

# Tamil TIMES

75p

Vol VIII No.8

ISSN 0266-4488

JULY 1989

## TULF LEADERS ASSASSINATED



TULF LEADER  
A. AMIRTHALINGHAM



TULF Secretary-General  
V. YOGESWARAN

**Sivasithamparam  
Seriously injured**



**UMA MAHESWARAN  
MURDERED**



**EROS MPs TO ATTEND  
PARLIAMENT**



**From Dialogue  
To Confrontation**



**INDO-SRI LANKA  
IMBROGLIO**



*A.P. Venkateswaran  
on IPKF Pull-out*



Prime Minister  
RAJIV GANDHI



President  
RAMASINGHE PREMADASA

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Views expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the editor or the publishers.

Published by Tamil Times Ltd, PO Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD. Typeset & printed by Set Line Data Ltd, Union Street, SE1.

# Tamil TIMES

ISSN 0266-4488

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

UK/India/Sri Lanka. . . £10/US\$20  
All other countries. . . £15/US\$30

Published monthly by

**TAMIL TIMES LTD**  
P.O. BOX 121  
SUTTON, SURREY SM1 3 TD  
UNITED KINGDOM

Phone: 01-644 0972

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## WHAT ABOUT A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AMONG TAMILS ?

*The recent callous, cowardly and brutal murders of the TULF leaders, A. Amirthalingam and V. Yogeswaran and the attempted murder of M. Sivasithamparam who escaped death with serious injuries are nothing short of unvarnished acts of unadulterated terrorism. The perpetrators of this atrocity would and should be roundly condemned and disapproved of not only by the entire Tamil community, but also generally by all who possess an iota of human decency.*

*The details of the efforts made by the three gunmen leading up to the actual assassination would disclose a well thought out conspiracy hatched for months in advance. There is no doubt that a considerable amount of prior planning and preparation had been undertaken to execute this foul deed.*

*How calculatingly cunning and cold-bloodedly cruel the murderers were can be gauged when one recalls the background circumstances that resulted in the untimely tragic death of the TULF leaders. They befriended the unsuspecting, easy-going and generous-hearted Yogeswaran for months. They visited his home several times and acted in such a way to mislead him into accepting their dubious bonafides. They ate the food and drank the drinks served by his equally unsuspecting wife. Concealing their cruel intentions and murderous motives, they consciously and deliberately cultivated the couple's confidence. On that fateful day of July 13, they ate the biscuits and drank the tea and the passion fruit drink Mrs. Yogeswaran served them before they pumped volleys of shots from their automatic pistols into the heads and bodies of their victims. In the sordid annals of political assassinations, the one committed on July 13 must rank on top of the list for its sheer inhuman brutality.*

*Any person who had sympathy for the plight of the Tamil people and their justifiable cause must view some of the recent developments with mounting foreboding. The Tamil struggle which began with the noble sentiments of freedom from oppression and domination, defence of the cultural identity of the people, upholding of human and democratic rights etc. is today in danger of degenerating into a ruthless struggle for power in the course of which the arms once gathered and raised against the oppressor state and its agents are today increasingly directed against the members of the Tamil community itself.*

*Of late, more Tamils, including militants and non-militants, politicians and non-politicians, human rights activists and relief and rehabilitation workers, ordinary members of the public and public servants have lost their lives at the hands of Tamil gunmen. When one group is announcing a cessation of hostilities with its one time sworn enemy, the other group while professing a return to peace and normalcy is engaged in the inhuman and immoral forcible conscription of Tamil children of tender years in front of their screaming and agonising parents not to wage war against any enemy from outside, but to fight the other Tamil group. Although they profess to struggle for the common good of the Tamil people, their understanding and perception of what is the common good are so contradictory they seek different alliances and friends at different times. While one group accuses the other of being hirelings of the Indian government, the other accuses the first of being stooges of the Sri Lankan government. While one gets weapons from one party, the other obtains them from another party to be used in a suicidal game of mutual destruction.*

*The earlier years witnessed the tragic spectacle of an exodus of tens of thousands of Tamils, particularly the youth, to other countries for fear of indiscriminate arrest, detention, torture and arbitrary killing by the security forces. The people have suffered similar violations at the hands of the IPKF since October 1987. But the recent unedifying spectacle of the flight of another wave of Tamils of very young age would seem to be primarily attributable to their desire to escape from the horrors of the continuing infighting among Tamil militant groups and their attempt at forcible recruitment for so-called training.*

*The urgent and immediate questions that every member of the Tamil community must ask himself or herself are: Are the universal human values enshrined in the principles of the fundamental rights to life, liberty, freedom of expression etc. there only to be intoned as and when it is convenient to cavil at your opponents but not to be practised within the Tamil community? Are the Tamil people, individually and collectively, going to permit the developing culture of intolerance and violence to undermine the moral basis of the Tamil cause beyond the possibility of retrieval? What about a cessation of hostilities among the Tamils themselves to avoid the ever increasing enthusiasm for a self-inflicted 'genocide'?*



## COLOMBO NEWSLETTER

# TULF LEADERS ASSASSINATED

July 18 – Appapillai Amirthalingam, the veteran Tamil politician and leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), and Vettivelu Yogeswaran, the Secretary General of TULF were assassinated and Murugesu Sivasithamparam who was President of the TULF until last year and a former Deputy Speaker of Sri Lanka parliament escaped assassination with serious injuries by three gunmen at their Bullers Road residence in Colombo at about 6.30 pm on 13 July.

While attempting to escape by shooting their way out, the three gunmen were also killed by security men who were guarding the residence of the TULF leaders.

Claiming to be deputised by the Tamil militant group, LTTE, the three gunmen identified as Aloysius, Visuveswaran alias Visu and Sivakumar alias Wignan had arrived at the residence, which has been well guarded by security men, by prior appointment for negotiations with the TULF leaders. In a statement issued following the assassination the LTTE vehemently denied any involvement.

A large number of people in public life, including foreign diplomats paid their last respects to the deceased TULF leaders, whose bodies were kept for view at their rented residence at Bullers Road where they were gunned down, until 8 am on 16 July. Among those who paid their last respects were former President J.R. Jayawardene, S. Thondaman, C. Rajadurai, Lalith Athulathmudali, Gamini Disanayake, Ranil Wickremasinghe, D.B. Wijetunga, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and Vasudeva Nanayakkara. The bodies were flown to Trincomalee on the morning of 16 July and later in the afternoon to Batticaloa. Tens of thousands of people, many seen weeping, are reported to have visited the Town Halls where the bodies were kept to pay their last respects to the departed leaders. The bodies were flown to Jaffna on the morning of 17 July. The cremation took place at the open ground in front of the Jaffna Central College in the presence of over one hundred thousand mourners who had arrived to pay their last respects. Many senior Indian politicians, including Foreign Minister Natwar Singh, the Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, and several from Tamil Nadu were present during the cremation.

The callous murder of the TULF leaders has been universally condemned within the Tamil community and outside, particularly in India where

they were well known in political and official circles. The LTTE for its part stated that 'diabolical forces are at work to discredit our organisation and to disrupt the current peace talks between the LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka'. But LTTE's rival Tamil militant groups, EPRLF, ENDLF, TELO and PLOT were quick not only to condemn the murders, but also to accuse the LTTE of involvement in them by pointing to the connection of the assailants with and the positions held by them in the organisation.

The Opposition Group in Parliament in a statement signed by the Leader of the Opposition and issued on 14 July condemned what they described as the brutal, cowardly and murderous attack, and urged 'that there be a full and impartial investigation into the circumstances of this attack'. The statement added that at 'this time of national crisis the death of a leader of his (Amirthalingam's) stature is a loss to the country'.

Although the rigorous censorship that is presently operating in Sri Lanka is being used to conceal what has so far emerged from police investigations particularly in regard to the identity and connections of the assailants, it is reported that a breakthrough has been made in the on-going investigations with the arrest of three more persons at Narahenpita in Colombo. Police discovered weapons, ammunition, grenades, electronic detonators, 10 kilogrammes of gelignite, cyanide pills and a map of the joint residence of the murdered TULF leaders at the Narahenpita hideout where the assassins had been residing for some time prior to the day of the assassination.

### EVIDENCE

According to the evidence given by Sub-Inspector Thambirajah Kandasamy who headed the officers who provided security to the TULF leaders at their residence, Mrs. M. Amirthalingam and Mrs. Sarojini Yogeswaran at the inquest held by the Colombo Additional Magistrate, M.M.A. Gaffoor on 14 July and reports of further police investigations the following facts have been revealed:

★ The identities of the gunmen and their names have been established beyond doubt from their National Identity Cards and other material recovered.

★ Aloysius and Visuveswaran (Visu) had visited the late Mr. Yogeswaran on four previous occasions and were

well known to him and his wife Sarojini. In fact Aloysius had previously sought Mr. Yogeswaran's assistance to obtain employment; apparently the previous visits were used by the two to study the layout and security arrangements provided for the TULF leaders.

★ It was Aloysius who took Mr. Yogeswaran to Vavuniya in February-March this year to see some senior leaders of a Tamil militant group. Aloysius would appear to have gained Yogeswaran's confidence to the extent that Mr. Yogeswaran was in the process of arranging a marriage for him. Using their influence with Mr. Yogeswaran, Aloysius and Visu had previously tried without success to persuade Mr. Amirthalingam to visit Vavuniya for talks.

★ On the morning of 13 July, Mr. Yogeswaran told his wife that he was expecting Aloysius and Visu that evening and therefore to prepare some sandwiches and drinks. Twice that day, Aloysius telephoned Mr. Yogeswaran, once in the morning and again in the afternoon. During one of these conversations, he requested Mr. Yogeswaran to ask the security men not to subject them to a search as they felt it was demeaning to do so everytime they visited. The unsuspecting Yogeswaran had agreed to the request without realising that Aloysius and Visu were not just 'Thambies' (Younger brothers) as he had become accustomed to treat and call them, but plain cold-blooded killers.

★ At about 4 pm Mr. Yogeswaran told Sub-Inspector Kandasamy that a LTTE man named Aloysius would come that evening and not to search him but to send him up straightaway. On previous occasions too, people from this organisation have come carrying firearms and walkie talkies. Two months previously, when Kandasamy advised Mr. Amirthalingam that these armed men being allowed access was not good for security, Mr. Amirthalingam had replied that these men were visiting them for discussions on invitation and if they were subjected to a body search they might get offended and stop coming.

★ At about 5.30 pm Mr. Mavai S. Senathirajah (a polit bureau member of the TULF and who also resided with Mr. Amirthalingam) reminded him of his appointment with the three persons which was arranged through Mr. Yogeswaran for between 5.30 and 6.30 pm.

★ At about 6.45 pm a yellow cab pulled up at the gate of the TULF

leaders' residence with the three men. The guard at the gate asked them to produce the identity cards which they did. At that time, sub-Inspector Kandasamy called out from the balcony asking the guard to find out the purpose of their visit. Just then, Mr. Yogeswaran appeared at the balcony and instructed the guards to let them into the house. They were not searched because Mr. Yogeswaran invited them inside.

★ Of the three persons, Sivakumar stayed downstairs near the staircase while Aloysius and Visu went upstairs. Mr. Yogeswaran who met them at the head of the stairs, caught them by their hands in a friendly manner and led them into the front hall.

★ Shortly thereafter, Mr. Yogeswaran sent a note through his assistant asking Mr. Amirthalingam and Mr. Sivasithamparam to join him in the discussions with Aloysius and Visu which they did. At this time Mrs. Amirthalingam, Mrs. Yogeswaran and Mr. Senathirajah were watching TV downstairs.

★ A few minutes later, Mr. Yogeswaran called out to his wife and asked her to prepare two glasses of passion fruit juice and a cup of tea for the visitors. While leaving the room to get ready the drinks, Mrs. Yogeswaran saw and heard them talk and laugh in seemingly friendly manner. She recognised and smiled with Aloysius and Visu. She served cheese biscuits with the drinks.

★ The security officer downstairs saw Sivakumar who was all along standing near the staircase shuffling his feet nervously and moving his hands suspiciously. This roused his suspicion and a search was carried out which produced several rounds of ammunition and grenades which were promptly seized. Immediately the security men upstairs were informed of the find, and one of them, Nissanka proceeded along the balcony towards the room where the discussions were taking place. At that time several

gunshots were heard coming from inside. Visu had pressed his automatic pistol to the head of Amirthalingam and let go three bullets into the head. as Mr. Yogeswaran and Mr. Sivasithamparam got up to run, the former was shot at many times all over the body and the latter received a shot on his shoulder, the gunmen did not have sufficient time to finish him off. Aloysius and Visu started backing out of the room still firing at the victims. Then they turned round and ran out downstairs shooting. Nissanka and Kandasamy shot back at the gunmen and continued to fire chasing them down the stairs in an exchange of gunfire. Kandasamy ran upstairs and fetched a repeater-shotgun and shot at one of the gunmen who had by this time reached the main entrance and was felled instantly. Nissanka felled the other one. By this time, the third gunman who was near the downstairs staircase attempted to escape and was shot by the security man downstairs.

★ Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran died on the spot and pronounced so when taken to the hospital. Sivasithamparam was severely injured on the shoulder and is receiving treatment. He is under tight security as he would be the only survivor in the best position to describe in details as to what transpired between the gunmen and the TULF leaders just before they shot them and the background circumstances that led to their agreement to negotiate with the gunmen.

## UMA MAHESWARAN MURDERED

Kanagaratnam Uma Maheswaran, (44) the leader of the Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamileelam (PLOT) was assassinated on 16 July. He visited the residence of the murdered TULF leaders on the night of 15 July to pay his last respects and stayed there until the following morning when he left reportedly on a motor cycle. It is reported that Uma Maheswaran was waylaid by six yet unidentified armed men and kidnapped. His dead body with gunshot wounds was later found on Frankfort Place in Bambalapitya in Colombo.

## IPKF INTENSIFIES OPERATIONS AGAINST LTTE

Even as the talks between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE are continuing in Colombo, the Indian Peace Keeping Force launched intensified military operations against the LTTE in the Mullaitivu-Vavuniya jungle areas beginning during the last week of June.

The IPKF is reported to have used many hundreds of elite commandos specially trained in jungle warfare armed with sophisticated weaponry including helicopter gunships in their operations against LTTE hideouts in the jungles. Although it tried as usual to put up stiff resistance, on this occasion the LTTE is reported to have been forced to retreat further into the jungles abandoning some of their fortified positions.

In one single incident at Omanthai in the Vavuniya sector, the LTTE acknowledged to having lost 14 of their frontline men in an encounter with the IPKF. Unconfirmed reports indicate that in a matter of seven to ten days, the LTTE lost about 75 of their men and an equal number injured or captured.

The IPKF is also reported to have

suffered many casualties. In a press release dated 25 June, the LTTE claimed that 8 IPKF men and four members of the ENDLF and EPRLF were killed in clashes at Thirunagar near Kilinochchi and three of their military trucks were destroyed to the loss of one LTTE leader. In another press release, the LTTE stated that 15 IPKF men were killed and several more wounded in an encounter at Alampil in the Mullaitivu district.

Another prominent loss to the IPKF was the killing of Major Shankar by the LTTE near Trincomalee on 27 June.

## TAMIL PROGRAMMES DROPPED

Mr S Thondaman, Minister of Textiles and Rural Industrial Development has written to President Premadasa complaining about the dropping of scheduled Tamil programmes from the TV network, Rupavahini. In his letter, Mr. Thondaman said:

'Many people have begun to wonder whether Rupavahini has fallen victim to the current wave of anti-Tamilism which has been initiated and propagated by anti-government elements,' Mr Thondaman states in his letter.

The Minister's letter states:

'Representations have been made to

speaking television-viewers that Rupavahini has suddenly stopped telecasting Tamil programmes from last Friday, June (16). On that day a Tamil film 'Pasamalar' which was scheduled for telecasting was cancelled without any notice. No reason was given for this stoppage. On Sunday June 18, the regular Tamil Sunday feature 'Ponmalai Poluthu' was also not telecast.

'Many people have begun to wonder whether Rupavahini has fallen victim to the current wave of anti-Tamilism which has been initiated and propagated by anti-government elements. As your excellency is aware, private theatre owners have been intimidated and threatened not to show Tamil films.

'I am sure your Excellency will agree with me that a government institution like Rupavahini should not succumb to communal anti government pressures and negate the policies of the government which is today seeking not only to encourage the wider telecasting and broadcasting of Tamil cultural programmes but also to promote the use of Tamil as an official language.

I am confident your Excellency will look into the matter and consider requesting Rupavahini to restore Tamil programmes to its schedule.



# THE INDO-SRI LANKA IMBROGLIO

S. Sivanayagam

To be (in Sri Lanka) or not to be – that is the question agitating Indian public opinion on the issue of President Premadasa's 'Quit notice' to the IPKF. But unlike Hamlet who appeared to have had some philosophical doubts, Indian decision-makers have up to now (late June) shown no indecision in the matter. Come Premadasa, come JVP, come Tigers, come SAARC, UN or ICJ, come domestic opinion, come hail or storm, the IPKF will stay put – that seems to be the calculated posture.

In a free, open, democratic society such as India's, posturings are necessary, in testing public opinion or in harvesting popular support for whatever policy line that a government wishes to adopt. There lies the strength of Democracy, and India is possibly the only Third World country where citizens have the luxury of articulating opinions contrary to their own government's attitudes without facing the danger of being executed, summarily (as in China). That is happening in India today, and any perceptive outside observer can see that on the issue of the IPKF withdrawal the Rajiv Gandhi government is flying in the face of gathering 'air pockets' of domestic opinion. There are always in every country, during super-charged situations, a breed of super-patriots who come to the fore and try to take command of the situation – either to further their political careers or to ingratiate themselves with the Establishment.

**If Sri Lanka has now turned out to be a virtually ungovernable country, it is because of the long line of Sinhala-Buddhist super-patriots who obstructed every attempt to restore prudence and commonsense on the ethnic question.**

Mercifully in India, such men are in a small minority (men like the Tamil Nadu twins Jayakanthan and Cho Ramasamy) but unless this fact is taken into account in the policy calculations, the government can land itself eventually into tremendous international embarrassment. John Kenneth Galbraith, the noted economist and one-time US ambassador in India writing about the Bay of Pigs affair during the Kennedy administration, said:

"Because super-patriots make far more noise than the calm people of peace and good sense, they are assumed to be far more numerous and powerful than they are in fact. So they are appeased. Only after defeat or at the brink of disaster (one prays not beyond) are they discovered to be the minority, which fortunately they are ...

The worst advice as always was from those who feared that to be sensible made them seem soft and unheroic ..."

While one has to keep the line between posture and policy clear, the Indian government has a special problem in President Premadasa. Here is a man who does not believe in that distinction. He expresses policy through posturings. Can India therefore deal with him in the same way she did business with Jayewardene?

President Premadasa, it has to be realised, is a man in a hurry. He represents and symbolises a tiny nation that reeks of an uncompromising Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism, and is tottering on the verge of an economic collapse. He is heading a government that is unable to meet the rising aspirations of the people. Outside the government, the JVP is spreading anarchy, and within the government there are powerful figures functioning in the shadows who have begun to rock the boat. Many of these are legacies that he inherited from the militarised 11-year rule of ex-President Jayewardene who despite his eighty-odd years (after all tough man Deng Xiaoping is 84) is still reported to be fighting fit and not entirely out of the political picture. That he might want to stage a centre-stage come-back in the role of a Khomeini-style patriarch cannot be ruled out. That the army may try to take a hand in a fast-deteriorating situation is another possibility that cannot be over-looked.

For a man, saddled with this kind of situation, where he has to watch the front, the sides and the back, President Premadasa has nothing much left to lose, and this itself paradoxically gives him the freedom to engage in any kind of adventurism that he chooses. There is a Tamil saying: What does it matter for a man – a little cold here, a little shiver there – when he is completely soaked? And what is more, Sri Lanka can enjoy the position of a little country being 'bullied' by a lumbering giant of a country – a kind of political masochism! Or conversely, derive satisfaction at cocking a snook at a regional 'superpower'; stage a David and Goliath act which the world would love to watch. I remember a circus act where a pint-sized clown kept jumping and tweaking the nose of a heavily-built, muscular lion-tamer, and how the audience roared with laughter!

None of these 'advantages' (!) lie with India. On the contrary, India on one hand is the land that gave birth to the Buddha, Ahimsa and Asoka, the

land of Mahatma Gandhi the apostle of Peace and Non-violence, and of Nehru and his 'Panchasheela'. On the other hand, it is a country that has built up a 1.6 million armed force, the fourth largest after the Soviet Union, China and the United States. We have it on the authority of the US journal – US DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS – that India has already become the overwhelming military power in the region, and that the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan and potentially the US from the Indian Ocean, further enhances this status; that the Indian Air Force has more long-range, heavy military airlift capacity than any country except the US and the USSR; and that by 1995, the country will be capable of maintaining a permanent submarine force on station at some point, and could keep at least one carrier battle group at sea anywhere in the Indian Ocean and environs by the end of the turn of the century.

Does it mean that India has to decide which kind of India does she want to be – the India that gave leadership to a large comity of small nations to remain independent of the world's two super-powers, or does she want to become a superpower herself? Maybe the question is redundant. Nehru's period was so obviously different from his grandson's today. Nehru was the immediate product of a long freedom struggle and was already an internationally respected, charismatic Third World statesman. But the great humiliation that the country underwent in the wake of the Chinese invasion of 1962 and the greater humiliation (from Nehru's cherished non-aligned stance) of having to seek military help from the US, altered the country's entire conception of herself. The inadequacy of her military preparedness came as a stunning blow to the national ego. By the time that Mrs. Gandhi assumed power, India had decided what kind of India she should be. The dismemberment of Pakistan was the first victory notched in the process.

The fact that many of the controversies surrounding Prime Minister Rajiv's 5-year rule centred round armament deals is itself an indicator that India had decided her future status. That is why the present Indian posture is frightening, even wanting a sense of proportion. Mr. Premadasa is driven by imperatives over which he has no control, and he has to fight his way inch by inch for his own survival. To respond to such a man's desperate diktats with an 'eyeball to eyeball' confrontation, when India has a mere cosmetic problem of saving face, would not only compromise India's image but could lead to consequences that could affect the future of the entire SAARC region; and rock the cornerstone of India's neighbourhood policy. This is

the time for a patronising, soothing diplomacy, not an occasion for flexing muscles. Given the position that India has yet to review her stand on the 'preservation of Sri Lanka's territorial integrity', any attempt to 'punish' President Premadasa could only rebound on the Eelam Tamils, who are the ones who would be called upon to pay the price – in blood! And God forbid, we have paid enough already in that respect.

The clock is ticking away and Mr. Premadasa's deadline of July 29 for the evacuation of the IPKF is nearing day by day. Failing a total withdrawal, the President has threatened that the IPKF should be confined to barracks. As to how the President proposes to ensure that is his business. Everyone knows that there is precious little he can do if the IPKF refuses to oblige either way. But is that going to be the criterion for deciding Indian policy? The longer India continues to stick to a stereotyped stance without embarking on new initiatives, the less options she will have, and the more harsh they will be, when it comes to the crunch in early August. What would be the possible options? Invade Sri Lanka? Easy, as a military proposition. And instal a man like Mr. Ganiini Disanayake in the President's chair? No problem: he could make an ideal choice from India's point of view. (One does not think that he is likely to make a fuss either.) Or impose a Cyprus-type solution and keep the IPKF as a permanent presence in the northeast? Again no problem, and a leading Indian newspaper – THE TIMES OF INDIA – has already advocated it.

"New Delhi should prepare itself for a 'Cyprus solution'", says the paper in its editorial (June 20), "regardless of the costs involved. Such a course of action will provoke widespread disapproval in the outside world. But Mr. Premadasa should know that it will receive enthusiastic support in India. This would not be unwelcome to Mr. Gandhi in an election year. And as in the tragic case of Cyprus the world will sooner or later recognise the compulsions that may force India to act, putting aside its own cherished principles".

Or as a third alternative, actively sponsor a coup attempt in Colombo (the Intelligence services in some countries have a habit of thinking on these lines) and topple President Premadasa? After that, what? Or, as a fourth option, get Mr. Varadaraja Perumal to declare UDI and guarantee the sovereignty of an independent Tamil Eelam through a Friendship Treaty under which the IPKF would be invited to remain there? Thereafter Mr. Premadasa will have no business to talk of an IPKF withdrawal from his country! There is of course a fifth option simply annex northeast Sri Lanka to the Indian Union and be done

with it. If India is prepared to impose her might and accept the consequences, none of these options is really difficult in terms of practical execution. That precisely is what makes the immediate prospect terrifying – unless a sane, sensible policy action is hammered out within the coming weeks, not dictated by pique against Premadasa, but by a measured consideration of India's interests, India's image, and the safety, well-being of the Eelam Tamils whose traditional emotional dependence on India had been so rudely shaken in recent times, and what does that mean, one may ask?

It means, firstly, that any pragmatic policy should be rooted in the acceptance of certain obvious realities, even if they be unpalatable:—

1. India can no longer free herself of responsibility in finding a solution to the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. In the role of a mediator she could have, but today she is involved knee-deep in an external conflict, in which both parties see her as a protagonist on the opposing side. She has therefore to choose at this point, which opinion she should mollify – the Sinhalese or the Tamil, given the fact that she cannot do both.

