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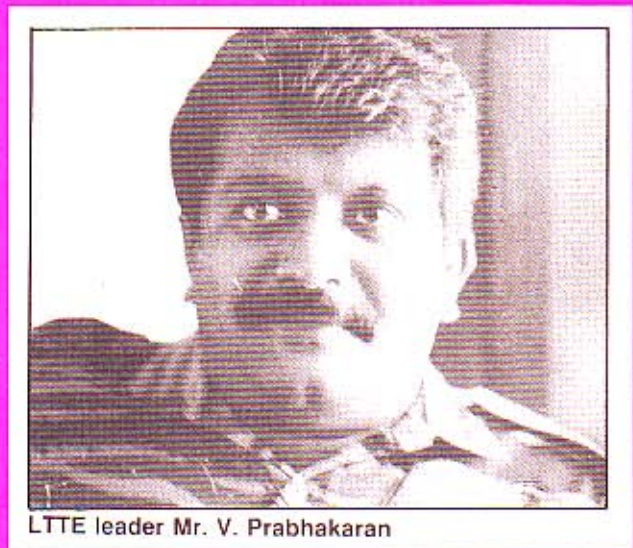
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★ **'We Stand For Liberation Not Waiting for Concessions'**
– LTTE Leader

★ **Hopes of Peace Kept Alive Amidst Military Stalemate**

★ **Pope's Visit Hastens Moves for Free Passage for Civilians**

★ **Govt. Proposals for Abolition of Executive Presidency**



LTTE leader Mr. V. Prabhakaran

★ **Making the LTTE Part of the Solution**

★ **Chandrika and LTTE's Changing Perception**

★ **'India Fully Backs Govt. Moves For Peace'**
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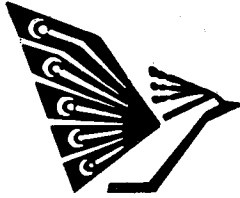
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*I do not agree with a word
of what you say, but I'll
defend to the death your
right to say it.*
- Voltaire.

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CONTENTS

Hopes for Peace Kept Alive.	4
Full Backing from India for Govt.'s Peace Plan.	6
Pope's Visit Hastens Moves for Free Passage.	7
Making LTTE Part of the Solution. . 9	
Govt. Proposals for Abolition of Executive Presidency.	10
Chandrika and the LTTE's Changing Perception.	13
Peace Talks Should Aim for Permanent Solution.	15
A Study of Tamil Biographies.	16
The Sub Continental Scene.	20
The Rout of the War Mongers.	24
Book Reviews.	26
Readers Forum.	28

Encouraging Signs

The people's hope and expectation for an end to the ethnic war and a return to peace which marked the assumption to power of the People's Alliance Government seemed suddenly shattered by the bomb attack on 24 October that killed the UNP's Presidential candidate and over fifty others and injured over a hundred persons.

On the one hand there was the belief that the LTTE, the partner in the peace talks with the Government, was responsible for the bomb attack and the absence of a forthright official denial by the LTTE unfortunately reinforced that belief. Then there was a growing perception in the south of the country, even within some sections of the peace constituency, that the LTTE was bent on liquidating the southern Sinhala political leadership one by one. And the extremist forces in the south, although presently not very powerful, commenced a vitriolic campaign against the Government alleging complicity and conspiracy with the LTTE. It appeared that these developments posed great difficulties for the Government of Mrs. Chandrika Kumaratunga to continue the peace process at the pace and intensity with which it set out at the beginning.

After a lapse of nearly six weeks, the situation looks much brighter and more hopeful, and the signs are encouraging. Written exchanges between the Government and the LTTE have been taking place, and the indications are that both parties may recommence talks sooner than one feared. The proposed Pope's visit to Colombo in January, and the need for a safe and free passage for Catholics from Jaffna to enable their travel to Colombo to see the Pope would appear to have provided an additional impetus for both parties to find a way out of the impasse.

The dispute whether the passage should be through the Sangupiddy-Pooneryn causeway or the Elephant Pass has to be resolved if the parties are really concerned about the interest of the people affected. It is not only a question of seeing the Pope. The civilians of the peninsula have suffered for years without a safe and free passage. Ordinary civilians have been held to ransom and their right to free movement denied no doubt by the conflicting claims essentially based on military considerations by both sides. If one considers the interest of the people as paramount, then both passages - Sangupiddy/Pooneryn and Elephant Pass - should be opened up for people to use without let or hindrance.

Another factor that was very often trotted out as a stumbling block for a negotiated peace effort in Sri Lanka was that the Indian Government remained hostile to such a course. The assurances given by the Indian Prime Minister during the recent visit by the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister to New Delhi that India fully backed the peace moves and the talks initiated by the Government of Sri Lanka and would not stand in the way of any negotiated settlement, one hopes, would help to remove any fears on this score.

It must now be very clear to everyone that what is in place for a number of years now is a military stalemate without the ability of either party to deal a crushing blow to the other and claim military victory. Neither is there any prospect of such an eventuality occurring. In the meantime, it is not only the people who are suffering, but also the cadres on either side are dying day after day in large numbers.

As observed in these columns before, if a fully fledged ceasefire cannot be achieved, a cessation of offensive operations by Government Forces and the LTTE and a guarantee for the renunciation of the use of both military and political violence at least during the run up to and the duration of the talks must be regarded as a prerequisite for any meaningful talks to take place in an atmosphere of relative trust.

Hopes For Peace Kept Alive Amidst Military Stalemate

Rita Sebastian, Colombo

The People's Alliance government has firmly entrenched itself in power and its comparison with the opposition United National Party (UNP), which is both rudderless and leaderless, is striking.

The once great UNP built up by gifted organisers like J.R. Jayewardene, Premadasa, Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake today presents a somewhat abject picture of political bewilderment and apathy. The gamble of the party in fielding a rank outsider like Srma Dissanayake as Presidential candidate didn't pay off. The widow syndrome failed to provide the expected magic.

The Party today has chosen to lie low, both inside and outside parliament. There are those however who suggest it has no real options at present as long as the popular tide is with the PA.

It is this popular tide that opponents of the regime are watching cautiously. If the tide turns then the UNP will be the principle beneficiary.

The recent rash of strikes and mounting industrial unrest and the abnormal rise in prices, taking even ordinary items of consumption out of reach of the poor and the disadvantaged sections of society, could take away some of the strength the government enjoys. This also gives credence to the view often heard, that the PA is better at stirring up populist feelings than at the business of governance.

The PA government is obviously alive to the fact that it needs to conserve its popularity for the next electoral exercise, that of local elections in March 1995 and parliamentary elections that might follow the setting up of a new constitution.

The PA government's first fiscal measure showed a very clear bias towards welfare measures and defence. However, the PA government in its management of the trade unions is coming under critical scrutiny. Many leading companies have either closed down, or are affected by labour problems and foreign investment seems to have virtually dried up for the moment, and the business community seems to be

watching and waiting. The package of economic stimulus they expected from the government has not been forthcoming.

Basic infrastructural reforms are on hold. Reform of the banks and the privatisation of Sri Lanka Telecom continue to be frozen, the privatisation of Sri Lanka Telecom put off by trade union pressure.

Employers have to reckon with a newly assertive and even strident trade union activity. Trade unions today have a higher profile and strength than ever before.

The peace process also seems to have slowed down to a crawl. Skirmishes continue between the armed forces and the Tigers. There are daily reports of attempted infiltration into Sri Lankan army bases in the northern Jaffna peninsula. The military stalemate continues unbroken. And the government increased its defence spending in the 'vote on account' in November and there is no let-up in defence preparedness.

From all accounts the military maintains that it does not want to be 'taken for another ride' and has made it clear to the government that certain ground rules will have to be observed if there is going to be a cessation of hostilities. The Tigers therefore have few reasons for cheer in the present circumstances.

The peace constituency however, is bigger than ever, both in the north and in the south. The people in the north living under tremendous hardships, deprived of electricity and other rudiments of a modern society which the rest of the island takes for granted, yearns for peace with an intensity that is not lost on the Tigers.

For the first time the Colombo government is headed by a popular leader who is not tainted by communalism. The last elections showed that Chandrika Kumaratunga was just as popular in the northeast as she was in the south.

It is this factor that has kept hopes alive that the present political and military impasse can be broken. The Tigers will have to take into account the overwhelming desire for

peace on both sides of the ethnic divide.

However, as long as there are no clear indications of the contours of a final settlement, the Tigers can claim that there is no settlement on the table, or on offer. The government it is said is trying to put together a peace package that will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people.

Meanwhile the clear indication by Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, that India is willing to back the peace process in the island is a tremendous boost to the Chandrika Government. It is the first such indication since the signing of the controversial Indo-Lanka Accord in 1987. What makes this affirmation different is that unlike former President Ranasinghe Premadasa's exercise which angered India needlessly, this peace process is not seen as antagonistic to India. Both Premadasa and Tiger supremo Vellupillai Prabhakaran were bogey men to many of India's political and administrative elite at the time.

President Chandrika Kumaratunga has skilfully obtained India's support, up to a point, without making any concessions in advance. She has played her cards well with a cleverness that not even her opponents can fault.

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'We Stand For Liberation, Not Waiting For Concessions' – V. Prabhakaran

LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran in his 'Great Heroes' Day' speech broadcast over the Voice of Tiger on November 26 said he was prepared for peace and laid down some conditions, but ended his speech by calling upon Tamils to take the oath of Eelam: 'The thirst of the Tigers is the homeland of Thamileelam.'

The speech reflected the change in the LTTE's stance towards the Chandrika administration following the government's reluctance to resume talks with the LTTE after the assassination of Gamini Dissanayake to which the Tiger leader did not make any reference in his speech.

Prabhakaran said that when the 'Chandrika Government' extended its hand for peace they grasped it with friendship 'but the Sinhala army does not appear to like finding a solution to the problem of the Tamils through peaceful means. The uncompromising hardline military activities and war preparation of the army indicates this. The government does not want to act against the army's hardline approach. Under such circumstances it is not an easy matter to create an atmosphere for peace or normalcy.

'If the Chandrika Government has to secure the trust and the good will of our people it should first find a solution to their immediate problems and create an atmosphere for peace and normalcy in the homeland of the Tamils,' Prabhakaran said.

Prabhakaran commenced his broadcast on a pious note. He said:

'We celebrate this day as the holy day on which we worship in the temples of our heart dear fighters who gave up their lives, sacrificed their lives for the noble ideal that our people should achieve freedom and live in freedom with dignity and honour and the right of self government.

Our country has paid an incalculable price for the sake of liberation. This land has turned into a battlefield and a river of blood has flowed on this soil. Our warriors are dying even today for the sake of liberation. All those thousands upon thousands of tombstones on this soil stand demanding liberation as their goal.

The figures of the great warriors whom we encounter on roads, street corners, and walls appear as witnesses to liberation.

A great political change has taken place in Sri Lanka. A new government has come to power with a new approach and a new mandate. When the Chandrika government extended its hand for peace we grasped it with friendship. We participated in talks without any preconditions or imposing any constraints. As these talks began in the first stage we gave precedence to the problems faced by our people.

The Sinhala army does not appear to like finding a solution to the problems of the Tamils through peaceful means. The uncompromising hardline military activities and war preparations of the army show this truth.

It does not appear that even the Chandrika government has not given up the military approach. The government does not want to act against the army's hardline. The government is not prepared to bring any pressure on the army. Under such circumstances it is not an easy matter to create an atmosphere for peace or normalcy.

Therefore, if the government has a true and honest interest in the path of peace it should be easy only if the armed forces are also led on that path.

Stopping war activities removing the economic embargo, opening the passage for transport, removing the ban on the maritime zone, and resettling refugees all depend on the position of the army.

We stand not as an obstacle on the path for peace. We have not closed the doors of peace. We are prepared for peace. If talks take place again we will take part in them. We desire that a solution should be found first to the daily problems faced by our people.

If the Chandrika government has to secure the trust and goodwill of our people, it should first find a solution to their immediate problems and create an atmosphere for peace and normalcy in the homeland of the Tamils.

Our movement which fought for long, shedding blood, has taken the struggle to a higher stage – to the point where it has established structures of self-rule.

Today we stand on a very strong and solid foundation. We should never forget that the people who laid this strong foundation were our great warriors.

The Sinhala government is interested in (developing) negotiations with us because we stand on a strong base as a powerful force.

We will assist the Chandrika government if it takes steps to find a peaceful solution to the national problem of the Tamils.

If proper proposals for autonomy are put forward then we are prepared to examine them.

My Dear Tamil people!

We are a movement fighting for liberation. We are not an ordinary group which stands abjectly in askance of concessions.

Our goal is that we should live with honour, peace, safety and freedom in our home soil, our own soil which historically belongs to us.

This is our national aspiration. We ask for a solution which will fulfill this national aspiration. Only such a solution can be permanent. Only that will create a lasting peace.

Until we get that solution, we should stand as one people rally round as one nation, with unflinching firmness.

We shall take an oath on this national day, on this day when we remember in our hearts, our warriors who laid down their lives for the liberation of our nation, that we will firmly stand by our goal.

As we light the lamps in the 'warriors' resting 'abodes' which are the temples of freedom, we shall take this oath as a gift to their souls' aspirations.

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GAMINI ASSASSINATION PROBE

Suicide Bomber Identified

Police investigating the bomb attack that killed UNP Presidential candidate Mr. Gamini Dissanayake and over fifty others are reported to have achieved a major breakthrough in identifying the woman suicide bomber. They have tentatively identified her as a 25-year-old woman named Malar.

Investigations have revealed that the suspected suicide bomber lived for around six months in the residence of Kumara, the father of Maru Wasantha at Sidharatha Adi Para, Kirulapone (opposite Maya Avenue) until mid-1993.

She is believed subsequently to have moved to Rajagiriya and then to a slum area near the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills. She and her husband, known as Ravi, paid a rent of about Rs.1,500 per month. They had two children, a boy of about two and a girl of around six months. She was about 24 years old. When she left Kirulapone suddenly, it was thought she had eloped with another man. She left the children behind, the daughter was left with a neighbour and the son was taken away by the father, sources said.

While at Kirulapone she was known as Malar, or sometimes as Dayanthi. She could speak no Sinhala at all, but was befriended by Sinhala people in the neighbourhood who could also speak Tamil, who helped her with shopping etc. She said she was from Negombo.

Witnesses in the area who have been questioned by police have identified her positively at the police mortuary. They were also aware of a leg wound Malar had which is present in the leg of the bomber. They all state however the bomber's face is contorted and difficult to identify. Police have also recovered Malar's passport from a neighbouring Tamil household whose occupants are now in custody. From photographs shown to these witnesses it has also been established that Babu, the suspected assassin of President Premadasa in May last year, had visited Malar's house on several occasions. Meanwhile a special police team has been assigned to investigate a person in Wennappuwa who was involved in transporting illicit liquor and is alleged to have had links with

the Tamil woman suspected to be the suicide bomber in the Thotalanga bomb blast, a senior police official said.

The person has now disappeared and the Police are questioning his relatives. The CID and Police have so far questioned more than 300 persons with regard to the Thotalanga bomb blast.

IGP Frank de Silva told a press conference on 24 November that the identity of the suicide bomber had not yet been established though circumstantial evidence so far gathered points to the LTTE.

He said that the circumstances may make one think this was the work of the LTTE. But there is no concrete evidence to say so. It is only on the basis of positive evidence that we have to form a conclusion.

He said journalists could form conclusions on the basis of the circumstantial evidence collected so far. The material may be sufficient for a book. 'That is not good enough for a court of law', he said.

He said 57 persons died when a bomb went off at 12.15am on October 24 and the bodies of 55 of them had been identified. Of the remaining two, one was that of the suicide bomber and the other a badly mutilated body which was beyond recognition.

Ninety-four persons were injured in that incident and 93 of them had been identified and their statements recorded. One person was treated at the hospital and was discharged. The Wattala address that he had given the hospital was found to be false and the police are trying to

trace this Tamil man.

Investigators have collected valuable productions - the damaged head, hair, dismembered parts of hands and legs, the switching device, pieces of ballbearings, denim cloth, earrings, damaged wearing apparel, and the cyanide capsule.

The JMO and Government Analyst who examined the body parts have said the hand and the legs belonged to the suicide bomber who was of a dark brown complexion, 25 to 28 years of age and 5 feet one inch tall.

The head was badly damaged and the police obtained the services of plastic and dental surgeons and with the help of super imposition and computer imagery reconstructed the head.

The IGP said five persons had positively identified on the basis of the photographs of the reconstructed head, that the suicide bomber who was wearing skirt and blouse, was seated in the third row at the Totalanga meeting. Photographs of 31 meetings of Mr. Dissanayake the police studied showed that the suicide bomber was present at the Ja-ela and Homagama meetings.

'We have received many messages saying that persons looking like the suicide bomber were found in Kirilapone, Rajagiriya and other places. We investigated every one of the bits of information we received. We have to complete investigations on two such messages' the IGP said.

He said the results of the investigations of the blood samples had not arrived from Scotland Yard. The tests done in Britain about the explosives too have not been received.

'We are continuing our investigations. We are even going through all the massive documents available with the Registrar of Persons', the IGP said..

Full Backing From India For Govt.'s Peace Moves

Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narasimha Rao in his talks with Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar on 7 December said that India fully backed the Sri Lanka Government's peace initiative.

Mr. Kadirgamar in an interview with a group of Sri Lankan editors said that Mr. Rao had said: 'I hope you will achieve peace. If you solve

your problem it will be one less for us'.

The Sri Lanka Foreign Minister said that he believed what the Indian government said and its genuine desire for peace in Sri Lanka. Some said that India had a 'hidden agenda' on the Sri Lankan issue but he did not believe that, he said. Indo-Sri

Continued on page 8

GOVT. RESUMES CONTACT WITH TIGERS

Pope's Visit Hastens Moves For Free Passage for Civilian

The government sent an official message to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam on Tuesday, December 6.

This is the first official step on the part of the government to resume the peace negotiations with the LTTE which were called off following the assassination of Gamini Dissanayake days before the Presidential election.

The decision to send the message was taken at a high level meeting at the Ministry of Defence on December 6 chaired by the State Minister for Defence Col. Anuruddha Ratwatte.

Informed sources said that the stand taken by the LTTE since it called off the unofficial ceasefire it had unilaterally observed prior to the Great Heroes' week was discussed in view of the government's plan to make an appropriate reciprocal gesture as preparatory for resuming the peace process soon after Christmas.

The government does not want to send the LTTE the wrong signal either by yielding to its demand that there should be an inquiry into the decapitation of its senior intelligence operative 'Malli' at Weli Oya during the so called Tiger ceasefire or by remaining unresponsive to any of the issues brought up by the LTTE at the first round of talks. The former, in the government's view, would give the Tiger leadership the fatal impression that it could twist Colombo's arm at will and there is something amiss in the relationship between the P.A. leadership and the army – something which could be systematically manipulated. The latter no doubt will, as the government knows only too well, justify all that the LTTE has been telling the Tamil people since the government postponed talks following Gamini's assassination and therefore alienated to some extent the P.A.'s precious minority vote bank.

The December 6 meeting which was attended by all the service commanders and the secretary to the Ministry of Defence Gen. Hamilton Wanasinghe had to be convened to also address the question of opening

a safe passage for the Catholics of Jaffna to travel to Colombo in time for the Pope's visit in January.

