

# Tamil TIMES

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## TAKING CHARGE IN THE EAST



Mr Mahendrarajah (Mahathaya),  
Leader of PFLT (LTTE's Political Wing)

● Donors called  
to probe Lanka's  
Rights Accord

● 4700 MISSING  
PERSONS

● CALL FOR UN  
PEACE FORCE

## ● LTTE-SLMC IN COLLISION

● Liberation & Intellectual Freedom

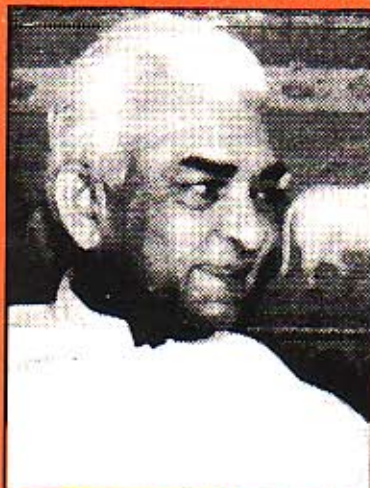
● Sri Lanka's Place in Savagery

● KARUNANIDHI'S DILEMMA

● JOBS ON ETHNIC RATIO

● In Defence of Amnesty  
International

"AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL  
IS A TERRORIST ORGANISATION"



Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne

"PROBE SRI LANKA'S  
HUMAN RIGHTS"



Leader of the Opposition,  
Mrs S. Bandaranaike

NINTH YEAR OF UNINTERRUPTED PUBLICATION



# தமிழீழ ஆய்வு நிறுவனம்

## RESEARCH ORGANISATION OF TAMIL EELAM

### SEMINAR

#### RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT: Grass roots initiatives in Tamil Eelam 24th and 25th March 1990

The objective of this seminar is to identify opportunities for maximising the peoples' participation in the socio economic development of Tamil Eelam.

It will examine the role of science and technology in meeting the aspirations of the Tamil Nation for undertaking meaningful and sustainable development taking into account the cultural history and prevailing political reality in the Tamil homeland.

### PAPERS

#### INEQUALITY AND INJUSTICE IN DEVELOPMENT: THE REALITY

**Mr. M. Sri Shanmugarajah**, Chairman, Dry Zone Development Foundation, Sri Lanka. (Formerly Secretary to the Ministry of Finance; Secretary, Development & Planning, North-East Provincial Government).

#### VIALE INDIGENOUS TECHNOLOGIES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL EELAM

**Prof. Kopan Mahadeva**, M.Sc., Ph.D., C.Eng., F.I. Prod.E. Visiting Professor, Birmingham Polytechnic (Formerly P.W.D. Executive Engineer and Director of UNDP/ILO's Small Industries Service Institute of Sri Lanka; Chairman and Executive Director of MITE Organisation, Sri Lanka).

#### BEYOND RELIEF TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

**Dr. Ponna Wignaraja**, Consultant on Developments on South Asia, United Nations University. (Formerly Advisor with World Bank and the United Nations).

#### COOPERATIVE/COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL EELAM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SMALL INDUSTRIES.

**Mr. K. Paramothayan**, Educationist whose speciality is Cooperative / Community Education and Development.

#### COMMUNITY BASED LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT

**Dr. C. Perumal Pillai**, D.V.M., F.R.C.V.S., Ph.D., Head of Animal Industry Consulting Services, Sri Lanka. (Formerly Head of Food & Agricultural Organisation (FAO) Regional Office, South-East Asia & Pacific, Bangkok).

#### DEVELOPMENT OF A VIALE DAIRY NEEDS FOR RADICAL APPROACH

**Dr. R. Narendran**, M.Sc., Ph.D. Herd & Crop Manager, Alothman Agricultural Establishment. (Formerly Associate Professor, Dept. of Animal Sciences, King Faisal University, Saudi Arabia., Lecturer, Faculty of Veterinary Science, University of Peradeniya).

#### EXPLOITATION OF SEaweEDS OF ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF COASTAL AREAS OF NORTH & EAST OF SRI LANKA

**Prof. M. Durairatnam**, B.Sc., M.Sc., D.Sc., C.Biol., F.I., Biol., Scientific Adviser, International Foundation for Science, Sweden; Fellow, Marine Biological Assoc., India; Ad Hoc Assessor, National Council for Research & Development Brazil. (Formerly Senior Research Officer (Marine Botany), Dept. of Fisheries, Sri Lanka; Director of Research & Development, Seaweeds Industry, Sri Lanka).

#### HEALTH OF THE TAMIL AREAS IN SRI LANKA: SOME ISSUES & IDEAS

**Prof. C. Sivagnanasundram** M.B.B.S.(Cey.), Ph.D (Lon.), D.Ph. (Lon.), (Dean Faculty of Medicine, University of Jaffna, Dept. Professor Community Medicine)

#### AN ANALYTICAL VIEW ON THE HEALTH DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING FOR OUR FUTURE NATION

**Dr. S.P.R. Sermaran**. Formerly attached to the Jaffna Teaching and General Hospital and now doing an M.Sc. in Health Information Science for the Health Management and Health Planning Services at the school of Postgraduate Medicine in the University of Warwick-U.K.

#### HEALTH CARE TEAM FOR VILLAGES

**Dr. S. Shanmugadasan**. General Practitioner, Secretary for Administration & Regional coordination MIOT.

#### FISHERIES DEVELOPMENT IN TAMIL EELAM

**Mr. K. Sivarajah**. Fisheries Advisor, Norwegian Directorate of Fisheries

#### FREE MARKET OR COOPERATIVES - WAY FORWARD FOR EELAM

**Mr. K. Manoranjan** A.C.A., A.C.M.A., C.P.A.

Any one who wishes to participate in the seminar is requested to send his/her name and address along with a cheque for £25 (cheque should be made payable to R.O.O.T.) being registration fee to:-

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## IN DEFENCE OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

*Amnesty International was recently maligned and smeared with baseless charges in the most despicable way by two Sri Lankan Cabinet Ministers. Foreign Affairs Minister and State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne, told a news conference on 18 January, 'Amnesty International is a terrorist movement. There are terrorist sympathisers as well as terrorists in the AI. Amnesty International is another terrorist organisation. You can say that I said that'. Industries Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe said at the same conference, 'We have reason to believe that funds of Amnesty International were used for propaganda and legal work of the JVP and its associate groups'.*

*Amnesty International promptly refuted the charges: 'Amnesty International stands for human rights, not terror. We do not support or fund the activities of opposition groups anywhere in the world. Amnesty had provided relief assistance to victims of human rights violations in Sri Lanka for many years. Support for legal assistance in human rights cases has nothing to do with funding "terrorism".'*

*AI need not have bothered to refute the utterly contemptible comments by the Ministers concerned. The reputation of the AI for its abiding commitment to defend and promote human rights in all countries is acknowledged internationally. Its impartial reports produced with meticulous care for accuracy are regarded as authoritative pronouncements on the real human rights situation in any country. By attacking the AI, the Ministers had only displayed their total lack of concern for human rights which is amply demonstrated by the thousands of people arbitrarily and brutally killed both by members of the country's security forces and pro-government death squads.*

*Not content with the disreputable attacks on the AI, the two Ministers cast aspersions on the Bar Association of Sri Lanka alleging that the funds granted to it by the AI had been channelled to 'subversives'. The Association summarily rejected the allegation stating, 'that the allegation that its funds have been channelled to subversives is utterly baseless and unfounded. The Bar Association opposes and condemns terrorism. To provide legal*

*assistance for persons pursuing legal remedies for the alleged violation of constitutionally guaranteed human rights is not to support terrorism, but on the contrary to seek to uphold the rule of law...The Association received assistance from the governments of Australia and Canada and Amnesty International for this purpose...The statement made by Mr. Wijeratne is not only utterly false, but derogatory of the Association and its members and is calculated to undermine the standing of an institution engaged in the furtherance of the administration of justice'. It also pointed out that the members of the Association included all judges not excluding those of the Supreme Court and the Attorney General (who incidentally is heading the Sri Lankan government's delegation attending the current sessions of the Human Rights Commission of the UN).*

*The present government is presiding over an unprecedented level of human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The daily death toll resulting from violence is by far the highest for any country in the world. Beheaded bodies of persons lying on roadsides and floating in rivers are a familiar spectacle. A considerable number of persons have 'disappeared' after being kidnapped from their homes by personnel who go about their diabolical deeds travelling in unmarked vehicles. Several thousands are held in the island's many detention camps where torture is systematically practised. Members of the security forces and police are empowered under emergency regulations to dispose of bodies without inquest or post-mortem. It was only the other day that the Leader of the Opposition asserted that over a thousand members of her party have been killed under the guise of confronting 'subversives'. She also claimed that death squads trained in army camps were being sent round the country with lists containing members of opposition parties earmarked to be murdered. In short, unmitigated state terrorism reigns supreme under the present government. It is no wonder, therefore, that Ministers of the government are engaged in a malevolent campaign of targeting for attack human rights organisations with unimpeachable reputation like Amnesty International.*

## 'DONORS MUST PROBE LANKA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD', Says Mrs. B.

Opposition leader Mrs. S. Bandaranaike, called upon governments of aid-giving countries to send teams to study the record of human rights violations and erosion of democracy in Sri Lanka.

'This must be done before it is too late. Probably they can bring some pressure on the government', Mrs. Bandaranaike told a meeting of the Foreign Correspondents' Association.

Despite government denials, Mrs. Bandaranaike repeated allegations that the army had trained death squads and deployed them around the country to eliminate opposition politicians and party officials, and that the government was planning to set-up a one-party dictatorship and was sponsoring death squads to murder opposition politicians.

'The quest for a one-party state goes on', she added.

Addressing a press conference on 24 January, Mrs. Bandaranaike revealed that over a thousand members and supporters of her party, the SLFP, had been reported missing during the past one year and among the 7000 persons now in detention there were a substantial number who belonged to or supported her party. Included among the missing persons were six of her witnesses in the case that was being heard before the Supreme Court challenging the validity of the election of R. Premadasa as President. Some other witnesses had declined to give evidence because of threats and intimidation.

The SLFP leader noted that more than 15,000 persons had been killed during 1989 alone. Nobody had the actual figure. Even the government might not have the actual number killed as people were being slain and their bodies burnt everywhere.

Mrs. Bandaranaike also said that her party had written to all human rights organisations and to the Pope asking them to bring pressure on the government to stop the on-going campaign of killings.

## KILLING OF PC MEMBERS CONDEMNED

The murders of two North-East Provincial Council Members, George Thambirajah and Chelliah Ganesamoorthy have been condemned by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and Nava Sama Samaja Party.

The CP statement, in condemning the assassinations by the LTTE, stated

that these murders showed that little credence can be placed in the LTTE's assurances of its readiness to enter the democratic process.

'These killings follow hard on the declaration by the LTTE that it will not allow members of other Tamil organisations who do not agree with its aims and policies to function. . . There is little doubt that the forces behind such assassinations have been emboldened, not merely by the government's conspicuous failure to implement its assurance to probe Mr. A. Amirthalingam's (TULF leader) murder, but also by the policy of cooperation, assistance and patronage that the government now pursues towards the LTTE', the CP statement added.

The NSSP statement stated that the LTTE claimed that under their control free and fair elections would be held. However killings of rival political leaders with the support of the UNP regime showed that such democracy would never prevail under an LTTE regime.

## CRM CALLS FOR UN FORCE FOR N-E

The Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka has urged the government to explore the possibility of deploying a United Nations Peace Keeping Force and to ensure a strong presence of the International Committee of the Red Cross in North-East Sri Lanka following the withdrawal of the IPKF.

A CRM statement released on 12 January, dealing with the period from mid November to the end of 1989, expressed grave concern at continuing lawlessness in the south of the island, including a large number of killings attributed to various agencies. The intense suffering undergone by families searching for missing persons has been highlighted.

CRM also urged an end to unacknowledged detentions, effective action against vigilante groups and efforts to identify dead bodies. It also asked for an independent inquiry into the recent death of arrested JVP leaders, and urged restoration of the normal law relating to inquests in respects of all deaths in custody and following army or police operations.

It was stated that with the capture and death of leaders of a violent opposition group in mid-November, a return to normalcy in the south was imminent. Subsequent events, however, have so far belied such prophecy. Anti-government violence has continued. The violence of the forces of the State, and pro-State vigilante groups, has not abated. The horrific news of 174 dead bodies being found in the Hambantota district on one day is a chilling example, the CRM statement said.

