in Asia'. A figurative description of the word 'tiger' is given as 'a person like such an animal in fierceness, courage, etc.' In a derogatory sense, 'an enemy which wishes to seem powerful, but is really not so' is defined as a 'paper tiger'. The expression 'to ride the tiger' is explained as living 'in a very uncertain or dangerous way'.

Well, these are matters of semantics; but semantics has become important in today's world for the resolving of conflicts, for the signing of treaties and communiques, for the reaching of understanding between governments and warring parties. Take for example the word 'de-induction' of the IPKF, used in the Indo-Sri Lanka communique of September last. It is meant to be the antonym of 'induction', but where did the word spring from? If it is in any dictionary, I have yet to discover it (maybe some reader could help), but why that involved coinage? The word 'withdrawal' of the IPKF would have been the common sense description, but that could connote an army. Since the image of the IPKF as a peace-keeping force had to be maintained, this interesting exercise in semantics was found necessary by some Indian bureaucrat. Once when a TV interviewer in India referred to the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987 as an 'accord', the then Minister of State for External Affairs Mr. Natwar Singh corrected him. 'An Agreement, not an Accord', he said. Maybe there is some

nuance involved in it which ordinary mortals like us miss. Which reminds me of an old story about the British Parliament where the two traditional political rivals, Gladstone and Disraeli were involved in a verbal exchange. When Disraeli kept using the two words 'disaster' and 'calamity' in the course of his speech, he was heckled by a spokesman from the Government benches who demanded to know the difference between the two. 'Well, Mr. Speaker', said Disraeli, 'if Mr. Gladstone were to fall into the Thames, it would be a disaster. But if somebody were to pull him out, that would be a calamity!'

Semantics apart, the political state of mind of all Tamils today, whether in Sri Lanka or Tamil Nadu, or in London, New York, Boston, California, Washington, Toronto, Scarborough, or in Paris, Berne, Amsterdam or Stuttgart, or Oslo, or Melbourne, Sydney, Auckland, has been so conditioned that the very mention of the word 'tiger' brings into mind not the noble four-legged species which has existed for centuries in the jungle, but the Liberation Tiger of Tamil Eelam. I thought it would be fascinating to jerk our minds to the real thing, and hence the above two quotations. But of course, there is more to it than that. It depends on the deductions we draw from these two quotations, provided we arrive at the right ones.

That the LTTE has dominated the Tamil scene, and Tamil consciousness for a decade is beyond question. The acceptance of that fact should not be a matter of controversy. Even those who oppose the LTTE, or dislike it for some reason or other, should concede that with grace, because it is an objective truth. As to how the LTTE managed to achieve that distinction is a subjective issue, depending on each person's point of view. A critic of the LTTE might well say: 'Even the bad Hitler dominated German life and the German con-

'... The tiger kills in accordance with its nature. Humans did, too, when they were in a palaeolithic stage of development. Killing in the hunt was no act of violence then, but self-expression appropriate to that stage. Historical kinds of killing, however, began to break with this pattern when the state arose as the means of organizing death. Killing under the aegis of the State violates nature, and becomes more violent as history becomes more technological. . . There are no enemies, strictly speaking, in the state of nature. The tiger does not remember or generalize; it does not kill for revenge, or out of principle, through delegated, deluded, and dehumanized troops. And certainly not by pushing buttons. It defends territory but not a way of life. Violence is the historical context of aggression. It kills abstractly and for a higher purpose. . .'

— Joe Kovel in his book
AGAINST THE STATE OF NUCLEAR TERROR
— *Crucible: Science in Society, A Channel Four Book*
(1983)

sciousness for twelve tempestuous years, so what? True. But there is a vital difference. Hitler was able to achieve that dominance through the exercise of *State power*, and that was what enabled him to send six million Jews to the gas chambers. The now unlamented, deposed, and executed Romanian despot Ceausescu with his wife, son, and 50 close relatives was able to lord it over 23 million Romanians for an unbelievable period of 24 years with the help of fascist thugs of the communist variety because he had *State power* in his hands. Even a tin-god tyrant when clothed in authority can gain the status of a respected head of state — so respected that even the Queen of England had thought it fit to make an oppressor like Ceausescu an honorary knight; and Her Majesty had to wait till the Romanian people pulled him down from his pedestal before she would strip him of his knighthood. The case of ex-President Jayewardene was no different except in degree and shade; it was *State power* and all the arrogance that goes with it that made him thrive for eleven years at the cost of several thousands of Tamil lives — not to mention the lives of thousands of his own Sinhala constituents. Interestingly, all these dictators grabbed power through 'democratic elections'. In contrast to all these examples, the pre-eminence of the LTTE these past few years had not only nothing to do with *State power*; on the contrary it was achieved in the face of *State power* used against it, not by one government but by two governments. More specifically, the pre-eminence was attained by *fighting State power*! Is that not an achievement, that cannot be disregarded by anyone who is able to think detachedly? But why is it, that of all people, some Eelam Tamils themselves are unable to digest this truth?

