

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 5 No. 33

6th September 1986

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# GO, GO, PLEASE GO

No, No, No. The people of Jaffna city are not going to leave in a hurry, like people in some other parts of the North were forced to do.

They will stand back and fight, not with the force of arms, as the militant groups are doing, but with moral force.

A good index to the resistance, initiated by the SATURDAY REVIEW, to the Army attempts to force people out of areas near to the Camp in the Fort was provided when the Parent Teachers Associations of two of the leading schools in Jaffna decided on 4th

September that the institutions should be where they are now.

No budging, despite the shelling.

Both Central College and Vembadi Girls' School are situated close to the Fort.

Both were shelled from the Fort on 25th and 27th August causing extensive damage.

Some parents, anxious for the safety of their progeny, suggested that the two schools should be shifted elsewhere.

But at both PTA meetings the decision was unanimous: we will not shift.

Bravo, we say, Bravo.

"Quit Jaffna Fort", we said in our issue of 30th August.

We repeat it. If the Army moves out of the Fort, the tension in Jaffna city would ease immediately.

The presence of the Army in the heart of the city is the gravest provocation, not the presence of the militants.

To the militants we say: Hold your fire. You have done a wonderful job in keeping the Army at bay.

To the Army we say: Please go home. You have no place here.

A delegation from the Jaffna Peoples' Action Committee is due to meet President Jayewardene on 12th September to discuss this issue.

This is pursuant to the discussion the delegation of the People's Action Committee had with the Government Agent of Jaffna Mr. M. Punchalingam after the public demonstration held on 27th August against the presence of the Army in the Fort.

If the Army leaves, a settlement of the ethnic problem would come nearer to achievement.

There will be no loss of face. The Army would be leaving at the request of the People of Jaffna.

## SR IN TROUBLE AGAIN

The Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali has made another complaint to the Press Council against the SATURDAY REVIEW.

The matter at issue is Dr. David Selbourne's article published in the SR on 10th August 1985.

We have requested the Press Council, through a telegram, to invite President Jayewardene, the Minister of Lands and Mahaweli Development, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake and Dr. Selbourne to be present at the inquiry fixed for September.

Meanwhile, we have started a new fund to raise money to pay the legal costs due to Mr. Athulathmudali as per order of the Press Council in a previous case.

Rs. 1,575 is an additional burden on a small non-profit making organisation like the SR.

We appeal to Readers to contribute 50 cents each to pay the legal costs.

The following is the latest complaint made by the Minister under Section 9(1) of the Sri Lanka Press Council Law 5 of 1973 - Publication in SATURDAY REVIEW in Sri Lanka.

"I wish to make a complaint against the newspaper - SATURDAY REVIEW, Sri Lanka, under the Sri Lanka Press Council Law No. 2 of 1973.

"I observe that this newspaper is in the habit of publishing false and distorted statements against me. This newspaper on 10th August, 1985 at Page 4 published an article purported to be a speech made by David Selbourne which has several references to me personally.

"These statements are false and distorted and are defamatory of

me. On 15th October, 1985 I wrote to the Editor denying those statements attributed to me, which letter was published in their issue of 26th October, 1985. However I find that the newspaper, though publishing my letter did not in any way accept my version and apologise to me for any damage done.

"This article refers to me as Minister of National Security in 1982. It is a well-known fact that this Ministry was not in existence in 1982 and at that time I was the Minister of Trade & Shipping. This alone shows that the facts contained in this statement are false.

"Further this newspaper continues to publish false and distorted statements which are attributed to me. A recent example is the publication of 30.11.85 where on Page 6 under 'Letters' - a letter has been published where I am

purported to have said that a military solution is easier. I categorically deny making such statements anywhere.

"As my continued complaints to the newspapers regarding distorted statements have been of no avail, I wish to take up this matter under the Press Council Law to seek redress."

## STAMPS IN JAFFNA

The Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (E.P.R.L.F.) began a postal service in Jaffna on 5th September 1986.

A ceremony was held at the Naval Hall, Nallur at 9.30. a.m. on the day to mark the inauguration ceremony, at which first-day covers were sold.

Another militant group is planning to print currency notes as well.

What next?

Release All The Political Prisoners in Sri Lanka jails



## Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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## Asylum In Europe

At a first follow-up to the Hague Consultations on Asylum and Refugees in Europe, which took place in April 1986, an informal working group met at UNHCR Headquarters in Geneva on 24 and 25 June to exchange views regarding the plight of Tamil asylum seekers from Sri Lanka. The participants were: Canada, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and UNHCR. At the end of the meeting which was viewed as another step in the process of dialogue, the participants recognized that "the only way to make progress towards solutions for those who have sought refuge outside their country is through a concerted international approach. Any solution must take into account both political, social and economic realities as well as internally accepted humanitarian standards."

'Refugees'—No. 32 - August 1986

## New Horizons In Tamil Studies — 2

# DECIPHERING THE INDUS SCRIPT

(Continued from last issue)

The renaissance ushered in through these manifold activities has influenced other fields of Tamilology — e. g. music, dancing etc. Doctorates have been conferred on many during the last decade for their work in music and dancing. No less a person than Padmasiri Dr. (Miss) Pathma Subramaniam, one of the astute exponents of the exquisite techniques of rhythm, bava and karanas in Bharata Natya, for the first time organised a Conference-Seminar-cum performance of Bharata Natya with the assistance of yet another distinguished exponent of Bharata Natya the late Rukmani Arundale, from December 18th to December 29th, 1981. She is also an acknowledged critic of the dance art of Bharata Natya.

The Annamalai University has distinguished itself in post-graduate studies in Tamil and has excelled in Dravidian linguistics. The Madras University too has brought out worthy publications in Tamil studies and has now set up a separate Department for Research in Thirukkural. The Kerala University has done equally well and the Mathurai University though young is stepping up studies in Tamilology. Special mention must be made of the late N. Vanamamalai who adorned Tamil studies in a new field, of folk-lore and sociological dissections. His publication, in Tamil and English the quarterly journal 'Arachchi' has left an indelible mark in this new field of study in which he excelled.

Another achievement during this period is the decipherment of the Brahmi inscription of Tamil Nadu. H. Krishna Sastri and K. V. Subramanya Aiyar the free-runners in this field felt that the records were a jumble of Prakrit and Tamil. For the first time, G. Narayana Rao criticised their view (1938) and submitted that it was 'Paisaci-Prakrit.' However, K. K. Pillai refuted this and maintained that it was a "hybrid jargon of Tamil and Prakrit." (Tamil Culture, Vol. V: No: 2, 1956). Kamil Zvelebil however pointed out that this language was "basically Tamil, though a hybridized form of Tamil." (Archiv Orientalni No: 32, 1964 - reproduced in Tamil Culture Vol: XII No: I, 1966).

This new interest in the decipherment of the Brahmi records of Tamil Nadu encouraged by Tamil Culture found further expression and solution at the second Inter-

national Conference-Seminar of Tamil Students held in Madras in 1968 where Iravatham Mahadevan presented a well-documented and critical paper and submitted that the language of the Brahmi inscriptions was Tamil and called it Tamil Brahmi and R. Nagaswami while agreeing that the language was Tamil, preferred to call it Damili. R. Panneerselvam also excelled in this field.

A further development during this period is the attempted decipherment of the Indus script. Here again, Tamil Culture forged an interest by publishing excerpts from Fr. Heras's work on the subject. Computerised analysis of the Indus script for the first time was made by a Russian team comprising Y.V. Knorozov, B.Y. Volock and N. V. Gurov. (1965) and this was followed by another compu-

terised analysis by a team comprising Askop Parpola, Pentti Alto and others from Finland (1968). Both teams came to the conclusion that the language of the Indus script was Dravidian. However Kamil Zvelebil and Arlene R. K. Zide expressed misgivings about the methodology of computer feeding. A further attempt was made by S.R. Rao who suggested the possibility of the language being Aryan but did not pursue his research. Iravatham Mahadevan made a further study funded by the Tata Institute and came to the conclusion that the language of the Indus is proto-Dravidian, although he also does not approve of the methodology of the Russian and Finnish teams. He also traced the Chera, Chola and Pandyan divisions to Indus-origin.

by

A. Theva Rajan

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In the field of archaeology, the late Professor Thani Nayagam, editorially lamented, in Tamil Culture (Vol. I : No. I) that the Tamil districts were being given step-motherly treatment. After R. Nagaswamy took over as Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, great strides have been made in epigraphy although much is yet to be done. Many sites have also been excavated and the glory of the past mentioned in the literatures have been established. He is ably assisted by his deputy Mr. Natana Kasinathan. In this field the contributions of Prof. K. V. Raman cannot be overlooked. Now, S. R. Rao is heading a team

of under-sea archaeologists with a view to bringing out the glories of the buried cities of Kaviri-poom-pattinam, Korkai and other sites. Another praiseworthy achievement is the identity and dating of the wonderful megalithic civilization. The assertions of Von Furer Haimendorf which were carried in the Tamil Culture sparked off a controversy and prompted further research — mainly archaeological. A number of archaeologists both Indian and foreign worked on this and have dated it at 1000 B.C. whereas Haimendorf put it at 200 B.C. Most scholars are agreed that it is Dravidian. Yet, actual 'digging' or excavation is still a neglected field, and delay tantamounts to destruction.

It is difficult to recapitulate all the achievements of the last three decades for which the late Profes-

sor Thani Nayagam laid the foundation, in a brief survey like this. But it is an acknowledged fact that the achievements are enormous as contextualised in the earlier neglected periods and the future planning of Tamil studies.

In an interview to the Indian Express on October 28, 1961, the late Professor Thani Nayagam observed "Tamil studies had great need to be modernized as any other arts group or modern European language. Professors of Tamil in Ceylon, Malaysia, and even in London, Paris and Prague would be interested in participating in such conferences. It was for a Tamil University in Tamil Nadu to initiate such a move."

