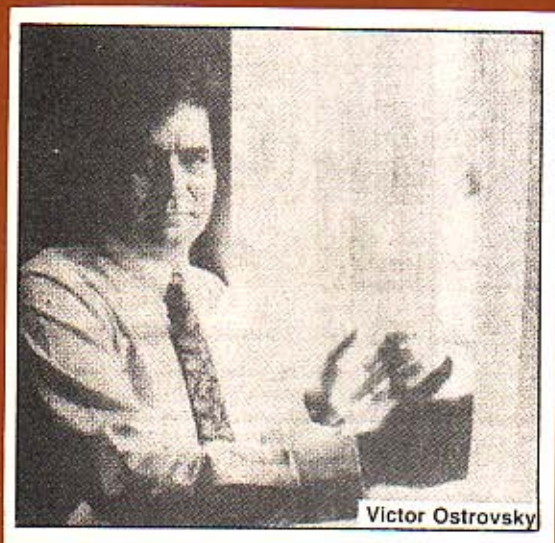


# **Tamil TIMES**

"I do not agree with a word of what you say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it."

— Voltaire

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Victor Ostrovsky

## ★ GOVT. LAUNCHES NEW OFFENSIVE IN JAFFNA

★ Stop this inhuman war

★ The Elusive Consensus

## ★ "By Way of Deception" – The Mossad Affair

### THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE ETHNIC CONFLICT

★ The Muslim Predicament

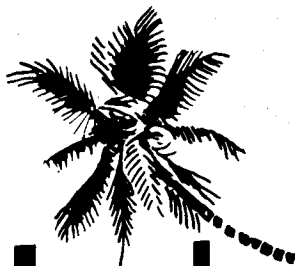
★ Mrs Thatcher's Negative  
Response

★ LTTE CALLS FOR  
INDIAN RED CROSS

★ ANTI-MUSLIM VIOLENCE  
IN THE NORTH-EAST

★ The Blitz That's  
Way Off Target

★ Parliament Bomb Case  
Thrown Out By Court



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



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## STOP THIS INHUMAN WAR

By the time the Indian Peace Keeping Force departed from Sri Lanka in March this year followed by the collapse of the North-East Provincial Council administration and the going into exile of the then Chief Minister and his colleagues, the territorial control of the North-East had come under the effective and de facto control of the LTTE. Despite the presence of several army camps and police stations in these areas, in practice most of the security service and police personnel were confined to barracks and movements of these personnel were subject to prior permission from the LTTE. Talks continued between the government and the LTTE, and there was much hope and expectation that matters were going to be resolved by negotiations and peace would return at last. By and large, this situation continued until June 11 when suddenly war broke out between the LTTE and government forces.

Today the whole of the North-East is in total turmoil. The atrocities and sufferings to which the people have been subjected and the displacement of a million people in these areas have already been commented upon.

Now the government has launched a massive military operation. The number of troops of the combined forces of the army, navy and airforce backed up by newly acquired jet fighters, helicopter gunships, tanks and heavy weaponry that have been deployed and the sustained nature of the operations indicate an intention on the part of the government to militarily take over the Jaffna peninsula which has been under the total control of the LTTE ever since the departure of the IPKF.

Jaffna and its people, including those who had flooded into the peninsula from other areas like Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Trincomalee, had already suffered enormously during the three month battle for the Jaffna Fort in the course of which thousands of buildings were destroyed and an unaccountable number of people were killed in consequence of indiscriminate bombing and strafing raids. The present military operations, in which an estimated

ten thousand troops are reported to be participating, are accompanied by continuous relentless and indiscriminate bombing and strafing raids all over the peninsula. The havoc, destruction and deaths resulting from these operations are too obvious and horrendous even to contemplate.

As the jet fighters and helicopter gunships are raining bombs, rockets, shells and bullets from the sky all over Jaffna, ground forces with tanks from the Palali, Kankasanturai and Karainagar military bases are said to be shelling and shooting their way in the course of their reported advance as fierce resistance is being offered by LTTE cadres. The casualties among the combatants on both sides are said to be heavy. As the operations continue, the helpless and voiceless civilians are being felled in countless numbers and their homes are being reduced to rubble in this cruel and inhuman war.

The decision of the government to pursue a military course has turned the conflict into a war against the people as a whole and it is being conducted with absolutely no regard to civilian life. It would seem that the government is determined to take over Jaffna even at the risk of killing thousands of innocent civilians and destroying the peninsula.

Even if those at war have lost all concern for the plight of the innocent defenceless civilian population, it is well to understand that the conflict cannot be resolved by military means. The government and its forces may succeed in decimating Jaffna and killing substantial sections of its population and may even win several battles with the LTTE and in name recapture Jaffna. That will not end the war in the long term. It will not bring peace. Any victory achieved will only be temporary leaving a trail of unhealed wounds, bitterness and hatred which will serve to nurture and nourish further conflicts and future wars.

The need of the hour is to STOP THIS INHUMAN WAR. The government should immediately call off its ongoing military offensive and seek ways and means of renewing negotiations with the LTTE if need be with outside mediation.



## GOVT. LAUNCHES AERIAL AND GROUND OFFENSIVE

20 September – A new offensive in the Jaffna peninsula was launched by government forces beginning 17 October and is reportedly continuing. Before the offensive began, most of the areas within the peninsula were subjected to a 24-hour curfew.

As sustained aerial bombing continued in the areas around Point Pedro, Kankasanturai, Keerimalai, Maviddapuram and Palali, forces have tried to get out of their camp at Palali in an endeavour to capture territory presently under the control of the LTTE.

As heavy destruction of property caused by bombing operations is being reported, LTTE sources claimed that their cadres were putting up fierce resistance and preventing the advance of government forces. Conceding the death of about 27 of their cadres, they also claimed that a helicopter belonging to the Sri Lanka Air Force had been shot down with a rocket attack resulting in the death of several security service personnel.

On the other hand security sources claimed that they had made headway in bringing under their control areas around Punnalaikadduvan, Kadduwan and Mallakam having destroyed several LTTE positions and bunkers. They also claimed that the intention of the troops was to advance in two directions towards Jaffna town.

The sustained and continuous nature of the government offensive suggests serious intent on its part to take over the peninsula from Tiger control. Observers say that if anyone thought that the withdrawal of troops from and abandonment of the Jaffna Fort was an indication of the government's change of heart, the current major operations have contradicted that.

At the beginning of the month, the English daily 'The Island' reported: The military strike to wrest control of the Jaffna town is expected to be mounted with the arrival of shipments of MIG Fighter Jets capable of hitting specific targets and long-range weapons. With the helicopter gunships supplemented by the MIG Fighters taking on 'specified dedicated targets' that had been identified, ground forces would be able to fight their way through the Tiger cordon, senior security officials have indicated. Security officials remain tightlipped about details of the raids being worked out. They pointed out that the success of a military strike depended heavily on the aspect of 'surprise'. Any raid should be launched at a time when the enemy least expects it.

### LTTE Leader calls for Indian Red Cross Team

The London-based LTTE leader, Mr.

Sathasivam Krishnakumar (Kittu) has appealed to the Government of India to send a team of officials from the Indian Red Cross to the Eastern Province in Sri Lanka where thousands of Tamils have become refugees.

'The government of India should send the Indian Red Cross officials to the East to see for themselves what is happening there or send relief supplies, otherwise, it should pressure the Sri Lankan government to provide relief to the Tamil refugees there', Mr. Kittu said.

He accused the Sri Lankan government of not allowing the International Committee of the Red Cross to function effectively in the East. He said that large sections of the Tamil population in Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts had become refugees due to the atrocities committed by the security forces and Muslim Home Guards and that the refugees were suffering without food or medical facilities.

Mr. Kittu also refuted press reports that Mr. Anton Balasingham and Mr. Yogaratnam Yogi, two prominent members of the LTTE leadership were killed when a boat in which they were travelling off the Jaffna peninsula was attacked and destroyed by the Sri Lankan Navy. 'It is a total lie. The government has invented this news to confuse the people. Both Mr. Balasingham and Mr. Yogi are in Jaffna'. But he admitted that an LTTE boat carrying fifteen injured LTTE cadres from Trincomalee to Jaffna was sunk by the Lankan Navy near Point Pedro. But none of them belonged to the top leadership of the LTTE.

## 'TAMILS, SINHALESE AND MUSLIMS ARE SLAUGHTERING EACH OTHER'

By John Rettie

Sept. 28 – The factory at the Cullen tea estate, 5,000 feet up in the breathtaking hills of Uva, is an empty charred hulk, burned to the ground last year by the Sinhalese guerrilla movement, the JVP. Last time I was there, two and a half years ago, it was producing what I steadfastly believe to be the finest Ceylon tea, not to say the best in the world.

In the interests of professional ethics, however, I must confess to a certain bias: until nationalisation 15 years ago, that estate belonged to my family. Had it not been for the burned out factory I could have imagined that nothing had changed.

There they were, those familiar flimsy kites still dancing in the sky over Galle Face Green in Colombo the grass hard and brown for lack of rain at this time of year. The horribly vulnerable trishaws still whisk their passengers through the appalling traffic of Galle

Road, miraculously dodging the hurtling buses.

Out in the provinces, thousands of Tamils are still being killed or driven from their homes in the North and East, as the Sri Lankan armed forces desperately battle their way against the strongholds of the Tamil Tigers. Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese are still slaughtering each other in the hotly contested East. Yes, it could easily be 1986 all over again.

Until the many changes come to mind, almost all of them for the worse. On a personal level, three of my very best friends were done to death this year. In February, Richard de Zoysa, a brilliant young Sinhalese journalist and television news reader, was picked up by security men in the middle of the night; next day his body was found on the sea shore. Then in May, assassins from the Tigers gunned down Sam Tambimuttu and his wife Kala, two of the country's bravest and most visionary Tamils.

In striking contrast to the situation two years ago, people are now afraid to speak openly. 'This is a system based on fear', declared an old diplomatic hand grimly. A Colombo friend whom I called as soon as I arrived confirmed this. 'I was desperate for you to stop talking', he admitted after I had rashly bewailed the death of my three friends over the telephone, as well as those of thousands of others killed last year.

And that is another change. The JVP, which virtually controlled large tracts of the country – last year it shot dead 24 tea estate managers, and could impose a strike all over the Sinhalese south whenever it liked – has been all but eliminated.

The method was simple: the sea in which the fish swam was removed. Put more bluntly, thousands of young Sinhalese men were slaughtered by death squads, their bodies left burning by the roadside as a warning, or floating down the rivers. About 30,000 is the generally accepted figure, though some seasoned observers say 50,000.

'When you left in 1988', a senior police officer of the old, straight school reminded me, 'you said that when you came back the Central Americanisation of Sri Lanka would be over. What do you think now?' What could I say, except that the process is gathering speed at a frightening pace. There are hardly any checks left against the tremendous concentration of power inside the country, and since the Indian army withdrew after burning its fingers, very few from outside either.

Meanwhile the casinos flourish, the Colombo elite flaunt their Mercedes and down their Scotch, but the headmistress of a school on the capital's northern outskirts despairs of teaching anything to her 200 pupils because they are too hungry.

Continued On Page 6

# THE ELUSIVE CONSENSUS

Rita Sebastian From Colombo

A year of discussions under the auspices of the All Party Conference is yet to forge a consensus between Tamil and Muslim political parties on the permanent merger of the north-east provinces and the unit of devolution.

The Muslims ready to go along with the Tamil groups, accommodated under the broad definition of 'Tamil speaking people' have in the last several months come to re-think their options.

The Sri Lanka Muslim Congress President, A.M. Ashraff, the most vociferous of the Muslims, has made the point, that the Muslims as a distinct ethnic minority want equal power-sharing arrangements with the Tamils.

Not only Ashraff but the National Assembly of Muslim organisations, an umbrella group of 31 Muslim associations in the island have, in a memorandum to Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa recently, argued the case for de-linking the eastern province from the northern province, and the creation of a separate Muslim provincial council in the East, by virtue of the fact of its 32.3% population in the province.

Statistics spell out the picture.

The memorandum points to the controversial merger of the two provinces by former President J.R. Jayewardene as having reduced the Muslim population in the merged province to 17.6% the Sinhalese from 24.9% to 13% and the Tamils increased from 42% to 70%.

Ashraff reinforces the same argument. 'If the 12% Tamils in the country can demand devolution of power for a merged north-east province why shouldn't the 17% Muslims in the north-east demand its own council?' he argues.

Both the Tamil and Muslim political parties are quite conscious of the fact that only in their coming together would the permanent merger of the north-east provinces become possible, given the strong anti-merger sentiments of the southern political parties.

It is in this context, that inspite of several meetings between the Muslim and Tamil political parties having failed to forge a consensus, the six Tamil parties, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), the All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC), the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF), the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) and the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) who have joined forces, are desperately trying to woo the Muslims

into some workable power-sharing arrangements.

Under discussion at the moment is a provincial council for a merged north-east province at the apex with two sub units under it, still to get its nomenclature, that would function separately for the Muslims and the Tamils.

Powers and areas are still to be defined. Adequate safeguards for the Sinhala minority in the province are to be discussed only after the Tamils and Muslims arrive at a consensus satisfactory to both sides. But whether they will is the question.

For all the rhetoric of the north-east merger being a consensus decision the ruling United National Party and the main opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party are against the merger. And added to it, the government has still not revealed its position on devolution. What makes the whole exercise farcical is that two key players in the drama, the SLFP and the LTTE, are still out of the discussions on the devolution package. The LTTE, which was initially agreeable to a north-east provincial council as an administrative structure on which substantial autonomy will be devolved by the centre, has since changed its demand to regional autonomy.

Meanwhile the LTTE and government forces are locked in battle and the tentative attempts by international NGO's to mediate in the conflict have come to nought.

At a public rally in Jaffna last fortnight, a message from LTTE supremo Vellupillai Prabhakaran made it known that the LTTE would continue fighting. 'The government had more weapons and more men, but we are blessed with nerves of steel, courage and determination' the message read.

