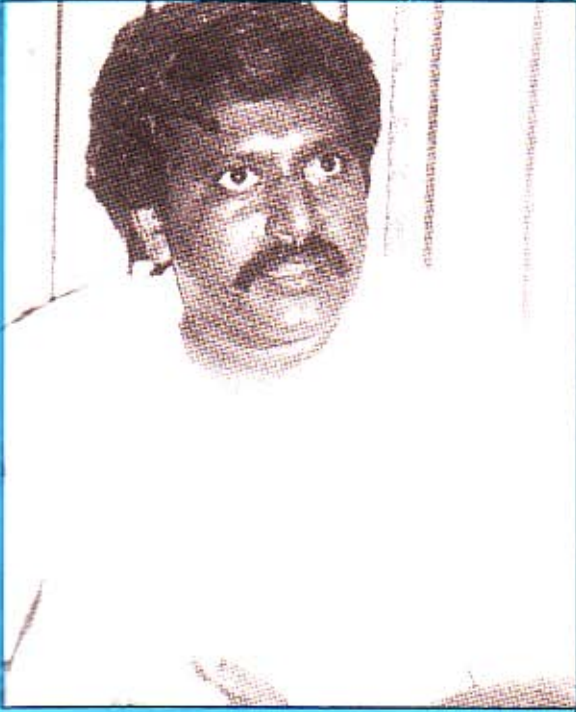


# Tamil TIMES

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## Prabhakaran to Make Dramatic Reappearance



LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran

- CHIEF MINISTER FLIES OUT
- Tamil Nadu Denies Entry to 1200 Tamils
- Govt. Slammed for Killings
- JOURNALIST KILLED

## Reconquest of Jaffna

Tigers Enter Trinco as IPKF Pulls Out

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## CONTENTS

Prabhakaran to make dramatic return. . .	4
Chief Minister flees as IPKF pull out. . . .	5
T.N. denies entry to 1200 Tamils. . . . .	5
Lankan Govt slammed for killings. . . . .	6
Popular journalist abducted and killed. . .	6
Silenced by Murder. . . . .	7

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## CONTENTS

Tigers enter Trinco as Perumal departs. .9	
Reconquest of Jaffna by the Tigers. . . .	10
Human Rights, Justice & Equality. . . . .	12
Tamil Nadu's Queen of Tragedy. . . . .	15
A failed strategy. . . . .	17
Classified Advertisements. . . . .	22

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## A HYPOCRITICAL CLAIM

*'If I may focus on my own country, we have had over two thousand years of a culture steeped in the tenets of non-violence – a people who respect not only human but all forms of life. Many of them refuse to adopt lucrative employment in fresh water fish culture, poultry keeping or the rearing of animals for meat, preferring poverty to the sacrifice of their religious beliefs'. This grandiloquent claim was made by Sunil de Silva, the Attorney General of Sri Lanka, in his capacity as the head of the Sri Lanka delegation to the recently held sessions of the UN Human Rights Commission.*

*The sheer falsity of this claim in respect of 'non-human beings' is evidenced by the fact that a substantial section of the island's population is engaged in fishing, poultry and animal rearing as means of livelihood and the overwhelming majority of the population, whether they be Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims or Christians, are non-vegetarian in their eating habits.*

*Let us consider the claim of the island's 'two thousand years of a culture steeped in the tenets of non-violence' at least as far as human beings are concerned.*

*The early history of Sri Lanka is replete with repetitious incidents demonstrating a culture of violence. The record is one of continuous, incessant and violent struggle for power, fratricidal and patricidal killings, conspiracies and intrigues. According to the Mahavamsa, of the 54 kings of the Great Dynasty (543 BC to 275 AD), 11 kings were violently overthrown, six were assassinated, 13 were killed in battle and 22 were murdered by their successors. The period following until the arrival of western powers in the 16th century was no less prone to violence. How King Kassappa buried his own father in a wall of concrete to succeed to the throne is a well-known historical fact.*

*If early and late medieval history displayed such a remarkable propensity for violence, the post-independence period was no less remarkable. Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who became Prime Minister in 1956 and inaugurated the present era of ethnic violence beginning with the 1956 and 1958 anti-Tamil pogroms to be repeated thereafter with monotonous regularity, was himself gunned down in*

*1958 by a Buddhist monk in pursuance to a conspiracy in which other Buddhist monks were also involved.*

*The Attorney General could not have been unaware of the sheer scale and brutality of the violence committed in July 1983. 'The paradise was in flames, the houses and business establishments of the minority Tamil community were being systematically burnt and looted by well-organised mobs belonging largely to the lumpen proletariats of the cities and small towns of Sri Lanka. The brutality was unbelievable; homes and shops were set alight, cars were doused with petrol and lit, sometimes with the occupants inside; some people were hacked to death, others burnt alive. Thirty-five political prisoners were killed by irate regulars in the country's maximum security prison. The next day, 17 more were slaughtered in the same manner', ('The Origins and Institutionalisation of Political Violence' by Gananath Obeyesekere).*

*Since July 1983, the ethnic conflict itself has claimed at least over 30 to 40 thousand lives although the killing on this score would appear to have abated in the recent past. However, the violence resulting from the JVP's insurgency and counter-measures taken by the government and its security forces have claimed at least 35,000 lives during the last two years. This violence continues to this day with death squads and so-called vigilante groups roaming around the country killing dozens of human beings at a time.*

*The recently held sessions of the Human Rights Commission had before it three reports on arbitrary or summary executions, torture and involuntary disappearances detailing several hundreds of cases. Many government delegates and non-Government organisations were making adverse critical comments in regard to grave violations of human rights in Sri Lanka. In this context, and with the notorious background of pervasive violence that afflicts Sri Lankan society, the claim of the Sri Lankan Attorney General is nothing short of self-deluding hypocritical humbug. What is obtaining in Sri Lanka today is a culture of violence to which the government and its security forces contribute a great deal.*

## COLOMBO NEWSLETTER by Chithra

### Prabhakaran to Make Dramatic Reappearance

VELUPILLAI PRABHAKARAN, the supreme commander and leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) is expected to make a dramatic reappearance in public shortly. He is to address a public rally at Suthumalai Amman Temple in the Jaffna peninsula which was the venue of the first ever public meeting he addressed in early August 1987 shortly after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. When the IPKF-LTTE confrontation broke out in October 1987, Prabhakaran retreated into the Mullaitivu jungles in northern Sri Lanka and has never been seen in public ever since. Inspired newspaper reports that he had been killed by his deputy or that he had been seriously injured were strenuously denied by the LTTE.

The much anticipated public re-emergence of Prabhakaran will follow the total withdrawal of the IPKF by 24 March which has been confirmed by its Overall Commander, General Kalkat.

In the meantime, the political wing of the LTTE, Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT) and its leaders Mahathaya, Yogi, Balasingham and others are going about the northern and eastern provinces holding well attended public meetings and opening up PFLT offices. With the hasty departure from the scene of all the LTTE's rival Tamil militant groups, the LTTE has succeeded in asserting its dominant presence in the predominantly Tamil North-East Province. The much feared bloodbath predicted among rival Tamil militant groups would appear to have been averted and residents confirm a marked decline of violent incidents in these areas.

The elected EPRLF-dominated administration of the North-East Provincial Council has become non-existent with the flight of its Chief Minister, Annamali Varatharaja Perumal, two Ministers of the Council, a number of Provincial Council Members and as many as over one thousand cadres, supporters and family members of the EPRLF, TELO and ENDLF to India for fear of reprisals by the LTTE. Among them were some officials of the Council including the Secretary to the Chief Minister Mr. Wigneswaran and Public Relations Officer A. Jayakrishnaseelan. First refused entry into the state of Tamil Nadu, the ships carrying them were diverted to Vishakapatnam and later they were taken and admitted as refugees and accommodated in the Malkangiri and Satiguda camps in the Indian State of Orissa. It would seem that upon the refusal of entry by Tamil

Nadu Chief Minister, M. Karunanidhi, Prime Minister V.P. Singh had telephonic communication with the Chief Minister of Orissa, Biju Patnaik on March 8 and requested him to give shelter to the refugees. The decision to give refuge to these people is the direct consequence of an assurance given by the Indian Foreign Affairs Minister I.K. Gujral to Varatharaja Perumal when both met in Delhi last month.

The refusal by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Karunanidhi, of entry to these people has come in for criticism by opposition parties in the State, particularly Congress (I) and AIADMK. Karunanidhi's response has been that the State government was not inclined to permit Tamil militants to enter and then use the opportunity to engage in armed struggle again and creating law and order problems in Tamil Nadu. But political observers believe that his action had more to do with his desire not to incur the displeasure of the LTTE with which he appears to have established a reasonable rapport recently.

However, the whereabouts of Varatharaja Perumal and his family remain a mystery. There is much speculation that he and his family and other leading colleagues will take refuge in the Indian ocean island of Mauritius where there is a substantial Tamil population.

Only a few days before their departure, the North-East Provincial Council had passed a resolution at the instigation of the EPRLF and its Chief Minister declaring the Council as the 'National State Assembly of the Free and Sovereign Democratic Republic of Eelam' which also would function as a 'Constituent Assembly'. Having put forward 19 demands, the resolution further stated that in the event of the Government of Sri Lanka failing to fulfil the demands before March 1991, a Provincial Government of Independent Democratic Republic of Eelam would be established in accordance with the Constitution enacted by the Constituent Assembly. Council members belonging to the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress kept away from and the sole UNP member walked out of the meeting at which the resolution was passed.

That this so-called unilateral declaration of Eelam was an empty and meaningless boast was manifestly clear to all. Having earned the enmity of the population by their suicidal campaign of forced conscription of 'boysoldiers' to form the so-called Tamil National Army, that the EPRLF and ENDLF should have indulged in this exercise of transparently false bravado only served to demonstrate their lack of any sense of political direction and the confusion that was reigning supreme in the heads of their leaders. The move was promptly rejected and con-

demned even by EPRLF's friendly parties of the left in the south of Sri Lanka. The Indian High Commissioner in Colombo denounced it. N. Sri Kanth, the spokesman for the TELO, which had been collaborating with the EPRLF, described it as 'stupid and shortsighted'. The LTTE called it 'fraudulent, ludicrous and irresponsible' and a 'mockery of our people's struggle for a legitimate cause'. The SLFP leader characterised it as 'treacherous conduct'.

