

Tamil TIMES

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of what you say, but I'll
defend to the death your
right to say it."

— Voltaire

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Sri Lanka: The Presidency in Crisis



(Left to Right): G.M. Premachandra, Chandra Gankanda, Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake, the leaders of the UNP rebel group.

- ★ **The Final End to the Assassins**
- ★ **Ethnic Conflict – Problems & Prospects
for Settlement**
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EXECUTIVE PRESIDENCY UNDER CHALLENGE

Sri Lanka has been plunged into an unprecedented constitutional crisis leading to an unexpected political crisis. A motion to impeach President Premadasa reportedly signed by more than one-half of the total number of Members of Parliament belonging to the opposition parties and a rebel group from the ruling party has been submitted to and accepted by the Speaker. Ordinarily the proper course would have been for the motion to have been taken up for debate and decision in the Parliament. But the President has taken the unusual step of suspending the Parliament by the device of prorogation for a month.

While those sponsoring the motion are pressing for a debate on the motion when Parliament is expected to resume sitting on 24 September, there is clear evidence that the President and a number of his party men are seeking to prevent it being taken up for discussion. Those supporting the President have attempted to impugn the authenticity of some of the signatures appended to the motion. Some of those MPs belonging to the ruling party who have signed the motion have been made to withdraw their signatures. A pledge of loyalty purportedly signed by 116 MPs (a majority of MPs) has been submitted to the Speaker. In the meantime, the Attorney General has given a ruling at the request of the President that the impeachment motion has lapsed because the Speaker had not placed it on the Order Book or the Order Paper before Parliament was prorogued, and hence the President is not precluded from dissolving Parliament. The dissolution would mean the end of the impeachment motion. However, it would seem that the Speaker has taken up the position that the motion is properly before Parliament and therefore can be taken up for debate when it reassembles, and that the President is precluded from dissolving Parliament under the relevant provisions of the Constitution.

Whatever the outcome of this constitutional tangle, the fact is that serious allegations have been made against the incumbent President. Whether the allegations are true or not, whether the motion is won or lost, whether the President survives the ouster move or not, central to the present crisis is the institution of the Executive Presidency itself.

The corner-stone of the Second Republican Constitution of 1978 based on the Gaullist model is the institution of the Executive Presidency. The primary

reason advanced for the adoption of such a highly centralised system with an Executive President vested with powers unparalleled in any democracy was that it would ensure stability. The suitability and efficacy of a Constitution can best be judged by the way it has worked in practice. Judging by that criterion, one must conclude that the 1978 Constitution has signally failed to achieve what was intended or expected. On the contrary, the country and its people have been experiencing an era of widespread chaos and unmitigated violence on a scale and intensity unprecedented in its long history. Besides, during the whole period since 1977, except for a few months, the country has been governed under an officially proclaimed state of emergency under which many of the freedoms, rights and safeguards guaranteed by the Constitution remain suspended. The role of the armed forces and the police in the day to day governance of the country have become increasingly evident. There has been a never ending catalogue of gross violations of human and fundamental rights. Judges who had the rare courage of passing guilty verdicts in certain instances against those who violated such rights had to face state-sponsored mob attacks upon their homes. The right of the people to periodically elect their representatives was deprived by the extension of the life of parliament by the subterfuge of a referendum. Electoral malpractices on a large scale characterised elections whenever they were held. The five-sixths majority obtained in the 1977 elections was used to effect a series of constitutional amendments for mere party political advantage. The role of parliament has been devalued and debased exemplified by the inglorious example of the former President demanding and obtaining undated letters of resignation from MPs who became mere pawns in the hands of the Executive President.

The 1978 Constitution and the institution of the Executive Presidency that it created have not brought stability or ensured the rights and wellbeing of the people. On the contrary much in evidence is the abuse of power at the higher levels of civilian administration and by enforcement authorities at all levels.

The split in the ruling party and the impeachment move are a reflection of the crisis of confidence in the present constitutional arrangements, and the time has arrived to re-examine their suitability in the light of the bitter experiences since 1978.

Impeaching the President

Rita Sebastian from Colombo

It was as unexpected as it was sudden, the resolution calling for the impeachment of Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa from within and without the ruling United National Party.