But tragically what has got eclipsed in the fighting is the untold suffering and hardships the civilian population in the region are being put through. Days on end in refugee camps and making do with the minimum of basic necessities with no end in sight.

Perhaps it was one of the reasons that brought together the battling Muslims and Tamils in the eastern Batticaloa district last week. A peace meeting presided over by the Batticaloa government agent, graced by three religious dignitaries, and attended by representatives of both communities discussed the need for some kind of healing process that would return the embattled district to peace and normalcy.

While the Muslims had given a guarantee that they would desist from

all provocative acts, the Tamils could only say they would try, since with the LTTE out of the discussions no guarantees were possible. It only brought home the fact that the LTTE is still the factor to be reckoned with.

Political marginalisation or military elimination of the LTTE is just an illusion. The very fact that all the rival Tamil groups can only articulate their demands and grievances from the safety of Colombo is a telling pointer to the ground reality in the north-east region.

Even the elected representatives of the eastern province cannot move freely in their constituencies making the occasional visit under armed escort. How then can any kind of political process get going in the region.

Making news now is the once hardly known Eelam People's Democratic Front (EPDP) of Douglas Devananda. A breakaway faction of the EPRLF, it has aligned itself closely with the government, kept aloof from the grouping of the six Tamil political parties, and has been making several public statements denouncing the LTTE.

But not all those denouncements have brought them any nearer to defeating the LTTE politically, or militarily. Rhetoric is not going to bring an end to the conflict. Only the capacity and the will to accommodate each other in the larger interest of the Tamil community.

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**Continued From Page 4**

Locked into the old colonial economy of tea, rubber and palm oil exports, Sri Lanka still relies on foreign handouts to prosecute its civil war and to import the luxury goods that stuff the Galle Road shops.

It also counts on the foreign exchange sent back by an estimated 250,000 Sri Lankan workers in the Middle East. But about 100,000 of them, mostly working in Kuwait, have now lost their jobs. Soon they will be home looking for non-existent jobs, while their families, say half a million people, have lost the income they relied on. At the same time, the country has lost 27 per cent of its tea exports as a result of the sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait.

With this grim economic picture superimposed on the seething resentment over the killings in the South and the turmoil in the North and East, the immediate future for the happy island of Serendip looks bleak.

### **Settlement Proposals by Religious Leaders**

Dr. Rev. B. Deogupillai, Roman Catholic Bishop of Jaffna, Rev. D.J. Ambalavanar, Bishop of Jaffna Diocese of CSI, S.T. Nadarajan of the Nallur Thirugnana Sampanthar Artheenam and other religious leaders have put forward proposals for the cessation of hostilities of the present armed conflict and for the long term settlement of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

In their letter addressed to President R. Premadasa, the religious leaders state:

'At a time when there is increasing anxiety and trepidation among the people of the North and East at the prospect of living in the midst of a furious war in which few legally recognized fundamental and human rights are being maintained by both sides, we, the leaders of various religions, met to voice the aspirations of the people in the Tamil regions.

We recognize that there must be a genuine appreciation by all that Sinhala Nationalism and Tamil Nationalism are traditions and roots in this country from time immemorial. Therefore, we have to realise that unity in one State is practicable only if the rights of the peoples of the different national groups are recognized and guaranteed adequately. Transforming Sri Lanka into a Federal State would be the most satisfactory means of achieving this. This will enable genuine devolution of power and responsibility from the Central Government to the Federating Units. We are happy to inform you that this solution would be welcomed by the Tamil speaking people as well as all the political forces of the Northern and Eastern provinces.

The present set-up of Provincial

Councils is not quite satisfactory. It does not sufficiently recognize and guarantee the rights of the different national groups and achieve a genuine devolution of power and responsibility from the Centre to the Provincial Councils.

Hence, we would strongly urge you to take all necessary steps to transform the present Unitary State of Sri Lanka into a Federal State by amending the present constitution of Sri Lanka suitably.

As a step towards discussing the proposed political solution to the ethnic crisis we urge both sides to cease hostilities and permit an internationally recognized organization to monitor the cease-fire'.

### **Commission to Probe Mossad Allegation**

President R. Premadasa has appointed a one-man Commission under the Commission of Inquiry Act with wide powers, to inquire into and report on the allegations concerning Sri Lanka contained in a publication called, 'By Way of Deception: The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer', published abroad.

The Commission will among other matters, inquire and report on references made in the book that Sri Lankan security personnel as well as members of a Sri Lanka terrorist organisation were trained by the Israeli intelligence agency, Mossad.

More specifically, the Commission has been called upon to inquire into and report on;

- Whether any person who has engaged himself in unlawful activity as defined by Section 31 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, has received training by the Israeli intelligence agency - Mossad;

- Whether any members of the Sri Lankan security forces were trained by Mossad, and if so, whether any part of such training was imparted to any person who has engaged himself in unlawful activity as defined by Section 31 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act;

- Whether any member of the Sri Lankan security forces went to Tel Aviv, Israel for the purpose of evaluating radar equipment for prospective purchase, and if so, whether they were deliberately deceived by being shown equipment inappropriate for the purpose;

- Whether Mossad was responsible for causing the preparation of a false feasibility report for a construction project in the Mahaweli Development Scheme which was funded by the World Bank and securing the award of a part of the contract so recommended to an Israeli construction company, known as Solel Bonah, and that funds so obtained were utilised to pay for arms purchased for Sri Lanka from Israel;

- Whether any Sri Lankan had given information to Mossad that such funds were being used to purchase equipment for the Sri Lanka Army, and whether such information was true or false.

The Commission has been called upon to submit the final report within a period of two months.

### **Mrs. Thatcher's Negative Response to LTTE Appeal**

In response to an appeal sent by the LTTE's London leader, Sathasivam Krishnakumar, regarding the 'current grave situation in the Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka' resulting from the government's 'all-out war on the Tamil speaking population in its pursuit of military domination', and seeking support for 'the Tamil-speaking people in their struggle against the Sri Lankan government's military oppression', the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher has sent the following reply:

'Thank you for your letter of 13 August to the Prime Minister about the situation in Sri Lanka. I have been asked to reply.

'We, too, are deeply concerned about the renewed fighting in Sri Lanka and the hardship this has brought on people living in the North and the East of the country.

'We had been encouraged by President Premadasa's efforts to reach a peaceful accommodation with the LTTE in the 13 months from May 1989. We were, therefore, dismayed by the LTTE's refusal to continue negotiations towards a political settlement and its decision to resume the fighting.

'As the Press reported, the LTTE were responsible for a large number of atrocities and acts of violence mainly in the North and the East of Sri Lanka in the period following the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force from Sri Lanka in March. These included the massacre of Tamil National Army cadres, the murders of prominent Tamil political leaders and the kidnapping and murder of a very large number of policemen. In an effort to stem the violence, and to give further opportunities to reach a peaceful settlement with the LTTE through negotiations, President Premadasa twice proposed ceasefires, but these were broken by the LTTE. Our understanding of the reasons behind the latest outbreak of fighting does not square at all, therefore, with what is set out in your letter.

'Furthermore, the LTTE, rather than the Government, have been held responsible by the international community for the massacre of members of the Muslim and other ethnic communities caught up in the fighting. Our concern about the impact of the fighting on the civilian communities in the North and the East of the country has led to HMG donating £350,000 to the

ICRC and other NGOs for emergency relief work.

'We have seen no evidence to support Press reports alleging the use of napalm or cholera bombs.

'The LTTE have made much of their demand for the repeal of the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, requiring Parliamentarians to take an oath of allegiance to a unitary Sri Lanka State. The British Government has always supported the unitary nature of Sri Lanka and we can see no over-riding problem with the requirement to take such an oath of allegiance.

'We condemn the use of violence in pursuing political aims. We are watching the situation closely and hope that a negotiated solution can soon be found, which will allow all communities to live a normal, peaceful existence. In the meantime, we are calling on all concerned (including the LTTE) to exercise maximum restraint and to take every possible step to avoid casualties or suffering among the civilian population'.

### **Court Throws Out Parliament Bomb Case - Defendants Freed**

Colombo High Court at Bar that heard the Parliament Bomb case yesterday delivered an unanimous verdict of acquittal and discharge of the first accused Ajith Kumara and the fifth accused Yasantha holding that the prosecution failed to prove the indictment.

Second accused Hewage Kumaratissa, third accused Kithsiri Colombarachchi, fourth accused Piyasiri Wickremarachchi were acquitted earlier after Senior State Counsel Surath Piyasena and Palitha Fernando concluded their submissions.

High Court comprised Judges Ameer Ismail (President) Ananda Grero and A.C.M. Fernando.

The indictment was served on 12.10.89. There were 67 days of trial. More than 100 witnesses gave evidence.

At the end of the Voir Dire inquiry, the Court ordered that the confessions made by the accused were not admissible holding that they had not been voluntarily made.

After the order was read, Senior State Counsel Surath Piyasena indicated to High Court that State would appeal against the main verdict and the verdict delivered at the end of Voir Dire inquiry.

In this case Ajith Kumara, Hewage Kumaratissa, Kithsiri Colombarachchi, Piyasiri Wickremarachchi and M. Jayasiri Goonawardena were indicted on ten counts including conspiracy to commit the murder of former President Jayewardene, and attempting to

commit the murder of former National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali.

They were also indicted with committing the murder of Keerthie Abeywickrema MP for Deniyaya and a Parliament employee S.P. Norbert Senadeera.

### **CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER ARREST OF TAMILS IN COLOMBO**

We have received reports of Tamil youths being rounded up by the police in Colombo City. On the 10th of this month alone more than 200 Tamil youths were arrested.

This has now been confirmed by the Minister for Defence, Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne, in his Press Conference held yesterday, a press release by the EPRLF stated.

There are many reasons as to why there is an exodus of Tamil youths from the North-Eastern Provinces into Colombo. However, this flow of refugees is not restricted to youths alone, but include the elderly, women and children. The main reason for the predominance of children and youths amongst the refugees is the forced conscription project of the LTTE. In addition, refugees streaming into Colombo City include those who were forcibly ejected from the refugee camps in the Eastern Province by the LTTE and those fleeing from the excesses and indiscriminate arrests by the Security Forces.

In addition to the above, we are concerned over the lack of security in the refugee camps in Colombo.

Further, the present facilities are inadequate and immediate measures should be taken to open new refugee camps. We also call on the Government to instruct the security forces to conduct themselves in a proper manner during the search operations in the City and to release all those found to be innocent without undue delay.

### **Mrs Saravanamuttu Faces Rs.2 Million Damages Suit**

Senior Superintendent of Police Ronald Nissaanka Gunasinghe and Chief Inspector of Police, S.D. Ranchagoda have filed cases in the District Court of Colombo claiming Rs.1 million and Rs. 750,000 respectively as damages from Dr. Mrs. Manarani Saravanamuttu, mother of the murdered popular journalist Richard de Zoysa.

The journalist was abducted from his mother's residence during the night of February 18 by 6 persons some in police uniform and on the following day his bullet-riddled dead body was found washed ashore at the beach in Moratuwa some miles away from Colombo.

When the police failed to follow up proper investigations Mrs Saravana-

muttu filed affidavits in the Magistrates Court identifying SSP Gunasinghe as one of the persons who had gone to her house and abducted her son and identifying that one of the abductors who had been in police uniform fitted the description she had received of Chief Inspector Ranchagoda.

The Sri Lanka Attorney General to whom the case was referred by the Magistrate subsequently abandoned the case claiming lack of evidence. Following the Attorney General's action, there has been a widespread demand for an independent judicial commission to investigate the abduction and murder of Richard de Zoysa. Mrs. Saravanamuttu has also carried on a sustained campaign for the proper and independent judicial investigation into her son's abduction and murder.

Apparently encouraged by the Attorney General's decision not to proceed with the case and finding that there is no prospect for an impartial investigation, the police officers named by Mrs. Saravanamuttu have gone on the offensive and filed cases against her alleging that she had defamed their character and reputation.

### **SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES OVERFLOWING WITH REFUGEES**

**By Christopher Morris  
in Batticaloa**

Oct. 9 - The road leading into the town of Batticaloa in eastern Sri Lanka is empty. Stray dogs are the only inhabitants of deserted Tamil villages, where every shop has been gutted by fire and every house looted.

The army controls isolated checkpoints, vulnerable to attack by Tamil Tiger rebels, but the civilian population has fled.

Eastern Sri Lanka is still suffering greatly from the war between the Tigers and the Sinhalese-dominated government. There are more than 100,000 refugees in the Batticaloa district alone, and fear pervades the town.

Schools and churches are overflowing with refugees, who do at least have a roof over their heads and adequate food rations. People who have fled into the surrounding scrubland jungles are less fortunate. Many are sleeping under coconut leaves and bits of plastic sheeting, and soon the monsoon rains will come.

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# People & Politics

## ★ DECEPTION, THE MOSSAD WAY

Was the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad engaged in two-timing – providing training and supplying weapons to the Sri Lankan security forces and at the same time providing training and supplying weapons to the LTTE? Was the Mossad responsible for a false feasibility report for a construction project in the Mahaweli Development Scheme which was funded by the World Bank and funds obtained from the Bank for the project were used for the purchase of equipment for the Sri Lankan Army? These questions and other related matters are the subject of a one-man Commission of Inquiry appointed recently by President Premadasa following the revelations contained in the recently released book titled 'By Way of Deception: The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer' authored by an ex-Mossad agent Victor Ostrovsky.

Described by Newsweek as 'certainly sensational', the book contains 361 pages, eight of which relate to Sri Lanka.

Ostrovsky was involved in part of the Mossad operations in Sri Lanka including the training of cadres from the LTTE while the Israeli Interest Section was organising training programmes for the Sri Lankan security forces, especially in the establishment and training of the Special Task Force (STF), and making arrangements for experts from Israel in regard to agricultural projects under the Mahaweli project etc.