To the Sri Lankan Government and Foreign Affairs and State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne in particular, the so-called UDI move offered an unsolicited opportunity to pounce on Varatharaja Perumal and the Provincial Council administration. Wijeratne's serpentine venom against Perumal and the EPRLF was very much in evidence when he spoke in Parliament on 6 March. He said that the Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka had been asked to withdraw the security given to Varatharaja Perumal and take him and 'his minions' to India. Mr. Perumal had violated the constitution of Sri Lanka and violated the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. He had realised that the end of the road had come. The IPKF would be completely moving out before 31 March and Perumal would run away with them. When a crab was put into a pot just kept on the stove, it thought that it was in a mighty ocean. But when the water started to boil, it becomes helpless. Varatharaja Perumal was now like a crab in a boiling pot. He could not get out. 'I dare him to stay in Trincomalee or in Sri Lanka', the Minister's challenge sounded ominously sinister.

With such menacing ministerial threat, the IPKF getting ready to effect complete withdrawal and the Tigers closing in, the short-lived and much maligned EPRLF-dominated administration came to an inglorious end with the Chief Minister's departing statement to the press, 'I am not a fool. I don't want to be killed'.

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# Chief Minister Flees As IPKF Pulls Out

## From News Dispatches

COLOMBO – Varatharaja Perumal, Chief Minister of Sri Lanka's strife-torn North-Eastern Province, fled with his family from the provincial headquarters of Trincomalee on March 11 for an unknown destination in India, UNI reported.

His hasty departure came shortly after he declared an 'independent Eelam' on March 1, renaming the provincial council as a Tamil national assembly.

## Fled in Plane

Officials said Perumal left in an Indian Peace-Keeping Force Plane and was accompanied by his wife, infant daughter and some officials, including Dr. K. Vigneswaran, secretary to the Chief Minister.

There were no formal farewell ceremonies for the Chief Minister, who left only a few weeks before the scheduled withdrawal of the remaining Indian troops from the North-East.

## Future Looked Bleak

Meanwhile, Reuter reported that with the last of the Indian forces about to leave, the future had looked bleak for Perumal and his group, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF).

Speaking at his heavily-guarded home in the port of Trincomalee, he

had vowed to continue struggling to win more autonomy for the North-East, where most of Sri Lanka's 2.5 million Tamils live. The central government in Colombo is dominated by the Sinhalese majority.

However, Perumal, a stocky man in his late 30s, had conceded that staying behind in the provincial capital after the Indian withdrawal was not an option.

'I'm not a fool. I don't want to be killed', he said.

About 50,000 Indian troops entered the north and east in 1987 to enforce a peace pact aimed at ending the Tamil separatist rebellion.

## But Tigers Fought On

The EPRLF and most of the other Tamil groups accepted the pact, but Perumal's main rival, the Tigers, fought on.

Now the Tigers are moving into areas vacated by the withdrawing Indians and Tiger-held territory extends to within five miles of Perumal's house.

An uneasy cease-fire prevails in the north and east but EPRLF men and their families, fearing renewed violence from the Tigers after the Indians' leave, have started to vacate Trincomalee.

Cars carrying Provincial Council officials still drive through Trincomalee and Perumal said the machin-

ery of government was still functioning. But the Tigers are widely expected to enter the port after the Indian withdrawal.

The government and Sri Lanka's mainstream opposition parties condemned Perumal's moves to set up a Tamil legislature, but Colombo does not seem worried about it.

Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne told Parliament, 'Perumal is like a crab in a pot. When the water boils the crab cannot survive'.

Perumal is not optimistic about Colombo granting more autonomy to the North-East and said that fighting could eventually flare up again between the Sri Lankan army and the Tigers.

He said his departure would hurt chances for a negotiated settlement of the Tamil conflict.

'I don't think there will be another person who can be so patient with the Sri Lankan government', he said.

BHUBANESWAR (Reuter) – Leaders of a Tamil group ruling Sri Lanka's North-Eastern Province fled to India with nearly 300 other people on March 11, the second batch of refugees to do so in two days.

Kandiah Pathmanaba, Secretary-General of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), arrived at Bhubaneswar, capital of India's Orissa state, from Trincomalee aboard an Indian military aircraft.

Pathmanaba, the effective head of the EPRLF, said he feared what he called a pogrom in Sri Lanka's Tamil-dominated North-Eastern region.

MADRAS – In a clear departure from its established policy, the Tamil Nadu government last week refused permission for two passenger vessels carrying over 1,200 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees to berth at Madras harbour.

Instead, the two chartered vessels were diverted to Visakapatnam port on the Andhra Pradesh coast on March 9.

The move followed increasing incidents of violence involving Sri Lankan Tamils in Tamil Nadu, culminating in a shootout at Ramanathapuram district recently.

## 2 Policemen Killed

Two policemen were killed and over a dozen civilians injured in the exchange of fire between Tamil militants and the local police.

Following this incident, the state government has given fresh training to its armed police wing to meet the challenge posed by the militants. The state armed reserve is being trained in the use of light and heavy machine guns.

The government has also set up armed police posts along the Rama-

nathapuram coast to prevent armed Tamils from landing in the state.

The state government runs a refugee camp for Tamil refugees at Mandapam, where nearly 3,000 of them are currently staying. The government provides them with food and shelter.

## Firearms Used

Over the last year or so the state government has been perturbed by the activities of militant groups that have entered the country clandestinely and spread across the state.

Several of these militants have been involved in a number of grave crimes in which firearms have been freely used.

The state government is seriously worried about the 'gun culture' being introduced by the militants into the social fabric of Tamil Nadu. Observers here feel that if that culture is allowed to grow unchecked, it is certain to have disastrous results and Tamil Nadu will

sooner or later fashion itself after the 'Wild West'.

## Carrying Many Arms

While officials of the state government were tight-lipped about the decision to divert the refugee ships, usually knowledgeable sources said the Tamil Nadu government had 'definite information that the refugees were carrying with them large quantities of arms'.

A senior state official said the refugees 'will be checked thoroughly before they are allowed to land at Visakapatnam. We have made arrangements to ensure that no one brings arms into our country'.

The decision to divert the two vessels carrying the refugees to Andhra Pradesh was taken after consulting the central government.

India's High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, L.L. Meharotra, had an hour-

Continued On Page 7

# Lankan Govt. Slammed for Killings

WASHINGTON – The vicious cycle of violence that has wracked Sri Lanka and the recent slaying of the journalist Richard de Zoysa figured prominently at a recent congressional hearing on South Asia.

Rep. Stephen J. Solarz, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Asia, said, 'I think what's happening in Sri Lanka is a great tragedy'.

While acknowledging there were 'many factors responsible for the tragedy', the New York Democrat took the Sri Lankan government and its security forces to task 'for the recent spate of extrajudicial killings'.

'It's simply not acceptable for a government to deal with a threat to the stability and tranquillity of the nation by permitting the security forces to organize death squad-type operations against individuals, who not only have been arrested but haven't been tried', Solarz asserted.

'This is a total absence of due process, and I think that there are a lot of people in this country and colleagues in the Congress who are not aware of the situation in Sri Lanka.'

'But if they were aware, they would be appalled'.

Solarz insisted that he had 'no brief with the Janatha Vimukthi Perumuna, the radical Sinhalese group that has been seeking to overthrow the government.'

But he warned that 'you cannot deal with this problem' by resorting to vigilantism.

Solarz told the Bush Administration's point man for South Asia, Assistant Secretary of State John H. Kelly, who appeared before the subcommittee, 'There comes a time when consid-

eration of morality transcends consideration of diplomacy'.

'And I have to tell you that I am very uncomfortable about the situation in which we have reason to believe that security forces of the government we are assisting are engaged in activities which result in the murder of thousands upon thousands of their own people', he said.

If this violence allegedly perpetrated by the security forces continues, he warned, the United States will have to seriously consider suspending aid to Sri Lanka.

'I hope this is conveyed to people in Colombo who are responsible for the security forces', he told Kelly.

Kelly advised against any aid cut-off, saying it would not be prudent 'at this juncture, because we are attempting to use persuasion'.

He said the U.S. had 'urged the government to clean up vigilantism and also to do everything possible to eliminate extrajudicial activities'.

Asked by Solarz to describe who the vigilantes were, Kelly said, 'I think these are people who take it on themselves to impose what was once called in this country frontier justice'.

To another question by Solarz as to what extent the Administration believed that the vigilantes were 'organized, directed, or instigated by the government', Kelly replied, 'I certainly would like to think and believe that they are not organized and instigated in any significant way by the government'.

Solarz then accused him of contradicting his prepared testimony, in which Kelly said that while the Sri Lankan government had recently re-

laxed 'certain widely criticized parts of its emergency regulations, human rights abuses continue, most notably killings by vigilante groups credibly linked to the security forces'.

## Cites Obligation

The statement by Kelly further said 'We firmly believe that those charged with discharging the law have a special obligation to uphold it. We have therefore urged the government to stop vigilante killings and bring their perpetrators to justice'.

Kelly said his statement did 'not necessarily imply' an endorsement by the Sri Lankan government of vigilante killings, 'by which I mean the senior leadership'.

'We believe the Sri Lankan government recognizes the problems', he added. 'In fact, I am certain they do, and we want them to, and we believe they are acting now to bring these practices to a halt'.

He said the Colombo government had assured the U.S. 'that they do take this seriously and that they are going to do something about this'.

## Sees JVP Set Back

Solarz immediately retorted: 'They better hurry up. As far as I am concerned, this is simply unacceptable behaviour'.

Earlier, Solarz recalled that when he was in Sri Lanka, 'it seemed fairly clear that the leadership of the JVP had been decapitated, but it seemed an open question whether the back of the movement had been broken'.

Kelly concurred, but warned that the JVP might be 'down but not out'. Years ago, he noted, the party 'was in a pretty disorganized state and seemed to be very weak, but it came back over time, so I guess perhaps there's an analagous situation today'.

son out of the house and sped off in the waiting jeep bearing the number 32/4748'.

On the same morning she made a complaint to the Welikadawatte police station about the abduction. Later in the day she contacted President Premadasa and informed him about the son's abduction and the President promised to make inquiries. Mr. Gami Fonseka, the Deputy Speaker of Parliament, assured Richard's family members that he was in army custody. Fishermen found Richard's dead body washed ashore at about 1 pm on 19 February.

Richard's recent efforts had been to report on true situations regarding human rights in Sri Lanka and he did a feature for the IPS entitled 'Sri Lanka : Nearing a Human Rights Apocalypse'.

Continued On Page 7

# Popular Journalist Abducted & Killed

Richard de Zoysa (32), journalist, an actor on the English stage, a satirist, a dramatist, a former Sri Lanka television presenter and assistant editor for Asia and correspondent in Sri Lanka for the Rome-based Inter-Press Service (IPS) was abducted in the early hours of 18 February and his murdered body was found washed ashore 30 hours later at the Korawella beach in Moratuwa. He had been shot twice through the head and neck at close range.

Mrs. Manorani Saravanamuthu, Richard's mother, told a magisterial post-mortem inquiry that at about 3 am she was suddenly woken up as the door bell rang and as she peeped out of the window she saw six armed persons.