This observation was made with reference to the World Tamil Conference after having discussions with the heads of Tamil Departments in Tamil Nadu Universities and the Tamil Research and Development Council of the Government of Tamil Nadu. His reference to the need for a Tamil University in Tamil Nadu to initiate such a move is of perennial significance. His far-sightedness and may we say 'prophecy' has come true today. It is heartening to find that the Tamil Nadu Government has established a Tamil University at Tanjore on a 1000 acre land. It is most gratifying to note that the Tamil Nadu Government means business when they appointed

(Continued on page 11)



## FOREIGN VIEWS

## THE ISRAELI CONNECTION

In its approach to India and Sri Lanka, Israel is tripping over its own feet. The Israeli Government gives every appearance of wanting normal relations with India, but a particularly nasty spy incident and Tel Aviv's support of the Sri Lanka government's vicious war against Tamil separatists would seem to rule out that prospect.

Moreover, the branch of the Israeli government that markets counterinsurgency consulting will surely not want to use the Sri Lanka experience in its promotional, material. Stories of the four Sri Lankas — a navy lieutenant, two soldiers and a police commando — who went to Israel to be fitted with artificial limbs makes good reading for the home audience, but since Israeli advisers began helping the Sri Lanka military in mid 1984, their client's fortunes have gone from bad to worse.

The conflict in the island nation which lies off Southern India and was formerly known as Ceylon, was kindled by a 1983 pogrom conducted by the Sinhalese majority against the Tamil minority. The embers of hatred had smouldered since 1956 when an otherwise progressive government established a Buddhist state and made Sinhalese the official language. Originally from India, the Tamils, who comprise 18% of the population of 15 million are mostly Hindu, but among them are also Christians and Muslims. Under the Sinhalese majority they have been denied access to employment and education. The 1983 attack on Tamil civilians was set off by an attack by Tamil guerrillas on the predominantly Sinhalese army.

In 1984, after attempts by the Tamil United Liberation Front, a moderate political formation willing to accept a compromise short of the independent nation in the north and east called Tamil Eelam envisioned by the separatists, to negotiate partial autonomy with the government broke down, the longstanding enmity blazed into civil war.

## Israel Stands in for the US

The government of President J.R. Jayewardene went running to Washington, London, and Bonn, for help. Not wanting to anger India—50 million Tamils live in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu and have been a source of unofficial support

for the Tamils—the Reagan Administration declined—as did Britain and West Germany—to give direct aid. But it did smooth the way for Israel to render assistance.

In May 1984 the US allowed Israel to establish an interest section under the aegis of the US Embassy in the capital city Colombo. Israel opened an office near the embassy and sent a senior diplomat, David Matnai was an agent of Mossad, and that he coordinated the training program Israel provided Sri Lanka. The report took on added credence when Matnai was transferred after only four months.

Along with the British M15, Israel's Mossad secret service had trained the intelligence officers of Jayewardene's predecessor.

Although it is often difficult to determine whether Israel becomes embroiled in someone else's war for its own motives or on behalf of the US, in this instance Israel's presence was quite clearly as a US pro-

Israel was aiding its counterinsurgency efforts that his government had restored limited diplomatic ties.

## What the Israelis Did

It has never been clear how many Israeli agencies were involved and exactly what the Israelis were assigned to do in Sri Lanka. In addition to Mossad, the mention has been made of Israel's internal security service Shin Bet. In August 1984 Sri Lanka's security minister Athulathmudali said Shin Bet was giving training in intelligence gathering, handling explosives and commando operations. Colombo confirmed that it was Israel's internal security service that was involved in Sri Lanka and that two Israelis had trained the police in intelligence gathering.

Speaking in Copenhagen in June 1984 Sri Lanka's foreign minister A. C. S. Hameed said that Mossad would train a special counterinsurgency corps. In July President Jayewardene said that Israeli

antiterrorist expertise would be used to assist his security forces

Lanka's security forces since May and that the Tamil radio station had asserted that the military was blocking wounded Tamils from access to medical treatment.

## Ties to Israel Criticized

In addition to stiff protests from the small Muslim minority in Sri Lanka, there have been well modulated expressions of disappointment with Colombo from abroad. The Arab league vowed to work for the reversal of Sri Lanka's decision. PLO chairman Yasir Arafat dropped the island from the itinerary of an Asian tour he made in the summer of 1984, a move said to signify disapproval of Sri Lanka's links with Israel.

But when Ceylonese workers in the Gulf States — about 100,000 by one estimate — began to worry that they would be the object of retaliatory moves, officials in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia denied there would be expulsions or other restrictions imposed on the expatriates.

On July 9, 1985 the *Jerusalem Post* quoted sources in Sri Lanka to the effect that, with Canada and Saudi Arabia putting a giant river diversion program on hold due to Saudi objections to the Israeli presence, Sri Lanka might be preparing to turn its back on Israel. Israeli training having been received, went the reasoning, according to this account, the purpose for renewing limited ties with Israel had been served. That report appears to have been in error.

A ban on trade with Israel that had been in effect since the diplomatic rupture in 1970 was lifted that same month and in August 1985 Colombo announced the resumption of commercial ties. Israel has begun to buy coconut and regularly takes 5% of Sri Lanka's tea, the country's principal export.

Last October Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres had a secret meeting in Paris with President Jayewardene, who asked that Israeli agricultural aid — three development advisers were sent to Sri Lanka upon the opening of the Israeli interest section and Ceylonese students have visited and Israeli kibbutz — be continued, but refused Peres' request for full diplomatic ties.

(Continued on page 4)

by

Jane Hunter

xy. The arrival in December 1984 of Gen. Vernon Walters in Sri Lanka underscored the continuing US interest in the situation there. Walters a former CIA officer and President Reagan's favourite "troubleshooter" until he became US ambassador to the UN in 1985, met with President Jayewardene and security minister Lalith Athulathmudali.

The *Jerusalem Post* said it was the first time that Israel had carried out diplomatic functions from a US embassy, that Israel normally works out of a European embassy in those countries which do not recognize it. Sri Lanka broke relations with Israel in 1970.

The Israelis, as is their practice, never admitted anything about the military side of their activities. In announcing the partial restoration of diplomatic ties the Israeli government radio said that "Israel is aiding Sri Lanka in the agricultural area, among others." The radio noted a report in the Indian paper *The Daily Sun* saying that Sri Lanka had sought the help of Israeli intelligence services in fighting the Tamils.

A Sri Lanka official visiting Israel asserted that it was mainly because

in operations against extremists from the minority Tamil community.

The next day Israeli radio reported that Jayewardene intended to ask "Israeli experts to collect intelligence information on the Tamil terrorists." Jayewardene, the radio said, also "confirmed having commissioned mercenaries from Great Britain", Pakistani help to the government has also been reported.

This spring there was a report that India had protested the use of "foreign pilots" in helicopter gunship attacks on Tamil bases. Security minister Athulathmudali said, that about 10 Israeli agents had trained 100 Sri Lankans over a period of two months. Athulathmudali said, "They come in batches and give a course. They do not go out of the classroom."

Several thousand refugees from shelling by the Sri Lankan navy have fled to a camp on the northern coast, as the Government continues its operation, staged with the help of Israeli secret service advisors, to clean up the bases of Tamil militants

reported *The Guardian*. The British paper went on to note that Mossad consultants had been training Sri



(Continued from last issue)

Kilinochchi Area (contd.)  
from 16-6-'86—29-6-'86

16-6-'86 A 22-hour curfew is clamped.

17-6-'86—18-6-'86 — A school building which housed refugees at the 7th Channel is severely damaged by aerial bombing. Abandoned houses and shops are looted by Security Forces and set alight.

19-6-'86 Bomber planes drop bombs. Residents within a 2 mile radius of the Army Camp have fled.

20-6-'86 Artillery and shell fire from the Army Camp causes injuries to several workers at the Government Bus Depot situated about a mile away. At Thirunagar a Christian Seminarian is shot dead by Security Forces. When he goes

# JUNE

there to attend the funeral of his brother also shot dead by Security Forces.

About 8,000 Kilinochchi residents are made refugees - 4000 are housed in 5 Refugee Camps and the rest accommodated by friends and relations.

10 Schools in Kilinochchi remain closed and the education of several hundred children is affected.

28-6-'86 6 farmers in a tractor are shot dead and their bodies set alight with the tractor by Security Forces. Bomber planes drop bombs

and helicopter strafes Kilinochchi Town.

29-6-'86 Security Forces fire shells into residential areas. The crash of violence which hit Kilinochchi on 4-6-'86 still continues, but now on a lesser scale as peace reigns in a deserted town. No proper count of the dead is possible but at least 36 persons are believed killed, over 100 injured and large scale destruction to houses, shops and other buildings caused.

4-6-'86—5-6-'86 4th Mile Post, Trincomalee — All vehicles to and out of Trincomalee have to pass this place. In retaliation for the killing of 16 Sinhalese civilians on 4-6-'86 at Mihindupura and Andankulam, Air Force men with Home-Guards and hooded men pull out Tamil passengers from passing vehicles and attack them. Some are killed and their

bodies burnt, some are kidnapped. The Sinhalese wife of a victim who recovers the dead body of her husband states that she had seen about 20 charred bodies lying on the road. A passenger-van which had left Vavuniya for Trincomalee with about 25 Tamil passengers is found burnt at Kantalai with 8 charred bodies including that of an infant and a young girl. The fate of the others is not known. The fate of several passengers in cars and other vehicles who had passed this way is not known. There are reports of some kidnapped persons having been rescued by militant Tamil youths. As per particulars compiled by the Citizens Committee of Trincomalee the whereabouts of 37 persons kidnapped are still not known.