The alleged 'crimes' ranged from wire tapping to nepotism, to the creation and operation of a police state to arming the Tamil Tigers.

The resolution said to have been signed by 127 parliamentarians jolted the government into the realisation that it was in the midst of a major political crisis.

Speaker of the House, M.H. Mohamed not only received the resolution but also informed the President that he was entertaining it. Things began to develop quickly after that. In a tactical move the President prorogued parliament until September 24 and Premadasa loyalists decided to get their numbers right.

At a government parliamentary group meeting that followed, 116 members not only pledged their confidence in the President, but also alleged that some of their signatures had been obtained through 'misrepresentation' and requested that the Speaker reject the impeachment motion because it did not have the requisite majority under article 38 of the constitution.

At the group meeting the President offered to hold a country-wide referendum to decide the issue demanded by the dissidents and opposition groups that the Presidential system of governance be abolished, and the country returned to the earlier system of parliamentary democracy.

'What we are demanding' said Athulathmudali, 'is reducing the power of the President sharply increasing the power of parliament. The whole world is moving from one-man shows to orchestras', he said. Although the dissidents were categorical that they were not for breakup of the party, but for what they described as reforming the party, there were serious doubts whether the party high command could reconcile with the allegations in the impeachment resolution which included the contention that Premadasa was 'mentally and physically incapable of discharging his functions of office.'

The political crisis at home led Housing and Construction Minister, Sirisena Cooray, who is also General Secretary of the UNP to cut short a foreign tour and rush back to act as peace emissary. But the peace mission apparently failed, judging by the fact that the eight identified dissidents

went to court seeking an injunction to restrain the party from expelling them. Unfortunately for them the district judge held that he had no jurisdiction to rule on a constitutional issue. A few hours later the working committee of the UNP moved in quickly expelling the eight dissidents.

What has surprised most people is the absolute secrecy with which the whole impeachment plot was worked out. It was the island's most closely guarded secret. It is still uncertain as to who initiated the move. There are no doubts however that it was either Minister of Higher Education, Lalith Athulathmudali, who has since resigned his portfolio, who confesses to his disillusionment with an authoritarian one-man show and a political climate in which he found it difficult to function, or it could have been Gamini Dissanayake who suffered the humiliation of being dropped from the Cabinet. But what seems more probable is that they were in it together as subsequent events have proved.

They were once political rivals as aspirants for the presidential stakes and later for the post of Prime Minister. They lost out on both jobs.

President Premadasa brought in his own men. Men he felt were more suited to his style of governance. Athulathmudali continued to be in the Cabinet but he was no longer one of the key men as he was in the Jayewardene Cabinet. Dissanayake became a backbencher and decided to pursue his academic interests. He became a post-graduate research student at Cambridge. Both men however seem to have been biding their time and struck with devastating effect when they thought the time was ripe and they had enlisted majority support for their impeachment motion. Besides several party dissidents their chief ally quite naturally became the main opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

The wooing of the other smaller groups in the Opposition came easy. They had no doubts about either, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) or the United Socialist Alliance (USA) joining their ranks. It was the Tamil groups and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) that had to be gently persuaded. The SLMC opted to stay out.

The Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) fell in line. They were smarting under the dissolution of the Northeast Provincial Council following the assurance given by President Premadasa to the Tigers

during the 13-month peace dialogue. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) however decided to give themselves time before making a commitment. The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) member signed the resolution but later retracted.

The decision of the 56 member strong Working Committee of the UNP to expel the eight dissident members, was later endorsed by a 3000 strong executive committee where President Premadasa charged that the 'conspiracy' was not directed against the Presidential system but against him personally. He alleged that both local and foreign interests were involved naming the Mossad as one of the conspirators. The eight affected Members of Parliament have now appealed to the Supreme Court over the expulsion order claiming that in enforcing their constitutional right to have the President impeached, they were not guilty of violating party discipline.

They have also argued that what was at issue was their right as members of parliament, and the impeachment motion was within the exclusive authority of parliament and the Supreme Court. Only those two institutions could pass judgement on issues of impeachment. It was therefore improper for the working committee of the party to take note of their action and expel them. The dissidents claim that 47 of the 125 government members signed the impeachment resolution although only eight of them have publicly identified themselves so far.