The Catholic Church in general and the Bishop of Jaffna in particular had made several representations to the government mainly that it should give top priority to making available a safe passage from the peninsula to the mainland.

The LTTE had put the ball in the government's court as always, no doubt realising the sensitive nature of the issue by claiming that it had already given priority to the matter in the very first round of talks with the government.

The Catholic constituency is an important factor in the P.A.'s scheme of things as well as that of the LTTE.

The crucial shift in the electorally strong 'Catholic belt' in the western coast, which traditionally voted with the UNP, in favour of the P.A. at the general and Presidential election is one of the things which contributed to the massive upswing in the P.A.'s support among the Sinhalese; and as such the government is anxious to consolidate its position therein before the UNP can make inroads again.

The vexed question of the Voice of America station in the Catholic village of Iranawila, one of the main issues on which the local churches and their flocks fell foul of the UNP, is expected to be raised during the Pope's visit. The P.A. which zealously espoused the cause of the anti-VOA protestors at the local level and substantially benefitted from the change in popular mood in the Catholic belt which it seems to have brought about, has to toe a very delicate line now.

As a government in power, it has to be alive to the realities and costs of dealing with the major donor countries such as the U.S. It is already in a quandary over the question of financing an additional budgetary gap estimated to be about five billion rupees, created by the subsidy for wheat flour for bringing down the price of bread to Rs. 3.50 being a main election pledge, and the US government's decision to cut

aid for wheat flour granted under the PL 480.

What can the government do in this situation about the VOA in view of the Pope's visit and the concerns which are still voiced in the 'Catholic belt' about the matter – the protagonist of the whole issue being the US government? While the government appears to be wringing its hands over this quandary, it is obvious that it is keen not to add to the list of problems by giving the impression at this juncture that it is concerned less about the devotion of its Catholic subjects in the Peninsula than insisting on those details of a deal with the LTTE to open a safe passage which are considered indirectly advantageous to the army but have no bearing on real strategic interests.

Many in the government and some in the army high command are not in favour of drawing the Vatican's attention to the cause behind a substantial portion of Tamil Catholics not being able to see the Pontiff. 'It will be a handle for the LTTE to plead its case in international fora' said an official connected to the Foreign Ministry. Others point out that the LTTE can make use of this to further argue with its Catholic constituency and the Tamil people generally that the government is indeed putting the interests of the army before theirs contrary to the widely held view among the minorities that the President is genuinely interested in peace and hence will unflinchingly stand by the peace initiative.

On the other hand the LTTE cannot afford to be seen by Catholics living in Jaffna as being insensitive to their concerns about an event of great religious importance to them. This is so especially in the aftermath of some friction with the clergy at the Madhu church over problems in the refugee camp at nearby Thadchanamaruthamadu which had led to unprecedented strains developing in the traditionally cordial relationship which the Tigers had developed with the Catholic church in the north. The problem which had been simmering since last year was exacerbated by the hostile and imperious manner in which LTTE's deputy political leader, Karikalan, had chosen to 'discuss' the matter with the clergy at Madhu recently. Karikalan is a person from an orthodox Hindu background from Kaluwanchikudy – a predominantly Saivite

Continued on page 8

Continued from page 17

Vellala village in the Batticaloa district which has had very little contact with Christians either through conversion or education. In addition to the acrimony caused by Karikalan's behaviour at Madhu, the fact that one of the LTTE's district level leaders in Mannar is a Hindu whose activities also have done little to alleviate the apprehensions of the Church and the laity in that region has not helped the Tigers. All these have had some repercussion in the peninsula's Catholic circles.

Despite its apparent desire to blame the government and a hawkish army for maliciously obstructing the Catholics of Jaffna from undertaking a devout journey to Colombo to see the Pope, the LTTE, like the government, has a few things to worry about in considering its relationship with its long valued

Catholic constituency at this juncture in connection with the Pope's visit next month.

Uppermost in the LTTE's mind is the dismal prospect of over ten thousand Catholic devotees - young and old - who are expected to leave the peninsula to pay their respects to the Pontiff. A large number of them are people who, under normal circumstances, would have been disqualified from getting the LTTE's 'pass' to leave Jaffna on grounds of being under age or not having proper 'security clearance'.

The Tigers, it should be pointed out here, imposed the 'pass' system in the first place to control the outflow of the population from the peninsula as Eelam War Two began taking a heavy toll on the average Jaffna citizen's normal way of life. Later it also became a means to monitor all potential civilian channels through which the LTTE

thought its security could be compromised. Thus for the LTTE the sudden departure of more than ten thousand people can become what it would see as a high security risk as well as a potential basis for the further depletion of the population under its control.

It is in the context of these concerns and perceptions of the LTTE and the P.A that one should examine the latest step taken by the government in the direction of making peace in the north. Latest reports indicate that the government had decided in consultation with the service commanders at the December 6 meeting to reopen the Elephant Pass route for civilian traffic and communicated the matter to the Tigers in the message sent to Jaffna the same day. However it is not clear whether the government

Continued on page 11

Continued from page 6

Lanka relations were now entering a period of great warmth and trust and he hoped that his visit would in a small way contribute to this growing cordiality.

The Foreign Minister also said that India had not asked for the extradition of LTTE leader Prabhakaran. A hypothetical situation of that kind should not be contemplated at this time, the Foreign Minister said.

Mr. Kadirgamar in his talks with Indian political leaders - New Delhi's power elite comprising diplomats, ex-diplomats as well as Indian army generals stressed that the government of Mrs. Chandrika Kumaratunga had twice asked the people for a mandate for peace and this was overwhelmingly supported by all sections of the community.

'We are committed to peace and there is no going back' he said. At the press conference held on 9 December before his departure he was asked whether he would concede that the measures effected by the Chandrika Kumaratunga government had been of a cosmetic nature and that nothing concrete had been given to the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Mr. Kadirgamar said that the government was a little over a hundred days old and during this period what had been done was to implement confidence-building measures. In the first round of talks with the LTTE the question of the partial

lifting of the embargo placed on goods going into Jaffna, the supply of electricity and the questions of refugees and rehabilitation were taken up.

He said that after a prolonged period of war and bitterness the government felt that some gestures must be made and to start with, confidence-building measures were taken.

It should be remembered, he said, that the people of Jaffna had been victims of war.

'When you have a situation of war as in 1987, great tragedies occur. There should be a deep appreciation of the fact that thousands of Indian soldiers lost their lives on the soil of our country. Many thousands of Sri Lankan soldiers and navy men too lost their lives. As far as the LTTE is concerned they too fought for a cause and are still fighting for a cause they believe in. It's another matter whether the means justify the ends. It's another matter whether the war is the means by which the question is to be resolved, but it has to be recognised that they too have pursued their objectives conscientiously in the way in which they believe. All these sad elements go to compound the tragedy. But for the first time since this tragic episode commenced there is a government in pursuit of peace'.

Mr. Kadirgamar said that the battle for peace is as complex as any battle in war. But the government

was not going to be deterred. 'What the outcome is, I cannot say today. I can speak only with hope and commitment', the Minister said.

Asked whether he would agree to positive demands of the Tamils such as the permanent homeland and merger of the North and East, he said that he could not unveil an entire package of proposals so complex and delicate so soon.

Mr. Kadirgamar commenting on the validity of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement today said that it was signed under very special circumstances in 1987. The Sri Lanka government had already implemented a part of the agreement by making amendments to the constitution. With regard to the rest, much had happened in the intervening years in the world as well as in relations between the two governments. The situation may never arise to pursue the question whether Accord is alive in any meaningful sense, he said. Mr. Kadirgamar also said that the Sri Lanka government wanted to have a thorough investigation of the killing of Mr. Gamini Dissanayake. Earlier investigations into the assassination of other politicians had been very shoddy, he said.

He said that the Catholics of Jaffna had made a plea for Elephant Pass to be opened so that they could come South to pay their respects to the Pope when he visits Sri Lanka next month. Talks had been held with the army, and the army had no objections to the Pass being opened.

Making the LTTE a Part of the Solution

by Jehan Perera

A positive feature in Sri Lanka is the relative swiftness with which realities are recognised. For many years, governmental leaders demanded that the LTTE should lay down its arms as the pre-condition for negotiations. But today most people recognise that this is something that the LTTE will never do merely to start the negotiations. Therefore they do not object to the government's peace negotiations with an LTTE that is apparently better armed than ever before.

But while few would be so rigid to insist on the LTTE disarming prior to the negotiations, most people would probably hold that this should happen after the negotiations. In other words, a successful negotiation would only be one in which the LTTE agreed to disarm as part of the solution. On more serious reflection, however, a serious problem can be seen to arise. The LTTE's idea of a successful negotiation, as is anyone's, is likely to be one that makes them better off rather than worse off.

There is no question that President Chandrika Kumaratunga has won the affection and, more importantly, the confidence of most members of the Tamil community. Reportedly there are more Chandrika souvenirs for sale in the north than even in the south where she recently registered the most overwhelming election victory ever. Her blunt outspokenness and willingness to even take on the Sri Lankan armed forces in verbal battle have endeared her to the Tamil people.

That she has her convictions and is willing to stand by them is clear. Therefore, unlike in the case of the B-C pact of 1957, the Dudley-Chelva pact of 1965 and the Jayewardene government's DDC law of 1981 it is most unlikely that President Kumaratunga will go back on what she puts her signature on.

However the reality is that President Kumaratunga is but an individual, subject as much to impermanence as all others. Whoever succeeds her may share neither her ideals nor her strength. To the Tamils, therefore, and particularly to the LTTE, any agreement with

the government will have to be one that is structured in such a way that it outlives President Kumaratunga's tenure of office.

From the perspective of the LTTE, what would be a better guarantor that their interests will continue to remain secure after a settlement than the retention of their arms? The LTTE is likely to remain adamant on this issue.

Therefore to those who see a peace settlement in terms of an LTTE disarming, the LTTE will inescapably be seen as the major obstacle to peace. This belief will mount both locally and internationally as the sincerity of the new government in pursuing an honourable peace with the LTTE becomes more evident. But whether this will put pressure on the LTTE to change its mind is doubtful. It is reasonable to believe that where its own survival is concerned the LTTE will not budge.

The LTTE, knows as anyone of us knows, that once they lay down their arms they will become very vulnerable to any act of bad faith on the part of the government or any other party. In one way or the other they will, therefore, make sure that any peace talks meant to disarm them as part of the solution will be scuttled. Understandably from their point of view, the LTTE will not wish to be a part of that type of solution.

Many political analysts have pointed out that the LTTE has reason to be quite satisfied with the way things are at the present with or without the peace talks. The low intensity war hitherto waged against them by the government has served their purpose well in that it unites the Tamil people under them, whose protector from the Sri Lankan armed forces they become, and affords them arms and ammunition through surprise attacks on the Sri Lankan forces.

In addition, they control the land. They wield absolute power over the people living in those areas. They largely control the flow of information available to the people. They have set up their own administrative system complete with taxes, police and judiciary. In terms of their own narrow interests, they

have everything to lose by agreeing to a peace in which they lay down their arms which made this all possible in the first place.

There are therefore essentially two alternatives before the government. One is to force the LTTE to lay down their arms by utterly defeating them in the military battlefield. To do so the government will need to gear itself up from the present low intensity war (which still for all consumes some 20 per cent of the national budget) and accept the challenge of a full scale war in which life and property are of no consequence.

But the stakes will be very high. If the government fails even after this mighty, and bloody, effort it will have lost any claim it had over the territories it failed to recapture, certainly in the eyes of the people living there who are likely to suffer enormous casualties in the event of a full scale military offensive and perhaps even internationally. The outcome of such a full scale war that fails to defeat the LTTE will almost surely be the birth of an independent state of Tamil Eelam.

Legalisation

The other alternative available to the government is the more pragmatic route of an acceptance of the ground reality but transforming it into a higher good for all concerned.

The reality is that the LTTE controls the north, militarily and administratively. The question is how to change this situation from being an obstacle to peace to being an advantage.

Over the past several years of military stalemate, the LTTE has gradually been setting up a system of local government of their own which meets most of the basic needs of the people in the areas that they control. If the government decides it can, in principle, transform Sri Lanka into a federal state by passing a law in Parliament that legalises this control by a body other than itself.

In other words, the administrative, police and judicial systems set up by the LTTE can remain in place. The essential feature of federalism is that the central government constitutionally cannot overturn certain locally relevant decisions of the federal units.

Continued on page 10

The concessions will not all be one way from the government to the LTTE. Negotiations are not only about trust-building and problem-solving, they are also about bargaining. In return for the legalisation that the government will offer it, the LTTE will need to join with the government in pledging to permanently renounce the use of violence as a solution to the ethnic conflict, and to accept the united character of Sri Lanka.

Both the LTTE and the government should also pledge not to re-arm after the agreement with a system of monitoring designed to ensure that there is no cheating. This would mean that there will be no more LTTE ships bringing arms

from abroad. It will also mean that the government will be able to cut down substantially on its defence expenditures and, therefore, reduce the budget deficit that is fuelling inflation today.

There will also be several other important matters to be negotiated such as the status of areas not under LTTE control but claimed as part of the 'Tamil Homeland,' the time table for the holding of free and fair elections in the north-east unit like in the rest of the country, the absorption of the fighting units of the LTTE into an integrated Sri Lankan military command under the President and the provisions for final appeal to the Supreme Court.

The legislation approach accommodates present ground realities but seeks to transform them into a better reality, in this instance, federalism which is the solution for a country like Sri Lanka in which the majority of our ethnic communities live in more or less geographically separate areas.

The advantage in this approach is that it does not call for war and killing in a high risk all-or-nothing venture as a total military solution would be. It is also a better alternative to the continuation of the present stalemate that is draining the lives and resources of the country and will surely make it a breeding ground for social unrest in the near future.

Government Proposals for Abolition of Executive Presidency

The following is the text of the statement made by Justice and Constitutional Affairs Minister Prof. G.L. Peiris with regard to the proposal by the Government on the abolition of the Executive Presidency.

The Executive Presidential system is the central feature of the Second Republican Constitution introduced by the J.R. Jayewardene Government in 1978. It marked a significant departure from the parliamentary executive model that existed in this country from 1948-1978, both under the Soulbury and the First Republican Constitutions. Today, 16 years after its introduction, a consensus is emerging across the political spectrum that the parliamentary executive model should be reintroduced. The People's Alliance Government has received overwhelming mandates at both the Parliamentary and Presidential elections for the abolition of the Executive Presidency.

The major weakness of the present system is the concentration of power in the Executive President. The fusion of the ceremonial, titular functions of the former nominal Head of State, and the real, substantive powers of the former Prime Minister, has vested considerable power in one person. Many of these powers are not exercised by Presidents in other countries with Presidential systems such as the U.S.A. and France. Furthermore, several institutional safeguards which exist in these countries such as the ratification of Presidential appoint-

ments have not been adopted in our Constitution. The President wields, *inter alia* the following powers:

(a) S/he presides over the Cabinet, determines the number of ministries, and appoints Ministers of the Cabinet from among Members of Parliament.

(b) S/he enjoys immunity from prosecution in respect of anything done or omitted to be done, either in his/her official or private capacity, *qua* President.

(c) S/he appoints persons to a large number of important positions without being required to consult anybody else. These positions include judges of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal and the High Courts, the Attorney General, Heads of the Army, Air Force, Navy and the Police, Secretaries of Ministries, the Commissioner of Elections, the Auditor-General and the Ombudsman.

(d) S/he can even, in certain circumstances, exercise limited powers over financial supply. Where the President dissolves Parliament before the Budget has been passed, s/he may authorise expenditure from the Consolidated Fund, of monies that s/he considers necessary for the public services for a period that could extend to six months.

(e) S/he can dissolve Parliament at any time except in the first year after a Parliamentary election.

(f) Once elected, s/he is virtually irremovable. The cumbersome impeachment process, particularly fol-

lowing the Supreme Court decision in *Dissanayake et. al.v.Kaleel S.C.4-11/91*, suggests that in practical terms a President is immune from the threat of impeachment if the party to which s/he belongs has more than one-third of the seats in Parliament.

(g) The President can, under the Public Security Ordinance, introduce Emergency Regulations which override, amend or suspend any law enacted by Parliament, and if they fall within the ambit of the host of restrictions recognised by the Constitution, even curtail the fundamental rights enumerated in the Constitution.

(h) The President appoints Governors of the Provinces. Since the exercise of the Governor's discretionary powers, except in certain specified instances, 'shall be on the President's directions', the President wields enormous powers through the Governors.

This agglomeration of power in an individual is all the more dangerous because the rival sources of power – the Legislature and the Judiciary – are relatively weak under the Second Republican Constitution. The President is responsible, yet not answerable, to Parliament. The Standing Orders of Parliament which under the previous two Constitutions precluded reference to the conduct of the nominal Head of State, except upon a substantial motion, have surprisingly been applied to the Executive President, notwithstanding the fact that s/he wields a far greater degree of political power. The fact that the members of the Cabinet are members of the Legislature and the constitutional

provisions that provide that MPs can be expelled from Parliament mean that the Legislature is a relatively weak institution vis-a-vis the Executive President. The immunity provisions, the absence of judicial review of legislation, the appointment procedure of judges of the higher judiciary, and the procedure adopted to determine whether judges are guilty of proved misbehaviour, all in different ways, serve to undermine the independence and authority of the judiciary.

This combination of what has been described as an 'over-mighty' Executive President and a relatively impotent Parliament and judiciary has, therefore, concentrated excessive power in one institution.

The advocates of the Presidential system in Sri Lanka put forward two main arguments in its favour:

1. It promotes stability and strong government.
2. It promotes the interest of minorities.

President J.R. Jayewardene himself argued in 1977 that a strong executive, unhampered by what he termed the whims and fancies of Parliament, was needed to implement the economic and social policies of the new United National Party government. A fundamental critique of this argument for strong government is, of course, that a Constitution is not meant to be an instrument to facilitate a particular political or ideological objective, or indeed a facilitator of strong government. On the contrary, the primary function of a Constitution, particularly in a modern Third World nation where the State inevitably wields considerable discretionary power, is to create regularised restraint or checks and balances on the exercise of political power. The Constitution of 1972, like its successor, suffered from the same basic defect: concentration of power in one institution (the National State Assembly and the absence of effective checks and balances. While both Sri Lanka's autochthonous constitutions may have promoted strong government, it is not at all clear that they promoted stability, and indeed may have contributed significantly to instability and the erosion of liberal democracy.

The second argument in favour of a Presidential system is, superficially, more powerful. Since a President is elected by the whole country, it is argued that the country's main poli-

tical actor has to be a national figure who cannot be sectarian in outlook, and therefore a person responsive to minority concerns and aspirations. While this has been put forward constantly as a major asset, its significance can be exaggerated. It enables minorities to exercise political clout during a presidential election campaign, but not thereafter, for, once elected, the President is virtually immune from political pressure. The fact that, for example, President Jayewardene did not take any meaningful initiatives to work out a political solution to the crisis in the North-East during his first term in office, when he not only possessed the power to do so, but also a favourable political context, is a powerful case in point. Under a parliamentary executive model, on the other hand, the main political actor, the Prime Minister is constantly and continuously responsive to Parliament. As Dr. Colvin R. de Silva observed in the Constituent Assembly in 1971:

'There is undoubtedly one virtue in this system of Parliament which the British people evolved, and that is that the Chief Executive of the day is answerable directly; to the representatives of the people continuously by reason of the fact that the Prime Minister can remain Prime Minister only so long as he can command the confidence of the assembly. This is mentioned as a weakness by my good friends. It is one of the greatest sources of strength of the system.'