## The Israeli Connection

(Continued from page 3)

### Patrol Boats from Israel

Last summer as the government began acquiring more sophisticated weapons — gunboats, helicopters, armoured personnel carriers and rifles came from China, Belgium, Britain, Pakistan, South Africa, and the US — Israel sold Colombo six patrol boats. But the Army requiring this hardware was, as a New York Times headline expressed it, "increasingly undisciplined." Amnesty International has documented numerous cases of torture.

The war has become bloodier. Whereas two years ago there were scattered bands of guerrillas and intermittent massacres of civilians by the army, now there is a full blown civil war, the daily death toll mounting as the government bombs civilian areas and carries out mass evacuations of Tamils, 20,000 in one instance.

And the government seems to be losing. The Tamils now control about a third of the country. The predominantly Tamil Jaffna peninsula in the north and a good part of the eastern edge of the island are liberated zones, where government forces are limited to occasional forays. Tamil forces, operating in at least a dozen separate organizations, have also developed a support structure in India's Tamil Nadu state. Sri Lanka's economy is devastated. **India Alienated**

Sri Lanka might be getting what its security minister has termed "the world's best consultants to help eliminate terrorism in this country," but it is doubtful that Israel has profited greatly, especially in its relations with India, the dominant government in the region and a giant on the international scene.

Those appear to have deteriorated markedly.

The downslide began from around zero, where relations had been since India expelled the Israeli consul from Bombay, the Jewish state's only diplomatic representation in the country; that occurred during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, when the consul charged India with subservience to Arab governments.

India has been trying to act as mediator between the Tamil organizations and the government of Sri Lanka. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is supporting a negotiated autonomy for the Tamils that stops short of partition. But he has been appalled at the "mass killings" of Tamils by the Sri Lanka military. Gandhi recently told the Indian parliament that Israel and Pakistan were working "hand-in-hand" to help the government in Sri Lanka, remarking that "politics make strange bedfellows."

India's foreign minister said that India did not favour the stationing of UN peacekeeping forces between the warring parties because of opposition to the presence in Sri Lanka of "foreign elements including Pakistan or Israel."

Set in the late 40's by India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru — he regarded the new state of Israel as a reincarnation of the British imperial presence — India's policy has been to hold Israel at arm's length, while extending warm support to the Palestinian cause; India's small Jewish population attests it is treated with similar warmth.

Even though Israel responded to Nehru's urgent request for mortars when India was fighting China and Pakistan, after a begrudging *de jure* recognition in 1950, Nehru never

allowed Israel more than the consulate in Bombay, a policy continued by his daughter Indira Gandhi, and following her assassination in 1984, his grandson, the present Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. (IFA, 6/86)

Last summer Rajiv Gandhi told Le Monde that India would only recognize Israel when "Israel changed her attitude on a number of subjects." **Spy for Israel Arrested**

In February Ram Swaroop, a prominent member of a rightist political party, was arrested on charges having spied for the US, West Germany, Israel, and Taiwan since 1954. Two cabinet ministers and numerous leading politicians and journalists were linked to Swaroop's activities, which, in addition to passing highly sensitive military and political secrets, included agitating for recognition of Israel, conducting anti-Soviet propaganda with American funds, and acting as Taiwan's unofficial ambassador. Swaroop was also head of the local branch of WACL, the ultra-right World-Anti-Communist League.

In 1978 he arranged a secret visit for Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan with Moraji Desai, who had briefly replaced Indira Gandhi as India's Prime Minister. Desai's son was one of those linked to Swaroop's spy ring.

The former Israeli consul in Bombay told the *Jerusalem Post* that Swaroop had indeed set up meetings with Indian politicians for visiting Israelis and that he had been paid for his services by the piece, rather than engaged on a retainer. Declaring the charges "fabrications," the Israeli foreign ministry said Israel had no intention of helping Swaroop.

Defending Swaroop, however, is Israel's biggest booster in India, attorney Ram Jethmalani. He was

the prosecuting attorney who won a conviction for electoral malfeasance against the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her deceased son Sanjay in 1975.

Jethmalani apparently has taken over for Swaroop's first attorney, P. N. Lekhi, who was barred by the government from appearing for Swaroop, after he was implicated in the case. Lekhi had defended Satwant Singh, one of the Sikh militants charged with the murder of Indira Gandhi.

### Ties to Sikh Militants

There have been persistent reports impossible to confirm, that Israel also has connections to some Sikh militants. Recently the Mexican government arrested 29 Indians, "presumably linked to the assassination of Indira Gandhi," according to Agence France-Presse. The agency said it had been told by Jose Jimenez, an immigration official, that when apprehended in Oaxaca the 29 had been on their way to the US to seek asylum. They had entered Mexico through Panama and Guatemala, Jimenez said. Both of the latter are countries where Israel has strong connections with the national military institutions.

Israel knows India is in a tight spot with the Sikhs," said a journalist familiar with South Asian affairs, "and is simply using the Sikhs as leverage." Several other analysts of Indian affairs did not find the notion far-fetched that Israel would enjoy the sight of the world's largest democracy losing its footing, even if only momentarily. India's participation in the non-aligned movement has greatly exalted the status of that grouping of 101 nations, which has been a steadfast champion of the Palestinian cause.

—Sri Lanka Human Rights Bulletin



# 1986

In all at least 50 men, women and children are believed to have been killed.

4-6-'86—6-6-'86 **Colombo** — About 600 Policemen search homes and lodgings of Tamils and arrest 350 persons. Most of these arrested are permanent employees at Colombo or those expecting appointments or making flight arrangements to go abroad. Inspector-General of Police says those arrested could not explain their presence in Colombo.

5-6-'86 **Paranthan** — The Government Agent of Jaffna, his Public Relations Officer and other officials returning in a lorry from Colombo with important Government documents get off and flee from the lorry when a shell fired from the Kilinochchi Army Camp falls nearby and bursts. Within seconds another shell falls on the lorry. 2 drivers in the lorry are killed when the lorry (with the valuable documents) is enveloped in flames.

5-6-'86 **Chenkaladi** — A youth shot and injured by the Security Forces who runs into the Hospital compound is pursued and shot dead. The Doctor-in-charge is shot and injured by the Security Forces. The Doctor is rushed to the Batticaloa Hospital for medical attention.

5-6-'86 **Vantharumoolai** — Security Forces shoot killing 1 person.

5-6-'86 **Vavuniya** — Over 100 Security Forces in search operations in the early hours of the day arrested about 250 persons. All arrested persons were removed to the Army Camp and released in the evening.

5-6-'86 **Point Pedro** — 2 fishermen out at sea fishing in the early hours fired at by a Navy boat. One is killed and the other escapes with injuries.

5-6-'86 **Valvettiturai** — Several houses are damaged by helicopter strafing and shells being fired from gun-boats.

6-6-'86 **Maligawatte, Colombo** — A bomb explodes in a stationery compartment at the Railway Yard. 2 compartments are destroyed.

Government communique: Tamil terrorists responsible.

6-6-'86 **Atchaveli** — A passenger van is strafed and attacked by a helicopter. 2 innocent civilians are killed and 2 injured. The van is badly damaged.

6-6-'86 **Gal Oya Junction** — Cries for help are heard in a compartment of the train which arrives from Batticaloa en-route to Colombo.

The cries are from 2 Tamil passengers seriously injured by a Sinhalese mob. 9 other Tamil pas-

sengers are found dead in the same compartment.

6-6-'86 **Vavuniya** — Government Servants on way to lunch are made to kneel on the road in the hot sun for a few hours by the Security Forces before being released.

6-6-'86 **Kotahena — Colombo** — A hand-bomb is thrown as Tamil devotees leave the Kotahena Sivan Temple after attending the Friday evening ceremonies. A youth is injured and a passenger-van is damaged.

7-6-'86 **Valvettiturai** — Strafing 2 helicopters, shelling from the Army Camp and gun-boats leaves a 16 year old girl dead, 9 persons injured. Some houses also suffer damages.

7-6-'86 **Palali, Vasavilan** — Security Forces moving out of Camp, forced to retreat by militants, fire shells from the camp causing damages to several houses. A helicopter strafes causing further damages to houses.

7-6-'86 **Amparai** — 4 cyclists (Tamil youths) are shot dead by Security Forces.

7-6-'86 **Kaluwanchikudi, Vantharumoolai** — 90 Tamils are arrested by Security Forces during search operations.

7-6-'86 **Kaluwankerny** — Special Task Force personnel arrest 19 fishermen. On inquiries made by the next-of-kin the arrest of 12 persons is denied. On representations being made the Co-ordinating Officer-in-Charge of the Camp calls for a report from the Officer-in-Charge of the Murakottanchenai Army Camp.

8-6-'86 **Vantharumoolai** — Security Forces enter a Hindu Temple, assault the Priest and rob valuable items, and desecrate the Temple. The Assistant Priest is arrested. The Hindu Association protests to the Minister of Internal Security.

8-6-'86 **Point Pedro, Valvettiturai** — Gun-boats fire shells. A small girl and an aged woman are injured. Several houses are damaged.

8-6-'86 **Katunayake** — 15 Tamil youths checking in at the Air Port by Customs Officials prior to taking a flight to Singapore are arrested by C. I. D. officials and their Passports are confiscated.

June '86 **Mullaitivu** — An employee of the Fisheries Corporation is arrested by Security Forces.

9-6-'86 **Vasavilan** — Security Forces fire shells from the Camp. A helicopter strafes areas surrounding

the Army Camp from 8-30 a.m. and again from 12-30 p.m. for several hours. Schools are closed and students flee for safety. Security Forces destroy several houses with petrol bombs.