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These prefatory remarks are occasioned by the 'Changing scenario in the North-East' (TT: 15 Oct. '89) now changing rapidly since then – particularly with the advent of the National Front government in India. The ground situation in the North-East is undergoing a transformation. Attitudes are changing. Indo-Sri Lankan relations are entering a new phase. The LTTE is moving towards mainstream politics. A new political party, the People's Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT) has been given constitutional recognition. The IPKF has been completely 'de-inducted' from six of the eight districts in the North-East – Amparai, Batticaloa, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, leaving the IPKF presence only in the two districts covering the exit points, Trincomalee and Jaffna. The Citizens Volunteer Force (CVF) and the so-called Tamil National Army (TNA) are losing ground wherever the IPKF has been withdrawing. Teenage Tamil youths conscripted forcibly are either being sent to slaughter or are surrendering. I am told that in the very first week of December '89, at least 200 Tamil youths had landed at Amsterdam airport with false passports and visas, having each paid Rs. 1 lakh and twenty thousand in Sri Lankan rupees in their act of fleeing, not from the oppression of any government or armed forces, but from what they had told the Dutch officials, from the 'drunken devilry' (they used the Tamil word 'veriatam') of 'our own groups' – not a happy advertisement to the entire Tamil cause! Adding to the dismal picture are bands of other youths crossing over to Tamil Nadu, complete with weapons, and beginning to create law and order problems on Indian soil. In the North-East itself, the collapse of the Provincial Council appears imminent; Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Mr. Karunanidhi was himself unable to say until the last day of the year whether Mr. Varadaraja Perumal was arriving for talks (as was publicised in the Indian media) or not. The EPRLF-ENDLF-TELO-PLOT combination acting in concert under the name of the Tamil National Council appears even at this point of time, to be determined to offer a last-ditch stand, with no hope now of receiving either open or secret support from the new Indian government or its Intelligence agencies. The National Front Government is moving towards a more open policy. The roles of the bureaucracy and the Intelligence services are being whittled down gradually. Unlike in the earlier set-up in Delhi, the present government contains at least three Cabinet Ministers who had come to office with intimate knowledge of the Eelam Tamil question – Mr. George Fernandes, Mr. P. Uppendra and Mr. K.P. Unnikrishnan.

In many respects, the writing on the wall is getting clearer and clearer, even if the myopia on the part of some Tamils is getting worse, and worse. When events are moving towards a crescendo, when the solutions to problems are beginning to rest more and more in Tamil hands, away from the earlier grasp of two governments, the Sri Lankan and the Indian, it is the lack of a consensual honest thinking among the Tamils themselves that is now threatening to drag the problems further.

What is the possible scenario that is likely to evolve in the next three months of the New Year? Whether governments or militant groups, their future hopes depend on responding to ground situations and the mood of the now voiceless people. It should be obvious to them by now, that vast sections of the population in Sri Lanka, whether Tamils or Sinhalese, are growing sick of 'gun culture', irrespective of who wields the guns. It is clear that the LTTE is responding to the popular mood. Some of the statements made by LTTE spokesman Anton Balasingam at the Press Conference in Colombo on December 20 are very significant. 'We have renounced violence as a means to achieve political ends', but 'would continue as a military organisation to protect the Tamil people', he said. 'We are for a multi-party polity, and we will allow every party to contest freely... let our people decide'. The ceasefire that the LTTE had declared did not apply to the 'Tamil National Army' (TNA) because it was a 'phoney army' created by the IPKF and the RAW. The LTTE was in the process of disarming the TNA but however 'the LTTE did not want the Sri Lankan army or police involved in any attacks on any of the Tamil groups. We had discussions with the President and the army commander, and advised the Sri Lankan government not to allow the Sri Lankan forces into action against any of the groups'. Asked if the LTTE had given up its demand for a separate Tamil state of Eelam, Mr. Balasingam said: 'It is not prudent for us to give up Eelam. The demand is there'. Though totally inadequate, the LTTE was prepared to accept the provincial council structure as an 'interim arrangement' and contest the election. (THE HINDU: 21 Dec. '89). Except for a few who might debunk the whole thing from a frozen anti-LTTE attitude, others can read in the statements made, the clues to the unfolding of the future scenario. These remarks also indicate that barring entrenched positions by the LTTE and any Sri Lankan government on the question of Tamil Eelam, a close understanding has been forged between the two parties on the nature of the political process in the immediate future, and Sinhala-Tamil relations in general. It must be remembered that

as early as November 20, President Premadasa had told the Government Parliamentary group that while the Sri Lankan forces could easily launch an all-out war against the 'illegal Tamil National Army', that would not be prudent because 'it will be construed by interested parties as an attack on the Tamils so as to justify the presence of the IPKF in the East'.

None of the current developments should anyway startle anyone who had read the trends carefully over the past one year; they represent the logical outcome of the various acts of foresight, or the lack of it, on the part of the four contending parties that were shaping events in the North-East: the Delhi 'dispensation', the Premadasa government, the LTTE, and the surrogate anti-LTTE groups. Once the LTTE and the Premadasa government agreed on a mutual ceasefire, the bottom fell out of the explanation given to the Tamil people to justify the presence of a 'peace-keeping force'. The legal sophistry that the IPKF was there under a bilateral agreement which cannot be revoked unilaterally could not be sustained in the light of the agreed position that the IPKF was there at the will and pleasure of the head of state in Colombo. The argument that the IPKF was called in to disarm the Tamil militant groups as per the agreement could not hold water in the face of its known failure over a period of two years. The Colombo communique of September '89 by which the Rajiv Gandhi government committed itself to the 'de-induction' of the IPKF was therefore not an act of good grace on its part. Circumstances compelled the commitment, caused by its own lack of wisdom or foresight. If the LTTE and the Premadasa government got together in a joint act, that again was the logical culmination of the personal pique displayed by the ex-Indian Prime Minister and the intransigence of his advisers in refusing to talk to the LTTE except on condition that the group laid down its arms first. If it was possible for a Colombo government – the proclaimed enemy of the Tamils – to carry on a friendly dialogue without preconditions, with a group that it had sought to crush, why was it not thought possible that India – the proclaimed 'friend' of the Tamils – could not do the same? What we are about to witness is a gradual reversal of the situation, with a new government in Delhi trying to shake off the hangovers of its predecessor.