Particularly under a system of proportional representation, it is possible that the parties representing minority interests might wield more effective political influence in a system which gives them political leverage continuously, and between elections as well. Furthermore, it is possible to develop alternative constitutional mechanisms to achieve this important objective. The adoption of a mixed system of proportional representation based on the German model which requires parties to field a national list and seek to obtain votes nation-wide achieves a similar objective.

The Parliamentary Executive system ensures that the country's most powerful political actor sits in Parliament can be questioned and scrutinised by MPs, can be challenged at question time and in the course of parliamentary debate, can be more easily censured or removed from office, (for example by a motion

of no confidence) than under an Executive Presidential system; in short, the leading political figure in the country is not kept aloof from the political fray, but on the contrary is in the thick of it, and is therefore in a real sense responsible and answerable to the elected representatives of the people.

The President, therefore, shall be a nominal Head of State elected by Parliament for a period of 5 years. S/he shall always, except as otherwise provided by the Constitution, act on the advice of the Prime Minister or other Minister to whom the Prime Minister may have given authority to advise the President on any particular function assigned to that Minister.

Continued from page 8

has also agreed to the basic conditions set forth by the LTTE earlier for reopening the passage when the army claimed that E.P. could be used by civilians to travel from Jaffna to the mainland.

Though the army has offered to open the Elephant Pass route for civilian traffic since the conclusion of Operation Balavegaya Two in the latter part of '91, the LTTE has objected to it on ground that it could be used as an axis for a major military thrust into the peninsula and that subjecting civilians to search would, among other things, help the forces extract supplies and information from them. Following the December 6 meeting a military official was quoted in the press as saying that a guarantee could be given that the E.P. base will not be used as an axis to launch a thrust into the peninsula. But other military officials dismissed the whole thing saying that there is no change in the army's position that it is the LTTE that has to allow civilians to move through the base and that no guarantee has been given regarding the LTTE's conditions. However, a section of the press claimed on the 8th quoting Government sources that the LTTE had agreed to opening the Elephant Pass and that it will be opened shortly for civilian traffic.

The same day there were reports that the army had shot dead three Tigers who had infiltrated the Elephant Pass base and that a massive search was on in the area to locate others. The confusion continues thus. The Pope may find little signs of true peace when he arrives in Sri Lanka next month.

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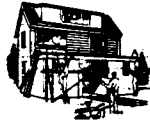
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Chandrika and the LTTE's Changing Perception

— by Taraki —

The attitude of the LTTE towards the P.A. in general, and towards Chandrika in particular, has to be carefully examined by anyone who is contemplating the island's future in terms of a peace package and its dividends. There are two aspects to this attitude. One: the reason or reasons for Chandrika and her government insisting on peace. Two: the obstacles faced by her and the possibility of her submitting to these in due course as other leaders have done in the past.

Though the LTTE had been expressing from the time when it became apparent that she was going to be the P.A.'s undisputed leader, very strong reservations about Chandrika's bona fides in handling the ethnic problem, there was marked change in their view after her significant victory at the southern provincial elections.

While Tamil politicians and opinion makers exulted over that victory in the deep south — which had long been considered a bastion of Sinhala Buddhist nationalism — claiming that it augurs well for resolving the ethnic conflict, the Tigers preferred not to say anything except sound a mild note of caution in some of their publications. This clearly showed that they were reassessing their view that Chandrika was merely picking up Premadasa's 'fishing rod' to insidiously drag in minority votes.

The prompt manner in which she set about the problem in the north as soon as she assumed office seems to have finally convinced the LTTE that her intentions were somewhat genuine. There was Tamil public opinion too which they could not ignore. Therefore they made a very significant move after the general election.

'Tamil Eelam' the official English language news letter of the Tigers in London stated in its October issue: 'The LTTE made an unprecedented gesture in welcoming the election of a new Sri Lankan Prime Minister. It could be that they recognised in Chandrika Kumaratunge a Sinhalese politician of different mettle'.

It should be mentioned, however, that whatever the Tigers said in

favour of Chandrika was always said in strict context as it were — harping on the old refrain that the Sinhala polity, despite the occasional lip service to finding a solution, is historically incapable of offering an honourable settlement to the Tamils. Nevertheless it would not be an exaggeration to say that, going by the evidence available, the LTTE was, for the first time since its inception, convinced in some measure that a Sinhala leader was genuinely keen on cementing a peace with the Tamil people.

That the Tigers upheld this view at this juncture can be deemed quite significant if one were to consider the explanations proffered then, setting out the true reasons behind Chandrika's peace initiative. One was that she was acting in accordance with a simple budgetary formula which was ultimately intended to consolidate her position among the Sinhalese.

The formula can be stated thus: Stop the war for some years at least — this would help divert some billions from defence spending — finance the subsidies promised to the Sinhalese with the sum thus diverted — secure the loyalty of the Sinhala majority with these subsidies and then if the need were to arise prosecute the war from a firm political base in the south.

According to another view which sought to explain the 'true' motive behind Chandrika's peace initiative, she was actually following the tenet of the peace lobby in Colombo — that the best and sure way of ensuring the disintegration of the LTTE is to take away the sole external factor which has, at all times and under the most adverse circumstances, prevented the organisation's inner contradictions from imploding and overwhelming it — this sole extraneous factor being war. Sections of the peace lobby argue that if the Sinhala polity could be fully weaned away from the idea of making war in the northeast then the army will have to stop fighting; which in turn will leave the LTTE without the only occupation they are familiar with.

They claim that corruption in the LTTE has reached enormous propor-

tions and has become so cancerous that the leadership is scared to take any drastic step to root out the problem. The arrest of Kutti, a senior leader in the Vanni, and several others allegedly for embezzling millions from tax funds which, according to a peace lobby person, led to the discovery that a large number of important people in the Tiger hierarchy were involved or had benefitted from Kutti's fraud is cited as a good example by the proponents of the peace strategy to illustrate their thesis.

There is also utter frustration within the organisation and the number of cadres volunteering to be Black Tigers is a sure manifestation of this moral rot they say; and the LTTE, according to them, is able to prudently skim such problems as they surface only because of the war — by sending culprits occupying sensitive positions to the battle front or by making it an excuse to make changes in the affected portion of the command structure.

Therefore, argues this influential section of the peace lobby, it is very essential for the government to bring peace to the northeast in order to expedite the only process by which the LTTE can be made to fall apart.

The LTTE no doubt is wary of the peace lobby's proximity to the powers that be in the P.A. This view which tried to read the peace lobby's peace strategy into Chandrika's Jaffna initiative, however, was something which the LTTE was familiar with from Premadasa's days.

But despite this and other explanations which sought to impute insidious motives to Chandrika's stand on bringing about peace to the war weary people in the north, the LTTE as we noted earlier, showed an unprecedented inclination to trust her personal bona fides and hence to welcome her election as Premier.

In this they showed the Tamils that they were at one with them. And also in this they were telling the Tamil people, and perhaps the world, once more that they were not the intransigent and crude warmongers they are generally portrayed to be.

However they qualified their position by reiterating three things — history, vested interests in the army and India.

Continued on page 14

Continued from page 13

To quote from 'Thamil Eelam' – 'History is a good teacher, and what lessons (sic) the Tamil people learnt from past history (sic) have proved to be always unpleasant. No Prime Minister or President in Sri Lanka has ever been able to redress the grievances of the Tamil people; nor were they able to keep promises and undertakings. Either they did not have the political will or they got submerged under forces of Sinhala hegemonism. The fact is, there is an underlying reservoir of Sinhala chauvinism that surfaces every time some settlement seems possible. That could assume different faces – opportunist politicians, the greed for power of the party in the opposition, the Buddhist Maha Sangha, the armed forces, war profiteers. . . .'

Yet, said the publication, the LTTE welcomed Chandrika's election as Prime Minister.

The November issue of the 'Erimalai' in an editorial apparently written just a day or two before Gamage's assassination paid a terse but glowing tribute to Chandrika's courage and steadfastness in 'walking through the door of peace that has always been kept wide open by the Tigers to grasp the hands of love extended by the people of Jaffna and the Tigers' despite the unfriendly attitude of the army and India. It further observed that 'The main opposition party the UNP is awaiting an opportune moment to express its opposition to the peace initiative. The army has already expressed its hostility and is placing obstacles. Hiding its intention of taking revenge on the Tigers, India fumbles, unable to stop the peace process'.

The atmosphere, then, was most conducive for the second round of talks, Chandrika having secured (or so it seemed) what no Sinhala leader before her could secure – the LTTE's trust in her strictly personal bona fides.

Later like everyone else the LTTE also seems to have been impressed by Chandrika's landslide victory and hence to probably ease things for her came up with the unofficial 'hold your fire unless attacked' order – their stand being that since it is the government which in 1990 rejected out of hand their unilateral and officially declared ceasefire, the moral responsibility of declaring one again falls on the government, regardless of who is in power. (On 15.11.94, Balasingham acknow-

ledged at a press conference in Jaffna that the LTTE was observing an unofficial ceasefire for a week). But then there was Malli's decapitation at Weli Oya two days after Balasingham's announcement. Malli alias Col. Sinnathamby Pathmanathan is a fairly senior person among the LTTE's field operatives. He had played an important role in the attack on the Indian army camp at Mulliavalai, the final assault on ENDLF positions the same year, and the attacks on Mankulam, Elephant Pass, Kokkavil and Pooneryn.

By focusing attention on Malli's decapitation and six other incidents which the LTTE claims were deliberate violations of their goodwill gesture, the Tiger leadership is making a very important point politically: It is corroborating the case it has been building up since Chandrika's rise to power – that her intention to bring peace to the North despite her honesty and sincerity will be defeated by vested interests in the Army, and that reservoir of Sinhala chauvinism which, in their view, remains a constant in Southern politics.

In other words, they are telling the Tamils that even a good Sinhala leader can be overwhelmed by forces inimical to the Tamils getting an honourable settlement. All their publications have been predicting that Chandrika, though good, will have to ultimately submit and yield to these forces.

The Government and its policy-makers as usual seem to be oblivious to the political content of the whole issue. One can also see that they have begun to cast doubts on Chandrika's *Bona Fides* itself now, which doesn't bode well for the future of a government that may soon find itself cash-strapped. The editorial of the LTTE's Jaffna paper 'Eelamathan' on 21.11.94 is worth examining in this respect.

'Is the Chandrika Government genuinely interested in settling the ethnic problem by finding a political solution or is it trying to cheat the Tamil people like the previous Government. This is the question raised by the Tamil people today, and there is nothing wrong in asking this because after Chandrika assumed duties as President, people expected many changes to take place, and they were disappointed and this made them ask this question. If Chandrika wants to settle the ethnic

problem, she should take steps immediately, otherwise even if she wants to settle the ethnic problem it will not satisfy the people.

'In this respect there are 2 main obstacles for Chandrika, one is from the Army which has enjoyed many powers earlier, and the other is from India which tried to keep Sri Lanka under its influence. In the UNP government, the Sinhala extremists and Buddhist organisations obstructed the settlement of the ethnic problem. These 2 factors have not lost their power but they have only been weakened. Today the Army is in a powerful position. It is not easy to satisfy the army. When Chandrika was appointed as Prime Minister, she tried to settle the ethnic problem, but the army put obstacles. The reason for this is that the Army enjoys many facilities, and many Army officers have become millionaires because of the war. So how can the army agree for cease-fire and bringing the war to an end?

'The other obstacle is India and its intelligence agency. They tried to establish their supremacy in Sri Lanka and failed. It was the Liberation Tigers who prevented this. India thinks that Liberation Tigers prevented it from establishing its supremacy in Sri Lanka, and India cannot digest and hence doesn't like Chandrika's government conducting peace talks with the Liberation Tigers.

'If the Chandrika Government is genuinely interested in settling the ethnic problem, it should change the structure of the Army Headquarters, and Sri Lanka being an independent country should not give in to pressure from the Indian government, and for this the Chandrika Government has got the authority and power. Otherwise it will also have to disappoint the Tamil people'.

Some days after this it appeared almost certain that the government was going to send a signal to the north by bringing the security forces command structure under the purview and control of a civilian bureaucrat.

The PA leadership has changed its mind Gen. Wanasinghe remains. The grim prospect of fighting another war is at the back of everyone's mind on both sides. As the blue tint euphoria vaguely dissipates from the war torn lands of the north, the fond hopes of the Tamils will be scattered there, dashed to smithereens once more.

'Peace Talks Should Aim For Permanent Solution'

— TULF leader

TULF leader M.Sivasithampram who had wide-ranging discussions with President Chandrika Kumaratunga this week has expressed optimism that she would find a reasonable solution to the ethnic conflict.

'We in the TULF have our own objectives and placed them before Ms. Kumaratunga. I cannot give any details of our talks. She met us alone and so I cannot take it upon myself to reveal details. I and the five TULF MPs who met her had a two hour long discussion in which she gave us a patient hearing and we are happy that she was positively responsive to our requests', Mr. Sivasithampram said, in a recent interview.

'We are a nation, the Tamil people, and remember we are fighting for equality which we think can be achieved by a federal constitution,' the veteran leader said. He sat in front of a large portrait of his slain leader Amirthalingam and said I agree with you we may be seventeen percent of the eighteen million people, and we are not asking for jobs and positions ratio wise.

The burly Mr. Sivasithampram who had been the target of LTTE attack said 'You think we are euphoric about the Government's talks with the LTTE? We were never euphoric. But judging from facts and the statements made by the President we are hopeful that she will work out a political solution. The lifting of the economic embargo on several items have given us hope,' he said.

Q: Was the assassination of Gamini Dissanayake a major setback to the peace initiative?

A: I don't think so. For one thing, it has still to be proved that the suicide bomber was an LTTE member. You refer to the bombing of a naval ship by the LTTE. These are all different things. Peace talks are not for the LTTE alone. They are talks to find a permanent solution to the problems of the Tamils. The problems confronting the Tamil nation can no longer be ignored. It is this that makes the peace process important.

Q: Will the TULF agree that the LTTE should not have to face legal prosecution for its excesses or political persecution?

A: Let's first settle the political package. These things can be looked into later. The political package, the TULF seeks, is at first a regional solution that is Federalism and secondly constitutional amendments which will help the process of regional autonomy.

We advocate regional autonomy to be achieved by a process of the devolution of power on the basis of Federalism. I am not talking of any classical form of Federalism since the powers between the centre and the periphery are a matter for negotiation and differ from country to country.

We also believe that for the devolution of powers to become a positive factor, there should be certain amendments to the constitution whereby the rights of the Tamil people can be enshrined.

For example, if there is a unitary state, as the constitution specifies, one cannot have Federalism. Legislative sovereignty is exercised through Parliament and at present Parliament is prohibited from alienating that sovereignty to another body. If this claim remains,

you cannot give powers to peripheral body.

Also the executive powers of the people rest with the President and the Cabinet of Ministers. In this context, the Chief Minister of the Peripheral Unit cannot have executive powers.

We want to make it clear that once powers are given to the peripheral unit the centre cannot interfere. This is important.

The whole question of jobs and appointments for the Tamil people can then be solved with an autonomous unit administered by them. The peripheral unit will then be responsible for providing jobs and appointments. Only a few appointments may then be given at the centre to the Tamil people.

The Executive Presidency we believe, does not really help in the solving of the Tamil problem. But if the Presidential system is to remain, the TULF calls for a drastic reduction of its powers. The President must not hold any portfolios. He or she must be answerable to Parliament through a Minister. The President cannot be above the law. He or she must be answerable to a court of law for questionable actions.

Also the whole procedure of removing a President by impeachment or a vote of no-confidence must be simplified.

It is now too complicated and that is why the last impeachment motion failed.

I do not know about the other Tamil political parties but as for the TULF our objectives are clear we are fighting for equality.

UNP to Act Against Thondaman

The UNP is likely to move against CWC leader Mr. S. Thondaman and other CWC members who voted for the On Account Vote on Friday in parliament, informed sources said.

The UNP voted against the Vote on Account while the CWC joined the government and other Tamil parties. The Bill was passed with 130 voting for it and 72 against.

The CWC was elected to parliament on the UNP ticket. They contested under the UNP symbol. The CWC members if expelled from the UNP could lose their seats in parliament unless an appeal to the Supreme Court is upheld.

A memorandum of understanding signed between the UNP and CWC before the general elections permits the CWC to function as an independent group in parliament but another clause inhibits either party from taking action which would be mutually derogatory.

Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, then deputy leader of the UNP who signed the memorandum of understanding also included a clause which read that both the CWC and the UNP should work towards strengthening ties between the two parties.

A STUDY IN TAMIL BIOGRAPHIES

Thamotharampillai and Navalar

by Prof. S. Ratnajeevan H. Hoole

The purpose of this article is to point out three general weaknesses in biographies by Tamils of Tamils and to call for better scholarship. The three weaknesses have to do with a tendency to i) boast of the subject, ii) make claims to greatness based on caste and iii) allow religio-nationalism to cloud the biographers' judgment. In particular, we shall take up biographies of C.W. Thamotharampillai^{1,2,3} for purposes of drawing conclusions and shall also make occasional references to biographies of Navalar.^{4,5} Thamotharampillai and Navalar are chosen because, first, much has been written about them of a propagandist nature that is totally inaccurate and needs urgently to be set right because it is taught to school children, and, secondly, this writer has a special interest in them.⁶

Before delving into the three characteristic weaknesses of Tamil biographies, we will briefly review the life of Cirupitty Wyravanathar Thamotharampillai, so that, as Karalasingham says⁷, younger Ceylonese Tamils may know of their heritage and the contributions this man from Jaffna has made to the language. Indeed, it may be said that Thamotharampillai, born on 12 September, 1832, has done more for the Tamil language than any other person from Sri Lanka and that to this date, a century after his death in 1901, his name commands immediate recognition among Tamil scholars anywhere. His contributions – mainly in ferreting out lost Tamil manuscripts through thorough searches including advertisements in the press, comparing the manuscripts found, and publishing them with a commentary – were extensive. The most significant among these was his publication of the *Tholkapiyam – Chollathiharam and Porulathiharam* on Tamil grammar, the oldest Tamil book in existence. Others include the *Sangam* works such as *Kaliththohai* and *Ahanahnooru*. It is a measure of tiny Jaffna's role on the intellectual landscape of the time that the first two graduates of Madras University – of whom Thamotharampillai was one – were both from Jaffna and products of Batticotta Seminary, now Jaffna College. Thamotharampillai's career took him from teacher in the services of the Christian missions, to editor of a church daily in India, to Head of the Tamil Department at Presidency Col-

lege Madras to Accountant General of the Madras Treasury and finally to Judge, in which capacity he used his large earnings to continue his publication of ancient Tamil manuscripts. He was guardian in India to Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and his elder brother Coomarasamy while they were studying there.⁷

Thamotharampillai lived in a period in which Hinduism and Christianity were dynamically interacting, and Hinduism was redefining itself in the face of Christian missionary challenge, first in direct response, and then under Ram Mohan Roy's Brahma Samaj. It is a period that, in terms of present day Tamil identity, has much to teach us. And studies of great lives of that period such as Thamotharampillai's, because we have more information of them than of others, are bound to be instructive.

