Tamil Tamil ES

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MURDERED IN BATTICALOA



Rev. Fr. Chandra Fernando

ABDUCTED IN JAFFNA



K.Kanthasamy



Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in South India boarding M.V. Ramanujam. About 17,000 have returned to Sri Lanka since December 24, when M.V. Ramanujam began ferrying refugees.

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WHITHER HUMAN RIGHTS?

It cannot be doubted that the action taken by the Indian government at various times before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights played a crucial role in turning the spotlight on the human rights abuses committed by the Sri Lankan government and its security forces against the island's Tamil community. The Indian government's forthright condemnation of Sri Lanka's massive military attacks on Tamil civilian areas and its eventual decision to send its planes to drop 'humanitarian assistance' to the beleaguered Tamils went a long way towards preventing the Sri Lankan government from seeking the

final military solution it was seeking.

With the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement came the India Peace Keeping Force. The agreement and the arrival of the IPKF were portrayed and projected as favours done by India for the Tamils. The Tamils welcomed the IPKF and thought there would be no more atrocities, no more civilian killings and no more human rights violations. But events have proved otherwise. The recent report of Amnesty International (see page 5) highlights, even though to a lesser extent than actually is the case, the violations to which the Tamil people are continuing to be subjected. It is ironic but true that, India which quoted AI reports in the past to support its denunciations of the Sri Lankan government for human rights violations against the Tamils now finds itself indicted on the same count by the same Al.

The Al report also draws attention to the dramatic increase in violations of human rights against members of the Sinhala community in Sri Lanka. In the past we warned the Sinhala people that the draconian and authoritarian structures — the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the Emergency Regulations, the para-military outfits like the Special Task Force, Counter-Subversion Unit, the Home Guards etc. — that were being constructed and increasingly employed against members of the Tamil community, would, sooner than later , be deployed against members of the Sinhala community. That is exactly what has been happening in the recent past. When Al spotlighted the abuses committed against the Tamils, there were many in the Sinhala community who labelled and denounced AI as a 'Tamil lobby' trying its utmost to tarnish the image of Sri Lanka. But today it is the sam Al which has come forward to focus attention on the abuses which members of the Sinhala community are being made to suffer.

The Tamils of Sri Lanka had a just cause against a government which was denying the basic and fundamental rights to which they were entitled. And to win back these rights, they launched a struggle, peaceful first

and then armed. It is the human rights abuses which accompanied the attempt by the government to suppress that struggle by arbitrary and military means that attracted a measure of international legitimacy to the struggle of the Tamil people. The Tamil struggle for the restoration of their fundamental rights was fought on an international programme of human rights. And this platform was made possible and stronger not through the power that flowed through the barrel of an AK-47 or a T-56, but by the sheer hard and dedicated work of individual human rights activists. At great risk and cost to themselves, they collected, collated and documented volumes upon volumes of human rights abuses in Sri Lanka, Some constituted themselves into Citizens Committees which became the only body to which the suffering and helpless ordinary people could turn to complain and seek assistance. It is to this rare category of individuals that Rev.Fr. Chandra Fernando belonged until he was brutally and callously gunned down reportedly by two Tamil gunmen within the precincts of his own church. The enduring testimony to this priest's contribution was the many thousand people who came to pay their last respects at his funeral. Their presence also constituted a testimony of condemnation and disgust with which they viewed this cowardly murder.

Now comes the tragic news of the abduction of another committed human rights activist and a dedicated rehabilitation social worker, Mr. K.Kanthasamy, The selfless and self-effacing Kanthasamy has carried on his work for the last 25 years or so without seeking publicity or position. Having earned the status of persona non grata with the government of Sri Lanka, he arrived in London to become the live wire and backbone of the Tamil Information Centre. Although he shunned publicity, he was well known among members of the international human rights and humanitarian community. Kanthasamy returned to the island after the Indo-Sri Lanka accord to continue working for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the lives and livelihood of the Tamil people. But he was seen abducted by a group of Tamil men in Jaffna on 19 June and has not been seen since. His abductors have not yet had the courage to admit responsibility.

The senseless murder of Rev. Fr.Chandra Fernando and the abduction and disappearance of Mr. Kanthasamy (there have been other cases too) compel the Tamil people to ask themselves some fundamental questions: can the platform of human rights that enabled the Tamil cause to be advanced remain firm or valid when individual Tamils, dedicated human rights activists at that, are deprived of their most precious of human right, the right to life.

W.S.

COLOMBO NEWS LETTER

by Chitnra

Southern PC Elections — a Political Defeat

THE recent round of provincial council elections in Sri Lanka, except in the north and east of the country, came to a close on 9 June when voters in the southern province went to the polls which were marked and marred by violence, intimidation and allegations of electoral malpractice including voterigging. The elections for the other six provinces had been completed, on 28 April and 2 June.

The JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera and his staunch henchmen hail from the southern province which, from JVP's inception, has been regarded as its strongest base. The elections in this province provided the setting for the test between the determination of the government to go ahead with its plans for establishing the Provincial Council system and the decision of the JVP to sabotage it.

The orgy of violence unleashed by the JVP prior to and during the 9 June elections ensured the lowest poll ever recorded in the island's history — a mere 27.9 per cent in the whole province. An abysmal 7.5 per cent voter turnout was reached in the Hambantota district. When counting began, it was noted that not a single vote was cast in ten ballot boxes and 16 ballot boxes were counted in just under 23 minutes.

Although the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) had called for a boycott of the elections, it cannot be doubted that the crucial factor contributing to the unprecedented low vote recorded was the campaign of violence unleashed by the JVP on election day and before. Candidates and supporters of the ruling United National Party (UNP) and the opposition United Socialist Alliance (USA) were ruthlessly gunned down in surprise attacks in their homes or as they went about campaigning. Government and security officials were shot. In some areas huge trees had been felled to ensure obstruction of roads. Buses belonging to the state transport board and private vehicles used for campaigning were set ablaze. Party offices and buildings earmarked for polling stations were attacked. Electrical installations were set on fire resulting in a cut to power supply in certain areas. On election day polling booths were stormed and polling officers attacked. Land mines exploded in certain public places striking terror to the hearts of many.

The scene in substantial areas of the southern province was as if a total curfew had been clamped down —

shops and restaurants remained closed, vehicles were missing from the roads and very few people ventured out of their homes. One after another, polling booths manned by terror-stricken officials were seen completely deserted.

Neither the SLFP nor the JVP can legitimately claim that the thousands who failed to vote supported their cause. Besides the generalised violence and individual attacks it had launched, the JVP had put up posters threatening to kill the first five persons who appeared at polling stations to vote. Worse was that this threat applied not only to those who actually voted but also extended to all the members of their families. Not that the people love the vote less but they feared the gun more.

The government had mobilised all the security services at its disposal, including the army, navy, air force and paramilitary outfits, in an attempt to prevent the disruption of the poll and ensure a reasonable voter turnout. Although the government's security efforts prevented a complete abandonment of the elections, they did not

prove adequate to avoid substantial disruption or ensure a respectable showing in terms of voter turnout. Of the 1,289,000 registered voters, approximately 940,000 did not vote.

As Kendall Hopman of the 'Sunday Times' (Colombo, 12 June 1988) put it, 'a military victory, a political defeat, is perhaps the most fitting epitaph for Thursday's provincial council elections in southern Sri Lanka. From a military perspective, the fact that the election was not disrupted was a victory for the government forces. Politically the under 30 per cent voter turnout was an ignominious show of democracy versus the T-56'.

Despite this political defeat, the outcome of the elections was that the UNP, having received only 22 per cent of the registered vote, has captured power in the southern provincial council with 38 seats (including two bonus seats) out of the total of 55 seats, and the USA taking 15 and the indepen-

already captured power in the Western and Central Provincial Councils winning 52 and 35 respectively in the elections held on 2 June. Again the USA became the chief opposition force winning 42 and 18 in the respective councils.

Focus on the North and East

The focus has now turned on the prospects and problems concerning the holding of provincial council elections in the Tamil-dominated north and east of the country. The government and President Jayawardene have expressed their intention to hold the elections towards the end of July this year.

It is understood that the prospect of holding elections in the Tamil areas dominated the discussions between the President and the Indian Defence Minister, K.C.Pant, who visited Colombo towards the latter part of May. And it would seem that Mr Pant gave an assurance on behalf of the Indian government that continued IPKF operations would ensure conditions of normalcy to be created in the north and east of the island adequate to hold undisrupted elections by the end of July. Many who appreciate the reality of the situation in these areas seriously doubt that as a realistic possibility. New Delhi would welcome the possibility of an early end to hostilities between the IPKF and the LTTE and the installation of a civilian administration with a reasonable return of normal life in the Tamil areas as such a development would help Congress (I)'s prospects in the forthcoming elections in Tamil Nadu.

The reported ongoing talks, though on an informal basis, between Indian officials and LTTE stalwarts in Tamil Nadu, and the fact that the LTTE's present demands are limited to the composition and powers of the Provincial Councils, are said to represent LTTE's acceptance of the concept of the

Provincial Council system of devolution.

However, the Tamil militant groups and the more moderate TULF hold the view that the degree of devolution contemplated through the Provincial Council Law enacted by the government was inadequate and in many respects fall short of the previously agreed proposals. India too is of the same view, but it would appear that New Delhi sympathises with President Jayawardene's position that negotiations for any further amendments concerning the powers of Provincial Councils could take place after the elections. That scenario is unacceptable to the Tamil groups.

In this context, the two options open are either to postpone the idea of holding elections until agreement is reached with the Tamil militant groups, and the LTTE in particular, or to go ahead with the PC elections without LTTE's agreement but with other Tamil groups participating. The first option is an unfavourable proposition to the government particularly in the context of the political situation in southern Sri Lanka. The continued presence of Indian troops on the island's soil is viewed with hostility amongst the majority Sinhalese, and is a point on which the government's opponents, particularly the SLFP, will score undoubted success.

Ideally the government would like to see that the provincial council elections in the north and east are held and out of the way, and the IPKF is in a

'SAVE KANTHASAMY' APPEAL

Mr.K.Kanthasamy, an able Human Rights activist, founder-member of the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO: 1977). Director, Central British Fund for Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation (CBFTRR, London: 1978), and the prime mover in several outstanding ventures such as the Jaffna-based SATUR-DAY REVIEW (1982). Tamil Information Centres (London, Madras: 1983, Madurai:1984). Movement for Integration of Refugees and Repatriates (MIRT, Madurai: 1984). Theepam Research Institute (Jaffna: 1980), is known to have been kidnapped by a group of persons from his Jaffna residence on Sunday, June 19. Even after five days, no information is available either about his safety or whereabouts.

The fact that Mr.Kanthasamy is a silent, tireless, self-effacing worker and that he shunned office and publicity does not make us forget the fact that no individual had given so much to the promotion of Human Rights in general and in particular to the alleviation of the sufferings of the Tamil Community as he had done for the past eleven years. At the time of the kidnapping. Mr.Kanthasamy, who had undergone a major heart surgery five years ago, was active in setting up a consortium of Nongovernmental organisations to undertake refugee rehabilitation programmes in North-East Sri-Lanka.

We, the signatories, who have known and appreciated his major contributions and his selfless service, hereby appeal to whoever is responsible for his kidnapping to release him safely so that he can

continue his services. We feel strongly that any harm done to him will be remembered as an enormous crime against society.

1. LORD AVEBURY: Chairman, Human Rights Group, UNITED KINGDOM
2. KUMAR RUPASINGHE: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, NORWAY

3. JUSTICE V.R.KRISHNA IYER Retired Judge of the Supreme Court INDIA

4. NINAN KOSHY: Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, World Council of Churches, Geneva SWITZER-LAND

5. WALTER KELLER: South Asia Bureau, WEST GERMANY 6. DUTCH ORGANISATION: THE NETHERLANDS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT

7. DESMOND FERNANDO: Civil Rights Movement, Colombo SRI LANKA 8. NILS SIVERSEN: Norwegian Refugee Council, NORWAY

Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London UNITED KINGDOM 10. MICHAEL HAWKES: Christian Aid,

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LAND
12. CHARLES ABEYSEKERA: Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equal-

ment for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE), SRI LANKA 13. VICTOR KARUNAN: Pax Ramona, Geneva SWITZERLAND

14. INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, Geneva SWITZERLAND

15. V.SURYANARAYAN : Professor, Centre for South and South East Asian Studies, University of Madras, INDIA 16. MARTIN ENNALS: Director, International Alert, UNITED KINGDOM 17. REV.FR.MICHAEL DE MORTIER : Orions Asian Centre, BELGIUM 18. MARTIN-BARBER : Director, Bristish Refugee Council, UNITED KINGDOM 19. REV.HAHN: Director, Bread for the World, WEST GERMANY 20. Y.DAVID : President, Samuthuya Samuthaya Iyakkam, Madras, INDIA 21. S.V.PERINPANAYAGAM man. Central British Fund for Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation, London, UN-ITED KINGDOM 22. R.SATHIYAMURTHY: Vice-President, National Y.M.C.A. New Delhi, INDIA 23. P.RAJANAYAGAM : President, Standing Committee of Tamils (SCOT)
UNITED KINGDOM 24. T.N.GOPALAN: Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), Madurai, INDIA 25. CANADIAN COUNCIL FOR RE-FUGEES, CANADA 26. JUSTICE AND RIGHTS: UNITED KINGDOM 27. HENRI TITMAGNE : Organising Secretary, Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties, Tamilnadu, INDIA 28. K.SACHITHANANDAN: Non-Violent Direct Action Group, Chavakachcheri, Jaffna, SRI LANKA
29. MAHESWARY VELAUTHAM Secretary, Movement for Integration of Refugees and Repatriates (MIRR), Madurai, INDIA former Director, Tamil Information Centre, Madurai, INDIA 30. S.SIVANAYAGAM : Founder-Editor, SATURDAY REVIEW, Jaffna and for-mer Editor/Director Tamil Information & Research Unit, Madras, INDIA

OFFENSIVE & 'TALKS' CONTINUE

'NO AGREEMENT YET' SAYS LTTE

The seven week offensive against the LTTE, in which an estimated 15,000 troops of the IPKF have been involved, in the Vavuniya and Mullaitivu districts in northern Sri Lanka is reported to be continuing with casualties on both

Newspaper reports about the LTTE leader, V. Prabhakaran, and his deputy, Mahendrarajah (Mahathaya) being surrounded and trapped and their imminent capture by the IPKF would appear to have been exaggerated. Some accounts said that, although trapped at one stage, Prabhakaran known to be moving around freely under several disguises has given the slip to the IPKF.