The action of the Working Committee is an indication that it could well apply to the other 39 MPs who have since retracted and sworn allegiance to President Premadasa.

In Sri Lankan law only the Supreme Court has sole and exclusive jurisdiction to interpret the constitution.

Under the constitution where a Member of Parliament is expelled from the party, he automatically forfeits his seat in parliament, but with the dissidents appealing to the Supreme Court that their expulsion was illegal and not in accordance with disciplinary powers of the party they still continue to enjoy all the privileges as members of parliament until the court decides and communicates its ruling. However the act of expulsion could cause concern to other dissidents in the UNP whose identity has not been made public.

The big question is whether they will follow their fellow dissidents who have paid a heavy price for their dissidence or remain loyal to President Premadasa. The dissidents are confident that it is their impeachment resolution that Speaker Mohamed will entertain by virtue of the fact that it is a valid document in spite of some signatories alleging they were misled into signing

it and that they will carry the day with them when parliament re-opens on September 24.

President Premadasa is equally confident that the 116 members who pledged their support will vote with the government if the resolution is put to the vote.

But with men who could change sides so quickly there is no saying what would happen on the 24th.

The basic dissatisfaction of the dissidents relates largely to the Presidential style. They allege arrogance of Presidential authority to the exclusion of everybody else in the party, the total monopoly of the State media, interference in the working of State departments and the complete marginalisation of the UNP backbenchers. The dissidents felt that the Presidential system under President Premadasa had led to an authoritarianism that they did not experience under the Jayewardene era. If President Premadasa succeeds in overcoming this challenge there will have to be a radical change of style and a reconstituting of the cabinet. He will have to rid himself of sycophants and mediocrities and revitalise his lacklustre Cabinet.

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SIVARASAN AND SUBHA

THE END OF THE ROAD



BANGLORE, AUG. 20.

The Prime accused in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case, Sivarasan and Subha, committed suicide along with five associates last night after an encounter with the police at their hideout at Konanakunte, about 20 km from Bangalore. While Sivarasan shot himself with a revolver, the others consumed cyanide.

Sivarasan was immediately identified, he having only one eye. Subha's identity was confirmed by LTTE militants and sympathisers in Madras who had known the duo and had allegedly given shelter to them before and after the crime and who had been arrested.

The hunt for the two thus came to an end exactly three months after they were supposed to have committed the crime. Ironically, the day was the 48th birth anniversary of Rajiv Gandhi when tributes were being paid to him all over the country.

The hideout of Sivarasan and his

woman accomplice was surrounded by men of the Special Investigation Team probing the assassination and of the Bangalore police early on August 19 evening after a tip off that the two were holed up in a small house at Konanakunte. Using the latest automatic weapons, Sivarasan and his bodyguards opened fire at the police. The police retaliated.

After a 15-minute gun battle, the militants stopped firing, possibly because they realised that the police too had matching weapons. Then began a long wait for the night to pass. This was essentially because of instructions from Delhi, particularly the Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, that every effort should be made to catch the two prime accused alive.

A unit of the National Security Guard, trained in commando operations, arrived in Bangalore from Delhi around sunrise on August 20 and soon

Continued on page 6

WHO IS SIVARASAN?

The prime suspect in the assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, known as the One-Eyed-Jack operated under several aliases – Raghu, Raghuvaran, Raghuappa, Aravind, Rasan, Rajani, Sivarasan etc.

Born in August 1958, he hailed from Udupiddy in the Jaffna peninsula and his real name is Pakiyachandran. His father is Chandrasekaram who was an English teacher at the Udupiddy American Mission College. His mother Sivapakiyam came from Chavakachcheri. He had three younger brothers and two younger sisters. One brother is abroad, the other is working in Sri Lanka and the third one is a member of the LTTE. It is understood that the 'belt-bomb woman', Dhanu alias Gayathri, who exploded herself in the course of the assassination of Rajiv, and Subha, who was on the run for nearly 90 days following the assassination and who committed suicide along with Pakiyachandran, were related to him on his mother's side.