Thamotharampillai, or Charles Winslow Kingsbury, the eldest son of Cyrus Kingsbury who was a first generation Christian, started studying Tamil under his father. After finishing his college education in 1852 at Batticotta Seminary,⁸ Thamotharampillai taught for some years under the mission and then proceeded to Madras to head a mission-run daily. There he converted to Saivism,⁹ and, wishing to keep his initials C.W., took on the name Cirupitty Wyravanathar Thamotharampillai. The reason for his conversion to Hinduism had to do with his caste-consciousness.¹⁰ One biographer says that his Christian background subjected him to teasing (kindal¹¹). Caste-conscious Jaffna Christians from that period who went to India felt some discomfort at being presumed to be 'low-caste', and assumed traditional Tamil or Hindu names, particularly with the suffix 'pillai' and even converted (as did Thamotharampillai).¹² His choice of new name, and his close association with Navalar (who addressed his 'reforms' to Vellalaha and described people as 'low-caste'¹³) also tell us that Thamotharampillai was also caste-conscious.

Having said this about Thamotharampillai, we will now turn to the three general weaknesses of Tamil biographers. The first shortcoming concerns the unfortunate Tamil/Indian proclivity only to praise the subject of

the biography. After all, it has been the Tamil/Indian tradition to mention only the good side of the subject, even to the point of exaggeration. This we see in old poetry where the poet's patron, the king, is usually described as being descended from the Moon or the Sun, and his praises go on *ad nauseam*. It is because of this tendency that few of us know that Gandhi held forth in his newspaper, *The Harijan*, comparing the intelligence of the lower-castes with that of a cow.¹⁴ Similarly we find Ramanathan's biographer waffling through Ramanathan's and Coomarasamy's having to quit President College Madras following some scandals.¹⁵ In the same vein, all of Thamotharampillai's biographers shower praises on him for his intellectual attainments, but no critical appraisal of Thamotharampillai the man is in evidence.

It is after all, one of the enjoyable points of reading a biography to see that even great men are in many ways very ordinary persons like ourselves. In this, Thamotharampillai was no exception. His daughter who had stayed behind in Vaddukodai with his Christian brother Appukutti Kingsbury had – on her own wishes – a Christian marriage arranged for her. Thamotharampillai had suddenly turned up from India and the daughter, fearing that the father would put a stop to her marriage, ran out through a hole in the back fence and eloped with her fiancée on a bullock-cart. Missing the daughter, Thamotharampillai started going through each room of the house looking for her, until he came to one room where his niece Sundaram Hemphil,¹⁶ was breast-feeding her child. He asked Sundaram where the daughter was, and getting the evasive reply that she must be somewhere about (ungai engaryotham irukka vernum), he promptly assaulted her even as she was breast-feeding.¹⁷ Again, when The Rev. Canon S.S. Somasundaram, a Christian convert from a family closely associated with Thamotharampillai, rejected his ancestral privileges at Maviddapuram Kandaswamy Temple and got married to Ponnammah Hemphil, Thamotharampillai's grand-niece, Thamotharampillai was doubly angry with Somasundaram for rejecting Hinduism as well as for marrying Ponnammah. Later when Somasundaram proceeded to Calcutta for his B.A., he was sent to his family friend and new in-law, Thamotharampillai's house in Madras to stop-over. Unknown to Somasundaram, the railway to Calcutta from Madras had just begun the previous week, but it is said that Thamotharampillai hardly spoke

to Somasundaram on that visit and intentionally and pettily loaded him on the ship to Calcutta which was considered an arduous and tiring way of getting there. Somasundaram was deeply upset by this when he got to Calcutta and found out about the train.¹⁸

But Thamothersampillai also had his kind side. Much of this side of his personality reveals itself in his relationship with his son, Francis Kingsbury, Professor of Tamil at University College, Colombo (now the University of Colombo) and an intellectual giant in his own right, having produced numerous books in Tamil as well as English.¹⁹ Stories abound of Thamothersampillai's relationship with Francis; both were stubborn men who did not speak to each other since Francis's refusal to officiate at Hindu rites following his mother's death. When Thamothersampillai had Francis's frontal hair shaved in the Hindu fashion, Francis went and had his entire head shaved. It is in this relationship that we see Thamothersampillai's kind side. Although he had objections to Francis (something Karalasingham refuses to admit²⁰) he felt a connection to Francis's daughter (Catherine Katpaham Kingsbury) and had given a pair of bangles to her at birth with strict injunctions to Francis's wife that she should not divulge that it was he who had made the gift - he feared that the bangles would be returned by the proud son. According to another story, when Francis became a Christian and walked out of the father's house at 21 and started living with William Miller,²¹ a missionary in India, Thamothersampillai, to protect the 'family honour', had apparently sent Miller a monthly sum lest it be said that his son was living on charity. Francis was not told because it was assumed that he would walk out of Miller's house too rather than accept his father's largesse.¹⁰

Perhaps by the same Tamil tendency to exaggerate the subject's greatness, Mr. Karalasingham also errs in saying that Thamothersampillai looked after his brothers' education, found them jobs, and got them married. Appukutti for one was educated by the mission and employed by the mission as what the Americans called Native Professor of Mathematics at the Batticotta Seminary.²² Thamothersampillai did try (not always successfully) to arrange marriages for the others, but always to Hindus against the family's wishes. One example of his success, was to the ancestor of Punitham Tiruchelvam, Neelan Tiruchelvam's mother - it is said that Thamothersampillai produced the tali from a drawer

in his house and ordered the groom to tie it on his niece.¹⁰

The second drawback in Tamil biographies arises from the fact they are of Vellalaha by Vellalaha. It concerns the devious way in which caste is introduced. According to Karalasingham, 'Thamothersampillai comes from an illustrious farming stock'. Another typical ploy used by biographers is the phrase 'He was from an orthodox family'. What is meant is obvious. It is the phraseology of almost every upper-class Tamil for whom caste is important, but whose western veneer (which must be maintained at any cost as a sign of class status) prevents him from being direct.²³ But in this case it is ironic in that the Vellalaha heritage was rejected by Thamothersampillai's father, Cyrus Kingsbury and probably also the Levins family that Thamothersampillai married twice into. In the early years of Christianity in Sri Lanka, the Christians were militantly against caste. For example, the Rt. Rev. Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta whose diocese included Ceylon, says in his pastoral letter of 5 July 1833: 'The distinction of castes, then must be abandoned decidedly, immediately, finally; those who profess to belong to Christ must give this proof of their having really "put off", concerning their former conversion, "the old man", and having "put on the new man" in Christ Jesus'. This policy on caste was enforced throughout his bishopric.²⁴ Because Christian wives were considered important in upholding Christianity in the newly Christian homes,²⁵ the missions' boarding schools for girls were considered important in supplying Christian brides.

We know from records that the earliest inmates at Uduvil were from the lower castes and poor (some were from such poor homes that they had been handed over to the missions by their parents²⁶). Others from the descriptions in old records were clearly of Koviah and Pandaram origin.²⁷ That the students were, in terms of caste, a mixed bag is clear from i) objections of Vellalaha parents to their child's eating with the other children in the boarding, and ii) the school's having to look after the student until a Christian marriage could be arranged for the student.²⁸ It was only in 1826 that the America-Ceylon Mission took the controversial decision 'that they would admit only girls of good caste "who have some property; such girls as would make suitable companions for the boys" in Batticotta'.²⁹ Cyrus Kingsbury, like many early Christians of his time, took his bride from the Uduvil boarding during this time of transi-

tion. While we know nothing of Mrs. Cyrus Kingsbury's caste background, it is significant that some of the early non-Vellalaha inmates of the boarding schools have disappeared into the so-called Christian Vellalaha community, and indeed, a good number through reconversion into Hindu families 'of illustrious farming stock' that need not be named here. The caste antecedents of Jaffna Christians are therefore subject to surmise and conjecture. But we have every reason to believe that Cyrus Kingsbury, like other Christians of his day, militantly rejected caste. Indeed therefore, it is the Kingsbury heritage to find greater dignity in being an out-caste (*asangha*) untouchable Christian than in the pitiable spectacle of a Sudra Vellalaha³⁰ arguing for his high status in relation to others. Unlike what his biographers claim, an illustrious agricultural heritage is not the Kingsbury heritage, but rather one that Cyrus's son, C.W. Thamothersampillai chased after for himself.³¹

The third Tamil weakness of Tamil biographers is to allow their religious sensibilities to cloud their academic judgment. For instance, few of Arumuga Navalar's biographers, because of his position as a Saivite leader, mention his temper tantrums in assaulting Vaishnavites during debates,³² his Vellalaha bigotry in putting down those considered lower and so on. We may note that one biography commended to us by no less an authority than the late Professor Kanapathippillai in the foreword, tells us³² that the Bible was translated by Navalar (whereas it really involved the revision of a long-existing translation by a team of scholars including the Rev. Pandit Elijah Hoole, a team of which Navalar was but one under the Rev. Percival³³) and that this translation was praised in India and put into use (whereas after 50 years of use only in Jaffna, it fell into disuse because it was deemed to lack the 'excellences' of the Indian translation³⁴). Another biographer constantly refers to the Bible written by Navalar ('avar eluthiya Bible'³⁵). Likewise even men of distinction like Justice H.W. Tambiah³⁶ and Professor S. Pathmanathan³⁷ appear to be allowing their nationalism to cloud their objectivity in claiming Navalar to be the father of modern Tamil prose (whereas prose writing was first used on a large and consistent scale much earlier by the Christian missions in their translations of the Bible, tracts and stories³⁸). Even Professor K. Kailasapathy, who places Navalar among the great social reformers of the

Continued on page 18

Continued from page 17

nineteenth century for his work in famine relief in 1876,³⁹ appears to suffer from the same blind spot when dealing with issues of religion-nationalism; for he seems not to be able to see that Navalar was only copying what the missions were already doing through their hospitals and work with the poor, and even that rather selectively; for Navalar distributed food only to Vellalaha and certainly not to those whom he called low-castes during the famine and teaches us in his 4th *Palar Padam* that *Cattiram* (gifts and alms) is to be given only to Brahmins and poor Vellalaha.⁴⁰

This tendency becomes obnoxious when Thamothersampillai's Christian heritage is brazenly ignored or played down, and all his biographers, consistently ignore a major period of his life when he worked for the Church for evangelisation in Kopay at a Teacher's Training College. Similarly Francis is called Alahasundaram by all of Thamothersampillai's biographers, a name that was only used at home⁴¹ and never used by Francis in his numerous publications where he consistently went as Francis Kingsbury. Mr. Karalasingham,¹ after using the name Alahasundaram that few would recognize, at least concedes at the end of the book in a note that Alahasundaram is no other than Francis Kingsbury.⁴² Other biographers simply refer to Francis as Alahasundaram and say no more about him.^{2,3} One would think that is a simple courtesy to use the name a man chose for himself – not to do so would be like insisting on calling Thamothersampillai 'Charles Kingsbury'. Similarly Thamothersampillai's first two wives and the wives of his three brothers, the five Levins sisters, are referred to by the unrecognizable name of Kalingarayar by Karalasingham; again a case of caste legitimization and trying to hide their Christian roots.

Could this playing down of the Christian connection be because it is felt that any hint of his Christian upbringing would, in the minds of the biographers, diminish his Tamilness? This thinking has its roots in the idea expressed by Professor Pathmanathan that 'the Hindu tradition, along with the Tamil language, forms the basis of Tamil identity'⁴³ as though if Thamothersampillai had been a Christian, he could not have been a Tamil.⁴⁴ If this idea is to be believed, even Valluvar, most probably a Jain, would not be a Tamil! This same thinking appears to be echoed by Justice H.W. Tambiah, the Vice Chairman of the Navalar Commemoration Society, when he says⁴⁵ that without Navalar,

what he calls the Tamil 'Race' (inam) would have been destroyed, as though conversion to Christianity meant loss of Tamilness.⁴⁶ The Tamils have moved from animism to Buddhism and Jainism to an aggressively proselytising Saivism that demanded conversion on pain of death and confiscation of property⁴⁶ to now a more sober, Christianised, mono-theistic, monogamist and egalitarian Saivism that is even a little Victorian.⁴⁷ Some Tamils are Christians or Muslims. The Tamil language has got Sanskritised, has absorbed a little Portuguese and Dutch, and is now getting thoroughly Anglicised especially in speech.⁴⁸ But surely, the Tamils do survive as Tamils. Indeed, if at all the 'Tamil Race' needed saving, one cannot help asking who saved it: Navalar who worked only for the Vellalaha and whose schools until recent years refused admission to those from the depressed castes? Or the missions that i) educated those like Navalar and Thamothersampillai, ii) discovered our literature for us, iii) worked for the abolition of slavery and undermined the caste-system, iv) opened the schools to the depressed, especially along the coastal belt, and v) advanced female education (let alone male education) from the abysmal state it was in when they arrived?⁴⁹ The Vellalah answer to this is to be expected; but is it warranted by evidence? Perhaps it is time for Tamil scholarship to be less Vellalah-centric and examine why any Tamil of that period with some achievement was invariably a product of the missions. Christian missionaries have at times been identified with attitudes of racism and imperialism, but the evidence suggests that this was not generally so and that this was very much less true of the early missionaries who were at odds with the colonial administration and worked very much for the people at great risk to their own lives. It is perhaps time now, almost half a century after independence, to take a fresh and balanced look at their contributions.

Thus we see that the Tamils in writing biographies have a proclivity to inexactness and fuzziness, with a view to self-glorification, self-adulation, and self-congratulation. It is sad that even those best minds among us who have been trained, examined, and certified to be logical in our thinking, cannot overcome this tendency to self-promotion at the expense of truth. One wonders whether this has its roots in our culture that makes status and one-upmanship such an important thing in life – every Jaffna family, it is said, tries every means to claim a higher caste status,

so much so that the proportion of Vellalaha has risen from 30% in 1790 when the Dutch conducted a census to roughly a half today,⁵⁰ and an unbelievable number of families claim to be descended from the Aryachakaravarithis of Nallur! These figures tie in with how the early so-called low-caste Christians disappeared into Vellalah Christian and indeed Hindu Vellalah families, and demonstrate that even Saivite claims to Vellalah status are as dubious and spurious as Christian ones.⁵¹

Although one would like to distance oneself from Lord Macaulay, one cannot but be reminded in this context of his now famous and acerbic minute about our 'false history, false astronomy, false metaphysics', during the great debate about whether Indians should be educated in English or the vernacular. Do we then dismiss Macaulay as a racist and go on as we are, or, do we reassess and correct ourselves so as to prove Macaulay wrong?

* S. Ratnajeevan H. Hoole is a Professor of Engineering and an Adjunct Professor of the Humanities and Social Sciences at Harvey Mudd College, Claremont, CA 91711, USA.

Notes.

1. S. Karalasingham, *Life of Rau Bahadur C.W. Thamothersampillai*, Madras, 1993.
2. K. Muthukumaraswamyppillai, C.V. Thamothersampillai – Kavithirattu, Pulavaraham, Chunnakam, 1974.
3. Manonmani Sharumugathas, Navalar and Thamothersampillai, in 'Navalar Centenary Issue', Sri La Sri Arumuganavalar Sabai, Colombo 7, 1979.
4. Varathar, Navalar, Sri La Sri Arumuganavalar Sabai, Colombo 7, 1979.
5. Navalar Centenary Issue, Sri La Sri Arumuganavalar Sabai, Colombo 7, 1979.
6. Thamothersampillai belonged to the Kingsbury family founded by this writer's great-great-great-grandfather Cyrus Kingsbury, Thamothersampillai's father. Besides, both Thamothersampillai in his publication work, and the Rev. Elijah Hoole – a Tamil Pandit from Point Pedro who founded the Hoole family – in revising the Tamil translation of the Bible under the Rev. Percival, worked intimately with Navalar. All information here on Elijah Hoole is from File No. C. CE 071/1-12 on The Rev. Fr. Elijah Hoole, Church Missionary Society Archives, University of Birmingham.
7. M. Vythilingam, *The Life of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan*, Colombo, 1971. pp.82-3.
8. Said to be the first modern educational institution in Asia up to tertiary level. The reputation of the college may be measured by the statement of Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras, that 'he found no young men so useful to him in the administration of affairs as those trained in the college (Seminary) at Jaffna'. P. 140 of

Mary and Margaret Leitch, *Seven Years in Ceylon: Stories of Missionary Life*, American Tract Society, New York 1890 (Reprint by Navrang, New Delhi, 1993).

9. Such conversions upon going to India appear to have been common. For we find the missions arguing on this basis for greater funds from the US and England for increasing the in-take so as to permit their students to continue their studies at tertiary level without having to go to India. Out of every 20 completing English high school in Jaffna, only 2-3 found a place at Batticotta. The others had to go to India for college education. See Leitch and Leitch, 1890, p. 147.

10. Source: Thamotherspillai's great-grand-daughter, Lila Solomon (*nee Kadir-gamar*) of Australia.

11. Manonmani Shanmugathas, p. 131.

12. It is interesting that names like Samuel and Kingsbury (and indeed Hoole) are generally not considered Tamil when carried by Tamils, while Sanskrit names are. Although we may today be somewhat used to the latter, it was not always so. I know of one Dushyanthi and a Wijayanathan whose grandmother even today finds their names a mouthful, saying Thusiyanthi and Visiyanathan to the horror of her grand-children. This process of continually adopting Sanskritic mores to rise higher in the caste order - a well documented process that sociologists call Sanskritisation - becomes ridiculous when names are commonly given without even knowing their meaning. Examples are 'Shobana' (the beauty of a woman from the blooming of her body with sexual activity), and 'Menaka' (the nymph who seduces men - the most famous of her stories concerns Sita's father, King Devarata, who saw Menaka in the sky and ejaculated as he imagined union with her; and as his seed fell into a furrow on the earth, the earth conceived and gave birth to Sita, the furrow - Ramayana 1:65-66.)

13. Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam, 'Arumuka Navalar: Religious Reformer or National Leader of Eelam', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1989.

14. *The Harijan*, Dec. 19, 1936: The context was the evangelization of the lower castes by the Rev. Dr. Mott. See Duncan Forrester, *Caste and Christianity*, Curzon Press, London, 1980, p. 179: Gandhi's attitude was perhaps betrayed when he advised a missionary to pray for the Harijans but not to try to convert them because they did not have [quoting Gandhi from the Harijan] 'the mind and intelligence to understand what you talked... would you preach the Gospel to a cow?'

Gandhi makes it worse in a later issue by justifying this saying that it is no insult since he worships the cow. c.f. Gandhi's statement quoted in *The Guardian* (Madras) of 7 Jan. 1937: 'To approach the Palavas and Pariahs with their palsied hands and palsied intelligence is no Christianity.'

Nonetheless, Gandhi did help the lower castes in the sense of one arguing: Dogs are dogs, but treat them kindly.

15. Vythilingam (p. 87) says the sons were recalled to Ceylon by their father. But

it is said that they had no choice but to quit following an incident involving exams.

16. This writer's great-grand mother.

17. Source: Sundaram Hemphil's grandson, George D. Somasundaram, who formerly headed the Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Ceylon, Colombo in the 1950s.