It is now unofficially known that the National Front government in expressing difficulty in taking back the weapons that the IPKF and RAW had surreptitiously given the surrogate groups, had given orders however that no new supplies be given. It is explained that the IPKF is in the process

'Conspiracy To Set Up Dictatorship'

MRS BANDARANAIKE ALLEGES

Opposition Leader Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike raising a matter of public importance in Parliament on 12 January said that there was a conspiracy against the democratic opposition in Sri Lanka which, if not thwarted would pave the way for a one party dictatorial state. She added that she was making the disclosure with full responsibility.

Mrs. Bandaranaike said that this matter affected the democratic structure of Sri Lanka which is based on the multi-party system. It was a matter both of national and international interest, especially when we see the developments in Eastern Europe, where the framework of one party system was being dismantled.

The Opposition Leader further observed 'You may recall the statement made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the State Minister for Defence Ranjan Wijeratne soon after the arrest and subsequent death of the JVP leadership, that the match is over.

'The reality is far from it. In the weeks that followed we witnessed the continuation of the bloody murders and mayhem committed both by the subversives as well as government sponsored hit squads. The SLFP is committed to democracy and does not in any way condone these murderous acts, irrespective of which quarter they come from.

'It is no secret that politically backed para-military hit squads continue to abduct and murder youth through the length and breadth of our country. In the guise of combatting subversion thousands of SLFP members had been arrested, abducted or murdered by these killer squads. Notwithstanding assurances by the government that these hit squads would be brought to book, so far not a single person of these death squads had been brought to trial.

'We know for a fact that the majority of security forces and police personnel have had nothing to do with these gruesome acts. On the contrary they too view these dastardly acts with horror but are constrained due to political patronage enjoyed by the hit squads.

'It is my duty to tell this house of the information that has been brought to my notice with regard to the conspiracy which has been confirmed by persons in high authority and put beyond reasonable doubt by the events that are taking place in the country.

'A group of individuals had been trained in pistol firing at the Ganemulla Army Camp and they have been given instructions to eliminate opposition party cadres, polling agents, fami-

ly members and close associates of Members of Parliament. These killer groups have completed their training and have been deployed in different districts to carry out the task assigned to them.



Mrs Bandaranaike

'Prior to their deployment these killer groups have been provided with false army identity cards. They were also instructed to contact UNP Provincial Council members to obtain the names of opposition polling agents and destroy them. Certain lists of persons to be killed had been given to these killer squads. These squads have also been put in contact with the coordinating officers of the various districts.

'The COs have been given special orders from a high ranking officer at Army Headquarters to cooperate fully with these groups and ask no questions. This is the information I received.

'In this context I wish to draw your attention to a statement issued by Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne on December 22. I quote relevant extracts from his statement in the Hansard of December 22. "In the course of questioning subversive elements taken into custody in the recent past a new picture has emerged. Since the success in getting at the top rungs of JVP leadership and their close associates, the remaining cadres who are leaderless and in a state of disarray have resorted to new tactics. The latest strategy appeared to be: (a) to kidnap politicians of both sides - government and opposition and members of their families and to make impossible demands for their release, (b) to kill innocent citizens who had stood up for democracy, (c) to canvass international opinion including bilateral and multi-lateral donors, to prevent aid flow into Sri Lanka (d) to infiltrate political parties and trade unions.

"The bodies of persons killed by subversives are being dragged on to the roadside and exhibited. In doing so the objective appears to be three-fold.

(a) to apportion blame on the services for such gruesome murders, (b) to frighten the people so that the reign of terror can be reintroduced, (c) to give an opportunity to anti-government elements to make capital out of the situation through the international media's human rights organisation".

Mrs Bandaranaike said that in the light of the information that is before her no question arises whether the government is trying to draw a red herring over its plans for eliminating political opponents.

The Opposition Leader said 'We also believe that this conspiracy is aimed at crippling opposition political activity at grassroot level to ensure that the opposition will not be in a position to conduct any form of effective election campaign in the near future.

'Since last month or so several witnesses in my election petition including a Buddhist priest had been abducted, others had been threatened. Some are now reluctant to come forward to give evidence. My only witness at Kamburupitiya had been severely assaulted. He has now gone into hiding through fear. He was my only witness in Kamburupitiya. Some witnesses are missing.

'Finally I earnestly appeal in the name of democracy and justice to all service and police personnel to take serious note of this critical situation and to take every possible action not only to disassociate themselves with these killer squads but also to take appropriate action against them'.

Continued From Page 16

of de-induction and that it has no more role to play in the intervening period between now and the complete de-induction by end-March. It is also known that the original brief given to Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Mr. Karunanidhi was limited to talks with the LTTE only and not with any other group. The thinking in Delhi is reported to be that the North-East Chief Minister Mr. Perumal would be well-advised to step down from office on his own rather than wait for a situation where President Premadasa might dissolve the council. It is even rumoured that the LTTE might be given formal sanction by the Centre to reopen its political office in Madras.

The trends are therefore clear. The sooner that all Tamil groups stop obstructing the process that is already set in motion, the faster the 'overground' Tamils including expatriates reach out to a consensual approach on the future, the quicker will be the return of stability and peace in the North-East. As the biggest trendsetter of contemporary times Mikhail Gorbachev once said: 'When you fall behind you are punished by life'.

2nd January 1990

BOOKS

Sri Lanka repatriates

HUMANS WITHOUT RIGHTS: The Repatriates from Sri Lanka: A diagnosis and a Prognosis: Edited by S. Devadoss Rajendran, printed at Rex Printers, Mylapore, Madras-600004. Rs. 10.