2. Mollifying Sinhala opinion is virtually impossible even if India is prepared to bend backwards – as she did in the case of the Srimala-Shastri Pact, the Kachchativu issue, and in many other smaller issues inimical to Tamil interests – for the simple reason that an anti-Indian aversion and fear is part of the bloodstream in the Sinhala people. The JVP and Mr. Premadasa are merely exploiting a phobia that is embedded in the Sinhala consciousness. On the other hand, despite the painful two-year experience of the Eelam Tamils under the IPKF (particularly in Jaffna), the chance is not altogether lost for India to heal past wounds, and prevent future ones, provided she accepts a truth that has been staring her in the face all the time, that the Eelam Tamils had (until 1987) seen in her their natural ally.

3. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam under the leadership of Mr. Prabhakaran had earned a legitimacy in the eyes of the Eelam Tamils, which can no longer be wished away. That legitimacy does not come from guns alone. Depriving them of the guns (even if that is totally possible) cannot destroy that legitimacy, because the people see in them as the only force that can, while protecting them, also carry forward their political aspirations.

4. The Indian government has been from the time of Mrs. Gandhi emphasising (rather too often one thought) India's desire to 'preserve the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka'. The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to establish Peace and Normalcy in Sri Lanka itself opens with the preamble 'desiring to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka'. That is a necessary posture to have in any international dealings, but there is reason to believe that Mrs. Gandhi, while realising the need for this posture, never confused it with her policy options. Now that the present government has bound itself to this as a policy line in the Indo-Sri Lanka

Agreement, and has even clung to the Agreement in rejecting Mr. Premadasa's call for the withdrawal of the IPKF, its options have got more limited. Since neither government would want to formally and unilaterally break the Agreement, the only choice left is to treat it as a 'dead letter'. That alone could give India any manoeuvrability to choose her policy action.

5. It is not sufficiently appreciated that despite the image of a deeply-divided people and several groups battling among themselves (to which Indian policy itself is a contributory factor), the Eelam Tamils have evolved a near-absolute consensus on a common political objective – the need for an independent Tamil homeland; the Palestinian claim which India has formally recognised offers a striking parallel in this respect.

Given all these realities, India now faces the additional compulsion of countering a new situation – the one that qualitatively and dramatically changed in the light of the LTTE-Premadasa camaraderie. It is evident that the LTTE, weakened militarily by the IPKF (not 'marginalised' as Indian opinion believed) is now graduating into realpolitik. The cynical aphorism that even countries resort to, in times of war and crisis – 'My enemy's enemy is my friend', is what has brought the LTTE and Mr. Premadasa together. There is a moral for India in this: she backed the wrong horse twice over – the Sinhalese establishment instead of Tamils; and other groups instead of the LTTE.

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# From Dialogue to Confrontation

RITA SEBASTIAN – Colombo

From dialogue to confrontation would well sum up Indo-Lanka relations as the July 29th deadline for the Indian peace keeping forces from the island's north east draws near.

Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa followed up his July end time frame for withdrawal with a directive that, if for logistical reasons the withdrawal could not be effected in time then the Indian troops would be confined to barracks. And significantly close on these developments followed President Premadasa's call for the IPKF to cease all operations against the LTTE with whom the Colombo government is negotiating a political settlement of the Tamil question.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's reply came in the form of clarifications of the main issues which were a laying down of arms by the LTTE and a cessation of hostilities against rival groups. With the LTTE agreeing to these conditions Gandhi has no option but to withdraw the troops.

Gandhi however points to the main provision of the accord which is the devolving of substantial autonomy to the north-east provincial council still to be implemented. But that provision seems irrelevant now in the context of the LTTE's demand for the dissolving of the Council for a 'fair and free election to be held'.

For President Premadasa, his talks with the LTTE has progressed beyond his wildest expectations. The talks have proved his point that domestic issues must be resolved through 'consultation, consensus and compromise'. And as speculation fed by media reports kept everybody guessing as to what President Premadasa and Prime Minister Gandhi were saying to each other the correspondence was made public by it being tabled in Parliament on July 7th.

As the letters indicate President Premadasa has refused to accept the Indian contention that the implementation of the Indo-Lanka accord including the devolution of powers to the north east provincial council is linked to the withdrawal of Indian troops. The President also pointed out that devolution of powers is a political process in which the military has no role and that any interpretation 'which seeks to provide a mandatory role for the government of India or its armed forces within Sri Lanka, other than at the express request of the government of Sri Lanka would constitute a serious interference in the inter-

nal affairs of a sovereign country.'

Whatever the rhetoric, the general feeling is that India will not leave by the given deadline and neither will her troops, as things are now, remain in barracks. Aggravating the issue is the alleged forcible conscription of young men and youth by armed EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO cadres in the north and east. What was first dismissed by Indian officials as the excesses of a few over enthusiastic EPRLF cadres has now proved to be a serious threat to peace and normalcy in the north-east region. Hundreds of anguished parents have seen their sons taken away and have no one to turn to. And hundreds of young men have sought refuge in

the homes of friends and relations in Colombo.

The EPRLF defends its position as recruitment to the Citizens Volunteer force that is expected to fill the vacuum when the Indian troops pull-out. But the Provincial council, the centre points out has no authority to recruit to the CVF, it is the function of a designated Deputy Inspector General of Police who comes under the central government. Although Indian officials shrug off 'forcible recruitment' as a purely internal affair since the Provincial Council comes under the central government, the irony is that the law and order situation in the north-east is in control of the IPKF and it is their responsibility to see that the 'excesses' they talk of are not allowed to happen.

Today in the highly militarised environment in the north-east it is the helpless civilians who are called on to pay the price. Peace which seemed within touching distance when the Indo-Lanka accord was signed in July 1987 is now a mere illusion.

## NO POLITICAL SOLUTION WITHOUT LTTE – Anton Balasingham

'India must not consider us a hostile force. She has to radically change her perspective of us', says LTTE theoretician and spokesman Dr. Anton Balasingham, speaking of the LTTE's willingness to talk with India even now, but without preconditions.

On the eighth floor of Colombo's Galadari Meredien Hotel, guarded by their once sworn enemies, Sri Lanka's crack commando outfit – the Special Task Force (STF) – Balasingham spoke of their very positive negotiations with the Colombo government for a durable political settlement of the Tamil question. In this second round of talks, the first was in April-May, the LTTE made two significant announcements which they describe as 'historic achievements'.

They announced, they would transform the ceasefire they declared when they began negotiations with the Colombo government, into a cessation of hostilities not only against the government, but also against all citizens of the country, and their decision to enter mainstream politics. The government reciprocated with a cessation of hostilities against the LTTE and not surprisingly called on India to cease all offensive action against the LTTE.

'The Indian Peace keeping force are no keepers of the peace but an army of occupation', charges Balasingham. 'How can they so glibly talk of remaining behind to safeguard the Tamils when they have been responsible in the last two years for killing over 5000 of our people, destroying over 75,000 of our houses and confining some 3,000

so-called LTTE supporters to IPKF camps. And as long as they remain in the country, there can be no political solution to the Tamil question.'

'India should discuss a time frame with the Sri Lankan government and withdraw her troops. They talk of logistical problems forgetting their Rapid Deployment Strategies. How else did they, in the space of a very short time, swell a small 8,000 force strong contingent to a massive 80,000 force in the north-east', asks Balasingham. 'Today there is no Provincial administration in the north-east region, only a military administration with the EPRLF, an extension of the administration.'

The LTTE position is that the north-east provincial council is not a democratically and legally constituted body but the result of a 'fraudulent election to which India was very much a party.' 'When the north did not have elections at all, how could you call the Provincial Council in the region an elected unit'.

'We want a free and fair election in which the Tamil people will decide their representatives. As far as the LTTE is concerned the people who now control the North-East Council are not truly elected. Some groups have been set up by RAW and have no relevance at all.'

'This is an irrational war' argues Balasingham referring to the IPKF operations against the LTTE. 'India's strategy is to maximise the military

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# History and geography decide Lanka's link with India

The phrase 'to cut the Gordian Knot' is derived from 'an ancient' legend. Apparently Alexander the Great once tried to untie a knot that stood in his way. But that knot had withstood the efforts of far more nimble fingers. Alexander then unsheathed his sword and cut the knot. So 'to cut the Gordian Knot' has come to mean the finding of an imaginative solution to an intractable problem.

Henry Abeyasekera's article 'Balkanisation of India only hope for a free South Asia' which appeared in the Sunday Times of 23.04.89 was an effort reminiscent of Alexander's cutting of the Gordian Knot. His was a daring leap of the imagination.

But alas! Sri Lanka does not possess a sword to cut the Indian noose that is knotted around its neck. More clearly, Sri Lanka today, and in the foreseeable future, is not capable of doing much that could balkanise (or divide) India and thereby bring about the free South Asia. Difficult though it might be, we have to untie the Indian noose. Adopting an aggressive and defiant 'mighty mouse' posture is unlikely to be helpful in this endeavour.

The ambivalence in the Sri Lankan psyche towards India is a continuing tale. In ancient literature there was 'Jumbudipa', sacred and half mythic, a land veiled in the mists of time, the birthplace of the Buddha.

Alongside, there was also the familiar 'chola rata' of political intrigue and scheming from where military assistance and destruction periodically came. Even then there was not one India but two.

## Interests only

To which of these two do we appeal? It is a spiritual truth that what we seek we will find. If we seek to be aggressive towards India it is likely that, spiritual truth or not, we will be at the receiving end of Indian hostility. So why not try friendship instead? But first we must clarify what that term means.

For almost two years now India has been sacrificing the lives of hundreds of its soldiers to safeguard Sri Lanka's unity and in fulfilment of the Indo Lanka Accord.

But still, India's dealings with Sri Lanka cannot be called those of a friend.

Friendship has unnumerable facets. But basically, there are two types of friendships. One is the friendship that

## by Jehan Perera

arises from having interests in common. Then also there is another type of friendship that is based on the idea of loyalty. This is the friendship that can be counted on and which is not dependent on the existence of common interests.

The first type of friendship is frequently found in fast-moving societies where people do not settle down in one place for long. But in Sri Lanka we would consider a friendship that is based only on common interests and mutual benefit to be a superficial friendship. It is the second type of friendship, based on the willingness to sacrifice, that we value and call a real friendship. The basis of this type of real friendship is that it is personal. Only individuals can have real friendship, collectivities cannot. Therefore, in this article we will be using as our tool of analysis the simple maxim that States have no friends, only interests, and that it is people who have friends and who are loyal.

## Feelings of friendships

But though States cannot have friendships, individuals can have feelings of friendship towards States. The Tamils, in particular, have reason to feel embittered. As people they loved India much as the 'mother country'. But they ignored the maxim that we set out earlier and so expected the Indian State to love them in return. Of course, it was incapable of this.

Perhaps it was this fundamental mistake regarding 'friendship' that drove the LTTE to its insane struggle against the Indian army. It was not the lust for power alone, but the sense of betrayal. No one likes to feel used and then discarded.

There was a time, until the signing of the Indo-Lanka Accord, when the Indian State apparatus trained, and housed the Tamil guerillas and called them friends and brothers. After the Vadamarachchi operation even surface-to-air missiles were promised, perhaps given. But once the main purpose of weakening Sri Lanka had been accomplished the LTTE, human rights and the Tamil cause were discarded by India. Not as an act of betrayal. Such acts were simply in the Indian State's interest. Only a friend can betray, but States do not have friends.

On the other hand, friendships between leaders of two countries can alter the directions of inter-State relations and modify the calculations of State interest.

## Personal relations

Thus, Mrs. Bandaranaike had a special relationship with Mrs. Gandhi which led to the resolution of the intractable problems where the interests of their two States diverged. (No big country ever gives up disputed land of a small one through negotiations. But India gave Kachchativu island to Sri Lanka). That relationship, however, was personal, as all friendships are, and had nothing special to do with the SLFP and the Congress Party and so it died with Mrs. Gandhi.

Thus, when the Sri Lankan armed forces were poised to capture the city of Jaffna, the Indian Air Force dropped food parcels on Jaffna. India violated Sri Lanka's sovereignty and there was nothing that the government, SLFP or the JVP could do to protect the country from naked aggression.

Will the Western countries, Japan or China be better friends than India? Will a friendship with other countries give Sri Lanka the strength to distance itself from India? An analysis based on the maxim that States have no friends, only interests would suggest that the country's economic and strategic interests in India far outweigh their interests in Sri Lanka.

Further, it is difficult to imagine a leader of Sri Lanka forming a personal friendship with a leader of a distant big power in the same way that S W R D Bandaranaike befriended Nehru, or with the same quality of friendship Mrs Bandaranaike had with Mrs Gandhi. Therefore, we cannot expect the ruthless working out of State interests to be modified by the bonds of personal friendship. These countries will never help us out of loyalty or in a spirit of sacrifice. They will not help us against India.