One person was dressed in police uniform, four others in black T-shirts. They said they wanted to search the house. 'I refused to open the door if they failed to produce their identity cards and the men replied that they would not produce their identity cards. Thereafter they cocked their firearms and in fear of my life I opened the door to the gunmen who inquired whether I was harbouring any strangers inside my house. Two men searched my room while four others went into my son's bedroom.'

'They were asking my son to come down and I heard Richard telling the gunmen that there was no need to go down and they could do the questioning there. The gunmen dragged my

## Silenced by murder

Following is a tribute to Richard de Zoysa IPS Assistant Editor for Asia and Correspondent in Sri Lanka, by Tarzie Vittachi, a world renowned Sri Lankan journalist.

MANILA Feb 20 (IPS) – The death of a journalist diminishes our profession. The death of a good journalist, one of the brightest and the best, diminishes all civilisation.

Richard de Zoysa was a good journalist in the Electronic media as well as the printed press. He spoke well and wrote well but what distinguished him as a professional was his studious approach to his work.

He was incapable of superficiality. He refused to regard himself as a simple reactor to the passing events of the day.

He recognised as a young reporter that events are the outward symptoms of deeper flows of reality, of underlying processes moved along by material and human forces. By his very nature he was empathetic to the oppressed and sympathetic to their dissent.

Also by nature, he was a disbeliever

in the protestations of power, whether it was centred in the state or the hideouts of terrorism. Professionally that was a healthy disposition. But he died for it.

As a veteran Asian Journalist always on the search for fresh blood and muscle and brain to carry on the ceaseless task of improving the performance of our craft, I marked out Richard de Zoysa as one of the finest prospects.

He seemed to me and to others like IPS Director General, Robert Savio and his colleagues in the agency who report the third world through third world eyes as just the kind of younger colleague who would report the processes of the ten years leading to the new millenium with understanding, with accuracy, and with grace.

As an unredeemable devotee of the principle of a free press and an unrepentant opponent of censorship wherever it occurs, whenever it occurs, who ever imposes it, for whatever presumed reason, I applaud Richard de Zoysa's courage and deplore the motives of those who imposed the ultimate act of censorship by killing him.



Richard de Zoysa

Censorship by murder is an ancient practice. It is also the most primitive form of censorship. The first human right is the right to speak. That is what separates us from our ancestors, the apes.

Richard de Soysa has been silenced by murder. But the memory of his work and his professional values will nurture the performance of all journalists everywhere.

We who have grown old in our profession and those of Richard's generation will draw strength from his passage through the world's news-room.

### Continued From Page 5

long, closed-door meeting with the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Muthuvel Karunanidhi.

### Decided on Diversion

The decision to divert the ships was said to have been taken at this meeting. The two vessels were believed to be carrying some important leaders of the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) and their families. Half of them were said to be women and children.

### Continued From Page 6

Allegations of government involvement have been made both in Parliament and outside amidst strong evidence of a link between members of the elite Special Task Force and Richard's abduction and subsequent murder. Speaking in Parliament, the Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Bandaranaike linked Richard's killing with the disappearance two weeks earlier of a UNP Municipal Council member, Lakshman Perera who was producing a satirical play that was to have been a spoof on the President.

City walls had been plastered before the abduction of Lakshman Perera with a colourful poster bearing the familiar slogan 'Who is He? What is he doing?' This was President Premadasa's slogan during his presidential campaign. Richard had written a play under this title portraying contemp-

Tamil Nadu government sources here said that the move to divert the ships had been taken to prevent possible clashes among rival Tamil militant groups in Tamil Nadu.

### Thousands of Refugees

Already there are several thousands of Tamil refugees staying in the state, although only 15,000 of them are registered with the government. The rest have apparently entered the state unauthorizedly after landing in small boats along the coast.

ary events in Sri Lanka, the abductions and disappearances of thousands of young people, torture and summary killings by vigilante groups and death squads, and decapitated bodies floating down rivers.

The producer/director of this play was Lakshman Perera, a confidant of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali. Perera was abducted on 1 February and his whereabouts still remain a mystery. Mr. C.V. Gooneratne, MP, who raised the question of his abduction in Parliament has been threatened with death by 'unidentified persons'.

Several international press associations have called upon the government to institute an impartial inquiry with a view to bringing to book the culprits. The management of the IPS has posthumously presented the candidacy of Richard for the 'International Journalism Award'.

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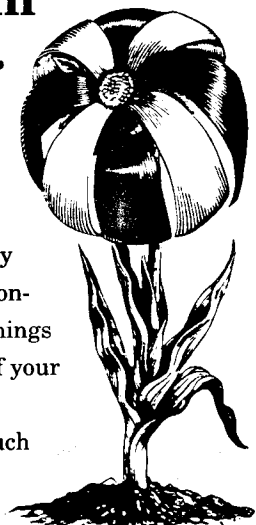
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# Tigers enter Trinco as Perumal Departs

Rita Sebastian From Colombo

What the Tigers consider one of their greatest triumphs against their main rivals, the EPRLF was the taking over, this week, of Eastern Trincomalee, the seat of the region's provincial administration.

As the Indians moved out of the eastern port town on March 13, signalling the last phase of troop withdrawal from the island, the Tigers hoisted their flags and made, what residents described, as a triumphant entry into the town, newly vacated not only by the Indian soldiers, but by the rival Tamil groups as well.

In this multi-ethnic town of Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, tension had been building up these past weeks with Indian troop withdrawal in sight, and the fortunes of rival Tamil groups already mapped out. For Chief Minister of the North-East Provincial Council, Varatharajah Perumal, the writing on the wall was clear ever since the Tigers began talking with the Colombo Government.

Soured relations between his Council and the Colombo Government had begun deteriorating further as the Tamil National Army, comprising mainly young conscripts, began battling with the Tigers and creating a serious law and order problem for the Government. It was against this background that EPRLF'S Varatharajah Perumal passed a resolution converting the North-East Council into 'The National State Assembly of The Free and Sovereign Republic of Eelam'.

Pushed to the wall, with the Indian troops moving out and the Tigers standing in the wings waiting to move in, Perumal knew that his days were numbered.

Although Colombo laughed off the resolution as the desperate measure of a desperate man, the declaration has created problems for the Government. Perumal was jubilant, that by changing the status of the Provincial Unit of Administration he was forcing the Government's hand in making the next move. What form that is going to take is still not clear although Government Ministers are in consultation with the Attorney General's department to find out what constitutional processes will have to be set in motion to dissolve the Council.

Perumal and the ENDLF which constituted a two thirds majority in the Council and voted for the resolution, have violated the sixth amendment of the constitution under which they swore allegiance to the unitary concept of the constitution, when they entered

mainstream politics and contested provincial elections.

The President therefore now has valid reason to impose President's rule on the North-East Region, take over the executive powers of the Council and vest the legislative powers in Parliament. The next step then would be to dissolve the North-East Council and hold fresh elections to enable the Tigers to enter mainstream politics. But then there is the hurdle of the sixth amendment to get over. The Tigers have made their entering the democratic process conditional to the repeal of the amendment. It is in this context that Perumal feels he has made a tactical move to prevent the Tigers political wing, The People's Front of the Liberation Tigers (PFLT) from participating in fresh elections.

The Government which has made it quite clear that it will not let any impediment stand in the way of the unity of the three communities, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, has considered the repeal of the sixth amendment but to do that it would need a two thirds vote in Parliament. This of course would require the support of the opposition groups. How many of them will, in the context of some of them having vehemently opposed the creation of provincial councils, vote with the Government. Besides the Tigers single-minded goal of carving out Eelam is still very much on the southern psyche. But Perumal has proved that a constitutional amendment would make no difference. If and when circumstances change, and in a given situation there is no saying how any of the Tamil groups will act, and of course the Tigers choosing to remain silent on their Eelam demand have given further credence to the belief in the south that Eelam will be declared when they have wrested as much as they can from the Sri Lanka government. However, the Tigers who make the point that in President Premadasa they have found a man they can trust, dismiss the speculation in the south as the malicious propaganda of vested interests.

Meanwhile Perumal's country of exile still remains a mystery. Indian diplomats in Colombo who would have known where the Chief Minister was flown to, in an Indian aircraft, deny all knowledge of his destination as other Ministers of his Provincial Administration, including General Secretary of the EPRLF, K. Pathmanabha were flown to India.

It is unfortunate that the man who

on taking office as Chief Minister, proudly claimed that he had 'Carried neither gun nor grenade', should have been forced into a situation where he warned that he would now 'get properly trained, militarily'. According to EPRLF sources in Colombo, Perumal will surface shortly to 'Carry on the struggle of the Tamil people for their just demands'.

Large numbers of EPRLF cadres have, according to them gone into the eastern jungle and established bases from where they threaten to fight the Tigers. How then could, even if the Provincial Council is dissolved, fair and free elections be held. Will it be just a one party exercise. Will the referendum scheduled for June end be held? Or will the Government decide to put it off indefinitely so that it wouldn't cause another crisis. The Tigers are quite explicit on that issue. Their demand is that the temporarily merged provinces must remain a single unit, permanently. How will that demand find accommodation with the Muslims and the Sinhalese in the Eastern Province? Now that there are no doubts about Indian troop withdrawal by the March 31 deadline, the North-East Region is going to be the Government's main area of concern. So many likely scenarios are being predicted not least among them that the Government-LTTE honeymoon will soon be over. But it need not be. It could turn into a very comfortable and accommodating marriage given the will on both sides.

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# Reconquest of Jaffna by the 'Tigers'

By Iqbal Athas  
(Reporting from Jaffna)

Wearing black masks that showed only their eyes through slits, six young men in their mid-twenties sit in a row inside a hut made from palmyrah rafters.

Like their faces, the hut too is covered except at the front where there is a two foot long opening from one end to the other. Through this the men peep out every time they are ordered to.

The location is an LTTE checkpoint along the road from Chavakachcheri to Jaffna. It is very much like any checkpoint set up by the security forces or the police in other parts of the country.

There are humps across the road. Piles of old tyres and logs are arranged to create curvy lanes through which traffic wind their way. They come to a halt just ahead of the palmyrah hut on the roadside.

For the LTTE men at this checkpoint and other similar ones in the Jaffna peninsula the tasks are a lot more different from those handled by the security forces and the police in other parts of the country. Important among them is to round up the 'traitors' - members of rival militant groups that closely worked with the IPKF.

For the LTTE, the men in the palmyrah hut are also 'traitors'. They are members of the EPRLF and ENDLF. Now behind masks their job is to spot others who involved themselves in

robberies, extortions and other acts of crime.

## Checks

Those crossing the checkpoint are required to alight from their vehicles and walk past the palmyrah hut. If any one of the six waved their hands, the journey for the person crossing the checkpoint ends there. They would be taken into 'custody' for further investigations.