From the beginning Sivarasan and his father were supporters of the Federal Party and later the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). When Pakiyachandran was following his G.C.E. Advanced Level, his father Chandasekaram died in 1977. Following his father's death, Pakiyachandran abandoned studies and joined as an employee in the government Electricity Board and worked at Batticaloa and Trin-

comalee. During that time he was taken into custody and detained under emergency regulations for distributing 'anti-government' leaflets. On his release, in his efforts to get employment in Saudi Arabia he was cheated for several thousands of rupees by an Udupiddy 'gentleman'. In 1982, he was arrested and detained at the army camp in the Jaffna Fort.

On his release after the July 1983 disturbances, Pakiyachandran joined the Tamil militant group known as Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO). Under TELO, it is learnt that he received training in Tamil Nadu where he was resident for a number of years. He became disillusioned with TELO because of the splits that occurred among its leading members. When Mano Master (an important leading member of TELO) broke with TELO, Pakiyachandran also joined him in returning to Jaffna. Shortly after Mano Master was murdered by the LTTE, Pakiyachandran joined the LTTE and thereafter is said to have played an important role in its military operations. He lost his left eye in 1987 in a military encounter between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan army based in the Jaffna Fort. During 1988, he functioned as the deputy head of the LTTE in the Vadamaradchi area.

From 1989, Pakiyachandran was not seen much in public in Jaffna and is believed that he was entrusted with 'duties' in India, but travelled between Jaffna and Tamil

Nadu frequently. He is also reported to have travelled to west European countries and Saudi Arabia.

On 30 April this year he is reported to have travelled by boat from Jaffna to Vadaranyam along with eight others including Dhanu, Subha, Murugan and Shanthan who were received by and stayed at the Kodiakkadu residence of Shanmugam, a south Indian smuggler with alleged long-term LTTE connections (who was later arrested by the Special Investigation Team (SIT), and after alleged confessions was found dead hanging from a tree on July 19 under mysterious circumstances). Of the nine, five including Dhanu, Subha and Sivarasan are dead and the rest are in custody.

Shanthan alias Mahadevan arrested by the SIT on 22 July is reported to have confessed that he stayed at Shanmugam's house along with Pakiyachandran and others. Shanthan's arrest and his alleged confessions confirm that the murder of the fourteen EPRLF leaders at Kodambakkam in Madras on 19 June last year was also carried out by an LTTE team under the command of Pakiyachandran; Shanthan, who after arriving in February 1990 had enrolled himself as a student at the Madras Institute of Engineering Technology which was near the EPRLF office, was not only one of the assailants of the EPRLF leaders, but also a member of the Rajiv assassination squad.

Continued from page 5

went into operation. The terrace door of the hideout was blasted, and the commandos trooped into the house. But all that they could find were the bodies of two women and five men.

Sivarasan, his woman accomplice and five other associates, after threatening the police with gunfire on Aug. 19 evening, as was apparent, decided to end their life knowing fully well the strength of the police. The response of the police, equipped with automatic weapons, to the sophisticated firearms used by the militants, indicated to Sivarasan the police strength. It appeared that even as the gunfire was on, Sivarasan shot himself.

While Subha and another woman with a wooden leg were found lying hugging each other in one corner of the front room, the body of Sivarasan and two of his bodyguards were found alongside. They were also holding their hands together, possibly, their way of

bidding adieu. The bodies of two other militants were found lying in another corner of the same room. While Sivarasan was wearing a gold ring, Subha, dressed in a kameez and petticoat, was wearing silver anklets and toe rings, giving an indication that she was married. The bodies of the five associates were still to be identified.

The house had quite a bit of ammunition, besides at least one AK-47 rifle and another automatic weapon. There were also other firearms and bombs and grenades. Specialists of a bomb squad moved in soon after the blast to take charge of the bombs and other ammunition.

Soon after the arrival of the commando force, a combined police strength of nearly a thousand men drawn from the National Security Guard, the Central Reserve Police, the Karnataka State Reserve Police, and the Bangalore city police took up positions. A fleet of ambulances and other

NEVER HEARD OF...