18. Source: Jeevamany Hoole, The Rev. Canon Somasundaram's daughter.

19. National Memorial Issue, Colombo, 1941, by his students on his demise.

20. But there is little doubt that Thamotherspillai was angry with Francis. As related by Benjamin Vijayaratham Kingsbury (Thamotherspillai's nephew who went as Benjamin Kingsbury Vijaya in Malaya) to his daughter Gnanapoothy Alfreds of Singapore, Thamotherspillai always had a gun at home saying it was for shooting Francis with should he chance to come home. He was especially angry because not only had Francis become a Christian, but he was also engaged in missionary activity. Thamotherspillai's attitude towards Francis is also clear from his will. Karalasingham (Note 1) simply says that Francis was left out of it because he had enough money of his own. But - also as reported by Mrs. Alfreds, quoting Kingsbury Vijaya - the will stipulated that Francis or his Christian relatives could claim his extensive properties if they renounced Christianity and returned to Saivism. Kingsbury Vijaya had been asked to do this and claim the properties for his four daughters, but he politely declined.

21. It was after William Miller that Francis named his eldest son Willy Kingsbury.

22. He was one of the first graduates of the seminary. A Native Professor was paid approximately a third of what a married Foreign Professor was paid. P. 144 of Leitch and Leitch, 1890.

23. It is widely known but rarely admitted within the Tamil community that even those claiming caste to be a later aberration in a once pure religion, would quietly set about dissuading their relatives from marrying outside their caste and carefully checking caste credentials in arranging marriages. Even the so-called Vellalaha Christians do this. A well known example of this pretence to egalitarianism is the late Professor C. Suntheralingam who after involvement in an anti-caste Gandhian youth organisation, according to B. Pfaffenberger, came to be remembered as the 'caste fanatic' in physically preventing the so-called low-castes from entering Maviddapuram temple. (Fourth World Colonialism, Indigenous Minorities And Tamil Separatism in Sri Lanka', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1984; pp. 18&21.)

24. J. Bateman, *The Life of Daniel Wilson*, John Murray, London, 1860, p. 438.

25. Schwartz of Travancore: 'The conversion of one woman is of more importance than of six men'. Quoted on p. 4 of M.H. Harrison, *Udwil: 1824-1924*, ACM Press, Tellippalai, 1925.

26. Sir James Emerson Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, London: John Murray, 1850; p. 160. The Rev. Dr. D.T. Niles was

one of the few persons to speak with pride in his sermon about the first Niles's wife who was given by her poor mother to a missionary lady. In another case, a girl who sheltered at the mission house during a storm took bread and bananas from the missionary. The parents thereupon felt the girl was polluted and unfit for marriage and asked the missionary to look after her. See p. 118 of Leitch and Leitch, 1890.

27. The Koviahs are household cooks ritually equal to the Vellalaha and probably the descendants of Sinhalese agriculturists captured in war. The Pandarams are temple cooks.

28. So great must have been the attendant financial burden that the decision was taken that 'the girls must be induced to accept the first eligible offer [of marriage]'. Harrison, 1925, p. 12.

29. Harrison, 1925, p. 12. The issue of property arose because the girls were married off by the mission with a dowry of 50 Rix Dollars. Note that The Church Missionary Society's boarding school for girls at Nallur - later moved to Chundikuli - was not ready until 1842.

30. Except for the Vellalaha themselves, all authorities agree that they are Sudra. For a complete listing of authorities who say the Vellalaha are Sudra, see S.R.H. Hoole, 'The Tamils: The Problem of Identity and Religion', *Indian Church History Review*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2. pp. 88-135, 1992.

31. The claims of today's Tamil Christians to caste-status have their parallels in similar claims by the descendants of the original Buddhists who rejected caste.

32. Varathar, pp. 13-4; this propaganda is widely taught in schools.

33. See testimonials in File No. C. CE 071/1-12 on The Rev. Fr. Elijah Hoole, Church Missionary Society Archives, University of Birmingham. Also Sir James Emerson Tennent (*Christianity in Ceylon*, London: John Murray, 1850; p. 174) makes clear that The Rev. P. Percival, 'the best English Tamil scholar in Ceylon' was in charge of and engaged in 'a revision of the Tamil Version of the Scriptures'.

34. Sabapathy Kulandran, *The Word, Men and Matters*, Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Jaffna, 1987.

35. Saminathaiyar, U.V., p. 62.

36. H.W. Tambiah, p. ii of Note 5.

37. S. Pathmanathan, 'The Hindu Society in Sri Lanka: Changed and Changing', in J.R. Carter (Ed.), *Religiousness in Sri Lanka*, Marga Institute, Colombo (n.d.). See p. 153.

38. The Jesuit Fr. Robert de Nobili (Tatava Podagar Swami, who died in 1656) is regarded as the father of Tamil prose (D. Rajarigam, *The History of Tamil Christian Literature*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1958, p. 19).

39. K. Kailasapathy, 'The Cultural and Linguistic Consciousness of the Tamil Community in Sri Lanka', Punitham Tiruchelvam Memorial Lecture, New Leela Press, Colombo, 1982. p. 5.

40. Hellman-Rajanayagam, 1989, p. 242 of Note 13.

Continued on page 20

THE SUB-CONTINENTAL SCENE

Ayodhya, Seshan and Muslims

by T.N. Gopalan

Call it their inability to overcome the shock of the end of the Muslim dynasty or the result of the malicious manipulations of the erstwhile British rulers, the Muslims in India generally suffer from a siege mentality.

The misplaced panderings to the sensibilities of the more reactionary elements among the Muslims by successive governments, both at the Centre and in the states, and the resulting Hindu backlash have made the community feel more and more isolated and even persecuted.

The outrageous demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya on December 6 1992 only confirmed their worst fears. From then on it has been one continuous down-the-hill slide for them, despite the spontaneous show of solidarity by the saner sections among the Hindus, what with the recurring riots and

the propensity of the largest party in the country, avowedly secular, under the leadership of Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, to adopt a soft Hindutva strategy purportedly to cut the ground from under the feet of the communal BJP.

It was in such a context the recent judgement of the Supreme Court declining to decide the question whether the Babri Masjid had been erected on the ruins of a Hindu temple and declaring that judiciary could not be hustled into handing over the controversial site to either of the two contending parties, the Hindus or the Muslims, short-circuiting the normal channels in order to serve the interests of the government of the day, came as a whiff of fresh air. The Muslims seemed to have been reassured of the essential secularism of the polity, and the need for cultivating the Muslim vot-

ing bank in the elections to various state Assemblies was (and is) a comforting thought, as it were.

However, the one and only T.N. Seshan, the Chief Election Commissioner is threatening to set the clock back again by indirectly asking the Muslims in some sensitive states like Bombay to 'prove' their citizenship in order to become eligible to vote in the polls.

The Presidential reference (at the instance of the Rao government) on the Ayodhya issue was a scarcely concealed attempt to work on the majority community sentiments - if only the Supreme Court would come out with a finding that a temple had indeed existed on the site on which the Masjid was subsequently erected, the government could gleefully throw the blame on the court and go ahead with building the Ram temple at the disputed site and go on to reap an electoral harvest, it was hoped.

The very fact that though the President's Rule was imposed in Uttar Pradesh immediately after the mosque was demolished, it took more than 30 hours for the central armed forces to take over the site -

Continued from page 19

41. This writer's mother addressed him as Alahuth-thahtha.

42. In Karalasingham's embarrassment of writing of negatives, there is only veiled reference to Francis's trial at the Pasumali Church where he was priest, conducted by Dr. Larson, Principal of Bangalore Theological College and consequent defrocking of Francis for his view - developed during his tenure as British Army Chaplain in Mesopotamia in the early 1920s as a result of reading German thinkers - that Jesus was a man. It was subsequent to this that he joined the university in Colombo.

43. S. Pathmanathan, (n.d.), p. 158 (Note 37).

44. This has been dealt with at length in S.R.H. Hoole, 1992 - see Note 30 - in response to claims at several public meetings and the Saturday Review by N. Satyendra that Tamil and Saivism are one.

45. It is indeed ironic that Justice Tambiah of all persons, whose then minor son at St. Thomas's College chose Sinhalese as his second language over Tamil, should lament the death of the 'Tamil Race'.

46. R.C. Majumdar, 'Ancient India', Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1960; p. 428.

47. With Parvati even donning a blouse in recent years to address Victorian sensibilities.

48. There appear to be parallels between how the Tamils absorbed Vedic Hinduism and Sanskrit a millennium ago, and what is

happening with Christianity and English now. The Christian ideas of monotheism, monogamy and equality among men have a precarious acceptance in Hinduism now and, with English, the Tamils appear to be at a similar stage to Sanskrit when the learned Tamils threw in Sanskrit words liberally in their speech to prove a higher status. It remains to be seen if English would in time be as naturalised in Tamil as Sanskrit is.

49. According to the missionary Mr. Meigs, writing in 1816, he could find only 2-3 girls in Jaffna (one in Alavetty, the second in Uduppitty and the third whom he never saw) who could read and write. Parents refused to send a female child to school saying that learning to read 'spoiled her modesty, endangered her chastity and rendered her insubordinate to the other sex' [Harrison, 1925 (Note 25); p. 4] Sir James Emerson Tennent (*Christianity in Ceylon*, London: John Murray, 1850; p. 156) tells us that the few who could read were Devadasis (temple prostitutes whose modesty and chastity would not have been of concern to the temple managers) who had been taught to read and write so as to enable them to transcribe temple music. It took long and patient efforts by the mission to have female education accepted.

50. B. Pfaffenburger, 'The Political Construction of Defensive Nationalism: The 1968 Temple-Entry Crisis in Northern Sri Lanka', *J. Asian Studies*, 49 (1), 1990, p. 82, citing Banks, 1960, pp. 73-74.

51. No family in Jaffna can deny having mixed caste/race blood. It is an interesting

fact that even families that consider themselves high-caste pride themselves in any light complexion and light eyes (Poonaikkan) that may run in the family without thinking of the origin. It is well documented that in Kerala, from where many Jaffna immigrants came (and at least a trace must surely remain in every Jaffna family), the Nambudri Brahmin exercised 'The Right of the First Night' (*Jus Primae Noctis*) by taking the Sudra bride home to bed on the wedding night, up to the early years of this century. Here Sudra includes the Vellalals - Note 30. Other reasons for light skin among Tamils are the immigrants from Persia and Arabia to Kerala through the centuries as well as Roman settlers in ancient times in Tamil Nadu and Kerala who have disappeared into the population. It is noted that in strict Hindu law, anyone of mixed caste is not half this and half that, but untouchable (*asangha*). Those Tamils who are of light skin or light eyes who do not wish to accept this explanation, must look to the Portuguese, Dutch and English for one. European colonialists did have children through Tamils (Portuguese mixture in an area around Changlithoppu and in some families is visibly evident from the blue and reddish brown eyes). This writer knows of one well-established Savite family of 'impeccable Vellalal credentials' that has a Dutch ancestor who is carefully hidden away. However, the extent of mixture remains to be investigated. But unfortunately, because of the status implications and because the very families that know will be those least likely to speak out, the subject will remain uninvestigated for some years.

enough time for the Hindu zealots to finish the construction of a make-shift temple – was clear enough an indication that the secular credentials of the Rao regime were suspect.

More was to follow. Regular worship at the temple was allowed, the site and its adjoining area was acquired, a government-sponsored trust of Hindu sants floated to oversee the construction of a full-fledged temple and Mr. Rao himself conveniently went back on his solemn promise on the floor of the House (of Lok Sabha) to have the mosque rebuilt on the very site on which the Babri Masjid had stood.

Especially with Assembly elections in Mr. Rao's home state of Andhra Pradesh – and in neighbouring Karnataka – only a few weeks away an 'Amen' would have proved a tremendous morale booster for him. But the Supreme Court bluntly refused to oblige.

It, however, by a majority of three to two, upheld the validity of the Ayodhya Land Acquisition Act, 1993 dealing with the acquisition of about 67 acres of land at Ayodhya including the site where the Masjid had stood – but there was a catch. If the Court had only declined to answer the reference even while upholding the Acquisition Act, it would have enabled the Centre to claim that the courts might not want to get involved in sensitive communal issues, but a government could not afford to do so; and when the Acquisition Act had been upheld, anyway there was already a temple on the site, a trust of respected sants...

But the Court struck down Section 4(3) of the Act – dealing with the abatement of all legal proceedings in respect of the acquired land in the lower courts – there are at least 22 cases and 40 issues title suits and connected proceedings which will now revive. Such an abatement without providing for an alternative dispute resolution mechanism was an extinction of the judicial remedy and amounted to negation of rule of law and hence unconstitutional and invalid, the court ruled.

The real magnitude of the implications of this ruling will become clear when one learns that the Allahabad High court has been sitting on the main Ayodhya suit – as to who owns the disputed site and other related cases for the last four decades and more. There is no knowing when these will ever be disposed of.

There is also an option of transferring all those cases to the Supreme Court through a special legislation in the parliament, but even such a transfer could be challenged in the courts. Driving the Rao government further into a corner, the Supreme Court confined its role to that of a statutory receiver and declared it would hold the disputed area in trust till the final adjudication on the matter. No snide manipulations in the interim, the Centre has been warned.

And so the issue is back to square one. The BJP is talking in terms of taking Ayodhya back to the people's court, meaning rousing people's emotions, stirring trouble all round. But then the passions have cooled down over a period of time, the demolition frenzy has almost died down, and right in the U.P. polarisation has been taking place on caste lines. The Hindutva plank, of the softer or tougher variety, seems to be losing its voter appeal, and the court's punch to the Centre should reinforce this trend.

Well there are some weaknesses. The Court has allowed the worship at the make-shift temple to be continued on the ground that the right of the majority community should not be compromised. A moving concern that considering that idols of Hindu pantheon had been smuggled into the mosque in 1949, setting off a chain reaction, and the make-shift temple came up after the mosque was razed to the ground. And the majority judgement seems to have taken a rather legalistic view and not a holistic or secular view in returning the reference unanswered.

All the same the judgement is indeed a blow for secularism and the communalists have been stopped in their tracks.

And now Mr. T.N. Seshan seems to be all set to stir up the hornets' nest all over again. The Muslims of Maharashtra are up in arms since the Election Commission has asked them to prove their citizenship first before voting in the Assembly elections early next year.

As part of the revision of voters' list and during the process of issuing photo identity cards, several police stations have issued notices to voters to prove their citizenship demanding they produce either a birth certificate, a passport, a citizenship certification or an extract showing an entry in the National Register of Citizens.

Now police stations have issued about five lakh notices in this regard. Though several Hindus too have received them, it looks like the Maharashtra exercise is aimed at targeting the Muslims especially, 'as though the government and the election machinery believe Mr. Bal Thackeray's version that Muslims are anti-national and hence we are not citizens and if we are, then we have to prove it', as agitated Muslim leaders have been quoted as saying in some press reports.

What if such documents could not be produced in the short time demanded of them? Would they have to lose their franchise when they had been voting all these years without any hassle?

The Election Commission had apparently issued such a directive in view of the large-scale presence of illegal immigrants in some border states. Though there are some Bangladeshi illegal migrants in Bombay, nowhere are they in such large numbers as to force virtually a fourth of the community to prove their citizenship.

And why of all the wings of administration should the police be entrusted with such a sensitive task? Is it an attempt to intimidate them?

After the Masjid demolition and the riots in Bombay and the ghastly serial explosions, the communal situation in the state has become very vitiated and the police is generally seen as anti-Muslim – the large number of Muslim TADA detenus seemed to confirm such apprehension. In such a context asking the police to verify the citizenship was nothing but inviting trouble.

While the Maharashtra government sought to make out that it was only acting under instructions from the Election Commission, the latter retaliated saying that it was all a blatant misrepresentation of the Commission's instructions and that the government had botched it up by objectionable procedures and hamhanded work.

It is true that the Maharashtra government cannot escape the blame. But the fact remains that it was Mr. Seshan who had started it all. The People's Movement for Secularism, the Secular Initiative and the Friends for Education have accused Mr. Seshan of pandering to the BJP-led campaign about the 'substantial presence of foreign

Continued on page 23

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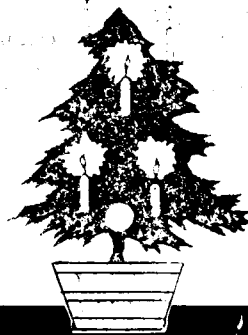
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Continued from page 21

TAMIL NADU NEWSLETTER

Jayalalitha's Discomfitures

by T.N. Gopalan

nationals, illegal migrants from Bangladesh in Assam and Delhi'.

A joint statement from those organisations pointed out that Mr. Seshan had been involved in a running battle with the Assam government on the number of foreigners in the state, an explosive issue in that area. Even in Delhi a large number of Muslims were dropped from the voters' list in an exercise not very long ago.

They pointed out that Mr. Seshan was only trying to arrogate to himself powers which the Constitution never conceived of delegating to him. But then that is in character. As la Mr. Pandian, a former Speaker of the Tamil Nadu Assembly, Mr. Seshan has been claiming, even if not in so many words, that sky is the limit of his powers. And worse he is not free from a communal bias.

He is a regular visitor to Sankara Mutt in Kancheepuram and did not hesitate in using industrialist Dhirubhai Ambani's plane to airdash on the death of the senior pontiff of the mutt. It is not just a question of devotion. As can be seen from a recent observation of his - 'I believe that anybody who calls himself an Indian is a Hindu. . . . We have lost sight of this very fundamental principle in our lives. . . . Very much a statement from the Muslims.

And now Mr. Seshan has latched on to a statement from the Union Welfare Minister Sitaram Kesri advocating reservations in jobs for the Muslims and has demanded that he be sacked from the cabinet.

While Mr. Sitaram Kesri was only playing to the gallery, the Commissioner's reaction smacks not just of arrogance but also of insensitivity - like when he reacted banning Urdu news bulletin in Karnataka when the issue had become communalised.

Some fundamentalist Muslim leaders like the notorious Syed Ahmed Bukhari, Imam of the Jama Masjid, New Delhi are now trying to rally the Muslim opinion against the Cong-I in the current round of elections. One has to wait and see where will all this lead the nation to. But when you have a Prime Minister who would reverentially touch the feet of a Shankaracharya with his head in public and a Chief Election Commissioner who speaks the language of Hindu zealots, things are not obviously very rosy.

Ms. Jayalalitha seems to be going through yet another disconcerting phase, what with the Supreme Court ordering her government to immediately comply with its orders to create additional seats in the medical course facilitating admission of more non-Backward Class candidates and the state Congress leaders torpedoing her moves to have an alliance with the Cong-I in Karnataka with a view to reviving the ties and with an eye on the elections in this state two years hence.

While the Indian Constitution has been amended in order to provide for 69 per cent reservation in state government jobs and educational institutions, an act passed by the state Assembly to this effect was included in the Ninth Schedule, placing it beyond the pale of judicial scrutiny, the Supreme Court has decreed that as far as 1994-95 admissions to the professional courses were concerned, the state would have to conform to the 50-per cent-ceiling norm in the case of reservations for the Backward Classes - which meant in the case of the medical course 62 more seats have to be filled up from the open competition. Though even of the 62 candidates on the merit list eligible for these additional seats, as many as 26 are from the Backward Classes, the Opposition would have none of this arrangement as it means compromising on the 69 per cent reservation norm, a hard won right of the BCs.