9-6-'86 **Kaluwanchikudi** — Government communique — One person is shot dead and 6 Arrested by Security Forces during search operations. Arms and ammunition recovered.

9-6-'86 **Karaitivu** — Special Task Force personnel enter a Hindu Temple where a religious festival is in Progress and arrest over 12 youths.

9-6-'86 **Eravur** — Government communique: 12 terrorists suspects are arrested by Special Task Force personnel.

June '86 **Munnaikadda, Batticaloa** — Certain Murugan who goes to Kattankudi to make some purchases is arrested by the Security Forces at Manmunai. The wife, Valli (21) with an infant in her arms rushes to the Batticaloa Police Station. She is informed that her husband is not held there. On her return home Vallie faints, fall down and dies. The husband is released on the following day.

9-6-'86 **Kaluwanchikudi** — 2 youths arrested and detained by Special Task Force personnel for over a month are released with instructions that they report at the Camp every Sunday. When the two report at the Camp on 8-6-'86 they are both mercilessly assaulted. One of the youths, S. Santharoopan (20) succumbs to his injuries at the Kalmunai Hospital on 9-6-'86. The other is hospitalised.

June '86 **Paddiruppu** — Security Forces search a house and inquire about a youth. The father being unable to produce the son is severely assaulted. The father is hospitalised.

June '86 **Batticaloa** — Devadasan the Deputy Commissioner of Agrarian Services is arrested by Special Task Force personnel. He is later released due to efforts made by the Government Agent of Batticaloa.

10-6-'86 **Mandaitivu** — A group of fishermen sail from Gurunagar, Jaffna for Mandaitivu Island at about 5 a.m. for purseine fishing. Navy personnel who approach in plastic boats fire at random. The 30 fishermen fishing off the coast of Mandaitivu are killed, 12 of those killed, are over 50-years of age, whilst one of them is a 13-year old boy.

Government communique — Terrorists who had taken several fishermen along with them attack Security Forces from a fishing boat. When Security Forces return fire several terrorists and fishermen are killed.

10-6-'86 **Mandaitivu** — Security Forces move out of temporary Army Camp. A helicopter strafes surrounding areas. Security Forces fire at random killing 3 persons including a 62 year old man. 6 persons are arrested. Several houses are damaged by strafing from the helicopter. Several houses are looted by the Security Forces. Over 800 families flee as refugees. Parents of those arrested appeal to the Jaffna Government Agent for their release.

10-6-'86, 11-6-'86 **Valvettiturai** — A three-pronged attack is launched by the Security Forces on areas surrounding the Army Camp for 2 consecutive days. 2 Bomber planes drop 20 bombs. Helicopters strafe and drop petrol bombs. Shells are fired from the Army Camp. From the sea, gun-boats fire shells into residential areas. The operation leaves 5 dead. Those killed are a 65 year old retired School Principal, 3 children aged 4 years, 5 years and 8 years and a 17-year old girl who succumbs to injuries when both her hands were blown off. 76 persons are injured; 75 houses are destroyed. The Valvettiturai Citizens' Committee apprises the President of the Army Action directed against civilian targets and of loss of lives and property.

A Government communique: states that 6 terrorists were killed and claim this operation as a victory for the troops.

10-6-'86 **Kaluwanchikudi** — Government communique: Special Task Forces fire on terrorists who attempt to attack with hand-grenades. 1 terrorist is killed and 2 arrested.

June '86 **Kirankulam** — Government communique: One person is shot dead and 3 arrested by Security Forces during search operations. 3 hand-grenades recovered.

10-6-'86 **Kayts** — Security Forces who attempt to land having arrived by boats from the Karainagar Naval Base are forced to retreat by militants. In retaliation shells are fired from the Naval base into residential areas of Kayts. Several houses including the People's Bank building suffer damages.

11-6-'86 **Kaluwanchikudi** — Government communique: 2 terrorists are killed and 9 arrested by Special Task Force personnel.

11-6-'86 **Colombo** — In a Police action labelled, "Operation Thunderbolt" Police personnel attached to 18 Police Stations arrest 50 Tamils between 7 p.m. and 9 p.m.

(To be continued)



For many reasons the Fort at Jaffna calls for special and detailed mention well beyond that accorded to any other.

It was the northern headquarters of the Company. From it were controlled all the semi-separate affairs of the north — its governing, its law, its trade and the dealings with its peoples.

It was, as a technical fortress, the Netherlands' ideal. After the siege of 1658 they demolished the damaged and not fully up-to-date square fort of the Portuguese and, in its place, built first the inner pentagon and then, in the following century, the outer circuit. Everything was done to the latest design at each successive stage. Even though in the later part of the 1700s the completion of the outworks was slowed down by stone and lime shortages, the final result was the strongest fortress in the East, the perfect defensive design in the days of powerful and destructive solid shot artillery of limited effective range. In Britain, fully comparable places are to be found only at the town of Berwick, at Fort George near Inverness, at the Citadel of Plymouth and at Tilbury Fort on the Thames approaches to London.

Yet on 28th September 1795, only three years after its final completion, it surrendered to the British without firing a shot. Resistance was impossible since it was without adequate garrison, the Dutch having concentrated their troops on Colombo. Fortunately, the Fort's preservation has been further assisted by the continuation of its functions. Civil servants and the law have continued to use it and it has been spared demolitions.

Another aspect that sets it apart from all the others is that it was the only one that fully qualified for the designation of citadel, i.e. a large independent, garrisoned, administrative and military centre without civil inhabitants, which at once protected and over-awed the adjoining town.

Who were the potential enemies this powerful Fort was built to frustrate and what would be their methods of attack? The danger — and steadily increasing danger — came from European trading rivals, chiefly the British and the French East India Companies. The latter was in 1767 taken over by the French Crown and thereby became all the more dangerous. Against that potential threat to their commercial interests, the Dutch made Jaffna into a key position facing the Coromandel Coast and commanding the sea routes down both the west and east sides of the Island.

A design had to be adopted that would be best suited to defeat the methods of attack available to a

Excerpts from a chapter on the JAFFNA FORT from THE DUTCH FORTS OF SRI LANKA by W. A. NELSON

European enemy. In a regular siege, the foremost attack weapons would be cannon and mortars allied to storming when the guns (and often mining) had created the necessary breaches. The active defences against such attacks would be counter cannon and mortar fire with carefully calculated cross-fire, plus musketry and, where necessary, countermining. The passive defences would be solidity and partial invisibility. All these matters were in the context of reasonably accurate maximum cannon range of perhaps 400 yards and similar musket range of, say, 100 yards. Both weapons could throw their shot much further, though without accuracy.

The general plan is shown here. Why was the inner circuit made five-sided? Why was it geometrically regular? Why had it been enclosed within other defences on the far side of the wet ditch and equally regular save on the south entrance front, where special arrangements had been made? What were the functions of the small external triangular projections opposite the centres of three of the other sides of the inner pentagon?

The object of all these arrangements was to obtain the greatest effective fire-power combined with adequate but not excessive size — while keeping the enemy at a distance.

This object was achieved principally by arranging the works so that not a single foot of ground within effective range could escape being fired upon, if possible from several directions at once, all cover within that area such as vegetation or buildings having been removed. The elimination of spots where an attacker could not be seen and shot at, was found to be most easily attained by some form of straight line geometric figure, with four, five, six or more sides of rampart, with a bastion at each corner. This meant in practice a length not exceeding, say, 150 yards, which could of course be as much shorter as might be desired. Four such ramparts for a square fort would provide an area within for barracks, stores, guard-rooms etc. for only a limited number of men, possibly 100-200 according to the lengths of the sides. If more space within for a larger garrison were desired, then five rampart lengths would generally be found most suitable.

# THE JAFFNA

So five sides were selected as the right size for Jaffna citadel. Even at that size, if every gun embrasure had received its weapons on the bastions and in the outworks this would have required some 140 guns. This would have been a very large artillery commitment to fulfil. In practice, there were frequent complaints of guns in overseas forts.

Musketry, with the necessary infantry to fire it, formed as important a part in the defence as did the cannon, so combined musketry and cannon defence works were spread outwards beyond the ditch. There, at little above ground level, an outer circuit was made that gave cover for musketeers and, in the triangular projections called ravelins, emplacements for groups of guns. Before that stretched the bare, gently sloping glacis.

The reason for the space and free passage from one part of the Fort to another was to permit rapid movement of the garrison to threatened points.

The flaw in the whole concept was that, to be effective, this wide-spread fortification needed a large and healthy garrison with ample stores of all sorts to sustain them. All too often one or both were lacking, precisely as happened here when the British arrived in 1795 to find this splendid Fort reduced to negation by being occupied by little more than a few invalids recovering from malaria.

The Fort stands on the south side of the Jaffna Peninsula at the water's edge of the Lagoon lying between it and the mainland.

Having passed through the archway, the visitor finds himself on the eastern covered way. Thin term does not imply overhead cover. It means a wide platform along the far side of the main ditch with a more than head-height parapet along the outer side, created by using the inner edge of the sloping glacis. Along its front run rows of steps that enable the musketeer to fire over the top.

In the centre is Holland Bastion. This, like all the others, apart from the slightly smaller Zeeland, has 6 gun embrasures on each long side facing the front and 3 on each shorter flank facing along the adjoining ramparts. It also has upon it a feature common to so many Dutch

Forts, a belfry in fine state of repair apart from the missing bell. These bells sounded the hours and called to religious services. They were generally placed, as here, on a bastion overlooking the entrance so that they could be used also as alarm bells.

To the left of Holland Bastion is the main gate into the inner circuit. The bridge to it from the entrance ravelin was originally interrupted by a drawbridge. On the extreme left can be seen the archway by which entry was gained to the covered way. Above it is the flanking gun embrasure already mentioned. In the left background is Zeeland Bastion at the Lagoon edge. At that point the water enters the main ditch.