The CRM was aware that the re-

sponsibility of the authorities to enforce law and order in this situation remained a difficult and onerous one. CRM was also conscious of the extreme stresses and provocations that the security forces have been subjected to. Nevertheless, the CRM would urge yet again the need for the State to adhere to basic international and humanitarian norms in discharging its responsibilities to society. Such adherence was a vital element in distinguishing the security forces from their adversaries. If the State acted or was popularly believed to act with the same degree of contempt for law and human values as its opponents, then it undermined its own moral, ethical and legal basis, the statement added.

## SRI LANKA'S EXPORTS INCREASE

Exports for the first half of 1989 stood at 562 million in SDR terms showing an increase by 5 percent compared to SDR 546 million in the corresponding period of 1988, according to the recent Central Bank's economic bulletin.

The growth was mainly brought in by industrial exports which increased 19 percent completely off-setting the fall of 10 percent in earnings from agricultural exports. Industrial exports which increased from SDR 264 million to SDR 314 million was mainly due to textile and garments exports which increased by 17 percent.

A major blow to the export earnings came from the tea sector which recorded a drop of 17 percent, from SDR 147 million to SDR 121 million. Petroleum products fared poorly during the period but miscellaneous manufacturing products recorded a sharp increase of 39 percent from SDR 67 million to SDR 93 million.

A salient feature in the export sector in Sri Lanka during the first half of 1989 was the structural change that took place pushing the share of industrial exports further in total export earning.

In the first half of 1988 agricultural exports accounted for 43 percent of the total exports while the manufacturing exports amounted to 48 percent. In the same period of 1989 the share of agricultural exports fell to 37 percent while the manufacturing exports rose to 55 percent

## A TAMIL EELAM VOICE IN THE U.N.O.

by Krishna Vaikunthavasan  
WITH A HISTORIC FOREWORD  
BY S. SIVANAYAGAM  
FOUNDER - EDITOR,  
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## RS.89 MILLION FOR NORTH-EAST REHABILITATION

A programme to rehabilitate the affected youths and young widows in the North-Eastern Province has been drawn up by the Ministry of Rehabilitation of the North-East Provincial Council.

Approximately 2500 youths and widows are expected to benefit from this scheme which is estimated to cost Rs.98 million and programmed to be implemented during 1990-1992.

The programme is designed to provide employment through income-generating micro projects to the affected youths and young widows in the Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Amparai districts.

The project also has an education and training component to provide short-term and long-term specialised vocational training for about 1545 youths to enable them to increase the level of worthwhile economically viable employment or to increase productivity in sectors in which they are employed.

Provision has also been made in this project to offer scholarships up to a maximum of 150 youths in grade 8 or 9 whose studies were interrupted by disturbances, to successfully complete their GCE 'O' Level studies. It also provides for men and women to undertake Diploma and Certificate level courses at recognised centres of advanced technical education in the country.

## 'INDIA, AN OBSTACLE TO FREEDOM STRUGGLE

'The Indian government has always proved an obstacle to the freedom struggle of the Tamils, and now the people were able to distinguish between the real freedom fighters and the traitors'. Yogaratnam Yogi, Secretary General of the Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT) said at the party's first public meeting held on 15 January at Kilinochchi in northern Sri Lanka. An estimated 20,000 people attended the meeting.

Yogi charged the Indian government with supplying arms to the Tamil National Army to destroy the LTTE and not to protect the Tamils. The talks between the PFLT and the Sri Lankan government would continue, he added.

Poet Kasi Anandan, who also spoke at the meeting said that any alien force could take over Tamil territory but they could not reign over it. They could destroy the Tamil people, but they could not conquer them. Prabhakaran

had taught this lesson to India. 'Our struggle did not end with the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. The struggle was continuing. This is only a temporary halt. This is what I said then and what I am repeating now. Our forming a political party should not be construed as the culmination of our freedom struggle. Our struggle will not end till the people realise that they are not slaves any more but a free people', he added.

Meanwhile, in an interview reported in 'The Island' on 16 January, Mr. Karikalan, leader of the LTTE in the eastern Batticaloa-Amparai districts said that the possibilities of any future armed confrontation with forces of the Sri Lankan government could be ruled out since the PFLT, the LTTE's political wing, was confident of a positive outcome from the talks with the government.

On the contrary, the LTTE would maintain its impetus towards the elimination of Tamil organisations which were bent on impeding the aspirations of the LTTE and the Tamil masses, Karikalan said.

The question of what is to be done with the LTTE's large inventory of arms would also be a subject of discussion with the government when the appropriate time arose. While the LTTE welcomed the participation of all shades of Tamil political opinion at the next North-East Provincial Council elections, it was doubtful whether those organisations which were bent on eliminating the LTTE would contest such an election, Mr. Kalikalan added.

## RABIES KILLED 183 IN SEVEN MONTHS

183 people were killed as a result of rabies between May and December last year in Sri Lanka, and most of them were due to an acute shortage of anti-rabies vaccine.

The vaccine was imported as well as locally produced by the Medical Research Institute (MRI) until 1987 when local production was stopped. The reason adduced was that a World Health Organisation (WHO) team which visited the country in 1987 had advised against the use of two kinds of vaccine.

From 1987 only vaccine imported by the Health Ministry from two firms based in West Germany and France were available for use. The imported vaccine cost Rs.1000 compared with the local product which cost just Rs.15.

Following a reversal of policy and directive from the Health Ministry, MRI resumed local production in September 1989, and the first batch of vaccine numbering 13,000 was completed this year.

## UNION PROTESTS AGAINST 'ENSLAVEMENT' UNDER EMERGENCY RULE

'While we are completely opposed to and call for the revocation of all emergency regulations providing for the restoration or suppression of democratic rights such as the right of public meeting and procession, publication, the right to strike, we make specific reference to Regulation 10 under which you have empowered a number of military and police officers 'to require any person to do any work or render any personal services in or in connection with the national security or the maintenance of essential services'. We are of the view that this is tantamount to the enslavement of individuals by their subjection to the dictates of army and police officers as is now the case in various establishments declared 'essential services' such as 'ports and banks', states a letter addressed to President Premadasa by the Ceylon Mercantile, Industrial and General Workers Union.

The protest letter signed by the Union's General Secretary, Mr. Bala Tampoe, further states, 'Whatever considerations of 'National Security' or the maintenance of what you declared to be 'Essential Services' may have contributed to your decision to resort to the use of emergency Regulations, once more on 20 June 1989, we submit that there is no justification whatsoever for your having authorised the requisitioning of personal services by army and police officers in any establishment that is not a police or military establishment, as you have done under Regulation No.10. We request you, therefore, to revoke this Regulation also'.

Calling for the revocation of Emergency Regulation 55FF, the Union's letter states that this Regulation enabled the burial or cremation of dead bodies by 'any police officer of a rank not below that of Assistant Superintendent of police or any other officer or person authorised by him in that behalf' without having to comply with other provisions of the emergency regulations and any other written law relating to inquest of death or to burial or cremation.

'Neither you nor any other spokesman of your government has explained to the people of this country why any dead body should be permitted to be disposed of by any police, military or other person, in such a manner that there will be no way of the identity of the dead person being judicially established thereafter, or the cause of death, or by whom and in what circumstances the death was caused', the letter added.



# Taming of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress?

*Rita Sebastian From Colombo*

On November 5 last year when LTTE cadres stormed two Tamil National Army (TNA) camps in eastern Amparai killing twentyseven TNA personnel and taking another one hundred and forty hostage, together with five truck loads of sophisticated weaponry, the stage was set for what was to follow.

It was only a fortnight earlier that Amparai had seen the last of the Indian troops withdraw, and the much-publicised take-over of the law and order machinery by the Sri Lankan police and the Citizens Volunteer Force (CVF) turn out to be a mere cosmetic exercise as events proved.

The TNA raring to go, soon attacked four Sri Lankan police stations in the district, and 41 Muslim CVF were brutally massacred after being disarmed.

Batticaloa was to 'explode' next, as soon as the IPKF withdrew, with an armed confrontation between the LTTE and the TNA. The casualty figure was said to be over eighty dead although both sides played down the numbers as the LTTE drove the remaining TNA cadres into the surrounding jungles.

De-induction from Mannar, Mullaitivu, Killinochi and Vavuniya followed in quick succession and the Tigers 'moved in' but not before the fighting, more bitter and bloody than before, took heavy toll of life.

Although the LTTE has been able to take control of the central Wanni sector, and the north, including parts of the Jaffna peninsula from where the IPKF has withdrawn, it is in the Amparai and Batticaloa districts, with its high concentration of Muslims that they have found it hard going to stamp their authority.

All Tamil groups have, in recent times, included the Muslims in their deliberations by using the broad definition of 'Tamil speaking people'. A number of Muslim youth have been recruited to their ranks to give credence to this, and also ensure Muslim support. Even if a minority of Muslims go along with the idea that language can be the unifying force between the two communities, the majority are fiercely protective of their distinct ethnic identity, and refuse to be assimilated by another minority.

The Sri Lanka Muslim Congress of Mr. M.H.M. Ashroff is therefore in no mood to give into Tiger dominance. The LTTE, peeved at the SLMC for having contested the North-East Provincial Elections, and also for having a working arrangement with the

EPRLF, have come up with a string of allegations against them, the main being of SLMC collaboration with RAW, securing arms from the TNA and setting up its own militia with IPKF assistance.

Radical SLMC activists are accused of belonging to the Jihad, initially funded by two east European countries, an allegation denied by the SLMC.

Tension that had been building up these past weeks, with charges and counter charges of abductions, extortions and killings, suddenly erupted January end with the shooting of SLMC Provincial Councillor Y. Munsoor by the LTTE in Samanthurai. The late Mr. Munsoor reported to have sustained a leg wound, later succumbed to his injuries. A day later the LTTE was accused of having gone on an abduction spree. Sealing off Kalmunai town, LTTE cadres with automatic weapons had rounded up over a hundred Muslims, bundled them into vehicles, forcibly requisitioned, and removed them to an undisclosed destination. Appeals to the police, by those who escaped the LTTE dragnet brought no response. This has been a continuing refrain of civilians trapped between the militants in the north-east region. Understandably the police keep a safe distance, helpless pawns in the power-struggle in the region.

Armed clashes between the LTTE and the SLMC, and a charge by the SLMC that the LTTE had banned them from any political activity in the region, led to a joint appeal by fourteen political parties and groups to President Premadasa to intervene and arrest a fast deteriorating law and order situation.

At a hastily summoned meeting by chief government negotiator, Minister of Higher Education and Technology A.C.S. Hammed, at which LTTE theoretician Dr Anton Balasingham and General Secretary of the LTTE's political party, Yogaratnam Yogi were present a decision was taken to call a halt to offensive action by the parties to the conflict.

This was followed by SLMC leader Ashroff leading a six member delegation of party members to meet with President Premadasa. Present were also State Minister for Defence Ranjan Wijeratne and Defence Secretary Sepala Attygalle.

At the meeting, Ashroff strongly condemned what he described as the terror campaign of the LTTE in the eastern districts. President Premadasa

assured the delegation that 'all meaningful steps' would be taken to ensure that law and order was maintained in the districts by the police, and no group would be allowed to carry arms. Whether this is a workable solution is yet to be seen.

The SLMC, while denying LTTE allegations of it using violence to prevent the LTTE from campaigning among the Muslims, and reiterating its commitment to non-violence and democratic politics charged the LTTE of communal violence before, and after the signing of the controversial July 1987 Indo-Lanka accord and of killing hundreds of Muslims in Kalmunai and Kattankudy.

Today, according to Ashroff, about a thousand Muslim youth have fled from these two districts and sought refuge in Colombo. Meanwhile the SLMC has sought to internationalise, what it calls the tragic situation in which the Muslims are placed in the eastern province, by sending a two-man delegation to Muslim countries to gain support for its cause.

As political observers see it, leader Ashroff's attempts to get assistance from Muslim countries, in its conflict with the LTTE could well lead to a polarisation of the Muslim and Hindu communities in the north-east region.

If the referendum to decide whether the East would opt to remain in the temporarily merged north-east provinces or de-link from the north, is held as scheduled on June 24, then it is in Tamil interests to woo the Muslims, not alienate them.

In the face of the widening rift between the two communities it is hardly likely that the SLMC will vote to be dominated by the LTTE. The LTTE is not unmindful of the fact that rather than seek to subdue another ethnic minority, it will have to forge an alliance that will help it gain control of what it considers the traditional homelands of the Tamil speaking people. The holding of a referendum however is not on the LTTE agenda. They feel very strongly that the temporary merger of the two provinces has become permanent. Whether the government will concede this is yet to be seen.