Geography dictated that India would be our nearest neighbour. History has moulded our peoples in the same cultural traditions. Sri Lanka's future, for better or worse, will be affected by India's. In our foreign policy we should try to look after India's well-being just as we try to look after our own. And as people we should try to befriend Indians and their leaders.

# India Should Negotiate Speedy IPKF Pull-Out

**A.P. Venkateswaran**  
(Former Indian Foreign Secretary)

The Indo-Sri Lankan agreement of July 29, 1987 was still-born. Nearly two years later, President Premadasa has decided that it is high time to bury it. India, as one of the parents, appears very reluctant to give its consent to the burial, although for many months now, both governments have been discussing a draft treaty of peace and friendship, which is ostensibly designed to put an official seal of approval on the new-found relationship of confidence and trust between them.

At the time of the conclusion of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement two years ago, an apocryphal story was going the rounds in Sri Lanka about the three holiest places on the island. Sinhalese politicians who had been stongly opposed to the accord are said to have gone to Anuradhapura, where the sacred peepul tree stands, and to have prayed to Lord Buddha to assuage Sinhalese resentment at what was happening. The sacred peepul tree, however, pleaded its inability to be of assistance since it was originally from India. So, these people went to Kandy where the holy tooth relic of Lord Buddha is kept and the reply received was that it also had been smuggled from India into Sri Lanka and so could not be of any help. Then the group went and prayed to Lord Kataragama (Skanda) and the lord replied that he was a Tamil and pleaded inability to intervene. Then the story goes, the Sinhalese group, out of sheer desperation, went to President Jayewardene. He replied that while he very much wished to do what they wanted, his own great-grandfather had come from the Coramandel coast of Tamil Nadu, and so he could also not do anything!

This apocryphal tale gathers an added dimension in the context of the latest speech made by President Premadasa at the pinnacle unveiling ceremony at the Chittavivekashramaya Vickremasingapura, Battaramulua, on June 1, 1989 in which he has demanded that the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) should leave Sri Lanka and the Indian government should 'try as far as possible to complete the withdrawal of the IPKF moves by the end of July 29, 1989'. The reference in the presidential speech to the dharma taught by Lord Buddha - where he said the 'Buddha dharma teaches us that we cannot achieve peace by resorting to arms' - carries the echo of a very similar statement made by Jayewardene at the SAARC summit in

Bangalore in November 1986. The main difference, of course, is that during the period in between the situation in Sri Lanka has taken a turn for the worse, with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) on the one hand demonstrating an enormous capacity for survival against the fierce onslaughts of the Indian armed forces in the northern and eastern provinces and, on the other hand, the Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) demonstrating a growing capacity to run what amounts to a parallel government in the southern part of the island.



A.P. VENKATESWARAN

One of the first steps taken by Premadasa after assumption of office early this year was to issue repeated appeals, to both LTTE and to JVP to desist from the use of arms and to come to the negotiating table. Assurances had been held out for their safe conduct as well as about the willingness of the Sri Lanka government to meet them more than half way in the negotiations to follow. JVP as well as LTTE had initially rejected these overtures, but in a sudden turn-around, LTTE conveyed its willingness last April to commence talks with the authorities. Against all odds, these talks have been held in a cooperative spirit and the atmosphere in which they were conducted is said to have been positive and constructive. The first round of talks has now concluded and the second round is expected to take place in the near future, with both sides exuding cautious optimism regarding the possible outcome.

It is ironic in this context that what should have been a welcome development has been seen by the Government of India as a threat to India's own interests. The reaction of the official spokesman of the Indian ministry of external affairs, if one is to see it as a reflection of the thinking of the government, gives room for concern to any dispassionate observer. There is an

ominous hint in the statements that it would be first necessary for the Indian side to convince itself of 'safeguarding the gains' arising from the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement, before India would be prepared to countenance the withdrawal of the IPKF.

Even more ominous are the orchestrated noises made by the EPRLF provincial government and some other Tamil groups of a nondescript nature who have vociferously challenged the expressed wish of the Sri Lankan president concerning the IPKF withdrawal and asserted that a decision to withdraw the IPKF will inevitably lead to the creation of an independent Tamil Eelam and the consequent partition of the island. Implicit in this stand is the threat that EPRLF would itself then advocate the cause of Eelam.

The question then arises about the motives behind the opposition by the Government of India, on the one hand, and the EPRLF provincial government of the northeast province of Sri Lanka, on the other to what must happen sooner or later - namely the departure of the IPKF from Sri Lanka where it had gone, in the first instance, on the invitation of that government. Whatever may be the excuses or reasons real or imaginary, which are given to justify the continued presence of the IPKF, they will not carry conviction and can only lead to further embarrassment all round.

To point out that the original mistake was to have sent our forces beyond our own frontiers under a bilateral agreement, without calculating the full consequences, is of small consolation. What is required now is to ensure that no fresh complications arise by taking a position contrary to the stated formal request of President Premadasa who has the constitutional authority to demand the withdrawal of the IPKF. Any other stand by India will put us in a very bad light and place us in the category of an incipient imperialist power, bent on working its will on a smaller and weaker nation. What has now transpired therefore serves to underline the need to evolve a national consensus on a clear set of guidelines, for the future, defining precisely the conditions in which the extreme step of sending our armed forces abroad can be considered.

The conclusion of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement had been immediately applauded by the USA and some other countries of the western alliance. It took many months, however, before a guarded pronouncement was forthcoming from the USSR, expressing 'understanding' for India's involvement in Sri Lanka. In India, where we seem to have a tremendous capacity to congratulate ourselves, there was much jubilation and the entire Parliament, including the opposition, had given a standing ovation to the return-



ing Prime Minister on what he himself rather unabashedly described as the most remarkable diplomatic achievement unparalleled anywhere in the world during the last one hundred years.

Governments have a habit of 'economising on the truth', to borrow a phrase used not so long ago in the British Parliament. The Government of India is no exception. When the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement was signed, it had been repeatedly asserted by the official media that LTTE had endorsed its provisions and would abide by them. Meanwhile, however, LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran was being held incommunicado in Ashok Hotel in New Delhi and aspiring visitors, including at least one member of Parliament, were denied access to him by the ubiquitous Black Cats who were on guard duty. If LTTE had endorsed the accord, there was every reason for Prabhakaran to have been present at the signing ceremony of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement in Colombo instead of languishing in New Delhi.

To what extent the involvement in Sri Lanka has cast a shadow on India's earlier impeccable credentials of non-interference in the internal affairs of other sovereign states (even under a bilateral accord) can only be assessed by historians in the future. But there is no doubt that an important outcome of the involvement had been to divide and polarise public opinion, both in India and in Sri Lanka.

The cardinal mistake was to have excluded the Sri Lankan Tamils from giving expression in an appropriate manner to their grievances and involving them in the negotiating process. What is more, having gone in ostensibly to protect the ethnic Sri Lankan Tamil population from the murderous onslaught of the Sri Lankan security forces, the IPKF itself soon got embroiled in an internecine conflict with the main Tamil militant group, LTTE.

This conflict had been triggered by the senseless decision in October 1987 to hand over 17 LTTE cadres, who had been brought to Jaffna after being captured on the high seas, to the Sri Lankan authorities. They all took cyanide capsules and 14 of them died on the tarmac at Jaffna airport. The anger and grief of the LTTE rank and file could then no longer be checked and there had been sporadic incidents.

Instead of exercising restraint at this point and trying to prevent an escalation of the conflict, the IPKF had been ordered to bring LTTE to heel, on the mistaken premise that it would be merely a matter of days for the objective to be achieved. But nearly two years later, the fighting capacity and morale of LTTE has remained intact, while the casualties in the IPKF have

been steadily mounting with the number of deaths officially admitted to be over 1,000 defence personnel. Common sense would, accordingly, dictate that the opportunity which has not come through President Premadasa's call for the IPKF to be withdrawn should be availed of without hesitation and an orderly evacuation of our forces should commence.

The specious argument that the withdrawal of the IPKF would result in the recommencement of the slaughter of the Tamils by the Sri Lankan security forces and, therefore, it is necessary for the IPKF to stay on will not bear serious scrutiny. For one thing, it does not lie with the Government of India - which has been responsible for the death of more Sri Lankan Tamils in the seige of Jaffna alone in October 1987 than the entire number killed by the Sri Lankan security forces in the four-year period from 1983 to 1987 - to shed crocodile tears now on behalf of the Tamils.

Secondly, the fighting capacity shown by LTTE may be expected to act as a sufficient deterrent to any temptation on the part of the Sri Lankan security forces to attempt once again what they had failed to do earlier. Even without the help or sympathy of their brethren in Tamil Nadu, and certainly in the face of the punishing attacks of the IPKF which have continued to this day, the Sri Lankan Tamils have established a reputation for fighting that places them squarely in the category of a martial race, if indeed there is such a category.

What is specially emphasised now by Premadasa in his June 1 speech is the paramount need for unity among all sections of the people 'irrespective of race and religion'. He admits that the reason for the coming of the IPKF to Sri Lanka had been that 'we took up arms to fight among themselves to solve our problems'. Premadasa goes on to claim credit for the announcement of withdrawal of the first IPKF contingent due to his initiative during the presidential election campaign. At the time, he says, he had pledged 'to take steps to send the IPKF out of the country... Already between 7,000 and 8,000 had left Sri Lanka. Now, what is required is to expedite this process and send them back early. All of us must assist in this process... Having a foreign force in an independent country is a slur on its self-respect.'

As this writer has had the occasion to point out before, Premadasa may not have the sophistication or subtlety of his predecessor in office, but he sees himself as a man with a mission. He is determined to find a solution to the ethnic problem and seems prepared to do whatever is necessary for it. The willingness on both sides, the Sri Lankan government and LTTE, to give and

take must, accordingly, be given a chance to succeed by the Government of India, as well. Personal considerations or false pride or loss of face should not be allowed to enter into the process, or for that matter, the possible effect of the withdrawal on the electoral scene in India. That would indeed be cutting one's nose to spite one's face and cannot lead to any good. The time is now and here for India to retrieve its position from one blunder already committed, instead of making another blunder by refusing to respond to the situation in the only appropriate manner open to it. By taking a different position it may be possible to delay the process but in the long run, it can be of no avail and only harm our interests.

It is typical of the style of President Premadasa that he had not forewarned the Government of India of the policy pronouncement which he was to make at what was essentially a religious function. The approach of his predecessor, who had been responsible for the accord, would have been very different. One may confidently have expected him to inform India, in advance, through the high commission in Colombo. The question then arises as to whether President Premadasa had taken the precaution of informing the USA in confidence. Even that seems unlikely. Since the USA, by all accounts, had been fully in the know of the India-Sri Lanka accord, when it was being concluded, its attitude would have an important bearing on how matters unfold in this regard during the coming weeks. But the passionate commitment of Premadasa to get the IPKF to leave is beyond question.

The options, therefore, with India are a mixed bag, some good and some

The good options are:

- To withdraw gracefully and cooperate with the Sri Lankan government for repatriating the IPKF, within a timeframe as close to July 29 this year as is possible.
- To put a stop, with immediate effect, to the 'search and destroy' operation against LTTE, in the context of the new circumstances where an accommodation is being found by LTTE with the Sri Lankan government.
- To reaffirm India's disinterested friendship by extending cooperation in reconstruction of the areas in the north eastern province which have been devastated as a result of the hostilities.

The bad options are:

- To procrastinate and delay the withdrawal of the IPKF, under whatever pretext. This can only complicate the situation and postponement of the process will be of no benefit to us.
- To back the EPRLF provincial government in its opposition to President Premadasa's proposal and to keep building up the civilian volunteer force

Continued on Page 20

## NEWS ROUND-UP

★ **AN ARMED GANG** numbering about ten, allegedly belonging to the JVP/DJV, clad in army uniforms arrived at the Tissamaharama police station at about 1.30am on 9 June and informed the police constable on duty at the main gate that they had arrested some JVPers pasting posters and wanted the suspects held in custody in the police cell. The PC opened the gates and allowed the men in army uniform to enter the police station. On entry, the gang held the police officers at gun-point, locked them in the cell and got away with SLRs, shot guns, rifles and automatic weapons numbering about 50 and ammunition.

★ **THE LTTE** has, in a press release dated 16 June, alleged that its 'military intelligence has uncovered a notorious plot hatched by the Indian military authorities in collusion with its quisling armed groups to sabotage the current peace talks between the LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka and to discredit the integrity of our organisation.

'A treacherous scheme has been worked out by the Indian army to launch attacks on Sinhala villages or on Sri Lankan army camps in the North and East. The objective is to cause heavy casualties among the Sinhalese and to lay the blame on the LTTE. According to LTTE's military intelligence, the Indian plan is to plant evidence, i.e. depositing captured LTTE weapons, ammunition, cyanide capsules etc at the site of the incident'.