The offensive and the reported attempt to capture the LTTE leader sparked off many demonstrations in Tamil Nadu where posters appeared saying, 'If Prabhakaran is killed, Tamil Nadu will erupt like a volcano'.

Even as the IPKF offensive was continuing, there was confirmation about continuing negotiations between officials of the Indian Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and the LTTE leaders in Madras. The previous talks came to an abrupt end two months ago when one of LTTE's members, Johnny, was shot dead by the IPKF in northern Vavuniya where he had gone on a mission initiated by Indian officials to establish contact with Prabhakaran. Anand Narain, RAW chief, has reportedly made several trips to Tamil Nadu last month to oversee the ongoing negotiations.

A Reuter report datelined 16 June stated that, 'India and the LTTE are close to an agreement to end the five year conflict... and only two important points remained to be decided after lengthy talks with Indian officials'.

In a press release, the LTTE said that the Indian government had not reached an agreement with the LTTE on the issue of a ceasefire though informal talks have been going on between its representatives led by Krishnakumar (Kittu) and Indian officials. The statement further alleged that the story of an agreement had been purposely released by the Indian and Sri Lankan governments to divert the peaceful agitation launched by the Tamil people against the IPKF offensive and also to appease aroused sentiments of the people of Tamil Nadu.

The LTTE statement added that it had made an open commitment to hand over weapons and co-operate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, but India was continuing the war refusing pleas for a ceasefsire.

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RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

BEFORE AND AFTER THE INDO-SRI LANKA

ACCORD

DETENTION, TORTURE & DISAPPEARANCES CONTINUE IN SRI LANKA

Human rights abuses, including arbitrary detentions, disappearances and torture continue to be reported in Sri Lanka, the world-wide human rights body, the Amnesty International said in a report released on 21 June.

While the report notes that there was a reduction in the scale of human rights abuses in the north and east of the country following the July 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, Amnesty International states that, since the beginning of hostilities between the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) stationed in the Tamil areas and the LTTE, it has received reports alleging that members of the IPKF have been responsible for rape and other acts of brutality including killing of unarmed civilians in reprisal. It also received reports of 'disappearance' of persons belonging to the Tamil community after having been taken into custody by the IPKF.

The AI report further reflects a dramatic increase in human rights abuses in the south of the island where hundreds of men and women belonging to the Sinhalese community have been arrested and detained for alleged connection with the Peoples Liberation Front (JVP) — the proscription of which was recently lifted — which has been accused of acts of violence including the killing of government officials and others who support the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. There have been disturbing reports of many 'disappearances' among those taken into custody from this group.

Amnesty International has expressed concern at the refusal of the Sri Lankan government to permit an AI mission to visit the island although its President had previously given an assurance that such a mission would be permitted in the course of an interview with the BBC broadcast in February

this year.

685 DISAPPEARANCES

The AI report states that the Sri Lankan security forces were responsible for the 'disappearance' of 685 persons be-longing to the island's Tamil community between 1983 and July 1987 and, having listed the names and other details of all 685 cases, states that none of the victims have been accounted for by the government despite the fact that the United Nations Working Group on 'disappearances' had called for explanation from the government of Sri Lanka.

The AI states that there is evidence that many of the 'disappeared' had been tortured while they were held incommunicado and others had been shot dead and their bodies disposed of

Among the many thousands of prisoners released in an amnesty following the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, Amnesty International has also documented a number of cases in which the victims had been subjected to prolonged torture by the security forces. Some of the released detainees have submitted sworn testimony that they had also witnessed the deaths of other detainees following torture. Several released prisoners have testified that they had been forced to bury bodies of detainees shot by the Special Task Force (STF) and that they had been present when tortured prisoners died in custody.

DEATHS IN CUSTODY

One released detainee described how, in June, he was in the STF camp at Tirukovil when another detainee was brought in with multiple injuries on his face, chest and thighs; he was unable to walk or eat food. He told other detainees that he had been hit with clubs and pickaxes, had been buried in hot sand and had had his genitals pricked with needles. His mother visited the camp in late June, but was not allowed to see him. On 28 June, fellow detainees were ordered to dig a pit to which firewood and tyres were brought. Several detainees saw the body of the tortured man being taken to the pit by police commandos. Gunshots were heard and the men who had dug the pit were told that 'three had been shot'.

Another detainee released under the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement swore that during the first seven months of 1987 he had burnt the dead bodies of 25 youths whom STF men brought as suspects to their camp at Akkairaipattu. One of them was a man arrested in June whose arrest and detention were denied by the officer-incharge of the STF camp where relatives and fellow detainees saw him. In June fellow detainees saw how this man was taken to a place nicknamed 'the slaughter house' where he was apparently tortured, after which he was kept separate from other detainees in a cell with two others. On the night of 2 July, detainees in the camp heard shots being fired from the backyard. After this, one detainee, who had previously taken food to the three detainees in their cell stated that he had been told to take food for only two. This detainee also said he assisted the next day in taking the fingerprints of four bodies, one of whom he identified as that of the detainee who had previously been held in the separate cell. All four bodies bore gunshot wounds. That evening, detainees were ordered to carry firewood, coconut husks and tyres to a place where after dark the four bodies were seen carried for burning.

TORTURE. A ROUTINE

The sworn testimony, the photographic and medical evidence produced by AI establishes beyond doubt that detainees were subjected to torture as a matter of routine. Nearly all those who testified after release gave detailed accounts of repeated prolonged torture by security service personnel, especially the STF in the eastern province which confirmed evidence previously received by AI. Many of them bore marks of torture. One of them had marks all over the body of severe burns consistent with his allegations that melted foam rubber was made to drip on his body. Another released detainee described how he had been beaten while being suspended from his thumbs tied behind his back, and was made to inhale fumes from a pot of burning coal which was later placed on various sensitive parts of his body. This man, who, to Amnesty International's knowledge, was never charged with any offence, suffered severe burns and said that he was unable to walk and work effectively, complaining of frequent headaches and an inability to concentrate. Many others complained of aftereffects and physical and mental disabilities, resulting in their inability to work.

The AI report also notes that, despite the fact that the July 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka agreement provided for release of detainees, over 800 Tamils continue to remain in detention without trial under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the country's Public Security Emergency Regulations.

VIOLATIONS IN THE SOUTH

The AI report states that during 1987 hundreds of members belonging to the Sinhalese community were reported to have been arrested and detained without charge or trial under Emergency Regulations which provide for indefinite detention.

In May 1987, according to the police, 500 members of the proscribed JVP were arrested and held under the Emergency Regulations. Many were arrested for putting up posters or painting slogans. That same month, the Chief Justice granted compensation to three men whom the Supreme Court ruled had been illegally detained by the police in connection with the alleged distribution of pamphlets (Emergency Regulation 28 requires that prior permission must be obtained from the Inspector General of Police to display posters or distribute leaflets.) The Court observed that ER 28 'gives the Police absolute discretionary power to control the right of citizens to exercise their right of expression . . . It is unconstitutionally overbroad. It strikes at the foundation of the fundamental rights of speech and expression by subjecting it to prior permission. Hence that Regulation is invalid and cannot form the basis of an offence in law'. But arrests continued to be made under these and other provisions of the ER. (ER 28 has since been amended: although the prohibition to publish or distribute posters considered to be prejudicial to public security interests remains, prior permission from the Inspector General of Police is no longer required for publication).

After the signing of the July accord, many more arrests were made under the ER, especially among people alleged to be members or supporters of the JVP and the Deshapremi Janata Viyaparaya (People's Patriotic Movement (DJV), with which the JVP is closely linked. Both parties strongly opposed the peace accord. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Communist Party issued a statement saying some of their supporters had been arrested and denying that they were involved in the violence which occurred after the signing of the accord. By mid-August 2,000 arrests had reportedly been made, apparently under the ER, in the south since the signing of the accord, and although many detainees were later released, hundreds of alleged JVP supporters continued to be held on suspicion of opposing the accord, giving classes about the JVP, possessing explosives or participating in acts of violence. In October the government announced that persons held under the ER withou' positive evidence of the commission of any offence would be released, but added that this would not apply to members of 'proscribed organizations' such as the JVP. The President was reported to have stated in December that members of the JVP had to be eliminated and offered the security forces immunity from prosecution for any action taken in combat.

DISAPPEARANCES IN THE SOUTH

Arrests in the south were made by the police and after July, by the Special Task Force, a paramilitary group earlier based in eastern Sri Lanka where it had been accused of serious human rights violations. After the July accord many STF members were stationed in the south, especially in areas where the JVP is believed to be active. Many of those arrested were reportedly held in police stations for months without being brought before a magistrate. Family members, including wives and aged parents, were reportedly arrested if the police could not find the wanted person; relatives were often not informed about arrests or places of detention and were often unable to establish detainees' whereabouts, at least during the initial detention period.

Scores of Sinhalese men arrested have 'disappeared' while the security forces either denied knowledge of their arrest or whereabouts or said they had been released. The three instances cited in the AI report are typical of the

many cases of disappearances: (1) Ariyasena, aged 30, son of B.G.Siothis of Kahawatte village in south Sri Lanka was taken into custody in November 1987 at Beliatte. His brother, Dayaratne aged 24 who went in search of his arrested brother was also taken into custody shortly afterwards. The security forces have denied any knowledge of their whereabouts: (2) Leslie Ranasinghe, aged 30, of Ruhuna University was arrested at Talawa on 21 October 1987 around 4.30 pm. His father visited him twice while in detention, but on the third occasion he was told that he had been released but never returned home and his whereabouts are still not known: (3) S.Wannigama, a lecturer at the Ruhuna University and reportedly a sympathiser of the JVP was arrested by the Mideniya police in the Hambantota district on 13 November 1987, but his whereabouts remain a mystery as the security forces deny that he was ever arrested.

VIOLATIONS BY THE IPKF

After its forces had entered Sri Lanka the IPKF faced increasing charges of human rights violations, notably after it started its military offensive to disarm the LTTE. Many of these allegations were made by the LTTE itself and most could not be substantiated, being hard to have corroborated by independent observers. Nevertheless, several first hand and independent reports became available of such violations. In particular, members of the IPKF were accused of raping Tamil women and of deliberately killing dozens of unarmed Tamil civilians, among them elderly people, women and children. Even though Indian Government spokesmen said that those killed were members of the LTTE or civilians who had been killed in 'crossfire', evidence mounted that in several cases the victims were non-combatant civilians apparently shot without provocation or in repraisal for the killing of IPKF men by the LITTE. No such complaints were made against the IPKF, however, during their most recent military operation in February, when they conducted a major search operation for LTTE members in Batticaloa.

For example, on the night of 12/13 October Indian commandos descended by helicopter to capture an LTTE base near Jaffna University campus at Kokuvil, two miles from Jaffna, in the course of a major Indian military operation launched to obtain control of the Jaffna peninsula from the LTTE. Twenty-nine Indian commandoes were reported shot dead by the LTTE, but several others fled and allegedly killed an estimated 40 non-combatant Tamil civilians living in the area. Relatives of the victims said that several IPKF soldiers took refuge in nearby houses and shot inhabitants at point blank range, including women, children and an elderly couple, shot on 13 October in their homes at Pirampaday Lane, Kokuvil.

Allegations that Indian forces deliberately killed non-combatant civilians

were also made in the Indian press. On 27 October, for example, Indian forces launched their first aerial attack on the LTTE stronghold of Chavakachcheri. An Indian journalist present in the area reported that the IPKF had deliberately struck at civilian targets. At least 20 civilians were reported killed and witnesses were reported as saying that many of the victims were noncombatant civilians shot at the local market.

In eastern Sri Lanka Tamils as well as Muslims were alleged to be victims of such indiscriminate or repraisal killings. In many cases, there were conflicting reports about the nature of these killings and who carried them out and specific allegations were difficult to confirm because of denial of access to outsiders. For example, the local citizens committee was denied access to the village of Kaluwanchikudy, 16 miles south of Batticaloa, to investigate allegations that 14 civilians had been killed in reprisal by the IPKF after four IPKF solidiers had been killed on 23 October in a landmine explosion. An Indian Government spokesmen claimed that only three people had been killed, and in fighting, not as a measure of reprisal. But an independent observer present in the village said that Indian soldiers had got out of control, and that civilians had been killed as a result.