To the right of Holland Bastion can be seen the upper parts of houses and of the very fine Dutch church which stands within the walls. At the water's edge and close beside the church is a small gate giving on to the interrupted causeway across the ditch to the east ravelin and covered way, which appear on the extreme right. Beyond the causeway the ditch is silted up for a short distance. Finally in the right background lies Gelderland Bastion.

Ravelin guns, being placed so far forward, might perhaps have been vulnerable to, say, night raids across the glacis, from which they were separated by only the narrow dry ditch in the foreground, with the edge of the glacis on the left and a ravelin embrasure on the right. An active man might leap it. However, the system of advanced guns was so common that this danger may have been more theoretical than real. This is a corner of the western ravelin. The bastion in the left rear is Utrecht. The embrasures are filled in as this part of the inner circuit is now used as a jail.

Reference to plan will show another defensive device along the outer edge of the covered way. Towards the point of each pair of adjoining lengths are two small oblong projections cut into the glacis. These provide flanking musketry fire along their parapets and cross-fire with the ravelins.

The western front shows Utrecht and Friesland Bastions with, beyond the latter, the open end of the ditch at the Lagoon. Along the right background runs the western covered





# FORT

way and the ravelin. The parapet of this covered way no longer has its firesteps. They were removed in the late 1800s, no doubt to obtain for public works a large supply of easily removed and already shaped stones.

Round the far side of Friesland (the Bastion in the distance above) lies the side of the Fort directly facing the Lagoon. In Dutch times none of the dry land now there was in existence. Lagoon water lay right up against all these works.

There are three areas of differences (Between Dutch times and now)

- works beyond the ditch.
- Lagoon front
- the internal buildings

The outer line of the original ditch became the inner edge of the covered way when that was constructed during the 1700s and the glacis and ravelins (with their causeways and rampart gates) were added. By that time substantial shrinkage must have taken place in the Lagoon waters, so that Friesland and Zeeland Bastions, with the ends of their ditch, no longer projected into them. Boat access to the Water Gate would have been impaired. There had clearly also been substantial changes at the quay and the workshops etc. shown in the Dutch plan. The water must have receded there too. When the Dutch designed the outer gate and the entrance ravelin they had dry land to build them on. The loss of use of the Water Gate and the quay will have made necessary new landing arrangements, possibly on the site now occupied by the Police Station. There is conjecture here, which a scholar in the Island might if necessary correct. The third area of difference between the two Plans is in the internal

buildings. By and large, their form is broadly the same but a jail now stands on the western part. The earlier barracks have been largely demolished and the church built on the northern part of their site. The warehouses within the Water Gate have also been substantially demolished. The Dutch Lieutenant-Governors' house stood where is now Queen's House.

The exterior of the Fort has now been seen. The interior may be examined next. From the entrance ravelin, the main gate of the inner circuit is approached by the bridge over the ditch. It bears the date 1680. The original two-leafed gates are still in position. Their outer faces are covered with long iron spikes to deter war elephants from breaking them in with their heads. Over the gate once stood a very tall bell arch, shown in another of Steiger's paintings, as is the free-standing drawbridge that had been towards the inner end of the bridge.

On the interior of the gateway within the central enclosure, are police quarters where once would have been the Dutch guardroom. Tree-lined roadways run round the four acre central area that was once a garrison parade ground. The remaining ten or so acres within the ramparts are occupied by buildings.

From this inner compound ramps lead up the sides of the ramparts to give access to the tops of the old bastions. On Holland Bastion stands the Fort's four pillar belfry. Most of the left-hand firesteps are gone and dismounted guns are lying about, some half-buried.

The buildings that surround the central space are interesting and attractive, the most attractive of the domestic buildings being Queen's House. The latter has in the corner behind it an arched opening leading into the former magazine in the base of Gelderland Bastion.

The Reformed Church was a major and stable element in the world the Dutch created in Sri Lanka. It is fitting that the church standing within this Fort in particular should be so fine a memorial to that influence.

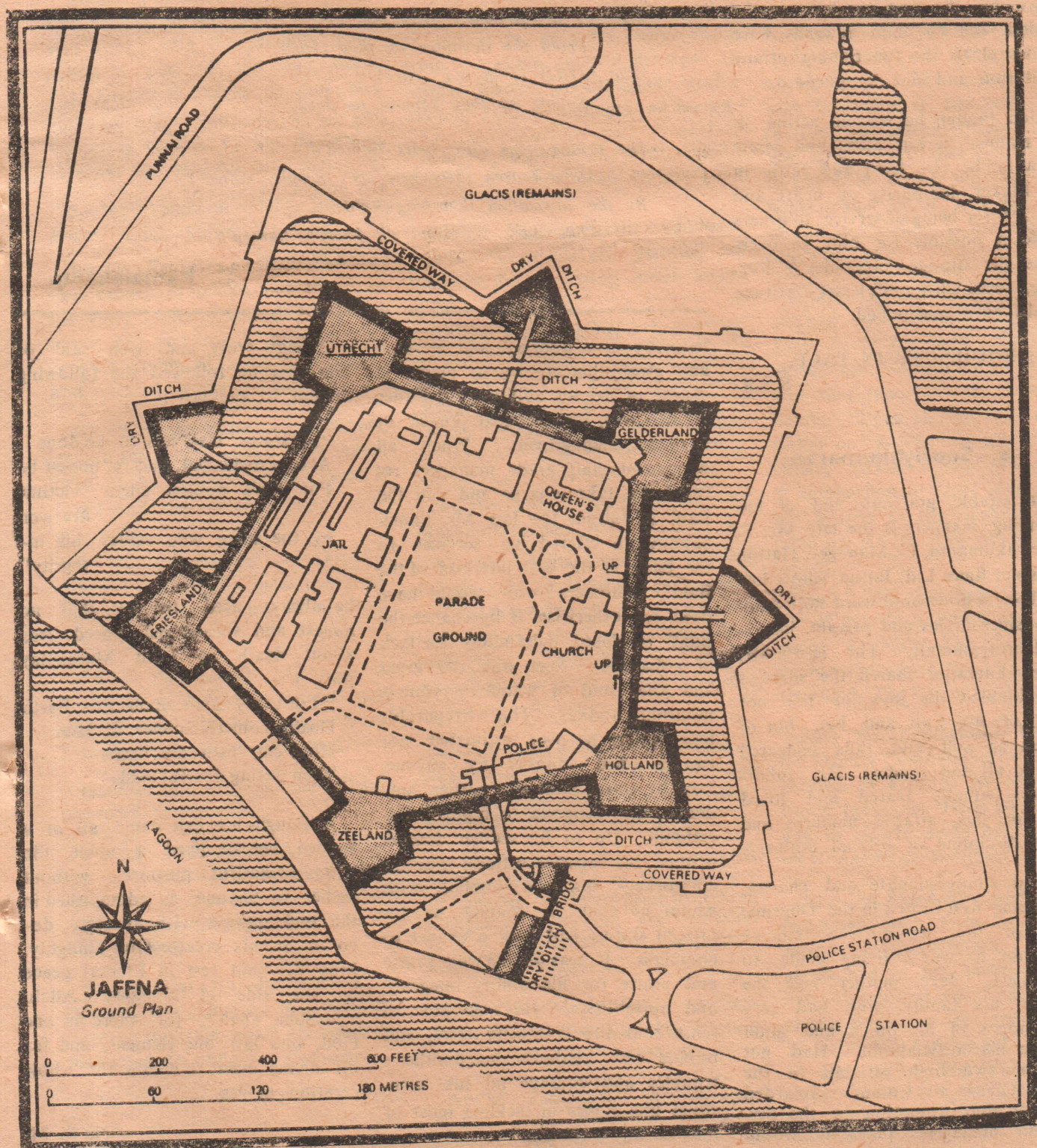
## Very Fishy

The Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation in its 6.30 A.M news bulletin on 2.9.86 at that there is a slight increase in the production of fish in recent times and attributed it to the permission granted to do "limited fishing in the North and East".

On the contrary people in the North in particular are struggling to get some good fish for their daily consumption. Daily we receive woeful stories of persons going fishing being taken away by the Navy and thereafter missing and in some cases confined to an Army Camp.

We have also on record the sad ordeal of their kith and kin being pushed from pillar to post - being asked to "go to that camp - this camp - bring that man, this man" and so forth. Some fishermen are in the camps for months together. We know what happened to the 31 fishermen of Gurunagar.

There is not a hum of any authority granted to do limited fishing in the North or East. The fishermen are very eager to know of this "merciful authority", if there be one.





## NEWS BRIEFS

### Nilaweli Shooting

A 'high level' inquiry has been ordered into the shooting of 2 Army officers and a Police officer in the Army Camp at Nilaweli on 29-8-86. The soldier concerned in the shooting was reported to have shot himself. This elash is stated to be an 'internal one'.

### Army Deserters

Two members of the Security Forces were reported to have deserted the Army Camp at Elephant Pass, on 29-8-'86 traversed jungle and surrendered themselves to the people at Kilinochchi. They were reported to have been sent unharmed to their 'home stations' at Kurunegala and Hinguragoda.

### Israeli Pattern

9 members of an army convoy were reported to have been killed in a landmine explosion in Trincomalee district on 30-9-'86. As a reprisal 7 members of a Tamil family, including women and children, were killed and burnt at the same spot.

### MV Blasted

Militants were reported to have blasted the Vasavilan Maha Vidyalam building to prevent its re-occupation by security forces, who had vacated the school premises after occupying it for 3 months. About 50 people of the area who went to inspect the damage were reported to have been kept as 'hostages' to prevent retaliation by the militants.