When Ostrovsky, a Mossad case officer, having quit the agency tried to go public with his tale of 'greed, lust and total lack of respect for human life' in the agency, senior officers first tried persuasion and then tried to buy his silence. And when the author refused, the government of Israel went to court in Toronto and New York in an attempt to prevent publication on the ground that the book would 'disseminate extremely confidential information' that could 'endanger the lives of various people in the employ of the state of Israel and would be detrimental to the state of Israel'. The success of the government of Israel in prohibiting the publication and sale of the book by obtaining a restraining order from the New York State Supreme Court proved to be short-lived when the Appellate Division overturned the restraining order. The book hit the Number One spot in the New York Times best seller list having sold out 50,000 copies in less than a week.

The substantial part of the book

deals with Mossad's undercover activities in the USA including the allegations that the agency was responsible for engineering the enforced resignation of the U.S. United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young because he was suspected of being pro-PLO and that, although the agency knew in advance, it failed to give the U.S. a specific warning about the Shi'ite suicide attack on the American Marine base in Beirut where 241 GIs were killed in 1983.

In the section dealing with Sri Lanka, Ostrovsky deals with two main aspects of Mossad's involvement – how it helped to cheat the World Bank and divert funds the Bank provided to purchase arms and how it trained and sold weapons to the government and Tamil guerrillas at the same time.

The book describes how, in order to convince the World Bank of the feasibility of the Mahaweli Project, the Mossad brought in two Israeli academics, one an economist from Jerusalem University, the other a professor of agriculture, to write scholarly papers explaining its importance and its cost. A major Israeli construction company, Solel Bonah, was given a large contract for part of the job.

'Periodically World Bank representatives would go to Sri Lanka for spot checks, but the locals had been taught how to fool these inspectors by taking them on circuitous routes – easily explained for security reasons – then back to the same, quite small area where some construction had actually been carried out for just this purpose'.

Ostrovsky says that he was assigned to escort President Jayawardene's daughter-in-law Penny 'on a secret visit to Israel. She knew me as Simon'. 'We took her wherever she wanted to go. We were talking in general terms, but she insisted on telling me about the project and how money for it was financing equipment for the army. She was complaining that they weren't really getting on with it. Ironically, the project had been invented to get money from the World Bank to pay for those weapons'.

Ostrovsky says that training was provided by the Mossad to the members of the Sri Lankan security forces and Tamil Guerrillas in penetration techniques, mining landings, communications, and to sabotage Dvora class fast patrol boats – the very same boats the Israelis had earlier sold to the government for deployment against Tamil rebels. '... the Sri Lankan government has accused Indian officials of arming and training Tamils. They should be accusing the Mossad'.

'The real problem started about two

weeks into the courses, when both the Tamils and the Sinhalese – unknown to each other of course, were training at Kfar Sirkin'. Although the base was a large one, on one occasion the two groups passed within a few yards of each other while they were out jogging. 'After their basic training routine at Kfar Sirkin, the Sinhalese were taken to the naval base to be taught essentially how to deal with all the techniques the Israelis had just taught the Tamils. It was pretty hectic. We had to dream up punishments or night training exercises just to keep them busy, so that both groups wouldn't be in Tel Aviv at the same time'.

In subsequent interviews on TV and to newspapers, Ostrovsky claimed that Mossad gave the Tigers training in the manufacture and use of landmines which accounted for the most number of casualties among Sri Lankan security forces and the sale to them of weapons were on a cash-and carry basis. A lot of mines provided to the Tigers were those taken by Israel in its wars against Syria, Egypt and the PLO. 'They were refurbished and sold to the Tamils. If anything is found the indications are all Soviet-made'. They also bought 'lots and lots of flares, almost everything that was available that could be sold to them, including mines of all sorts, various types bullets, rubber boats and water-resistant pouches'.

Asked about the purchases made by the security forces, Ostrovsky said that they bought various kinds of Uziz starting from the sub-machine gun right down to the Uzi pistols. They also bought Galil assault rifles, light machine guns, shoulder-carried field missiles and Eagle pistols.

Referring to the duplicity of the provision of training in Israel to both the security forces and Tamil guerrillas at the same time, Ostrovsky said, 'the joke doing the rounds among some of the Israelis in the training camps at that time was: "Why do we want to send these guys back to Sri Lanka? why don't we take them to field here and let them fight the war here? It would save a lot of civilian lives". We were laughing about it, and in the evening when you went home you started thinking about it. "Hey, wait a minute, this is wrong". But you see, Mossad does not regard anybody as people unless they belong to Mossad'.

The Colombo media men, who were quite conspicuous by their silence when the Israeli Interest Section was opened under the auspices of the US Embassy in Colombo and when the Israeli intelligence services started to train the Sri Lankan security services, are now screaming about 'the perfidious role of the Israelis who came in the guise of friends and then proved to be worse than enemies' and about

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'Their capacity for duplicity can only be matched by their capacity for betraying even their best friends' - H.L.D. Mahindapala in the Sunday Observer, 30.9.90. The article titled 'The Zionist Conspiracy' by Tisarane Gunasekera (Sunday Island 30.10.90) even raises the frightful prospect of further Israeli destabilisation of Sri Lanka: 'If they have no qualms about treating friends this way, and they didn't mind working against the Jayawardene government which invited them to Sri Lanka, would they have second thoughts about trying to destabilise Sri Lanka now specially after the severing of all relations?'

### ★ MERGER IN THE MELTING POT

The merger of the North and Eastern Provinces was one of the basic demands of the Tamil speaking people, and this was one of the achievements resulting from the much maligned Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987. But today the question of delinking the presently merged two provinces is being strongly canvassed by some political parties before the so-called All-Party Conference. President Premadasa, whose antipathy to the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and to all that it entailed was never concealed, is 'encouraging' discussion with a view to reaching a decision (one can anticipate what that is going to be) through 'conciliation, compromise and consensus'. And the newspapers in Colombo are full of propaganda material advocating the delinking of the two provinces.

The situation has been made more complicated by the Muslim political parties which have become more strident, particularly after the Kattankudy mosque massacres, in the articulation of their demand for a separate Provincial Council in the East to represent the Muslim population. The Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, which had previously accepted the merged N-E Province, is now saying that there should be three Councils - one for the north and two for the East, with provision for the North and East Tamil Councils to join if they wish. The Muslim United Liberation Front is against a merger but advocates two ethnic-based Councils - one for the Tamils one for the Muslims with equal powers directly devolved from the centre. The Muslim League is against the merger, but if there is going to be a merger, it wants a separate Council to represent the Muslims. The Muslim Assembly is against the merger and wants one Council to cover the entire Eastern Province for the Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese. As the LTTE is battling it out with government forces

totally disinterested in the goings-on in Colombo, and the EROS/EDP having gone into a low political profile and some of their MPs having sought asylum in foreign lands (some leaders claim it to be only a temporary expediency), the other Tamil parties and groups are engaged in feverish attempts to arrive at a formula that would ensure continued merger of the two provinces with suitable constitutional arrangements that would guarantee adequate safeguards for the protection of the cultural identity of the Muslim people and their aspirations.

In any case the question of merger, which was once regarded as a resolved one, is now in the melting pot.

### ★ OWN-GOAL ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Remember the news item (*Tamil Times*, June '90) relating to the confiscation of documents relating to human rights abuses in Sri Lanka at the Colombo International Airport sent to Amnesty International and the Editor of *Tamil Times* by Member of Parliament Mr. Mahinda Rajapakse? The Lankan authorities have done it again, this time more flagrantly.

On 11 September the same Mahinda Rajapakse was waylaid on the way to his plane with documents comprising thirty photographs of bullet riddled and smouldering bodies of persons and 533 affidavits sworn by close relatives containing details of the circumstances surrounding the 'disappearance' of persons and many other related documents. The MP was on his way to Geneva to give evidence before the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances of United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Some weeks earlier, several documents, photographs and affidavits concerning abuse of human rights by government forces which were given to DHL, an international delivery service, to be sent to Geneva were seized by customs officials at the Katunayake Airport.

Assistant Superintendent of Police Mr. N.C. Kudahetty, having been tipped off previously about the MP's impending departure, turned up at the airport with a team of policemen, searched his luggage against his will and confiscated all the documents. The MP was allowed to board the plane only after he made a formal statement to the police. The MP's protest as to his rights, the intervention of the Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. S. Bandaranaike, and the fact that the documents were being taken in consequence of a request from the UN body did not prevent the ASP from acting in the arbitrary manner he did.

When the MP eventually turned up

before the UN body on the appointed date and related what had happened to the documents, its Members and UN officials were outraged. Mr. Rajapakse who was expected to submit the documents and give evidence for about an hour on the question of 'disappearance' of persons ended up giving evidence relating to the disappearance of the documents for about an hour-and-a-half. The outraged UN officials promptly telexed Colombo demanding the immediate return of the documents. The officials of the Sri Lanka mission in Geneva, who have an impossible task of defending the island's appalling human rights record, were put in an embarrassing situation so much so one of them is reported to have angrily commented, 'These bastards in Colombo should be hanged for what they are doing to the country internationally'.

### ★ BATTLE FOR GOLD AND CASH

Government forces carried out massive aerial bombardment of the northern city of Jaffna destroying thousands of buildings for three months in an ostensible effort to break the LTTE siege of the Jaffna Fort in which about 175 Sri Lankan security service and police personnel were trapped. Eventually, the government forces numbering about 800 entered the Fort on 13 September and successfully airlifted the trapped personnel to safety. On 25 September, the announcement was made that all government troops, which had with great difficulty and suffering many casualties entered the Fort, had been withdrawn and in effect the Fort had been abandoned. As soon as the forces were withdrawn, Tigers entered the Fort and hoisted their flag and claimed victory. They also blasted most of the buildings within the Fort with dynamite. Among the buildings of archaeological significance destroyed were an old Dutch Church and the 'King's House' where heads of state once stayed during visits to Jaffna. Now the Fort is almost abandoned.

So why did this brutal battle go on for three months with all the accompanying human and material destruction.

The Minister of State for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne, told a press conference in Colombo on 26 September that troops were pulled out and the Fort abandoned because they had carried out their intended mission - besides the evacuation of the trapped personnel, the mission was to recover from the Fort Rs.30 million in gold and jewellery and Rs.40 million in cash that had been kept by Jaffna banks in the Fort vaults.

So now we know what this heroic battle was all about!

# ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE ETHNIC CONFLICT OF SRI LANKA

— Urmila Phadnis —

Professor, South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

[Paper presented in a Seminar (October 7-10, 1990) on *Obstacles to Peace in Sri Lanka*, organised by Minority Rights Group, Swedish Section, Uppsala, Sweden.]

That the tensions and conflict between majority and minority communities have been a critical issue of political order and peace-maintenance in plural societies, more so, in the developing ones, is self-axiomatic. However, the nature of such patterns of interaction has varied, with one minority being cooperative and the other conflictual. Besides, the cooperative – consensual – consociational – competitive – conflagrational relationships connote the components of accord as much as discord, harmony as much as cleavages. What is of salience in this context is the whys and whats of discord preempting harmony and *vice-versa*.

In this context, the Sri Lankan experience of majority and minority relationships<sup>1</sup> is revealing as well as instructive. Over the decades since independence, the cleavages between the majority community of the Sinhala and the major minority community of the Tamils has been under heavy strain. While such a strain has been somewhat latent, with occasional undercurrents among the 'Indian Tamils', with the Sri Lankan Tamils particularly in the North and East, it has assumed a virulence and ferocity unprecedented in its history.

Embedded in such a social rupture in the civil society of the island state has been the crisis of the structures and norms of the Sri Lankan State. Such crises highlight a conglomerate of contradictions underscoring the democratic and developmental processes in Sri Lanka. Thus, the contradictions of developmental experiments and experience have been such as to give way to maldevelopment. Democratic structures have shown similar aberrations. While the colonial legacies do provide a crucial context to them, there is no doubt that the majoritarian thrust of the post colonial Sri Lankan State coupled with the policies and perspectives of the state leadership on democracy and development has been equally significant. Moreover, the intended as much as the unintended consequences of such policies alongside the momentum of social change have contributed to the social turmoil, with ethnic conflict being one of its major manifestations. In the process, peace has been at siege and political stability its major casualty in the island-state.

## II

Political stability *per se* may not be a precursor of peace. Who wants the peace of an authoritarian state where protest is muzzled and dissent is suppressed? In any case, such stability can at best be described as a seeming calm before the storm.

Alongside, in democratic states too movements of protest and change, leading at times to a state of turmoil and flux may impart a certain degree of political instability and yet not be dysfunctional to the long drawn pursuit of peace for a simple reason: closely related to the pursuit of peace are also the objectives of justice and equity.

I am underscoring these values alongside peace because any discourse on the obstacles to peace in Sri Lanka or elsewhere has to be placed in such a wider context. Otherwise it becomes sterile. Stability gets equated to status quo and peace – an empty shell, without the questions as to peace for what? And for whom?

As such, the identification of the obstacles to peace in Sri Lanka has its normative as much as real-politic dimensions. Closely related to this are the issues of scope as well as intensity of such obstacles.

Such obstacles have been anti-systemic and/or have had to take to extra-systemic strategies. While the former has as its major manifestation in the 1980s in the movement of People's Liberation Front (popularly described by its acronym JVP which stands for Janatha Vimukti Peramuna), the latter, has been epitomised by the movement for Eelam – a separate state – for the Tamils in the northern and eastern areas of the country. With the Sri Lankan State's inability to come to terms with them through political measures, its increasingly 'National Security' orientation marked by violence zigzagging between low-high intensity conflict. Consequently, the Sri Lankan society has been increasingly brutalised and its polity more and more militarised. In the process, not only has there been the Sinhalese qua Sinhalese Tensions (JVP vs. the ruling Sinhalese elite) but equally significantly the Sinhalese-Tamil, majority-minority susceptibilities becoming sharpened and the relationship marked by mistrust, doubt and uncertainty regarding inter-group relationship on the one hand and the issues of the 'survival' of the one time

most forward community – the Sri Lankan Tamils – on the other. There is no doubt that different perspectives can be discerned<sup>2</sup> regarding the bases for the explosion of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. However, irrespective of the perspective, the role of the state therein remains very much in the fore in such political discourses. Any discussion on the means and modalities for the pursuit of peace in Sri Lanka thus has to take note of the linkages and dichotomies between the state and society in Sri Lanka as they have evolved over decades.