As the LTTE leadership, back in Colombo continue their dialogue with the government making dissolution of the North-East Provincial Council and the holding of fresh elections a priority issue, Chief Minister Varatharajah Perumal has had a long stay in India, talking to the leadership, and desperately trying to make India review the March 31 withdrawal schedule.

India still continuing to voice her concerns on the 'safety and security of the Tamils' is however not likely to change her mind about troop withdrawal.

**Continued On Page 7**



## COLOMBO NEWSLETTER

by Chithra

THE LTTE has continued to consolidate its hold in the Tamil areas of the north and east as the IPKF continued to close down its several camps in an obvious reflection of New Delhi's commitment to complete its withdrawal by 31 March. The LTTE's military dominance in the northern Jaffna peninsula was reasserted without the much feared bloodletting as its rival Tamil militant groups with their armed local militias made a hasty retreat from their positions. It was apparent that many of the leaders of these groups had crossed over to neighbouring south India even as the IPKF was closing down their camps.

What is left in the northern sector is a nominal presence of the IPKF in Jaffna with its remaining personnel and equipment moved to the Palali airfield camp. In the eastern sector, the IPKF presence is mainly concentrated within the confines of the Trincomalee town and the port. It is confidently predicted even in LTTE circles that the IPKF will have completely moved out of the Jaffna peninsula before the end of February. The three-week visit by Chief Minister Varatharaja Perumal and the many meetings and discussions he held in Madras and Delhi with Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, senior Ministers in New Delhi and some opposition leaders did not appear to have had the intended effect of slowing down the process of IPKF withdrawal. On his return, the Chief Minister would have found that even his movements within his administrative domain of the North-East were severely restricted by the LTTE's near total control in many areas.

Events unfolded badly for the EPRLF dominated North-East Provincial Council administration which appears to have virtually collapsed with the menacing military advance by the Tigers. The feeble attempt at resistance with the hastily conscripted 'Tamil National Army' comprising ill-trained boy-soldiers turned out to be

### Continued From Page 6

Crucial to the issue of course is what is going to happen not only to the TNA personnel riding on the backs of the Indian troops, but also to the cadres of other groups fleeing with the withdrawing Indian army.

Tamil Nadu is already geared to accepting refugees from the island but not in the same spirit it did the refugees after the July 1983 communal conflagration.

The question that is being asked now is whether any future poll in the north-east region will see rival parties in the fray, or just a single party having its own way?

an absolute fiasco. Five Provincial Council members have already been gunned down. The Premadasa government has not disguised its desire to bring down the beleaguered North-East administration. Besides, the LTTE has been allowed a free hand and given the green light to deal with their Tamil rivals the way the LTTE thought fit. The predictions are that once the IPKF withdrawal is complete, the Provincial Council will be uncereemoniously dissolved to enable fresh elections to be held thereafter.

The many misdemeanours, to put it mildly, of the IPKF and the EPRLF and its allied groups had already made them so unpopular particularly among northern Tamils that the arrival of the LTTE in the scene would appear to have been popularly welcomed. The LTTE held many public meetings in several places and they were well attended although its supreme commander and leader V. Prabhakaran is yet to emerge from his hideout in the northern jungles to make a public appearance. Although currency is continuing to be given to previous reports that he is already dead or seriously wounded, other LTTE leaders assure that Prabhakaran will make his appearance once the security situation is seen to be conducive.

In its march towards military and political dominance in the North-East, the LTTE had to confront opposition from the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress in the multi-ethnic districts of Batticaloa and Amparai where the SLMC was presumed to have considerable support among the muslim population. Charges and counter-charges of killing and kidnapping were traded between the two parties. The LTTE was accused of abducting about a dozen Muslim businessmen who resisted its alleged demands for large financial contributions and killing a SLMC Provincial Council member, M.P. Munsoor at Sammanthurai. The SLMC leader M.H.M. Ashraff told parliament on 30 January that the LTTE had warned his party to halt its political activities and warned that a ban on the activities of other parties like the UNP and SLFP was imminent. Heavily armed LTTE cadres moved about claiming that they were responsible for the law and order situation in the area, and that they were walking into mosques and ordering trustees to collect taxes imposed by the LTTE. 'Why is it that the police are inactive, speechless and motionless in the face of the brazen intimidation and threat to the Muslim community by the LTTE. The government must remember that it is the LTTE's position that not only the SLMC but no other political party could represent the interests of the Tamil speaking people. Is this the basis on which the government is continuing talks with the LTTE?', Mr Ashraff asked. He also alleged that over one

hundred leading members of the SLMC, including its Deputy Chairman, U.L.M. Mohideen, in the eastern province had resigned from the Congress because of threats from the LTTE and accused it of forcing Muslims to join it to create the image that it represented the Tamils and Muslims when in fact it did not represent the Muslims.

On the morning of 30 January, an estimated 200 heavily armed LTTE cadres in camouflage uniforms descended on Kalmunai arriving in three state-run buses and a private coach, some of whom surrounded the police station and the army camp while the others sealed off the Kalmunai town and Kathankudy village. They carried out a house to house search operation in the course of which scores of young muslims were taken into 'custody' and removed to some undisclosed destination. The LTTE men came on the following day and ringed the Kalmunai town again. Through loud-hailers, announcements were made calling upon 'jihad militants' (who according to the LTTE constitute the armed wing of the SLMC) to surrender their weapons and give themselves up within 48 hours and again undertook a house to house search operation. S. Karikalan, the Batticaloa leader of the LTTE/PFLT was reported as having confirmed that they had launched a series of search operations following the killing of some muslim supporters of the LTTE.

The LTTE's response to the SLMC's accusations was contained in a statement issued on 31 January. Rejecting the allegation that the LTTE had banned political activities by the SLMC, it said, 'this is a malicious lie to discredit the image of our organisation. It is the armed militia of the SLMC which is utilising violence to prevent our political party from campaigning among Muslim people'. The statement listed the following as examples: 'On 3.1.90 our supporter Mr. Atham Baba was shot dead by the SLMC's armed militia at Kalmunai and his body was not handed over to his family; On

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*The University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna) have produced their third report covering the period January to August 1989. Its contents are thorough and well researched. Dealing with violations committed by state and non-state entities, the report is characteristically forthright just as the previous two reports were. Reproduced on this page is the preface to their third report.*

## Liberation and Intellectual Freedom

The production of the current report (third in a series), was rudely interrupted by the assassination of Dr. Rajini Thirunagama, who played a leading role in the work of University Teachers for Human Rights, Jaffna (UTHR). The appendix is devoted to describing some aspects of her life and work. We do not wish to raise the question of who did the deed at this stage, because all the forces operating in this region, both state and non-state, have at some stage used assassination as a political weapon. The number of people so killed run into hundreds.

A few weeks earlier, Professor Patuvathawithana, Vice-Chancellor of Moratuwa University, was gunned down in his office, together with his security guard. All who knew him testified to his high level of professionalism, courage and character. Under his leadership, the university authorities and staff were able to maintain a dialogue with the student community and move towards restoring the functions of the university. To achieve this end, the Vice-Chancellor had been firm both with the military authorities, who were not happy with having an organised student body, as well as with those who would interfere with the functions of a university for obscure political ends. Strongly as his loss was felt, the protest against his killing on the part of the university community and the Institution of Engineers, of which he was President-elect, was muted by fear. Earlier in the year Professor Stanley Wijesundera, former Vice-Chancellor of Colombo University was also murdered.

In schools too, several leading figures have been murdered over the years. Many were killed for their professional integrity. In the early '70s alleged educational privilege had been an issue of contention and there were groups calling for the improvement of educational opportunities along communal lines. Today education is being used as a hostage by liberation groups on both sides of the communal divide. Jaffna and Moratuwa are instances where the delicate threads by which a university is kept open are easily snapped.

### The Crisis

The present crisis which began with the Sri Lankan state's militarisation to meet ethnic and social discontent, has been described as a crisis of morality and a crisis of civilisation. The question

is: what is needed apart from courage, to meet this?

Many academic colleagues and intellectuals in the South see their past silence during military operations by the state against the Tamils as both a moral and political blunder. They also recognise that the moral debasement that has characterised these conflicts is to a large measure determined by the readiness of state powers to descend to the most inhuman depths with little restraint. There have also been resolutions put forward by leading academics advocating that the first step in resolving the crisis should be to have an accountable government. They see that it would make a great qualitative difference if ordinary people could say with confidence that the state power is not responsible for barbaric and unjustified killings. This would also mean a guarantee of protection for complainants and an accountable procedure by which offenders are punished. Such resolutions have often run aground amongst divided opinion, confusion and fear. It has been pointed out that the resultant inactivity amounts to complicity in the state's military approach, that is destroying a sizeable section of the country's youth coming from the less privileged sections.

A few weeks ago, Peradeniya University became the scene of what is all too common in the country at large. Following the murder of an Assistant Registrar, resident staff who looked out early in the morning were witness to 15 or so decapitated heads ranged around the pond opposite Jayatilake Hall. The Sri Lankan Army was in control of the University premises. Academic staff said that JVP activity in the area was down to virtually zero. According to information received by academics in Southern Universities, in a number of instances of such mass reprisals, the victims had been picked up at random from rehabilitation/detention centres. The current prevalence of state-sponsored para-military groups which began with the creation of the STF and Home Guards during the campaign against Tamils, has been a further source of complication. It has been pointed out that the situation would have been qualitatively different if it could have been said confidently that the state could not have been responsible for killings such as that of Prof. Patuvathawithana.

A state of utter confusion prevails in the country as to by whom why and for

what reason particular instances of violence and murder are committed. Where the gun has taken over all avenues of accountability and legal procedure violence becomes a free-for-all game. The 1983 racial violence against Tamils was an open instance of how the state pursued, political goals. There is widespread cynical disbelief about the government's allegations as to the perpetrators of this well-planned, well-timed race riot. Political developments, group aspirations, prejudices are manoeuvred and counter-manoevred by the different liberation movements and state powers. Thus reasons, causes, get complicated in the ensuing medley. The people are left with their own speculation, rumours and gossip.

### The Liberation Movements

The common philosophy that has distinguished successful insurgent activity in the North and South is that people do not matter. By attacking the armed forces, using civilian cover, the insurgents ensure some casualties in the forces as well as a number of civilian deaths in reprisals. They gain both local sympathy and some international legitimacy when the state forces themselves are accustomed to using terror as a weapon. This has proved both potent in the short term as well as destructive. When people begin to see through this and try to express themselves, they are terrorised by their own liberation movements. Even if people try to organise some form of collective security, at least by warning neighbours to quit when there are signs of a confrontation, they are intimidated. The end result is that while the liberation movement may retain a measure of sympathy for the lack of an alternative, it becomes progressively isolated. Its mature cadres become disillusioned and it will have to resort to more questionable means to gain recruits.

An instance of the more deplorable methods used by liberation groups was evident on 29th July. The JVP forced innocent people out at gunpoint, while a curfew was in force, to demonstrate against the presence of the IPKF in the North-East. More than 100 such persons were shot dead by Sri Lankan forces. When asked about this by the **Sunday Times**, the Defence Minister maintained that if those people were innocent, they should have opposed JVP guns. He added that they should be more afraid of the guns of the armed forces than they were of JVP guns.



Such were the attitudes of the state and a liberation group between which the ordinary people found themselves trapped.

At present all the liberation groups have been very much weakened. The Tamil groups have been driven to ill-disguised positions which they would have found insulting in the recent past. Many have wondered at the state's capacity to survive. A persistent prediction by analysts over the last 10 years has been the imminent economic collapse of the state, giving hope to sympathisers of liberation movements. This has not in fact happened. On the contrary, the present state of the JVP, and that of the LTTE after Operation Liberation in May 1987, point to the staying capacity of something apparently so fragile as the Sri Lankan state.

A Southern academic who is perhaps best qualified to speak on this matter made the following remarks:

'Liberation groups in this country have always under-estimated the resilience of the state. The modern welfare state is a complex entity. Its sinews reach into many aspects of people's lives. Government servants, doctors and teachers are all part of the state, as is the passive consent of people. The articulation of the state also has its ramifications in the international order, giving it added strength. There was almost universal desire not to see the Sri Lankan state collapse. The US \$785 million award to Sri Lanka by the aid consortium was more than had been asked. Another important element in the liberation struggles of this country is that when liberation groups use such deplorable methods, the state bounces back with greater legitimacy than it had earlier. I have noticed a remarkable change in a number of JVP supporters in Matara, after the JVP closed down hospitals for a time and threatened families of armed forces personnel. They were now condoning widespread killings by the state, asking what else could the state do'.

He said in conclusion, 'The first rule to be observed by a liberation movement is that it must maintain the moral initiative'.