This is a poignant tale of the plight of Tamil refugees and repatriates from Sri Lanka, their heartrending existence, the exploitation of the hapless and uprooted people and the ineffective and indifferent governmental measures to alleviate their suffering.

Articles from human rights crusaders present a horrid account of the lives of the unfortunate lot and contents of a writ petition filed in the Supreme Court by the PUCL to stir up the 'conscience of administrators' and make them prepare viable schemes for rehabilitation, enliven the book.

In the words of Mr. V.R. Krishna Iyer, retired Judge of the Supreme Court the Sri Lankan repatriates saga of sorrow is long, their life through decades in Lanka and India has been one of blood, toil, tears and sweat. The mists of history when cleared reveal how Indian Tamils left their homes and hearths and struggled to make Sri Lanka prosperous.

R. Parthasarathy

PEOPLE INBETWEEN

THE BURGHERS AND THE MIDDLE CLASS IN THE TRANSFORMATIONS WITHIN SRI LANKA, 1790s - 1960s

VOLUME ONE

by Michael Roberts

Ismeth Raheem

Percy Colin-Thomé

1989 Sarvodaya

20 Plates, 21 Maps,

3 Genealogies, 23 Tables

and 380 Pages

available from January 1990

In PEOPLE INBETWEEN, the Burghers become the window through which readers witness the influence of English literary ideas, the growth of Colombo, the black:white encounter and British colonialism. And last but not least, readers will both see the makings of an all-island Ceylonese identity as well as Sinhala nationalist ideology in full flight as anti-colonial response. In effect, the book points towards the present tragic conflict in Sri Lanka. Be forewarned though all Sri Lankan readers: this book may disturb you as it revives your memories of Sri Lankan experiences in ways which confirm or challenge its arguments. To provoke, it is said, is to fascinate. We invite you to participate in this intriguing confrontation between the peoples and literatures of Sri Lanka and the West.

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LATTER OFFER TILL 31 JANUARY 1990

and further strengthening Indo-Sri Lanka relations, they agreed to finalise the Friendship Treaty expeditiously.

RANJAN ON TALKS WITH KARUNANIDHI

Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne who met Tamil Nadu, Chief Minister Muthuvel Karunanidhi in Madras on his way to New Delhi, paid rich tributes to the veteran India Tamil leader.

When asked about his talks with Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Muthuvel Karunanidhi in Madras on 4 January, Wijeratne said: 'Mr Karunanidhi is a seasoned politician, I don't think he likes to have (Tamil) refugees coming from the North and the East (of Sri Lanka).

Wijeratne said he conversed with Karunanidhi in Tamil during his 30-minute meeting. He appealed to Karunanidhi to use his clout to bring about an understanding between the warring Sri Lankan Tamil groups.

In the Minister's view, Tamil Nadu is important for the Sri Lankan Tamils. If Karunanidhi asserts his authority and makes it clear to the Sri Lankan Tamil groups that 'they should not fight and go to him for refuge', Wijeratne believes that 'things will sort out faster'.

NORTH-EAST PC MEMBERS KILLED

Two members of the North-East Provincial Council have been murdered.

George Thevarajah, an EPRLF member of the Provincial Council and four others described as his bodyguards were ambushed and killed allegedly by cadres of the LTTE in Trincomalee on 10 January.

The victims were killed about six miles away from Trincomalee town on the Nilaveli-Trinco road close to Sampaltivu when they were on their way to attend an EPRLF meeting when LTTE men attacked them.

Attended by a large crowd, the funeral of Thambirajah took place on 11 January at Trincomalee after his body lay in state at the Provincial Council Secretariat.

In the second incident, the Deputy Speaker of the North-East Provincial Council, Chelliah Ganeshamoorthy and three others described as bodyguards were abducted at Uhana and killed at Chavalakadai in the Amparai district on 11 January, allegedly by LTTE cadres.

Four charred bodies burnt beyond recognition and found lying behind the Amparai hospital on 13 January had been identified as those of Ganeshamoorthy and his bodyguards, Kingsley Angelo Joseph, Siva and Juli.

N-E PROVINCIAL COUNCIL LAW CHALLENGED

President Premadasa's reference to the Supreme Court to determine the constitutional validity of a law passed by the North-East Provincial Council taking over the assets and liabilities of the Northern and Eastern Provincial Transport Boards is being considered by a Bench of five Supreme Court Judges.

The reference by the President followed the refusal by the Governor of the Provincial Council to give his assent to the law. His refusal was purported to be on the basis of a ruling given by the Attorney General that the Provincial Council had no power to enact the impugned statute in terms of Article 154(G)7 of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution.

The Provincial Council's law has also been challenged on the basis that it was inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution as it relates to matters which are not within the legislative competence of the Provincial Council as provided in Article 154(g)(1) read with the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution.

IPKF PULLOUT BY 31 MARCH

India's External Affairs Minister Inder Kumar Gujral reaffirmed the Indian Government's commitment to completing the de-induction of the IPKF by March 31 and in response to Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne's request that the process be accelerated replied that he would re-examine the possibility of doing so and make his response known early, says a joint Indo-Lanka press release which followed the meeting of the two Ministers in Delhi from January 4 to 6.

The release adds:

The Sri Lankan side reaffirmed the commitment of their government to ensuring the safety and security of all communities in the North-Eastern province and to expediting the implementation of the devolution package. The two sides agreed to work jointly towards bringing an early end to the internecine fighting in the North-Eastern province, including the possibility of arranging a ceasefire.