This exercise together with rounding up operations has spawned another set of 'prisoners of war' Sri Lanka style. It was only last week the IPKF released the final batch of LTTE 'prisoners of war' in their custody. Now the LTTE is taking in fleeing rivals as their own 'prisoners of war'.

'Our cadres have been receiving numerous complaints against them from the public. We have a duty to investigate and give them redress', says my escort, a 28-year-old one time undergraduate, as our convoy passes this check point. He refuses to be identified, even by his nom de guerre. So we agree on the pseudonym 'Ravi'.

We were on a Nissan Pathfinder wagon. With me were photographer Alfred Silva, Ravi and two of his uniformed colleagues, one with a loaded automatic pistol tucked in his waist. He was at the wheel and had a penchant for fast driving.

## Hassle

There was no hassle at the check-

point. The vehicle ahead, a Toyota Hiace with 14 uniformed armed youth, had cleared the way, 'all okay, lets proceed', the walkie talkie in the Pathfinder crackles. It came from 'Daas Anna' the 'military' man in charge in the forward vehicle.

Soon the Hiace, the Pathfinder and a third Hiace behind are speeding past Chavakachcheri, Kodikamam and the vast open stretches of Vadamaratchi.

The vehicles moved uncomfortably at break-neck speeds on the pot holed roads. Speeds reached upto 70 miles per hour on smooth stretches as we went past IPKF occupied areas. The Jawans were busy packing and have since withdrawn from Vadamaratchi.

The trail of dust left behind by the forward vehicle prompted those inside to close the rear door. It did not lock in properly. A young 'soldier', not more than 12 years, leaned on it. The door opened and he was tossed to the ground from the speeding Hiace. The boy had a miraculous escape. First it was the threat of being injured by the fall. Then the fear of being run over by the Pathfinder which was travelling behind.

## Arrests

The young one somersaulted and sprinted towards the forward vehicle. Ravi continued his conversation on 'arrests' of the rival groups and their activities.

'They have followed the path of the IPKF', he said referring to EPRLF, ENDLF and other groups that had vacated the Jaffna town soon after the IPKF withdrew to Palaly and Kankesanthurai.

He says some have already fled to Tamil Nadu. 'Others will go when the IPKF leaves', adds Ravi.



Young recruits of the LTTE with AK 47s patrol the streets of the northern peninsula

Within hours after the IPKF shut down their camps in Vadamaratchi on Thursday and moved into a transit point in Kankesanthurai, the LTTE moved in. The 'take over' operation was similar to the one they carried out in Jaffna last month, soon after the IPKF folded tents there.

In Jaffna and outlying areas, the LTTE offices dot every nook and corner. There are the 'military' camps, political offices, students offices, youth centres, women's organisations and so on. The 'military' camps are out of bounds to the public and visitors. They are sited in obscure areas.

The most important among all are the Political Offices. It is here that the political leader of the area runs his day to day business.

Even military leaders have to use this facility when they deal with the public. Then 'military' camps, the Political Offices and other installations are all linked by high frequency radio network.

Inside the Political Offices, anything between two to four LTTE cadres perform the task of 'Duty Officers' 24 hours of the day. In the main building of the Jaffna Political Office, there are two seated behind separate desks in a large drawing room area.

One 'Duty Officer' is interviewing a woman in her late twenties. She is in tears and complains of assault by her husband who has a penchant for liquor. A 'soldier' was immediately assigned the task of resolving the problem with the husband.

At the other table the complaint from a father and son is about the theft of jewellery. They had allegedly been stolen by an EPRLF sympathiser who has since fled the area.

## Hunt

'The complaints we receive not only relate to law and order functions. There are family quarrels, land disputes, personal tussles and what have you', says Ravi.

He adds: 'We go into all complaints. What we can settle, we do. We investigate others and hunt for those wanted. Recently we arrested at one of our checkpoints a 'traitor' who had stolen Rs. 100,000 from a resident. The 'spotters' (the reference is to the masked men) did the job.'

These Political Offices have become the main link between the LTTE and the Jaffna public. With new Political Offices now being opened in the Vadamaratchi sector, there would be more such activity.

This is not to say that the Sri Lanka Police has ceased to play any role. Police contingents, mostly Tamils are there in the peninsula. In the town area, they move in Mahindra Jeeps and Transport Board buses. But their tasks are limited to guarding banks,

Government offices, manning the hospital police post and similar tasks.

## Police

For Police in outlying areas, things seem to be different. As our convoy passed the road along the northern coastal belt of the Jaffna peninsula, the ravage caused by the separatist war is evident all over. Close to a row of battle scarred buildings abandoned by the IPKF and near the former Rest House (occupied till recently by the Sri Lanka Army) lay the Point Pedro Police Station. Sentries guard the entrance.

A helmeted constable points a machine gun towards the road and the adjoining Indian Ocean through a bunker. On the wall of the bunker lay a large poster in Tamil. Written in red letters, it is an LTTE decree forbidding the men inside the Police station from moving out without their prior permission.

**For the people of the battered northern peninsula of Lanka it is certainly the Year of the Tiger.**

**After three years under Indian control Jaffna comes to life again. . . This time under the sway of the Tiger fire power.**

**For some it is time for happy family re-unions as sons who had gone underground return to live their lives again. For some it is the bleak prospect of life dominated by the ruthless rule of the LTTE.**

**All over the peninsula are the flags and posters re-emphasising that this is tiger country. The hundreds who had been killed in the guerrilla war with the jawans have now been elevated to the pedestal of martyrdom. And the young some hardly even eleven years of age are being trained to wield the weapon and follow, if need be, in their tracks. Carrying assault rifles even bigger than them, they parade through the town, holding aloft the symbol and source of their power a power that brooks no opposition from which ever quarter.**

**For the hard pressed Indian soldiers bogged down in the North since 1987, this is the end of their Lankan experience. For the people of Jaffna who had borne the brunt of hardship in these last few years of violence and terror and who had hopes the worst was over, this is only the beginning of a new cycle that would settle once and for all the fate of the land.**

Whilst the Political Offices are running the day to day civilian life, the 'military' camps of the LTTE in the peninsula are ensuring security in the area in the absence of the Police, this has brought a great deal of relief to the public and enhanced the image of the LTTE among the residents.

Tasks for the Sri Lankan security forces in the peninsula too are restricted to routine chores. They do not move out on patrols.

'You can plan for a few days or few weeks ahead now', says K. Shanmugalingasuntharam, a retired CTB security officer who lives in Punnalaikattu-

van. He says people now move about freely and there are no fears of robberies or assaults.

Many citizens I spoke to say there is no major robberies or crime. This is in marked contrast to the days when the IPKF held sway. The Tamil militant groups supporting the IPKF were accused of extortions, theft and other criminal acts.

## Strain

But the responsibility of running civil life and maintaining law and order appears to be causing the biggest strain on the LTTE. In the years before the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, when the LTTE was fighting a guerrilla war, numbers did not pose a major problem.

But they are now in the open. Without sufficient 'military' strength they would not be able to enforce their writ in the peninsula. More important, they now face a guerrilla threat from their rivals. These necessities have prompted the LTTE to step up its recruitment and training drive.

The bulk of the young, are mostly those in the age groups of 11 to 20 years. Every week, bus loads of them leave the peninsula for the Wannu to undergo training.

Ravi says more strength is required to undertake tasks that have remained neglected in the past year. One of them is to discipline drivers and road traffic in the peninsula. There is nothing called road rules now.

The louder, the horn a vehicle has, the easier the right of way. The only exceptions are the LTTE vehicles for which all other traffic give way pronto.

The influx of motor cycles of all types has exacerbated the problem. Travelling in a hiring car to Nallur, I saw a rider on a Honda chally heading direct towards us from the opposite direction. The driver of the creaky old Morris Minor pulled to the edge of a culvert and brought the car to a halt.

He then gave me a lesson how not to get too excited. That experience, he said, was common on Jaffna roads. Speeding traffic on the roads reminds one of the streets of Bombay or Bangkok.

## Old Cars

The majority of the vehicle population in the town area, mostly hiring cars, will easily qualify for old crock rallies. There are old EY, EN series, Morris Minor, Austin, Ford Consul and other vintage cars.

Some vehicles run without number plates. Most do not have their revenue licences and are not insured. The only exceptions are small fleets of new and reconditioned vehicles that have moved from Colombo in the recent months.

Continued On Page 18<sup>††</sup>

# Human Rights Justice & Equality

by Reggie Siriwardene

*This is the text of a speech made by Reggie Siriwardene on 20 November 1989, the 60th day Commemoration of the death of Rajani Thiranagama (Head of the Anatomy Department of the University of Jaffna) who was assassinated on 20 August 1989.*

May I begin on a personal note saying how happy I am once again to set foot on the soil of Jaffna after a period of seven long years. This is in spite of the fact that what has brought us here, my friends from the South and me, is the tragic event of Rajani's death. Returning to this campus I am filled with memories of the pleasant hours I used to spend here teaching at this institution in the years before the ethnic violence of 1977.

I last came here in 1982 to help make a film about the common rituals and observances shared by people from North and South in celebration of the Sinhala and Tamil New Year. And we made that film in the hope of focussing attention on the commonalities, common elements, that are shared by Sinhala and Tamil people. But when I remember that now, I feel a sense of bitter irony. Because today, what is most common to us both in the north and in the south is the experience of violent death. That is the real commonality today. And I feel also a painful conviction that if in the last few years the ethnic conflict has receded to some extent into the background, it is not because the outstanding problems have all been solved or because our two peoples have stopped looking at each other with hostility and animosity, but because, simply because the ethnic conflict has now been overshadowed by internecine conflict in both communities by Sinhalese killing Sinhalese and Tamils killing Tamils.

Now in this situation I feel that Human Rights organisations and Human Rights activists have a greater responsibility than before in our history. When I look back on 40 years of independence it seems to me that attempts to link the North and South together through the medium of political parties had very little success. I wonder whether it is possible to hope today, in the context of the common crisis that we share, that a new kind of co-operation and a new kind of solidarity can be built outside the political parties with people who are working towards common aims protecting and upholding Human Rights.

I should like to get into my subject by referring to some remarks made by the Chairman in his introductory talk. He said that today when we talk of

Human Rights we have to recognise that these rights are violated in many countries, including Sri Lanka both by the State and by certain anti-state forces. I would like to go a little deeper into the history of this question.