The Indian Government assumed responsibility for one of these alleged extrajudicial killings: on 22 November it court-martialled a soldier who had the previous day killed two Muslims and wounded five others when he fired on a crowd near the Trincomalee clocktower. The Sri Lanka Government has been investigating conflicting reports of another incident in which at least 25 Muslim civilians were shot dead in the eastern village of Ottamawadi on 2 December. The IPKF maintained that victims were killed in crossfire, but residents said villagers were indiscriminately killed after nine Indian soldiers had been killed in an LTTE ambush. To Amnesty International's knowledge, this is the only instance of a Sri Lankan Government investigation into IPKF activities. And in no instance, it seems, has an impartial body attempted to carry out investigations into these and other alleged IPKF killings.

WOMEN RAPED

There have also been an increasing number of allegations that lower ranking IPKF personnel had raped Tamil women. Several dozen Tamil women, some of whom needed hospital treatment, have testified on oath that they were raped by IPKF personnel, for example in Kondavil East in the north and in Sathurkodanan and Morakkadanchenai villages in eastern Sri Lanka. Several of these allegations have been investigated by the IPKF itself, although the Indian Government continued to deny any such charges. But in December 1987 a local magistrate reportedly found the IPKF responsible for seven cases of rape. In

(contd. on page 7)

MADRAS NEWSLETTER:

by Arjuna

IS OPPRESSION INFECTIOUS?

If anyone likes to know the answer as to how this vast democracy called India with its swarming population of 800 millions nearly half of which live below the poverty line keeps ticking, a part of the answer was provided by the distinguished economist and former U.S. envoy to India, John Kenneth Galbraith. He described the country as 'a functioning anarchy'! But that of course is not an explanation; it is only an accurate description. So how does this 'anarchy 'function'? One way it does is through a huge, mindless, thoughtless, insensate bureaucracy that has an octopus-like grip on the lives of the people and keeps the country going. Someone on the top, in Delhi, presses a policy button, and a clumsy set of officials take over the entire works. An inanimate machinery is set in motion, which mows down everything on the way - democratic rights, fundamental rights, human rights of every description, and ultimately when the damage is done, both to the system and the image of the country, no one becomes responsible, and not many seem to care.

Why these profound thoughts about India, you might ask? It is because the Sri Lankan Tamils who have sought refuge in this country, and who thought they were escaping from governmental oppression in their own country, are now getting a taste of it here. Various pinpricks, pressure moves and acts of open discrimination

(cont. from page 6)

January 1988, moreover, four Indian soldiers were discharged and sentenced by an Indian court martial to one year's imprisonment for raping Tamil women.

Amnesty International also has been receiving reports of 'disappearances' of some Tamils taken into custody by the IPKF. AI has documented four such typical cases, all occurring in the northern Jaffna district in which young Tamil men reportedly arrested by the IPKF between November 1987 and February 1988 have 'disappeared'. The four persons concerned are: S.Varatharajah, aged 36, of Nallur arrested on 16 November 1987; M.Baburaj, aged 14, of Valvettiturai arrested on 16 November 1987; A.Thandauthapani, aged 40, of Vaddukoddai arrested on 8 January 1988; and N.Kirupakaran, aged 19, of Urelu arrested on 23 February 1988. In all these cases, the IPKF had confirmed the detention saying that they would be released after investigation. But the relatives have been unable to establish their fate or whereabouts, and it is feared that they might have died while in custody.

(A summarised review of Reports of Torture and Killings in Custody and Recent Allega-tions of 'Disappearances' by Amnesty International released on 21 June 1988 prepared by the HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL (SCOT)

are being employed to ensure that they get back to Sri Lanka. The latest of these is an order made by the Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Internal Security New Delhi, dated 22.3.88. which shuts out educational opportunities to a vast section of Sri Lankan Tamil students in Indian schools, colleges, polytechnics and universities. Under this order - (1) All students in schools below Class XI should get back. (2) Those in Class XI will be allowed to continue for one more year until they complete XII. (3) Those who have completed XII will not be given admission to colleges, universities and polytechnics. (4) There will be no new admissions to Sri Lankan Tamil students in colleges, schools or universities. (5) Those who are already in colleges and universities will be allowed to complete their courses. As if to rub salt into the wound, the order goes further to say - 'However, the extension of the student visas would be subject to the condition that the parents of such children would not insist on staying back in India on the pretext of completion of the respective courses of their wards'. (emphasis ours)! The implications of this order are

many: (1) For the first time, India is denying facilities for higher education to Sri Lankan Tamil students, and thereby ending a tradition that existed for over a hundred years. The first graduate of the Madras University was a Jaffna Tamil - Carol Viswanathapillai. (2) India is probably the first country and only country in the world to shut out Sri Lankan Tamil students. (3) The order specifically shuts out only Sri Lankan Tamil students. For example, the Sinhalese naval rating who publicly humiliated the Indian Prime Minister by attempting to bash his neck with a rifle butt is free to admit his child (if he has any and if he is interested) to an Indian school or university! (4) If all these are a consequence of the Indo-Sri lanka Agreement, one wonders how India can claim that the Agreement was meant to benefit the Tamils!

The order addressed to the Tamil Nadu state government states in the concluding para: I shall be grateful if you could please let us know the total number of students who are studying in various schools/colleges/technical institutions in the states, giving detailed break-up thereof. For obtaining due recognition for the certificates/degrees obtained by these students in the educational institutions in India, the matter is being taken up by the Ministry of External Affairs with the Government of Sri Lanka. We shall let you know as and when a decision is taken'. A classic example of putting the cart before the horse! One would have thought the sensible step would be to first obtain due recognition to Indian pass certificates with the Sri Lanka government

and thereafter call upon the Tamil students to get back.

Several protests and appeals have been made over this order, by various organisations and individuals, but until the first week of June there has been no official response. The Jawaharlal Nehru University Students' Union in New Delhi has also joined in the appeals. But an Indian politician who took up the matter personally with officials concerned had an amazing experience - they appeared to be only vaguely aware of the order itself, and ignorant of its implications!

Meanwhile, visas have yet to be extended beyond June. But the pressures countinue. Late last year all Sri Lankan Tamils living outside camps were called upon to register themselves (under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement). These included those on tourist visas. There was no talk of repatriation, only registration. The deadline fixed was December 31, 1987. Very few responded. The deadline was extended to February 29, 1988. Knowing how the Indian official mind works, and rightly suspecting that it was a trap to send them back, the majority did not respond even then. Veiled threats were made by some busybodies at certain official levels and the deadline was further extended to May 31. We are informed that up to now, only a quarter of the expected numbers have their names and addresses on the refugee register, not more than 15,000 out of a possible 60,000. The ones who thought that they would abide by the rules and registered themselves now regret their 'foolishness'; they are being summoned through Radio and Television to report at the Mandapam camp - to be repatriated to Sri Lanka. The 45,000 who decided to defy the order are under no pressure whatever; privately, they chuckle and say that in India it is foolish to try to be upright. Greasing palms is the accepted method of solving problems!

Talking of pressure, on the night of May 25, the Tamil news reader over the country's TV came out with a rude announcement. All Sri Lankan Tamils who had registered themselves should report at Mandapam camp before May 28, the announcement said, failing which stern action will be taken against them! Now imagine families in Madras with school and college going children, living in rented houses and flats, having paid advance deposits ranging from Rs.5000/- to Rs.10,000/- which advances will not be returned except with a minimum of one month's notice, abandoning home, advance, furniture, education and setting forth on a 12hour journey to Mandapam camp! And onwards to Jaffna where they might not have a house to move into! If that announcement was not an example of crass insensitivity on the part of some bureaucrat, what else was it? Was it a show of hostility?

What are the facts relating to the Sri Lankan Tamil refugee presence in Tamil Nadu in India? The influx began soon after the July-August 1983 massacres, the then government of India under Mrs.Indira Gandhi opened both doors to the fleeting Tamils - the front door via the airport and the back door via illegal country boats. The total number of refugees amounted to no more than one lakh and thirty thousand - in a State that has a population of over 55 million. The camp refugees were in a minority, a mere 30,000, housed in about 160 camps, mostly cyclone shelters meant for temporary use. The majority of one lakh persons were mostly those permitted to remain in the country on periodically extended tourist visas and a smaller number who came across the Palk Strait either in the then functioning Talaimannar-Rameswaram ferry boat or in hired boats, but living outside the camps and self-supporting.

Practically all the middle class families renting out houses and flats, and sending their children to Indian schools, colleges, universities and technical institutes in Madras, Madurai, Trichy, Coimbatore and other places are foreign exchange earners. They were not only not a burden on the Indian government; every paise of the money they received went to enrich that segment of society of which they became a part - the high-fee levying schools, the Postal Department, the banks, the house and flat owners, the grocer, the vegetable seller, the house broker, the autorickshaw man, many of whom even learnt to exploit the 'Ceylon people'. A family in search of a house, having to overcome local prejudices against letting out houses to Ceylonese, and with no local contacts, is thrown at the mercy of unscrupulous house brokers who jack the rates to their own benefit (a month's rent as brokerage)

and the benefit of the owner. The Sri Lankan Tamil refugees did not mind all these, and anyway they had no choice. They were prepared to buy PEACE in their lives with money, buy an education for their children, and freedom from bombing and shelling and tensions.

Today, as in early June 1988, the position is: there are no refugee camps except two, the main one at Mandapam and the other at Kottapattu in the Trichy district. All Mannar refugees have left; in fact about 10,000 of them left on their own, between the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and the IPKF operations in October. Only about 7500 camp refugees remain, those from Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Batticaloa and elsewhere.

Outside the camps, over 20,000 appear to have left on their own during the 10 weeks of peace in the north-east following the Accord, some of them leaving for foreign countries. Between December '87 and now, the Indian authorities have sent back either to Talaimannar or to Kankesanturai, about 15,000 persons, among whom were about 2000 non-camp Jaffna residents. Every Saturday a ship is scheduled to leave for Kankesanturai and every Wednesday another one to Talaimannar. The KKS ship has a capacity to take 1500, but the authorities are prepared to run it if given a minimum of 300 passengers. But alas, the last one scheduled for Saturday the 4th June did not leave, because there weren't sufficient numbers of passengers.

So what does the Sri Lankan Tamil refugee presence in India mean? Less

than 70,000, as compared to over 25,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany, over 20,000 in France, over 4000 in Switzerland, and probably another 10,000 in other Western countries, such as Holland, Denmark, Norway, United Kingdom etc. While a government like the Canadian had openly shown a human heart, it cannot be said that the German or French governments had shown the kind of hostility towards the Tamil refugees as what 'Mother India' does now!

Perhaps there is a moral in this. The last straw that led to the growth of youth militancy in Sri Lanka was the restrictions imposed on Tamil students in the field of higher education. It is happening in India now. Are governments imitative? Or is it that the Indian government having taken on the role of the Jayewardene government in suppressing Tamil nationalism (under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement) now feels impelled to carry on the discriminatory policies that the Sri Lanka governments practised? Governments develop an itch to oppress; as innumerable examples in history have shown, leading to tragic chains of events - Tsarist Russia began oppressing Jews, Hitler continued the pogroms, which ultimately led to the growth of a militant Zionism and the establishment of a Jewish homeland, which itself has become a threat to peace in the region. Oppression anywhere is a threat to people everywhere, because unlike small pox and cholera, oppression is a virulent virus that infects nations!

IPKF SOLDIER RELEASED BY LTTE

Lance Naik Dilip Bali Shagakar, a soldier belonging to the Indian Peace Keeping Force operating in Sri Lanka, was released by the LTTE on May 13.

The LTTE announced in Madras on May 11 that it was willing to release the Indian solider because of its love and respect for the people of India.' The 26-year-old Shagakar, of the Army Service Corps, was captured by the Tigers on March 6 at Nellukulam village in Vavuniya district during a clash between the IPKF and the LTTE.

The handing over of the soldier was a brief and starkly simple affair, with no speeches – in an open field about a couple of hundred metres from a hamlet called Sastrikoolankulam, 5 km

from Vavuniya town.

Earlier, in the morning, the IPKF had flown in five journalists from Madras to Vavuniya and the Sri Lankan Air Force had brought six journalists from Colombo. Three journalists from Vavuniya town also covered the event. To facilitate the coordination between the Madras-based LTTE representatives and those in Vavuniya, the IPKF flew in two middle-level LTTE members from Madras — Castro and Visu, both in their twenties. Soon after their arrival in Vavuniya, Castro and Visu established contact with the local LTTE leadership for the release of Shagakar.

A helicopter brought reporters from the airfield in Vavuniya town to the designated spot. Three tents had been pitched in the field for the use of the IPKF, the LTTE and the press corps. But there was hardly any use for them as the journalists fell to chatting with the IPKF officials.

Around 1.25 pm 'an advance party' of five Tiger representatives arrived at the pre-arranged location. They included, besides Castro, Dinesh, Inpan, Arjuna and Deepan. While Dinesh had a walkie-talkie, Inpan carried the red LTTE flag with the yellow Tiger emblem and Deepan and Arjuna were armed with AK-47 rifles. The IPKF officials offered them tea and biscuits, and there were discussions. After some time, Castro left for Sastrikoolankulam.