While making ethnic conflict as the focal point in the subsequent sections, I have related it to the wider gamut of forces – external as well as internal – which have resulted in Sri Lanka becoming an increasingly militarised state operative in a manner as to erode its legitimacy as well as integrative capabilities.

## III

Though I do not propose to get into the somewhat tangled discussion of the 'return to the state'<sup>3</sup> in political theory, it is pertinent to provide a workable definition of the state. The State is not merely an area in which socio-economic battles are waged but has a certain autonomy of its own. As a macro-structure, it incorporates a set of administrative, policing and military organisations headed and more or less coordinated by an executive political authority. These state institutions of power and authority are built up and operate within the context of national and international dynamics.<sup>4</sup> However, in multi-ethnic states the 'ethnic' nature of the state as perceived and projected by the power elite of its various ethnic communities has also been of critical significance in the power structure and alignment patterns of society and state. It is here again that not only the policy avocations but also, the performance of the power-wielders underscore the extent and manner to which the various ethnic groups are represented in the power-structure. Equally significant, it is not merely their representation and participation but their claim to do so on behalf of their respective community which is pertinent. And so is the perception of the justiceability of their relative share in the power cake<sup>5</sup> as well as the accountability of the state towards them. It is in such a general context that the nature of the Sri Lankan state and its role in ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka needs to be focussed.

Broadly speaking, the Sri Lankan political system, as it has evolved has not been that of the 'ethnically dispersed' (as in India) but 'ethnically centralised' system.<sup>6</sup> Briefly stated, this connotes: (1) the presence of two or more large groups in constant interac-

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tion in the structures of power and authority; (2) the nature of such an interaction even when cooperative, having a competitive edge with often the premise being that of a zero-sum game and not otherwise; (3) the pattern of interaction implying the majority-minority relationship perceived and/or projected as that of dominant-subordinate relationship. The effectiveness of such a perception and projection is heavily contingent on the level of the minority group's consciousness, the nature of its expectations vis-a-vis the state and its actual as well as expected share in the institutions of power and authority of the state.

In the Sri Lankan case, the Tamils have been a numerical minority but regionally, they are a majority.<sup>7</sup> Coupled with this has been the factor of their proximity and cultural-linguistic affinity with the Tamils of Tamilnadu across the Palk Straits which has induced a sense of self-perceived minority complex among the Sinhalese community. Such a minority complex, nurtured through select historical memories of Tamil invasion from the Tamil north (South Indian states) during the pre-western colonial period had occasional outbursts during the British colonial rule. This was partly due to the nature of the colonial state and partly due to the political exigencies as managed and manipulated by the leadership of the various political groups – communal as well as non-communal.

Briefly stated, the major attributes of the colonial state in Sri Lanka were: (a) its highly unitary character which however did not disturb the pattern of traditional power structure at the local level; (b) development of a dual economic structure marked by the export oriented plantation sector (with all its colonial concomitants) on the one hand and rural sector on the other. Though having a small number of families as owners of big land holding, the nature of plantation culture in the colony was such as to marginalise agriculture, create non-self-sufficiency in major food commodities and thereby lead to dependency on the vagaries of international markets; (c) strong all-island communication network which facilitated movement of those who could afford it. Though connoting the pre-eminence of a highly westernised class of 'Brown sahibs', such a communication network existed side by side with the indigenous patterns of networking in education, religion, medicine etc.<sup>8</sup>

During the British period, the indigenous power elite – both Sinhala, Tamil, Muslims and burghers – shared part of the colonial spoils. In fact, till the early 20s the Sinhalese and the Tamil elite had joined hands in demanding greater autonomy from their colonial masters. It is not without significance that in 1912 the first Ceylonese

to be elected to the legislative council was a Tamil, Sir Ponnambalam Ramathan. His brother, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam was the first President of Ceylon Reform League (1917) as also of Ceylon National Congress (1919) which was founded jointly by the Sinhalese and the Tamil elite. During this period, the Tamils did not regard themselves as a minority but aspired to equality with Sinhalese as one of the two majority groups as indeed their enfranchised segment was under the restricted franchise then prevailing.<sup>9</sup> With English education being the major qualification for enfranchisement and the Tamils in the north having an early start in English education, it was not surprising that at this stage they had accounted for more than half of the educated Ceylonese. However, in democratic politics where numbers mattered, such a concept of 'two majority communities' was bound to be fragile as much as artificial.

The rupture of the Ceylon National Congress in 1922 along ethnic lines, the formation of Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic parties (e.g., Tamil Mahajana Sabha, Sinhala Mahasabha, Tamil Congress etc.) had the submersion/incorporation of one community by the other being the underlying assumption of both. Though the left parties did challenge such ethnicity based fear syndrome as contrived and politically manipulative, yet they were too weak to make a dent particularly in the countryside.

The introduction of universal adult franchise in 1931 – a gift of the colonial masters to its then unwilling recipients – provided a greater impetus to the projection and propagation of such apprehension. If the Tamil minority felt vulnerable due to its numerical weakness, the Sinhalese, among other factors had opposed it because of the grant of franchise rights to the 'Indian Tamils'.<sup>10</sup> However, not only did the colonial state go ahead with the universal adult franchise but also let it have an open field in the political arena.

Unlike India, where the imperial policy of 'divide et impera' was a political exigency for colonial survival and sustenance on many occasions, the British Raj did not need to resort to it in the island-colony because of the moderate and pliable character of the majority community leadership (except the left parties) itself. The formation of an all Sinhalese ministry after the 1936 elections was an indication of such an orientation. And so was the rejection of the Tamil Congress demand of 50-50 i.e., parity of representation of all minorities groups with the majority community which in any case would have implied not parity but weightage in view of the numerical proportion of all the minority communities being less than one-third of the total population.<sup>11</sup>

As such, the policies and strategies of the British colonial state evolved in a manner as to maintain a certain equilibrium between the various communities. Though somewhat shaky it not only served imperial interest but what is more, did not let the majority-minority coexistence go beyond the competitive point. Here again, a certain pattern in power sharing can be discerned with the minority elite having a pre-eminence in bureaucracy, business as well as certain professions like law and medicine and the majority community elite having a political ascendancy as the junior partners of the Raj.

In the post-independence period, ethnic politics acquired a sharper edge as the ethnic equilibrium in terms of power sharing and its management was disturbed. While the colonial antecedents did have their input in such a process particularly due to the contradictions embedded therein, it was in the main a concomitant of the pressures and pulls ensconced in the perspectives, policies and performance of the state leadership vis-a-vis the accommodation of minority community's demand in a society marked by mass politics and a pace of rapid social change.

## IV

As in the other post colonial states, in the Sri Lanka context too, irrespective of the structural differences in the form of governance, there has been an increasing expansion of the activities of the state. In the process, in addition to its role as a protector, the state was perceived, for historical reasons, as assuming the role of a provider for its citizenry. The welfarist orientation of the state had already made a beginning at the fag end of the colonial period when education was made free from K.G. to University level and compulsory to those upto 14 years of age; health services were available at highly subsidized rates communication facilities were speedy and cheap and last but not the least, subsidized prices for rice – the staple food as well as a few other essential items like sugar – were provided for.

Not surprisingly, therefore, in the early decades of independence, the island-state was internationally acclaimed a model of welfarist democracy among the third world countries. The PQL (Physical Quality of Life indicators, e.g., literacy, low rate of infant mortality and high rate of longevity) in Sri Lanka has turned out to be one of the highest in Asia. Elections based on universal adult franchise (introduced as early as 1931) were held at fairly regular intervals since independence in 1948 till 1977 with one of the two major parties, the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) coming alternately to power. Electoral par-



ticipation, reflecting its participant political culture, was as high as 87% in 1977 elections with less than half per cent of the invalid polled. With voting age being reduced to 18 years since 1960 and the 'new voters' accounting for more than 10% of voters in virtually every election, the political awareness and volatility of a highly youthful civil society did determine the electoral verdict to some extent.<sup>12</sup>

As regards economy, going by its growth rate it did not seem to have done too badly with the rate of growth averaging about 3 per cent annually during the 50s and 60s, and with the introduction of the open economy and massive dose of foreign aid, rising to 6 per cent per annum towards the end of the 70s and the early 80s after the UNP had assumed power. Finally, though, somewhat limited, measures were also taken towards land distribution through land reforms including nationalisation of British owned plantation companies.<sup>13</sup>

However, embedded in such impressive politico-economic indicators were a number of contradictions with new contradictions finding expression as a consequence of the nature of power alignments in the state structure as well as some of its policies and measures in socio-economic spheres.

To begin with, in the economic sphere, in terms of the dominant modes of production and relations of production Sri Lanka has continued to be a classical case of a dependent capitalist system. Notwithstanding the frequent rhetoric of self-reliance, its domestic bourgeoisie and other elite groups had failed to extricate themselves from the dominant colonial mode of economy. If at all, the economic arena has been marked by diverse mix of state capital and private capital – both domestic and external. If the SLFP regime for instance moved to greater state control in a number of sectors and thereby expanded the role of state capital, the UNP regime, particularly since 1977, emphasised on 'open economy' which still left considerable leeway for state intervention and control in various economic sectors.<sup>14</sup>

However, with the population explosion, rising expectations of its youth were such as to lead to a mismatch between an overheated polity and a virtually stagnant economy resulting in political dissent on the one hand and higher inflation, increasing unemployment coupled with stringent controls during the SLFP regime (1970-77) on the other. After coming to power in 1977 the UNP replaced it by a domestic version of monetarist-supply side economic policies. For a brief while this yielded dramatic results such as a buoyant investment climate, a fall in unemployment and an apparent end to a situation of scarcity. However, it also curtailed indiscriminate open import

policy (affecting some of the nascent indigenous industries as well as food crops) coupled with fostering an elitist oriented consumerist culture. There was, thus, a mismatch between 'redistribution with growth', and a gap between the expectations and perceived capabilities vis-a-vis the economic situation of its growing lower middle strata created a potentially explosive situation.

This was accentuated because of the social status of the power wielders. Though the electoral politics, in theoretical terms, opened the avenues for all, in effect, a considerably large number of power wielders – whether in government or in opposition, continued to be drawn from the upper strata of the Sri Lankan society. This is reflected in the socio-economic profile of the legislators as well as those in bureaucracy. Though, over the decades, the number of English educated MPs decreased and there was an increase in Sinhala educated in 1970 elections, hardly a handful had a humble socio-economic background. The number of landowners, businessmen and other professionals continued to be significant – a phenomena which continued in the 1977 elections.

During this period the state response to the political dissent and protest appeared to have become increasingly tyrannical. There was a perceptible trend towards increasing concentration of power at the top particularly since the 70s – (with the Prime Ministerial government of the SLFP paving the way to the Executive Presidency during the UNP regime). This was marked by a scant regard for the traditional adherence to the separation of powers between the major organs of the government, dilution of the 'uncommitted' character of the bureaucracy, stringent measures on the freedom of the press through legislative fiats or take-overs. The extension of parliament through a legislative fiat in 1972 and the recourse to a referendum in 1982 instead of holding general elections as scheduled were perceived as acts of political manipulation by the ruling regime and further alienated those on the periphery.<sup>15</sup>

A violent revolt against the anti-democratic tendencies of the state as well as the high caste-class character of its power wielders had found an expression in the 1971 Sinhala-Buddhist insurrection of the JVP which had been quelled with external assistance but the simmerings against the non-democratic, highly centralised and increasingly personalised tendencies of the state persisted as was evident from the resurgence of the JVP in the 1980s.

Underlining the youth unrest had been the politicisation and perception of the abuse of political power by the youth, more so since 1970 when, the parliamentary victories involving mas-

sive majorities led not only to post election violence but also to the perception that 'winner takes all'. A Presidential Commission on youth unrest summed up the perception of the youth vis-a-vis the abuses and excesses of politicisation as follows:

(a) abuse of political power in the recruitment of personnel to the public service;

(b) misapplication of political power in the grant of public licence and contract to the supporters of the ruling party;

(c) the abuse of political power in the undermining of existing democratic institutions; and

(d) political interference in the day-to-day governmental administration.<sup>16</sup>

As regards the Tamil youth, such abuses of political power among the two dominantly Sinhalese Buddhist political parties was such as to further peripheralise his position in the decision making processes and opportunity structures. However, alongside the tendencies leading to the JVP phenomenon, the Tamil discontent had another dimension – an ethnic edge – connoting a revolt against the majoritarian thrust of the Sri Lankan State. More so, while the JVP had as its ostensible objective a radically restructured Sri Lankan State, the Tamil militants had its break-up – a separate Tamil Eelam – as their goal on the plea that the Sinhala-Buddhist domination of the Sri Lankan State had been such as to afford hardly any leeway for the Tamil community to have a stake therein and to live with a sense of honour, equality and justice. The roots of such a feeling of discrimination and deprivation of the Tamils lay in the policies of the State in the post-independence era which tended to be amalgamative and not pluralistic.

(To be continued)

1. For a critical appraisal of the concept of minority and the various approaches towards it see Ambalavanar Sivarajah, *Minority Politics in Sri Lanka Since Independence*, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, 1988. Typed.

For a general typology of inter-ethnic group relationships in power terms see Joseph Rothschild, *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp.69-79.

2. For the delineation of some of these perspectives see Newton Gunasinghe, 'Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: Perspectives and Solutions' in Charles Abeysekera and Newton Gunasinghe eds., *Facets of Ethnicity in Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Social Scientist Association, 1987), pp.61-71.