The two Ministers reiterated the commitment of their respective governments to work closely together to further enhance the traditional relationship between the two countries. With a view to achieving this objective

READERS FORUM

BURYING THE HATCHET

MAY I congratulate you on the excellent editorial in your November 1989 issue calling all our youths to bury their hatchet and unite for the sake of all the Tamils. If we miss this opportunity, we may miss everything and all lives so far sacrificed will be in vain. May they listen to your voice and may God guide them through difficult times.

A. Ratnasingham

Graydon Hall Drive,
Ontario, Canada

PUBLISH & BE DAMNED

I WISH to inform you that I am no longer willing to subscribe to 'Tamil Times'. I think that originally the paper was valuable but I find myself increasingly angry at the equivocal nature of the views expressed. How can one possibly defend a traitor and opportunist like the late (unregretted) Amirthalingam? How can one compare people in EPRLF, who collaborate with the IPKF, with the LTTE, the only group who have sacrificed their lives in the fight?

As always I will not sit on fences but choose which side I am on. My views are more accurately represented by other papers.

You may publish or not this letter, as you wish.

Dr. V. Arkley

165 Minister Court,
Liverpool L7 3QE, UK.

WORTHWHILE

SOMETIME back there was talk that the TT was 'nearing its end'. I should again congratulate you for making a success of your paper. We are happy with the efforts you have made to bring out the paper to give us up-to-date news and worthwhile editorials.

Edward B. Gnanaratnam

Scarborough,
Ontario, Canada.

SWISS CRACKDOWN ON ASYLUM-SEEKERS

Switzerland has tightened up legislation relating to the deportation of asylum-seekers say recent reports, which has caused widespread concern among refugee agencies and the Tamil community in Switzerland.

Swiss Delegate for Refugees, Peter Arbenz, who visited Sri Lanka in July 1988, has enlarged the criteria for summary deportation from capital crimes and drug dealing to include conviction of any crime and 'illegal' applications for asylum - e.g. the use of a false name.

PRO-INDIAN BIAS!

ENCLOSED please find 2 years subscription to the Tamil Times dating from October 1988. It took me a whole year of debating myself as to whether I should continue my subscription or not. This is because of your pro-Indian bias over the last couple of years.

It seems, however, you are now beginning to realise the self-interest India always has had in the affairs of Eelam, long after everybody but you had the same realisation. I do hope that you will now be less critical of the Tigers, who saw through the Indian deception long before you did, and also take a more critical look at those sociopathic EPRLF personnel, whose opportunistic posturings have the Sinhalese politicians, who are past-masters in the art of deception and treaty-abrogation, rolling with mirth, up and down the aisles of the Kotte Parliament.

Rajiv and India should realise that the Tigers will make good friends but bad enemies, while Sinhalese will make tricky friends but vicious enemies because of their inherent narcissism (sic) and delusions of superiority.

Dr. Kingsley Ratnanather

1943 Lawrence Avenue West
Weston, Ontario.

BAD OLD DAYS?

WISH you many years of publication. The report by Rita Sebastian and violence spreads in Tamil areas (TT, December 1989) make sad reading.

Letters from friends and relations in Sri Lanka indicate chaos. 'Boys' blow up railway bridges, extort money from bus owners and bring civilian life to a halt. People write of going back to the 'bad old days'. The better off, emigrate.

Uncritical support for the 'boys' can bring disaster to Tamils in the form of

These measures are in part an attempt to deal with an influx in the last 12 months of 5,000 Tamil asylum-seekers, most of whom have come clandestinely from other European countries to work in Switzerland's booming hotel and leisure industry.

Refugee agencies say despite the deteriorating situation in northern Sri Lanka many of the Tamil refugee population in Switzerland are now at risk of arbitrary deportation and have appealed to the authorities. In Denmark the growing conflict between warring Tamil militants in the north of Sri Lanka has been recognised both as grounds for seeking asylum and for the inadvisability of forcible return.

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a Pol Pot type of regime. The only effective pressure on Sri Lanka government and LTTE can come from India.

What the Sinhalese and the LTTE seem not to realise is pro-American and anti-American politics is unrealistic. The advocates of this suicidal politics only play the tune of their paymasters.

Great responsibility lies with Tamil Times to focus attention to realistic political and economic goals to Tamils however unpalatable it may be to the West and economic migrants.

Dr. S. Raghunathan

Littlemoor Road,
Mirfield,
W. Yorkshire, UK.

REVILED BY MANY?

TAMIL TIMES has come to stay as a quality journal with no comparison to any other published by Lankans, Tamils or Sinhalese, and there are many all over the world, including Sri Lanka. That is the message I got when I received your December issue with the beautiful new front-cover design.

Besides the technical quality of the paper, the contents of Tamil Times, by and large, reflect a courageous moral stand that you have taken over the years. There is no doubt that you would have been praised by some and reviled by many. At a time when there is tremendous pressure to fall in line with the prevailing dominant view, your journal has served as a forum for all shades of opinions and views in our society thereby offering a unique opportunity to its readers to formulate their own opinion.

May you have the courage and resources to continue publication forever.

B.J. Selvaratnam

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Mariampillai Philomin
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International Tamil Conference In Mauritius

The tourist paradise island of Mauritius was overwhelmed by a sense of international Tamil solidarity during the week-long Seventh International Conference – Seminar of Tamil Studies which took place from 4th to 8th December 1989 at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Moka, Mauritius and attended by over 150 delegates and 100 observers representing 16 countries as far apart as U.K. and South Africa, France and Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Australia.