Around 2.05 pm, Shagakar came walking to the designated spot, accompanied by Castro, Visu and Nawaz of the LTTE. He was handed over to Col.P.S.Khanna of the IPKF. The journalists were given a couple of minutes to take photographs of Shagakar, dressed in a lungi and a white shirt. He carried a bag. The handing over was complete with Dinesh saying that the release marked the LTTE's 'love and respect for the people of India.'

IPKF OPERATION IN VADAMARADCHI

The I.P.K.F. imposed a curfew in Vadamaradchi East comprising, Nagarkovil, Thaalaiyadi, Vettillaikerni and Alliyawallai, on the night of 30.4.88. The curfew was continuous until lifted

The curfew was continuous until lifted on 13.5.88. During the first few days, the IPKF discovered a cache of arms and a petrol bowser full with petrol buried underground. This led to IPKF men assaulting residents and torturing youth for information about miltants. Shops and 20 schools in the area remained closed. The residents were on the point of starvation. People of neighbouring Valvettiturai township outraged by the ill-treatment of people in Vadamaradchi East took out a procession demonstrating against IPKF harassment in Vadamaradchi East.

The curfew was finally lifted to enable students to sit the Year-6 scholarship examination to be held on 14.5.88. Only a few students presented themselves for the examination. Whereas the people of Vadamaradchi suffered untold miseries at the hands of the Lanka Army during 'Operation Liberation' in May, 1987, this year in May the IPKF has taken over the function of tormenting the people of Vadamaradchi.

The pain, agony and fear of a people trapped

Dear Friends

I have lost count of the days
I don't know the day or the date
I know it's more than a month since the war started
You want events, numbers, case histories?
Not now please, because my mind is strangled
I know it's strange, but, that is what I feel
That is what we live
Pain, agony and fear - always fear

I ask you, could you write straight
When people die in lots?
When you find them
Dead like flies - not one, two
Left by the roadside
In Kopay, in town
In Kokuvil, Rasaveethi, Urumpirai
In there, over here
Left on the hospital corridors, to the elements
For the birds and dogs to scavenge?

When you certify death and bury your
Neighbours in their own garden?
When people - thousands and thousands
Always more than ten thousand are
Herded into kovils, churches and schools
For almost a month
When the beautiful sandy precinct of the temple
Becomes nothing but one whole shit dump
A hell hole with a teeming mass of people
When doctors are removing shrapnel and giving drips
And people shit just outside?

If night after night, you lay under the table
With your children, immobile
Listening to the sound of boots
Marching up and down your road
Not even a candle you light
For a shadow or even a sound could kill the whole household

What else?
We have no electricity
We have no money
The majority of the people have hardly any food
Our workplaces are flattened out
We have no functioning hospital
No drugs, no fuel

Fear? Now we know of Rape
I'd like to get together with other women
But I know of nobody to get in touch with
All of us are scattered

The Indian army is everywhere
Walking, in trucks
In open vehicles, closed vehicles
The Gurkhas are even trying out bicycles
And enjoying our livestock
Chickens, goats, everything
'Came hunting tigers
catching goats now'
The people still have their sense of humour

The Gurkhas, the turbanned Sikhs
The southern Indians from various states, speaking Tamil
Such a diverse people - brought to you
Booted, with arms in their hands

Rajiv clearly says, we have gone to Sri Lanka
For our nations's goal
Our middle classes have always been saying
India won't allow Jaffna to be taken
Now India has taken us
Any street you have walked
Any building you have been in
All have been shelled
So thorough is the destruction
The Indian army learns how to smash an urban guerilla
movement
Sure to come in handy

On top of all No one cares for the people The Sri Lankan government, the Indian army Not even the tigers nor the other movements Today we are a trapped people We are made to walk this suicidal trip Our great brave defenders and freedom fighters Lure the enemy Right to our doorstep To the inside of the hospital Start a fight Ignite a landmine Fire from each and every refugee camp Escape to safety And then come the shells whizzing, whizzing Bloody hell Tigers have withdrawn, while We the sacrificial lambs Drop dead in lots

15 years of war
And now a hopeless halt
Our society has no will to organise
It is totally crumbled
There isn't a single civilian structure to connect up with
The era has demised with
So much loss
And bitterness all round

Jaffna, Nov.18th 1987

TULF ON 'COLONISATION'

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has submitted a memorandum to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi regarding the Lankan Government's continued policy of creating state aided Sinhala colonies in Tamil areas and its renewed efforts in this direction.

The TULF has also supplied a list of proposed tank-based settlements in Tamil areas where Sinhalese are to be settled and states that arrangements are being made for this purpose. Special legislation is being enacted and statutory bodies hurriedly set up to create the new settlements.

The TULF has also specially cited the case of Welioya Colonisation scheme in the Mullaitivu District where 25,000 Sinhalese have been settled lately. By referring to the area by the Sinhala name Welioya, the Government wants the general public to believe that it is a traditional Sinhala area. Maps prepared by the Survey Department yet bear the Tamil name 'Manal-Aaru' (Sandy River) for the area. The new settlement is surrounded by Tamil villages like Othiyamalai and Suriyanaaru. Tamils from Manal-Aaru and surrounding areas were chased

away and a large number massacred by the Lankan Army in Decemebr, 1984. The settlers are exclusively supplied with water from 10 tanks for their new agricultural holdings. The Tamil inhabitants have now to depend on rain for cultivation. The Government's further aim in creating this settlement is also to erect a Sinhala barrier to the contiguity of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Provincial Councils would have no power to prevent such colonisation. The Lankan Government's recent colonisation efforts amount to a breach of faith on its part.

FOUR DECADES OF APARTHEID AND APATHY

Sachi.Sri Kantha (University of Tokyo

Almost forty years had passed since the presently ruling United National Party bulldozed through the First Parliament of Ceylon, three notorious legislations which deprived the citizenship rights of Tamils of recent Indian origin. These three non-humanistic legislations were:

 1948 Citizenship Act, which in effect converted the resident Tamils of recent Indian origin into a stateless minority.

1949 Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act, enacted for the purpose of registering Tamils of Indian origin and Pakistanis as citizens. The administration of this Act deprived citizenship rights of over 95% of the Indian Tamils.

3. 1949 Ceylon (Parliamentary) Election Amendment Act, which deprived voting rights of the resident Tamils of Indian origin. It should be remembered that in the 1947 First Parliamentary elections, eight members representing Indian Tamils (out of a total elected membership of 95) were elected by the plantation workers.

Almost all the leading politicians of the First Parliament of Ceylon who had opposed or defended the rights of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka had died or retired from active politics. However still three veterans (J.R.Jeyewardene, W.Dahanayake and S.Thondaman) are politically active. The irony is that then Jayewardene was in the ruling camp while Dahanayake and Thondaman defended the rights of Indian Tamils. Now, both Dahanayake and Thondaman have accepted Jayewardene's leadership and serve him without much

Against helotry

The best criticism delivered against the three undemocratic laws was then made by the veteran Trotskyist, Dr.Colvin R.de Silva, whose party also enjoyed the popular support of the Indian Tamils in the 1947 General Electrion. His 1949 pamphlet entitled, 'Against helotry' (consisting of two speeches on the Citizenship Bill and the Immigrants and Emigrants Bill) has to be cherished by the human rights activists. But, how do the contemporary Sinhalese historians interpret these drastic infringement of human rights? Historian laureate of UNP, Prof.Kingsley de Silva writes,

'Stephen Senanayake's policies for the transfer of power in the early years of independence were based on his acceptance of the reality of a plural society. He sought the reconciliation of the legitimate interests of the majority and minority ethnic and religious groups within the context of an all-island polity. This held out

the prospect of peace and stability in the vital first phase of independence....' (refer, THE FAR EAST AND AUSTRALASIA 1987, 18th ed, Europa Publications, Ltd, p.908)

I can label this myopic view only as sheer nonsense. But this is how history is being written these days by Sri Lankan academics who are slaves to ruling politicians.

Tamil splits

The passage of the three notorious Bills also saw the split in the political leadership of the indigenous (Ceylon) Tamils. S.J.V.Chelvanayakam and his able lieutenant C.Vanniasingham left the Tamil congress Party led by G.G.Ponnambalam and formed the Federal Party in late 1949. Chelvanayakam then made a prophetic statement: 'Those who thrust the knife into the neck of Indian Tamils today, will do the same thing to indigenous Tamils tomorrow'. However, the Tamils of North and East didn't care much about this prophecy. They were living in the mirage of post-independent euphoria and the availability of facilities for English education to enhance their status. How the indigenous Tamils were indifferent to the plight of Indian Tamils could be seen from the results of the 1952 General Election. Many Federal Party candidates, including the leader Chelvanayakam suffered humiliating defeats in that election. Only-Vanniasingham(Kopay electorate) and Rajavarothayam(Trincomalee electorate) were elected on the FP platform. The subsequent anti-Tamil events which occurred in mid-1950s proved Chelvanayakam's prophecy to be true and he was enthroned as the visionary leader of the Tamil cause in Ceylon.

Indian political observers of 1950s compared the arbitrary 'stateless' declaration delivered on the Indian Tamils to the apartheid system of South African government. By coincidence, the racial segregation of apartheid was also first formalized in the 1948 Afrikaner Nationalist Party platform. In Ceylon, the right to vote was denied to citizens of Indian origin who had lived in the island for nearly a century. In South Africa, the right to vote was denied to non-whites. The difference between the South African situation and Sri Lankan situation was that, whereas South Africa received international censure for its racist policy, Sri Lanka was granted a dignified status as a 'developing country with much democratic potential'. South Africa had been increasingly ostracized and expelled from many international bodies but Sri Lanka was allowed to retain the membership of same international organizations. Whereas the South African cricket team was eliminated from international test cricket, the Sri Lankan cricket team was granted entry into test match clique. What happened to the impartiality and statesmanship of international political leaders including that of Britain?

It was to the credit of Jawaharlal Nehru that till his death in 1964, he maintained that the Ceylon government should confer citizenship on the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka. Having grasped the socio-political aspirations and realities of the plantation Tamils, who had settled in Ceylon for more than three generations, Nehru (true statesman that he was) steadfastly refused to enter into any repatriation agreement with any of the five prime ministers of Ceylon he had to deal with. Nehru, by his majesty and global stature virtually dwarfed the Ceylonese prime ministers between 1948 and 1964. Following the death of Nehru, his successor Lal Bahadur Shastri succumbed to the subtle political pressure exerted by the then Pakistani General Ayub Khan and SLFP leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike. The first repatriation agreement between Ceylon and India (popularly known as Sirimavo-Shastri Pact) was signed by the two prime ministers without consulting the wishes of the entire Indian Tamil population living in the island. According to this lop-sided agreement, India agreed to confer citizenship on 525,000 persons of Indian origin in exchange of conferment of Ceylonese citizenship on 325,000 persons, on the ratio of 7:4. The Sirimavo-Shastri Pact left the status and future of 150,000 persons and their natural increase undecided. A second agreement between Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Indira Gandhi (the then prime ministers of Sri Lanka and India) in January 1974 solved this question whereby Sri Lanka opted to grant citizenship to 75,000 and India to 75,000 persons.

'The beggars'

The Land Reform Act of 1974 caused much turmoil among the Indian Tamil plantation workers. By this Act, the State Plantation Corporation took over 153 tea and tubber plantations covering 165,000 acres. Sociologist Prof. Nandasena Ratnapala observed in his book, 'THE BEGGARS IN SRI LANKA'(1979).

'The nationalisation of estates resulted in throwing out a vast number of workers of Indian origin, some of whom fitted into the role of beggars. . .The workers of Indian Tamil origin found no place or possessions in the estates. As no immediate relief was found for those thus thrown out, they had no alternative but to sell whatever they had, maintained themselves thereby as long as they could, and as a last resort to come to the nearby towns and start begging thereafter. .

According to Vasudeva Nanayakkara, who himself had represented a plantation electorate, Kiriella, in the 1970-77 Ceylonese parliament,

... The Land Reform in many areas created a new breed of bureaucrats and hardly benefitted the peasantry. The so-called cooperative estates were run by inefficient, untrained SLFP stooges who trampled on practically every right that the estate workers had won (especially those of Tamil workers of recent Indian origin). Many of the skilled workers were thrown out, their places being taken by SLFP stooges. Consequently productivity took a sharp drop.' (source: THE WAY FORWARD FOR SRI LANKA'S LEFT, Sama Samaja Publications, No.2, 1979)

Comparative figures of tea and rubber production during the last 25 years reveal the pathetic depletion in productivity. Till 1964, tea, rubber and coconut products accounted for 90% or more of Ceylonese exports. Annual output of tea reached the maximum record harvest of 228.000 metric tons in 1965. It has never been matched since. In 1978, tea, rubber and coconut together contributed about 70% of Sri Lanka's total export earnings. In 1985, the earnings from the exports of these three primary products had fallen to 48% (16,863 million Rs.).