Far from being liberated, the people have become mired in greater repression from the state as well as in debilitating moral depravity. Life has become cheap. As reason and tolerance declined, even families have become bitterly divided. While suave persons in the elite kill by lying and slander, the humbler folk have to live in the shadow of torture and sadism. Even cannibalistic rites have surfaced.

### Intellectual Freedom

Intellectual enlightenment and honesty are essential to the liberation process, through which alone a healthy

struggle can be successfully waged against any form of oppression. The role of the intellectual is crucial to the theoretical and political development of the struggle, analysing society in its totality and making organic links between the movements and the people. This ensures the active participation of the people and strengthens peoples' power. Our liberation movements are marked by use value concepts and remain at the level of political expediency and tactics. The methodology of our struggle does not take into account the implications of divisions among, interests and aspirations of the people. It operates merely at the level of exploiting certain weaknesses of the opponent such as the reprisal killings state forces indulge in. This naturally leads to the concept of using intellectuals as they use other segments in society. They have no wish to involve them in any liberatory process. Therefore any form of independent criticism coming from the intellectuals has been taken as a challenge that should be put down. This same tendency is found in the South too, where there are individuals who in their writings strike up critical stances but are obliged to keep them secret owing to intimidation by state and/or other militant groups.

For the above state of affairs our intellectuals are much to blame. It was in this regard Rajani Thiranaagama showed extraordinary courage and determination in promoting along with some of her colleagues an objective critical attitude.

'Our intellectuals who at this juncture should be the catalyst to energise the benumbed community, are unable to do so. In many instances they have sidestepped confrontational issues with the I.P.K.F. (as they have done with militant groups) and have resigned themselves to passivity. This is the consequence of the history of this segment of our society. For in the past their conceptual and moral shallowness have made them submit to the authoritarianism of the militant groups and had glossed over their brutality.... Their unprincipled conduct reflected merely a desire to create niches for themselves within which they could survive with the trappings of respectability and nominal power'.

### The Challenge

Rajani gave her life for intellectual freedom. She amongst many others recognised that if the health of this country is to be restored, the freedom of the people to express their feelings and ideas should be defended. This was one of the aims with which the UTHR (Jaffna) set about publishing its reports. Far from being a political exercise, the questions dealt with were those entwined with academic life in this country's situation in lecture rooms and in student problems.

The challenge that faces us is expressed forcefully by Rajani in the following quotation taken from *The Broken Palmyrah*:

'Thus, the people's structures have to be organised and/or revived, they would be the internal forum for the forces which would voice their needs in devolution (in specific issues such as colonisation etc) and act to monitor the implementation of the limited decentralised power. It would enable such structures to compile, protest and organise against many army (Indian and Sri Lankan) misdoings and atrocities. Moreover, these structures are essential to stand up against the pressure of individual terrorism that degenerate elements of movements indulge in, and to see to it that individual members of the community are not isolated and victimised. And also such structures would protect them from victimisation by such external diabolic forces'.

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David Housego of The Financial Times Reporting From Colombo

# Sri Lanka death toll may be near 30,000

The number killed in the violence in Sri Lanka appears to be far greater than has been reported so far. Figures quoted by Western diplomats suggest that as many as 30,000 people could have been killed last year – most of them in the last six months.

The casualties have escalated as the armed forces have used increasingly brutal methods in their conflict with the JVP, the extremist Sinhalese nationalist group. However, in a situation where the military does not have to carry out post-mortems or notify families of those killed, it is impossible to confirm exact numbers.

The figures range from 12,000, the number quoted by military officials, up to 50,000 over the last two years. Sri Lanka has a population of 16m.

The deaths include killings by the JVP, the armed forces, vigilante groups as well as the casualties from the conflict involving the Tamils in the north.

Western nations are putting increasing pressure on the Sri Lankan Government to halt the killings by the army and para-military forces, of opponents in the south or face a reduction in aid.

The government of the Netherlands last week warned the Sri Lankans that unless there was an improvement in their human rights record by June, it would cut the size of its programme aid. The Dutch have been working in close coordination with Norway, Canada, West Germany and Sweden, who are equally taking a more critical approach.

The tougher attitude by Western aid donors came into the open last week when senior Sri Lankan officials met ambassadors from donor-nations to brief them on the economy. The meeting came a day after 147 headless corpses – presumed suspected members of the JVP – were found on roads in the south.

Though fewer dead bodies are now being left by the roadsides, diplomats say that killings by 'vigilante' and military forces still continue at a high level in parts of the south and in the Central Kandy region. The Government claims the JVP has been largely crushed since its leaders were killed in November.

At the same time, about 8,000 people are still being held in detention or rehabilitation centres. The use of torture on suspects has been systematic, according to diplomats who say that

prisoners bear the signs of having been severely beaten and of other violence.

The British have in private made strong representations about the killings and alleged abuse of human rights. In particular, they are pressing for the lifting of emergency regulations that allow the armed forces to kill suspects without there being the need for any post-mortem or for families to be notified.

The increasing determination of donor nations to use the leverage of aid to obtain an improvement in the human rights situation comes at a time when Sri Lanka has been asking Western nations to finance the rupee expenditure in projects because of the country's budgetary difficulties. The World Bank, which sees Sri Lanka as needing \$2.5bn (£1.5bn) in foreign assistance over the next three years, has also said that a higher proportion of it than normal should be in fast disbursing programme aid to help the

country's balance of payments.

The more critical attitude by donors on human rights also comes in contrast to the more approving attitude being taken by both the World Bank and the IMF to the management of the economy. Both IMF and World Bank loans were delayed last year until the government agreed to a stabilisation package.

● India has sent proposals to Sri Lanka for a friendship treaty between the two countries, New Delhi's High Commissioner said yesterday, **Reuter reports from Colombo.**

Mr. Lakhanlal Mehrotra told a group of Indian journalists that he handed over to the Sri Lankan Government a 'counter-draft' by India on the treaty. Colombo sent its proposals some months ago.

'After the Sri Lankan side has studied our proposals, both sides will go into consultations on the proposed draft,' he said.

Foreign Ministry sources said the treaty would ease tensions between the two. New Delhi has promised to withdraw its remaining 25,000 troops by the end of March.

## Sri Lanka takes its place in the annals of savagery

Almost certainly, only the tip of the barbarity and brutalism of the Sri Lankan conflict has come to the surface. But if 30,000 people have been killed in the struggle between the Sinhalese JVP movement and government forces, as some diplomats believe, it is one of Asia's worst post-war episodes of violence.

It takes its place as an ugly landmark along with the riots in post-partition India, the Korean and Vietnamese wars, the suppression of the Communists in Indonesia by Sukarno, and Pol Pot's reign of terror in Kampuchea.

The savagery of the conflict has created its own momentum of ever more gruesome atrocities. The JVP first, then the armed forces in retaliation, took to leaving dead bodies by the roadside and then igniting them with rubber tyres. In the Kandy district in central Sri Lanka, paramilitary forces recently cut up bodies and draped them from roadside trees – as though a burning body alone was no longer sufficient to intimidate opponents.

Since July, when the JVP struck fear into the armed forces – and in retrospect brought about their own destruction – by threatening the families of the army and police, the armed

forces have not concealed their use of torture. The scars of beatings and of burns through electric shocks are clear evidence on the bodies of those who have passed through detention centres.

Interrogation procedures appear to follow a systematic pattern beginning with a heavy beating and leading in the worst cases to a Sri Lankan invention of passing a plastic tube into the rectum with barbed wire inside – and then withdrawing the plastic.

But, the contrasting reality is of a capital, Colombo, which has the festive mood of a city liberated after a long siege. Middle class Colombo celebrated the capture and killing in November of Rohan Wijeweera, the JVP leader, which led to the arrest and elimination of his colleagues.

Restaurants, long closed through curfews or JVP threats, have been packed. Shops stay open later and there are crowds on the streets. Business confidence is picking up as the government's claims to have almost crushed the JVP gain in credibility.

Mr. Charitha da Silva, the humane and much-respected chairman of Aitken Spence, says of the investment climate: 'Overall things are definitely

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## Continued From Page 10

beginning to take off.' Aitken Spence, diversified in garments, freight handling, agro-business and tourism expects record profits this financial year.

The fear, engendered by the massive police round-ups of JVP suspects, has helped the government carry through much-needed but unpopular IMF measures to remove subsidies and raise prices to market levels. The price of bread has risen by 38 per cent in the past two months, milk and sugar by 48 per cent, rice by 30 per cent. Inflation is cautiously put at 20 per cent higher than a year ago. But there have been none of the strikes and protests that were once a feature of democratic life in Sri Lanka.

Many in Sri Lanka's establishment have great difficulty in bridging these two worlds - between the killing and terror that they sense dominate lives in the interior and the comforting signs of a return to normal in Colombo.

At last week's meeting between the government and representatives of western donor nations to review economic performance, a senior civil servant was thrown off balance by the details of human rights abuses presented by

the donors and by the increasingly blunt questioning he had to face.

One diplomat said of what is happening in the central and southern regions of the country: 'In many villages life has come to a standstill. Many men of working age are not there any more. They have either left to save themselves or they have been killed.' Another diplomat says 'the fabric of society is being destroyed (by fear) and fear may soon paralyse the way society functions.'

Driving up from Colombo last week to Trincomalee on the east coast I was struck by the sight of large numbers of children going to school for the first time in almost two years as a result of the reopening of classrooms. But equally striking was that there were few young boys among them.

There is no way of substantiating estimates of the numbers killed. The most obnoxious part of the Emergency regulations gives the security forces power to eliminate people without any trial or inquiry, or without even notifying their families. Parents often cannot establish whether their children have been killed or are simply missing.

European governments are pressing to get these clauses removed on the

grounds that they can no longer serve any purpose. Security forces apparently regard them as necessary during 'mopping-up operations.' But there is concern that their use could be extended from suspected JVP members to other opponents of the regime and 'troublemakers.'

The direction the country will take is difficult to foresee because President Ranasinghe Premadasa is a lone figure who does not take his cabinet or even his senior officials into his confidence. He seeks the advice of gurus and astrologers and was recently photographed being raised on a chair by a spiritualist.

But he is in a much stronger position than in August when the JVP threat was at its height, the foreign exchange reserves at an all time low, and he was faced with a difficult dispute with India.

Some think his pragmatism will steer him to solutions for other problems, from bringing the armed forces back under civilian control, to achieving some form of national reconciliation and settlement in the north. But the civil war has opened a Pandora's Box, and it is still unclear what will emerge.

## ARTHUR CLARKE'S SOLAR POWERED VEHICLE

Science fiction writer Dr. Arthur C. Clarke unveiled the first solar powered vehicle introduced to Sri Lanka on 19 January.

Capable of travelling a distance of 60 kilometres on its solar powered battery cells, the vehicle modelled on the lines of a modified Go Kart does not accommodate passengers. It has a single seat for the driver only.

The vehicle is the brainchild of the British computer genius, Sir Clive Sinclair who, according to Dr. Clarke, sustained a loss of £700 million manufacturing several hundreds of this vehicle, which failed to make an impact on consumers in England.

However, Dr. Clarke said that in his opinion this vehicle would be a boon to the urban and rural people in Sri Lanka. The advantages of this vehicle lay in the multiplicity of uses its solar battery cells could be employed for. The cells pack adequate power to light up two fluorescent lights, operate a television and a radio. The engine fitted to this vehicle is a washing machine motor packing a load of one horse-power.

Dr. Clarke was of the opinion that, if widely used, the nature of the vehicle itself would contribute largely to cut down on fuel costs and also progressively contribute to reducing levels of pollution.

## JOBS ON ETHNIC RATIO

The government of Sri Lanka is to follow a firm policy on employment as between different ethnic groups and jobs would be provided strictly on an ethnic ratio, a government communiqué issued on 9 January stated.

President Premadasa told a ruling party's parliamentary group meeting that the government's 'firm decision to grant employment on an ethnic proportion basis' was in keeping with the election manifesto upon which it was elected.

Employment at the national level would be on the national ethnic proportion, at provincial level on the provincial ethnic proportion and at district level on the basis of the district ethnic proportion. The composition of the ethnic ratio had been worked out on the basis that Sinhalese comprised 74 per cent, Tamils 12.1 per cent, Tamils of Indian origin 5.5 per cent and Muslims 8 per cent. The remaining one per cent would be added to the entitlement by the Sinhalese. On this basis, three-fourth of jobs would go to the Sinhalese, and the balance one-fourth of them to the Tamils and Muslims, the government communiqué said.

It would however be difficult to give promotions from grade to grade on an ethnic ratio basis, but it could be done on a post-to-post basis, the communiqué added.

The President is reported to have

told the government group that 'all employment would strictly be on qualifications and merit as stipulated for a particular job and not on political considerations'.