The AIADMK government hummed and hawed, would not dare offend the court nor like to be seen giving in on an issue 'vital to the survival of the BCs' and so sought to postpone the inevitable by seeking clarification after clarification from the court. Now the latter has ruled that its earlier orders be complied with failing which the officials of the state government must present themselves before it and explain the non-implementation of the order.

At the time of writing, indications were that the AIADMK would fall in line. How the DMK-led opposition reacts and what if the Supreme

Court ultimately quashes the Constitutional amendment itself are questions for which no ready answers are available. What is clear is that this would continue to prove a thorny issue for quite sometime to come.

But the major blow to her was the decision of the Cong-I not to have any truck with the AIADMK in the Karnataka Assembly elections. Surely the AIADMK is no big force there. At best there are a few Tamil-dominated constituencies where its support could prove vital to the Cong-I, especially so when its prospects are not all that bright. And it was the Karnataka Chief Minister, Mr. Veerappa Moily who is reported to have initiated the move for an alliance, but Ms. Jayalalitha responded enthusiastically.

She could have hoped that in the context of Prime Minister's readily extending her a helping hand on the reservation issue, pushing through the necessary constitutional amendment, and the vital stakes he had in the Karnataka and A.P. elections, he would grab the hand of friendship. But you can always trust her to spoil her own case by displaying overweening arrogance at the most inopportune moments.

First she had the Speaker of the Tamil Nadu Assembly Sedapatti R. Muthiah refuse to declare the six Cong-I MLAs despatched expelled from the party as unattached. President of the party Mr. Narasimha Rao himself should write to him on the matter. A letter from the General Secretary Mr. Janardhan Poojari would not do, he said.

These six MLAs have, it may be recalled here, openly aligned themselves with the AIADMK, in flagrant violation of the party line. It was only with a great lot of difficulty the state unit of the Cong-I managed to persuade the High Command to expel them from the party. The decision was also duly communicated to the Assembly Speaker.

Obviously the Speaker's decision only means half a door is kept open for a possible reversal of the expul-

Continued on page 24

Continued from page 23

sion decision and corollarily for revival of the alliance.

Obviously Ms. Jayalalitha is still hoping to build bridges with the Cong-I high command over the heads of the state unit leaders as has been pointed out in earlier despatches.

It was perhaps this attitude which made her arrogantly and impulsively order Union Minister of State for Industries M. Arunachalam out of an aircraft in which she flew from Madurai to Madras.

Apparently the service, operated by a private firm and meant for the general public, had been specially converted into an exclusive flight for her and her minions for the occasion. Unaware of the development Mr. Arunachalam, a Moopanar loyalist, stepped into the aircraft, duly greeted her, took his seat only to be brusquely turned out by a police official, of course acting under the Chief Minister's instructions.

If the fact that he had failed to argue his case – he had been booked on that flight and the airlines had a moral obligation – or stand his ground but meekly walked out showed him in a poor light, the meanness of the Chief Minister's action was even more appalling. That the Minister was a Dalit lent the episode even more lurid colours.

It was in the light of these developments that Mr. Vazhapadi K. Ramamurthy could prevail on the High Command not to have any truck with the AIADMK since by doing so it would be sending wrong signals to the people of Tamil Nadu. Mr. Rao ultimately fell in line.

Annoyed the AIADMK announced that it would be contesting four seats in Karnataka and three in A.P., just to spite the Cong-I and spoil its chances wherever possible. The TNCC-I has launched a one-crore signature campaign demanding the ouster of the Jayalalitha regime. And so the show goes on.

For an update on the controversy relating to the biography of Mr. T.N. Seshan, yet another interim injunction has been granted, this time on the ground that the book seeks to cast aspersions on MGR.

Mr. Seshan narrates in a chapter how MGR sought to favour a sick private firm at the cost of the state exchequer and how Mr. Seshan the then Industry Secretary to the state,

tried in vain to block the deal, and how subsequently he was shunted out of the department. Ms. Jayalalitha found the references offensive and moved the Madras High Court once again. No less a person than former Attorney General K. Parasaran is appearing on her behalf.

Mr. Justice K. Ramamurthy, only recently appointed to the High Court bench, also found the passage in question 'unbecoming of the high office of the Election Commissioner but also in bad taste'. When the question of freedom of expression was raised, the Judge retorted that the book would have been of no consequence had it been written by an Opposition leader, but from a CEC, oh, no, it was too much!

The Court was informed that the book was already in circulation minus the controversial chapter on Mr. Annadurai. No **fait accompli**, please. And so yet another injunction was slapped on the book. That it is freely available in the book stalls is another story.

TADA

In another development, Mr. Neduchezhian, a Tamil nationalist professor from Trichy and a strong

Tamil nationalist, has been detained under the TADA, allegedly because a member of an obscure Tamil extremist group, co-accused in a crime of seeking to waylay a person while he was returning from a bank in Thanjavur district sometime ago, reportedly told the police that he had developed Tamil nationalist convictions because of the inspiration from Prof. Nedunchezhian.

The detention has been widely condemned and there was a one-day token fast in the city on November 8 to condemn such detentions and demand the repeal of the Act. Mr. P. Nedumaran, a well-known votary of the LTTE, presided, but the programme participants were drawn from a wide range of political opinions.

(Incidentally the TADA is not a preventive detention law as might be misunderstood from a despatch from this correspondent in the October issue. A connecting paragraph between the remarks on preventive detention laws and on those draconian measures aimed at preventing crimes against the State was inadvertently left out. TADA is invoked **only after** a crime is committed. The error is regretted.)

The Rout of the War Mongers

by Amaradasa Fernando

This is a postscript to my earlier articles appearing in the *Sunday Observer* headlined 'The last chance for peace' (11.11.94). 'The war mongers' (9.10 part), 'Let's give peace a chance!' (War Mongers 11 – 30.10). In all these articles I did not pull my punches against communalists and racists, viz. – K.M.P. Rajaratne, F.R. Jayasuriya, Gamani Jayasuriya and Cyril Mathew. This was directly responsible for the marginalising of the TULF and rise of the LTTE and its leader Prabhakaran. These people, I would call the 'vintage' racists of yesteryear.

The second generation of racists was of more recent origin. In order to give credence and respectability, the local Klu Klux Klaners cloaked themselves in different garbs giving an ideological aura to their organisations. They were the 'Jathika Chinthaniya' led by Dr. Gunadasa Amerasekera and quondam Professor Nalin de Silva. Then there was 'Hela Urumaya' of Dr. Neville Fernando, Tilak Karunaratne, and Niyathapala. Dinesh Gunawardena stands in

splendid isolation, as he wants to parade an anti-UNP radicalism. This pose of radicalism comes as an incubus from his father. Alas!, both had been infected with the virus of racialism.

In the Presidential Election, it was significant that Dinesh Gunawardena's MEP was neutral in the deadly struggle between the PA and the UNP. I am sure that this gentleman would be more comfortable like the father who in his last years experimented with the UNP.

The high falutin' Sinhhalaya Maha Sammathaye Boomiputra Party', was really a mad hatter's murderous gang. The first time it surfaced was when we saw one of its members contesting under its party flag in the parliamentary general election of August '94. He was the same man who served a prison sentence for the attempted murder with a rifle butt of Rajiv Gandhi, when he was reviewing the guard of honour, given to him when he came to sign the Indo-Lanka Pact of 1987.

The Bhoomi Putrayas who con-

tested only in the Hambantota District got a miserable 247 votes. In the Presidential, they improved their performance by getting 1000 votes in the Hambantota District. Dr. Harishchandra Wijetunge, its President contested the Presidential Election losing his deposit, but crawling to 32,651 votes islandwide, with a percentage of 0.43.

He appeared on TV after his crushing defeat, on the same evening of the election result and had the effrontery to say clownishly, that though his party was comparatively new, the country had endorsed his views! Then there were two well-known journalists of whom, Dayan Jayatileke has become a recent recruit to the ranks of the war mongers.

Double game

In a recent television debate on TNL he said that if necessary we should go on fighting the LTTE for the next years! Dayan is not a racist as far as I know, but he has a chip on his shoulder, concerning Chandrika Kumaratunga, who he accuses of having betrayed her husband Vijaya.

A Sinhala journalist Edmond Ranasinghe, till recently the Editor of the *Divayina* another inveterate racist and war monger was another one of the powerful voices against the PA and Chandrika Kumaratunga.

Ranasinghe resigned his post, though he is still retained at the Upali Group, when the management had his pro-war, and racist headline, *Dora eriya, Koti penna* ('the door was opened, the Tiger jumped in'), meaning that Chandrika by her re-opening negotiations with the Tigers was directly responsible for the killing of Gamini Dissanayake, and several other front line leaders of the UNP. How pathetic it is to see the *Divayina* which has been the torch bearer for racialism come out grovellingly in its election victory edition in three colours, in type usually used for the declaration of a world war! It said: 'Loka Warthawak' (World Record).

Bringing up the rear are the two legal eagles, Gamini Iriyagolle and S.L. Gunasekera. All these are the more vocal elements who thrive on the cesspit of racialism. There are several well-known men in saffron

Electorate	Party	Gen.Election Aug. '94	Pres.Election Oct. '94
Col.North	UNP	24,522-54.62%	15,924-37.37%
Col.North	PA	18,140-40.41%	26,250-61.61%
Col.East	UNP	17,858-44.72%	12,806-34.23%
Col.East	PA	18,211-45.60%	23,867-63.79%
Col.West	UNP	12,983-51.06%	8,557-36.67%
Col.West	PA	8,977-35.31%	14,329-61.41%
Col.Cent	UNP	50,136-52.38%	33,824-37.17%
Col.Cent	PA	42,060-43.94%	56,219-61.78%

Electorate	Party	Gen.Election	Pres.Election
Hambantota	UNP	38.67%	35.99%
Hambantota	PA	53.51%	61.52%
Matara	UNP	37.43%	33.56%
Matara	PA	59.90%	64.69%
Galle	UNP	41.24%	37.28%
Galle	PA	56.39%	51.40%

robes whom I refuse to call Buddhist monks, because this would be a grave insult to the Compassionate One, the Gautama Buddha, and his teachings whose prime message was tolerance.

The UNP played a double game, running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. The organisers of the funeral of Gamini Dissanayake, shamelessly turned it into a political stunt. They dragged his grieving innocent widow and his elder son, into the rough and tumble world of sordid politics. They twisted their funeral orations into a political platform where, the ex-Speaker castigated the Chandrika Government for conspiracy in the assassination of Gamini Dissanayake. So did Sarath Kongahage, SLMP Provincial Councillor, and Lieutenant of Ossie Abeygunasekera and Sarath Amunugama, well-known sidekick of Gamini Dissanayake's 'ghost' candidate, who all made inflammatory speeches.

But for the vigilance of the police a riot might have broken out giving the signal for islandwide racial riots, as happened when 13 Sinhala soldiers were cremated at Kanatte on 'Black July' 1983, the obvious motive being to ask for a postponement of the elections. This would have given time for the arch manipulator to coach the widow in the art of hurly burly of politics. Fortunately for the country, the machinations of this individual misfired.

Analysis

I would like to give a short

analysis of election figures to show those who said that had Gamini Dissanayake lived he would have easily defeated Chandrika Kumaratunga and also to debunk those sceptics of the Jathika Chinthaka lunatic fringe, that in the Deep South the Ruhunu Putras, the true blooded Sinhala Buddhists, would cast their votes against the Chandrika, Prabhakaran, Ashraff, Thondaman quartet.

The above electorates are traditional UNP strongholds. It is obvious that the minorities voted with the PA. However, it seems in spite of this, it is clear that there has been no erosion of the traditional PA vote that the UNP and the other racials were expecting.

Now let us take three Southern Electorates district wise.

From the above analysis it will be seen that in spite of the Cassandras' forebodings that there would be an erosion of the PA vote, no such erosion in the deep South took place, in spite of adverse racist propaganda against the PA. On the contrary, it has gained at the expense of the UNP vote. Thus the racist monster has been flayed for the third time. First at the 'Francisco' Southern Provincial Council election in May 1994. Then the General Election of August 1994 and the Presidential Election of November 1994.

There is a school of thought which boasted that had Gamini Dissanayake been alive he would have easily won the election. In

Continued on page 26

BOOK REVIEWS

Psychological Trauma

'**Mana Vadu**' by Dr. Daya Somasundaram, Head of Department of Psychiatry, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

A recent leading article in the British Medical Journal (10th July 1993) commented: 'we have known for centuries that traumatic events, both physical or mental have a profound and often lasting effect on the personality. Yet somehow we keep forgetting this phenomenon; it has been rediscovered, redescribed and renamed by each generation.' This statement encapsulates the consequences of trauma. However, work that began in this area after the Second World War continued and the focus widened to include not only those directly involved in combat but also the civilian population that was affected by war. Post Traumatic Stress Disorder recognised particularly since the early 1980s came to be accepted as a diagnostic category.

The psychological devastation caused by the ethnic violence on Sri Lanka punctuated by volcanic eruptions until 1983 and now endemic as a war in the North East can never be fully estimated or understood. Despite the enormity of the task and the trying conditions that surround him Daya Somasundaram takes the

Continued from page 25

fact, Mr. M.H. Mohamed has said that he was winning the election and that was why the Government with the releasing of 30 Tigers, was instrumental in Gamini's assassination. Even if Mr. Thondaman's 400,000 votes went to Gamini Dissanayake, still he would have to make almost another 1,500,000 to defeat Chandrika. Not even the greatest UNP optimist would in his wildest dreams have expected such a world record in high jump!

Finally I would like to quote that great Bolshevik revolutionary, Leon Trotsky on what he had to say to the defeated Mensheviks, (which will aptly fit our own racists) 'You are pitiful isolated individuals; your role is played out. Go to where you belong from now on - into the rubbish can of history!'

first bold steps in his book *Mana Vadu* (Scarred Mind).

Daya Somasundaram's credentials are unique. What makes Daya Somasundaram stand out is, in the words of Brian Seneviratne 'the courage, determination and patriotism to stay where they are needed and say what is right rather than what is convenient or acceptable to some power base.'

The book is in Tamil and is a compilation of material presented at many seminars and training sessions organised by voluntary bodies notably by *Shanthiham*, a counselling centre for victims of trauma. It is aimed at professionals, medical students and many field workers, teachers, nurses and clerics, who share the concern for victims of war. The presentation, however, makes it accessible to members of the public who will find it a useful manual.

This is also the first Tamil text in psychiatry in Sri Lanka and the author has very ably dealt with the difficulties relating to the use of technical terms, some of which have been coined for the first time. The synopsis in English at the beginning and the Glossary of equivalent terms at the end will help those whose Tamil is weak or is turning rusty. It is heartening to note that the author has made a special effort to adhere to Tamil literary and grammatical conventions. There are quotations from *Puranaanuru*, *Thirukkural* and *Thirumanthiram*.

The main body of the book is in three chapters. The first introduces the concept of psychological trauma and refers to adaptive and maladaptive coping mechanisms. There are also references to published work in the international arena.

The second chapter spanning over 80 pages sets out in great detail the environmental and personal variables that determine the psychological responses to trauma. There are descriptions of the sequence and the corresponding time scale of events. Alterations in bodily functions and the psychological basis of many

physical complaints are clearly explained. The author sets out how prolonged and unresolved trauma lead to disease states.

One of the behavioural responses to trauma is to flee from the site, seeking refuge or asylum. The displaced and dispossessed whether within their own country or abroad, face challenges different to the ones confronting those who remain. The consequences of mass migration are two-fold. There are problems facing the refugees, say in a country like the U.K. The author correctly emphasises the importance of addressing this issue. On the other hand a large number of people who fled the homelands are either professionals or elders with maturity and wisdom. The void is having its own effect on those who remain. There is particular reference to the disruption of health services by the author and a plea to organisations such as the Medical Institute of Tamils to continue help.

The concluding chapter is on treatment approaches. The different methods - physical, psychological and social are described and the spiritual dimension is not ignored. The author underlines the importance of using local resources and healing methods in the care of the victims. He desists from a blind adherence to Western techniques but incorporates such things as *yoga asana*, meditation, *jebam*, recitation etc. into the therapeutic repertoire.

The book is presented in an easily readable form with line diagrams and half a dozen charts. There are a number of case vignettes to illustrate the symptoms of the disorders but it would have been helpful to add a note on the treatment approaches used and the outcome.

Footnote: the book is best read in conjunction with a video recently released in London - *Annai itta thee* (The Fire the Mother Lit), again released by the University of Jaffna and depicting the psychological consequences of the ethnic war.

Review by: *Dr. Kandiah Sivakumar M.R.C.P. (Psych)*, Consultant Psychiatrist.

Copies of the book *Mana Vadu* and the video *Annai itta thee* can be obtained at **£7.00 & £10.00** respectively from -

The Medical Institute of Tamils
or Tamil Information Centre
Thamil House,
720 Romford Road,
London E12 6BT.

Tigers of Sri Lanka

Tigers of Sri Lanka: From Boys to Guerrillas by K. Narayan Swamy, Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, Rs.350.

*Review by Prof. Bertram Bastiampillai,
University of Colombo.*

At a time when an end to the civil war and the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and instead an era of peace, is being debated, **Tigers of Lanka: From Boys to Guerrillas** affords topical and illuminating reading. This is a book written after patient and diligent investigation, and enriched by his personal interest, knowledge and understanding, M.R. Narayan Swamy provides the reader with a deep and clear insight into many matters which otherwise would have been incomprehensible or hazily understood in regard to the long lasting ethnic strife in Sri Lanka.

All the players in the sad and sordid ethnic conflict and violence which seems to go on and on in Sri Lanka appear as characters that could evoke only cynicism about human character. The two principal political parties in the governance of Sri Lanka, the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), had over the years been insensitive to the Tamil demands. Frustrated as the Tamil political leadership was owing to this response, on May 14, 1976 the leadership proclaimed that the only salvation for the discriminated Tamils lay in establishing Eelam or a separate Tamil State. Coincidentally on May 5, 1976, Velupillai Prabhakaran had founded the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which still remains today intractable and intransigent in fighting the Sri Lanka Government in the quest for autonomy for the Tamils, if not for a separate state now. In any settlement of the conflict now the LTTE has to be reckoned with.

This book gives a vivid account, exhaustively and coherently, of the origins and growth of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. In this phenomenon, the role of a leader like Amirthalingam who gave support to these militants in the initial stages particularly, and the part he played thereafter is well delineated. The activities of Mavai Senadirajah, Murugesu Sivasithambaram and others of the earlier Federal Party (FP), and later the Tamil United Liberation Party (TULF), in regard

to the struggle for the rights of the Tamils and the endeavour of Neelan Thiruchelvam to persevere with talks when the militant groups had forfeited their faith in discussions with the Sri Lanka Government are traced by the Author.

To those who wish to gain a good grasp of what ails Sri Lanka even today and why it has still failed to become a nation in the true sense of the word, this book can supply some of the answers. It surveys the birth of militancy, the provocation for it provided by the governments of Sri Lanka, and in the final chapter the conclusion is made that to end the Tamil ethnic conflict amicably, the Sri Lankan Government would have to announce a package that would satisfy the Tamil sentiments at large and then try to build a national consensus around it.