When the whole idea of Human Rights and the community of people to defend Human Rights began, the concern was largely with the protection of citizens against the violation of their rights by the State. If you think for instance of the documents through which we define our ideals of Human Rights today – The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights of the United Nations, those documents are conceived on the basis that what is necessary is to restrain States and Governments from violating the rights of their people. Even the machinery which was set up to ensure this is directed towards bringing pressure to bear on Governments, i.e. if a State has signed what is called the optional protocol to the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, (I will add that Sri Lanka has not signed this) then any citizen of that country failing to obtain redress when his rights have been violated can appeal to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations and ask for justice. So the whole idea was that you needed to have some machinery by which Human Rights could be enforced against the State. It is on this basis that NGOs formed to protect Human Rights both in this country and outside began their work on the basis that what they had to resist were governmental human rights violations.

For instance when the first organisation dedicated entirely to the protection of Human Rights in this country – The Civil Rights Movement was formed in 1971 (I myself was one of the founder members), we very definitely had this idea in mind that not only was it necessary to create public opinion but it was also necessary to bring pressure to bear on the State in various forms to safeguard the rights of citizens against violations by the government.

Now I think that this fact – that at that point of time in the early period, the main threat, in some cases the only threat, to human rights came from the state, is related to an important fact. At that time it was believed that it was the State that always had the monopoly of large scale coercive power – guns and other means of coercion were almost entirely in these periods in the hands of the State. If you take for instance the first great popular revolution in 20th century history – the Russian Revolution – it wasn't fought

by civilians taking arms to topple the State. That was not the way it happened. It happened because the revolutionaries won over the standing army of the state and the guns were the guns in the possession of the former state army now brought over to the side of the people. But today, due to the widespread possession of arms in many countries, among large sections of the population, it is possible for guerrilla groups and other rebel groups to form their own armies and to exercise coercive power.

So today the situation is that we have two instruments of coercion operating in the country. One that of the State – which of course continues to be powerful everywhere, and often to be unjust and use its arms against the people; and secondly we have rival military forces contesting the State but often also exercising their force against all those who disagree with them in civil society. So that is a reality we have to take into account. And this situation poses a new problem for human rights organisations both in this country and outside. And it is a difficult problem, a problem that not every group has succeeded in solving. For instance, there are still human rights organisations, international human rights organisations which have been used to working in a traditional way protesting against violations of human rights by the State, appealing to the courts against them, circulating petitions, etc. and being accustomed to these methods, they continue to follow them. Of course these methods can only be used against governments. If you ask them 'Why don't you take up also the question of violations by other forces, forces other than the state' – they say 'How do we reach them? We can't present a petition to them, there is no way of meeting them, etc.'. There is another reason I think which deters some human rights organisations from broadening these views and taking into account not only state violation of human rights but also the violation of human rights by anti-state groups, and that is that taking such action involves making political decisions. There are many human rights organisations who will say – 'We are not political, we don't take political sides, we have a set of principles regarding human rights and we are only concerned with making judgements on that basis. We don't try to decide whether this political cause or that political cause is right'. Now one can understand such a position because it is a way of protecting human rights from becoming involved in partisan political activity. But it does create problems.

For instance, it is very natural when you have such a state of affairs as in South Africa or Israel where there is open and monstrous violation of human rights by the South African government against black people or by the Israeli government against the people of Palestine, then it is very natural that most human rights organisations would want to concentrate on that and not try to detract attention from it even if some of the – shall we say, freedom fighters – are also indulging in certain violations of human rights. Similarly even in relation to Sri Lanka with its long record of oppression against the Tamil people on the one hand and oppression of dissenting and counter state groups in the South, then it is very natural that some human rights organisations should think, 'Our task, our real task is to combat the activity of the state in this field and we don't want to be diverted from it'. But I think that position amounts to an evasion of one's commitment to human rights. If we are concerned about human rights, then we are concerned about the rights of everybody who suffers unjustly, whether he stands on one side of the political barricades or not. We are also concerned to resist those who violate those rights regardless of what position they hold, what party they belong to, what banners they may unfold. So I think that there is no escape from the fact that all those who are concerned about human rights have a duty to take an independent position and to the best of our ability, as far as we can act and speak, we have the duty to maintain an impartial independent commitment to human rights and not make ourselves the instrument purely of some political force or another.

I titled my talk 'Human Rights Justice and Equality' because I want to focus attention particularly on two issues concerning human rights which are I think very important for those of us who have a commitment, who hope for or aspire towards a just and equal society.

In this connection I want to discuss the two rights which are I think most violated in our society today, which most urgently need to be protected. One is the simple elemental right not to have one's life taken away, and secondly the right to freedom of expression. I want to argue that the protection of both these are very important if we have as a goal the achievement of a more just and equal society. For this purpose I want to discuss certain arguments that are advanced by people who say 'O.K., if what you want is a more just and more equal society, then you have to put up for a time with the restriction of these rights, and in the progress towards a just and equal society you might have to eliminate certain people who stand

in the way, or you might have to put up for some time with the restriction of freedom of expression'. In other words it is argued that if, say, 10 of us believe that there is a particular way, only one possible way, in which we can achieve our goal of the society we desire, then we have the right to silence, to deny freedom of expression to people who disagree with us, because in disagreeing with us we think that they are preventing us from reaching that goal. And secondly, we have the right when necessary to eliminate them, to destroy them, so that they will no longer be the obstacle they have become.

In this connection I would like to refer to the fact that in the last few years I have been following very closely the enormous changes that have been taking place in the Soviet Union in the period of Perestroika. And I have been following very closely both in the Soviet press and in conversations with people in the Soviet Union what I would call the developments in the new thinking, the debates, the controversies that are emerging, because even in the Soviet Union people are re-examining very earnestly, often with great pangs of conscience, the history of the 70 years after the revolution. Now two things are very clear to me from the outcome of those discussions and conversations, and that is that a large number of Soviet people are firmly convinced today that you cannot have any progress towards a just and equal society without renouncing arbitrary political violence and without complete freedom of political expression.

Now I should like to discuss the argument about equality. There are many people who think that in underdeveloped societies like ours we cannot afford the luxury of freedom of expression, particularly when we are engaged in bitter political combat either for national liberation or social liberation. They say we have to accept that these rights have to be restricted, for a time, and there are people who say, O.K. what is most important to the mass of our people is economic development, prosperity, decent standards of living, and in the progress towards that we have to restrict freedoms for the time being but in the long run that sacrifice is worth it. Now very strangely this argument comes both from some right wing governments which say we are still developing, how can we afford political freedom, people will have to tighten their belts and silence their mouths and wait for a time until we have advanced far enough to give them those benefits. It comes on the one hand from right wing governments of that type and sometimes from revolutionary movements and post-revolutionary governments which say, 'This is a luxury we can't

yet afford, so hold your tongues and wait until the time is ripe and you can have all the freedom you want'. The experience of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe proves that this is untrue and it is untrue for two reasons.

I think when you have a regime in power which maybe has come to power through violent struggle and revolution, and which holds the monopoly of power and which restricts the freedom of others, freedoms of those who dissent, at the beginning maybe the fervour of the revolution ensures that leaders will uphold the principles of equality and they will want to share the common poverty of the people. But after a time that fervour begins to diminish, and people who hold power begin to want the privileges that go with power. I think the history of the Soviet Union shows very well that this is what happened. If you talk to the people of the Soviet Union today, they will tell you that right through the Stalin era onwards there were special shops for the bureaucracy, there were special motor cars, there were special country houses, and even as a Soviet writer remarked recently, there were even special cemeteries and he went on to say that if there had been an atheistic heaven the bureaucracy would have reserved for itself a special corner there too. So what this shows is that power tends to go with privilege in the long run, and the monopoly of power is the monopoly of privilege. On the other hand if you have destroyed the freedom of expression, then there is no way in which the public can exert pressure on their rulers. So if you want an equal society then you have to stand for the equality of rights in the political sphere as well. You have to stand for full freedom of political expression because without that the restraints both on arbitrary abuse of power and the restraints on the indefinite growth of privilege will be removed. So it is of equal importance for both you here in the North and us there in the South that while resisting oppression by the state, while denouncing injustice, while fighting against class exploitation, we have to ensure that at the same time we are firm in our commitment to human rights, because only in that way can we ensure that one unjust and oppressive society, whenever it is toppled, is not replaced by another which will perhaps be equally unjust, equally oppressive and equally based on privilege.

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# MADRAS NEWSLETTER

by ARJUNA

## TAMIL NADU'S QUEEN OF TRAGEDY

If there is one politician in the world who has been surviving a series of personal misfortunes – and thriving on them – and turning them to political profit, it cannot be anyone other than the plump, glamorous, one-time navel-showing heroine of the Tamil silver screen and now the heart-throb of millions of AIADMK supporters – Ms. Jayalalitha Jayaram. What makes her tick? No one seems to know for sure. Like people carrying their hand luggage along, she has a way of carrying TENSION wherever she goes; infecting others with it as well. Her propensity to attract violence or punishment on her person, if not in the hurly-burly of politics, at least through mysterious illnesses, or through some unrevealed surgery, or as now through a road accident, itself makes her an enigma. In a land which has a tradition of respecting 'Thaikulam' – seeing all women in the revered role of mothers – she has been twice within two years manhandled in public by mere males. But then, she also lays down the law to all the sycophantic males who surround her in the party. They cringe before her, take every word of her as command, hail her in public as the 'revolutionary heroine' even if they retire in private to complain about her dictatorial ways. Every time she is faced with a problem, political or personal, she goes into a massive sulk, leaving her supporters bewildered – only to bounce back again into the limelight to lead her party, to their joyous relief. Imperious, temperamental, unpredictable, she is like a time-bomb to the tensed-up, second-level, male AIADMK leaders not knowing when she will go off! The grim fact is, that after the monumental void left by the demise of the charismatic founder of the party, 'MGR', Jayalalitha has come to be THE AIADMK – and the AIADMK is Jayalalitha.

Now look what happens to her – of all days on her birthday – (her 42nd), during the early hours of Saturday 24th February. She was returning from Pondicherry after campaigning for her party, and its ally the Congress-I for the Assembly elections. Earlier, on the way to the Karaikal segment of the Union Territory, she had suddenly decided to cut short her campaigning and return to Madras to take a much-needed rest, and also to provide 'darshan' to thousands of admirers who were bound to flock to her Poes Garden

residence on her birthday. But Fate took a hand. A reckless lorry driver speeding out of the city having first failed to avert a wayside cow – (Madras is full of both – reckless drivers and wayside cows!) – rammed his vehicle in turn into the oncoming car in which Jayalalitha was travelling, throwing the sleeping VIP off her perch in the back seat into the carpeted well of the car. She sustained multiple injuries and lacerations, including a crack in the mandible joint in the cheek, a severe sprain of the left wrist, abrasions on both knees and feet and pain in the lower back. Already suffering from some 'feminine problems' in the euphemistic expression of her personal physician (who in the rush cornered some publicity for himself and his private hospital), there is no doubt now that the accident is bound to aggravate the various suspected ailments she had suffered from over the last several years.