Referring to the LTTE allegation, the Indian High Commission said, 'It is a total travesty of truth. People of this country know who has been organising massacres, particularly of the Sinhala community not only in the north and east but even in areas outside. The past record of the LTTE speaks for itself'.

★ **THE SRI LANKA MUSLIM** Congress leader, M H M Ashraff, on 18 June, appealed to President Premadasa to permit his party also to participate in the on-going second round of talks between the government and the LTTE. He said that any dialogue in which there was no genuine Muslim representation would lack credibility in the East which was today being made a permanent battle-ground for all communities.

★ **PROVINCIAL** Council Member of the Sabaragamuwa and Attorney-at-Law, Leslie Yatanwela, who was a member of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) was shot dead, allegedly by JVP/DJV armed men, on 17 June at Ruanwela.

★ **FOUR HUNDRED** and forty two Sri Lankans were successful at a lottery held by the United States of America to grant immigrant visas to 10,000 persons from around the world.

★ **ACCORDING** to police sources, over a hundred young men who were travelling in a Jaffna bound train were forcibly taken away by an armed gang, allegedly belonging to the Tamil militant group ENDLF at Kilinochchi on 17 June.

★ **THE LTTE DELEGATION** which is presently in Colombo is housed at the Galadari Meridien Hotel. Earlier they were housed at an undisclosed location near Colombo but were compelled to go to the Hotel for the sake of ensuring a secure and convenient place for negotiations with the government delegation. A special lift was allocated to the LTTE delegation which is occupying the 8th floor.

The members of the LTTE delegation are A S Balasingham, Paramu Moorthy, Yogaratnam Yogi, Lawrence Thilakar, Sammun Hassan, Sivagnanam Karikalan, Panchancharam Lawrence and Abubakar Ibrahim.

★ **A CLAYMORE MINE** blast on 17 June, allegedly caused by the LTTE claimed the lives of 4 IPKF soldiers and two Tamil youths, identified as Sellam Gnanamuthu and P Subhakaran, at a spot between Pullumalai and Karadia-

naru in Batticaloa. 8 other youths injured in the blast were admitted to the Batticaloa hospital. The IPKF had been taking the youths in a tipper after arresting them at a Kovil ceremony when the vehicle was blasted.

★ **FIVE PRIVATE** buses were set on fire, allegedly by a JVP/DJV gang, in and around Colombo on 18 June.

★ **A TEMPORARY** driver of a CTB bus attached to the Ja Ela depot was shot dead in broad daylight on 19 June when the bus bound for Negambo stopped at Ambalamulla to load passengers. The killing took place when a suspected JVP/DJV gunman who travelled in the bus whipped out a revolver and accusing the driver of being a traitor threatened to shoot him. The driver had appealed not to shoot him as he was married with children. But the gunman shot the driver through his mouth.

★ **A GANG**, allegedly belonging to a Tamil militant group, kidnapped two officials of the Road Development Authority in Amparai on June 14 and demanded a sum of Rs 400,000 for their release. Three officials, Chief Engineer Ivan Reginald Cruz, Technical Officer T. Ariyasingham and a clerk K Vallipuram had been proceeding to Kalmunai from Amparai in a Sissan vehicle when they were abducted by the gang at Malwatte. Vallipuram was sent back with the demand for the ransom.

The two officials were released on 19 June on the payment of Rs 100,000 in part-payment of the ransom with the guarantee that the balance would be paid by 24 June.

★ **TWO PERSONS**, said to be Indian soldiers in civils who were intermingling with Hindu devotees at the Sittandi Hindu Kovil at Amparai were abducted, allegedly by LTTE men, and later shot dead and their bodies tied to lamp posts.

★ **THE CANADIAN** Government has donated RS 88.1 million through the Asian Development Bank for the rehabilitation of schools in the North-East Province, according to the Chief Minister, A Varatharaja Perumal. Of this sum, Rs 27.1 million has been allocated for rehabilitation of 53 schools in Jaffna, Rs 18.1 million for 90 schools in Trincomalee, Rs 2.28 million for 8 schools in Mullaitivu and Rs 1.2 million for schools in Kilinochchi and Rs 7.2 million for furniture and equipment; Rs 13.5 million for 35 schools in Amparai.

★ **A STATE OF EMERGENCY** was declared by a presidential proclamation under the Public Security Ordinance on 20 June. In explaining the declaration of emergency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne told parliament that it was now manifest that 'subversives' were making every effort to disrupt government activities and damage the economy; workers were being forced to strike and disrupt essential services; innocent school children were being drawn into the streets and incited to engage in demonstrations and actions of violence; from last January up to now over 1705 people had been murdered in cold blood; and the public services including transport services had been paralysed by forcing the workers to keep away under death threats.

★ **USING THE NEWLY** proclaimed emergency powers, security forces rounded-up and detained over 60 persons suspected of JVP/DJV connection on June 22 in the central and southern parts of the island.

★ **NEARLY FOUR** million school children in Sri Lanka face the problem of completing their syllabuses in time for the term tests and public examinations as their studies have been disrupted with the closure of schools and the prolonged transport strike.

★ **DEALERS AND** repairers of motor-cycles and bicycles have registered an unusually brisk business following the prolonged disruption of public transport. The dealers in small scooters of Japanese make are reported to be unable to cope with the rise in demand. Officials of the Department of Motor Traffic confirmed that there were more than 200 registrations of smaller two-wheelers.



★ **PRICE OF MOST** vegetables have come down drastically in Colombo owing to scarcity of buyers. Lorries bring in the usual quantity of vegetables, there aren't enough people to buy them. The prices of most vegetables are lower than Rs 5 per kilo. City hotels and restaurants are not buying even 25 per cent of what they used to purchase since they close early and a few people patronise them. Less people travel to Colombo because of transport difficulties.

★ **A SUB-MACHINE GUN**, a 12-bore shotgun and ammunition were robbed from two policemen on duty at the bus stand at Kuruwita in Ratnapura on 29 June by an armed gang which had arrived in a stolen van. On the same day in a separate incident, an alleged JVP/DJV gang robbed six shotguns from Home Guards on duty at the Estate Superintendent's residence at Rookatenna Estate in Hali Ela in Badulla.

★ **INDIA TURNED** down, on 29 June, Sri Lankan President's request to halt 'offensive action' against the LTTE by the IPKF. Foreign Office spokesman, Aftab Seth told newsmen in New Delhi that the Indian Prime Minister has sought a series of clarification from the Sri Lanka government before it took a decision on the President's request. Mr Seth said that the IPKF presence in Sri Lanka was in accordance with India's role as a 'guarantor for ensuring the physical safety and security of all communities of North-Eastern province and minority Tamils in the area. India also would have to be satisfied that LTTE was renouncing violence not only against the island's government, but also against fellow Tamils and it was committed to the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. 'It is our hope that after ceasing hostilities against the Sri Lankan government, The LTTE will resume the process of laying down their weapons', the spokesman added.

★ **A COMBINED** police and Army team arrested 42 JVP suspects in search operations conducted on 30 June in Kirulapone, Narahenpita, Attidiya, Hanwella, Kisgama and Meegoda areas. 13 persons were arrested in Kirulapone, 10 along Chitra Lane, Narahenpita, 15 in Attidiya, 2 at Hanwella one each at Kosgama and Meegoda.

★ **IN MATALE** a crowd of about 2500 persons from Hettipola and Pelpola who were demonstrating with the JVP strikers on 30 June were forcibly dispersed by the security forces.

★ **THIRTEEN BODIES** of dead persons were found in Kurunegala, Bulathkohupitiya, Vavuniya and Moratuwa on 30 June. Four of the bodies found in Bulathkohupitiya have not been identified, but the seven bodies found in Kurunegala had been identified as belonging to one family. They had been kidnapped from their homes and killed.

★ **TWO PASSENGERS** were injured when JVP/DJV men exploded a locally made bomb inside a crowded private bus at Kalubowila near Colombo on 30 June. On the same day, two private buses were set ablaze at Kiribathkumbura in Kandy. At Ginigathena, two persons lying in ambush intercepted a Kandy bound private bus, forced the passengers out and set fire to the vehicle. At Peliyagoda, an unidentified gang attacked a SLTB bus with a bomb severely damaging the vehicle and injuring many passengers.

★ **IN INTENSIFIED** military operations by the IPKF against the LTTE, it is reported that 22 LTTE men were killed on 30 June in separate incidents in the jungles of Vavuniya and Mullaitivu. Ten of them were killed at Alampil in Mullaitivu while the rest were killed in the Puliyanakulam jungles in Vavuniya. Among those killed in the latter incident were Kumaran and Rajan.

★ **WITH THE DISRUPTION** of train and coach services to and from northern Jaffna, the airports at Palaly and Ratmalana have become popular among residents in the north for travel to and from Colombo. The Sri Lanka Air force which conducts regular flights between Palalay in Jaffna and Ratmalana in Colombo now takes around 150 passengers up and down daily. The SLAF is reported to

have already earned revenue amounting to Rs 3 million. The two aircrafts which used to transport servicemen and their equipment to Jaffna are now engaged in transport of civilians. There is a prospect that the number of flights will be increased in the future depending on demand.

★ **THREE PERSONS** were injured when two unidentified persons flung a locally made hand grenade at a newspaper agent's shop at Kollupitiya on 1 July.

★ **A DAY OF MOURNING** was declared by the JVP/DJV in the Moneragala district on 1 July in protest against the alleged killing by police of 16 persons in Wellawaya on June 11 shops and government offices were closed while transport services came to a standstill.

★ **A COLOMBO MUNICIPAL** Council Member, Mr Lakshman Silva, was shot dead at his residence in the Andersonn flats at Narahenpita on 1 July allegedly by JVP/DVP members.

★ **THE LEADER OF** India's national Front, V P Singh, has welcomed the agreement reached between the Sri Lanka government and the LTTE, according to a despatch from New Delhi. In a statement issued to the press on 1 July, he added that the IPKF should be brought back with dignity and due respect and that India should work out the IPKF withdrawal as requested by the Sri Lankan President. Once the Indian troops were withdrawn, the full responsibility of ensuring security for Tamils and Indian citizens in the island would be that of the Sri Lankan government.

★ **REPORTS FROM** North-East Sri Lanka datelined 1 July indicate that thousands of Tamil youth are being recruited against their will by some Tamil militant groups, with the backing of the IPKF, for training. A report attributed to a Batticaloa source said that the youth thus recruited have been given short hair-cuts and their eyebrows shaven to prevent them from escaping from the camps where they were being trained and to identify them easily in case any of them escaped.

★ **AT LEAST 16** suspected JVP/DJV men were taken into custody in the course of a rounding-up operation by security forces at Kegalle on 21 June. Another 20 persons were taken into custody at Mirihana near Colombo. At Mudukottuwa in Eheliyagoda, alleged JVP/DJV men shot dead a Grama Sevaka identified as S Hemapala. At Palawatte in Morawaka, an armed gang killed a woman identified as Somawathie and her husband and set fire to their bodies. In Weligama two persons identified as Edwin and Jagath were shot dead by gunmen who raided the victims' residences. At Milawa a person identified as K M Premadasa was gunned down. At Tibatuwa in the Walapane area men in black uniforms shot dead H M Kiribanda. At Wathumulla another person, W M Wickremasinghe was shot dead. At Kurunduwatte in Weligama gunmen shot dead two persons who had been released from the Boosa detention camp.

★ **THE REFERENDUM** which was scheduled to have been held in eastern Sri Lanka on 5 July to determine whether the merger of the northern and eastern provinces should continue was formally postponed by a Presidential gazette notification dated July 23, but released on 4 July.

★ **TWO SOLDIERS** were knifed to death and three others wounded by a JVP/DJV gang at the Tyre Corporation Factory in Kelaniya on 4 July. the gang posing as workers had entered the factory before the attack. The gangsters had also removed a number of automatic rifles belonging to security personnel.

★ **GUNMEN**, allegedly from the JVP/DJV attacked the residence of the United Socialist Alliance candidate at Gokarrella killing J A J Warnakulasuriya on 20 June. In separate incidents on the same day at least five persons and a 'subversive' were killed while an attempt was made to booby-trap security service personnel. A person identified as P. Nanayakkara aged 55 and a UNP supporter was shot dead at his residence at Yatiyana in Gandara.

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# IPKF PULL-OUT – A MATTER FOR THE TWO GOVTS.

– S. THONDAMAN

*The following is the text of an interview given by Mr. S. Thondaman, Minister of Rural Industries and Textiles and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress:*

**Q. President Premadasa has requested the Indian government to withdraw the IPKF from the North and East of Sri Lanka by the end of July. Do you support the President's call for the total withdrawal of the IPKF.**

A. That is a matter to be decided by the governments of India and Sri Lanka. Both the governments must have discussions and find out a way of how this can be done. There is no doubt that Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi wants the IPKF to be withdrawn. President Premadasa too wants this done very soon. The question is how best can it be done.