3. Some of the significant recent contributions on this theme are: Gabriel A. Almond, 'Return to the State', *American Political Science Review*, vol.82, no.3, September 1988, pp.853-874; the whole issue of *Comparative Political Studies* entitled 'State in Contemporary and International Perspective', vol.21, no.1, April 1988; see Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Edward H. Leiman, 'The Theory of State and the State of Theory', *American Sociological Review*, vol.53, December 1988, pp.807-823. Also see Hamza Alavi, 'State and Class under Peripheral Capitalism' in Hamza Alavi and T. Shanin, eds., *Introduction to the Sociology of 'Developing Societies'* (London: Macmillan, 1982) and Haldun Gulap, 'Capital Accumulation, Classes and Relative Autonomy of the State', *Science and Society*, vol.51, no.3, Fall 1987, pp.287-313.

# The Muslim Predicament

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The political developments in Sri Lanka after 1977 have left its one million strong Muslim community in a state of bewilderment. Even before that date the community never had a long term and well considered strategy to conduct itself to safety and survival amidst the twists and turns of the nation's turbulent political waters. Perhaps, the relative calmness of the atmosphere which prevailed in national politics before the seventies prevented the need for such considerations. Muslim leadership which emanated perennially from the commercial and propertied classes of Colombo and its adjacent districts viewed the developments in the country through its own glasses of parochial interests. Joining with one or the other of the so-called national parties namely, the U.N.P. and the S.L.F.P. and preventing the Tamils from doing the same was thought to be the best possible political tactic which the Muslims should adopt if they are to promote their own community interests. Here again one can justify the Muslim attitude if one looks at the trend of communal politics which was played at that time.

Ever since the issue of official language was introduced into the election manifestos of the major political parties in the fifties Sinhala-Tamil communalism which until then occupied only the back stage of Sri Lankan politics now appeared at the centre. From then on and at every general election the U.N.P. and the S.L.F.P. were rivalling to improve on each other's Sinhala chauvinistic image to stay in political power. The Tamil Congress and the Federal Party did the same in their enclaves.

While communal politics was successfully polarising the two major ethnic communities, Muslim leadership quite understandably viewed the situation with a business motive. Why not make hay while the sun shines? They allied with either the U.N.P. or the S.L.F.P. and won as much favours as possible sometimes even at the expense of the disenfranchised Tamil community. To the major parties of course Muslim friendship was a useful thing because they could pose themselves to the international community with a noncommunal image and were even able to exploit the Muslim friendship, as the S.L.F.P. did successfully, to win economic favours from the oil rich Arabs.

In order to continue this friendly relationship, the Colombo Muslim leaders had to demonstrate to their political allies that the entire Muslim

community was behind them and that their voice was the voice of the community at large. More than one third of the Sri Lankan Muslims live in the northern and eastern regions of the country. They live among Tamils, speak the Tamil language and share the economic interests with the Tamils. What is more, these Muslims live in villages which are thickly populated with their own kind but placed alternatively in between equally populated Tamil villages. The Muslims in this part are largely rural settlers. This characteristic of their settlement is of crucial importance when we look at any possible solution to the current Muslim predicament. Unlike the Muslims in these two regions, those living in the rest of Sri Lanka are more fluent in Sinhala language, and do not everywhere dwell in concentrated Muslim villages. Their settlements are mostly urban and the rural folk live scattered among Sinhalese villagers. To the Muslim leadership however, this dichotomy did not appear to be a divisive element. To them the Islamic brotherhood and religious unity surpassed every other division in the community. They always believed that they could speak and make decisions for the entire community in the name of Islam. The behaviour of the Tamil parties further enhanced the position of the Colombo Muslim leadership. Of the two parties the F.P. in particular did never treat the Muslims as a political force to be reckoned with.

In the view of the Tamil leaders, the Muslims in Sri Lanka are a business community and all that this community needs is the facility to carry on its trading profession. Political power sharing and constitutional and administrative matters should be decided by the Sinhalese and Tamils only. Although outwardly and when it suited its own interests, the Federal Party leaders claimed to represent the Tamil speaking people, including the Muslims, when it came to action they always eliminated the Muslim variable from their equation.

The history of Tamil discrimination against the Muslims dates back to pre-independence days and this is not the place to trace that history. Because of this unpleasant past, however, the Muslims in the Tamil areas and the Muslim community as a whole always mistrusted the Tamil leaders. This meant that the Muslims in the Tamil areas had no alternative but to rally round their own leaders who spoke for them from Colombo. Of course, there were a few Muslim parliamentarians from the Tamil areas who even held

portfolios in the Government. They neither had the intellectual stature nor the economic strength to equal the influence of their Colombo counterparts.

This tradition of depending on the Colombo centre to make decisions for the regional periphery led quite inadvertently to the deepening of the dichotomy referred to earlier but again it was not allowed to surface and was successfully submerged by the over arching Islamic unity. When the Sinhala Only Act was introduced in the parliament, the Muslim leadership supported it wholeheartedly without thinking how it was going to affect the Muslims in the Tamil areas. While the Tamils were protesting against the Bill, staging satyagrahas and getting harassed by the Sinhalese mob and government forces, the Muslim community by opting to support the Bill not only enjoyed the protection of the forces but also stood to gain a number of favours from the government in the field of education, employment and cultural advancement. It was a political dilemma for the Muslim leadership. Had they opposed the bill, the community in the Sinhala areas would have certainly suffered the same fate as did the Tamils in the hands of the Sinhala extremists. Therefore they supported it on the confidence that the government forces would be strong enough to provide protection to their brethren in the North and East. Although the government lived up to the expectations of the Muslim leadership yet, in the continuing saga of Tamil-Muslim mistrust, another seed had been planted which was to poison the intercommunal relationship even further.

During this period however, there were progressive forces in the country which realized the dangers of communal politics. The Ceylon Communist Party (C.P.) and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (L.S.S.P.) were clamouring for parity of status for Sinhala and Tamil languages and campaigned throughout the country with a radically different election manifesto. They demonstrated to the people of all communities how the propertied and commercial classes in the country were exploiting the language issue to maintain their economic and political dominance. Unless the economy of the nation was restructured and freed from the clutches of the vested interests, they pointed out that communalism would flourish to the detriment of the unity of the nation and that oppression of the downtrodden and minority groups would continue. The C.P. and L.S.S.P. stalwarts were a group of radicals who hoped to bring about the necessary changes through the parliamentary process and not a bunch of hard live revolutionaries bent on carrying out an armed struggle to achieve their objective. The methodology of change

which they sought to adopt fitted in with the cultural ethos of Sri Lanka. Yet, they failed and with their failure, the minorities in the country particularly the Tamils and the Muslims lost an opportunity to strengthen a political group which emerged from a Sinhala base to achieve political and economic fairness to all. For a time the C.P. and L.S.S.P. tried to join hands with the S.L.F.P. and tried to bring about the necessary changes from within a grand coalition. But it was too late to arrest the communal cancer which had spread to every part of the national body.

As the seventies drew to a close, several conditions which the Muslims thought would remain constant started changing rapidly. First of all, the system of parliamentary democracy based on the British model was replaced by a Presidential system with proportional representation in the legislature. This was the biggest blow to the political survival of the Muslim community.

The Muslim leadership accepted this change without even a murmur. Secondly, the assumption that the Tamil struggle for their rights and privileges would continue to remain non-violent was shattered when the Tamil youths resorted to armed struggle. No one in Sri Lanka, not even in one's wildest of dreams expected that the passive and servile Jaffna Tamil will one day carry a gun to fight for his political rights. The rise of the Tiger movement in the Tamil areas just like the rise of the Jathika Vimukthi Peramuna (J.V.P.) in the Sinhala areas marked the end of one generation of political leadership and the beginning of another.

Thirdly, the geographical proximity of the island to the Indian mainland now posed an immediate threat to Sri Lanka's political sovereignty. From now on Sri Lankan internal problems became an important variable in Indian domestic politics.

While these changes were taking place outside the Muslim community, within itself there was a new development as a result of the language policy of the country. Since the medium of instruction in schools from the sixties has been either Sinhala or Tamil, the Muslim children who live in the respective areas have adopted the dominant language of the region as their medium of instruction. Consequently, by the eighties there appeared a new generation of Muslim youth nearly two-thirds of whom spoke in a language which the other one third could not understand and vice versa. To these Sinhala educated Muslim youths, even the Friday sermons in the mosques which were delivered in Tamil were beyond comprehension. These young people are the future

## Anti-Muslim Violence in the North-East

— N. Shanmugaratnam —

Associate Professor, (Agricultural University, Norway)

Once again we are forced to ask ourselves the basic questions: Where is the Tamil liberation struggle heading to? What does Tamil liberation mean? How do Tamil militants differentiate between friends and enemies of the struggle?

It is indeed tragic that Tamil groups have often engaged themselves in terrorising and killing innocent Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese in the North and East. That no group makes any claim for such massacres is in itself proof of the fact that these acts are cowardly, criminal and shameful. It is not heroic to kill unarmed and innocent civilians in the name of anyone's liberation. The current anti-Muslim tendency in the Tamil national movement is highly disturbing to those who believe in preserving the fraternal ties between different ethnic groups and promoting the just struggles of the minorities in Lanka.

I think that Tamil nationalism has degenerated into a mirror image of its enemy — Sinhala nationalism. The militants set out with great zeal to liberate the Tamil people from the oppression by the Sinhala Buddhist state but the dominant tendencies in the Tamil liberation movement are clearly authoritarian and militarist. They have failed to understand the most basic precondition for a viable Tamil speaking political unit in the North and East, i.e. the mass consent of the Muslim people living in this area. The recent attacks on Muslims only reveal the chauvinistic, intolerant nature of Tamil nationalism towards the Muslim communities inhabiting the traditional Tamil speaking areas. These inhuman and politically counter productive acts have given the Sri Lankan government a powerful tool to keep the Tamils and the Muslims divided and play one against the other. The state, which is the real oppressor of all communities in this country, has now taken upon itself the dubious role of mediator and peacemaker while bombing the North and killing many civilians and displacing thousands of families.

It is of some consolation to note that several Tamil groups have condemned the anti-Muslim violence. But, it is time we addressed the more fundamental political task of understanding Tamil nationalism as an ideology and how authoritarianism and militarism have gained

the upper hand and subverted the very essence of a freedom struggle. I think that the most hegemonic form of Tamil nationalism is as chauvinistic and reactionary as Sinhala nationalism.

The militants have effectively alienated themselves and the Tamil community they claim to lead from the Muslim people. What sense does it make to talk of a merged North-East when the Muslim people have been made to feel so insecure? The Tamil liberation movement has failed to understand the feelings of the Muslim people and their right to define their identity in their own terms. It appears that some of the Tamil groups have inherited the blunted sensibilities of the old Tamil leadership toward the Muslim people's desire for relative autonomy.

Due to the peculiarities of Lankan political history, the Muslim people have sought to establish their identity more on the basis of their faith than on language. Let's not forget that they were the first community to be at the receiving end of communalist violence in this country in 1915. The gross incapacity of successive Tamil leaderships to understand the Muslim people's dilemma and empathise with a fellow minority group has further reinforced their option of giving primacy to their religion in defining their identity.

It is absolutely essential that the Tamil liberation movement unconditionally recognises the Muslim people's right to preserve and develop their identity in their own terms. This is a fundamental precondition for the peaceful co-existence of the two communities in the North and East. But this precondition can not be satisfied without a radical political transformation of the Tamil liberation movement itself into a truly mass movement guided by the ideals of participatory people's democracy. I may quote from an earlier piece by me, 'Seven days in Jaffna — Life under Indian Occupation' written in June 1989, the words of two persons I met. '... In a fundamental sense our liberation struggle has yet to begin.' (a man)

'They (the militants) talk of liberation of our land. They vow to fight to the last to defend the Tamil soil. They are heroic, but what is this soil without us, the people' (a woman)

## Continued From Page 15

parents and one can easily surmise that the Muslim dichotomy mentioned earlier has become a permanent cleavage. One thing that comes out of this development is the irrelevance of the Colombo based leadership to the Muslims of North and East.

Muslims are now a divided community in Sri Lanka and the superficial religious unity is not sufficient to give any Muslim personality to make decisions for the entire Muslim population. This fact, although difficult to digest, must be accepted by the Muslim politicians. The Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) led by a young man from the Eastern Province is, if anything, the reflection of this division.

Today, the unitary system of government in Sri Lanka is in jeopardy. Already, there is a de facto division of the country. It is a matter of time before this becomes de jure. What is to be decided is not whether there is going to be a division but what sort of a division it is going to be. The objective of creating an independent and sovereign Tamil country in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka can remain a romantic dream as long as the fifty million Tamils in South India are going to live without an independent country. This requires an explanation. In the eyes of the international community, South India is the home of Tamil civilization. By virtue of historical facts, South India is the custodian of Tamil culture and the universal spokesman on Tamil interests. Tamil Nadu has a hegemonic influence over Tamil affairs. This situation is bound to change if an independent Tamil country is going to be established somewhere in the world even on a one acre piece of land. This country will be a sovereign state will have a national flag and will have representation in the international community of United Nations. Thereafter, for all intents and purposes, that tiny country will be the spokesman on Tamil affairs. After all Tamil Nadu is only a state within India. It is very difficult to think that South Indians will easily surrender their hegemonic position to a tiny Eelam. Therefore, it will be in their interest to abort the birth of Eelam. The D.M.K. and A.D.M.K. support to the different groups of Tamil fighters in Sri Lanka should be viewed more in the light of those parties' political rivalry than in terms of their genuine commitment to Eelam.

The alternative for the Tamil youths is to achieve a federal state on the Indian model. The present dialogue between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tamil Tigers (L.T.T.) points towards that solution. It is in the light of this prospective solution the Muslims have to decide upon their future political strategy.