The joint organisers of the Conference were the International Association of Tamil Research, National Organising Committee of Mauritius, and Tamil University, Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu, S.India. The success of the Conference was in no small measure due to the wholehearted support of the Government of Mauritius and in particular, to the Honourable Mr Arumugam Parasuraman, the Mauritian Minister for Education, Arts and culture who was Chairman of the National Organising Committee.

In the multi-ethnic Mauritius of approx one million people, the Tamils constitute about 10% of the population and although the majority of Mauritian Tamils cannot speak the Tamil

language, they seem proud of their Tamil identity by preserving many aspects of Tamil culture with an abiding interest in Saivite Hinduism which is kept alive and vibrant through a network of over ten large Hindu Temple organisations, which hosted the delegates to evening cultural entertainment and vegetarian dinners.

During the concluding session of thanksgiving to the joint organisers, the Hon. Dr. Dato Sammy Velu, Minister for Energy in the Malaysian Government made an impassioned plea to hold the next 8th Tamil conference in one of the countries of the West, suggesting London as an ideal Venue for 1991, a view endorsed by many delegates. It is hoped that Professor R.E. Asher of Edinburgh University and Chairman of IATR and Dr. John Marr of SOAS, London University will soon initiate steps to establish the U.K. National Branch of IATR with the co-operation of all U.K. representatives who are expected to give wholehearted support to the idea of holding the next International Tamil Conference in U.K. possibly in the summer of 1991.

(K. Gnanasoorian, U.K. Delegate)

Kanapathippillai Navasothy – An Appreciation



It is often said that the bad times for the Tamils have not ended. Kanapathippillai Navasothy, the well known Tamil Scholar and Orator has been snatched away from the members of his community, at the comparatively young age of 48 by the cruel hands of fate. He met his untimely death in a road accident on 4th January 1990. Navalur Navasothy as he was popularly known was a poet, broadcaster and an author par excellence.

Navasothy had his early education at the Vivekananda Maha Vidyalayam and later at St Benedict's College. After his university education he started his career at Navalur Hall, Colombo as a lecturer in History and Tamil and from there moved on to the Official Language Department. In 1977 he was appointed Assistant Archivist in the Department of Archives and in 1983 he was sent on a government scholarship to further his archival research in the University of New South Wales, Australia.

Soon afterwards he arrived in London and

threw in his lot with a sense of dedication and self denial to further the interests of the Tamil community. He wrote several poems, songs and research articles of a high standard. Several books have been published by him and he edited the Tamil magazine 'Sinthu'. His voice was heard often on the B.B.C. programme 'Thamil Osai', to the delight of his listeners.

Navasothy was a teacher at the West London Tamil School, where he played an important role in setting examination papers and conducting examinations. He later founded the London Tamil School in Tooting, London SW17.

He was an active participant in most of the International Tamil Research Conferences, and was a founder and council member of the International Association of Tamil Research – Sri Lanka Branch. His last research paper on 'Tamil Eelam Struggle and Modern Poetry' at the 7th International Tamil Research Conference held in Mauritius from 4th to 8th December 1989, was a notable contribution at the conference.

The problems of Tamils of Sri Lanka, deeply concerned him and he gave his wholehearted support to all activities for the promotion of freedom and justice for the Tamils there. His voice was heard in many forums and his writings on the subject were an effective contribution to the struggle.

He is survived by his mother, wife Rupanee, three children Manivannan, Vathani & Yalini, four brothers and a sister. His loss must be a great blow to them. They might derive some consolation from the fact that their grief is shared by several members of his community and perhaps that thought might sustain them in the days to come.

– Dr. Ratnam Nithyananthan

Sri Lanka Surgeon – 'Countdown' Champion



Sri Lankan Tamil Surgeon, Dr. R. Yogasagarar, resident in Cheshire in England has bagged the honour of 'Countdown' champion for 1989 in the annual BBC TV competition. A Tamil by birth, speaking Tamil at home, and having English as a second language, he out scored dozens of those with English as their mother tongue, in a programme that tests the contestant's ability with the English vocabulary and mental arithmetic skills to emerge the champion in a series of protracted contests, culminating in the quarter-finals, semi-finals and the finals, proving that his achievement was not a mere flash in the pan. More often than not, he proved his prowess with the English vocabulary by producing more than one word with the maximum number of letters. He is perhaps the first Asian to have bagged this honour.

Dr Yogasagarar hails from Batticaloa in Sri Lanka where his parents the Rajaratnams were both teachers by profession. He was Resident Surgeon in Colombo and Visiting Surgeon in Avissawela before moving over to U.K.

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Vidya-Sakthya Bharatha Natya Arangetram



Vidya and Sakthya, daughters of Mr & Mrs Kugananthan of Cufford, London SE6 had their Arangetram on 9.12.89 at the Logan Hall, University of London, London WC1. Friends and relatives, invited to the occasion looked forward to an entertaining evening of song and dance - particularly in view of the fact that the dances were composed and choreographed by the Maestro from Adayar Padmashri Adayar Lakshmanan. Their expectations were greatly fulfilled when the dance direction for the performance was personally conducted by Sri Lakshmanan's brother Adayar Ramarao. It was an enjoyable evening watching the brilliant dancing by the duo Vidya and Sakthya to the rich masculine voice of Adayar Ramarao who not only directed the performance but also rendered all the songs.

Vidya and Sakthya had started their dancing lessons under Srimathi Sivasakthi Sivanesan and later continued under Srimathi Vijayambigai Indrakumar. They completed their course in India at the Bharata Choodamani Academy of Fine Arts, Madras.

The performance opened with a pooja, performed by the High Priest of the Archway Murugan Temple, followed by the duo receiving their blessings from the Guru, their parents and the Elders for the success of the performance. One could see the very strict traditional order and discipline rigorously maintained by Sri Ramarao.