## Appreciation

### J. S. S. Anantham

The untimely death of Lion J. S. S. Anantham has left in the hearts of his numerous friends a void that can never be filled. Bearing a name befitting his temperament, he was indeed a source of joy to all. Although he retired from Government service as a top administrator, it was through his avid passion for social service that he endeared himself not only to his community but also to all who came in contact with him. The attachment was greater since whatever he did in the way of helping others was done so unostentatiously, so selflessly and with no distinction of caste, creed or colour. "NO" was not in his vocabulary. Fame and name held out no glamour for him!

The formation of the Lions Club of Kopay, of which he was the Charter President, was due solely to his enthusiasm, his ability to scout talent, his ability to win over to his point of view even the most obstinate opponent. He was of the firm conviction that procrastination was the bane of progress. He often repeated these words which still ring in the ears of the Kopay Lions. "If there is anything I can do, any kindness I can show to ANY HUMAN BEING let me do it NOW, let me not postpone it, for, I SHALL NOT PASS THIS WAY AGAIN!" How prophetic these words have turned out to be!

As Charter President of the Lions Club of Kopay he so ably led his team in the year of its inception that he was unanimously re-elected to lead once more. Despite his failing health and other physical handi-

caps he gallantly accepted it and led the Club to victory by winning the award for the best Club in the Region. But to him rewards were incidental to the functioning of any institution and not its purpose.

Lion though he was in action in his manner he was meek and gentle as a lamb. His trust and faith in his Maker, his purity of heart, and his zest for being of service to others made it possible for him to overcome the strange vicissitudes of Fortune, to which we of lesser fortitude would have succumbed.

### REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

—S.S.R.

### S. Sooriyakumaran

An affable, gracious, and of unassuming manners is the late Mr. S. Sooriyakumaran, Ex-Manager, Hatton National Bank Ltd. Jaffna, whose loss has been a household word both among business circles and private, individual professionals. The late Mr. Sooriyakumaran shared the sorrows and doubled the joys of life not only of his kith and kin, but of others as well and thus endeared him to all and sundry. His subordinates equally feared and loved him for his affable manners and strict discipline of official duties.

Kind compassionate and charitable, being well rooted in the Dharmic way of life, as a true sincere Brahmin, he was a living guide to his aged, dear, mother and the rest of his family, who had very high hopes of his quick and good rise in his officialdom. Had not one or two high officials at the Head Office in Colombo retarded his long due promotion to the permanent manager's post, he would

## The Agony and the Ecstasy

*The chariot moves as a cloud,  
With exotic charm through the crowd;  
Led by men seeming proud,  
Chanting "MURUGA" all aloud.*

*Seated magestically on the rostrum,  
Our mighty LORD is a spectrum;  
Amidst the chanting of the 'Manthiram',  
And the beating of the drum.*

*Flying their machines in the sky,  
The men of security cast their eye.  
'Behold there', said a guy,  
'Tigers prowling on the sly.'*

*The flying copter turns its route,  
And swings around to shoot.  
It's propelling sound seems to hoot,  
The old devotees who shake in their boots.*

*The old and the weak run for cover,  
As if to avoid a heavy shower.  
But the young and the sturdy stand braver,  
Seizing the rope with more vigour.*

*The cry of 'Arohara' fills the air,  
From the devotees as they stare.  
'The LORD is in our care',  
Saying so they remain to dare.*

*The armed men with belts tighten'd,  
Now loosen their grip as though soften'd;  
By the Invocation that brighten'd  
The dark sky, and all hearts lighten'd*

—C. Kamalaharan

have by now adorned and elevated any establishment, he is placed in charge of, by his ability as a leader of men with his practical knack of business management. When all permanent staff grade managers refused to take charge and run the Bank in Jaffna, the late Mr. Sooriyakumaran offered his services to the Bank in the best interests of the Bank customers who would have been hit otherwise, if by chance the Bank is closed indefinitely for lack of a manager. Such was the great and kind soul of whom everyone is mourning today. This irreparable loss cannot be over estimated nor can be filled suitably by anyone, even by those who once earlier hindered his progress to higher officialdom. Up to his sudden demise, neither his superior officers nor his co-workers, nor the public, with whom he came in contact in his official duties had ever a chance to complain. It was all the way praise and praise for his ability, integrity, and uprightness. He was able to sense that life is mostly froth and bubble and kindness in another's troubles and courage in his own, stood like stones in tackling most of the worldly problems.

It may truly and well said of him that he followed the following maxim to the last :-

*"Whatever task has to be done  
Always dedicated, sincere, honest be  
For life's noblest silent victims  
are won  
by the man, who values his integrity"*

he always used to say that no honest and sincere man need fear about death as Lord Maccaulay puts it :-

*"For every man upon this Earth  
Death cometh sooner or later  
How can man die better  
Then facing fearful odds"*

Although his call came all of a sudden, yet he lived a noble life with a dutiful purpose, without malice to anyone, as admonished in the Bhavadgeeta with absolute devotion to his creator God almighty. May his soul rest in Eternal peace by the side of almighty Allah, "Inshulla allah", for there is one God, one law one element, and far off divine event to which the whole creation moves:

—N. R. M.



# US MUSCLE AND MULTINATIONALS

Even before getting agreement on including 'services' in the next GATT round, the United States is exerting its muscle to open Third World doors to its service multinationals. The result will be to vastly increase the flow of funds from the developing world to the industrialised states and to wipe out national attempts to build up their financial and transport sectors, writes Halimah Todd for Third World Network Feature Service.

Indonesia, like most Third World states, is under pressure to open its economy to American banks and insurance companies. In a parting message last December, retiring US ambassador, John Hol-bridge, reminded the Indonesian government that President Reagan had vetoed the Thurmond-Jenkins bill which would have cost the Indonesian textile industry 30,000 jobs. "But if we resist protectionism in the US, we also want a fair degree of access in other countries," he argued, in an interview with the Asian Wall Street Journal.

What he means is that US will raise barriers on goods, where there are already an array of non-tariff barriers, if Indonesia does not lower hers on services.

The United States will push hard for the inclusion of services in the new round of Gatt talks which begin in September this year. That round will take several years, but the United States is already using its economic muscle (it is Indonesia's second largest trading partner) to break into the service sector, as this implicit blackmail threat to Indonesia shows.

The United States desire to see the world open its doors to American banks, hotel chains, airlines advertising men and insurance companies (which all belong to the service sector) does not arise from a disinterested passion for free trade.

Us services are its fastest growing sector it is amalgamating into huge transnational conglomerates and thrusting aggressively into the international arena. Right now it is the surplus from service exports that offsets the huge merchandise deficit and keeps the US economy in the black.

A tiny handful of industrial states dominate the world trade in services. 'Out of an estimated recorded total of US \$ 585 billion of service exports world-wide in 1981, over half was accounted for by five countries, with the US alone accounting for one fifth,' wrote Frederick Clairmonte of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and John

Cavanagh of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, in a paper presented at the November 1984 Third World Conference in Penang, Malaysia. The other four countries are France, Germany, Britain and Belgium.

The Third World, in spite of attempts to nationalise areas such as banking and shipping, is already paying out enormous amounts each year to purchase services from the North.

An UNCTAD study shows that the net deficit of developing countries trade in services climbed from US\$14 billion in 1967 to US \$ 80 billion in 1980, an annual rise of 25 per cent. 'There appears no reason why this unbroken upward climb should not continue,' Clairmonte and Cavanagh commented.

by **Halimah Todd**

In countries like Malaysia, a healthy surplus on the merchandise account is more than wiped out by the funds drained abroad on shipping, insurance, professional fees and interest payments.

Removing the barriers to trade in services would vastly increase this deficit and accelerate the flow of funds from the Third World to the industrial states. Only a tiny handful of Third World states, like Singapore and Mexico, participate in the export of services and would benefit from liberalisation.

Recent attempts by Third World governments to nationalise banking and insurance and build up national air and shipping lines would drown in the influx of the huge conglomerates who now dominate the service trade.

The 82 largest service corporations in the world have a sales turnover of US \$ 1.2 trillion a year and are highly concentrated in only two countries the US and Japan.

'Free trade means giving freedom to the more powerful to extract more surplus from the weak. The marginal costs of these huge conglomerates is low and they will

dump to capture the market. The Third World has every right to defend itself against this kind of invasion,' said Martin Khor, a Malaysian economist.

What is more worrying from the Third World viewpoint is that services, by their nature wield tremendous power. Nor do economists call them 'invisibles' for nothing.

The debt crisis has already shown how banks can dictate policy to governments. Conglomerates, like American Express or Citicorp, 'offering a financial supermarket of services from banking and insurance to broking and credit cards, have a financial clout superior to most governments, but work in ways much less visible than manufacturing multinational companies.

When a transnational corporation (TNC) straddles many services, it is able to manipulate costs through Transfer pricing to the detriment of both producers and Third World treasuries. Take the case of a corporation owing commodity trading houses, shipping lines and banks, described by Robert Ramsay in Canberra, 1983.

'(These TNCs) can easily inflate freight rates and pretend that they have negotiated rates at arms length with 'independent shipowners'. By doing this the TNCs can use high shipping costs as an argument for

depressing the f.o.b. prices which they pay to exporting countries and reduce the level of tax which they pay at both ends of a trade...

'The ultimate in tax avoidance sophistication is reached when a TNC operates so close to bankruptcy that it has to borrow working capital overseas at a high rate of interest—omitting, of course, to disclose that the money it is borrowing happens to be its own, and that the recipient of the high rate of interest is itself.'

TNCs in media and communications have a pervasive cultural as well as economic influence 'projecting corporate images and western elitist ideology world-wide...' Clairmonte and Cavanagh said.

'Since knowledge and information constitute a major facet of power, those able to harness these technologies and to disseminate them on a large scale, become even more powerful.'