The Muslim community today is a linguistically divided community in Sri Lanka, and the prospective federalism will deepen this division. Their situation will be analogous to the Urdu speaking Muslims and Tamil speaking Muslims in the North and South of India. Each group has to devise its political strategy and mode of action in the light of the regional context. This means the Muslims of the North and East of Sri Lanka must first come to a settlement with the Tamil groups which are fighting for dominance in that region. They can even play the role of power brokers amongst the rivaling parties. Instead, to bargain with the Colombo government for a separate province for the Muslims and to arm the Muslim youth to fight the heavily armed and militarily trained Tamil guerrillas is suicidal. The S.L.M.C. appears to have misunderstood the predicament of the Muslims in the Tamil areas.

The type of Muslim settlement in the Northern and Eastern regions do not make a Muslim province feasible. The Muslim villages are not clustered together as a contiguous unit to create one. One of the arguments advanced by the proponents of the Muslim province solution was that in a merged administrative unit of the Northern and Eastern provinces, the proportion of the Muslims which is about 32 percent in the present Eastern Province will be decimated to about 19 percent in the merged unit. This arithmetic although it is true fails to consider the other side of the picture. In the Northern Province where the Muslims are only about 10 percent at the moment will be strengthened by the merger because of the addition from the Eastern Province. Therefore whether the merger will weaken or strengthen, the Muslims in terms of their number and proportion depends on the angle from which one looks at.

Even the 19 per cent is not a small proportion in politics. A united Muslim community can become a powerful pressure group when the majority community gets divided into rival factions. There are a number of divisive forces within the Tamil community which are bound to erupt in times of political power determination.

It is wrong and suicidal to confront the Tamil fighters with armed strength. Which ever the group that has prompted this action has made a terrible blunder.

First of all, the Muslim youths who are carrying guns are not trained to fight a regular army let alone a guerrilla force. Secondly, there is no external support for the Muslims to finance their warfare and to equip them with an arsenal. To expect that the Islamic countries, particularly those in the Middle East will come to their aid is to live in a dreamland.

Those who are familiar with international politics will know this. Even to depend on their own brethren who are living outside Sri Lanka, there are not many to count. This is in marked contrast to the Tamils in whose case there are thousands of them engaged in high class professions outside Sri Lanka and are financially well off to support the Tamil cause. Therefore it is foolhardy to resort to an armed struggle.

## Give Us Our Due

(A Reply to Lt. Col. Anton J.N. Selvadurai)

Have we a fair deal  
Equal rights and all alike  
Life on earth is so short  
Can masters and slaves be norm?  
Basic rights are dear as life  
Be it Sinhalese the Tamils  
Muslim Brothers and Burghers alike  
We are one and treat them one  
Let merit see to selections  
Lazy ones and playful lot  
Had to suffer for their pleasure  
For those who toil need a place

Let media be in English  
For science and tec it is best  
The Sinhalese and the Tamil  
Be official tongue with English

The word called discrimination  
Will then go into extinction  
Buddha, Shiva, Christ, Mohamed  
Would well approve them all  
Food clothing and shelter  
Self respect and to protect  
The loved ones, kith and kin  
That's all we did ask.

Whatever the religion be  
Does it matter a lot  
All say the same old thing  
Wishes best and love for all

We do ask no more  
Our forefathers forgot us all  
In the hope we are one  
Together to win the world

If dirty politics and madness reign  
And suppression stubborn enforced  
Make a land of slaves and lords  
God will punish them all

For forty years and more  
The Tamils have only talked  
With themselves and government  
From pillar to post have been

Non violence and hunger strikes  
Have all been made to fail  
We were treated worse than dirt  
So forced us up in arms

Oh! I salute the wisdom and bravery  
Of Prabakaran and others alike  
The forethought and courage  
To win the basic human right

If Tigers lose Tamils will die  
In the land we have been  
Five thousand years or more  
Unite ye all friends and foes

The world is blind to see  
Genocide torture rape and loot  
Into slumber U.N. gone  
Let's live or die for the cause

Those in field have died for you  
For all to live well and good  
Verbal praise, a pound or two  
Is all we ask of you

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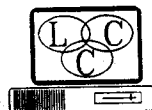
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# FORMER CHIEF MINISTER IN MADHYA PRADESH HIDEOUT

By Manjeet Singh

BHOPAL, Sept. 9: Varadaraja Perumal, former Chief Minister of Sri Lanka's North-Eastern provincial government and leader of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), has been shifted to Chanderi, a small town 130 km north-east of Guna in northern Madhya Pradesh.

He is staying at a government building, known locally as the *Killa Kothi*. Located on a desolate hillock and approached by one narrow road, the *Kothi* is an ideal hideout.

The police and administrative staff of Chanderi, however, are tightlipped and neither deny nor confirm the arrival of the EPRLF leader. In fact, the large posse of Intelligence Bureau (IB) sleuths at Chanderi even deny the obvious — the presence of several important people at *Killa Kothi*.

Among the new arrivals is a large band of commandos who have taken over the entire hillock on which Perumal's new residence is located. Two special helipads have been constructed, one on the hillock and the other at Rajghat, 12 kms away on the Chanderi-Lalitpur road.

The *Killa Kothi* has been fenced in by barbed wire and the outer boundary wall has also been raised. More than 150 searchlights and powerful halogen bulbs illuminate the entire hillock, even as commandos keep watch over each entry point, their fingers ever-ready on the triggers of their machine-guns.

Two colour television sets, two huge diesel generator sets and two air-conditioners have been installed for Perumal's comfort. While the *Killa Kothi* has been swanked up with new carpets, an ornate dining table, teak furniture, and chandeliers, the rest-house located in downtown Chanderi has been turned into a commando camp. The Public Works Department (PWD) has removed all the furniture from the rest-house and visitors are kept at bay with the excuse that the rest-house is being renovated. But tell-tale washed commando uniforms can be seen hanging from cloth lines on the verandah.

Perumal is not alone at the *Killa Kothi* — he is accompanied by his wife and three children. Besides, two Tamilian cooks have also been lodged in the servants' quarters. The former chief minister is also kept regularly supplied with a large number of English and Tamil newspapers and periodicals. In fact, it was the order for newspapers and periodicals that first gave people a clue that a VIP was in Chanderi.

Nisar Shaikh, a newspaper agent who also works as a correspondent for Hindi newspapers, said: 'The guests arrived in Chanderi in the early hours of August 26 and have never gone out very far since then. People have seen them strolling in the evening, but a close look is not possible since they walk only within the boundary of the *Killa Kothi*.

However, for Chanderi's populace the identity of the guests is a matter of curiosity and conjecture. Mumtaz Miyan, who plies the only *tonga* of the town, said the guest was a scientist who was 'producing' gold to enrich India. 'He is being protected so that the gold made is not stolen'.

Tajul Patrakar, a local journalist who also contested the February 1990 assembly elections as an independent candidate, said: 'The guests are from Sri Lanka. We wanted to probe further but were dissuaded by the local administration. We have been told that any news regarding the identity of the guests would be a security risk for the nation. So, we have stopped making inquiries now'.

While the rumour-mills work overtime in Chanderi, jeeps and police cars go screeching by on the town's main road as senior officials, including the Collector, the Police Commissioner, the

Inspector General and Director General of Police pay their calls to the EPRLF supremo.

Security for EPRLF members in India has been beefed up following the June 19 Madras massacre of 11 EPRLF men, including General Secretary, K. Padmanabha. Perumal heads the LTTE hit list and, hence, has been well guarded. The intelligence agencies have always kept his hideouts under wraps. In fact, not only was Perumal kept away from the otherwise well-attended funeral of the massacred EPRLF men in Madras, but he had not even issued a press statement lest his secret hideout become public.

Perumal was first stationed in the Lakshadweep, but was airlifted to Gwalior with his family on the night of August 25. He was received at the IAF airport by divisional level officials of the Madhya Pradesh government. From there he was driven down to Chanderi in the dead of the night, reaching the *Killa Kothi* in the early hours of August 26. Since then, the narrow road, which also provides the only access to Chanderi fort, a tourist attraction, has been closed to the public.

The area has also been declared out of bounds, the ostensible reason being the low-powered TV transmitter located next to the *Killa Kothi*, which is a restricted area under a Central Act. However, the TV tower was built over three years ago, but the area was declared out of bounds only on August 26.

*The Sunday Observer, Sept. 15, 1990*

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## THE BROKEN PALMYRA

The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka  
— An Inside Account

By

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# The Blitz That's Way Off Target

VIVEK CHAUDHARY reports from Jaffna

Ageing transporters of the Sri Lankan air force are dragged into the night sky, their trapdoors opened, and deadly cargoes dropped indiscriminately on a defenceless population below. There is no equipment for targeting: the mission is grim, primitive and quick. It is also counter-productive.

Barrel bombs – 210 litre cast-iron barrels packed with explosives, rubber and sawdust – rain down on residential areas with the most devastating effect; each bomb can destroy 20 houses. By its haphazard bombing of civilian targets in the Northern peninsula of Jaffna, the air force is imposing an unofficial economic blockade which is bringing some parts near to starvation.

Helicopters, equipped with rockets and machine guns, hover day and night over Jaffna City and surrounding towns and villages, ready to strafe any moving civilians or vehicles. The government forces are trying to liberate a Dutch fort in Jaffna City, where 200 Sri Lankan soldiers and policemen have been trapped since June, when peace talks between the separatist Tamil Tigers and the government broke down.

But despite government claims that its war is against the Tigers (fighting for an independent homeland called

Eelam), the intense offensive is hitting civilians hard. With such regular attacks on moving vehicles, food convoys are not getting through to Jaffna.

Limited supplies of food arrive by ship but cannot be distributed because of the army's policy of shooting at vehicles. 'There is not enough food', says a foreign aid worker in Jaffna. 'There is a *de facto* blockade and soon people will begin to starve'. Most civilians are surviving on one meal a day, while diarrhoea and diseases reach epidemic proportions.

Jaffna peninsula, heartland of Sri Lanka's Tamil community, is under total black-out. Electricity has been cut and there are chronic shortages of fuel and water.

I arrived in Jaffna by a ferry operated by the Tamil Tigers. It runs only at night and the only way to reach the ferry point is by dirt tracks running through dense jungle. From there small canoes and motor boats carry up to 50 people at a time into the peninsula. Tamil Tigers stand look-out on the boats, trying to spot helicopters which have been strafing the ferry. Last week five people were killed and 40 injured in such an attack.

Driving around Jaffna is hazardous. Several times the vehicle I was in had

to be hidden under trees as Sri Lankan helicopters whizzed overhead. Throughout the night bombers continued to bombard the centre of Jaffna City, trying to dislodge Tiger bunkers surrounding the fort. It is hard to sleep as the night sky is lit up with explosions, and the vibrations from bombs can be felt four miles away. The city centre has been flattened, with Jaffna railway and bus stations, shops, hotels and homes desolated. The Tigers have sealed off the area and mined all roads leading to the fort.

After one night's bombing, I visited areas which had been hit. Six people had been killed, a row of houses was reduced to rubble and the smell of burning flesh hung in the air. Clothes, family photographs and furniture, were scattered among the ruins. 'We ran into the bunkers when we heard the bombers coming', said a resident. 'There are no Tiger camps in this area or Tiger bunkers. The Sri Lankans are just killing civilians at random'.

According to the Tamil Tigers, at least 4,000 civilians have been killed since the outbreak of war in June. They also claim that only 350 militants have died. But the effects of the bombing are compounded by lack of medicines and trained medical personnel.

The region's biggest hospital has been evacuated. The only one still open is at Mainipay, which has 20 beds but four times that number of patients. They are crowded into corridors, sitting on the floor and wooden benches. The hospital has also been bombed and three weeks ago a helicopter fired into the operating theatre, killing a doctor.

The government strategy appears to be to hit the civilian population and so turn them against the Tigers. In an effort to dent civilian morale, they have also been showering the area with human and animal excrement.

But the strategy isn't working. Civilian casualties are high, but so is their spirit. The Tigers are now heralded as protectors, the only force that has prevented a Tamil genocide. 'We are with the Tigers. This is our land and we will die for Eelam', said a Jaffna resident. As a result, hundreds of young men are joining a Tiger volunteer force to help the war effort. People cook for the guerrillas, donate money to their cause, and find scarce fuel for their vehicles.

The actual war between the Tigers and the Government is bogged down. Despite heavy bombing of Jaffna City, the Tigers are still well entrenched in their positions around the fort. Although they have no defence against the aerial attacks, they are convinced that the Sri Lankan army will never be able to take Jaffna by land. As one Tiger said: 'We know this area too well'.

*Daily Telegraph (India), 13.9.90*

## 'Three Women Speak Out'

*Three women Speak Out* is a video that aims to contribute to the campaign against the violence by all sides in Sri Lanka. It was made clandestinely and under dangerous conditions, and focuses on three women, speaking for thousands, who have suffered at the hands of men of the various political and sectarian camps.

Dr Manorani Saravanamuttu is the mother of Richard de Zoysa, one of Sri Lanka's best known journalists and television personalities. Dedicated to exposing human rights violations, de Zoysa was abducted in February 1990. His mutilated body was washed up on a beach several days later. Dr Saravanamuttu has received a death threat, warning her 'Only silence will protect you'. In the video she responds: 'I have only managed not to cry by being angry. When you lose a child you lose yourself. And for that child you have to get up and fight, not only for that child, but for all the other children. It's not my son, it's all the sons and daughters, not in one part of Sri Lanka, but in every part of Sri Lanka, that are lost. If we mothers do not get up and fight today, tomorrow and in the future maybe there won't be any children left ... to bring our land ... peace'.

Sunila Abeysekera is head of the

*Women and Media Collective* in Colombo. In spite of threats she has continued to speak out: 'No matter whether it's state violence or if it's violence by the other armed groups, there is no forum where we can express our opinion, and that's a major problem. There is no possibility to hold the public meetings, public seminars and discussions that used to be so popular in Sri Lanka ... There is no way you can get space on radio or TV. People are smart enough to know that it's not the truth, but the problem is that there is no way for them to know the truth, even in the very simple terms of the number of people killed'.