## 45 BUDDHIST MONKS IN CUSTODY

Forty-five Buddhist monks, the majority of them university students, are in detention camps in Sri Lanka for alleged involvement in 'subversive activities'.

According to the State Minister for Buddha Sasana, Lal Gamage, 25 of the detained monks were held in the southern Boosa Detention Centre while the rest were held in various army camps and police stations.

The Ministry has sought guidance and assistance of prominent Buddhist monks to launch a 'rehabilitation scheme' for the monks in detention.

According to the Minister over 30 monks had been killed by 'subversives' during 1989. But the Minister failed to indicate the number of monks killed by the security forces.

However, Rev. Maduluwawa Sobitha Thero, the Secretary of the Maubima Surakime Viyaparaya (Movement for the Defence of the Motherland) said that the killings and disappearances of Buddhist monks were going on unabated and that there had been no positive response from the government on the matter.

## NEWS ROUND-UP

● **PERMANENT** appointments are to be given to Sri Lankan doctors who returned to the island after serving in foreign countries, according to a scheme in preparation by the Ministry of Health. At present doctors who return after working in other countries are recruited to the State Health Service only on a contract basis. The new proposed scheme provides for an initial two-year contract with an in-built guarantee of permanent appointments. The Ministry has taken this step in view of the acute shortage of doctors because it gave Sri Lankan doctors employed abroad an incentive to return.

● **TWO BUDDHIST MONKS** were killed by pro-government vigilantes on 8 January. The victims were identified as the Chief Priest of Kahagalle Temple, Ven. Elagalle Jayananda Thero who was shot dead in his temple, and Ven. Batadunnege Somananda Thero who was shot dead at Udahamulla in Mirihana. In separate incidents, an armed gang shot dead three persons in Badulla while police conducting an anti-JVP operation at Udisspattuwa in Kandy district shot dead two persons whom they described as 'subversives'. On the previous day, 7 January, four smouldering bodies with burning vehicle tyres were found at Bandattara in Matara. Eight bodies of young men were found floating in the Nilwala Ganga at Wellatota and six more bodies were seen at Akruagoda on the Kamburugama-Kirimetimulla Road. These killings have been attributed to pro-government death squads and members of the security services.

● **TWO SOLDIERS**, identified as Wimalasena and Nandasena, were killed at Pallerotta in Hambantota by suspected 'subversives' on 9 January. The victims had returned from an Army Camp in the North to attend a funeral of one of their relatives. In a separate incident on the same day, another soldier, identified as Somaratne, was knifed to death at his residence in the Anuradhapura district. Three members of the same family were shot dead at Sapugolla in the Badulla district. Five persons described by security sources as 'subversives' were killed in separate incidents at Kahathuduwa in Colombo district and in the Kurunegala district.

● **FOREIGN AFFAIRS** and State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne said on 12 January that the military wing of the Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT) had been requested by the government to stop all offensive military action in the North-East, but the response from them was very slow. The government was concerned about continuing fighting between rival Tamil groups. 'If they stop shooting each other, half of these problems will end', the Minister added.

● **FIFTY-ONE PERSONS**, including two from a Buddhist temple, were arrested by the security forces from various parts of south Sri Lanka, a government communique issued on 14 January stated.

● **AT LEAST 15** persons including women and children were killed in violent incidents in Kandy on 12 January. A minor employee of the Railway Department, identified as K.G. Sugathadasa and an employee of the Kandy General Hospital named Sugathapala and his wife were among the victims some of whom had been beheaded. A Gram Sevaka, R.G. Jayasena and his wife were also killed. In separate incidents smouldering bodies were found at Kottawa and Elpitiya. In Hambantota a soldier Palitha, Piyaratne, on leave at his sister's residence in Wellode in Hunugama was shot dead.

● **THE SYSTEM** of providing jobs through government sponsored Job Banks in Sri Lanka has come under scrutiny by the World Bank. It has gathered information and details pertaining to the Job Bank system that has been in operation for the last ten years. The system had become notorious for corruption and nepotism.

● **THE LAST REMAINING** polit bureau member of the JVP, Somawansa Amarasinghe, had been captured by the police, Minister Ranjan Wijeratne told Parliament on 12 January.

● **THE SRI LANKA MUSLIM CONGRESS** (SLMC) has sought a meeting with the Indian Prime Minister, V.P. Singh and Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, M. Karunanidhi, to discuss the 'all important question of bringing all Tamil militant groups together and establishing permanent peace in the North-East region. We want to act as a bridge between warring Tamil factions and bring about a compromise and consensus', a spokesman for the SLMC said. 'We will also ensure that the Muslim case does not go by default. The primary aim is to help make a collective search for peace', he added.

● **POLICE DETECTIVES** are reported to have busted a major racket at the Colombo port where forged documents have been used to clear goods worth millions. Investigations so far had revealed that over 20 containers have been cleared through the customs based on such questionable documents. Several business establishments in Colombo had been raided and goods worth tens of millions of rupees have already been seized. Ten businessmen have already been taken into custody and handed over to the customs for legal proceedings to be instituted.

● **AN ESTIMATED 80,000** teachers presently teaching in Sri Lanka's schools are untrained, and among them are teachers who teach mathematics, science and English, according to the Secretary to the Ministry of State for Education, Dr. Thilokasundari Kariyawasam.

● **THE CEYLON COMMUNIST PARTY** has vehemently condemned the banning under emergency regulations of all political activities in work places and educational institutions. This draconian regulation was a serious blow to the democratic freedoms of the people. At a time when almost the entire country was demanding the withdrawal of the state of emergency, the government was entrenching with repressive legislation which have had no precedent in the country. It was an expression of its unpopularity and complete isolation from the people, the statement of the CP said.

● **HEAVY ARTILLERY** attacks and counter-attacks broke out between the LTTE and the IPKF in the Navatkuli area in northern Jaffna on 21 January resulting in about fifty deaths on both sides. Both sides had used sophisticated lethal weapons in the clash including guns, rocket propelled grenades, machine guns etc. While the IPKF also employed helicopter gunships to fire shells, the LTTE was reported to have used mortars, rockets and other advanced weaponry recently captured from the Tamil National Army which was equipped by the IPKF. While the LTTE claimed that the IPKF had intervened without provocation in a clash between itself and its rival ENDLF, the Indian High Commission stated that the IPKF was not conducting any offensive military operations and the fighting was the result of an unprovoked attack by the LTTE on the IPKF which lost 11 men and 15 injured. The LTTE charged that the IPKF had gone on a rampage following the clashes killing civilians and destroying their property.

● **ACCORDING** to Special Task Force sources, four persons described as 'subversives' were shot dead by commandos of the STF near Buttala on 21 January. Eleven were arrested in two separate search operations in Sooriyawewa and Wellawaya. At Minneriya, 9 'subversives' were shot dead allegedly while attempting to escape during a search operation. Meanwhile at least fourteen smouldering bodies of males were seen at Pitiyagedera on 22 January and these killings have been attributed to pro-government vigilante gangs.

● **THE LTTE** has sent out directives to the general public in the Kalmunai, Akkaraipattu, Sammanthurai and Batticaloa areas warning the people to desist from logging, dredging and sale of alcohol effective from 1 February without the express permission of the LTTE.



## NEWS ROUND-UP

● **SHELTON RAJAPAKSE**, described as deputy leader of the DJV, the military wing of the JVP, was arrested at Ratnapura on 22 January. The bodies of three youths were found dumped by the roadside near the Bellanwila Buddhist temple on 26 January.

● **MR. SAM THAMBIMUTTU**, TULF MP for Batticaloa has complained to the Defence Ministry that LTTE members had raided his residence in Batticaloa and removed valuables, household goods and vehicles on 26 January. Meanwhile the mother-in-law of the MP, Mrs. G. Manikkam, took refuge at the Batticaloa police station following threats made allegedly by the LTTE who had taken over the MP's Batticaloa residence. Mrs. Manikkam took refuge in the Batticaloa police station and was later flown to Colombo.

● **A UNP MEMBER** of the Dehiwela-Mount Lavinia Municipal Council, Mr. Lakshman Perera, belonging to the UNP, was abducted by an unidentified gang from his sister's residence at Dehiwela on 27 January.

● **NORTH-EAST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL** member Mr. C.M. Ganeshalingam (60) a former Provincial Minister for Rehabilitation and Agriculture was shot outside his residence on 28 January. Two armed men, allegedly belonging to the LTTE, had gone to the victim's residence at Rajavarothayam Road in Trincomalee and called him out. The unsuspecting Ganeshalingam had stepped into the compound when he was shot dead.

● **ASSISTANT DIRECTOR** of wild life (Eastern and Uva Ranges), M.M. Dharmasena Perera and three other employees of the Wild Life Department were killed and three others injured when a group of suspected Tamil militants opened fire at their vehicle at Helawa in the Amparai district on 27 January.

● **AN AIRMAN**, a member of the National Auxiliary Force, an ex-Buddhist monk and four women are among 40 persons rounded up by the Sapugaskande police for involvement in a series of armed robberies. The arrested persons operating in gangs had been committing robberies masquerading under the name of the JVP/DJV.

● **TWO WOMEN AND A MAN** were killed and several persons wounded in a military encounter involving the IPKF at Chunnakam in the Jaffna district on 30 January.

● **A LAWYER** named D. Wickremasinghe was hacked to death with another person identified as W. Premasiri at the lawyer's residence at Embilipitiya in the Ratnapura district on 30 January. Twelve smouldering bodies of males were seen at the 13th mile post on the Badulla-Mahiyangana road. According to a statement issued by the government's information department, 697 persons described as suspected JVP members had surrendered to the security forces from December 1 to January 29. Two alleged JVP/DJV men were shot dead by police at Thalagaswatte in the Colombo district on 1 February.

● **THE LTTE** is collecting its own taxes from people in the Tamil areas which have come under its control. In the Batticaloa district, LTTE cadres are reported to have taken up position at the Oddamavadi bridge and collecting taxes from private buses, lorries, vans, cars and motor cycles entering the district. Rates were Rs.200 for private buses and lorries and vans Rs.50. Taxes from traders on various items sold are also being levied.

● **FIVE PERSONS** described as 'subversives' were shot dead by soldiers in two separate incidents, according to a government communique dated 2 February. Of the five, three were killed at Galapatha in the Kegalle district during a search operation. The other two were shot dead at Aluthgama. Ten smouldering bodies of youth, including a body of about 12 years, were found on 2 February near the Parakrama Samudra in Polonnaruwa. The victims had been hacked to death and then set on fire. In another incident, S.H. Kapuge, a supporter of the SLFP and an employee at the Matara office of Mr. Mahinda Wijesekera MP, was killed in the Weligama area.

● **THE PRINCIPAL** of a school in Panadura has been under questioning by the CID over the alleged issue of a school leaving certificate to a child of the late Rohana Wijeweera in the name of Attanayake, a name under which the JVP leader was masquerading until his death. The name does not appear in the school admission register and the child had been admitted to Ulapane Maha Vidyalaya on the presumed authenticity of the forged document. The Principal described as a well known government supporter has denied that he issued the certificate.

● **A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT** belonging to the Eelavar Democratic Front (EROS), Mr. G. Savundarajah has resigned his seat. Early allegations that he resigned following threats from the LTTE were later denied.

● **AT LEAST FIFTEEN** young men were shot and hacked to death at Malwana in the Biyagama police area during the early hours on 3 February, and the killings have been attributed to pro-government death squads. Several bodies were seen floating in the Kelani river a few yards from the scene of the crime.

● **A SUB-INSPECTOR** of Police and six other policemen attached to Slave Island Police Station in Colombo have been remanded in custody on charges of rape committed on 17 January. The victim of the rape, a teacher in an international school in Colombo, alleged that while she was driving home after a game of tennis and dinner at a Colombo hotel, she was stopped at Slave Island roundabout and asked for various documents. Thereafter she was forcibly driven to a lonely spot at Slave Island by the policemen and repeatedly raped by the Sub-Inspector and other policemen.

● **SPECIAL TASK FORCE** commandos shot dead three suspected 'subversives' during a raid on an alleged JVP/DJV hideout at Dambagolla in the Bibile area on 19 January. In cordon and search operations in three areas in the Moneragala district by the STF, 65 youths were rounded up and detained.

● **COMPENSATION** for 'terrorist' victims now paid only in the North-East Province is to be extended to other provinces too. In addition to compensation for damaged or destroyed property, dependents of each person killed in the North-East Province were entitled to receive Rs.50,000. Now the Ministry of Rehabilitation has instructed the Government Agents in the southern seven provinces to submit information about death and destruction of property resulting from 'terrorist' attacks.