You must remember that there are over forty thousand Indian troops in the North and East. Is it practical for all these troops to be withdrawn in two months. There could be transport problems and other issues involved. What would be the position of the IPRLF once the IPKF withdraws? Their fear is that without Indian protection they may not survive more than a week.

The LTTE has already attacked the PLOT in the North. In the East they have attacked the EPRLF. Won't the groups under Indian patronage be massacred by the LTTE once the IPKF leaves. These are questions that have to be sorted out. That is why I say that it is best for both governments to enter into consultations on the phased withdrawal of the IPKF.

**Q. The LTTE has returned for the second round of talks with the Sri Lankan government. President Premadasa is of the view that problems among communities in the same country should be resolved internally through negotiations. Do you agree?**

A. There is nothing wrong with the government talking to the LTTE. The Tigers are also our countrymen. I have always believed that problems between communities should be resolved through negotiations. If at the All Party Conference the Sinhala Parties had agreed to let President Jayewardena implement Annexure C much of the subsequent violence could have been averted.

With regard to the devolution of power the Annexure C envisaged the setting up of Regional Councils within a province. The powers to be given were not even as half as much as that given to the present Provincial Coun-

cils. However after July 1983 it became necessary to involve India also in the negotiating process.

The violent attacks on the Tamils resulted in thousands of them seeking refuge in Tamil Nadu. The TULF refused to talk to the Sri Lankan government except through Indian mediation. That is why President Jayewardena had to get Parthasarathy down and also go to New Delhi. With the signing of the Indo-Lanka peace accord and the arrival of the IPKF both governments have accepted the Indian role in Sri Lanka.

We must regard the government's talks with the Tigers in this context. Would they have come to the negotiating table if not for the blows they received from the IPKF? Are the Tigers trustworthy? Once the IPKF withdraws what is there to prevent the LTTE from renewing the struggle for Eelam through armed violence?

**Q. The JVP has called on all Sri Lankans to boycott Indian goods. In a statement they have warned that those engaging in trade with India would be dealt with. What do you think of the idea of boycotting Indian goods in order to get the IPKF out. After the Quit India resolution Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian patriots adopted such tactics against the British?**

A. Are the Sri Lankans prepared to forego Masoor Dhal and Bombay Onions. What are we going to do with all the Bajaj scooters and tri-shaws around. Are we to burn all the Tata buses belonging to the CTB? Can all the women forego the Indian saree and switch to Kandyan?

Buddhism came from India. Are we to send Buddhism and the Pali language back to India? Don't forget that Guatama Buddha was an Indian. So was Arahata Mahinda. Are the Tamils going to stop eating Indian foods like Thosai and Chapati. Can the Sinhalese give up hoppers which came from Kerela. Isn't this boycott call absurd?

The Quit India call made by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress to the British was different. They did not force the Indian population into giving up British goods. It was a voluntary effort. British citizens were not attacked. Indians who traded with the British were not threatened with death.

I am not certain whether it was the JVP that issued the boycott call. Whoever did it is playing with fire. If Indian citizens are attacked the IPKF will

surely come to Colombo. The Indians will be forced to do what the Americans did in Grenada. These are the serious consequences that can result if Indian citizens are attacked here.

Sunday Island  
18.6.89

## Continued from Page 7

pressure on us believing they can bring us to our knees. They can never do that. The Sri Lankan government has realised that even after two years of Indian operations against us we are still an effective military force, and without our participation there can be no settlement that will bring peace to our people. It will be a disaster for India to remain for we will continue fighting them and it will be more violence and more killings. 'India' says Balasingham, 'treated us with super power arrogance regarding us as of no consequence, as they tried to impose their will on us. They wanted our total surrender to their demands.' The LTTE laughs off the claim by the IPKF that they have confined them to the jungles of the Wannai. It is Yogi who counters the claim with an answer typical of the LTTE. 'You could say we control the nights and share the daylight hours with the IPKF. Contrary to what they would have you believe, we are operational from northern Jaffna to eastern Amparai.

On the question of the EPRLF's threatened declaration of independence unilaterally in the north-east region, Balasingham is of the view that any declaration of independence under the military protection of India will not establish an independent Eelam, but make part of Sri Lanka an Indian protectorate. 'The people will resist it. If India is genuine in securing the interests of Sri Lanka, then she must explicitly state that she is not supporting the idea.'

Answering the question whether the LTTE had dropped the demand for Eelam and whether it did not figure in the discussions with the Colombo government, Balasingham says 'At the initial stages you don't talk about entrenched positions. We have discussed issues of mutual interest. We want to enter into a negotiated political settlement, and at this stage, we are not in a position to talk on the mode or framework of that settlement. One of the serious mistakes that was made before the signing of the accord was the failure to work out an adequate framework with adequate devolution of power. Now after two years India is saying that substantial autonomy has not been devolved on the north east council. Even the war with the LTTE could have been averted if matters had been sorted out before the signing of the accord. There is no point in India talking about it now.'

● The announcement on 28 June of the cessation of hostilities between the Sri Lanka government and the LTTE was widely reported in Colombo and in the British media.

'THE GUARDIAN' (29.6.89) correspondent, Chris Nuttall reporting from Colombo said that 'Mr. Anton Balasingham, the Tigers chief negotiator at peace talks between the two sides told a member of the government delegation that the Tigers had decided to turn their temporary ceasefire into a permanent cessation of hostilities. A ceasefire had originally been declared for the duration of the peace talks.

'The Industries Minister, Mr. Ranil Wickremesinghe, told a press conference that the government had welcomed the Tigers' decision which he said would end hostilities. Both sides, he added, had agreed to rally behind President Ranasinghe Premadasa's call for a complete withdrawal of Indian troops from the North and East by the end of next month.

'Relations between the Tigers and government have never been better. The peace talks, which began on May 11, have proceeded without any disagreement'.

Christopher Thomas from Colombo reporting in 'THE TIMES' (29.6.89) on the same subject added, 'The development confirms India's worst fears. It is now all but certain that the Government and the Tigers are moving towards a deal under which the guerrillas will be given some kind of special authority over the Tamil dominated north and east of the country once the Indian forces have pulled out.

'India is convinced that Tigers would unleash fearsome internecine warfare, with the powerful guerrillas given a free hand by the Sri Lankan authorities to wipe out Indian-backed rival Tamil groups in the north and east of the country... Indian sources say there is no possibility of the troops pulling out or even returning to barracks by the deadline of (July 29) set by President Premadasa... There is widespread talk in Sri Lankan political circles of a situation similar to Cyprus, in which India would in effect annexe the Northern and Eastern provinces to prevent the Tigers wiping out Indian-backed Tamil groups'.

On the same topic, Derek Brown of 'THE GUARDIAN' (30.6.89) reported, 'In a closely guarded sealed-off floor of one of Colombo's plush hotels, the leaders of one of the world's most-feared guerrilla armies are bidding to pull off an audacious deal with the government they have fought for more than 15 years... Now with the Colombo Government demanding the withdrawal of the Indian 'Peacekeeping' Force, the Tamil Tigers are negotiating with their old enemies. The aim is political power, the form is unclear...

'For years the Tigers were the sworn enemies of the state. Now they are guarded by phalanxes of police. They used to be vilified in the press as scum and worse. Now they are patriots.

'Where once they were hunted by helicopter gunships they are now politely ferried for periodic briefings with their leader-in hiding, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran.

'The EPRLF, terrified that Tigers will be given power, is talking of unilaterally-declared independence, which would work only with Indian backing. For Mr. Annamalai Varatharajaperumal, the Chief Minister of the fledgling Trincomalee, separatism is not yet an issue. 'What we say is that, if the present system is subverted, it will be time to think about a

## IT IS SO REPORTED

separate state. But we are not separatists now'.

'Mr. Balasingham, for all his Tamil nationalism, derides the idea of an EPRLF-led independent state, and strongly supports the Colombo government's demand that the Indian force leave by the end of July'.

● 'A surprising confession that the Tigers operated as a 'mercenary force' for India was included in report by Chris Nuttall of 'THE GUARDIAN' (3.7.89) filed from Colombo. Writing on the IPKF offensive against the LTTE and the latter's cessation of hostilities against Sri Lankan security forces, he said, 'The two sides are united in wanting the Indians to leave.

'There are reports that the Tigers are now receiving money and arms from the Sri Lankan Government to carry on their fight against India. This is a bizarre turnaround. Two years ago, the Tigers were being funded, armed and protected by India to fight the Sri Lankan army. The Indian Peace Keeping Force then arrived in July 1987 to separate and pacify the two sides as the Sri Lankan forces launched a major offensive against the guerrillas.

'We were used by India as a mercenary force,' the Tigers Chief political adviser, Mr. Anton Balasingham, said on Friday. 'They were arming us and supporting us just to bring pressure to bear on the government of the day so that finally it would ask for Indian support. India wanted to keep Sri Lanka within her sphere of dominance and independence. Even now the EPRLF can be used in the same way'.

● The correspondent of 'THE ECONOMIST' (1.7.89) reporting from Colombo said:

'Remove the Indians and Sri Lanka could fall apart. The EPRLF is becoming convinced that Mr. Premadasa's government has made a deal to let the Tigers liquidate it once the Indians go. It has declared that it will make a unilateral declaration of independence the moment the provincial council for the north and east, which it controls, is dissolved under the terms of this week's agreement between the Tigers and the government. Already, some 15,000 young Tamils have been forcibly conscripted by the EPRLF for training in Indian camps.

The EPRLF has good reason to fear what is increasingly looking like a devil's pact between Mr. Premadasa and the Tigers. Above all, the Tigers want the Indians out. More than 900 Indian soldiers have died fighting during the past 20 months, but the Tigers have lost more than 500 from a much smaller force. Once the Indians have gone, the Tigers will be able to resume the war at will.

For his part, President Premadasa needs to relieve the pressure being put on him by the People's Liberation Front (JVP), an extreme Sinhalese nationalist group. The JVP, which says the government betrayed Sri Lanka by letting the Indians in, has brought Sinhalese areas of the country to a standstill with strikes and sabotage.

The president, encouraged by popular support for his stand and ignoring the advice of his wiser ministers, is heading for a collision with India. He has ordered Indian troops on the island to be confined to their barracks

after the end of July. He has told his foreign minister to boycott a meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation to show his displeasure with India. After this Tiger ride, more than just Mr. Premadasa are likely to end up inside.'

● Gabriella Gamini of 'THE INDEPENDENT' (5.7.89) reporting from Colombo on the worsening violence and insurgency wrote, 'Sri Lanka is heading towards anarchy and President Ranasinghe Premadasa seems to have lost control of his fractious country. More than 200 people have been killed in the past two weeks by Sinhalese militants in the south of the country and in the north, fresh violence has broken out between warring Tamil groups.

'In the past few days security forces have rounded up 3,200 suspected members of the Peoples Liberation Front (JVP), a Sinhalese nationalist guerrilla group committed to overthrowing the government.

'Anti-JVP vigilante groups, usually composed of off-duty members of the security forces, have been roaming the organisations's southern strongholds, leaving behind the dismembered bodies of JVP suspects as a warning that the government is 'getting tough'. The JVP have responded by stepping up the attacks against government officials and Sri Lankan security forces.

'But the government has failed to stem the mounting JVP insurgency and a crippling transport strike, called by unions sympathetic to the JVP, which has brought business and industry to a standstill all month'.

● Commenting on the present anarchic conditions prevailing in Sri Lanka, Ajith Samaranayake of the 'SUNDAY ISLAND' (2 July) lamented, 'The most insidious is the paralysis of will. For several weeks now, the people have become accustomed to the paralysis of normal life attendant on the bus strike and the near crippling of ordinary life as a result.

The bizarre had become the norm while all other norms were overturned in a Kafkaesque sub-world of surreal fantasy which had suddenly become the ordinary world of men and women. This creeping paralysis now invades the mind and the will suspending our powers of judgement and making us strike fantastic postures which would have been laughed at if the bizarre had not become the norm and all other norms had been overturned'.

● The moment it was known that India was unwilling to accede to the Sri Lankan President's unilateral deadline of July 29 for the IPKF withdrawal, the Sri Lankan media was replete with stories about the dispute being internationalised and India being arraigned before the United Nations Security Council, the International Court of Justice etc. In the following days one could not read hardly a mention of this threat probably for obvious reasons.

The veteran Sri Lankan journalist, Gamini Weerakoon, writing in 'THE ISLAND' (Colombo, 2 July) said, 'The questions bothering Foreign Ministry officials last week was whether Sri Lanka with a mere 30 missions - some of them being staffed by non-career diplomats not experienced in diplomacy - could match the Indian diplomatic offensive which could be launched through its foreign missions numbering well over a hundred, scattered around the globe.

'The strategy of Sri Lanka attempting to raise the issue at the United Nations and at

Continued on Page 20



## EROS/EDF TO ATTEND PARLIAMENT

Thirteen representatives of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS), which now operates under the name of Eelavar Democratic Front (EDF), will take their oaths in Parliament on July 21 making them the largest group of MPs representing the Tamil community in Parliament, according to one of its leaders Shankar Raji.