Mr. Anton Balasingham, chief spokesman for the LTTE, told a group of western journalists who had travelled to Jaffna earlier in the week, 'We have no idea who this Sivarasan is...there have been several names mentioned in this assassination plot, but we have no idea who these characters are'.

The Hindu, 24.8.91.

necessities were kept ready. Just around six in the morning, the commandos with support from their fellowmen all around completed the job in a cool manner.

Senior officers of the Special Investigation Team including the Director of the Central Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Vijay Karan, and the SIT chief, Mr. D.R. Karthikeyan, rushed into the

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THE PRESIDENCY IN CRISIS

— by P.R. Ganeshan

Whether it will succeed or not, that the move to impeach President Premadasa has created a constitutional and political crisis of unprecedented proportions in Sri Lanka is not in doubt. The constitutional monolith of the Executive Presidency that has prevailed in the island since 1978 is under serious challenge for the first time. What is more remarkable is that the challenge has been mounted not by the official Opposition, but by rebel group of Members of Parliament belonging to the ruling United National Party with the help of the Opposition.

The main opposition party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) which has 65 of the total 225 MPs in Parliament has been in disarray for some time, and of late with the much publicised internal squabbles at its leadership level involving Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and her son who desperately aspires to become its leader, has not been in a position to provide a credible political opposition either in parliament or outside to the Premadasa government. The move against Premadasa by the UNP rebel group led by Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake has given an unexpected opportunity to the opposition parties for a rallying point.

It is said that the motion submitted to and accepted by the Speaker contains the signatures of at least more than one half (113) of the total number (225) of MPs of whom about 40 belong to the ruling UNP and the rest belong to four disparate opposition parties. There is no doubt that the whole exercise must have required a great deal of effort, time and political manoeuvring. That all this has been carried out in complete secrecy until it was delivered to the Speaker is a remarkable feat in itself. Had the President become aware of the move in advance of the Speaker receiving the motion, he would have had two options — firstly to use his immense power and influence to get, persuade or pressure many of the UNP rebel MPs to withdraw their support for the motion, or secondly he could have dissolved Parliament and called fresh elections. Once the motion was formally accepted by the Speaker, the President was precluded from dissolving parliament under the provisions of the Constitution.

Constitutional Position

Under Article 38 of the Constitution any Member of Parliament may by writing to the Speaker give notice of a

resolution that the President (a) is permanently incapable of discharging the functions of his office by reason of mental or physical infirmity, or (b) has been guilty of (i) intentional violation of the Constitution; (ii) treason; (iii) Bribery; (iv) misconduct or corruption involving the abuse of power of his office; or (v) any offence under any law involving moral turpitude. The resolution should also set out full particulars of the allegation or allegations made and seek an inquiry and report thereon by the Supreme Court. The Speaker shall entertain or place on the Order Paper such a resolution if (a) it is signed by not less than two-thirds of the total number of MPs, or (b) it is signed by not less than one half of the total number of MPs provided the Speaker is satisfied that such allegations merit inquiry and report by the Supreme Court. In the latter case, it is evident that the Speaker is called upon to exercise a quasi-judicial function.

Where either of the two tests are satisfied, the next step would be for the parliament to resolve by not less than two-thirds of the total number of MPs, including those not present, that the resolution should be referred to the Supreme Court for report. If it does not receive the support of the stipulated two-thirds, that would be the end of the matter. If it receives the support of the required two-thirds, the resolution is sent to the Supreme Court for inquiry and report. After inquiry, if the Supreme Court submits its report holding that the allegation or allegations have been established, the parliament will have to pass a further resolution by a similar two-thirds majority to remove the President from office.

In the present case, clearly the notice of resolution submitted to the Speaker did not contain the signatures of two-thirds of the total number of MPs. In entertaining the present resolution, therefore, the Speaker would appear to have been satisfied not only that it contained the signatures of more than one-half of the total number of MPs, but also that the allegations made against the President merited inquiry by the Supreme Court. To have come to such a conclusion, it must be presumed that the Speaker in the exercise of his quasi-judicial function considered the particulars supporting the allegations against the President and came to the view that they merited inquiry and report by the Supreme Court. However, already the Speaker has come in for attack alleging that he

was in the know of the move to impeach the President right from the beginning.