Perhaps the most pernicious aspect of the service trade is the proliferation of offshore banking facilities, protected by a breathless hush of confidentiality. These tax havens have become the silent receptacles of billions of dollars (legal and illegal) which Third World elites have extracted from their own faltering economies. —Third World Network Features.

## THIRUMARAI ILLAM

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## FOREIGN VIEWS

## A HISTORIC HOMECOMING

Parva is a cluster of tiny villages on the southern-most tip of Mizoram, just seven km from the Bangladesh border. Perched on low hillocks, surrounded by steaming bamboo forests and isolated from the rest of Mizoram—the nearest road is 60 km away—the only activity Parva has witnessed for years was the routine patrolling by armed security men. But for a few days last fortnight, Parva was transformed into a melee of government officials, soldiers, camera crews and journalists, all gathered to receive the Mizo guerrillas coming overground to rejoin normal life.

For three days the returning guerrillas accompanied by their women and children trickled into the Parva reception camp. By the July 26 deadline, 523 returnees had checked in, relieved to have ended their years of exile in the mosquito tracts of Bangladesh's Chittagong hills. The former guerrillas had trekked for two and a half days, led by Mizo National Front (MNF) Vice-President Zoramthanga, leading 92 children and 44 women through the slushy mud tracks and undergrowth infested with leeches and snakes. Many brought with them their pets parrots, dogs and even a tame hawk, apart from their other possessions and reminders of jungle life. After ritual handshaking and the submission of weapons, the returnees shifted to their temporary shelters, the women with their children being accommodated by Mizo families in the villages.

The first emotion of the returning guerrillas was wrenching: the severing of an emotional bond with their weapons, most of which were old rusty 303 carbines. Yet, says Lieutenant Anthony,

Vanlaltlunga, 31: "These were the weapons by which we lived and died for the last 20 years", and giving them up was like leaving a faithful lover. So emotionally devastated were they by the act of surrendering their guns that "many of them wept and shouted without knowing what they were doing when they had to deposit their arms," says MNF President Laldenga. At final count, a total of 216 guns, more than 20,000 rounds of ammunition, 117 pieces of explosives and two wireless sets had been laid down by the rebels.

Though the welcome at the villages of Parva and Marpara were at best muted—the local Chakmas, though helpful, carried on with life as usual—the emotions for most people in Mizoram were overwhelming. A tragic and turbulent chapter of their history, begun way back in March 1966, had closed. While the returning MNF guerrillas prayed at the camps, the churches of Mizoram offered thanksgiving for the happy finale to their years of tortuous negotiations for peace. "We have preached against violence for years", says Reverend Rokhuma, secretary of the Mizo Presbyterian synod, "and today our faith, the Christian faith of the Mizo people has been vindicated."

In Aizawl, it was relief and a mixture of sheer ecstasy and sadness that washed over the towns awaiting the return of their guerrilla heroes. Students from all over Mizoram started arriving to offer their services to the joint action committee organising the grand welcome for the MNF. At the "mission of peace" headquarters in Aizawl, hundreds of volunteers crammed the rooms, preparing posters making paper garlands, wreaths, collecting donations and finalising other details of the programme, right down to which group would sing what song. Hundreds of young women trickled in donating money and brand new sarongs for the customary covering of the coffins which the guerrillas would bring. Friends and relatives of returning MNF guerrillas busied themselves to make space in their homes for housing those among the returnees who would prefer to live with them instead of the peace camp.

In the villages along the route of the returning guerrillas, celebrations were already in progress. The MNF had chosen to take their time in getting into Aizawl for the welcome function and were stopping at every village, attending local receptions and accepting food prepared by the villagers. Villages were full of black and white flags—black for the dead and white for peace. Villagers cooked food for their heroes even though feeding them meant losing several weeks of expensive rations. After feasting and the formal welcomes, the former rebels would go around meeting people, recounting stories of jungle life and getting friendly with

the pretty local girls. And for every Mizo, the returnees (some with monkey skulls, deer antlers and with crude machetes swinging from their hips) were heroes, handsome in their camouflage fatigues.

In Aizawl, it was a time for laughter and tears, for reminiscing and rejoicing. As exuberant Mizos thronged the capital's Main Bazaar last fortnight to welcome their heroes home, the narrow streets of the state capital came alive with a spectacle the like of which they had not seen in years. Surging crowds crammed the narrow lanes, choked the congested market-place, perched atop ledges and parapets and leaned from windows and balconies. At the centre of the bazaar was a platform made of a row of trucks.

The first to appear on this makeshift dais was MNF President Laldenga, the undisputed leader of the Mizo people, and a cheer went up from a thousand throats and rent the heavy air. But slowly, as one after another, the 500 odd MNF guerrillas followed with 47 shrouded coffins carrying their dead, the cheers turned to wails and the historic moment became a moment of catharsis for the Mizo people. The black shrouds became a mute testimony to the 20 years of insurgency that had thrown their lives in turmoil and that had ended only last month when their leader at last signed the accord with the Centre.

But in the midst of all the rejoicing, most ironical was the situation of the MNF returnees who did not quite know what they were in for apart from the fact that they would have to switch from gun-toting to political hackwork. Lalpianga, self-styled major and second-in-command of the rebel group from the MNF tactical headquarters at New Langkar, admitted while waiting at Sairang village on his way to the reception. "I am hesitant about going to Aizawl but I have to because the people of Mizoram expect us to return."

Lalpianga and his juniors, having spent years in the jungle, today are mentally unprepared to rejoin civilian life. For them happiness has been a warm gun and most were emotionally devastated by the act of surrendering their weapons. "Many of my boys were emotio-

nally upset when they were forced to hand over their weapons at the camps," said Laldenga. "but eventually they reconciled themselves to the situation."

Indeed, every MNF guerrilla seems to have reconciled himself of the prospect of peace, although most do not know what precisely it entails. Lalrawnliana, tactical headquarters commander who was suspected to be against the peace accord—he had been called overground in 1981 to sign a declaration before the army pledging loyalty to Laldenga—explained that although he was "hesitant to return since we have not been able to fulfil our promise to bring full-fledged freedom to Mizoram", yet now he would give "mind" body and soul" to help his president Laldenga.

Yet an element of wistfulness remained. "Life was not hard in our camps," recalls Lalrawnliana, who had married a Bangladeshi Mizo. Money would come from across the border—donations from Mizos—and they would grow their own vegetables, wheat and sugarcane. Their camp even had a pig sty and a chicken coop and whatever else they required could be purchased from a village 13 km away. Sprawled out on two commanding ridges, the tactical headquarters camp was a natural citadel: the Indian security forces could watch the camp through binoculars but never ventured across the border. And the MNF too, in recent years, did not normally take on the army. Since the camp's inception in 1979 not a single guerrilla had been killed.

Right now, the returning guerrillas have to content themselves with the rehabilitation benefits being offered by the Government. Unfortunately, these are not exactly princely by Mizoram standards. The Centre has sanctioned a total of Rs. 1.9 crore for the entire rehabilitation process out of which Rs. 16 lakh has been spent for constructing a peace camp at Aizawl where the guerrillas can stay free for two months. Those who want to stay in the camp will get Rs. 2,000 for living expenses. After the two month period each guerrilla will receive a paltry Rs 5,000 housing grant in addition to the Rs. 2,000 they would have received as prize for coming overground. But that is far in the Mizo future. Last fortnight, it was time to celebrate and savour the historic home-coming that the people of Mizoram had organised for their returning heroes.

—INDIA TODAY



(Continued from page 2)

# DECIPHERING THE INDUS SCRIPT

no less a person than Prof. V.I. Subramaniam, a dedicated researcher and one of the architects of the International Association of Tamil Research and International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, as its Vice Chancellor. He is also one of the trusted 'lieutenants' of the late Professor Thani Nayagam. Under his leadership the Tamil University has already made grant strides within a short spell and is publishing a quarterly journal *Tamil Civilization*. In a letter to Kamil Zvelebil, the late Professor Thani Nayagam said on 20th August, 1964, "With regard to the International Association, I am thinking of planning a Conference. Malaysia is the place which could finance such a Conference. I am not sure about the Visa facilities for certain countries. Perhaps, we could hold the Conference in Singapore."

Sincere and great men are prophetic too. It is now known that the VIth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies will be held in Singapore. Another of his wishes is nearing reality. Let us hope that a high powered academically trained Steering Committee will handle the task of selection of research papers which are submitted. Let us also hope that the international standards that were maintained at the first five Conference - Seminars would be maintained too. It is also justifiable to expect a larger apportionment of time for papers on Tamil influence in the South Asian countries. Thus far, the Conference has been planned for a week's duration, but the inadequacy of time is now being felt by researches and fields of research have multiplied since the time of inception of this Conference Seminar. This means more money in every sphere including publishing of inevitably increasing volumes of proceedings. It is time that the Conference is hence forth planned for a fortnight or at least ten days.

Speaking of the survival of Tamil Culture, the late Professor Thani Nayagam said: "The lover of Tamil culture is not concerned so much about a possible weakening or inadequate recognition of Tamil culture, as about the world neglecting or losing a most precious heritage....."

The manner in which Tamil culture has resisted all attempts at being absorbed by alien cultures argues an inherent vitality which strikes the student of culture as a most remarkable phenomenon. By the usual laws of change known to history there were periods when the Tamils and their culture should have been so absorbed as to have lost their identity; when their language should have been so changed

as to have lost its original structure, and should have been Sankritized as to create today controversies regarding its origins and its classification..... But every period of danger was marked by a reaction in favour of maintaining its purity and identity, and thus has Tamil Society reached its present stage with its own system of values and its own cultural ethos..... The survival as well as the positive growth of Tamil Culture is happily based on the study of the past of the Tamils. The present revival is bound to be yet fruitful in proportion to the study that the Tamils themselves are able to make of their own language, their own literature and their own culture. For the maintenance as well as for the transmission of Culture there is no safeguard more reliable than language, and no means better suited than the family." (Tamil Culture, Vol: 1 No: 2, 1952).