● **THE SUPREME COURT** has directed the Ministry of Defence to produce in Court Mr. Athula Dissanayake, a university student and a detainee at the Boosa Detention Camp, to verify the contents of a petition he had sent to the Chief Justice, Parinda Ranasinghe. Mr. Dissanayake in his petition states that he was arrested by the police on 3 March 1989 and has since been in detention; although he was served with an indictment returnable on 20 November 1989, he was not produced in court on that date. He contends that there is imminent threat to his life and requests the court to remove him from the Boosa Detention Camp and place him at the Magazine Prison in Colombo.

● **ELEVEN MEN** belonging to the Citizens Volunteer Force of the N-E Provincial Council were abducted on 13 January at Umayakulam as they were travelling in a train from Jaffna to Trincomalee. According to the Provincial Council Minister of Transport and Industries, Abu Yusuf, the abduction was carried out by the LTTE and the whereabouts of the victims were not known. In a separate incident, a school principal was among five people who were chopped to death at Nannapuruwa, Bibile; The dead were identified as H.M. Kiribanda, principal of Senapathiya school, H.M. Appuhamy, R.M. Minhindupala, R.M. Heenbanda and R.M. Karunaratne.



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# JAFFNA REVISITED

# 'Freedom of Expression is a Luxury'

By Dr. Pararasan Arulanantham

A conspiracy of fear surrounds anyone intending to visit Jaffna. 'Why do you want to go to Jaffna?' enquired a surprised friend sipping whisky at a Tamil get-together in England. 'You will be heart-broken when you see the place' warned my brother. Yet the emotional need to visit one's homeland is strong. Attachment to the soil has been the basis of the freedom struggle. Three days before departure a telephone call from Colombo warned me that it may not be possible to proceed to Jaffna. Two days before flying, a BBC World Service report described Sri Lanka as the new 'killing fields'. There was an 18 hour delay at Gatwick and uncertainty prevailed right up to my arrival in Colombo.

I was able to reach Jaffna within a day of arrival in Colombo. The flight by Helitours, operated by the Sri Lankan Air Force, was courteous and efficient, at a cost of Rs 1250. Signs in English and Hindi at the Palaly Airport announced the New Order. Hiring cars, mostly the old familiar Austins, charged Rs 350 for transport to Jaffna as there was a petrol shortage. The cars had to wind through lanes with large puddles of water as the main road had been blocked off by the army in the interest of defence. The Indian presence everywhere added a new dimension to the landscape. Yet it was great to be in Jaffna, and to feel a part of the place – a wonderful sense of belonging which had eluded me for the past six years.

'Change and decay in all around I see' were words from a familiar hymn which came recurrently to my mind as I went around. Added to the decay and neglect seen in Colombo, destruction was evident in Jaffna. The old familiar sites such as the Town Hall and Veerasingham Hall were all gone. Buildings had been destroyed, roads damaged and there were multiple road blocks and sentry points. There was general insecurity of life which the people have accepted with courage or fatalism. Yet there was also a sense of hope that the conflict would cease and peace return.

Conditions of life were very basic. There were no telephones working except the internal lines of Jaffna Hospital. The few links with Colombo were out of order during my stay. Messages were carried very rapidly by word of mouth. There were long and frequent power cuts and one night in two was spent in darkness. There was an unofficial curfew in operation, imposed by one of the groups apparently to prevent thefts by another group. Petrol was in short supply and sold at Rs 30 per bottle. Gallons are a thing of the past! People with cars use them

sparingly or not at all. Bicycles were the most popular means of transport for everyone – boys, girls, men and even women in sarees. The trains ran for a day but the service was interrupted, believed to be due to sabotage by competing bus operators. The TV was a popular source of entertainment when electricity was on. Both Sri Lankan and Indian programmes could be picked up – a battle for the minds! Many of the poorer people looked undernourished reflecting the high cost of living. The middle-class have sent their children abroad and some feel proud about it. There was still some fear that children may be abducted and forced to join the Tamil National Army. Despite the many difficulties, the resilience of the ordinary man is remarkable. He has learned to adapt to all the limitations.

I visited Jaffna Hospital where I once worked. The hospital was one place which looked better than it did some years ago. The damaged wards have been repaired and decorated. The floor has been replaced by terrazzo flooring. There is a new multi-storey building under construction. There are staff shortages but the dedication of the staff is commendable. I paused for a few minutes at the site where 21 hospital employees and 50 others were gunned down inside the hospital by the 'Peace Keepers' in October 1987. Not a single militant was killed. This massacre, so cleverly concealed from the world at large, is unpardonable even in a war. Even Hanuman and his warriors would have hidden their heads in shame at this act of inhumanity.

I had a taste of danger during a visit to Kilinochchi. I was at Karuna Nilayam, a home for orphans and destitute children, when a group of militants, collaborating with the Indians, opened machine gun fire only a few yards away from us. It went on for two minutes, there was a pause, and then a second round of firing. It was very frightening but others in the area had got used to it. The Warden of the institution stepped out and appealed to the militants to stop shooting as the children were terrified. Some of them had been orphaned by the conflict. I salute those who work amidst dangers. On the way back there was a dead body on the road. Then a convoy of Indian Army vehicles rolled on, obviously unconcerned about the shooting or killing.

People were afraid to talk openly. 'Words cannot describe the 1987 IPKF operations. Shells were falling everywhere. Food and basic provisions were in short supply. We were forced to go into schools and churches where there

was not provision for basic needs. There was curfew for 35 days', said a friend of mine describing the horror of those days. I met several people who had lost loved ones. 'My 19 year old son was killed by the IPKF and I was told it was a mistake!' said my former barber. 'My daughter was shot by the IPKF and Tigers were blamed for it' said a former neighbour. Sadness and bereavement were common.

Freedom of expression is a luxury and is dangerous is the message spelt out by the murder of Rajani Thirangama. There was widespread revulsion about the killing and there were posters to the effect everywhere. The saddest event during my stay was the news on New Year's Day that a brilliant student from St. John's College, Jaffna was killed by a pro-Indian group for alleged sympathies with the Tigers. That killings of this nature should be carried out for a matter of belief is very tragic.

For me as a Christian, the visit to Sri Lanka was a spiritual experience.

Having opted out of the consumerism of British Christmas, I spent an austere Christmas with my people in Sri Lanka. The sound of fire crackers, permitted for the first time this year, announced the festive season – a welcome change from the sound of guns. On Christmas Day I attended the morning service at the church in Nallur where my father had worshipped and his father before him. 'The Word became flesh and dwelt among us' was the essence of the reading from the Bible. It was a statement of God's identification with an oppressed people in a remote corner of the Roman Empire – a situation which has many parallels with that of Jaffna today. I was happy to be in Jaffna and share in a small way the joys and sufferings of my people.

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# MADRAS NEWSLETTER

by ARJUNA

## KARUNANIDHI'S DILEMMA

If the non-return of even a single DMK M.P. to the Lok Sabha at the last Parliamentary elections was a bitter blow for Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Mr. Karunanidhi, the emergence of the National Front Government at the Centre has more than made up for his discomfiture. Not only was his nephew-confidant Mr. Murasoli Maran given a Cabinet berth – (remember, the Rajiv Gandhi government never gave Tamil Nadu representation in the Cabinet) – but Mr. Karunanidhi himself was brought into the centre of the picture in being asked to play a high-profile role in the Sri Lankan Tamil tangle. While during the pre-election period he gave the impression of being unsure and diffident, (even insecure), the Karunanidhi of today sounds his usual seasoned politician. He speaks with assertiveness and authority. But on the other hand, by beginning to assume the role of a peace-maker among Tamil militant groups, he has now ended as a controversial figure. For a man who had not shown much warmth towards the LTTE in the past (perhaps the feeling was mutual), and whose softness towards the other groups, particularly the TELO, was well-known, today he is being accused publicly by his critics of throwing his weight behind the LTTE! – a criticism that is valid if one goes by the kind of statements that he has been making.

When on January 18, Congress-I members raised the question in the State Assembly that the withdrawal of the IPKF should be linked to the safety of the Tamils, Mr. Karunanidhi retorted that he was second to none in protecting the interests of the Tamils, but the IPKF should have taken steps to protect the Tamils instead of butchering them. Again on the 22nd, speaking in the Assembly, he charged the Rajiv Gandhi government with bungling, and said the LTTE was 'pushed' into the adversary, Sri Lanka Government's camp, as a result of the Rajiv Gandhi Government's mistake. On his talks with the Tamil groups Mr. Karunanidhi said he had conveyed to Mr. Perumal the LTTE's demand for the disbanding of the 'TNA'. It was well-known that the IPKF was arming and sustaining this force. If the TNA was disbanded, the LTTE would cease fire the next day, he had said. All these brought on Mr. Karunanidhi the wrath of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee President Mr. Vazhapadi Ramamurthy who charged him with

'pressurising North-East Council Chief Minister Perumal to resign with a view to favour his 'pet LTTE group'. How time brings home its revenge! Not long ago, Mr. Karunanidhi himself was inclined to believe that the LTTE was 'the pet' of his political adversary, MGR. Now he himself is being charged with adopting 'that pet'!

Mr. Karunanidhi's dilemma is understandable; it is compounded by several factors: Firstly, he has to act within the brief handed over to him by the Delhi Government, a government which is clearly departing from failed policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. While the new government is honest enough about its concerns over the safety of the Tamils and the devolution of powers to a North-East Provincial Council, it is also honest about the complete withdrawal of the IPKF. Surely Mr. Karunanidhi is aware that no amount of organised campaigning in India by forces supporting the anti-LTTE groups is going to delay the scheduled departures of the IPKF.

Secondly, whatever initiatives he could take in Madras in trying to bring the groups together were fast being overtaken by the rapidly changing scenario in the northeast of Sri Lanka. There is a logic about events once the policy is clearly defined. It was the lack of a coherent, clearly defined policy by the previous government that also led to illogical happenings in Sri Lanka. The LTTE talking to a Sri Lanka government was not logical, but the very illogicality was forced on the group by the confused motives of the Rajiv Gandhi administration. Now the ground situation in the northeast is undergoing a visible transformation. The withdrawal of the IPKF is happening in a business-like fashion. A shipload of troops was arriving in Madras every other day. While the m.v. Akbar was carrying a capacity load of 1,200 troops on alternate days, two cargo vessels, Konkan Sevak and Konkan Shakti were busy ferrying the military hardware back to the mainland. In fact the pull-out from the Jaffna town limits was unexpectedly swift. Within one week of an LTTE ambush of an IPKF patrol that went to the help of a besieged ENDLF camp in Ariyalai, in which eight IPKF personnel were killed, including a high-ranking officer, Col. K.P. Shashi Kumar, the Indian troops had cleared out of the town limits. A UNI report from Jaffna says:

'... Several shopkeepers said cadres of the other groups had gone on a looting spree during last month, taking away things from shops and houses under the very nose of the Indian soldiers. They were shifting the goods from the shops to their homes for fear that the groups would break open the shops and take away everything before they flee the town with the Indians.

'Residents said three boatloads of cadres of these groups had been arrested by the public and handed over to the LTTE while they were fleeing to India with the loot ...

'“We are waiting for the Indians and their stooges to leave”, a shopkeeper said, busy shifting goods from the shop to his house.

'IPKF officials said a host of cadres of these groups wanted to go along with them to India. “A decision will have to be taken at the highest level on what to do with them”, a senior IPKF official said, adding that they were right from the beginning opposed to arming these groups. “Taking these men to Tamil Nadu would mean they would not only create a law and order problem there, but create socio-economic tensions as they would deprive the local people of their rightful jobs”, he said ...’ (THE INDEPENDENT, Bombay, 29 Jan. '90).

This then is the third factor compounding Mr. Karunanidhi's dilemma. What was after all a domestic headache for the defenceless population of the northeast in Sri Lanka was now going to become Mr. Karunanidhi's worry. What is really the problem facing him is not an influx of genuine refugees as is made out through inspired reports in the Indian media, but the influx of indisciplined cadres of these groups used to robbing at gunpoint flocking into Tamil Nadu, bringing with them arms and ammunition. This trend has already begun by mid-January. According to a report in THE HINDU of January 22:

'The 40-km. stretch from Uchipulli to Rameswaram in Tamil Nadu has come under police surveillance following the recovery of arms and ammunition worth Rs.10 crores. ... These arms with foreign markings and a package with an ENDLF tag were found buried in the sea coast of Dhargavalasai village near Uchipulli. ... It is suspected that these large quantities of arms and ammunition were from Sri Lanka. Not able to face the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Army attacks, the other militant groups could be smuggling their arms into Tamil Nadu. ...'