'Charges' against President

What are the allegations levelled against the President? The resolution submitted to the Speaker is said to be in twelve typed pages. Although the signatories are presumed to include several lawyers of some repute, including two leaders of UNP rebel gang, the document does not seem to disclose much skill in draftsmanship. The allegations cover the whole spectrum of charges provided for in the Constitution — intentional violations of the Constitution, treason, bribery, misconduct or corruption including the abuse of powers of office, offenses involving moral turpitude and that the president is permanently incapable of discharging the functions of his office by reason of mental or physical infirmity. Very serious charges indeed.

In support of the charges, the resolution, inter alia, alleges that the President has:

- ★ from the date of assuming office knowingly and intentionally violated and continues to violate several Articles of the Constitution;

- ★ usurped the power of Parliament and/or Cabinet of Ministers by issuing presidential directives, guidelines etc.,

- ★ violated the collective responsibility of the Cabinet of Ministers;

- ★ ignored the provisions of Article 43 of the Constitution which states that there 'shall be a Cabinet of Ministers charged with the direction and control of the Government of the Republic which shall be collectively responsible and answerable to Parliament';

- ★ misinterpreted Article 43 of the Constitution by regarding that he is the sole executive and thereby assuming that only one-man is responsible for the direction and control of the Government — wilful and intentional violation of the Constitution, its terms, spirit, and principles and converts a democratically elected cabinet government into a One-Man Dictatorship;

- ★ downgraded the role and status of Ministers and proceeded to interfere and by-pass their authority and exercise supervisory control over them; powers assigned to Ministers under the law have been ignored and abrogated by Secretaries and other Officials being given direct instructions by the President and/or his Secretariat;

- ★ has assumed for himself powers which are not vested in the office of President by the Constitution;

- ★ acted ultra vires the Constitution in the allocation of subjects and functions to Ministers of the Cabinet, Project Ministers, and State Ministers; by assigning to himself the power of delegation of any subjects already assigned to Cabinet Ministers — a power which is vested in the Cabinet Ministers under the Constitution; by requiring Secretaries to Ministers to prepare and submit directly to him confidential reports about Ministries; by himself ordering the

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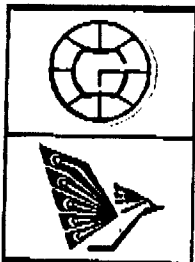
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removal of certain Heads of Departments and making appointments to State Corporations, both of which fall within the ambit of Ministerial powers;

★ acted in derogation of the powers and privileges of parliament by conducting a parallel All Party Conference into which all national questions are put up for discussion;

Imperilling State Security

In addition to the above mentioned 'intentional violations of the Constitution', the resolution also alleges that the President (a) being the Minister of Defence he has hardly chaired the meeting of National Security Council; (b) has failed to take any positive action to provide security and an atmosphere of peace for the people; (c) has been carrying on political adventures that endanger the security of the State; (d) has been carrying on secret negotiations with and arming of the LTTE which has resulted in the death of thousands of people including security personnel and (e) has imperilled the security of the State.

In alleging that the President has failed in his duty to protect the fundamental rights of the people enshrined in the Constitution, the resolution charges that he intentionally and knowingly prevented the investigations and conduct of inquiries and/or punishment for (a) torture and murder of the well known journalist Mr. Richard de Zoysa (b) disappearance of Mr. Lakshman Perera (MMC); and (c) the disappearance of Mr. Krishna Husain and thousands of others who were arbitrarily arrested, abducted, tortured, killed and otherwise disposed of by hired killer groups.

The resolution also alleges the creation of a 'Police' State and intimidation of the population by tapping telephones of citizens, politicians, Ministers, political opponents, businessmen etc; using the Inland Revenue and the Bribery Commissioner to intimidate and destroy political opponents; use of CID officers, Customs officers and Excise officers against political opponents and setting up a separate Investigation Unit parallel to the Police Department at public expense for extra-legal political operations.

While accusing the president of 'wasteful expenditure on frivolous matters' like Gam Udaa celebrations, mobile Presidential Secretariat and many other tamashas, the resolution alleges that the President has been guilty of bribery and/or nepotism and or corruption and/or abuse of power either by himself or through his friends or family members in regard to appointments, contracts, alienation of land, sale of public business ventures etc.