Ms. Jayalalitha Jayaram

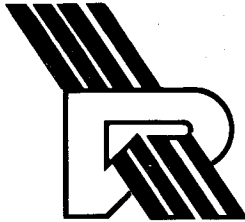
Jayalalitha's problems, both personal and political, apparently go back to several years – from her days in the world of celluloid (including a child outside marriage; more of it later), then during MGR's lifetime itself, within the party, and more of them after his death. Her most trying period began over two years ago on Christmas Day 1987, on the very day MGR's body was being taken for interment, when she became a victim of repeated humiliations, and even assault on her person in full view of the public and TV watchers. Interviewed by INDIA TODAY magazine at that time she said: 'I

wanted to place a wreath on his body when it was placed on a gun carriage. . . As I was climbing the carriage I heard shouts behind and saw MLA Dr. K.P. Ramalingam advancing menacingly towards me. Immediately a young man in a blue shirt, who I was subsequently told was Tamil film actor Deepan, Janaki's younger brother's son, jumped on to the gun-carriage, hit me on the forehead and pushed me out. The armed forces personnel tried to help me back on top of the carriage, and again Deepan pushed me, beat me, and threw me out. I was injured and bruised all over my body. . . .

Her exit from the political scene was only temporary, as was the reign of the 'lawful wife' Janaki. The 'Puradchi Thalavi' was back in the fray. She pumped new life into a party that was divided within, and defeated at the Assembly elections; and her control over the party machinery was absolute. Said a AIADMK leader: 'When MGR was alive he carried the party under his fur cap. Madam carries it around in her handbag. During MGR's time we used to meet at least to rubber-stamp his decisions. Now madam sends us instructions and we carry them out'.

But alas, problems never seem to leave Ms. Jayalalitha. On March 19 last year, quite out of the blue came the sudden, shocking report that she had resigned from the Assembly and had quit politics for good. Twenty four hours later came the equally dramatic announcement that she had not; that she had changed her mind. While a male-dominated world would be quite prepared to concede that it is a woman's privilege to change her mind, it soon came out that there was more to it than that; that while it was true that she had signed a resignation letter on the 15th, it was not intended to be handed over to the Speaker. If so, what was the intention? Then how did the Speaker come to have the letter? The mystery involved not only the Speaker, but Jayalalitha's confidants – the Natarajan-Sashikala couple – and even Police Chief Mr. Durai. The real storm was to break out a few days later. On the 25th, there occurred the most sordid sequence of events in the history of the Tamil Nadu Assembly, and Jayalalitha herself was in the centre of the storm. Physical violence broke out in the chamber, missiles began flying about – budget books, paper weights, microphones; even the heavy metal bell on the Speaker's table came crashing through the air, a misguided missile on the part of some M.L.A. A budget book caught Chief Minister Karunanidhi on the face and broke his glasses. But it was Ms. Jayalalitha who got the worst of it. A contemporary report said: 'With the battle becoming even uglier, Jayala-

Continued On Page 19



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# A Failed Strategy

**With the last of the Indian Peace Keeping Force set to leave Sri Lanka after more than two and a half years, the situation in the Tamil-majority north and the east of the country is a complete reversal of what Indian policymakers had hoped and planned for. What happened?**

**THOMAS ABRAHAM, based in Colombo, writes.**

Within a span of months, the political landscape of the north and the east of Sri Lanka has changed beyond recognition. There are Sri Lankan soldiers at checkpoints the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) manned for some two years, and in place of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) and its allies, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) is the supreme power. The IPKF and the EPRLF-led Provincial Government are confined to the Jaffna peninsula and Trincomalee. The remaining Indian soldiers are on their way back, and with their departure, the North-Eastern Provincial Government will in all probability collapse.

The picture emerging in the north and the east is a complete reversal of what Indian policymakers had hoped and planned for. What India intended after the IPKF withdrew was to leave behind a strong Provincial Government with administrative powers to meet Tamil demands for self-government and an efficient law and order machinery at its command. It is useful now to trace back the chain of events which led to the collapse of this plan.

In June 1989, after Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa's abrupt demand that the IPKF be withdrawn, India felt that even if the IPKF had to leave, the Provincial Government of Chief Minister A. Varadarajaperumal should not be left at the mercy of the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE. India wanted to see that the Provincial Government had the means to defend itself after the IPKF left. It decided to continue diplomatic efforts to persuade Colombo to devolve enough powers to make the Provincial Council a politically and administratively viable unit.

For the security of the Provincial Government two forces were set up. One was the Citizen Volunteer Force (CVF), a paramilitary group which would eventually be absorbed in the regular police. This was a legal body, and both the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments agreed that the IPKF would train it. The Sri Lankan Government was to provide it with weapons and pay. Training centres were set up, and parades were held to recruit volunteers, most of whom were

members of the EPRLF and its allies – the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) and the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF).

The creation of the CVF was a relatively slow process, though India and the EPRLF were planning the formation of a 10,000 to 15,000-strong force within a matter of months. So it was decided to conscript and train youth forcibly to form what later came to be called variously as the additional CVF or the Tamil National Army (TNA). The EPRLF, the ENDLF and the TELO began two waves of conscriptions in July and September. Teenagers were pulled out of schools and from trains and buses and taken to camps for two months of training by Indian experts. Later the recruits were given weapons by India in areas the IPKF was about to vacate.

In retrospect, the conscription drive was a mistake, politically and militarily. Politically, it alienated the Tamil population from the EPRLF, even in areas such as Batticaloa, considered its stronghold. As one senior EPRLF member admitted later, 'We have lost 100 per cent of our support'.

Militarily, the hurriedly-trained, poorly-motivated army of conscripts has been unable to stand up to the LTTE, as events in Amparai, Batticaloa and Vavuniya have shown. The groups themselves realised that many of the unwilling recruits would run away, but went on with the drive because the number of weapons they were given was linked to the number of recruits they could mobilise. India was handing out weapons to the groups according to the strength of their cadres, and so they were all keen on inflating their numbers by whatever means possible.

The creation of the TNA also annoyed the Sri Lankan Government, which did not look kindly on an army being formed on its soil armed and paid for by another Government. Colombo was determined to destroy it.

While from the security angle India's policy collapsed, diplomatically India did succeed in wresting a significant concession as far as the devolution of power was concerned. Control of the provincial police was a bone of contention between the Provincial and the Central Governments, and Chief Minister Varadarajaperumal had argued that the police should be under his control if his Government was to have any authority. India was able to persuade the Sri Lankan Government to do this. It was also agreed that the Sri Lankan Army would be used for military operations in the north and the east only with the consent of the

Chief Minister and the President.

However, even these gains became meaningless once the LTTE attacked two TNA camps in Amparai district shortly after the IPKF withdrew and the TNA retaliated by attacking police stations in the district. The Provincial Government justified the TNA action by claiming that the LTTE had been helped by the Sri Lankan Army and the para-military Special Task Force (STF) in the attacks. But the attacks on the police stations, in which 13 policemen, four armymen and 20 militants were killed, turned the Sri Lankan Army and police against the TNA, which meant the TNA had to contend with both the LTTE and the Sri Lankan forces.

Part of the reason for the TNA's failure was of course the support given to the LTTE by the Sri Lankan Government. Both the Tigers and the Government staunchly deny any collusion but there is evidence of it. At a very obvious level, the Sri Lankan Army has turned a blind eye to the LTTE's operations against the TNA, under the pretext of not wanting to interfere, while TNA cadres are being arrested by the security forces. There have been allegations that the Sri Lankan government has been providing weapons to the LTTE to fight the TNA and the IPKF. The LTTE leadership denies this, but at least one LTTE guerrilla this correspondent talked to in Vavuniya admitted that the AK47 he was using had been given by the Sri Lankan Army.

The EPRLF and its allies have also said Sri Lankan Air Force helicopters have been used to ferry LTTE fighters across the north and the east, allowing them to concentrate their forces in trouble spots.

Thus the TNA faces a double disadvantage – on the one hand, its own forces are not as motivated or well trained as the LTTE's on the other, it has to fight both the LTTE and the Sri Lankan forces.

More serious than the military failures were the political failures, and India's and the EPRLF's post-withdrawal strategy failed for essentially political reasons. A glaring error was the EPRLF Government's failure to build popular support in the north and the east, which would have ensured that even if the LTTE was able to take physical control of the towns, popular sympathies would have been with the EPRLF. Instead, through measures such as conscription the EPRLF and its allies alienated the people in the north and the east. As the LTTE's theoretician, Anton Balasingam, once admitted, if the EPRLF Government had concentrated on winning popular support and providing good government to the extent possible, the LTTE would have been politically isolated.

The second political cause for the EPRLF administration's downfall was its inability to get the Sri Lankan Government on to its side. In early 1989, when both the EPRLF and Premadasa had just assumed office, relations between the two sides were good. It is an open secret that the EPRLF had helped Premadasa get votes in the north and the east and that the President repaid it soon after assuming office by passing orders essential for the devolution of powers to the Provincial Council. In turn, the Chief Minister hoisted the Sri Lankan national flag in Trincomalee on the nation's Independence Day in February, a remarkable gesture from the leader of a militant group which was once pledged to a separate state.

But the honeymoon ended when the Sri Lankan Government began talks with the LTTE last May. Once the LTTE accepted Premadasa's invitation to a dialogue the Sri Lankan Government's strategy hinged on allying with the Tigers to get the IPKF out. The alliance with the LTTE was at the expense of the EPRLF and, not surprisingly, strengthening of the Provincial Government by speeding up devolution of powers was shelved. Instead, speculation grew that Premadasa would dissolve the Provincial Council and call fresh elections in which the LTTE would be able to take part. Relations between the two sides grew increasingly acrimonious, especially after Varadarajaperumal flew to New Delhi to complain about the tardiness with which Colombo was passing on effective powers to his Government.

It was Premadasa who moved away from the EPRLF once talks with the LTTE began, rather than the other way round. But still the EPRLF administration's inability to prevent this proved costly. The Provincial Government began to rely almost exclusively on India to put pressure on Sri Lanka to fulfil its obligations towards the province, but this only distanced the EPRLF further from Colombo, and the perception of the EPRLF as an Indian puppet grew.

The net result of the EPRLF's failure to establish itself politically within the north and the east, and within the country as a whole, meant that when the crunch came in the form of the LTTE's bid to overthrow it, the EPRLF found itself friendless. It had only India to support it and even Indian support dwindled rapidly along with the departure of the IPKF.

What does the future hold for the Tamil north and the east? It is now accepted by everyone, including the EPRLF, that the Provincial Government will not last after the departure of the IPKF. And the IPKF is set to leave by March 31 at the latest.