Another report in THE HINDU of January 23 said:

'Police are looking for 52 Sri Lankan Tamil militants belonging to the ENDLF group who are missing from the Mandapam refugee camp where

Continued on Page 17



## Continued From Page 16

they were registered as Sri Lankan refugees... Recalling the arms burying incident, the villagers said in the early hours of Saturday (Jan. 20), they saw about 25 persons including four women, one carrying an infant, getting off three speedboats. They noticed that the women were heavily decked in gold ornaments...

On the 24th, a high-frequency transceiver set with automatic antenna and a notebook containing code words and cyclostyled key for code words for transmission were seized by the police from a house at Anthoniapuram in Thangachchimadam near Rameswar-am. Are all these not ominous signs of which the Tamil Nadu government has to be seriously concerned? Mr. Karunanidhi cannot be seen as accommodating towards these groups which in the coming months are likely to cause law and order problems for his own government. At the same time, if he has to maintain his own credibility as a Tamil leader, he would have no choice but to sustain his rapport with the LTTE which has already established a de facto control of three-quarters of the northeast at the time this is being written.

A fourth factor that necessarily has to circumscribe his thinking is that as a leader of a party which is a constituent member of the National Front, he cannot afford (even if he wishes) to deviate from the New Delhi line. The National Front government in its approach to the Sri Lankan issues has no hangovers, and unlike the Congress-I has no vested interests in the internecine rivalries between the Tamil groups. It can therefore afford to look at the problems in Sri Lanka with a straight eye; without sacrificing Indian security interests it can nevertheless, without feeling a loss of prestige, accept the ground realities as they are. Two realities stare one in the eye: Firstly, the government of that country appears to be working with some kind of understanding with the only Tamil group that matters; secondly, the LTTE has already proved that it has the potential to take over the administration in the northeast, whether de facto through superior military power or de jure through a democratic election in the future.

A fifth factor that is bound to influence Mr. Karunanidhi in his future options is an interesting new development. For the first time since the ethnic war heated up in the island, a Sri Lankan Foreign Minister had called on a Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, the significance of which has hardly been highlighted in the media. As far as Mr. Karunanidhi is concerned, it should come as a flattering gesture. Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne followed up his courtesy call on Mr. Karunanidhi by making complimentary references to

his efforts to bring about an amicable settlement among the Tamil groups, while addressing a Press Conference in Colombo on his return. While politicians are expected to make many tongue-in-the-cheek remarks, the very fact that the Colombo government was prepared to overcome its traditional hostility to Tamil Nadu assumes importance in the light of current developments. 'Tamil Nadu is only twenty miles away and our Government must have good relations with the Tamil Nadu government as well', Mr. Wijeratne has been quoted as saying. Mr. Wijeratne's visit was preceded by the visit of another Sri Lankan Minister, the mild-mannered, Tamil-speaking Minister for Rehabilitation, Mr. Vincent Perera. A third Minister, Mr. S. Thondaman, on a private visit to Tamil Nadu, talking to press persons in Coimbatore, said he did not share the view expressed by some political parties that the Government of India should not have left the task of solving the problem to an individual. He pointed out that Mr. Karunanidhi who is intimately connected with the Tamils of Sri Lanka is better equipped to deal with this problem than the Centre. He appealed to the political parties in India not to politicise the issue, which is a question of life and death for the Tamils of the island. Mr. Thondaman also criticised North-East Province Chief Minister, Mr. Perumal's remarks that his party would revert to a separate Tamil Eelam demand if the promised devolution of powers to the government led by him did not materialise before the IPKF pull-out, and wanted to know what he was doing in the past two years since the induction of the IPKF in the island. He could have put up the same demand earlier when the IPKF was there and could have achieved it much easier. To a question, he replied that the Sri Lanka Tamils do not face any threat from the army even after the withdrawal of the IPKF. 'In the present situation, it is not the problem between the Sri Lankan Army and the Tamils, but between the various Tamil groups'.

The implications behind all this is that Mr. Karunanidhi has to tread his way amidst contradictory pressures, both friendly and hostile. Although Mr. Perumal remains as Chief Minister on paper, he has become the provincial head in absentia. Neither the EPRLF leadership nor its cadres are likely to get back, as long as the LTTE refuses to sit down for a dialogue with Mr. Perumal. As the EROS leader Mr. V. Balakumar said in Madras, 'Why should the LTTE listen to anybody now when they are winning? They have the support of Colombo even if it is only for political reasons'. The underlying hint there is that the LTTE does not have to listen to Mr. Karunanidhi himself! The EROS group itself, which had in the

past worked with some kind of understanding with the LTTE, appears to be feeling the pressure, and is preparing in the words of a senior EROS leader 'for a long stay in India'. In other words the field is being left free for the two major forces in the island today - the Premadasa Government and the LTTE. The fact that both of them are today working in a friendly tandem does not deceive anybody. What would happen when once the IPKF is completely withdrawn, and the ground is not cluttered with other forces, if the two of them begin to feel each other's pressure? That might not happen immediately, but it is a likely prospect in the foreseeable future. What then would be Tamil Nadu's role in such an event? Ironically, even if the Tamils have to pay their sacrifice with another round of bloodshed (possibly the final round), that could be the only possible occasion when Tamil militant unity could be forged, and a permanent solution found for the Eelam Tamils. Prolonging that kind of eventuality rests almost squarely on what the Premadasa Government has 'up its sleeve'.

## SRI LANKA LOSES 1250 DOCTORS

Sri Lanka has been losing some 500 doctors a year for the past two-and-a-half years making a total loss of approximately 1250 doctors due to the closure of the country's universities, including the private North Colombo Medical College. 'Nothing can be done to immediately eradicate this shortage', a senior Health Ministry official said.

At present the country needed at least an additional 1000 doctors to provide a reasonable medical service.

The basic cadre of doctors is 2875. At present there are 2350. The ideal requirement would be a cadre of about 3350, the official added.

During the past few years there had been a rapid exodus of doctors from Sri Lanka. A major reason was the increased earning capacity in foreign countries. But recent widespread violence and threats to medical personnel and their families have resulted in a large number of better qualified doctors leaving the country. Doctors were leaving with their families to educate their children following the total breakdown in university education.

Each year the government sends ten specialists and ten more grade doctors for training abroad. In addition another 15 to 20 doctors are sent for specialist training by the PGIM. A substantial number of these doctors fail to return on completion of the training courses and stay back in foreign countries having obtained lucrative jobs.



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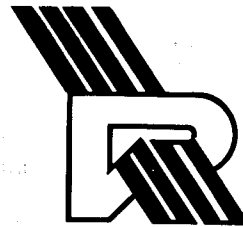
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# READERS FORUM

## A COMPROMISE FORMULA

EVEN a casual observer not involved directly or indirectly in politics will note that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have consolidated their position. Today they are a force to be reckoned with, both militarily and politically. It is obvious that the LTTE seem to have made their position quite clear and that the ball is now in the government's court.

An analysis of the political situation in our country indicates that the government has to move in the right direction if it is to solve the ethnic problem once and for all. It is clear that a solution should be sought politically and not otherwise.

The President has made it plain to the nation and the world that he and his government are available for consensus, compromise and consultation. It is not always easy to compromise one's position but it takes courage and large-heartedness to agree to a compromise in the interests and welfare of the nation.

Different views have been expressed for and against Provincial Councils that are already in existence. The reasons adduced are certainly valid and cannot be ignored. In the light of what has transpired, it may be worthwhile to consider introducing a federal form of government.

In that case, Sri Lanka will become a Federal Republic, in a form which would be a compromise with the present form of government. It means doing away with the Provincial Council set-up and grouping together three or four Provincial Councils to form a Regional Federation – that is, a tri-federal government consisting firstly, of the North-East; secondly the Central-West; thirdly, the South. Each will have a separate federal constitution.

I am certain this grouping, if implemented, will help keep our nation not only united but also prevent a recurrence of ethnic violence and the cry for separation. I have no doubt such a compromise formula will be acceptable to all sections of people, even the LTTE/PELT.

**C.S Thevabalasingham**

Colombo 5.

## EXPATRIATE TAMILS

ONE paragraph of N. Shanmugaratnam's thought-provoking article, 'Seven Days in Jaffna' (*Tamil Times*, Sept. 89) touched me deeply. It was the comment made by a tenant farmer who had complained, about the 'Tamils who had the means to escape, to run away to Europe and waiting to come back to rule, when the war is over'. I

guess this knowledgeable farmer should belong to the older generation who had studied the leadership profile of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Pon. Ramanathan, Pon. Arunachalam, A. Mahadeva and G.G. Ponnambalam belonged to the elite class of absentee politicians who 'ruled' the Tamils of Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Amparai and plantation regions, from their castles of Cinnamon Gardens in Colombo. The other category of leadership (S.J.V. Chelvanayakam and M. Tiruchelvam) originated from the families of upper-class Tamils who worked in colonial Malaya, Singapore and Burma a century ago, and retired to Jaffna in their twilight years. The sarcasm of the tenant farmer should have been directed against these classes of leadership the Tamils had patronised for the past century.

And when one suffering Tamil in Sri Lanka reads some announcements which appear in the *Tamil Times* (such as 'dinner and dance', 'dinner and disco') his or her contempt for the expatriate Tamils should bound to become reinforced. 'They are the worst kind of Tamils' who enjoy dance and disco in far-away London, while we natives suffer much humiliation and fear; so emanates the thought. And it is a valid one too.

However, away from the enticement of dance and disco, a small segment of expatriate Tamils do perform invaluable service to the Tamil cause, in their newly adopted countries. These include, being voluntarily functioning as:

- (a) archivists of things Tamiliana and chroniclers of events related to Tamils of Sri Lanka;
- (b) active contributors to the cause of Eelam Tamils, by constantly disseminating information, opinions and comments to the newspapers, popular magazines and other mass media in various cities and towns of many countries;
- (c) unofficial (but authentic) sources of information for non-Sri Lankan academics, human rights activists and international organizations;
- (d) collectors of materials (not money) like books, academic journals, scientific instruments and agricultural implements, which could aid the academic and economic development of future generations of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

They carry on these tasks mostly in their free time, and without any monetary benefit to them. They also do not get any moral support for their activities from the Sri Lankan government or financial assistance from fel-

low Tamils who had become well-established in their adopted countries. The role of these patriotic expatriate Tamils should not be ridiculed, if not recognised.

**Sachi Sri Kantha**

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Philadelphia, PA 19129, USA.

## 'NAYAR PUDDICHCHA PULI VALU'

I AM not sure what the long preamble to the article by Mr. S. Sivanayagam (TT, January 90) was in aid of or why he thinks that it will be fascinating to jerk our minds to the 'real thing' (not coke, by the Tiger). As far as I am aware the word 'tiger' (in singular) always brought to my mind the animal and its plural invariably refers to the LTTE, at least as far as the Tamils of Sri Lanka are concerned. Nevertheless, I did jerk my mind a little and a whole host of proverbs, fables and parables involving the tiger, including the one about the four wizards who brought back to life a dead tiger and the one about the good brahmin who took pity on a drowning tiger, crossed my mind. Somehow, it was the Malayalam film title of the early 1960s, 'Nayar Puddichcha Puli Valu' (The Tiger's Tail Which Nayar Grabbed) which made the strongest impression in the context of what Mr. Sivanayagam wrote.

Turning to matters less frivolous, he objects strongly to people drawing parallels between the LTTE and the German fascists because unlike the former, the latter apparently achieved their dominance through state power. What he seems to ignore is the fact that the fascists of Germany (and, for that matter, all European fascists) started as underdogs and fought their way to power. Their style was based on intolerance and appeal to narrow nationalism.

It is interesting that the killing of innocent civilians by the armed forces of the government of President Premadasa does not attract any comment in the article (although a study by International Alert indicates that many more civilians have been killed during 1989 than in any year before). The writer also chooses to ignore the fact that the Indira Gandhi government which made cynical use of the Tamil National question of Sri Lanka to further the strategic interests of India had many people who were very sympathetic to the Tamil cause and that it is the same RAW which provided training for the fighters and subsequently planned strategy against the LTTE which is advising the National Front government. He also prefers to ignore the fact that the beloved Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi of Tamil Nadu has been no less cynical than Indira Gandhi in his handling of the Eelam issue.