Vidya and Sakthya performed eight pieces, all of them happily in Tamil and were very pleasing to see and listen. After an Alarippu by both, Sakthya performed a Natesa Kavutvam and Vidya performed a Jatiswaram separately. The Vamam ('Nee Inda Mayam' in Dhanyasi) was performed by Vidya and Sakthya jointly. During the interval the Kugananthans hosted their invitees to a lavish tea party.

Mrs. J.R. Fisher, president of the National Union of Teachers was the Chief Guest for this function. Mrs Fisher delivered her address elegantly dressed in a South Indian Saree. Mrs Ponmani, former Director of Tamil Services of Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation popularly known to housewives and children as 'Vanoli Akka', was the guest speaker.

Among the eight pieces performed by Vidya and Sakthya the most memorable were the Padams. Undoubtedly Vidya's performance of 'Nan Oru Vilayattu Bommaiya?' (a composition by Papanasam Sivam set in Navarasa Kannada) and 'Chinna Chinna Paadam' (composition of Ambujam Krishan in Kapi) were of high calibre. For a teenager with only a few months training in Adayar, Vidya exhibited tremendous talent and potential for a bright future.

Sakthya (the younger of the two) was very versatile in her performance of 'Thiruparam Kunra Vela', (composition by Papanasam Sivan in Hindolam). Sakthya and Vidya have both brought credit to their parents and to the esteemed institute of Bharata Choodamani and a feather in the cap of Adayar Sri Lakshmanan.

- Wimal Sockanathan.

Benefit Performance



The Saiva Munnetta Sangam (U.K.) has organised a recital of Music and Dance in aid of its building project at the Waltham Forest Theatre, Forest Road, London E17 on Saturday, 3rd February 1990 at 6.30pm. Miss Kamala Sathasivam, renowned Radio



and T.V. artiste from Sri Lanka will play the flute and Miss Zarina Jackson, a leading exponent of the Tanjore style of Bharatha Natyam will give a dance recital. An evening of good entertainment is assured in aid of a worthy cause.

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Ahilan wins Award



Mr. Ahilan Nithiananthan, a Post-Graduate Student at The School of Pharmacy, University of London was awarded the First Pergamon 'Scott Blair Biorheology Scholarship'.

He is pictured here receiving the award from Dr. J. Ferguson, President of the British Society of Rheology at their Annual Conference at Warwick Castle. Ahilan is already a Humane Research Trust Awardee and holds a patent for his work on developing a novel test for injections. He is the son of Mr. & Mrs. K. Nithiananthan of 4A Syon Park Garden, Osterley, Isleworth, Middlesex, U.K.

Donation of Clothes



The Tamil Orphans Trust (U.K.), Registered Charity No.327809, 42 Arundel Drive, Harrow, Middx HA2 8PR, Tel: 01-422 0012, has during the last two years been sending clothes and cash to help Tamil orphaned children in Sri Lanka. The above picture shows the distribution of the clothes sent by the Trust recently, by the Sri Lanka Red Cross at Vavuniya.

Appointed Eminent Scholar

Professor Muttaiya Sunderalingam has been appointed Ohio Eminent Scholar in Biological Macromolecular Structure in Ohio State University. He is the eighth Eminent Scholar in the Ohio Eminent Scholar programme, created by the General Assembly and administered by the Board of Regents. He comes to Ohio State from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he was Steenbock Professor of Biomolecular Structure and Chair of the doctoral programme in Biophysics. He is internationally known for his work in determining the structure of large biological molecules (macromolecules) such as proteins and nucleic acids. In his research he uses high intensity X-ray beams to reveal the three-dimensional arrangement of a substance's molecules.

His research has implications in many areas including improved design of proteins, hormones, anti-viral agents and anti-cancer drugs.

Professor Sunderalingam is one of the five Bio-physicists whose published work is most frequently cited by other scientists. He has published over 250 articles in scientific journals and has lectured throughout the world.

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MATRIMONIAL

Hindu Parents seek qualified bridegroom for doctor daughter, 31. Reply with horoscope to M 347, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parent seeks professional for slim, attractive, accountant daughter, 28 years. Reply to Box 3543, Winnetka, CA 91306, U.S.A.

Jaffna Hindu sister seeks attractive, homely, educated bride for postgraduate, gainfully London employed brother, 37. Details to M 348, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu, partly qualified accountant, 34, seeks girl for marriage. Girl outside Sri Lanka preferable. Reply with details. M 349, c/o Tamil Times.

Mother in U.K. seeks tall, fair, pleasant, good natured, accomplished bride, 28 to 32, for well connected Jaffna Hindu, tall, smart, highly qualified, internationally recognised professional in high rank, U.S. citizen, late thirties. Horoscope details, photo to M 350, c/o Tamil Times.

Alliance invited for pretty, pleasant, Hindu girl, 28, U.S. citizen and holds Masters Degree. Parents top professionals. Details to M 351, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Tamil father seeks preferably professionally qualified partner for his civil servant daughter, 26. Reply with photo, horoscope. M 352 c/o Tamil Times.

Parents seek suitable partner, 42-48, for accomplished good looking daughter, Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu, working in New York, American permanent resident. Reply M 353, c/o Tamil Times.

Sister seeks Jaffna Tamil partner for youngest sister, 32, divorcee with daughter aged 8, owns house London, Reply with horoscope, details. M 354 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parent, retired from high government position in Sri Lanka, presently in U.K. seeks for his two daughters, 31,29 (one in U.K., other in Jaffna) matrimonial proposals. Enquiries from young men in Sri Lanka or abroad welcome. Please reply with copy of horoscope to M 355, c/o Tamil Times.