The LTTE and the Sri Lankan armed forces are moving in to fill the

vacuum left by the IPKF, and by the end of March the two forces could be contending to establish their authority. Now the two coexist, albeit uneasily. In Vavuniya, for example, the Sri Lankan Army is establishing checkpoints on all the main roads, while the LTTE operates in the interior. The question is how long the two fundamentally opposed forces will be able to continue like this without clashing.

The third element in the military equation is the remnants of the TNA. While most of the conscripts have fled, the hardcore members of the EPRLF, the ENDLF and the TELO remain. They will have two options: flee to India or stay back and fight the LTTE, since none of them believe the LTTE will let them live. Many can leave the country, but the EPRLF has decided to go into the jungles, set up camps and fight the LTTE the same way the LTTE fought it. The TNA is well armed, and so there are prospects of a long-drawn-out conflict, unless there is a political settlement.

The LTTE, however, is in no mood for compromise with anybody, as its deputy leader, Ajit Mahattaiya, made clear to a group of journalists recently in Vavuniya. The Tigers are flush with the triumphant feeling of having fought and survived the IPKF for two years, and are convinced that it is they who managed to drive the IPKF back. Now, in their moment of victory they are in no mood to compromise with the 'quiescent forces' of the EPRLF, the ENDLF, the TELO and the PLOT, who collaborated with the 'occupation army'. The LTTE's calculation appears to be that the TNA will disintegrate once the IPKF leaves and that its leaders will flee, so there is little to be gained by talking to any of them. Once the IPKF leaves and the TNA disintegrates, the LTTE plans to contest the Provincial Council elections and come to power. What the Tigers will do then is an open question, and the leaders only say it all depends on how much the Sri Lankan Government is willing to concede to them.

According to Mahattaiya, the LTTE is talking to the Government from a position of strength and would 'depend on its own strength if the Sri Lankan Government betrays it'. The question is what the LTTE will consider to be a betrayal. The Tigers have not given up their demand for a separate state but have said they are not going to raise it immediately; instead they are waiting to see how the Sri Lankan government responds to their demands in the post-withdrawal phase.

The real test will probably come once the LTTE comes to power in the Provincial Council and begins to negotiate for greater autonomy and also for one of the fundamental demands of the Tamils, the permanent merger of the north and the east. If the Sri Lankan

Government can manage its relations with the LTTE during this phase, which should begin around the middle of this year, then there is hope for the future. If not, the stage will be set for a new phase in the struggle for a separate Tamil state.

(Courtesy: Frontline, 16-2-90)

### Continued From Page 11

Some kept these vehicles in hidden garages during IPKF's presence in Jaffna. It was for fear that they would be 'requisitioned' by the pro-IPKF Tamil militant groups. In fact some of these vehicles 'requisitioned' by the EPRLF and ENDLF are now operating near the IPKF camp in Palaly.

By the eastern calendar it is the year of the horse for those conversant with astrology. But for those in the north it certainly is the year of the Tigers.

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# 'We will support LTTE'

— V. Balakumar of EDF

He is friendly, soft-spoken, straight-forward and does not have the looks of a militant. Velupillai Balakumar is general secretary of the Eelavar Democratic Front (EDF), formerly known as EROS. It was a militant group which was on the Tigers' side on certain matters but fell foul of the Tigers after it got 13 seats in the Sri Lankan parliament.

Today, the 'fence-sitters' are mending fences with the Tigers. Balakumar was in Madras to talk with Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi. THE WEEK met him at his hotel. Excerpts from the interview:

**QUESTION: What are the ground realities now that the IPKF is withdrawing?**

**ANSWER:** It's a fast-developing scenario. People thought there would be bloodshed in a clash between the Tigers and the EPRLF, but that didn't happen. Because the EPRLF cadres' morale has hit the rock bottom and, in a way, IPKF itself wasn't keen to back the EPRLF on this count. Today, the minute the IPKF moves out, the Tigers take charge. It's happening so fast and although their presence is moderate, the Tigers are the undisputed bosses of the place. They have taken charge of the north, the east and central areas. And this is the first time this has happened.

**What does the EDF foresee?**

Now that the EPRLF has lost its roots and base, it will become totally irrelevant. Since the dialogue between the Tigers and the Sri Lankan government is going on smoothly, the Tigers may get more powers. If the Lankan government tries to cheat us again, then all of us will restart the strug-

gle. I think the LTTE is prepared for both eventualities.

**Are you convinced of the Sri Lankan government's sincerity?**

President Premadasa seems to be quite convinced of what he is doing and wants to settle the Tamil problem. It will not only establish his own position, he will also be able to check Indian influence in our matters and use the peaceful situation to get more foreign aid. That is what he wants most.

**Now that the Tigers have gone political, have they begun to show maturity and enterprise as politicians?**

I think the two-year struggle against the IPKF has made them mature and they feel confident about their goals. Just see the diplomacy they have employed in talking to the Lankan government and to Indian representatives. At the same time, militarily they are at the strongest point ever.

**The EDF has been seen as 'fence-sitters'. Now you want to talk to the Tigers and make peace. Are you afraid that it will finish you too?**

Our biggest mistake was to give up arms; we were at the mercy of all armed groups. We lost over 100 cadres in the last two years. We antagonised the LTTE by our moves. Now we have reviewed our progress and stand and we want to explain it to the Tigers.

**Did your people really want the IPKF out? Do they feel safe without the IPKF?**

People were expecting the Sri Lankan forces to hit back at them the day the IPKF left. That is why they wished for some IPKF

sections to stay on. But once they got to know the LTTE's mind on the IPKF — that it must leave — they fell in line. However, what is most important is that the Lankan forces have stayed in their barracks. The Tigers get the credit for that.

**So you have no good word for the IPKF and what they did for you?**

The IPKF jawans' life there has been one big tragedy. There wasn't a single farewell function in Jaffna. We, as militants, feel sorry for them. But then, let them ask: whose war were they fighting? You must have an inquiry on this whole IPKF exercise.

**What role would you expect India to play hereafter?**

India must make a critical review of this issue and correct its drawbacks and develop sincere interests with the Tamils.

**Is the EPRLF rule over?**

The writing is on the wall. But the EPRLF does not seem to be seeing it. It does not want to resign from the government but it has no option.

**But with the LTTE intent on contesting the poll, will EDF challenge it?**

All groups can contest the poll. But they can't win because only the LTTE will get the support for the people. We will not oppose it. For we are not keen to contest the polls again.

**But Prabhakaran seems to be angry with what your party has done — listening to India and contesting the last poll.**

We failed after basing our future on India's calculation. We earned the LTTE's wrath. Why didn't you join us to fight the IPKF — that's what Prabhakaran asked us. We hope to meet him soon. He may be willing to listen to us and accept us, but not the other groups.

— Vincent D'Souza (The Week — Mar. 4, 1990)

## Continued From Page 15

litha attempted to leave the House. It was here that the DMK's Durai Murugan tried to stop her and pulled at her sari as if he was trying to strip her. By now, Jayalalitha had fallen on the floor and was struggling to get up. It took a hard chop on Murugan's wrist (delivered by the doughty Thirunavukkarasu) and a few shoves to set her free. A visibly shaken and sobbing Jayalalitha, her hair dishevelled, a part of her saree torn, was escorted out of the House. Admitted to a private hospital with injuries on her head, right arm, back and knee, she declared in characteristic extravagant terms that there was a plot to kill her in the Assembly itself.

Just before the fracas began when Mr. Karunanidhi was on his feet Ms. Jayalalitha also stood up and started reading out from a prepared text. A provoked Chief Minister covered the mike with his hand and had said: 'Go and tell that to Shoban Babu'. Jayalalitha was reportedly taken aback, but continued to read her text, and the C.M. had repeated that remark. Now who was that Shoban Babu? If not any people know who Shoban Babu is, how many know that Ms. Jayala-

litha has an 18-year-old daughter?

While it is not always safe to attach credibility to all the gossipy, sometimes libellous features that some Tamil-language periodicals here carry, the latest issue of the political weekly — 'Nakkeeran' (7 March 1990) — has published a cover story that has made many people sit up. It has too many factual details, too many photographs, too much of evidence, including a photostat of a letter, to be disbelieved. According to the 'Nakkeeran' story, a daughter was born to Jayalalitha by Telugu actor Shoban Babu in a reputed hospital in Nungambakkam in Madras in January 1972. Named Shobana Vedavalli (Vedavalli was the actual birth name of Jayalalitha's mother Sandhiya), the child was sent at the age of two to Shoban Babu's family friends in New Jersey, U.S.A. — the Jalals. There was a time when little Shobana used to make once-a-year visits to see her parents at Madras and Hyderabad. But personal contacts between mother and daughter became infrequent after Jayalalitha got involved in politics — a state of affairs that Shobana appears to have been resenting. In a letter written to

an unidentified 'uncle' in English (a photostat of which the magazine has reproduced) Shobana writes: (referring to her mother whom she calls 'Amuma') '... Did you see her recently? From photographs I find that she is becoming more and more fatty like Grandma. What is she doing in politics ... I look forward every year to come there and stay. The stay at Hyderabad is always good. Dad is so kind ... How I wish I could be at Madras itself. I hate all this nonsense ... Well, that letter was written some years ago. Shobana is now eighteen and is back in Hyderabad, and there are marriage plans being made for her, reports the journal quoting informed sources.

Obviously, Jayalalitha was never able to live down this past emotional entanglement. Could this provide a clue to her temperament and possibly a subconscious proclivity to subject herself to punishment? Do troubles never leave her alone, or does she herself court trouble? While that may be a psychosomatic question, what is significant is that whatever Ms. Jayalalitha does has a bearing on the politics of sixty million people! Which interests all of us.

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For further details contact Asian Chaplaincy,  
48 Gt. Peter St., London SW1P 2HA. Tel: 01-222 2895.

## K. Jeganathan – An Appreciation



Mr. K. Jeganathan, Chief Human Rights Officer, Nova Scotia, Canada passed away on 11th February after a prolonged illness which left him paralysed for over 18 months. He was 58 years old.

He graduated from the University of Ceylon (as it was then known) in 1956 and went on to Law College where he qualified as an Attorney. He practiced criminal law for 9 years in Sri Lanka before migrating in 1972 to Canada where he joined the Human Rights Commission.

### Tamil Orphans Trust



Vasuki Sriskandarajah

The Tamil Orphans Trust, a U.K. registered charity presents a Variety Entertainment at the Brent Town Hall, Wembley, Middx. on Saturday, 28th April 1990 to help the orphaned Tamil children in Sri Lanka in urgent need of support.

Among the various items is a Bharatha Natyam recital by Kumari Vasuki (daughter of Dr. & Mrs. Sriskandarajah of New Malden) with live orchestra and Nattuvangam performed by the Maestro from Madras Adayar Sri Ramarao, brother of Padmasri Adayar Laxmanan.