The writer emphasises that dragging its (government's) feet now would lead only to more deaths, destruction and despair. One cannot disagree with him.

The eleven chapters in this survey graphically describe how from the start itself suspicion kept the militant groups apart although at times they would throw in their lot on carrying out a dangerous but daredevil attack that would leave the Sri Lankan Government badly hurt and its morale shattered. More chilling are the accounts of how one militant group goes on to exterminate the other, and then another, and so on. Evidently, at no stage, and certainly not for long, did any love prevail between the diverse groups. And the groups were so numerous; Eelam Liberation Organisation (ELO), Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF), Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF), Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), Eelam Revolutionary Communist Party (ERCP), Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS), General Union of Eelam Students (GUES), Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) and Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO). Even this list may

not furnish a comprehensive enumeration of groups and factions. But, of course, of these only a few really matter, and in any case one by one, the groups got driven to the wall until the LTTE emerges as the most ruthlessly dominant force, and remains to be so.

It is interesting also to note how one group is more favoured by India at one time and then another one displaces it in the good books of the Indian authorities. And the Indian authorities and the Agencies also appear to have worked independent of one another – the Indian diplomatic community would not know the moves of the the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), and likewise the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) would not know what the diplomats or the RAW were up to. Hardly any co-ordination prevailed and actions were shrouded in secrecy and concealment. They acted often separately.

The author's investigations that reveal torture, conscription and brute force employed by the militant groups make spine-tingling reading indeed. Some of the groups especially come out as atrocious and inhumane in their behaviour, although one cannot say that any group had its hands clean. An excellent understanding is gained of the nature of the militant groups – those who appear to be humane now were really barbarous then according to the accounts in the study. And one group is not averse to enslaving or even exterminating another as each one sought sole mastery although all of them professed to be 'liberators' of the same people. Narayan Swamy reveals quite an amount of information about Tamil Nadu's role in training camps, acquisition of arms, and of the exploits carried out by those groups beginning with the killing of Mayor Alfred Duraipappah and Inspector Batiampillai; the attacks on the Sri Lankan Army, and other such deeds.

One begins to understand the different agenda of the various parties that were embroiled in the long drawn out conflict. India had her own objectives, the RAW their own designs, the TULF's plans were different and the various groups harboured their own aims. The writer makes out how one tries to outwit the other and often fail in the endeavour. The waxing and waning fortunes of each group are vividly

Continued on page 28

READERS FORUM

POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS

T.N. GOPALAN'S commentary on the current morbid status of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination probe is quite revealing in how power equations work in politics (*T.T.*, Aug. 1994). He states that, 'there are vested interests at work, and they would not like the (Jain) Commission to go the way it pleased'. But he did not identify these 'vested interests'. Why? Surely, he is not so ignorant on who these 'vested interests' are.

Political assassinations and what follows when an associate of the assassinated leader ascends to the power has remained predictable since the times of Julius Caesar. Bertrand Russell, in his classic work, *Power* (1938) wrote:

'A politician, if he is to succeed, must be able to win the confidence of his machine, and then to arouse some degree of enthusiasm in a majority of the electorate. The qualities required for these two stages on the road to power are by no means identical, and many men possess the one without the other'.

According to this principle, the associate of an assassinated leader is placed in a precarious position, if he is not photogenic or does not possess

mass appeal. So, he will do everything not to revive the memories of his assassinated colleague.

Lyndon Johnson ascended to the power following John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963. Hosni Mubarak became the leader of Egypt after the assassination of Anwar Sadat in 1981. Narasimha Rao was lucky to become the prime minister due to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Similarly, D.B. Wijetunge owes his position as the President to the assassins of R. Premadasa.

One can see parallels in the styles of how Johnson, Mubarak, Rao and Wijetunge have behaved in 'solving the problem' of the assassinations of their immediate predecessors. Johnson and Mubarak rushed to deliver the 'verdict' and tried their best to erase the public memories of their assassinated predecessors, though it is questionable how much they succeeded in this venture. Still doubts remain about who assassinated Kennedy and Sadat, and for what reasons. Rao and Wijetunge worked in the opposite direction to that of Johnson and Mubarak. But their motives remained the same. They are least interested in finding an answer to the assassinations, which brought them to the pinnacle of power.

Politicians who step into the shoes of their assassinated predecessors do not gain much by reviving the memories of their deceased seniors. An exception to this rule of thumb occurs when the new leader is a family member of the deceased leader. Thus the 'chapters' on the mur-

der of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and Indira Gandhi were closed in quickest possible time, because Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Rajiv Gandhi who followed them respectively were related to the deceased leaders. Since Narasimha Rao is no relation to Rajiv Gandhi, the murder mystery of the latter will take the similar route as that of John F. Kennedy. The truth will never be known.

Sachi Sri Kantha,

Osaka 565,
Japan.

THE TAMIL PROBLEM – Hurdles and Possibilities for a Settlement

NONE can pray as fervently as the Sri Lankan Tamils, for a just and enduring settlement, of the so-called Tamil problem, which has brought so much disaster and suffering to the vast majority of the Tamils living in Sri Lanka. Many and varied are the ideas and opinions as to what would constitute a just settlement, with the Sinhalese and Tamils differing widely on basic issues. The hurdles to any settlement whatsoever, are indeed formidable. However, it is of crucial importance that the Tamils clearly understand the implications and the realities that are basic to this problem, such that negotiations and formulations being canvassed, be wisely judged. This is particularly important, since various interested parties and individuals have conspired to formulate and present ideas, often with a view to promote their own selfish interests.

It would be pure self delusion for the Tamils to believe that the Government and the very great majority of the Sinhalese have been emotionally willing to concede anything worthwhile to the Tamils, except for cosmetic concessions which would not promote Tamil interest and selfhood. All along, the Sinhala objective has been the suppression of the Tamils, and the mode, a military solution. President D.B. expressed this briefly and succinctly, when he declared that there was no Tamil Problem, but only a problem of terrorism, equating the Tamil struggle as a case of pure terrorism, to be crushed accordingly. To attain this, time was important to beef up military capabilities by vast expansion of the Army, and the procurement of sophisticated military equipment, to

Continued from page 27

traced. Deceit, treachery, chicanery and prevarication of which so much is detailed, tell the reader a tale of intrigue and double dealing that has been endemic in the ethnic conflict.

The TELO getting embroiled in a violent conflict with the LTTE, the latter's onslaught on the former's camps and its near annihilation of the TELO, and then the killings of the EPRLF leadership make gruesome reading. The PLOTE and its activities that are outlined are equally frightful. Much more of such horrible accounts are related. Sadly, the IPKF comes out poorly but not through any intrinsic fault.

Author Narayan Swamy piles facts after facts and detail after detail to give the reader a cogent and impressive recount of the ethnic

strife that has hurt and still bedevils Sri Lanka. He writes lucidly and in a simple pleasant to read style of the history of the origins of the ethnic conflict and its deterioration into brutal violence over the years. To those who are interested in the contemporary disturbed situation in Sri Lanka, this is compulsory and interesting reading. Narayan Swamy does not spare the misjudgement of the Indian political big wigs; the errors in the intelligence of RAW and their duplicity; the naivety of the Indian diplomatic entity in Sri Lanka, the fundamental cardinal causative faults of the Sri Lankan political leadership, and the bloody nature of the Sri Lankan militant groups; one cannot but recognise that the IPKF had all along been misled misinformed and misdirected – it is a judicious study indeed.

buttress, not only the Army, but also the Navy and the Air Force, to enable an overwhelming superiority. It would have been considered a betrayal of the Sinhala cause, if the vast expense and resources compiled to build up the military machine, be not used to the fullest. This should be remembered, in the context of President Premadasa being involved in the highly publicised negotiations with the Tigers, whilst surreptitious preparations were being prepared and supplies procured, to launch an offensive, when ready. These negotiations were for the purpose of beguiling the LTTE and also for placating world opinion as to the peaceful intentions of the Government. Many Tamils had been deluded into the belief that a peaceful resolution of the problem could have been achieved, but for the obdurance of the LTTE.

It would hardly be necessary to recapitulate the long history of the peaceful agitation and conferences launched by the Tamils to gain their rights and the equally frequent betrayals by the Government, to keep promises made. It is essential for the Tamils to realize, that it has always been the valiant and sustained offensive capabilities against the Army, which has gradually eroded the objective of a military solution, and forced some willingness to consider a political solution. Despite the frequent reverses, the confidence of the Army to crush the LTTE in their heartland, remained unabated, and hence the boast of the President D.B. However, the failure of the Yarldevi Operation and the sacking of the Poonakeri invasion base camp, resulting in the capture by the Tigers of a vast and adequate weaponry, abated the confidence in a military solution. This was compounded by the intolerable strain on the resources and economy of the Island, which for decades had drastically sapped the development of the country.

This implies that whatever party be in power, the need to resolve the conflict, must be a priority. No doubt, Chandrika has also brought a greater dedication to such an endeavour, though she would not by herself have carried through the prospect of negotiations, amongst the diehard Sinhalese, if not for the gradual realisation that the military option cannot be sustained. This has become all the more evident in view of the rapidly declining morale of the soldiers to fight against a far more

resolute foe. The willingness of the Army top brass to fight, is tempered by the soldier's unwillingness to fight. The Sinhala soldier has been notorious for indiscipline, and it is said that D.B. Wijetunga's intention to somehow continue the U.N.P. by manipulation, had been thwarted by a warning from the High Command, that the Sinhala soldier might rebel.

Hence the present spate of negotiations and emissaries to the North. However, it is crucially important to realize that the objective of curbing Tamil regeneration is no whit less on the part of the Government. Tamil regeneration and self sufficiency, which is the base for Tamil progress and development is based on economic and territorial viability. Only the merger of the North and East, together with adequate devolution of power to manage their affairs, is the bottom line, to which the Tamils must hold fast. Truncated pieces of the East attached to the North, could be of little avail. It is only the lack of confidence in the Sinhala ability to crush the Tamils and the latter's ability to sustain their capabilities, which has convinced the Muslims to throw in their lot with the Tamils, with their own safeguards.

From the above, it would be seen that the Government whatever party be in power, must sooner or later come to terms with the LTTE for a solution of the Tamil Problem. It follows purely and solely on the basis of the LTTE being able to hold their own, and in no way a change of heart, except on the basis of facing reality. The LTTE's ability to carry on and sustain their struggle, would depend greatly on the Tamil willingness to endure the hardships and sufferings of the decade's long conflict. The faint hearts, and the stooges, so abundant on the Government side, would doubtless be the first objective, to be harnessed to thwart or reduce Tamil demands. These stooges and quislings have resorted to the popular game of 'running with the hare and hunting with the hounds', merely to gain power for themselves.

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DID JESUS LIVE IN INDIA?

REFERENCE the letter in the Forum page, 'Did Jesus Live in India?', it may be of interest to your readers that a Malay Muslim theologian in Malaysia cites that there is a span in Mohamed's life which is unaccounted and according to this theologian even Mohamed, the Muslim Holy Prophet spent a number of years in India.

So it is most likely that not only Jesus but Mohamed studied religion in India.

D. Ratnasamy,

Singapore 1642.

TRAITORS ARE MORE DANGEROUS

SOME of the material printed in your November '94 issue is offensive to the Tamil speaking peoples of Ceylon.

The world accepts the ethnic civil war in Ceylon as a reality. There are two parties involved in the conflict, the government in Colombo and the liberation movement led by our leader Prabhakaran.

Until the war is amicably ended, Hoole and the likes of him cannot expect the niceties of democracy. Hoole should understand that traitors are more dangerous than the enemy.

Uyangoda should confine his conclusions to himself and refrain from making accusations against our noble leader, Prabhakaran.

The Sinhala army has no business whatsoever in the North and East. The shortest and most sensible path to peace in the Island, is for the Sinhala forces to return to their base in Colombo.

Our leader is the architect of our future. He is not to be vilified in your columns.

S. Pothalingam, FRCS.

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MATRIMONIAL

Jaffna Hindu parents seek partner for B.Sc. graduate teacher, 38, teaching in Sri Lanka. Send details. M 760 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu professional family seek fair attractive bride, doctor, Chartered Accountant or similar professional with ambition, for son, B.Sc.(Hons.) Computer Science, age 28, UK born educated holding high position as Consultant, six figure salary, house owner, financially secure, height 5 feet 10 inches, fair complexion, good looking, non-smoker, non-drinker, honest serious minded hardworking ambitious, with Hindu cultural values. Please send details and horoscope. All correspondence treated in strictest confidence and replied. M 761 c/o Tamil Times.

Father in Colombo seeks employed partner for London son, 41, no afflictions, semi qualified accountant, non-smoker, teetotaler, vegetarian. Send details, horoscope. M 762 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu seeks partner for sister, 37, good housewife and good looking, Mars afflicted. Send horoscope, details. M 763 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu brother seeks partner for sister, 34, fair and pretty. Send details, horoscope. M 764 c/o Tamil Times.

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent wedding.

Rajathevan son of Mr. & Mrs. S. Kanagaratnam of 29A Fayland Avenue, London SW16 1TG and Chevanthi daughter of the late Dr. N. Kandasamy and Mrs. Sita Kandasamy of 111 Fishponds Road, London SW17 7LL on 4.12.94 at Hammersmith Town Hall, London W6.

Dr. Thevakumar son of Mr. & Mrs. A Maheswaran of 18 Jalan Awan Gelgur, Taman Yarl, 58200 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and Vijayalakshmi daughter of Mr. & Mrs. R. Pathmanathan of 'Dwaraka', 17 Mulberry Court, South Road, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.,

CM23 3JW on 4.12.94 at Kalamandapam, Lorong Scott, Kuala Lumpur.

OBITUARIES



Mrs. Kanmany Murugesu, Retired Teacher, Saiva Mangayar Vidyalayam, Wellawatte, Colombo. Beloved wife of the late Eliyathamby Murugesu, loving mother of Sarathamany, Nagulesparan, Sitamany, Sahadevan and Dharmarajah, mother-in-law of Thayakaran, Vasanthi, Thuraisingham and Anushya - passed away peacefully on the eleventh of November 1994. Cremation took place in London on the sixteenth of November.

All members of her family sincerely thank relatives and friends who attended the funeral and sent floral tributes and messages of sympathy. - 7A, Penwith Road, London SW18. Tel: 081-870 4673.

IN MEMORIAM



In loving memory of Mrs. Gnambikai Perumal Pillai on the first anniversary of her passing away on 12.12.93.

Greatly loved, deeply missed

IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUR BELOVED

**Nanniththamby
Rasa
Born: 1907-07-18**



appah
Rest: 1991-12-01

**Southarammal
Rasa
Born: 1919-05-25**



ammah
Rest: 1966-09-03

Fondly remembered with love and affection for ever
Both blessed with good heart, noble deed and great qualities
Your love and affection we shared linger day and night and
Planted for ever in our hearts: Sadly missed and dearly loved.

Sweet memories remain engraved in your beloved children:
Rajeswaran (Geneva), Rajendra (UK), Rajanayagam (USA),
Rajasooriyar (UK), Sri Ranjini (UK), Pushpha Ranjini (UK),
Rajamanokaran (UK), Jaya Ranjini (Singapore); beloved niece:
Maheswary Tharmarasa; sons-in-law: Rajayogeswaran,
Mahendran; daughters-in-law: Logeswary, Gowry, Mallika,
Chandrakumari, Jayanthi, and grand children: Raj-Anand,
Vidya, Arathi, Jayasen, Luxmi, Ruban, Kalyani, Vathani, Ben,
Ramanan, Shankar, Kavitha, Abirami, Kiruthika, Rasa
Rajeswaran:- 142 Fieldhood Avenue, Bury, UK.

and always remembered by her husband Dr. C. Perumal Pillai; children Dr. Ravi Pillai, Usha, Jeeva and Ranjit; sons-in-law Desmond and Michael; daughters-in-law Shanthi and Vasuhi; grandchildren Rajesh, Shahila, Meera, Arun and Arjun.

So much has happened that you have missed,
A part of our lives is always empty,
Our tears will never fully dry.
And yet, you have not really left us

For we can dream of that world gone by,
And your memory lives on in our hearts and minds
For all eternity.

So sadly missed and dearly loved by his wife and children Meenalosani, Sivakamasunthari and Shiyamalanayagi.

Dr. P.S. Alageswaran



In everloving memory of Dr. T. Thambyahpillai (Research Fellow, Imperial College, London) who passed away on December 4, 1984.

So quickly have the years gone by,

The past seems like another world

In which we lived and laughed together -
And heard your voice and saw your smile.

Ten years separate us now,

Born: 4.7.1928 Died: 10.11.92
Much loved and missed by his wife and children, brothers, sisters and their families, relatives and friends.



In loving memory of **Isaac William Ariyanayagam Samuel** on the first anniversary of his passing away on December 14, 1993. On that fateful day, God

decided to take to his glory our beloved Papa. What a wonderful, kind and gentle man he was. No one can forget his kindness to all around. We thank the Almighty for giving us such a gift of a father.

Greatly loved and deeply missed and always remembered by his wife, Sugirthamalar Beatrice Samuel, children, Raji (U.S.A.), Bala, Jaya (Toronto), Viji (Melbourne), in-laws, Satchi (U.S.A.), Kamala, Premo (Toronto), Bubby (U.S.A) and all grandchildren and great grandchildren.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

January 1 Amavasai; Feast of Mary, Mother of God.

Jan. 5 Sathurthi.

Jan. 6 Feast of Epiphany.

Jan. 8 Feast of Baptism of Lord Jesus.

Jan. 12 Eekathasi.

Jan. 14 Teedor presents Exhibition & Variety Entertainment at Walthamstow Assembly Hall, Forest Road, London E17. Tel: 0956 314370.

Jan. 15 Thai Poomsam; Feast of St. Anthony.

Jan. 21 6.30pm Walthamstow Tamil School presents Variety Entertainment at Waltham Forest Theatre, Lloyds Park, Winns Terrace, London E17. Tel: 081 520 9784.

Jan. 25 Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.

Jan. 27 Eekathasi.

Jan. 28 Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Jan. 30 Amavasai.

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

Jan. 20/21/22 7.30/6.00/6.00pm Bhawan's Founder's Day Celebrations - Cultural Programme of Music and Dance.

Jan. 28 6.00pm Kalai Ilakkiya Vattam presents Variety Entertainment of Light Songs, Dances & Instrumental Music. Tel: 081-771 2104.

K. Nesiah - An Appreciation

The late Mr. K. Nesiah's first death anniversary falls on 30th of December this year. He is a man to be remembered by Tamils of Sri Lanka. As a senior lecturer on Education not only his students were happy about his lectures but also he won the esteem of Professor Green, a great educationalist himself and also of the then Vice-Chancellor Sir Ivor Jennings. Even after his retirement, successive Professors of Education had recourse to him for securing his elucidation of educational problems that confronted them. Some of his treatises on educational matters were evaluated by Professors of India and Great Britain as good and worthy of acceptance.

Mr. Nesiah had certain political views but never was an active politician. He supported the late Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam in his demand for federalism to gain autonomy for Tamils.

Mr. Nesiah was a forward personality and treated all on equal footing. He evinced sympathy for the unfortunate ones who could not receive even elementary education. Ignorance and poverty were due to the environment in which they were brought up, he would say. As a member of the Youth Congress in Jaffna, he helped in creating an awareness of a sense of human equality and its social recognition. He once gave expression to his satisfaction that a neighbour of his gave a 'Raymond funeral' to a domestic helper.