The third woman is an unnamed villager whose experience reflects that of so many others: 'Near the river these young women were first raped, and then bottles of arrack were shoved in their genitals, then they were killed and thrown in the river. And then these dead girls floated down the river. People don't use the water from the river now ... They surround the young men and take them away'. CH

*Three Women Speak Out* (17 mins) is available from **Article 19**, 90 Borough High Street, London SE1 1LL, UK. Tel: (071) 403-4822. Fax: (071) 403 1943.



# SOCIAL JUSTICE THROUGH FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

— Dr. K. Paramothayan —

'You are a sad man, aren't you?', enquired a cousin of mine when I called on him in Colombo in 1987. I replied without hesitation, 'Of course, I am; what else can you expect when I find that all the institutions that the Jaffna man laboured to build and nurture have been destroyed systematically by the Government without the batting of an eyelid?'

That was in 1987; the situation is intolerable now, as everyone knows. However, on my return from Sri Lanka three years ago, I wrote in my diary (and later in the thesis in which I was engaged) as follows:-

'Under the re-organisation scheme of 1970 all Cooperative Banks, including the Jaffna Cooperative Provincial Bank, were amalgamated as Branches of the People's Bank. As for the Northern Division Cooperative Federation, 1972 proved to be a decisive year both for it and the various institutions it had helped to establish, when it was compulsorily converted into a Branch of the National Cooperative Council of Sri Lanka. Today, the five-storeyed building with its magnificent Veerasingham Hall, subjected to continuous bombardment, stands as an irreparable wreckage embodying the shattered hopes and aspirations of the Jaffna Tamils.

Many more institutions embodying the very lives of ordinary people have been literally razed to the ground to date. The question is whether the Tamil Diaspora inexorably under way will prove to be the best solution in the long run.

Addressing the ROOTS Seminar in March this year, I drew particular attention to two needs that appeared (and still appear) to me crucial for a satisfactory solution to the problem. The first is Social Justice.

In fact, it is now twenty years since I brought up the subject for public debate on the occasion of my modest publication 'Perspectives in Education', as Mr. V. Sankaralingam, the then Director of Education, N.R., who released the book would recall. To quote from the book: 'If someone were to ask me, 'What is the prime motive force behind this publication?', I would unhesitatingly reply, 'My yearning for Social Justice'. I have no doubt that the quest for Social Justice is the legacy that the latter half of this century would be handing down to the 21st century. The increasing demand for Social Justice must be met if we are to guarantee the working of the new social order. As Karl Mannheim observes, '...the principle of social justice is not only a question of ethics,

but also a pre-condition of the functioning of the democratic system itself.

Rousseau blurted out with characteristic pungency centuries ago, 'Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains'. How far we have travelled from the world of Rousseau is evident from the following lines from Edwin Markham (1852-1940):-

*'Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans  
Upon his shoe and gazes on the ground,  
The emptiness of ages in his face,  
And on his back the burden of the world.  
Who made him dead to rapture and  
despair,  
A thing that grieves not and that never  
hopes,  
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?  
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?  
Whose was the hand that slanted back this  
brow?  
Whose breath blew out the light within this  
brain?'*

Markham too is pungent when he asks:-

*'O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,  
Is this the handiwork you give to God,  
This monstrous thing distorted and  
soul-quenched?  
How will you ever straighten up this shape;  
Touch it again with immortality;  
Give back the upward looking and the light;  
Rebuild in it the music and the dream;  
Make right the immemorial infamies,  
Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?'*

And then he warns:-

*'O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,  
How will the future reckon with this Man?  
How answer his brute questions in that  
hour  
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake all  
shores?  
How will it be with kingdoms and with  
kings —  
With those who shaped him to the thing  
he is —  
When the dumb Terror shall rise to judge  
the world  
After the silence of the centuries?'*

I felt then, that is twenty years ago, that 'the day of reckoning is not afar, if we brook any further delay in the dispensation of Social Justice'. Well, we have witnessed some of the worst and unprecedented episodes in our history since. Hence the plea, even in this last hour to put aside all differences and prejudices and unite in the cause of Social Justice. The quest for Social Justice is by no means a new phenomenon. Victor Hugo's (1802-1885) 'Les Miserables' was a classic example of the cry for justice. In his Preface to the book Hugo wrote: 'So long there shall exist, by reason of law and custom, a social condemnation, which, in the face of civilisation, artificially creates hells on earth, and complicates a destiny that is divine, with human fatality; so long as the three problems of the age — the degradation of man by poverty, the ruin of women

by starvation, and the dwarfing of childhood by physical and spiritual night — are not solved; so long as, in certain regions, social asphyxia shall be possible; in other words, and from a yet more extended point of view, so long as ignorance and misery remain on earth, books like this cannot be useless'.

Thiru Valluvar put it succinctly when he said:-

*'The bitter tears of Misery  
Sound the death-knell of Power'.*

What our society desperately needs at this juncture of its chequered history is a united and unstinted attempt to tackle the question of Social Justice, under one umbrella, through a process of fundamental education. As I pointed out at the ROOT Seminar, the central thrust of Theodore Schultz's Nobel Lecture (1979) was that both population quality and knowledge do matter, and that the human factor in the context of development must be seen as a scarce resource needing investment.

This brings me to the need for an institution to co-ordinate all efforts aimed at Elam's development, since education in this context must be seen in a very broad sense to include education of more than one kind and much more — a development programme aimed at changing the value and attitudes of a people, and through it their very lives, cannot succeed with an under-educated and ad hoc workforce deemed adequate for a night-watchman state.

What is envisaged is the establishment of an institution called the Elam Community College (ECC), the term 'College' being used in the widest possible sense. It is not conceived at this stage as one associated with bricks and mortar, but essentially as an **idea** whose time has come, to be nurtured for as long as necessary and planted in a suitable environment at the appropriate stage.

When the ECC becomes a reality it would be something akin to the Folk High School of Denmark which was conceived and developed by clergyman-cum-poet Bishop Grundtvig as a spiritual fortification against threatening forces from within and without, mainly Germany. Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872) hailed as the greatest psalmist since David, was without doubt the greatest intellectual force of his time in the whole of Scandinavia, and it is indeed remarkable that his idea of a community school has stood the test of time. The main feature of Folk High Schools that have spread to all Scandinavian countries is that they provide a general, non-vocational and all-round education to the average adult. For as Bert F. Hoselitz has consistently shown, '...economic growth is a process which affects not only purely economic relations but the entire social, political, and cultural fabric of a society', which

he describes as 'environmental conditions'.

It would however be incorrect to maintain that as a general rule Folk High Schools do not include vocational studies as part of their curricular provision. Norway provides a good example of how these schools have been transformed to provide basic instruction to prepare pupils for entry to specialised technical institutions. It is being increasingly realised everywhere that the average industrial worker or farmer needs a background of general education that would enable him to keep pace with modern science and technology and at the same time prepare him for the best possible life, both as an individual and as part of a social group, and to this end work in such schools is being constantly supplemented by numerous courses and study groups as deemed necessary.

Even in Denmark, the land of its birth, the Folk High School has undergone tremendous change. For example, in some occupations such as hospital nursing and teaching a course at a Folk High School has come to be accepted as a pre-requisite for, and even forms a preliminary part of, the actual training.

I must emphasise here that what I propose is not a facsimile or even a model of the Folk High School, but the very idea of it is for us to plan our own institution, the basic criterion being the creation of an ideal society free from the evils and injustices of the past. George Santayana it was I think who aptly remarked that 'those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it'.

The political reforms carried out in this country and in course of time assimilated in former colonies were for the most part misdirected. Manhood Suffrage, Poor Laws and a Reformed Parliament, so the political reformers in post-Industrial Britain thought, would destroy the power of the upper classes and would bring about just taxes, redistribute incomes and do away with all the evils associated with a landed oligarchy. The fact of the matter was that most of the reformers never understood the real impact of the Industrial Revolution and continued, in a rapidly changing society, to preach the same political gospel without adapting it to the needs and conditions of a new age. The only exceptions were Robert Owen and his contemporary and mentor John Wesley.

Owen was a self-made man who became the head of the great mills of New Lanark in 1800, where he proceeded to demonstrate that profits were possible without subjecting the workers to exploitation. He provided full-time schooling to the children of his own employees, as well as those of others who sent them to his schools. He became the model employer of his day

by providing better houses, better sanitation, roads and places of recreation; he even set up shops in which were sold goods of high quality at cost price. It was Owen's great conviction that people's character was made for them and not by them, and by 'character' he meant the realisation of social and moral ideas instilled into the community in an educational environment.

G.D.H. Cole who spent a lifetime studying and educating the working class concluded:- 'Robert Owen was right when he made this factor of moral environment the key to the human problem. Given a good enough social framework, the increase of knowledge can help men to raise their material standards of living. . . . It follows that men's greatest task is the making of good societies from generation to generation. *No supernatural or natural power will do this for them; they have to do it, or fail to do it, themselves*'.

Let not history judge our society as a generation of nincompoops many of whom deserted our shores when the going was not so good, abandoning those whom we exploited in several ways while we were there, to fend for themselves. Those of us who have the means and the capacity to bring about a change in the interest of our nation must act before it is too late.

As one browses over the events of the recent past in Jaffna one becomes more and more conscious of the evil realities of history which lie behind the facade of much one used to take for granted. The dimensions of everyday events seem drastically different almost overnight. The nation finds itself pulled all too suddenly out of its slumber and forced to look reality in the face. It is the nation's Testing Time.

Self-justification, self-exoneration, face-saving and betrayal - these are some of the ploys that provide many a sombre defile and pitchy tunnel in the history of nations. There were those Romans, for instance, who justified anything and everything, even the most ignoble of actions, for what they believed to be the good of the state. There were also those who queried in all apparent innocence, 'How could the guillotine have been uncomfortable when it had been recommended by the best of surgeons'. The iniquities of child labour during the Industrial Revolution were justified by not a few who believed that it was the parents who chose to send their children to mills and factories who were the real culprits.

However, this is not the time to apportion blame, nor is it prudent to take refuge in age-old clichés to escape personal responsibility. Either all patriotic citizens of Elam put their shoulder to the wheel, as it were, and pull our nation out of the mire through

united effort, or we stand condemned for all time by our own inaction, self-interest and folly.

With the intellectual tradition very much alive and the rich pool of expertise ready to be tapped from among the expatriate community, it is not inconceivable to establish the ECC in exile until such time as it is feasible to transplant it at the appropriate time, to usher in the revolution of ideas we have been talking about. But as the Laidlaw Report (1970) warned: 'Such a revolution will never be ushered in by those who are embedded in old ways, bureaucratic traditions and conformity to an establishment, but only by those who have caught the vision of an economic system whose foundation is human brotherhood and whose goal is the good and abundant life for all mankind'.

### Continued From Page 13

4. A compressed version of Theda Spocpol's definition in *State and Social Revolutions: a Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

5. For an elucidation of the definition of the term ethnic and other points see Urmila Phadnis, *Ethnicity and Nation-Building in South Asia* (Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990).

6. For details see Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

7. According to the 1981 Census, in the north and eastern provinces in five out of eight districts (Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullativu and Batticalao) the Sri Lankan Tamils had an absolute majority and the largest numerical strength in one district i.e., Trincomalee.

8. On the nature and tenor of the colonial rule there is a plethora of literature. Noteworthy among them are the writings of scholars like K.M. de Silva, C.R. de Silva connoting a liberal approach and those of Kumari Jayawardene, Newton Gunasinghe and Satchi Ponnambalam, a Marxian orientation.

9. K.M. de Silva, *Ethnic Tensions in Multi-Ethnic Societies - Sri Lanka - 1880-1985* (Lanham MD and London: University Press of America), p.59.

10. The category of 'Indian Tamils' covers those who repatriated from Tamil Nadu to Sri Lanka to work mainly as indentured labourers on coffee/tea plantations during the 19th century.

11. For a detailed exposition of majority-minority interaction during the colonial period see Jane Russell, *Communal Politics under the Donoughmore Constitution, 1931-1947* (Dehiwala, Sri Lanka, Tissa Prakashanay Ltd., 1982). Also see Silva, n.9 and Satchi Ponnambalam, *Sri Lanka: The National Question and the Tamil Liberation Struggle* (London: Zed Books, 1983).

12. For a general overview of the political development in Sri Lanka during this period see Robert N. Kearney, *The Politics of Ceylon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press); James Jupp, *Sri Lanka: Third World Democracy* (London: Frank Cass, 1978) and A.J. Wilson, *Politics in Sri Lanka, 1947-1979* (Delhi: Macmillan, 1979).

13. Ibid. Also see H.N.S. Karunatilake, *The Economy of Sri Lanka* (Dehiwala, Colombo: Sri Devi Printing Works, 1987).

14. For a succinct appraisal of these economic trends see W.D. Lakshman, 'Lineages of Dependent Development: from State Control to the Open Economy in Sri Lanka', in Ponna Wignaraja and Akmal Hussain eds., *The Challenge in South Asia: Development, Economy and Regional Cooperation* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1989), pp.105-138; Satchi Ponnambalam, *Dependent Capitalism in Ceylon: The Sri Lankan Economy 1948-1980* (London: Zed Press, 1981).

15. For a brief elucidation of some of these points see Urmila Phadnis, 'Sri Lanka: Crisis of Legitimacy and Integration', in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz, Seymour Martin Lipset eds., *Democracy in Asia* (Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1989), pp.153-185.

16. Sri Lanka. *Report of the Presidential Commission on Youth*, Sessional Paper No.1, 1990 (Colombo: Government Publication Bureau, 1990).

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### MATRIMONIAL

**Jaffna Hindu parents seek bride for son, 30,** recently completed Electronic engineering at College of Engineering, Norway. Willing to emigrate. Horoscope, details to M 428 c/o Tamil Times.