This is with regard to preservation and fostering of Tamil culture by the Tamils. That apart, the late Father emphasized the responsibility cast on the Tamils themselves in carrying forward Tamil studies across to International frontiers; and the same has been quoted in this article elsewhere. We have today a few scholars in the European countries who will continue their contributions to Tamil studies. Kamil Zvelebil, R.E. Asher, J.R. Marr, Michael Andronov, Klaus Janert are constantly at work on projects of Tamil studies. The contributions of the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry is also very encouraging. The premature demise of Semyon G. Rudin in a boat accident has removed another dedicated Russian researcher. His contributions, especially on STRESS in pronunciation of Tamil words, is a landmark in new studies in Tamil Grammar. The late Professor Thani Nayagam was able to mobilize the support of scholars from various countries and linguistic groups because he was himself conversant in thirty languages and learned in fifteen languages. He himself had stressed the absolute necessity for those engaged in Tamil studies to be learned not only in Tamil and English, but also at least another language. It is this type of powerful scholarship at home that can help to promote Tamil studies abroad, and establish permanent seats of Tamil studies in those countries. In this respect, the newly established Tamil University at Tanjore to be International in reality, should not only invite students from various linguistics groups to study

Tamil but also make provision for the teaching of modern languages like French, German, Russian, Chinese, Czech, and also Portuguese, Dutch, Italian and Greek. It is also desirable to teach besides Sanskrit, eastern languages like Malay, Basha - Indonesia, Burmese and Sinhalese at least that far as would suffice research purposes. This cannot be difficult with the assistance of the respective embassies and Universities or other Research institutions in those countries.

In this context, it is very desirable to create a Trust Fund for funding Tamil studies, Conferences and Seminars and publications. This fund should also be utilized to provide travel grants to scholars labouring in Tamil studies, who are not in affluent circumstances, to attend and participate in Conferences and Seminars. The Tamil Nadu Government must consider the feasibility of empowering the newly established Tamil University of Tanjore to create and maintain this Trust Fund under its independent control. There are numerous millionaires in Tamil Nadu who own Mills, Factories, Estates and other Industries who are generous towards contributing to causes of

this nature. The Tamil Nadu Government can grant tax relief to those who make generous contributions to this Trust Fund and promote the cause of Tamil studies indirectly while directly granting funds generously to the Tamil University of Tanjore. Of course, a minimum will have to be fixed for tax relief with a graded scales for amounts beyond the minimum. The Tamil Nadu Government must also declare this Trust Fund a charitable fund exempt from taxes. Unless concerted action of this sort with Government and Public participation is embarked upon, the present enthusiasm in Tamil Studies abroad might be short-lived. It is up to the Government of Tamil Nadu and the Public of Tamil Nadu who are in a better position than the Tamils elsewhere in the world to create and continue to maintain such favourable conditions and climate for Tamil Studies at the international level.

It is through such meaningful action that the success and future of Tamil studies can be guaranteed. There can be no better tribute to a self-less life-time researcher of the calibre of the late Father Thani Nayagam.

(Concluded)

## Save Our Lives

A pensioner — who wishes to remain anonymous, for obvious reasons — has sent us the following communication:

There were about 300 people on 28th August to receive their pensions at the Stadium. Although pensions were paid by 11 a.m. these pensioners were detained by the army personnel. At this time we observed several army men both in uniform and civil carrying guns in their hands. We were really alarmed at the situation.

When the sentry left the place on another mission, two or three of us decided to leave the place. When we were a little further away, the sentry shouted us back but we pretended not to hear the call. We were lucky to leave for home. On our way home we heard the sound of gun-shots.

We later learnt on inquiry that some army personnel had mixed up with the pensioners. When they were heading towards the junction, they were asked to go away and the army then had a confrontation with the militants.

I request that due publicity be given so that the lives of pensioners may be saved.

## AUGUST DEATHS

District	No. of Deaths
Amparai	03
Batticaloa	43
Trincomalee	31
Mullaitivu	01
Jaffna	27
Mannar	08
Vavuniya	09
Kilinochchi	12
Other Districts	03
Total	137

(Source of Information : Convener. Co-ordinating Committee of Citizens' Committees)

## MISSING PERSONS

THE MOVEMENT FOR INTER RACIAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY is in the process of compiling a list of missing persons. If there is a missing person in your family, please state full facts in the form of an affidavit written out in English and have it sent to —

Xavier Sornabala  
Legal Co-ordinator,  
MIRJE,  
6, Aloe Avenue,  
Colombo. 3.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## COLOMBO'S PEACE INITIATIVE

### 'AN ATTEMPT TO HOODWINK THE WORLD'

The text of an interview given to NEWSWEEK (11th August) by Liberation Tigers' leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran.

For the past 14 years Velupillai Prabhakaran has led an armed struggle to create a separate Tamil state in Sri Lanka's volatile north-eastern region. Prabhakaran, 32, commands the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the strongest of Sri Lanka's numerous Tamil separatist groups. It is generally acknowledged that peace negotiations with Colombo are unlikely to prove effective without the LTTE's involvement. Last week, shortly before his group rejected Colombo's latest proposal for peace talks, Prabhakaran spoke with Newsweek's Sudip Mazumdar in Madras. Excerpts:

**MAZUMDAR:** Your opponents charge that innocent civilians are often killed in your military offensives. How do you respond?

**PRABHAKARAN:** The LTTE has never killed any civilians. We condemn such acts of violence. There were occasions when we had to kill homeguards. But they are not civilians. They are trained (non-combat draftees who) carry guns.

**How many troops do you have under your command and where do they train?**

That's a secret. I can tell you we are strong enough to take on the 51,000-strong Sri Lankan military and well enough equipped to carry on protracted guerrilla warfare.

**Why do you think LTTE has taken the lead among other guerrilla groups?**

Discipline and order are most important. We emphasize personal morality and a sense of patriotism. Our cadres carry cyanide pills with them to avoid falling into enemy hands. Most of all, the people are behind us.

**Critics charge that you rely on drug trafficking to raise money for your military activities. How do you respond?**

Our people support us financially. We capture arms and ammunition from the enemy and also buy them on the international market. We don't get support from any other country. Here in India we are living as political refugees and the government of India extends moral support to our existence here. We have imposed a strict moral code on ourselves, not to use even liquor. How can one suspect us of drug trafficking which we condemn?

**Press reports say that you received military training in Cuba. How did you manage to acquire your know-how?**

Through sheer personal training. I use my natural instincts and I watch war films and westerns by (American movie actor) Clint Eastwood. If I were trained in Cuba, I would have been a better fighter.

**What is your assessment of the latest round of negotiations between moderate Tamils and the Sri Lankan government on devolution of power to Tamils?**

The proposals (put forward by Colombo) are insufficient even to start negotiations. We have enunciated four principles as the basis for talks: the traditional homeland of the Tamils must be recognized; Tamil should be (officially) recognized as a (separate) nationality; their rights to self-determination should be recognized, and the civil rights of stateless Tamils should be recognized. A framework should be worked out incorporating these principles. Then we will consider (negotiations).

**How serious do you think President Junius Jayewardene is in solving the Tamil problem?**

This so-called peace initiative by Jayewardene is an attempt to hood-

## CRACKDOWN IN THE SOUTH

Over 500 persons in the South have been taken into custody over the past few weeks for alleged links with Northern Militant Groups.

Most of those persons belong to a splinter group from the proscribed Janatha Vimukthi Perumuna (J. V. P.). Others belong to another breakaway faction from the Communist Party.

In addition several J.V. Pers have also have been arrested. Official sources claim that the Southern groups have ties with Tamil militant groups like the PLOTE and EPRLF. The North-South link aims at a total Island-wide capture of State Power, say official sources.

The arrested persons are likely to be charged in Courts this month.

The world is constantly changing; so is politics. We rely on the hope that changing circumstances will finally lead to India's recognition of our struggle. India has recognised various liberation movements. At a later stage India may be compelled to recognize us as it did the PLO and SWAPO.

**What do you expect from the United States?**

We want to appeal to the American people to realize that we are a nation of people facing genocide. And we appeal to the U.S. government to stop all aid to the Sri Lankan government which will be used for the destruction of our people.

**What kind of a political system do you envisage for an independent Tamil state?**

We want to establish a socialist society. Ours will be a unique socialist model, neither Soviet nor Chinese nor any other.

**Have you ever considered calling for India's military intervention to stop what you call genocide?**

India's military intervention is not necessary because we have a fighting force capable of facing the military. In fact, India's intervention may allow other international forces to meddle in Sri Lanka and create (chaos).

wink the world. That these negotiations are eyewash is clear from the fact that even while the talks were on the military killed nearly 150 innocent Tamils. Talks with Jayewardene? Possible, but only on the question of demarcation of our boundaries (as two separate nations).

**Why do you think India allows you to operate from here?**

Purely on humanitarian grounds. There is genocide going on in Sri Lanka. India knows we are fighting against genocide and trying to protect our people.

**Opponents charge that India is abetting "terrorists" by giving you sanctuary, while New Delhi blames Pakistan for training Sikh terrorists? What is your view?**

There is a fundamental difference here. Our people are facing genocide whereas the Indian Army is not committing genocide in Punjab.

**India favours a negotiated settlement of the ethnic problem and opposes your goal of a separate Tamil state. What is your view?**

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Time — 10-30 a.m. onwards.

Chief Guest — Rt. Rev. Dr. B. Deogupillai, Bishop of Jaffna.

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Come along with your family. We are proud to invite you  
to participate in this great festival.