Tilt for UNP

In the 1977 General Election, in nearly 20 electorates, the Indian Tamil vote (amounting to not more than 7% of total vote) tilted in favour of UNP and contributed to the election of at least 25 UNP parliamentarians. Even the 'Leftfortresses' like Yatiyantota, Ruwanwella, Kalawana, Deraniyagala (Dehiowita) and Deniyaya which had traditionally voted for socialist and communist candidates for 30 years since 1947, turned in favour of the UNP. also got elected for the Thondaman second time in his long career (first in 1947 election; then between 1960 and 1970, he was a nominated MP to look after the interests of the Indian Tamils) as the 3rd MP for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya electorate. After sitting for one year in the Opposition benches in the parliament as a surviving TULF president, he crossed over to the government ranks to accept a cabinet position with the induction of the Constitution of the Second Republic of Sri Lanka in 1978. Prof.Kingsley de Silva applauds the 1978 Jayewardene's Constitution as follows:

. . .Important was the abolition of the distinction between citizens by descent and citizens by registration, such as the Indian Tamils, thus removing the stigma of second-class citizenship attached to the latter. Combined with the lifting, in Dec.1977, of the bar on plantation workers resident on estates, voting in local government elections, which had been in force since the 1930s, this ensured that citizens of Indian origin, in the main plantation workers, were treated on a par with Sri Lankan citizens by descent. . .' (same source cited above)

By emphasizing the so-called merits of the 1978 Constituion, Prof.de Silva had tacitly accepted that the 1946 Soulbury Constitution and the 1972 First Republican (Sirimavo-Colvin) Constitution of the island virtually treated the Indian Tamils as second class (or is it third class?) paraiahs. And Jayewardene was a cabinet member of the ruling UNP (1947-56 and again 1965-70) which had ratified the Soulbury Constitution!.

caste eradication. The younger generation of Tamils had proved far better in accommodating the Indian Tamils in the common struggle for liberation.

Albert Einstein wrote in 1934: 'If we Jews can learn anything from these politically sad times, it is the fact that destiny has bound us together, a fact

Table 1: Post-Independent Census Figures of Sri Lanka

-	•			
ethnic groups	1953	1971	1981	
Sinhalese	5,616,512	9,131,000	10.986,000	
Ceylon Tamils	884,703	1,424,000	1,872,000	
Indian Tamils	1,021,560	1,175,000	825,000	
Ceylon Moors	463,963	828,000	1,057,000	
Malays	25,464	42,000	43,000	
Burghers & Eurasians	45,950	44,000	38,000	
Europeans	6,508			
Others (Veddhas etc)	33,042	46,000	. 29,000	
Total	8.097.895	12.690.000	14.850.000	

Table 1 shows the changing complexion of the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka in the past 35 years. (i) Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamil and Muslim populations had doubled. (ii) Indian Tamil population had decreased by 19% from the 1953 figures. (iii) Population of other minorities (Malays, Burghers and 'Others') had stabilised or seem to be decreasing due to emigration, acculturation and accumulation. In Feb.1986, the UNP passed another legislation, 'Grant of Citizenship to Stateless Persons Act No.5' in the Sri Lanka's much-abused parliament. The aim of this legislation was to 'solve the problem of statelessness within 18 months of the date of enactment of this Act'. But still, nearly 500,000 Tamilians remain stateless in Sri Lanka. Whereas the 1964 Sirimavo-Shastri Pact stipulated that Sri Lanka will grant citizenship to 375,000 persons of Indian origin, only 220,000 had received the citizenship status in Sri Lanka after 24 years; i.e., approximately 9,170 persons per year. So much for the snail-speed action taken by the Sinhalese legislators and bureaucrats, belonging to both the SLFP and the UNP. It is not hard to grasp the sinister motive of politicians. If mass-scale granting of citizenship was carried out, it would have changed the electoral constituencies of strategic 'Sinhalese strongholds' (Kandy, Matale, Nawalapitiya, Ratnapura, and Badulla) in favour of Indian Tamils.

Derogatory Epithets

Let us also not forget that the indigenous Tamils also have to be partly blamed for the present plight of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka. Not so long ago, it was fashionable among the elites in Jaffna to have 'podiyans' and 'podichis-'(servants) from the plantation areas. Derogatory epithets such as 'kalla thoni', 'thotta kaataan', 'vadakathaiyan' referring to Indian Tamils were also very common in conversation among the high caste Tamils. The older generation of indigenous Tamils may boast that they were following Gandhi's ideals and unlike the present-day LTTE 'podiyans', non-violence was their fort. But they treated the Indian Tamils in plantations as 'dirts' and paid only lip service to Gandhi's ideals on

which in times of quiet and security, we often so easily and gladly forget. We are accustomed to lay too much emphasis on the differences that divide the Jews of different lands and different religious views. And we forget often that it is the concern of every Jew, when anywhere the Jew is hated and treated unjustly, when politicians with flexible consciences set into motion against us the old prejudices, in order to concoct political schemes at our expense'.

Substitute the word, 'Tamil' for 'Jew' in the above passage and then read it again. Einstein's thoughts fits well for the present plight of Tamils too. The enforcement of Indian Citizenship Acts in 1948 and 1949 split the indigenous Tamil leadership into two camps. G.G.Ponnambalam and S.J.V.Chelvanayakam (equally talented legal eagles who complemented each other in charisma, dexterity, political skills and popularity) parted company. And when they joined together in their twilight years in 1976, so much damage had been done not only to the Indian Tamil population, but also to the Tamil cause in general. It is a lesson for the younger generation of Tamil militant leaders too. The old Tamil adage, 'Adampan kodiyum thirandaal midukku' has much practical meaning in it.

Let us also remember that the most famous among those born in the Sri Lankan tea plantations was the late Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, M.G.Ramachandran. If not for his mother's foresight, who took her suffering family to Kumbakonam in 1920, MGR would have foregone his chances for great success in life.

If MGR had been forced to stay in Kandy, what career would he have taken? With perseverence and hard work, he could have become a kanakkapillai (accounts clerk) or an estate school teacher. If lady luck had smiled on him, he could have become a labour leader like Thondaman. One shudders to think how many MGRs could have developed among the Indian Tamil population in Sri Lanka, if proper educational, recreational and health facilities and guidance were at their disposal!

READERS FORUM

NEWS ABOUT TAMIL NADU

Of late, I find that you are giving a certain amount of coverage to events in India, particularly in Tamil Nadu. This is most welcome for two reasons.

Firstly, events and developments in the sub-continent have a direct bearing on Sri Lankan affairs and the role of India in them plays an increasingly important part as has been amply demonstrated in the recent past.

Secondly, your journal is called Tamil Times' and not 'Sri Lanka Tamil Times'. About 55 million Tamils live in India and I think it should devote adequate space to cover news and views about them to justify its name.

Tamil Times may not have much readership in Tamil Nadu or among Tamils of south Indian origin living abroad. But I hope and wish, given your willingness to broaden spectrum of coverage, Tamil Times could progressively gain wider readership among them too. I wish you all the best.

M. Mathialagan

Madras, South India.

TAMIL DOCTORS AND THE FUTURE?

We thank you for the introduction, that appeared in your valued journal (March '88), of an 'Organisation of Tamil Doctors' in the UK. However, on behalf of the Convenors, I must stress that this effort is still in its nascent state and a steering Committee is working on its progress.

Though the factual objectives were well tabulated in your report there was a slight but important deficiency of the emotive content of exercise.

As one of the Convenors, I wish to clarify this, in order to prevent any misconceptions that may surface among our Medical colleagues and other well wishers.

The quest for freedom by the Tamils is, no doubt, of paramount importance. However, lately it is beginning to occupy our thoughts to such an extent that we are in danger of missing all other aspects that go hand in hand to evolve a successful society.

Education and specially Professional learning have always been our strength. This is now beginning to falter due to:

- 1) A sharp disruption of our social values.
- 2) Diversion of our meagre resources to other more urgent needs.
- 3) A rapid lowering of our Teaching standards due to destruction of our Institutions of learning and poor availability of qualified Teachers.

If we do not stem this trend swiftly,

soon we may lose our identity, as a community which stood out for its excellence, in a variety of Professional disciplines.

How do we do this?

We feel that the way forward is for the Professionals among the Tamils to unite in to viable groups that can foster further education of our youngsters in a meaningful way.

Doctors do appear to be in significant numbers among the Tamil Professionals in this Country. It may be that, we can set the pace for the rest of our brothers in other Professions.

The birth of this 'new' Organisation was indeed a culmination of these

above thoughts.

We feel that our aim should be, in the course of time, an Institute of the Tamil Professionals, which will function in a coordinated fashion to maintain our Standards and nurture the genetic potential of our Community to pass it on to the future generations.

Our cherished dream shall be, that

Our cherished dream shall be, that one day when our land is born, however long it may take, we will have amongst us, the necessary Professional and Academic ranks who will move in to build an infrastructure to make this land of ours stand proud as a total sucess in the contemporary world.

S Mahendran Convenor

Medical Institute of Tamils

Ilford Essex IG1 3LL

The great failing of the Tamil people has seemed to me to be the inability of people with a common purpose to get together unitedly to achieve their aims. This has been evident especially in our attempts to improve our lot against oppressive government in Sri Lanka. It is all too obvious in the great proliferation of many expatriate Tamil groups which, while having grand, lengthy titles, achieve little of substance save to display the names of a few people prominently on their official letter paper. It may therefore surprise you to know that I was heartened to learn of the formation of yet another Tamil organisation here in the U.K.i.e. the formation of a Tamil Doctor's Association as reported in your journal.

At a time when Tamils outside Sri Lanka are confused and helpless in their efforts to help those at home, at a time when our many political organisations here seem even more enfeebled and rudderless, the formation of such an organisation seems, to me, to show us a way of practically and effectively helping our people. Such an organisa-tion comprising of Tamil doctors, of which there are all too many here in the U.K., could be one of geat significance to our people. Some of the ways in which the organisation could be of service were outlined in their aims, but I would here like to make a few more suggestions to add to that list.

The Tamil areas face a lack of both qualified consultants in our major hos-

pitals and junior medical personnel in most others. This can be solved only by many of us who have come here for training returning at the end of it, and also by the Jaffna medical faculty regularly graduating well trained young doctors. The Jaffna faculty has therefore a vital role to play in providing the best of medical education and establishing high standards of medical practice. To achieve this, needs modern facilities and teaching staff well acquainted with the latest developments in medicine and surgery. The doctors' association here could be in an excellent position to help in both regards. (a) by helping to raise funds for the purpose of equipment both for teaching purposes and for the hospitals

(b) arrange for willing Tamil consultants here to be able to spend 6 months or 1 year sabbaticals in the Tamil areas to teach and help update medical knowledge there. It is cheaper for one Tamil consultant from here to go and train a few junior surgeons there in the latest advances than for all to come here. It is also possible for consultants here to arrange sponsored posts in the U.K. for promising young physicians and surgeons from the Tamil areas. Such arranged postings will also sidestep the requirement for the PLAB examination and enable these doctors to receive a two to four year training period before returning home.

(c) this association could also act as a think tank making suggestions as to how improve health facilities and the teaching of medecine at home.

With an imaginative and dedicated programme there is much that an association can do. At a time when our medical institutions and personnel have literally been under attack there is much that can be done to alleviate the problem. Why not have an association of Tamil teachers in the UK, of engineers, of accountants and businessmen? These could channel, advise and help directly to aid in the fields of education, development etc. Even in the midst of uncertainty efforts have to be made to help rehabilitate our shattered land. And if such associations could then come under an umbrella body while retaining their independence of action we would be able to provide coherent, coordinated and effective help to our suffering countrymen.

Obviously there will be many more suggestions that could be made and implemented. Journals such as yours would seem an excellent forum to air them.

Dr. D.C.Ambalavanar

Black Notley Hospital Braintree, Essex CM7 8NF

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FOR THE RECORD

HEADQUARTERS INDIAN PEACE KEEPING FORCE, PALALI

SECRET

AGREED MINUTES OF DISCUSSIONS HELD BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY, THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF INDIA, SHRI JN DIXIT AND HIS DELEGATION AND MR V PIRABHAKARAN, LEADER OF THE LTTE AND HIS DELEGATION ON 23, 26 AND 28 SEPTEMBER 1987

- 1. A list of those present is at Annexure attached.
- 2. The High Commissioner informed Mr V Pirabhakaran that President Jayawardene has agreed to establish an Interim Administrative Council for the Northern and Eastern provinces, as per the following composition:-

(a) Chief Administrator/Administrator in Council – One of the three persons included in the list submitted by the LTTE to be appointed.

(i) LTTE

 $-5 \\ -2$

(ii) TULF (iii) Muslims

 $-2 \\ -2$

of LTTE) (to include one nominee

(iv) Sinhalese

— 2

Total _______

- 3. Mr Pirabhakaran agreed to the composition of the Interim Administrative Council as indicated above.
- 4. The High Commissioner Shri JN Dixit informed Mr V Pirabhakaran that President Jayawardene had agreed to delegate his executive powers, as envisaged in paras 10.1 and 10.2 of the Bangalore proposals to the Administrator in Council during the interim period ie, till elections to the provincial councils are held.
- The Administrator in Council would accordingly be responsible for the maintenance of Law and Order and other responsibilities as outlined in the relevant paragraphs.
- 6. It was agreed that the establishment of an Interim Administration would facilitate the fulfilment of the five demands put forward by the LTTE in its resolution conveyed on 13 Sep 87 to the High Commissioner.
- 7. Mr Pirabhakaran said that the LTTE would fully cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement subject to assurances given to him by the Prime Minister of India in July 1987.
- Minister of India in July 1987.

 8. Mr Pirabhakaran said that the LTTE would surrender the remaining arms ie, other than the person-al arms for the security of their leaders once condition of security for their leaders and cadres are created.
- Mr Pirabhakaran agreed that the LTTE will cooperate fully and ensure smooth functioning of all

aspects of the civil administristration, including the functioning of the police force.