He devoted a considerable part of his time as editor of 'The Co-operator', a journal published in Jaffna. He helped, by his prolific writings, to create a sense of cooperation among the middle class Tamils and thereby gave an impetus to the co-operative movement in Jaffna. He also gave assistance to the late Mr. Veerasingham who gave a good lead to the movement there.

When Mr. Nesiah was President of the Parents Association of Jaffna, of which

this author was its Honorary Secretary, this Association organised a mass demonstration of students against standardisation in the selection of students for University Education. The proposed standardisation did not aim at merit selection. It simply meant giving more marks to one class of students and less marks to another. Mr. Nesiah condemned that standardisation as 'fake'. Indeed it did not approximate to the usual norms of standardisation known to the educated world.

When he was President, the Parents Association objected to the introduction of the 'Cluster Schools System' in Jaffna as it did not genuinely aim at raising the standard of the backward schools by their affiliation with leading secondary schools. The authorities sought, on the contrary, to produce an inducement to persuade the secondary schools to share their educational facilities with the backward schools and that would have meant

destabilising even the secondary schools!

Mr. Nesiah loved Christianity and loved his Christian friends. But when it came to a matter of rendering accounts, he would not hesitate to condemn those who worked with him for failing to account for every cent of public funds. As Manager of the Nuffield School at Caitady, he rendered yeoman service and saw to it that every inmate of the School received the best attention.

He was charitably bent and always had ready money to give to the needy.

He was faithful and loyal to his good wife on whom he attended meticulously during the last years of her failing health.

Mr. Nesiah would keep his office room with the utmost nicety and cleanliness. Anything out of place he would call it dirt. He would not allow even a small piece of paper on his desk or room. He was a man of principle and had a sense of propriety which won him respect.

May he rest in peace!

S. Ponniah,

Attorney-at Law, Jaffna.

Vettivelu Sankaralingam - An Appreciation



I had gone to Colombo to attend a conference of school principals summoned by the Island's Director of Education. A few minutes before the scheduled start of the meeting the Director looked round and asked, 'Where is Sankaralingam?' He is with the Minister, sir', replied one of the assistants. Whispers circulated and we learnt that Sankaralingam was a Junior Education Officer, who had all the education enactments, regulations and codes at his finger tips. His presence was required at conferences to ensure that decisions made there did not conflict with the enactments etc. Even the Minister of Education called him in for consultation. A few seconds later, Sankaralingam walked in and the meeting began on schedule.

Sankaralingam and I had known about each other, but had not met. After the meeting, I gravitated towards him. In the short time we were together, I found that he knew a great deal about me, my school

and the problems of the school. Indeed, he knew much of the personages in the educational world, their achievements, their specialities and their interests. He was a veritable walking 'Who's Who'.

Later, when he was Education Officer at the Head Office, in charge of the Assisted Schools, I had to meet him often and I found that what lay behind his vast knowledge of persons and things was not mere curiosity but human concern for people, their problems and difficulties. The manager of a school had to serve a notice of discontinuance on a capable teacher of English, who had a 'drink' problem. He had been found drunk, lying on the roadside. He had also touched pupils and parents for money to buy liquor. He had a young family, wife and two children. Sankaralingam arranged things tactfully without displeasing either party. A letter of resignation was sent by the teacher to the Manager, who promptly withdrew his notice. At the same time another school badly needed an English teacher, to which an application was made with the undertaking that he will be better behaved. The shock of the notice of discontinuance had been effective. Everybody was happy. Sankaralingam could be ruthless in the interests of education and efficiency. His primary concern was that pupils should be educated properly.

Sankaralingam's father was from a village called Thunnalai, Jaffna, also my native village, his mother was from a village called Alaveddy. At Arunodhaya College, Alaveddy and at Skanda Varodhaya College, Chunnakam, Sankaralingam showed himself to be a pupil of exceptional promise. The father died when Sankaralingam was in his teens, and he being the eldest child became the guardian to his brothers and sisters. He took his examination in his stride, and on his performance at the Senior School Certificate Examination, he obtained exemption from the London matriculation. He joined the University College, Colombo, and obtained the London B.Sc. degree in 1934. He sat for the Administrative Civil Service Examination, but failed to qualify by a narrow margin.

He became a teacher and soon made his mark. He was selected as an Inspector of Schools, and served in the provinces. He was noted for his fairness and thoroughness, and was selected to be at the Head Office as Education Officer in charge of Assisted Schools. His last appointment was as Director of Education for the Northern Region, the second largest region in the Island.

After he retired from the Educational service in Sri Lanka in 1971, he came to the U.K. in 1972 and served for a time the Civil Service, here. Later, he devoted his time to social service and working for the Tamil cause. He was a founder member of the Trust for the Murugan Temple in Archway, London and General Council Member of the Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People (S.C.O.T.).

In 1993, he went to Sri Lanka on holiday, and from there he went on a pilgrimage to India. There he was taken to B.S.S. Hos-

pital in Madras for a routine check up and was found to be suffering from subdural haemorrhage. His wife, Saratha, was with him all along. He was treated in the hospital but it was a losing battle and he passed away on the 17th November 1994. His body was cremated in Madras, India, and his ashes were scattered, according to his wishes, in Sri Lanka, Rameswaram and Varnasi. He was eighty years of age. He had a wide circle of friends who will remember him for his helpfulness. He will be sadly missed and lovingly remembered by the members of his family and by his brothers and sisters.

He leaves behind his wife, Sarathadevi, his children Gnanasampanthan, Bhavani, Vettivel, Vinayagan (Kannan), Vasuhi, Arunthathi, his son-in-law Pratab Sivaprasapillai, daughter-in-law Bala Johani, and his grandchildren Satish, Kailash, Prassanna and Rathina.

K. Pooranampillai,

Emeritus Principal,
Hartley College,
Pt. Pedro & St. John Colleges,
Jaffna.

The Resonating Voice

On a Monday morning a voice kept on resonating in my ears. It was the melodious sweet voice of Sujaya Chandran persistently repeating in my ears reminding me of the song 'Kutalinalai Thatuvaie Gurunatha' which she sang in Sivaranjani Ragam Aathi Thalam two days earlier, on 12th November 1994 at the Sa Pa Saba's inaugural concert. I imagined how wonderful the future was going to be for our next generation, in the carnatic music world, if teenage students like Sujaya can sing so well not only to impress the audience but also to give a long lasting memory of the concerts they sing in. We are fortunate that many high quality musical concerts are taking place in London, keeping the younger generation active and busy during week ends.

I have gone through two successive weekends of musical therapy, having first attended the Muthuswamy Dikshithar's remembrance day organised by Dr. Lakshmi Jayan at the Lalgudi School of Music on the 5th of November 1994, where I had a rare treat in listening to the violin performances by Aravind Jayan, Kartik Raghunathan and Kumar Raghunathan, followed by a superb down to earth humble musical dose of Veena Music by Selvi Thulasi Mohanathas and a vocal recital by Selvan Ravi Ramadas who gave his soft and harmonious performance with his low pitched voice to add to the enchantment of the concert. The following week I attended the Sa Pa Saba's inaugural concert.

In both these concerts the three vocalists Bhayiravi Ganeshwaran, Bruntha Chandrapalan and Sujaya Chandran performed outstandingly well. Careful and expert tutoring of these students by Smt. Saraswathy Packiarasa and the violin students by Dr. Lakshmi Jayan is well worth commending. Selvi Bruntha Chandrapalan is due for a meteoric rise in the future.

Ratnam Sarvananther.

Bakthi Shines in Sowmya's Arangetram



Yet another arangetram? Without letting my weariness show, I located my seat, in a packed (truly) Logan Hall on the 22nd of October. The Guru was Selvaluxmy Ramakrishnan so I knew what to expect. But what about the debutante? Can she live up to the high standards the Lakshmi Arts Centre has consistently produced? The occasion was the Bharatha Natya arangetram of Sowmya daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Sreeharan.

The simple but elegant brochure, declared that the dance style being adopted was that of kalakshetra. The debutante did not disappoint. That the firmness and purity of lines so fundamental to the style had been well inculcated was evident in the adavus. The aspect which was more impressive however was bakthi. If bhava is the outer mode of inner expression, then bakthi which seemed to come naturally to this young dancer was projected commendably in many of the items.

The rapport on stage between the Guru and sishya enabled the best to be drawn from the aspiring debutante, an aspect complimented by Dr. John Marr from the Bhavan and the academic staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies who was guest of honour.

The varnam **Sami nee manam irangi** in the raga sri ranjani in praise of Lord Karthikeya, depicted the yearnings of a nayika. The scope for sanchari bhava was fully exploited and Sowmya displayed her competence in conveying a range of emotions. Among the padams, **Enna thavam seithanai** in admiration of Yasoda with excerpts from the life of Krishna stood out. Here as in the other padams the ability to bring out the lyrical content, often a story, is tested and the abhinaya showed a remarkable level of understanding and maturity. The tenderness with which Yasoda attends to the young Krishna contrasted well with the firmness showed in checking the excesses of his pranks. The attempts of Krishna to free himself when tied down and the resulting dissolution of an ancient curse were portrayed particularly well. The

padam on Meenakshi beginning with a stanza from Abhirami anthathi gave a glimpse of the graceful lasya and in contrast in the padam on Lord Natarajah, Aadiduvār nadanam aadididuvār there was a short but lively interlude, with dance only to the accompaniment of the percussionist, with violin but no vocal music. Interestingly, the items chosen, beginning with the sloka to Lord Ganesha right to the end related to every one of the main Hindu deities. Another indication of the emphasis on bakthi? The thillana in Behag brought the evening to a close with the mangalam Eelamani thirunadu. The vocal music was by Smt. Sivasakthy Sivanesan, with Sri Bhavanishankar on the mridangum, Sri Chandrasekhar on the violin and Dr. Nimalraj on the flute.

The solidity of the foundation was self evident. Sowmya's arangetram will be remembered for the thrills and not for the frills.

Sarukesi.

CANADIAN NEWS LETTER

Social Housing

Mississauga is a city falling within the Greater Toronto area. Tamil enterprise has borne fruit again. The second Tamil Co-op Housing fully funded by the Government up to a total cost of \$10 million is nearing completion at Rugby Road, Mississauga. This is an integrated housing of 80 units on eight floors. 75% of the units are on a rent geared to income basis and the residents are expected to go into occupation in February 1995. The building is named 'The Yarl Co-op Homes Inc.' A board headed by Arul S. Aruliah, Social Worker and long time resident of Canada, that initiated this project will manage the affairs of this new Housing Co-op during the first year of its operation.

Encouraged by the social housing policy of the Government of the New Democratic Party two other Tamil organisations are also in the running to establish non-profit affordable housing for the Tamil community.

New Head Quarters

The Tamil Eelam Society of Canada, the pioneer Tamil organisation of Canada, has a new head quarters at 861 Broadway Ave., Toronto. This acquired two storey building will be formally opened by the Hon. Bob Rae, Premier of Ontario. Part of the cost of acquisition was met by a government grant of \$300,000 from the provincial Ministry of Citizenship. Mr. Murugesapillai Duraisamy, a senior administrator, heads the Society as its President for two years.

Weather

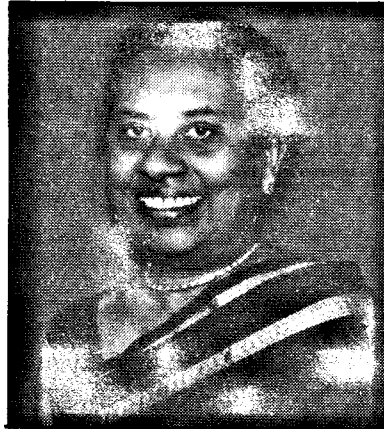
It is 'Fall Time' in Canada. Except for a freak freezing rain on 27th November - 'Maveerar Day', the weather is almost perfect. Even on the freezing rain day when people normally stay indoors, thousands attended the commemorative

meetings in Toronto and Mississauga with prayers that the sacrifices made by the youth will not be in vain but will yield results in an honourable settlement soon.

Canadian Organisation Greet New Sri Lankan President

The Canadian Relief Organisation for Peace in Sri Lanka has sent their felicitations to Mrs. Chandrika Kumaratunga on her election as President of Sri Lanka. They state: 'Your victory gives us a great new hope for Sri Lanka. We wish and pray that under your leadership, all the people of Sri Lanka will be able to walk with dignity and honour from this point forward. Under the last government, much blood was shed in the name of 'normal peace'. We are sure that this is not the direction that you wish to take, nor is it your government's aim to suppress the good people of Sri Lanka. Should you be successful in instilling a proper lasting real peace, we would definitely recommend your nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize.'

Dedicated Teacher Bids Adieu



Glowing tributes were paid to Ms. Stella Durayappah at the retirement felicitation meeting held in Toronto. Stella earned encomiums from colleagues, parents, friends and family when she stepped down after three decades of service to the community in the proverbial 'world's most noble profession'.

Growing up in Jaffna in a large family, she excelled in academic study, sports and extra curricular activities and was Head Prefect in Chundikuli Girls' College, Jaffna. After graduating in Peradeniya, she obtained her Diploma in Education in 1963 and the Master's degree in Education four years later.

After teaching in Hartley College, Pt. Pedro and Vembadi Girls' High School, Jaffna she came to Canada in 1969. In Canada she first worked as a Librarian at University of Waterloo and soon found the teaching job she wanted.

'I have enjoyed teaching in Canada as much as I did in Sri Lanka. It has been the most rewarding experience that has enriched my life', she said through moist

eyes. Stella's early retirement three years before the mandatory 65 is to enable her to devote more time to 'Pastoral Care' with the Evangelical Church and with Red Cross.

Radio Beams Tamil Programmes Daily

Radio Asia, which commenced its activities three years back with half an hour's Tamil programme every week has increased its air time to all days of the week from 8.30 to 10.00pm on weekdays and from 9.00 to 10.00pm during weekends.

Most of the air time is devoted to highlight the achievements and contributions of Sri Lankans in Canada. It continues to give encouragement and training to young and upcoming artistes in their field of arts.

They do commercial advertisements too and organisations in other parts of the world wishing to promote their products in Canada could advertise over Radio Asia.

Election to Ruling Party

A Sri Lankan, Gnanaki Balakroshnan was elected at the National Democratic Party Provincial Convention held on 21st November, as a member of the Provincial Executive, a powerful policy making body of the ruling party.

Sri Lankan Shines at Lumbini Dance Competition



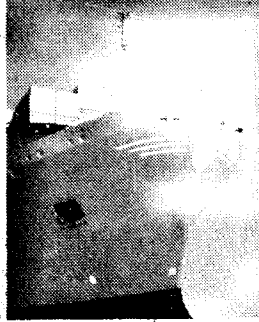
Ananthi Sridas, the Sri Lankan among the winners.

Prof. V. Subramaniam and Jaya Subramaniam organised the first Lumbini Dance Competition in connection with the International Conference of Indian Dance held in Ottawa on 27th November '94. In what was a grand and gala event hosted by Hema Raman, four dancers Ananthi Sridas, Jahanara Akhlaq, Kanchana Sastri (all from Toronto) and Garry Banerjee (Vancouver) were selected the winners by a panel of eminent judges consisting of the legendary Kamala and dancer-choreographers Fred Traguth and Uttara Asha Coorlawala and awarded \$300 each.

A surprise prize was an invitation to all four winners to travel to Germany in July '95, to perform and teach for three weeks.

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உங்கள் உள்ளத்தை

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எங்களிடம் நீங்கள் விரும்பும் நவீன டிசைன்களில் பெண்களுக்கான திருமண கூறைப் புடவைகள், பணாறல், காஞ்சிபுரம் பட்டுப் புடவைகள், மைசூர் சில்க் சேலைகள், காஷ்மீர் சில்க் சேலைகள், ஜப்பான் கைலக்ஸ், நூல் சேலைகள், பிளவுஸ் துணிகள், நெடிமேட் பிளவுஸ்கள், அழகு சாதனப் பொருட்கள், அலங்காரப் பொருட்கள், பட்டுப் பாவாடைத் தாவணிகள், பரத நாட்டிய நகைகள், ஆண்களுக்கான பட்டு வேட்டிகள், நூல் வேட்டிகள், லுங்கிகள் (கிப்ஸ், சங்கு மார்க் சாரங்கன்), குர்த்தா செட், பேண்ட், சேட் டூக்கள், நெடிமேட் ஆடைகள் அனைத்துக்கும் 'வஷ்ரா சில்க்'

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 EMIRATE £ 575
 ROYAL JORDANIAN £ 460

Low Unaccompanied Baggage rates
 to **COLOMBO:**

Sea Freight --- £ 9.00 per Tea Chest
 --- £ 2.00 per cu. ft.
 Air Freight --- £ 30.00 per 10 Kg.
 (£ 1.50 for additional Kg.)

MADRAS --- £ 1.50 per Kg.
 TRIVENDRUM --- £ 1.80 per Kg.



YOUR GOODS GO TO OUR BONDED WAREHOUSE IN COLOMBO



GLEN CARRIERS LIMITED

14 Allied Way, off Warple Way, Acton, London W3 0RQ

Telephone: 081-740-8379 : 081 - 749 0595

Fax: 081-740-4229 Telex: 929657 GLENCA G



TRICO INTERNATIONAL

TRICO SHIPPING SCHEDULE

YOUR GOODS MUST BE AT OUR WAREHOUSE 5 WORKING DAYS BEFORE DEPARTURE

VESSEL	DEPARTURE (UK)	ARRIVAL (SL)
HANJIN BREMEN	23RD DECEMBER	8TH JANUARY
HANJIN SEATTLE	6TH JANUARY	22ND JANUARY
TBA:	19/1/95	5/2/95
TBA:	2/2/95	26/2/95

AIR FREIGHT TWICE A WEEK (Wednesday & Sunday)

We are pleased to announce that now we can offer you the following additional service

- * FREE storage facility in our Colombo customs warehouse
- * FREIGHT Payable in Colombo for all commercial cargo (Trallors, Tractor units, Cars - All letter of credits cargo)

THE LEADING SRI LANKAN FRIEGHT FORWARDING COMPANY IN THE UK

Trico International Shipping Ltd

Unit 4, Building 'C' The Business Centre at Wood Green,
 Clarendon Rd, London N22 6XJ

Tel: 081-888 8787 Fax: 081-889 5445



UNIWEST INTERNATIONAL

30 Friern Barnet Road,
 London N11 1NA

Tel: 081-361 5087 / 4937

081-368 9544

Fax: 081-361 8498

All goods are lodged in a modern, fully computerised.
 Bonded warehouse (outside the Port)
 Ceylon Shipping Lines, 294/10 D.R.

Wijewardena Mawatha, Colombo 10. Tel: 432994/5

WE ARE THE BEST AND THE CHEAPEST

NO HIDDEN CHARGES

£8.50 PER TEA CHEST TO COLOMBO

Pianos (new & used) and all Duty Free goods supplied

Travel Agents for Air Lanka, Kuwait, Emirates, Gulf Air, Air France, KLM, Royal Jordanian, PIA and Balkan Airlines.

Katunayake International Airport Duty Free Shopping Guide available to our customers and permissible Duty Free allowance on goods shipped.