Elected in the general elections in February this year, the EDF MPs had been boycotting Parliament until certain conditions including the repeal of the Sixth Amendment of the constitution, which required the taking of an oath of allegiance eschewing separatism. Due to their absence from Parliament for a continuous period of three months all the elected EDF MPs forfeited their seats on June 9. Following a notification from the commissioner of Elections, the EDF nominated new representatives who included some who had previously vacated their seats.

Shankar Raji said that the EDF decision to attend Parliament followed a decision of the Front's General Council which met on July 5 and 6 in Jaffna. The GC was satisfied that the general conditions have been created for them to enter Parliament. He also said that their demand for a ceasefire between the government and the LTTE had been met with the cessation of hostilities recently declared by both parties.

Before their announcement to

attend Parliament, an EDF delegation comprising Shankar Raji, E. Pararajasingham, S Ratnarajah and S Basheer had a meeting with President Premadasa and Defence Secretary General Sepala Attygalle on 7 July at which an assurance was given that the remaining 26 EROS members in detention would be released within the next two weeks.

Although the EDF MPs would have to take the oath of allegiance under the Sixth Amendment when they attend parliament, Shankar Raji added that they would continue to press for its repeal through the parliamentary process and political activity.

Referring to the proposed unilateral declaration of independence in the north and east, Raji said that 'if we are to take EPRLF statements seriously we must conclude that India is serious about UDI. The EPRLF cannot make a UDI and survive without IPKF and Indian support! In regard to the call for IPKF withdrawal, he said that a timetable should be negotiated between Colombo, New Delhi and all Tamil representatives. The time frame should include the full implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord.

The EDF MPs who will enter parliament are, E Pararajasingham, E Ratnasabapathy, S Basheer, S Ratnarajah, S Edward, T Puvanasundararajah, K Selvanayagam, S Sivamaharajah, A Gunaseelan, Azeez Amir and G

Saundararajah.

The joint communique issued on 2 July in the course of the ongoing talks between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Government stated that the LTTE had declared that the 'cessation of hostilities reached between the LTTE and the Government is a historical achievement which was not reached even under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. The credit for this step goes to the President whose sincere and earnest desire to establish peace and ethnic harmony has brought about an end to this long-standing conflict that has ravaged this island for more than a decade'.

The LTTE further stated that 'the procedure for the possession and dispossession of arms can be resolved between the LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka. In this respect they also drew attention of the Ministerial delegation of the massive militarisation process which is taking place now in the North and East. They emphasised that a powerful military machine is being built up in the name of the C V F' and in the dispossession of arms these developments must be given serious attention by the Government'.

Previously, a joint communique dated 22 June stated, 'The LTTE delegation said that it would certainly consider extending the ceasefire to the IPKF if a definite time frame is agreed upon for their withdrawal from the North and East and provided that in the meantime the IPKF ceases armed hostilities against the LTTE'.

come forward for talks giving ear to our appeal but they have also made an announcement that they will stop their conflicts and inimical action with not only various groups of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, but with all communities and groups throughout the country.'

## 'PREMADASA IS SINCERE AND EARNEST' - says LTTE

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## 'THE LTTE HAS MONEY, WEAPONS & SUPPORTERS' says Premadasa

In the course of a lengthy speech at the Gam Udawa Anniversary celebrations on 30 June, referring to the ongoing talks with the LTTE, President Premadasa said:

'What is LTTE? It is undoubtedly a very powerful militant group. It has power not only in our Northern and Eastern Provinces. It has organisations which give it strong support in many countries in the world. The LTTE has money, weapons and also very dedicated supporters. A great effort was made to suppress them through various means, but it could not be done. But today it has not only

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# The Eelam Territory in Global Perspectives

by Sachi Sri Kantha

One of my favourite short stories is that of R K Narayan's 'Dodu'. To provide a summary, an eight year-old Dodu wanted money badly for buying a fancy pen-holder. But no one in his household took his financial worries seriously. Once he heard from his brother that one Dr Iyengar of the Mysore Oriental Library had paid good money for a document written on palmyra leaf. So Dodu took two palmyra leaves and wrote his name in one of them. In the other, he wrote 'The cow is a very tame animal. This is Rama's book' - copied from an elementary grammar book. Then he took the palmyra leaves to Dr. Iyengar and requested money for his finding. Dr. Iyengar burst into a hearty laugh at the childish folly of Dodu and gave all the copper coins he had in his pocket. That was a bounty for Dodu and he filled his pockets with fried groundnuts and felt very happy and contented.

Why do I mention the story of Dodu? When I read many of the news reports, commentaries and editorials written on the Sri Lankan ethnic war by foreign journalists (with the exception of a knowledgeable few like Barbara Crossette of *New York Times*), I'm reminded of the folly of Narayan's hero Dodu. Many foreign commentators (who cannot read, write or speak Sinhala or Tamil) express their opinions with the ignorance shown by Dodu and feel contented by filling their pockets with dollars and pounds sterling. In their reports, Sri Lanka is always qualified with the adjective 'a small island'. One wonders how small is small? I guess that by describing Sri Lanka as small, they dismiss the claim of a separate state of Eelam, as a ridiculous exercise.

The reporters from European nations and the USA are the worst offenders in this regard. For one thing, their knowledge in contemporary geography had got frozen in time as it was 40 years ago. I could label this memory lapse as colonial amnesia. Between 1800 and 1950, many of the European colonial powers (Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Italy and Austria) held territories in Asia, Africa, Central and South America as well as Oceania, which were many fold greater in area than their own lands. Being tuned in this tradition of 'bigger the better mentality', the historians and journalists of the European nations and the USA dwell in a fallacy that one's territory should be larger to make a

successful existence. Now, many Indian journalists are also getting intoxicated with this colonial fantasy.

Is Sri Lanka really a small country? It depends on how one defines the unit for smallness. Sri Lanka, with a total area of 65,500 sq. km (25,290 sq. miles) is larger than Denmark (42,994 sq. km), Switzerland (41,440 sq. km), Netherlands (33,929 sq. km) and Belgium (30,562 sq. km). But one hardly comes across a news report or an article in which these countries are always prefixed with the adjective

'small'. Of the 188 recognized countries and territories, Sri Lanka ranks 112th in size; i.e., there are 76 politically identified countries and territories which are smaller than Sri Lanka in total land area (see Table 1 for a partial list).

If the Northern and Eastern provinces are combined to form Eelam, it will be approximately 18,323 sq. km (7,100 sq. miles). Table 2 shows the land area of the districts and the 1986 population which should contribute to the Eelam territory. The area of Eelam will be only slightly smaller than that of Israel. The western mass media do not harbour any doubt regarding the smallness of Israel. But when it comes to interpreting the Eelam struggle, the persistent comment is always, 'it is a ridiculous demand to carve out a tiny nation from the small Sri Lanka'.

A PARTIAL LIST OF COUNTRIES SMALLER THAN SRI LANKA

Country	Location	Total area (sq.km)	Population (million)	Year of Independence
SRI LANKA	SOUTH ASIA	65,500	15.925	1948
Togo	West Africa	56,980	2.926	1960
Costa Rica	Central America	51,000	2.693	1821
Dominican Rep.	Caribbean	48,692	6.416	
Bhutan	South Asia	46,600	1.417	1949
Denmark	Europe	42,994	5.112	
Switzerland	Europe	41,440	6.500	
Guinea Bissau	West Africa	36,260	0.842	1974
Netherlands	Europe	33,929	14.437	
Taiwan	Southeast Asia	32,260	19.117	1945
Belgium	Europe	30,562	9.872	1830
Lesotho	Southern Africa	30,303	1.474	1966
Solomon Islands	Pacific	29,785	0.263	1978
Albania	Europe	28,749	2.906	1912
Burundi	Central Africa	28,490	4.691	1962
Equatorial Guinea	West Africa	27,972	0.275	1968
Haiti	Caribbean	27,713	5.803	1804
Rwanda	Central Africa	25,900	5.836	1962
Djibouti	East Africa	23,310	0.289	1977
Belize	Central America	22,973	0.158	1981
El Salvador	Central America	21,400	5.100	1821
Israel	Middle East	20,720	4.024	1948
(EELAM)	SOUTH ASIA	18,323	2.339	( ? )

Source: The New Book of World Rankings, edited by G T Kurian, Facts of File Publications, New York, 1984.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN PROVINCES OF SRI LANKA

Districts	Land Area (sq.km)	1986 Population	Population density (person/sq.km)
Jaffna	983.6	825,000	839
Amparai	4318.2	439,000	102
Batticaloa	2686.3	379,000	141
Trincomalee	2630.8	292,000	111
Mannar	1985.2	120,000	60
Vavuniya	1966.9	108,000	55
Kilinochchi	1235.0	90,000	73
Mullaitivu	2516.9	86,000	34
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18,322.9</b>	<b>2,339,000</b>	

Cynics may comment that even if Eelam becomes a reality in political terms, will it survive economically? Not much attention has been focused

on this vital question, even by Eelam loyalists. In a subsequent commentary, I will discuss some aspects of the viability of Eelam.

## N-E PROVINCIAL COUNCIL AGAINST IPKF PULLOUT

The North-East Provincial Council has adopted a resolution condemning the call by President Premadasa for the withdrawal of the IPKF by 29 July. The resolution was supported by the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress members as well.

In moving the resolution, Chief Minister A. Varatharaja Perumal said that so long as the devolution of powers to the North-East PC was not implemented and security of the Tamil speaking people was not guaranteed, the request for the IPKF withdrawal was against the spirit of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. If the IPKF left in the present context, the whole country would be dragged in the path of destruction.

### Continued from Page 16

other fora such as SAARC is to embarrass India and expose its posture as a stout defender of non-aligned principles as an utter sham. But to do that would have to counter the mighty Indian propaganda machine which has been working against Sri Lanka in world capitals since 1983, till July 1987, when the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement was signed. For India, this anti-Sri Lanka propaganda will be a practice drill and only a few innovations will be needed...

'Indian intervention in Sri Lanka had the blessings of many Western countries who openly hailed the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement but did not envisage subsequent events of the presence of a 75,000 strong army... How would big and powerful countries on Sri Lanka's protests of the Indian troops, against its wishes?

So far, as we said last week too, there has been a deafening silence by Western coun-

### Continued from Page 11

as a counter to LTTE. Such a course of action can only bring opprobrium, and discredit an already discredited policy even further.

● To promote disharmony within the Sinhalese leadership and fan opposition to President Premadasa on the premise that if one cannot change his mind, one can try to change him. This would be a cynical approach, totally contrary to everything that India has stood for and the ethical values which we are so fond of preaching to the rest of the world.

On balance, therefore, the only sensible course which India can follow, particularly in the centenary year of Jawaharlal Nehru, would be to hark back to the principles he held so dear and the ideals which he stood for throughout his life, and to proceed in a civilised manner to negotiate a speedy withdrawal of the IPKF. There is a rumour circulating about an argument having been advanced during the

The leader of the opposition from the SLMC, Mr. Cegu Isa Deen said that, as far as the Muslims were concerned, although they were concerned about the IPKF presence, yet they supported the resolution in the belief that it was going to strengthen the security of the Tamil speaking people in the North-Eastern Province. When the N-E Provincial Council got more powers, the Muslims in turn stand to gain. He welcomed the resolution in the interest of the Muslim people.

## 'DRIFT TOWARDS CONFRONTATION MUST BE ARRESTED

While supporting the call for the withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CP) stated that the most urgent task at the present time was to arrest the

tries which hailed the 1987 agreement. What could be presumed by this silence is that most like in the case of the Indo-Nepali dispute.

'It would of course be futile to depend on the socialist bloc of countries, with the Soviet Union having armed India to the teeth and having a virtual defence agreement with India. The Non-aligned countries can be expected to do nothing but follow the traditional locked-jaw posture in the event of India bullying its neighbours...

'Even the possibility of raising the IPKF issue at the Security Council is remote. It is pointed out that for the UN Security Council to take up such an issue, the five Great Powers should agree that the issue be debated. Given the past reactions to the Five Great Powers on the Indo-Sri Lanka dispute - even China is reported to have informed Nepal that it should settle the Indo-Nepal dispute as a bilateral issue - the chances of the Security Council taking up the IPKF for debate are very remote.'

talks in New Delhi in the first week of June with the Sri Lankan foreign secretary that if the IPKF is withdrawn it may not be possible for India's Prime Minister, for security reasons, to attend the next SAARC summit to be held in Colombo this year. One devoutly hopes that this rumour has no basis, not the least because such a development would undermine SAARC, apart from conceding one more year to Pakistan as its chairperson.