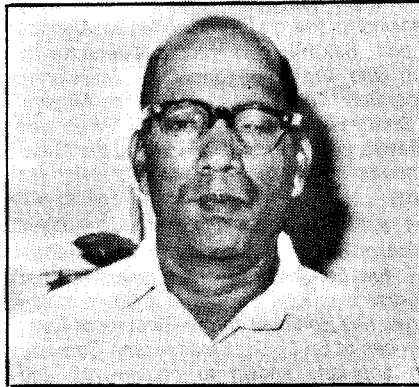
Christian Tamil parent seeks educated, handsome partner, 23 to 27 for pretty daughter, 22, 5' 5", race immaterial. M 356, c/o Tamil Times.

U.S. Physician seeks suitable Christian partner, in her twenties or early thirties, for brother in thirties, U.S. citizen holding executive position in leading newspaper corporation, California. Details, photograph to M 357, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Tamil, qualified accountant, 28, seeks bride, preferably qualified, mainly resident U.K. or abroad. Details, horoscope to M 358 c/o Tamil Times.

OBITUARIES

Kanapathipillai Navasothy (48) Renowned Tamil Scholar, beloved husband of Ruparane; father of Manivannan, Vathani and Yalini brother of Sathyamoorthy (U.K.), Raveenthiran (Oman), Kanakeswaran (Australia), Vasanthakumaran (U.K.), & Mrs Eeswary Shanmugapalan (Australia); brother-in-law of Jill, Ratna, Margaret, Ramlyn & Shanmugapalan passed away under tragic circumstances in a road accident in London on 4.1.90. - 45 Avarn Road, London SW17 9HB Tel: 01-767 2585.



Sinnathamby Kulasingam, Retired Post master of Tellipallai, Sri Lanka; beloved husband of Sivapackiam; father of Dr. Guna-koopathy Ponnampalam (Sri Lanka), Tharmarajah (U.K.), Vijeyaladchumy Ramanathan (U.K.), Sivapalan (Australia); father-in-law of Ponnampalam (Principal, Jaffna Hindu College), Chandravathana (U.K.), Ramanathan (U.K.), Manjula (Australia); grand-father of Vishakan, Bhavan, Kugan, Theepan, Thulaseekaran & Sathiasorupan passed away in Tellipallai, Sri Lanka on 24.12.89 - 3 The Orchard, Wickford, Essex SS12 0HB, Tel: 0268 766624.

Professor Luther Jayasingham (73) formerly of the staff of Jaffna College and later of the Jaffna University; beloved husband of Pushpam nee Mills; father of Mrs Chandra Amarasingham (U.S.A.), Mittran (Australia), Winthrop (U.K.), Benjamin (Canada), & Dr. Sam (U.S.A.) passed away in U.S.A. on 7.12.89.

Dr. D.S. Sanders (61) Dean of the School of Social Work, University of Illinois, U.S.A., eldest son of the late Mr. D.S. Sanders, formerly Vice-Principal of Jaffna College and Mrs. Harriet Sanders (Australia), beloved husband of Christobel nee Nesar Niles brother of Dr. S.C. Sanders (U.K.), H.B. Sanders, Mrs Pearl Kanagarajah, Mrs. Rhea Ratnarajah (all of Australia) passed away in San Francisco on 14.10.89.

K.C. Satchithananda (60) Dental Surgeon, beloved husband of Parameswary, father of Janarthanan, Muhunda, Duwarakan and Mithuna; brother of the late K.C. Nythiananda passed away in U.K. on 2.12.89.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

January 26 6.45 p.m. Tamil Orphans Trust presents **Benefit Performance** in aid of **Orphaned Tamil children in Sri Lanka**. At Brent Town Hall, Forty Lane, Wembley Middx. For information Phone 01-422 0012.

February 3 6.30 p.m. Saiva Munnetta Sangam U.K. presents **Music & Dance** in aid of **Building Project** at Waltham Forest Theatre, Forest Road, London E17. For details Phone: 0268 766624.

Feb. 4 3.30 p.m. Novena at Asian Chaplaincy, 48 Great Peter Street, London SW1P 2HA. For details Phone: 01-222 2895.

IN MEMORIAM



In everloving memory of **Mrs Kanagamany Thamby Thurai**, on the first anniversary of her passing away on 7.1.89. Fondly remembered by her sons Dr. Raj Chandran, Rajathurai (both of U.K.); Daughters Loheswary Chelliah (U.K.), Rajeswary Pulendra (Pt. Pedro, Sri Lanka), Rani Thurairatnam, Maheswary Cookathasan (both of U.K.); fifteen grand children and sixteen great grand children.

A poojah in her memory was held at the Highgate Murugan Temple on 7.1.90. A cheque for £1000 was presented by members of her family to the Temple Trust, to initiate a Tamil/English library on Saivism. This was preceded by a well attended Bajan and followed by a lunch.



T. Somasekaram
Deceased 5th January 1988

Fondly remembered and sadly missed by wife Haima; children Kannan, Niranthari, Ungi and Ketheecharan; grand children Anuca and Rishi; brothers Dr. Raja Muthaiah, Ramanathan, Yoganathan and sisters Mrs Cheevaratnam, Mrs Velaiuthar, Mrs Nadarajah and all members of the family. - 'Kripa', 34 Pamancade Lane, Colombo 6, Sri Lanka.

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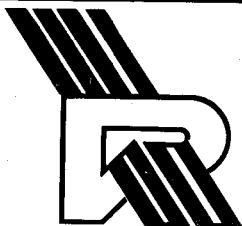
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