- Mr Pirabhakaran agreed that free and fair elections to the provincial council will be held and that the LTTE will cooperate fully in the process.
- High Commissioner Shri Dixit and Mr Pirabhakaran agreed that the LTTE and the Indian Official media would desist from mutual criticism.
- 12. In view of agreement having been reached on Paras 2 to 11 above, the Sri Lanka Government will announce the establishment of the Interim Administrative Council within 48 hours of the signing of the Agreed Minutes.
- 13. It was also agreed that the Governments of India and Sri Lanka will formally announce the salient points of the above agreement.
- Upon this being done, the LTTE
 would make an announcement about the withdrawal of its agitation
 and fasting unto death campaigns.

Signed Signed (Ms PURI) (K MAHENDRA RAJA)
First Secretary (Political)
DY Leader LTTE

HIGH COMMISSION OF INDIA COLOMBO

28 September 1987 28 September 1987

TRAIN PASSENGERS ROBBED

An unidentified gang of armed men held up the Colombo bound 'Yarl Devi' train on 11 June at Ganewatte in the Kurunegala police division and robbed passengers of cash, jewellery and other valuables.

The men armed with pistols and knives had swooped down on the train when it halted at the Ganewatte railway station around 5.30 pm and gone on a looting spree. Passengers had been threatened and ordered to hand over all their valuables. The train was delayed at the station for over two hours because of the hold-up.

Any passenger who showed any resistence was roughed up by the raiders who fled the scene before the police arrived.

WHITE FLAG PROTEST

The call by Jaffna Municipal Commissioner, C.V.K.Sivagnanam, to fly white flags on June 15 as a demonstration to those who are presently engaged in armed hostilities has received widespread support in the north and east of Sri Lanka.

The main demands behind this white flag demonstration are: (a) an end to armed hostilities between the IPKF and the LTTE; (b) resumption of negotiations between the LTTE and India; and (c) restoration of peace.

In a statement issued, Mr.Sivagnanam said that the Tamil people have suffered enormously for a long time and they are yearning for peace and the whole country and the world should know this.

Mr.Sivagnanam said that the flying of the flag by the people would be a reminder to those who are presently engaged in hostilities to down arms and declare a ceasefire. It was not a 'hartal' or a protest action. It only meant peace and encouraging ways to achieve it. Transport, schools and work in government and private establishments would not be interrupted and would function normally. Shops would open. People would hoist white flags in their homes, on their vehicles and carry the flag wherever they moved, Mr.Sivagnanam added.

JAFFNA BOUND BUSES BURNT

On the night of 4/5th May, 1988 two buses and a mini bus plying between Colombo and Jaffna transporting passengers were burnt. The first one was burnt after the passengers, all bound to Jaffna, were asked to alight at a point 17 kilometers off Puttalam on the Puttalam — Anuradhapura road. The second bus also bound to Jaffna was burnt within sight of the Lankan Army camp at Iraperiyakulam on the Anuradhapura — Vavuniya road. The mini bus also bound to Jaffna was burnt on the same road.

MILITARY BUILD-UP CONTINUES

Militarism is on the march yet in Sri Lanka. About 2000 men will be recruited each year for the army according to military sources. 100 armed Sea and Coast-Guards have been appointed to Trincomalee and Puttalam. Arms withdrawn from Home Guards in the Amparai District will be returned to them. They will be known as Corps Protection Officers. 400 Home Guards have been appointed to protect Sinhala villagers in the Vavuniya District according to 'The Sun' of 12.5.88. The Special Task Force (Commandos) strength is to be raised to 5000 from the present strength of 2300 men. – Island 7.5.88.

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by D.B.S.Javaraj

MURDER OF FR. CHANDRA FERNANDO

COMMENTARY

The funeral of Rev. Fr. Chandra Fernando was a moving event. The people of Batticaloa attended in large numbers. The pamphlet distributed by the EROS titled 'Are you a Brutus' was well received. The death of the priest is the first of its kind to occur after the Accord. Earlier during the conflict between the Sri Lankan forces and the Tamil groups Catholic priests like Fr. Mary Bastian of Vankalai and Bro. Wenceslaus of Tholakatty have been killed. Priests like Frs. Singarayer and Sinnarasa have been arrested. The killing of Fr. Chandra was the first murder of a Catholic priest in the internecine warfare among the Tamil groups.

Fr. Chandra did yeoman service to the people of Batticaloa in his capacity as Joint Secretary of the Citizens Committee, earlier as Joint Secretary and later as President. Of the many incidents that occurred people recall with gratitude and admiration his performance during the ceasefire-monitoring panel sittings in Batticaloa, the Kokkaticholai massacre, and the Indian army killings in Valaichanai and Kumburumoolai. The man who had the courage to stand up to the might of the Sri Lankan and Indian states in the interests of his people has been gunned down by a section of his own people.

Various reasons are adduced for the killing. The chief one is the allegation spread by interested parties that Fr. Chandra was a Tiger supporter. Earlier his brother, the president of a Batticaloa trade union federation, was detained by the Indian Army for a long

When elections to the Batticaloa Citizens Committee occurred last time, the LTTE allegedly interfered and saw to it that the new administration comprised people who were not hostile to the LTTE. Fr. Chandra was among those re-elected. Later when the Indian army had flushed the Tigers away from Batticaloa, other Tamil groups re-emerged. The TELO, EPRLF and ENDLF began functioning openly in Batticaloa. Thanks to the benevolent patronage of the Indian forces in return for services rendered by 'singing' information about LTTE, those groups walked freely in the land of the singing

The EPRLF put pressure on the Citizens Committee to dissolve itself. When asked the reason, the EPRLF said that the Citizens Committee was not truely representative of the people and was a Tiger appendage. They had no objection to a genuinely independent people oriented Citizens Committee, the EPRLF said. Fr. Chandra resisted pressures and continued to function until his death.

Before that rumours were spread that 'Tigers' were being kept hidden in the Bishop's House by Fr. Chandra and another priest. When a Colombo-based

foreign correspondent innocently revealed the 'source' who was planting the stories to Bishop Kingsley Swampillai, the angry prelate had allegedly rung up the source and berated him.

So now Fr. Chandra is dead. The EPRLF has issued a public statement condemning the killing. Whoever was responsible for the killing has proven one point. 'When in' 'power' do as the Tigers, which in effect means eliminating all those who disagree with you. In practice, people who get killed usually are not ordinary people but those who have some stature, those who are of service to the community etc. For these are the people who can shape public opinion and are therefore potentially dangerous. What is saddening is that when this process goes on the community will be deprived of its leaders, the men with a social commitment and independnt spirit.

In this context one also recalls the plight of Mr. Sam Thambimuttu who was Joint Secretary of the Citizens Committee with Fr. Chandra earlier, an abortive attempt on his life was made by 'Pottu' of the LTTE. Mr. Thambimuttu had to come down to Colombo for sometime. Today 'Pottu'

has left the LTTE and gone abroad, but Mr. Thambinmuttu continues to live in Batticaloa

The killing of Fr. Chandra also reminds one of the LTTE action against the TELO. When remonstrating with the then Jaffna leader 'Kittu' about the massacre of TELO cadres. Kittu's defence was a standard one. It was a preemptive strike. They were planning to wipe us out. We were quicker. Otherwise you would be remonstrating with Sri Sabaratnam about my death'. Today it seems that 'Kittu' was right after all. Despite all the glib talk and professed ideals, the group that killed Fr. Chandra has shown that basically there is no difference between them and the Tigers.

The complacent Colombo-types who casually dismiss the LTTE and JVP as 'Ethno Populists' and 'Neo-Fascists'. and hail the pro-Indian groups as progressives would do well to take note of this killing. The vendetta against Tiger supporters goes on unabated in the East. Many people have died. To use a Churchillian phrase 'the War of the Giants is over, the war of the pygmies

has started'.

DWINDLING TAMIL POPULATION

Mr. H.P. Abeyesekera in a two part article entitled Demography and Ethnicism carried in the Daily News of the 30th and 31st March, 1988 refers to a demographic trend observed among Sri Lankan Tamils. The proportionate disparity in the increase / decrease of Lankan Tamils in relation to the majority community shows a negative trend. The following figures speak for themselves:

ever coming back to re-settle here. An estimated 20,000 Tamils have died by violence since 1981. Close to 50,000 young Tamil males are languishing in Europe as asylum seekers from about 1983. It is not unreasonable to assume that as many young Tamil females remain here without any prospects of marriage. In reckoning the untimely deaths in Jaffna during October/

PERCENTAGE FIGURES OF TWO ETHNIC **GROUPS 1911-1981**

1911 1921 1931 1946 1953 1963 1971 1981

Entire Population 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 66.1 67.0 65.3 69.4 69.3 71 74 72 Lankan-Tamil 12.9 11.5 11.2 11.0 10.9 11.0 11.2 12.7

One of the chief causes affecting the fertility rate among Lankan Tamils is the absence of the male worker from his home for relatively long periods. Generally his work place is far away from his native place and economic conditions prevent him visiting his home as frequently as he would otherwise do. The on-going disturbed conditions prevailing in the North and East of Lanka would have made the position far worse than what it was observed to be at the census year of 1981. The frequent ethnic violence and damage/ loss of property have resulted in many Lankan Tamils emigrating from Lanka. There is no likelihood of their

November 1987, a large proportion of the dependants of the deceased were found to be unmarried young Tamil women. In a single instance an unmarried young woman came to report the killing of her retired phamacist father. She had five other sisters all above 21 and unmarried. They had lost their mother earlier. In the concluding paragraph of the article referred to above, the writer lists the various factors countervailing the creation of Eelam. He t hen goes on to state that even if all such factors failed to prevent the establishment of Eelam, the inevitable demographic trend among Lankan Tamils would do so.

AN OPEN LETTER TO RAJIV GANDHI

DO NOT BRING **DESTRUCTION TO SRI** LANKA AND DISCREDIT TO INDIA

I am writing to express my concern at your handling of the Sri Lankan situation. I am a Sinhalese and a doctor of medicine uninvolved in politics. I am a strong supporter of Amnesty International and as such, I am opposed to violence, be it the violence of armed groups or of governments.

Over the years I have closely monitored the escalating conflict in Sri Lanka and the tragic fate of the Tamil minority. I hoped that India would put some pressure on the repressive regime in Colombo to see that the Tamil minority were allowed to live with equality and without discrimination.

I was surprised and dismayed at the terms that you thought fit to sign in your Agreement with President Jayawardene. This was such a weak document that even those of us uninvolved in politics could not see how it could bring either peace or normalcy which you stated were your objectives. I have set out the weaknesses of the Accord in the review which I wrote a few weeks after you signed it. If you disagree with this analysis, I will be glad to take up any specific points.

In October 1987 I was appalled by

the Indian military offensive which cost hundreds of civilian lives in Jaffna. Whatever the justification was for such an offensive, I think any reasonable person would conclude that it was conducted in a manner that violated every norm of responsible behaviour. There is no circumstance that permits such an offensive to be carried out with International Red Cross, Human Rights Groups and independent observers excluded from the area of conflict. It contravenes the Geneva Convention and all the laws that govern armed conflict.

Your government has persisted in a futile effort to settle the Sri Lankan problem by military might. You have not succeeded and you will not. I am not a supporter of the LTTE or any other militant group but I think it is naive and politically immature to believe that one can successfully disarm thousands of armed men who are prepared to die for a cause, by military force. Armed men can only be disarmed if the cause which prompted them to take up arms is properly addressed and corrected. State violence or the violence of a so-called Peace Keeping Force is not an

It amazes me that your government has not benefited from the history of armed conflict in Sri Lanka. Mrs.Bandaranaike tried just this in 1971 when she attempted to put down an armed revolt by militant Sinhalese youths by the exhibition of State violence

attempt, I am sad to say, supported by India. What has been the result? 15 years later the same youths are back, armed even better that they were in 1971, and are now on a killing spree in Sri Lanka's south.

It surprises me that with this glaring example in Sri Lanka that state force is not a way to disarm armed men and your spectacular failure to do so in the Punjab, your government persists in its efforts to disarm Tamil militants in Sri Lanka. Your attempt will be no more successful than was Mrs.Bandaranaike's with the JVP in 1971 or Mr.Jayawardene's with the Tamil militants from 1977 to the time you started fighting his battle.

Sir, you have the necessary military strength to kill Mr.Prabhakaran and even crush the LTTE. However strong your military muscle may be, of one thing I am certain, you will not crush the legitimate and justifiable quest of the Tamil people to free themselves from Sinhalese domination. If Prabhakaran is killed, another, perhaps even more difficult to handle than Prabhakaran will rise and replace him. Such is the reality of liberation struggles and armed conflict. If the LTTE are crushed, as was the JVP in 1971, they will reform and rise up again, perhaps next year, the year after or in five years time. What you will achieve by your misguided military adventure in Sri Lanka is to damage the good name of India and to compound the already serious situation in Sri Lanka. By killing individuals, you will not eliminate the problem since others will take their place. You will only create martyrs. You already have created scores of Tamil martyrs, including women and children. You are bent on creating

In your pursuit of a particular militant group, it is worthwhile remembering that these boys whom you are now in the process of 'liquidating' are the sons and daughters of the people of the North and East. Do you think that the civilians in the North and East will ever accept that India killed their sons and daughters to bring peace and normalcy?