The programme also includes a vocal recital by 'Eelathu Seergazhi' Sri M. Yogeswaran, Violin Solo by Sivashankar Sivapragasapillai, Vocal & Veena by students of Srimathi Sivasakthi Sivanesan, Mruthangam & Ganjira by students of Sri R. Baasri and Violin by students of Srimathi Dr. Laxmi Jeyan.

Jega was a man of exceptional intellectual integrity. He had a great thirst for knowledge of which he had a great fund himself. His objective approach to complex issues which he combined with an incisive and analytical mind, proved to be a great asset in the vocation he eventually chose for himself. If not for his illness, he would have represented Canada at the Sitzings of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva in 1988.

As a person he enshrined the traits which most people aspire to but never quite achieve. He was an engaging personality endowed with both wit and charm. He was a well informed and brilliant conversationalist who could hold his own in any discussion without the slightest trace of arrogance. Those that know him will also remember the impish humour which made him such a likeable and welcome visitor in one's home. The most remarkable feature about his general demeanour was that he bore no malice towards any one. As a result, he emerged as an exceptional conciliator in his chosen field and a trusted and warm friend in his private life.

To those of us, his friends, Jega's passing away removed a sheet anchor from our lives. To his wife Sundari, whose devotion particularly during his prolonged illness, is a shining example for Tamil womanhood, the loss must be irreparable which no words of consolation can assuage.

– C. Kathiresan

### UNITY

by Professor Kopan Mahadeva

*Unity is a uniquely sane, human quality  
Born when genuine liberty loves and weds equality.*

*Unity is an oiled machine with varied components  
Needing each one of them to function even for moments.*

*Unity is a delicate bloom destroyed by the heat  
Of selfishness, power-hunger, discrimination, deceit.*

*Unity is 'Give and Take', 'Forget and Forgive', and pity  
'Live and Let Live', 'Love thy Neighbour', and magnanimity.*

*Unity is compassion, consideration, kindness,  
The will to live and sink or swim together and oneness.*

*Although Unity is what some may say they have in mind  
When they're really thinking of selfish goals of every kind*

*Unity is not merely for other men to be preached,  
But firstly for our very selves, in our lives to be reached.*

### University of Jaffna Endowed Chair in Saiva Siddhanta

The University Grants Commission in Sri Lanka has approved the establishment of an endowed Chair in Saiva Siddhanta at the University of Jaffna.

Largely through contributions from Mr. V. Nadarajah, a well wisher, Sri Durga Devi Devasthanam, the Ministry of Regional Development and the Parameshwara Trust, a sum of Rs 750,000 has already been collected for the purpose. In view of revised salaries and estimated increases in expenditure a further sum of Rs 750,000 is required to set up this Chair.

The University addresses this appeal for funds to philanthropists, well wishers and followers of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy living abroad. Cheques and other forms of remittances may be drawn payable to the Bursar, University of Jaffna, Thirunelvely, Jaffna.

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**MATRIMONIAL**

**Uncle seeks bride for Jaffna Hindu engineer** (First class & Ph.D), 32, from professional family. M 366 c/o Tamil Times.

**Brother seeks partner for pretty, accomplished, English educated sister, 34, Jaffna divorcee without children, employed in Colombo firm, possessing Colombo house and other assets. Divorcees, widowers without children considered. Write with horoscope. M 367 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu sister seeks bride for brother, 29, second year polytec (Electrical engineering) student, Norway, Mars afflicted. Girl outside Sri Lanka preferable. Reply with horoscope. M 368 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Doctor, youngish, 52, widower, no children, practising and settled in U.K., seeks partner, professional, attractive lady, 30-36. Send photograph. M 369 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu doctor, U.K. resident, seeks professionally qualified partner for attractive, well accomplished daughter, 23, final year degree student. Reply with photo and horoscope. M 370 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu mother seeks bride for qualified engineer, 36, working in London. Reply with photo, horoscope to M 371 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Sister seeks Hindu Tamil bride in U.K., 24-28 years, about 5' 3", slim, fair; for handsome electronic engineer, 33, permanent resident. Horoscope, photograph to M 372 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu parents seek fair, attractive, partner under 26 for son, 29, British citizen, U.K. civil servant. Reply with photo, horoscope, details. M 373 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu parents seek professionally qualified partner for daughter, 28+, now in London doing stage 3, CIMA, Mars afflicted. Reply with horoscope. M 374 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Parents seek tall, fair, good looking, professionally qualified girl, for their handsome son, Jaffna Hindu, 30, Ph.D. qualified, Australian citizen, holding high ranking position. Reply M 375 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Tamil Christian parents seek qualified partner for lawyer daughter, 27, permanent resident, Canada. Reply with photo. M 376 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Hindu Jaffna parents seek fair bride about 22 years, preferably music interested for son, 27, computer programmer, London. Horoscope, details to M 377 c/o Tamil Times.**

**Jaffna Hindu parents seek professional for daughter, fair, attractive, 24, 5'5", in good employment, London. Horoscope, details to M 378 c/o Tamil Times.**

**WEDDING BELLS**

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage.

**Devakumar son of the late Mr. Devasagayam and Mrs. Flora Devasagayam of 1/23 Lillimur Road, Ormond, Vic. 3163, Australia and Dhayanthi daughter of Mr. & Mrs. H.R. Kanagarajah of 11, 51-53 Bank Street, Box Hill, Vic. 3128, Australia at St Peter's Church, Murrumbene on 10.3.90.**

**Harindran son of Mr. & Mrs. T. Balasubramaniam of 129 Welbeck Road, West Harrow, Middx. and Vasanthi daughter of Mr & Mrs A. Shanmugarajah of 24 Tintern Way, West Harrow, Middx. at Porchester Centre, Queensway, London W2 on 17.3.90.**

**OBITUARIES**

**Ponnambalam Sangarapillai (76) Former CEO, Ceylon National Chamber of Industries; Director, C.T.B; Commissioner, Motor Traffic; Lecturer, Aquinas and Technical Colleges; President, Colombo Tamil Sangam; beloved husband of Manonmani; father of Dr. Chandramohan, Dr. Asokan, Dr. Nagendran, Dr. Manoharan, Mahendran (all of U.S.A.), Jeyanthi Suthanthiraraj and Manohari Jeyendran (both of Australia); brother of Mrs Veerasingam (Maviddapuram, Sri Lanka) and Dr. Nadarasa (Amparai, Sri Lanka), passed away on 18.2.90 in Los Angeles, California. Cremation took place according to Hindu rites on 21st in Los Angeles. - 5220 Bothwell Road, Tarzana, CA 91356, U.S.A.**



**Katiravelpillai Sabaratnam (74) of Palam Road, Kantharmadam, Jaffna, formerly Assistant Commissioner, Agrarian Services, Jaffna; Zonal Manager, Paddy Marketing Board; Manager, Merchant Finance Company, Jaffna; President, Bagavan Sri Sathya Sai Seva Samithi, Jaffna; beloved husband of Gnambikai; father of Nanthakumar (Canada), Dr. Arulkumar (Singapore), Ratnakumar, Gnanakumar (both of Canada) and Sree Kumar (U.K.); father-in-law of Dr. Senthilselvi, Gayathri, Jeyarane, Sivagouri and Sureshni; grandfather of Ramya, Arathi, Shankari, Nishkantha, Ruban, Vithya, and Yatheesa; passed away after an untimely accident in U.K. on 20.2.90 - 3 Sandra Close, Hounslow, Middx. TW3 2LH, U.K. Tel: 01-898 4312.**

**Chinniah Nagiah (57) Senior Sales Engineer, Colombo Commercial Company, son of the late Mr. & Mrs. M. Chinniah; beloved husband of Saratha, father of Balashankar, Shanthini (both of U.K.), Kumaran (Sri Lanka); brother of Mrs Nageswary Rajasingham, Dr. Shanmuganathan (both of Sri Lanka); son-in-law of Mr. & Mrs. S. Arunasalam (Sri Lanka); brother-in-law of Anandaram (Canada), Dr. Mahendrarajah (U.K.) and Mrs Saroja Nachchinarkinnian (Sri Lanka) passed away in Madras on 13.2.90 and was cremated in Colombo - 3A Bambalapitiya Flats, Colombo 4.**

**FORTHCOMING EVENTS**

**March 30 7.00 p.m. to 2.00 a.m. Sri Lankan Society presents Cultural Evening, Dinner & Dance at Hammersmith Town Hall, London W6. For tickets Tel: Henry (LSBS) 01-490 2506 & Pradhban 01-200 3822.**

**April 1 3.30 p.m. Novena at Asian Chaplaincy, 48 Great Peter Street, London SW1P 2HA. For details phone: 01-222 2895.**

**April 3 7.00 p.m. Ravi Shankar with Yehudi Menuhin (Violin), Jean-Pierre Rampal (Flute), Marielle Nordmann (Harp), Alla Rakha (Tabla) at Royal Albert Hall, London SW7. Tel: 01-589 8212.**

**April 6 7.00 p.m. Jaffna Yogar Swami Guru Pooja at Shree Ghanapathy Temple, Effra Road, London SW19.**

**April 20 7.45 p.m. Bharatanatyam by Srikala Narasimhan with live music by troupe from India, at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4A Castletown Road, London W14. Tel: 01-381 3036/4608.**

**April 21 5.00 to 11.00 p.m. Annual General Meeting & Dinner of Medical Institute of Tamils at Vale Farm Sports Centre, Watford Road, Sudbury, Middx. Interested Tamil doctors and dentists contact Organising Secretary, MIOT, Thamil House, 720 Romford Road, London E12 6BT.**

**April 22 4.30 to 7.30 p.m. Cultural Evening of Bharatanatyam, Instrumental & Vocal Music by Institute of Tamil Culture at Surbiton Assembly Rooms, Maple Road, Surbiton, Surrey. For tickets phone: 01-949 3012, 01-399 7848.**

**April 22 6.00 p.m. Bharatanatyam by Chitra Visweswaran with musicians from India at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4A Castletown Road, London W14. Tel: 01-381 3036/4608.**

**April 28 6.30 p.m. Annual Dinner of Catholic Association of Tamils at Riverdale Hall, Rinnell Street, London SE13. For tickets phone: 0474 361600.**

**April 28 6.30 p.m. Narthana Kalalaya & Natha Vidyalaya present Bharatanatyam and Instrumental Music Recital at Camden Town Hall, London. For tickets and information phone: 01-968 7816 & 01-509 1263.**

**April 28 6.45 p.m. Tamil Orphans Trust presents Variety Performance at Brent Town Hall, Forty Lane, Wembley, Middx. For tickets and information. Tel: 01-422 0012 & 01-908 6221.**

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