The Indo-Sri Lankan accord has been a thankless exercise, ill-conceived and badly executed, and the least one can do is to use the opportunity which has presented itself to cut our losses and part ways in an amicable manner. Even so, it would require much effort and considerable time to restore the confidence and trust which had existed earlier between the two governments and peoples. It will take even longer for the wounds to heal which we have inflicted on our own kith and kin, the ethnic Tamils of Sri Lanka who have been the main sufferers.

further deterioration of the relations between Sri Lanka and India. The statement added:

'Presently there exists a national consensus in support of the withdrawal of the IPKF. Hence, the efforts of all those who wish to ensure the speedy withdrawal of the IPKF should now be concentrated on the adoption of realistic and practical steps towards that end.

'The governments of Sri Lanka and India are moving fast in the direction of a confrontation. Such a confrontational course would be detrimental to the larger interests of both countries and their peoples.

'Needless to say that a confrontation with India would have disastrous effects on Sri Lanka's fragile national unity and its much-threatened territorial integrity. Such a situation would no doubt strengthen fissiparous tendencies in India as well. Only imperialism which seeks to bring the states in the region under its sway and thereby advance its geo-political objectives would gain from a confrontation between the two countries.

'Therefore, arresting the further deterioration of relations between Sri Lanka and India and preventing their drift towards confrontation is an urgent task. The principles of mutual consultation and negotiation which have stood in good stead in the past in the resolution of bilateral problems between the two countries should form the basis of resolving the problems that have presently emerged over the question of the withdrawal of the IPKF.

'Negotiation remains the only realistic and practical way out of the present impasse in the relations between the two countries. We call upon all patriotic and peace-loving people of Sri Lanka to exert all their influence to prevent the emergence of a situation of confrontation between Sri Lanka and India and to press the governments of the two countries to begin negotiations on the contentious issues.'

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## APPRECIATION

## S.R. KANAGANAYAGAM



S R Kanaganayagam, eminent lawyer, politician, social and religious worker, who passed away in Sydney, Australia whilst on holiday, was one of the most colourful personalities of our time. He was blessed with perennial youth and we, his friends, never thought he would ever die. We believed that, with his ready wit and lively humour, he would talk round SITHIRAPUTHIRANAR, the mythological Registrar in the Court of YAMA, as he used to do with the judges before whom he appeared, and his case shelved indefinitely, or get long dates from time to time for the final hearing of his case; but to our great grief, the inevitable has happened and destiny has had its way. The person who radiated so much sunshine into our lives and made light the challenges and trials we faced, has gone, leaving us almost orphaned.

I had the good fortune to enjoy his friendship ever since our school days. I first came to know him when he played in the Jaffna College Soccer team along with Sris-kanda Rajah (later Supreme Court Judge) and I played for Jaffna Hindu College.

He passed the London Inter Arts from Jaffna College, graduated as a Bachelor of Arts from the Ceylon University College, and taught at Ananda College for a few years while attending lectures at the Law College. In due course he qualified as an Advocate, rejected the lure of a practice in the metropolitan Bar and went back to his dear Jaffna to set up practice there. He lived in the First Cross Street with his dear mother and beloved wife, the home where all his children were born, a home so dear to his friends, a hallowed house whose walls will even now be reverberating with his bubbling and irrepressible humour.

In a short time he built up a lucrative practice and became the unquestioned leader of the unofficial Bar. He was in active practice long past the Biblical age or to be more exact, till he had completed four score years. Actually he stopped practising when, owing to the 'war' in Jaffna the Courts ceased to function.

His years sat lightly on him. He was active, alert and spruce. His mind had lost none of its clarity and razor sharp keenness.

It is not for me to speak of his forensic skills. All that I know is he won almost all his cases and was a much sought after Counsel. He appeared in four or five cases in which I was interested - of course gratis in some and for nominal fees in others - and won all of them. The last one was the celebrated Manipay

Maruthady Vinayagar Temple case, in which we sought to make the temple a public trust. It was a very complicated and difficult case as the hereditary managers of the temple had enjoyed the enormous income of the temple for about 150 years. The case went on for four years. He took more than the usual interest in this case as both he and his wife were devout worshippers of Maruthady Vinayagar.

Mr. K Palakidnar, the District Judge of Jaffna (now Justice), who heard the case decided in our favour, delivering a strong judgement, which in layman's parlance, was 'unshakeable' and had a literary flavour through out. Our success was greatly due to the immense work put in by SRK and his Junior M K Subramaniam. The Maruthady case, as it came to be known, set in motion movements to make many Hindu Temples in Jaffna, public trusts. All glory to SRK.

His influence on national politics, educational and social reforms, was considerable and cannot be easily measured. He must be regarded as one of the great forces in the moulding of contemporary public opinion on these matters. His barbed jibes punctured the ego of many a pseudo-nationalist, the fanatical chauvinist and the religious hypocrite. No doubt he, thereby made many enemies; but nothing would restrain him from doing this.

SRK wholeheartedly believed in and worked for a United Sri Lanka. He was in charge of Suntharalingam's election campaigns in Vavuniya and those of Mahadeva in Jaffna. After Mahadeva's death, by an irony of circumstances, he joined the Tamil Congress and was its President at the time of his death.

Personally, I am deeply grateful to him for all the help he gave me when I was Principal of Skanda Varodaya College.

At the height of the Jaffna 'war' he moved to his ancestral country house in Sangarathai, Vaddukkodai - a house set in spacious gardens and in front of a beautiful lake. I had gone to see him there one day, when I heard that he was planning to go to Australia; but he and his wife had gone to a place about 12 miles from there, through shell ravaged country, to attend the wedding of the daughter of one of their good friends, Advocate Kathirgalingam, who had died of a heart attack few years earlier. Such was his loyalty to friends.

Beneath the light heartedness with which he appeared to deal with momentous issues, there was real seriousness of purpose. Along with the late Murugesapillai, Additional Government Agent, Jaffna, he salvaged what was left of the vast endowments of Sir P. Ramanathan to Ramanathan and Parameshvara colleges and placed them on a sound footing. The University of Jaffna, in recognition of his services, made him a member of its Senate. Both of them also got the outer Veethy of the Nallur Kandasamy Temple widened and enlarged by divesting the main road. He was Vice-President and Director of the Hindu Board of Education for many years and was a tower of strength to the great Rajaratnam in establishing over a hundred Hindu schools, in many cases against the opposition of powerful Christian missionary bodies. When these schools were taken over by the State, he devoted much of his time and resources to run the Hindu Orphanage at Tinnevely, almost single handed.

SRK has drunk the brimming cup of life to the full, and to the end, and gone to his rest. Our deepest sympathies are with his dear wife and children and grand children. We are happy to see that he had lived to see his children well placed in life - and one of them

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following in the father's footsteps and shining so well as to be made a President's Counsel early in his career. They will be consoled to some extent to know that we share their grief. SRK lives in their hearts and ours; and to live in hearts one leaves behind, is not to die.

**C Subramaniam**  
Retired Principal,  
Skanda Varodaya College,  
Jaffna

## M.S. Subbulakshmi made National Professor

The Carnatic Music exponent, Mrs M S Subbulakshmi, has been appointed National Research Professor for five years, it was officially announced.

The scheme of National Research Professorship was first instituted in 1949 to distinguish academics and scholars. Others who have thus been honoured so far are: Dr VKRV Rao (economist); Mr Justice D Basu (constitutional expert); Dr CR Rao (mathematician) and Dr A Appadorai (political scientist).

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### MATRIMONIAL

**Doctor** seeks suitable groom for graduate sisters of 30 and 27 years, Tamil Hindus preferred. Reply with charts M 303, c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna Hindu Canadian citizens** seek professionally qualified partner for only daughter, 22 years, fair and good looking, third year university student. Horoscope and details to M 304, c/o Tamil Times.

**Brother** seeks partner for sister, 38, living in Jaffna. For important details Telephone 01-769 4620.

**Jaffna Roman Catholic parents** seek partner for son, 29, engineering student in Norway. Details to M 305, c/o Tamil Times.

**From Canada, Jaffna Hindu brother** seeks sincere, reasonable, professional, good looking bridegroom, 35-41, for sister, bank employee, good looking, landed immigrant, religion immaterial. Please reply with photo, M306, c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna parent** seeks partner for daughter, 37, innocent divorcee, British citizen, owning flat, car. Widower, divorcee welcome. Religion immaterial. M 308, c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna Hindu mother** seeks tall, fair, slim, pleasant, qualified bride under 33 for tall, handsome son, 39, internationally recognised professional, holding master's degree in industrial design, working reputed firms USA and other countries, owns house States, commercial land, Jaffna. Horoscope details, photo essential. Reply 10 Ewhurst Court, Phipps Bridge Road, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 3PL, U. K.

**Jaffna Tamil Hindu parents** seek partner for their daughter, 22 years, permanent resident in U. S. and final year Business Administration student. Reply M 309, c/o Tamil Times.

**Brother** seeks partner for Jaffna Hindu brother, 35 years, technically qualified, presently in West Germany, willing migrate Canada, Australia. Horoscope and details to Santhakumar, 1251 King Street West, Apt. 1111, Toronto, Ontario M6K 1G7, Canada.

### WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage

**Sivakumarran (Rajan)** son of Mr. S. Sivapiragasam, 'Shivadcharam', Urumpirai East, Sri Lanka and the late Mrs Sivapiragasam and **Navamany** daughter of the late Mr Murugesu and Mrs N. Murugesu, 55a Arasady Road, Jaffna on 9.7.89 at Shree Ghanapathy Temple, London SW19.

**Jeyaraj** son of Mr. & Mrs. K. Gnanasoorian, 72 King Edward Road, London E17 and **Vadivalaghampikai (Alaki)** daughter of Mr. & Mrs. S. Ponnampalam, Flat 3, 280-286 High Road, London NW10 on 15.7.89 at Highgate Sri Murugan Temple, London N6.

## OBITUARIES



**Kanapathillai Sundrampillai (89)** Retired Principal of Pallai Maha Vidyalaya, beloved husband of Thillainayaki, father of Deivendran, Premala, Vimala, Yogendran, Siva Shankar, Sivashanthini, Siva Sundar and Kirubahar; father-in-law of Kanaganayaki, Shanmugam, Raveendran and Rohini; grand father of Nirushan, Nilanth, Thuvaraga and Nisath; favourite uncle of Jimmy Kulendran passed away peacefully in London on 7.6.89 - 70 Daneville Road, Camberwell, London SE5.



**Anapayan (21)** son of Mr M. Ambikaipahan (S.L.T.B., Sri Lanka) & Mrs. Ambikaipahan, brother of Pahalavan and Lohini passed away under tragic circumstances on 2.4.89. His remains were cremated at the City of London crematorium, London E12 on 17.7.89 - 4A Burges Road, London E6 2BW Tel:01- 470 7883.

### Building Project Of U.K. Sangam



The Saiva Munnetta Sangam (U.K.) in its 12th year of activities launched a building project on 2.7.89 at the Central Hall, Ilford, Essex. The building is to house the Sangam and facilitate its activities viz. the running of a school to teach children Tamil language and Hindu religion, music and dancing. The building will cater to the pressing need for a hall to conduct weddings, have parties and generally as a meeting place for members of the community. The meeting was well attended and was presided over by the president Mr. C. Sithamparapillai. The high priests of the local

temples and Sivashri Naguleswara Kurukkal, high priest of Keerimalai Shivan Temple, Sri Lanka, on a visit to the country offered their blessings. The details of the project were announced by Mr. S. Ananda Thiyagar, secretary and Mr. V.R. Ramanathan, treasurer. (For details telephone 0268 766624) Mr. A.T.S. Ratnasingham inaugurated the fund. £15,000 of the £150,000 which is the estimated cost of the project was pledged at the meeting. Dr V. Balasegaram, a past president proposed a vote of thanks.

### FORTHCOMING EVENTS

**July 30 10.00 a.m.** Chariot (Therr) festival at the London Sri Murugan Temple, 78 Church Road, London E12 followed by Bharatha Natyam recital by Vanathi Nithiananthan from 3.00 to 5.00 p.m.

**August 12 6.30 p.m.** Bond & Co (London) presents Musical Nite (Music, Dance, & Comedy at Westminster Central Hall, Storey's Gate, London SW1. For Details Tel: 01-808 8125.

**August 19 6 p.m.** A.G.M. & Dinner, Henri-cians, U.K. (St. Henrys College, Ilavalai O.B.A.) at The Hook Community Centre, Hook Road, Chessington. For details Tel:

Afford 01-441 1713 or Edwin Joseph 01-904 9017.

**At Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. Tel: 01-381 3036 4608.**

**August 5 6.30 p.m.** Sitar Recital by Balu Srivastava accompanied by Shiv Shan-Ray.

**August 6 6.30 p.m.** Bharata Natyam Jalaja Kumar.

**August 16 6.30 p.m.** Indian Independence Day celebrations with Folk Dances & Greetings.



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