I would urge you to abandon this insane pursuit of a military solution which is what one has come to expect of dictators such as Jayawardene and hold meaningful talks which will ensure the granting of a genuine devolution of power to the Tamil people from the distrusted and unreliable Sinhalese-dominated government in Colombo. I might add that your mother who had a profound understanding of our so-called leaders in Sri Lanka, had the deepest possible distrust of, if not contempt for Jayawardene. This she expressed freely at a private gathering in New York shortly before her most unfortunate death.

By what can only be described as a gross mismanagement of the Sri Lankan situation, India is rapidly throwing away its chances of making a genuine contribution to solving the complex Sri Lankan ethnic problem. Your government is contributing to the creation of another Lebanon and is making a potentially solvable problem unsolvable. As a Sri Lankan, I urge you to stop assisting in the destruction of my country by attempting to prop up unpopular and corrupt regimes that have done so much damage to Sri Lanka over such a short time. You are in a position to put the necessary pressure on this regime and the one to follow, to see that the Tamil minority can live with equality and without discrimination in the country of their birth. I would urge you to do so and not bring destruction to Sri Lanka and discredit to India.

Yours sincerely,

Brian Senewiratne,

Consultant Physician Princess Alexandra Hospital Brisbane Australia

SEVEN IPKF MEN KILLED

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam had claimed that seven soldiers belonging to the IPKF were killed and an army vehicle destroyed by a landmine being detonated in the eastern province near Batticaloa.

The LTTE said in a statement that the soldiers were killed on 7 June at Panichankerni. It added that although the Indian government had announced a phased withdrawal of troops, in reality the IPKF had intensified its war against the LTTE and the people.

AID FOR REHABILITATION

The World Bank team that visited Sri Lanka lately has suggested that funds, to be allocated by the World Bank for Rehabilitation work in the North and East, should be transferred directly to the Provincial Councils of the area. That the Provincial Council should also execute the work for the funds provided by the World Bank.

The Lankan Government opposes the move and insists that such funds be channelled through its Rehabilitation Ministry which should also be responsible for carrying out the work for the allocated funds. The World Bank team's suggestion may have been influenced by an improper disbursement of funds provided by NORAD recently to the Higher Education Ministry.

Meanwhile the Canadian High Commissioner Ms. Carolyn McAskie announced that Canada had approved a grant of Canadian \$500,000 (Rs. 12.4 million) to support Sri Lanka's returnee program in the North. The grant would be provided through the UNHCR.

THE MAHABHARATA IN GLASGOW

By Rosa Maria Carless

ON 17 APRIL, the first marathon performance of Peter Brook's production of 'The Mahabharata' opened in Glasgow. It was a unique experience of the theatre.

As a painter, I enjoyed the visual side of the production particularly. Its setting was of great simplicity, emphasising the beauty of the colours: ochres, reds, saffron, magenta, rust and orange.

A terracotta wall formed the back of the open stage and pink soil covered the whole of the arena. A stream ran across the back while a pool was up front.

The three elements were represented: earth, water and fire, which from time to time burst into flame with dramatic effect.

Most elegant were the men's quilted coats and the gold thread saris which adorned the women in a variety of patterns. Among the occasional props, textiles were used brilliantly in a profusion of dhurries, straw mats, rugs, carpets and canopies making a vivid display of the Indian weaver's craft. One felt the hand of genius; and, when during the first interval we congratulated Peter Brook on this display, he just said: 'Well, this is India' and it was indeed.

Perhaps to show the universality of the story, Brook used an international team of 30 actors drawn from 4 continents. The Polish actor RYSZARD CIESLAK plays DHRITARASHTA, the blind king, Vittorio MEZZOGIORNO from Italy is the soft-hearted ARJUNA while JEFFERY KISSOON from Trinidad is KARNA. And so on.

Some were difficult to understand and their pronunciation of names often seemed incomprehensible. Did they refer to BHIMA or to BHISHMA, or was it KRISHNA? There was little outstanding talent in the cast.

However, MALLIKA SARABHAI was a dignified and lovely DRAUPADI, the devoted wife of the five PANDAVAS, and BRUCE MYERS, in the double roles of GANESHA and KRISHNA, played both with confidence and skill.

The nine hours of this marathon, with only two intervals for tea and supper, was a memorable event. With a column in front of me, a chair of relative comfort and not much.. self discipline, while I may have felt exhausted, I was also proud of my endurance and enriched and grateful to have been a member of the audience.

We have to thank the city of Glasgow and the many sponsors, among them the Hinduja Foundation, who made it possible to stage this great Indian epic at the Old Transport Museum. The doors of this vast museum were closed to the public only last year, when its collection of trains, locomotives and model ships were moved to larger premises at the Kelvin Hall.

After decades of industrial decline,

the city of Glasgow is now re-emerging with great vigour and becoming an outstanding centre for the creative arts, with festivals bringing the best from all over the world.

The Mahabharata was at the top of an ambitious programme of events to mark Glasgow's nomination as European cultural capital in 1990.

There is something of everything in the Mahabharata' love, war, victory, defeat, magic, paradox, comedy, tragedy, prediction, philosophy, music and colour. No wonder it is said 'Everything in the Mahabharata is elsewhere. What is not there is nowhere.' Most specialists agree that it has an historic origin and they place the battle of KURUKSHETRA around 3,200 BC. Some feel that the great epic is completely mythological. Others see it as a path for spiritual initiation.

For example, when ARJUNA, forced on to the battlefield because of the obstinacy of DURYODHANA in refusing to negotiate for peace, could no longer bear the thought of bringing death to his relatives, he confides his great anguish to KRISHNA and he surrenders to the teaching of his friend. The BHAGAVAD-GITA was spoken and ARJUNA fights under the direction of his Lord. The causes of ARJUNA's perplexities lay in his wish to protect members of his family. But through understanding the Bhagavad-Gita, he is freed from anxiety.

Without trying to interpret the symbols of Hindu religion or to follow any exact historical or spiritual theme, Jean-Claude CARRIERE in his French adaptation of the Mahabharata and Peter Brook in his English translation have tried in this gigantic stage production to find a certain dramatic truth and to suggest the flavour of India. Their aim was not to make an imitation of the great epic poem, but rather to extract its essence. They have surely succeeded.

The writer was born in Sao Paulo where she was Social Director of the Museum of Art. Now well known as a painter she has held one-man exhibitions in Bonn, London, Buenos Aires, Caracas and elsewhere.

LALGUDI JAYARAMAN DAZZLES WITH HIS VIOLIN

INDIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC can be heard either in the vocal or instrumental form: when it comes to instrumental music, the most common instrument which one sees and hears is the legendary sitar, particularly because it has been made popular outside India by famous musicians like Ravi Shankar.

It was, therefore, a delight to hear classical Indian music especially of the Carnatic variety played by that mast of the violin in India, Lalgudi Jayaraman, who gave two recitals at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan on May 14 and 15. It was a sheer delight to listen to his interpretation of the most difficult aspects of ancient classical ragas through the medium of the violin, which is essentially a Western instrument; and from that point of view Mr Lalgudi's recitals have a special significance in the series of other recitals organised by the Bhavan as part of the jubilee programme of the Bhavan.

On both these days Mr Lalgudi Jayaraman was accompanied on the violin by his son, Krishnan and daughter Vijaya Lakshuri, both of whom studied under him and are already skilled musicians in their own right, with several solo performances in India to their credit. Fascinating to listen to the trio – father, son and daughter – vie with each other in interpreting various scales and melodies in the intricate interpretation of pure ragas, most of them in the Carnatic style. Indeed, the violin trio, accompanied by Mr. Vellore Ramabhadran on the 'Ganjira', present

a formidable ensemble in the very highest traditions of South India.

Carnatic music interpreted on the violin has been in the Lalgudi family for over four generations: Jayaraman's grandfather, and father wre both master craftsmen in the art of playing the violin; now the art has been carried into the fourth generation through Jayaraman's children the Lalgudi family can, thus, be said to have made greater contribution to establishing the tradition of the violin in South India more than any one else.

As Lata Mangeshkar said when she presented a citation to Jayaraman on 15 May,: 'The Lalgudi family are an institution in themselves, and indeed they have set new values to classical Indian music through their art of the violin, carried through four generations.

Lalgudi Jayaraman has earned several distinguished Indian and international awards: in 1965 he was presented an Italian violin by Sir Yehudi Monuhin at the Edinburgh Festival. He received a tremendous welcome when he played at the Festival of India in Moscow in 1987. During the last five or six years in their world wide tours, Jayaraman and his son and daughter have given recitals in all key cities in the United States, Europe and the Far East.

In his recital of 14 May, Jayaraman delighted the packed audience with harmonious rendering of a song, composed by Thagaraja, in the Hamsadha-

(contd on page 20)

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NEWS IN BRIEF

 Ponnudurai News agent for 'The Hindu' an influential Indian daily, air lifted everyday to Jaffna was shot dead. LTTE claimed responsibility and stated that Ponnudurai was also agent for RAW, Indian Intelligence Agency

• Karunaiswaran (25) a Tamil youth walking along Manning Place Wellawatte, Colombo was shot dead on 25.5.88. The Assailant escaped.

Jaffna Commercial Banks and Municipal Office's work only three days of the week. Jaffna Government Secretariat works only during last week of every month. LTTE Writ is being faithfully carried out.

Parents of 194 youths held by IPKF at Vavuniya have protested to **IPKF** and District Citizens Committee. All youths are being held without being charged for over 6 months. President of District Citizens Committee Dr. Pararajasingham threatened to resign if there was no response by 15.6.88.

Anura Banadaranaike, Leader of the Opposition and leader of S.L.F.P. spoke at a Seminar in Gampola held on 21.5.88. He said that when the SLFP comes to power it would abrogate the Indo-Lanka Pact and with the help of Armed Forces raise the lion flag in the North.

● Nadarajah Palaninathan, Grama Sevaka (Village Headman) of Pokarippu in Vadamaradchi East was arrested along with his father and brother by IPKF on 16.5.88. The father and brother were released on 17.5.88. When inquiries were made about Palaninathan on 19.5.88, IPKF stated Palaninathan was released on 17.5.88. There is no trace of Palaninathan.

• On 18.5.88 IPKF men entered the Jaffna General Hospital premises. Hooded men who accompanied the IPKF pointed out youths who were arrested.

● On 18.5.88 on Puliyankulam-Nedunkerni road an IPKF officer and soldier were killed in a landmine blast.

 A lorry from Jaffna carrying Cement was stopped at Madawachchi on the night of 19.5.88. The lorry was burnt. Two skeletons were found in the burnt portion of the cab of the lorry.

■ Law Courts in Trincomalee have ceased functioning from 19.5.88.

• Mankaanai near Valvettiturai in Jaffna District was searched by IPKF from 8.45 p.m. on 20.5.88 till 5.00 a.m. next day. Two youths in a house committed suicide to avoid arrest. The owner of house, Mrs. Kandasamy was arrested by IPKF. During the course of the same search, Mrs. Selvarani Sambasivam was injured by gunfire. Her husband who tried to remove her to hospital was assaulted by IPKF. Both husband and wife were removed to IPKF Camp at Udupiddy. Next morning, the husband was released in presence of the Assistant Government Agent of the area and the body of Mrs. Sambasivam was handed over to the husband.

 Mr. Kamalanathan, a teacher of St. John's College, Jaffna was arrested and detained by the IPKF. The Students and Teachers' Guild of St. John's threatened to take out a procession protesting against the arrest/detention. IPKF threatened to impose curfew if a procession was taken out. Later Mr. Kamalanathan was released after IPKF obtained statement that Kamalanathan was treated well. On being released Kamalanathan had to be taken to hospital as he could not even walk. Kamalanathan is still in hospital.

(cont. from page 3)

position to leave the island well before the deadline for the announcement of the Presidential elections which must be held before December this year. Then there is the question of the general election which must be held next year, but the President would like the opportunity of holding it either before or after the Presidential election, the crucial test being as to which course would help the government. The presence of the IPKF in Sri Lanka during the run up to either the Presidential or general election would spell disaster for the electoral prospects of the present government.

The second option is fraught with no less danger. The presupposition of holding the election in Tamil areas without an agreement with the LTTE is that the military confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE will continue with the associated and inevitable problem of a prolonged stay of the IPKF in the island. The military strength of the IPKF will be needed to enable not only the holding of the elections, but also the functioning of the elected provincial council and civil administration without disruption caused by the LTTE.

Another precondition for the exercise of the second option is that other Tamil groups, which are basically in agreement with the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, must agree to participate in the elections. Already some of the Tamil militant groups like the PLOT are on a collision course with the IPFK. Besides, it is doubtful whether any of the Tamil militant groups or the TULF would agree to participate in such elections in the teeth of LTTE's opposition. By past experience, they should know that the LTTE is not going to sit back and allow them to peacefully and without interference participate in the elections.

The fact is that the military efforts so far undertaken by the IPKF may have considerably weakened the LTTE, but have failed either to totally subjugate it or to force it to hand over all its weapons. The extent of the IPKF's success in the recent Mullaitivu offensive is not certain, but the LTTE is still holding out and its main leaders, V.Prabhakaran and Mahenthirarajah (Mahathaya), are still at large.