**Sri Lankan Hindu mother invites correspondence** from well settled Lankan professional/business partner for daughter, 32, 5'1", fair, slim, accomplished, good natured, innocent divorcee without issues, presently residing USA, religion no bar. Reply with details. M 429 c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna Hindu father seeks groom** for only daughter, 27, in government employment, British citizen, Mars afflicted. M 430 c/o Tamil Times.

**Aunt invites correspondence** from well settled, Sri Lankan, Tamil, kind, professional/business partner for niece, 25, 5'3", fair, slim, attractive, accomplished, innocent divorcee, no children, presently in States, religion no bar. Reply with details. M 431 c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna Hindu parents seek suitable bridegroom, 33-40,** for Ph.D. daughter, Canada; and bride under 31 for M.Sc. Engineer, U.K.. Both fair working with resident rights. Details, photo, horoscopes to M 432 c/o Tamil Times.

**Young looking bachelor, late forties,** seeks slim, cheerful, attractive, homeloving, clean living, Christian female, mid thirties. M 433 c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna Hindu brother seeks partner** for sister, 23, Canadian citizen, doing degree in accountancy. Reply with horoscope, details. M 434 c/o Tamil Times.

### WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couple on their recent marriage.

**Suriyanarayanan** son of Pandit K.N. Navaratnam & Mrs Navaratnam of 5 Saffron Drive, Hallam, Victoria 3803 and **Mani Mary** daughter of Mr & Mrs M.K. Joseph of 19 Earnshaw Drive, Carrum Downs, Victoria 3201 on 20.10.90 at Dadenong Primary School, Australia.

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## OBITUARIES



**Vathsala Devi B.Sc.** beloved daughter of Mr & Mrs A. Ponnudurai (Retired Head Teachers) of 'Potpathy', Velanai East, Sri Lanka; sister of Mrs Nageswary Thirunabukkarasu, Kalyanasundaram, Mrs Kamaladevi Tharmalingam, Prof. Balasundrampillai, Mrs Vimaladevi Vijayakumar, Nirmaladevi (all of Sri Lanka), Dr. Vimalendran, Balendran (both of Canada), Yogendran, Raveendran and Puvanendran (all of U.K.) passed away under tragic circumstances - hit by a shell - in Jaffna on 9th September 1990 - 21 Coverton Road, London SW17 0QW, Tel: 081 672 5111.



**Mrs Rukmani Coomaraswamy** expired in Jaffna, Sri Lanka on Thursday, 20th September 1990. Funeral took place in Jaffna. She is the wife of the late 'Beauty' Coomaraswamy (Irrigation Engineer), sister of the late G.G. Ponnambalam Q.C., late Rev. Father Balasundaram and the late Mrs Spencer Rajaratnam; mother of the late Dr. Parames Duraiyappah (Deputy Director of Health, Brunei), Pushpa Somaskanthan (Sri Lanka), Puvanam (Brunei), Mahendra (Brunei), Dr. Vijendra (Eastbourne, U.K.) Pathma (Solicitor, U.K.), and Dr. Sivendran (Perth, Australia); mother-in-law of the late Alfred Duraiyappah (former M.P. and Mayor of Jaffna), Somaskanthan (Attorney at Law, Sri Lanka), Dr. Pathmanathan (Brunei), Usha (Brunei), Shamala (Eastbourne), Wimal Sockanathan (Solicitor, U.K.), and Indrakanthie (Australia); beloved grandmother of Rochana (Esha) and David of Perth, Australia; Yoshana (Jo) and Raj of Florida; Priya, Cumesaran, Narendran, Lavanya, Sowjana & Subajan - 727 London Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey, U.K. Tel: 081 689 7503.



**Mrs Gnanamany Nadarajah** beloved wife of K.V. Nadarajah (Attorney-at-Law, formerly of

Badulla, Sri Lanka), loving mother of Bala Nadarajah (Attorney, Washington D.C.) grandmother of Stefan and Nadine; mother-in-law of Kristina and loving sister of the late E.S. Jayaratnam and E.A. Yogaratnam (Attorney-at-Law, formerly of Badulla, Sri Lanka and presently in U.K.), passed away on 14.10.90 and cremation took place in Colombo on 15.10.90 - 62 Rosmead Place, Colombo 7 & 27 Oxley Road, Rayners Lane, Harrow, Middx., U.K.

## IN MEMORIAM



**Daniel S. Sanders, Ph.D., ACSW**  
Sept. 28, 1928 - Oct. 14, 1989

Dean, Professor & Director of International Program, School of Social Work, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, USA, 1971-1986; Dean, Professor & Director for the Center for Study of International Social Welfare Policies and Services, School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana 1987-1989; Founder & First President Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development, USA, 1980-1989.

In Loving Memory of  
My Dearest Husband; My Dearest Son;  
Our Dearest Brother

Mrs. Christobel C. Sanders;  
Mrs. Harriet C. Sanders;  
Sanders/Niles families

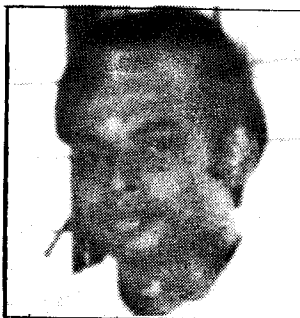
The first Daniel S. Sanders Memorial Peace and Social Justice Lecture was held at the Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development Biennial Conference in August 1990 in San Jose, Costa Rica, at the University for Peace. The Lecture was delivered by the Past President of Costa Rica and Founder of the University for Peace - The Honourable Mr. Rodrigo Carazo Odio. The Memorial Service included a Tree Planting Ceremony at the University for Peace.

A Memorial Fund has been established by Mrs. Daniel Selvarajah Sanders through the School of Social Work at the University of Illinois Foundation. The fund will be called the Daniel S. Sanders Peace and Social Justice Memorial Fund. An Annual Daniel S. Sanders Peace and Social Justice Memorial Lecture is planned by the School of Social Work University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, USA.

## IN MEMORIAM



Mrs Florence Ariyamalar Rajasingham  
Born: 24.07.1922.



Rajasingham Manoharan  
Born 30.07.1949

Killed: 16.10.1987

*We miss you both more than we could have ever thought.  
As each day dawns the despair and the anger grows.  
Until, the treacherous hand that killed you both  
With his 'Peace Keeping Force', and  
Left your bodies seven long days for dogs to feast,  
Is unmasked to reveal his role in these murders most foul,  
Our hearts will know no peace.  
We pray that your souls have found the peace we so sadly lack*

Fondly remembered on their third death anniversary by  
C. Rajasingham, Vasuki Manoharan, Saratha and Priyan Manoharan, Dr. Narendran,  
Manohari Thevathasan, Selvi Rajendran, Neela Navaratnaraj, Jayadevan and Gowri  
Surendrakumar.

## IN MEMORIAM (ctd)



In loving memory of **Dr. T. Rasaratnam** (Mani), Consultant Anaesthetist, Regional Hospitals, South Yorkshire, U.K. on the first anniversary of his passing away on 16.10.89. Sadly missed and lovingly remembered by his wife Renuka and children Madurika and Ramkumar - 9 Tithe Farm Close, South Harrow, Middx., HA2 9DP, U.K. Tel: 081 422 1053.



On the first anniversary of the passing away of our dear brother **Mr. Navaratnarajah Brodie** on 14.10.89. The picture of him seasoning his cricket bat under the Mango tree at 'Brodie House' is evergreen in our memories. We will never forget how proud we were to see him in his Police uniform.

We sadly miss him and long for all the love and affection he bestowed on us all, brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces, freely and joyously and to his wife Luxsumy, son Dinesh and his mother-in-law Mrs Wijeyasekera.

May his Soul rest in peace. - 296 Alexandra Avenue, South Harrow, Middx., U.K.

## Thamilini Sribalan



The Bharatha Natya Arangetram of 12-year-old Thamilini, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. B. Sribalan of 22 Beddington Lane, Croydon, U.K., takes place on Saturday, 3rd November 1990 at the Walthamstow Town Hall, Forest Road, London E17. Thamilini had shown great enthusiasm for Bharatha Natyam at the tender age of 7 and was a pupil of Smt Padmini Gunaseelan for several years. She had recently been a pupil of Smt Ragini Rajagopal and her arangetram is being directed by the Adayar maestro Sri Rama Rao, who will do the Nattuvangam and sing as well. Smt Mathini Sriskandaraja, a recent addition to the Karnatic music fraternity in U.K. will also be singing on this occasion possibly the Pathams. The rich masculine voice of Sri Rama Rao and the melodious singing of Mathini are expected to raise the tempo of the arangetram to great heights. Sri Muthu Sivaraja with his flawless playing of the Miruthangam and the enchanting violinist Sri Gothandapani - another recent addition to the U.K. Karnatic scene - are expected to lend able support. Smt Saraswathy Packiarajah, a veteran vocalist of yester years in Sri Lanka will be the Distinguished Guest and Speaker.



## Selvi Subashini Puvanendrapillai's Arangerram

On 11th August 1990, young Selvi Subashini, a 12-year-old Tamil girl from Enfield, gave her maiden performance of Bharata Natyam, traditionally known as Arangerram, a Tamil word that roughly translates as 'debut'. It was a truly delightful experience: Subashini showed tremendous aptitude and considerable talent. She went through the gruelling schedule of a two hour long programme almost effortlessly, like a consummate dancer and enthralled the audience. Her dance movements were elegant, the footwork crisp and precise, her body showed a suppleness that only youth and a good training can provide. Her abhinaya was pleasant and ably restrained, without the over-dramatisation one so often has to witness with inexperienced dancers. Subashini showed that facial contortions are totally unnecessary to bring out the mood of a piece, when all that is needed is simply a suggestion. All the more remarkable when one thinks that the dancer is still a child. Undoubtedly such talent needs careful nurturing but Subashini is a lucky girl because her parents and teacher have been able to understand her tremendous potential and have given her all the support that is required for such talent to blossom.

An arangerram is the culmination of a cycle and the beginning of a new one. Subashini has learnt her items well, but must continue to learn in order to fulfil her promises. It is important that all young dancers understand that an arangerram is most of all a new beginning; here the role of parents and teachers in helping to maintain standards cannot be overemphasised.

The musical accompaniment was excellent. Subashini and the musicians had developed a true rapport and this helped tremendously, as the relationship of a dancer with the musicians is paramount for the smooth running of a performance.

It was a very successful evening and it is important to realise that so many people had worked hard to make it so pleasant and successful. It is hoped that other young dancers trained by Srimati Annapoorani Sathiyamoorthy, Subashini's gifted guru, will soon delight the audience with their arangerram.

- Dr. Alessandra Iyer.





### Toronto Senior Tamils' Field Trip

The Toronto Senior Tamils had an enjoyable day-out on 1.9.90. Two coachloads of them did a 2 hour ride towards Georgian Bay, and then a 3 hour cruise in the Bay and reached the historic Martyrs' Shrine of Midland. The visit reminded them of the Tamil Martyrs of Sri Lanka, who had laid down their lives for the Tamil cause. They observed two minutes silence in their memory and prayed for a speedy and peaceful outcome in their homeland. The picture below was taken at the Martyrs' Shrine, Midland.

### FORTHCOMING EVENTS

**November 3 7.00pm Sitar Recital by Himadri Bagchi & Bharatanatyam by Anjana Banerjee at Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ Tel: 071 381 3086/4608.**

**Nov. 4 6.30pm Bharatanatyam by Prakash Yadagudde at Bridge Lane Theatre, Bridge Lane, Battersea, London SW11 3AD, Tel: 071 228 8828.**

**Nov. 8 7.45pm Durga Dance Drama in Hindi presented by Smt. Hema Malini & troupe at Logan Hall, 20 Bedford Way, London WC1.**

**Nov. 10 7.00pm Hindustani Vocal by Begum Parveen Sultana & Ustad Dilshad Khan at Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ, Tel: 071 381 3086/4608.**

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### Mridanga Vidwan Sri Vellore Ramabhadran in London

The British Association of Young Musicians took advantage of the presence of their Patron-in-Chief, the renowned Karnatic vocalist Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam and his troupe in London to arrange a lecture demonstration of Mridangam playing. Mridanga Vidwan Vellore Ramabhadran gave the demonstrations at the Trinity Church Hall, Catford, London SE6 on 5.8.90. Sri Ramabhadran demonstrated the playing patterns for Varnam, Kriti, Thillana, Bhajan and Thukkada and the variations for Pallavi, Anupallavi and Charanam. The simultaneous performance of 'Konnakol' was a great boost for the young musicians assembled. The distinguished artistes present were thanked for their service to the music lovers assembled there and the title of 'Laya Gnana Bhoopathy' was conferred on Sri Vellore Ramabhadran. The Patron-in-Chief Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam was honoured with the title of 'Sangeetha Samrajya Maharaj'.



Sri Maharajapuram Ramachandran provided Vocal and Sri V. Thyagarajan played the Violin for this demonstration.

### A Delightful Performance

It was a treat to watch the Bharatha Natya performance by Kumari Inthumathi Kulasingham at the Bhavan Centre on 16th September 1990. For the first time I saw a promising young artiste performing brimming with confidence.

The items presented whether with stress on **Adavus** or those with **Abhinaya** - expressive items - all the movements were executed with commendable precision. It was evident that Inthumathi had gone through rigorous training under her Gurus, Sri & Smt Dhananjayan and Sri Chalapati, who should be lauded for having trained such a capable artiste. The perfect understanding between the dancer and the accompanying musicians enabled the audience to get the best out of the programme. Inthumathi has fully benefited from having such a veteran - Sri Rajasekharan to support her on Vocal and Nattuvangam, Adayar Gopinath on Miruthangam, Sangeetha Vidwan Smt Kalaivani Indrakumar on Violin and Sri Muthu Sivarajah on Morsing. The Chief Guest for the occasion was Mr Mark Fisher, Shadow Minister for Arts.

The organisers, Academy of Fine Arts, London should be congratulated for their service to Indian Art through such programmes. It is heartening to note from them that they plan to organise such entertainment cum educative programmes by well known and promising artistes in the near future.

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