**Continued on Page 20**

## Continued From Page 19

What is more important is that Mr. Sivanayagam takes exception to criticism of the LTTE by concerned Tamils who are not necessarily its opponents. There is no use denying or defending the intolerance prevalent in some of the Tamil liberation organisations. It is this intolerance which led to the killing of people like Dr. Rajini whose contribution to the Tamil community was and would have been invaluable. Worse than this intolerance is the intellectual dishonesty which rationalises, and very often glorifies it. If the writing on the wall as the writer perceives it is 'The LTTE is on its way to power. Therefore, join the bandwagon', I refuse to accept it because that certainly is no way to be ahead. Rajini was killed, not for falling behind, but for being ahead and refusing to sail with the wind and drift with the tide. Still, her actions deserve to be emulated, not rejected. I have a feeling that Mr. Sivanayagam has missed the small print on the wall.

S. Sivasegaram

London SW20

## WHAT A PARALLEL?

THE only parallel I can see in the quotations at the head of Mr. Sivanayagam's article (page 15, Tamil Times, January 1990) is to the Devil which often quotes scriptures to justify its devilish acts. However, I agree with the sentiments contained in the quotes, particularly the following: 'Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers', and 'the tiger does not remember or generalise; it does not kill for revenge, or out of principle, through delegated, deluded and dehumanised troops'.

What I found very difficult to comprehend was Mr. S's attempt to favourable compare the LTTE composed of

men (who have demonstrated their potential and capacity to become an 'oppressive government', and many of whom have become virtually 'delegated, deluded and dehumanised troops') with 'the noble four legged species' the authors of the quotations had in mind.

There is no dispute that 'the LTTE has dominated the Tamil scene and Tamil consciousness for a decade'. But as to 'how the LTTE managed to achieve that distinction' is certainly not merely a 'subjective issue depending on each person's point of view'. It is capable of objective assessment by examining the facts as they present themselves. In his rather partisan way, Mr. S asserts that 'the pre-eminence of the LTTE ... was achieved in the face of State power used against it, not by one government, but by two governments. More specifically, the pre-eminence was attained by fighting State power'. True, the LTTE confronted the forces of Sri Lanka and India, and that is one objective fact. But there are other facts too. Even before it achieved its predominant role, the LTTE proclaimed its authoritarian ideology of its sole monopolistic right to represent the entire Tamil people to the exclusion of all other Tamil parties and groups, and in pursuance to this position, it had in fact sought to eliminate all other parties and groups and their leaders - TELO, TULF, PLOT, EPRLF, ENDLF etc. it did not and it does not brook even a 'friendly' group like the EROS.

LTTE also has killed MPs, College Principals, Government Agents, Assistant Government Agents, Divisional Revenue Officers, University Teachers, Undergraduates and other public figures. when the four-legged 'tiger ... does not kill for revenge or out of principle', one would like to know from Mr. S as to why the two-

legged variety among Tamils carry out these killings? Out of revenge or principle? The LTTE is 'dominating the Tamil scene' and had 'achieved pre-eminence' not only because it fought 'State power', but also because of its capacity for use of brutal terror within the Tamil community.

Mr. S says that Hitler and Ceausescu used state power to kill and oppress their people. I agree that the Tigers are away ahead of these dictators, because they have done it even before they assumed state power. One dreads what they would do with at least Provincial State power in their hands!

'Saturday Review' was deservedly described as a 'beacon of light' by an eminent person from south Sri Lanka when Mr. S was editing it. One wonders whether he would have been able to exercise that right to free expression under a regime of the LTTE. I also remember reading an excellent contribution by Mr. S in the Kanthasamy Commemoration Volume in which he wrote, 'As a believer in human rights, I was saddened at the disappearance of a man who was a crusader in the field'. Mr. S was terribly hurt that Kanthasamy 'should come to his fate at the hands of some mindless small men themselves Tamils; whose minds could neither grasp the finer human values, nor a world beyond guns'. Although he had the space and the opportunity, the fact that Mr. S chose not to mention even a word on the innumerable senseless killings that had since taken place, not excluding Government Agent Panchalingam, TULF leaders A. Amirthalingam and V. Yogeswaran, and Dr. Rajini Thiranaagama, is a sad reflection of his present stance even in regard to basic human rights and values.

S. Anthonipillai

Colombo 3  
Sri Lanka

## Continued From Page 7

22.1.90, our supporter Mr. Raja Mohamed was beaten up and tied to a lamp post with the note accusing him as a traitor; On 29.1.90, Mr. Rasul was shot dead at Kathankudi and his body was not returned; On 30.1.90, armed militants of the SLMC attempted to arrest our cadres and in that scuffle, a person named Munsoor was killed. These incidents clearly illustrate that it was the armed militia of the SLMC that has been on a war path attempting to provoke us'.

It is a well-known fact that the Indian intelligence agency, RAW, has attempted to sow the seeds of discord among Tamils and Muslims. Thereafter, the Indian armed quislings EPRLF, ENDLF, TELO and PLOT harassed the Muslim people and tried to incite communal violence. But now, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, in

collusion with RAW agents is bent on adopting the same strategy of dividing the Tamils and Muslims. We wish to point out that the SLMC adopted a calculated silence when the Indian army and the Indian backed armed groups were killing the Muslim people. The SLMC not only collaborated with these armed quislings but also received armed training from the Indians. The SLMC has been extorting money from the Muslim civilians and has bought a large quantity of arms from the Tamil National Army. Now the armed militia created by the SLMC has been terrorising the Muslim people who support the views of the Tamil Tigers and those who work for communal peace and harmony between Tamils and Muslims'.

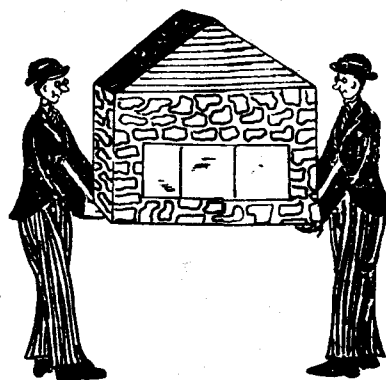
The SLMC in a lengthy reply, categorically denied the LTTE allegations and claimed that it 'being a non-violent and democratic party, never incited

and/or utilised violence'. It also reminded the LTTE, 'If the LTTE/PFLT only remember that it is the Muslims who did not expose them to their pursuers when they were running for safety from their erstwhile friends, the IPKF, the LTTE/PFLT will build a bridge of mutual understanding and goodwill instead of indulging in genocide of the same benefactor'.

Following a meeting between the Minister of Higher Education Mr. A.C.S. Hameed and an LTTE delegation on 2 February, the LTTE released most of those whom it had previously rounded-up in Kalmunai. The developments in the east and the resulting tension would appear to have been the main reason for the deputy leader of the LTTE and President of the PFLT, Mr. Mahendrarajah (Mahathaya) to go to Batticaloa and personally take charge of the situation.



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**Hindu Tamil parents** seek qualified partner for daughter, 27, graduate, permanent resident Australia, in good employment. Reply M 360 c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna Hindu parents** seek suitable partner below 37 years for their professionally qualified daughter working abroad. Reply with details and horoscope to M 361 c/o Tamil Times.

**Tamil Hindu parents** seek pretty, professionally qualified bride under 25 for son, 29, Australian citizen, State Bank employee, owns new house. No Mars Dosa. Full details to M 362 c/o Tamil Times or call 03-795 7914, Australia.

**Sister** seeks professionally qualified partner for Jaffna Hindu sister, 37, Montessori teacher. Reply with horoscope, details. M 363 c/o Tamil Times.

**Alliance** sought for Jaffna Tamil bride, 35, British citizen in good employment. Horoscope, details to M 364 c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna Hindu parents** seek groom, 32-39, for daughter, British citizen with Master's degree, holding high permanent government position in London. Reply with details M 365 c/o Tamil Times.

### WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage.

**Rohan** son of the late Mr. M. Manickavasagar and Mrs. R. Manickavasagar of 18 Ballogie Avenue, London NW10 and **Vathana** daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Mathuralingam at John Kelly School Hall, London NW2 on 20.1.90.

**Ranjit** son of Dr. & Mrs. C.P. Pillai of 41 1/1 Gregory's Road, Colombo 7, Sri Lanka and **Vasuhi** daughter of the late Dr. P. Nadarajah, Zambia and Mrs. S. Nadarajah of 7 Clavering Avenue, Barnes, London SW13 9DX at Shree Ganapathy Temple, London SW19 on 27.1.90.

**Damayantharan** son of Mr. & Mrs. S. Thiruganaselvam of 19 Clifford Place, Colombo 4 and **Bhama** daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Pon Balasundaram, 274 Mettupalayam Road, R.S. Puram, Coimbatore 2, S. India at Lola Jones Suite, London SW17 on 27.1.90.

**Cooma** son of Mr. & Mrs. K.C. Chelliah of 1/46 Garabella Street, Kirribilli, NSW2061, Australia and **Nalini** daughter of the late Mr. K. Mahadeva and Mrs. K. Mahadeva of 69 Streathfield Road, Harrow, Middx., U.K. at Ealing Town Hall, London W5 on 4.2.90.

**Velupillai (Kannan)** son of Mr. & Mrs. S. Kandapillai of Kaluvan, Chulipuram, Sri Lanka and **Gowri** daughter of Mr. S. Kandasamy, Retired Head Master, Manipay and Mrs. Kandasamy of 137 Crow Trail, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada at Archway Murugan Temple, London N6 on 7.2.90.

### IN MEMORIAM



In ever loving memory of  
**Sarojini Visvendran** who passed away on  
2nd March 1989.

An year has passed away  
And our tearful memories are not fading  
At your sudden departure  
We know that you are elsewhere  
Doing your duty without any fear  
We treasure the beautiful and happy days  
And the undivided boundless love  
You showered on us always  
We only hope that the place  
You have gone is holier than here  
And there is no pain, hate or fear.

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**Rajakarier, Gerald** (May 31, 1957 - December 28, 1988). Executive Civil Servant, Home Office, London; Legion of Mary Seratus Officer, London; Legionary for twenty years while at school and university; Outstanding lay apostle within his immediate family and in the community.

Remembered with immense love and affection on recent anniversary of his death by his grieving mother, Mrs. P. Rajakarier, 1 Cleveland Ave., London SW20.

In Treasured Memory of  
**S. Shanmugasundaram**  
A.G.A.

Born: 17.01.1926

Died: 09.02.1985

A day to remember, sad to recall,  
Without farewell you left us all:  
Hard working hands now rest,  
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### FORTHCOMING EVENTS

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**March 18 5.30 p.m. Mahajana Old Students Association U.K. presents Tamil Comic Sketch 'Kalladda Kalyanam'** in aid of college project at Riverdale Hall, Rennell Street, Lewisham, London SE13. For ticket and details Phone: 0277 223981 & 01-399 7848.

**March 24 7.15 p.m. Music Concert** by The Students of the Temple arranged and presented by Smt Rudrani Balakrishnan at London Sri Murugan Temple, 78 Church Road, Eastham, London E12 6AF. All Welcome.

**March 25 6.30 p.m. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan** presents 'The Abduction', dance drama based on Ramayana at Hammersmith Town Hall, London W6. For tickets Phone: 01-381 3036.

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

**March 4 & 18 Ramakrishna Vedanta Centre** Lecture by Swami Bhavyananda. All Welcome.

**March 10 7 p.m. Bharatanatyam** by Prakash with Sivasakthi, Balasri & musicians.

**March 17 7 p.m. Bharatanatyam** by Sudharani Raghupathy & Troupe from India.

**March 18 6 p.m. Carnatic Vocal** by Madurai Krishnan and Troupe from India.

### LOFUJ helps Needy Students

In response to a request from the Vice Chancellor, The League of the Friends of the University of Jaffna (LOFUJ),\* has remitted £1000 to the Vice Chancellor's fund to help needy students at the Campus. The amount was raised from the annual dance held in December 1989. LOFUJ had sent £3200 last year for various projects at the University.

\*45 Swiss Avenue, Watford, Herts WD1 7LL, U.K. Tel: 0923 23987.

### WORLD RELIGIONS IN DIALOGUE

The Central YMCA, London is organising an 8-week course titled 'World Religions in Dialogue', one evening a week beginning on Thursday, 19th April 1990. The session will last 90 minutes from 7.30 p.m. and participants will be required to pay a fee for the course.

**Rev. Swami Siva Nandhi** (formerly Mr. K. Gnanasoorian, who has recently been ordained a Hindu Swami), Head of London Meikandaar Aadheenam Trust, London E17 has been invited to deliver two lectures on Hinduism. Prof. Keith Ward of Kings college, London will preside and initiate the dialogue on Christianity and Hinduism.

**Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism and Islam** will be included in the course and the relationship between each of them and Christianity explored with lectures and dialogues. Guidance for the study of each religion will be given.

Intending applicants are requested to contact **Mr. Tim Page**, Director, Christian Purposes, Central YMCA, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3NQ for all details regarding the course, Phone 01-637 8131.



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