What of the ordinary Tamil people who will be called upon to vote: Over the years, the Tamil people have got used or conditioned to act in terms of the requests or demands of Tamil militant groups, big or small. If any of the groups called for a 'hartal' on a particular day, transport grinds to a halt, shops are shut, government offices cease to function, schools remain boycotted etc. If there is a call for a day of 'mourning', people obey it, flying black flags. If a declaration is made that government offices may function only on particular days, neither employees nor members of the public would attend such offices on other days. For instance, even now the LTTE's edicts that banks could open on three days a week — Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays - and that government offices should open between 22nd to the 30th of each month are complied with without question. The IPKF, with its virtual control of northern Jaffna, has so far failed in its efforts to force the normal opening hours of offices and banks. The IPKF in a surprise move descended on the banks in force on 2 June and prevented the entire staff including the managers from leaving for their homes and kept them overnight within the bank's premises with the intention that banks could open for business the following day - Friday being a day when banks are prohibited from functioning in terms of the LTTE's standing order. The banks were opened for business on Friday 3 June with a massive show of IPKF presence. Not one customer showed to transact business. And finding that no useful purpose was being served, the IPKF itself suggested the closure of the banks by noon.

Whether the people comply with the requests or demands made by the Tamil militant groups due to the fact that they are in sympathy with the militant groups or through fear of consequences is not the question. The reality of the people's unquestioning compliance has to be recognised as a fact of life in Tamil areas.

In this context, if the government were to order provincial council elections in the Tamil areas and a call is made to the Tamil people by any one or more of the Tamil militant groups, or the LTTE in particular, to the effect that no one should submit nominations, no one should in any way participate in the elections or go to any polling booths on election day, the reaction of the people to such a call would appear to be predictable.

The government is no doubt faced with an apparently intractable problem in holding elections in the Tamil areas. The one and only solution would appear to be a negotiated agreement on outstanding issues before elections can

even be announced.

CONCERN GROWS FOR RETURNING REFUGEES

CONCERN has been steadily mounting over the welfare of some 2,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees returned to Jaffna from South India in the last few weeks despite the continuing lack of improvement in the situation in the north of the island.

The refugees have been arriving at Kankesanturai since early April as part of the Indian-sponsored repatriation programme carried out in cooperation with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees(UNHCR). The programme has returned over 8,000 Tamils to the Mannar area since January.

Although UNHCR assistance supplies the refugees with an initial relief package of dry rations and cash subsidies, there is little sign that any of the initiatives originally envisaged by the programme to reconstruct essential services such as housing, agriculture, public health and education are underway.

Half of Jaffna is still in a state of shock - the other half in a state of siege. Repairs urgently required for housing stocks, roads pitted with land-mine craters and the shattered public water supply remain hampered by the lack of civil administration. Government

every month.

In the absence of police, robbery and petty pilfering have become a daily event. Food stocks remain low. Relief supplies from Colombo, the staple means of survival for most of the population, are inadequate and continually delayed.

offices open only in the last week of

Operations by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) continue to have a high profile. The Vadamaratchy area was subject to a two-week search-and-sweep operation in early May, drawing allegations of widespread intimidation and harassment by IPKF troops from the local Citizens Committee. Students due to sit the Fifth Standard scholarship examination in Vadamaratchy on 14 May were denied the opportunity as schools remained closed.

Some of the returnees to the Mannar area on the UNHCR programme have encountered other difficulties. On-the-spot rehabilitation is largely carried out by voluntary and non governmental organisations (NGOs) who are often under-staffed and underfunded. Rebuilding a house means NGOs must supply half of the funds alloted by the Ministry of Rehabilitation. Housing assistance is only offered to those who already possess the land. Cement and tin sheeting are scarce and sell at inflated prices.

Others have found less assistance than they expected. Part of a group of 549 returnees to Mannar taken by UNHCR in late February to the Thirukeethswaram temple were subsequently refused accommodation by temple authorities. The refugees were left outside the temple to fend for themselves. On the return journey one of the UNHCR vehicles was reportedly hijacked by members of a militant group.

A number of observers also remain unconvinced of the voluntary nature of the return of some refugees to the island. Recent Indian press reports have drawn attention to allegations of refugees evicted at gun-point from the run-down cyclone shelters that double as refugee camps in the South Arcot district of Tamil Nadu.

Services in the larger camps such as Mandapam are being gradually run down as many Indian-based NGOs withdraw, offering the refugees little choice. The inmates of several camps in Tamil Nadu have directly petitioned Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to delay their return until an effective peace agreement has been reached. The London-based Tamil Refugee Action Group(TRAG) has appealed to UNHCR to look again at the programme, emphasising the continuing hostilities throughout the north and the uncertain logistics of the operation.

European agencies have expressed concern that UNHCR is not present at the point of departure making it impossible to effectively monitor the voluntary nature of the movement.

Over the last few months the World Alliance of YMCAs based in Geneva has drawn attention to what it considers to be the hasty and ill-timed nature of the programme and its underlying lack of consensus. Other agencies may also feel obliged to speak out if the prevailing conditions throughout northern Sri Lanka do not improve dramatically.

- British Refugee Council

NEHRU DOCUMENTARY

By Peter Pendsay

NATIONAL FILM THEATRE, London, showed last week (May 20), 'Pandit Nehru', a three-hour documentary on the life of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as highlights of the Benegal Season. (May 1-30) (Earlier report in India Weekly of 13 May).

Pandit Nehru, one of the films shown among 11 films produced or directed by India's veteran film director Shyam Benegal, is a masterful Indo-Soviet co-production, based entierly on Nehru's writings and speeches, narrated as a first person biography, the narrator being Saeed Jaffrey. The film, divided into three parts: (1) The Awakening (2) The Struggle and (3) Freedom, traces the evolution of Pandit Nehru from his birth through his life, ending with his mammoth funeral procession and the scattering of his ashes into the elements and into the elements and into the Ganga. It portrays some moving and authentic scenes in Panditji's family life, and his emergence as a national figure, a staunch but not necessarily an unquestioning disciple of Gandhiji; the intensifying process of his nationalism and the widening perspective of his world view; his part in the successful fight for the freedom of India against imperialist forces; his role as the first Prime Minister of Independent India in laying the foundations of economic and social development and modernisation; his life-long passion for world peace which found expression in the leading part which he played in founding the Non-Aligned Movement.

The film is in technicolour, with some splendid scenes and still shots of India's famous monuments and tourists spots, apart from some present day sites like hydro-electric dams, nuclear power stations etc.

The film is a remarkable example of co-production between two countries and it is a pity that it has not been shown to wider audiences in Britain and other countries, although it was first released in 1984.

(contd. from page 17)

vani raga this was followed by a Khamaj piece. After the interval he played the main raga of the evening, Kalyani, followed by lighter pieces in Kaphi and Dvijavali.

The recital on 15 May was dominated by songs of Thagaraja in rare ragas such as Bindumalini and Nasikabhushini; then followed Hindola and Abheri, all rendered with great skill and expertise. The Hindola was refreshing both to connoisseurs both to North Indian and Carnatic music.

In the words of one critic present on the second day, 'Perhaps the highlight of the concert on the second day was the Raga Mohana and percussion recital which followed it. The Mridangam was talking to the Kanjira, and the dialogue made wonderful listening. To anyone listening from outside the hall Mohana flowed as a raga which only Lalgudi could play.' A Lalgudi was indeed behind that violin with the father Lalgudi watching with love and pride and satisfaction. Although much younger in her experience on the stage Vijayalaksmi proved her own prowess when her father drew her out with a quick succession of ragas prominent in the lower three notes in the octave; ri, ga, ma with ragas Anandabhairavi, Kanada, Shahana before going to Sama to play Mamasa Sancharare of Sadashiva Brahmendra.

Some might say that violin is an instrument which is perhaps a neglected instrument in the Indian musical firmanent: the Lalgudi family may well get the credit for making violin popular among Indian critics and masses alike and bringing home the lesson that it has tremendous potential for popularising Indian classical music abroad.

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American citizen, 44, Accountant, divorced, invites matrimonial correspondence from career and family oriented, pleasant, broadminded, unencumbered, lady. Photo appreciated. Box M 234 c/o Tamil Times.

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Vigneswaran (son of the late Mr K.Kanagasabapathy and Mrs Kanagasabapathy, 48 Blakes Avenue, New malden, Surrey) and Ravini Devi (daughter of Mr & Mrs A. Chinniah) on June 18 at Highgate Murugan Temple, London N6

OBITUARY

Mr Joseph Albert Selvaratnam, Retd., Supdt. of Police (CID) Colombo, beloved husband of Elsie Pathma, died after a brief illness on 25 April 1988 in Huntington, West Virginia USA. The remains were cremated and the assess are being sent to Sri Lanka for interment. Selvaratnam was the eldest son of the late Mrs and Mr V.Joseph, a leading and respected advocate of the Jaffna Bar and later a district judge in the Ceylon Judicial Service. Selvaratnamhad a long: and distinguished career in the police service. He leaves behind a host of relations, friends and well wishers to bemoan his loss.

May his soul rest in peace.

Dr. Paramanathy Nadarajah beloved husband of Saraswathy, loving father of Mano UK), Dr. Daya (New Jersey), Vasuhi, Vanaja & Vathsala (UK) passed away on 18.5.88 at Lusaka, Zambia after a brief illness - 7 Clavering Avenue, Barnes, London SW13

S.S.Bastiampillai beloved husband of Ruby nee Lawrence, loving father of Vinothini, Pathmini, & Rajan passed away on 14.6.88 - 81 Windsor Road, Harrow Weald, Middx, UK.

Mr E. V. Ponnuthurai, retired Agricultural Instructor, husband of Nesamalar, father of Mahil Tambiah, Kirupai Rasiah, Sugunam Kanagasundaram, Karunakaran, Punitham Samuel and Chandra, passed away peacefully at Tellippalai on 5.6.88.

Nalliah Samuel Karunarjah, beloved husband of Ruth nee Muthavaloe, father of Selvareen Chandrakumar, Mohan Devashantini Sinniah and Rohan expired in Jaffna on 26.6.88 -130 Hayes Lane, Kenley, Surrey, UK.

Mrs. Kamala Devasagayam beloved wife of S. Devasagayam, father of Ranjith Rohan, Nimmi and Chryshanthi passed away on 16 May 1988 at Araly, Sri Lanka.

Mr. Samuel Alagathurai Champion beloved husband of Jeevu, father of Rathini, Shiranee and Yogini passed away on 12 May 1988 at Chundikuli, Sri Lanka.

Rev. S.T. Asirvatham beloved husband of the late Gnanaratnam nee Subramaniam, father of Dr. Thevaseyan, Mr. Thevamithiran, and Mr. Thevapiriyan called to rest on 18 May 1988 in Sydney, Australia.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

July 16 7.00 p.m. Veena Concert by The London Veena Group at Purcell Room, South Bank Centre, London S.E.1.

At Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4A Castletown Road, London W 14 (Phone 01-381 3086)

July 16 7.00 p.m. Carnatic Vocal and Devotional Music by Dr Sirkazhi Sivachidam-

JAFFNA CHRISTIAN UNION

The following were elected office bearers for 1988-89 of the Jaffna Christian Union at its Annual General Meeting held at Y.M.C.A. building Jaffna on 14 May 1988. President: J. Sarvananthan; Vice Presidents: Mr. R. Ariaratnam and Rev. Sam Thampoe; Secretary: Rev. C.T. Roberts, Ast. Secretary: Mr. S.P. Jeevanantham Treasurer: Mr. G. Annappah; Auditor: Mr. A. Rajasingham.

EDUCATIONALISTS REMEMBERED

Two of Jaffna's educationalists passed within the veil recently - Mr. P.S. Cumaraswamy, retired Principal, Jaffna Hindu College and Mr.

C. Vyramuttu, retired Vice-Principal, Vaideeswara College, Jaffna.

Mr. Cumaraswamy had the distinction of piloting two very large Hindu educational institutions in Jaffna — Mahajana College, Tellipalai and Jaffna Hindu College through difficult periods in the annals of education in Sri Lanka.

Mr. C. Vyramuttu along with the Principal Mr. R. Ambihaipahan, built up Vaideswara College, by sheer hard work and honesty of purpose. His four decades as teacher and Vice-Principal will always remain a glowing record in the annals of education in Jaffna.

JAFFNA BISHOP'S SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY **CELEBRATIONS**

February 17 saw the impressive get-together of the friends, well-wishers and co-workers of Rt. Rev. D.J. Ambalavanar, Bishop of Jaffna, at Uduvil Girls' School, to felicitate him on his sixtieth birthday. The Bishop's brother Rev. D.R. Ambalavanar conducted the thanksgiving service. Dr. S. Jebanesan, Chairman, Children's Homes Board presided at the public meeting that followed. Tributes were paid by Prof. S. Vithiananthan, Vice Chancellor, Jaffna University; Mr. J.M. Sabaratnam; Rev. Fr. Jebanesan of the Roman Catholic Church; Methodist Minister K.P. Govindaraj; Rev. J. Sarvananthan, Vicar, St. John's Church; Prof. S. Pathmanathan, Director, Evelyn Ratnam Institute; Rev. D.S. Thiyagarajah and Mr. G.

Rajanayagam.
The Bishop in his reply thanked the members for organising the function and said that he would continue to serve God, the Church

and the people.



The London Veena Group singing songs in praise of Lord Ganapathy and Goddess Saraswathy at the commencement of their annual cultural evening held on 5.6.88 at Loia Jones Hall, London SW17 under the patronage of the Deputy Mayor of the London Borough of Wandsworth,

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The publication of 'Saturday Review' has been suspended since 10th October. 1987.

Special issues claiming to be Saturday Review published from Colombo are unauthorised.

We will resume publication of Saturday Review from Jaffna as early as possible.

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