Many of the allegations concerning the President's alleged mental or physical incapacity are of a highly

personal and trivial nature and reflect upon his individual conduct including such matters as the President getting a gold painted replica of the 'Throne' used by ancient kings for him to be seated at official functions and ordering elaborate arrangements for celebrating his birthday using public funds. However the three politically significant allegations would appear to be firstly the one alleging that he 'acted in violation of the accepted diplomatic conventions and antagonised friendly Nations to the detriment of Sri Lanka' - this appears to be a reference to the 'Gladstone affair', the British High Commissioner who was declared persona non grata and expelled following which Britain froze aid to Sri Lanka. Secondly that after declaring that the LTTE had accepted his peace offer and thereafter by supplying arms and ammunition to them which resulted in the death of a large number of police and service personnel. Thirdly his declarations about sending off the IPKF from Sri Lanka 'causing the destruction of the Sri Lankan Army by the decision taken without due consideration of the military aspects'.

Although Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake, along with other opposition leaders have subsequently proclaimed that their aim is to seek the abolition of the Executive Presidency and the restoration of Westminster-style parliamentary democracy, if one considers the allegations contained in the resolution, there is no doubt that it is directed at the incumbent President. Lalith and Gamini were two of the key stalwarts under former President J.R. Jayawardene who introduced the Executive Presidency with their support. Up until now, there is no evidence that these gentlemen ever put forward the idea or campaigned for the abolition of the Executive President within the UNP or outside it. Gamini held office in the Jayawardene Cabinet and that of Premadasa until he was dropped a year ago and Lalith was in the Cabinet until his recent resignation. In fact both of them were contenders for the Jayawardene mantle of the Executive Presidency until the last moment when the UNP decided to nominate Premadasa for President in 1989. Political observers at that time felt that had not the country been under such a state of chaos and generalised violence inspired by the JVP, these two gentlemen would not have hesitated to stake their claim for the UNP candidacy for President. One wonders whether they are purely motivated in their latest move by their sheer commitment and love for parliamentary democracy and abhorrence of the enhanced powers vested in an executive presidency!

Premadasa's Shrewd Move

Taken aback by the sudden and unexpected challenge to his position,

Premadasa himself and through the UNP hierarchy sought to discuss matters with the rebel leaders with a view to avoid a showdown. The attempts having failed and without knowing the actual number of UNP MPs who had contributed their signatures to his impeachment, he made a shrewd move in proroguing Parliament until 24 September to gain time. All the UNP MPs were individually summoned to ascertain their position. Some admitted having signed but pretended that their signatures were obtained under false representations. Some others claimed that their signatures had been forged. At the parliamentary Group meeting of the UNP, 116 of the 125 UNP MPs declared loyalty to the President. All 116 MPs were marched into the Speaker's office to handover their pledge of loyalty. Some of those who had signed delivered letters to the Speaker stating that either their signatures had been obtained under false pretences or that they had been forged. They also submitted a petition asking the Speaker not to proceed with the impeachment resolution as it did not have the support of more than one-half of the total number of MPs. Whether by using the carrot or stick, if Premadasa succeeds in ensuring that 116 of the UNP MPs stick together behind him, the impeachment move is bound to fail.

However, at a recent press conference Lalith and Gamini have claimed that more than the forty UNP MPs who had signed the motion will vote in support when it is taken up.

In the present Parliament, the position of the Tamil MPs has been pathetic at least for one reason. They had to depend on security and protection given by the government to keep the LTTE gunmen at bay. Their physical survival depended on being on 'good terms' with the government. It would appear that all five EPRLF MPs have signed the impeachment motion and placed themselves in a most vulnerable situation. However, the sole TELO MP having signed it, has retracted. The two TULF MPs and the other sole EROS MP have not declared their position. The four SLMC MPs have declared that they have not signed the motion. Suddenly, the votes of the few Tamil and SLMC MPs have become important for the government as well as the opposition.

In the meantime the gloves are off and the 'war' is on and it is becoming increasingly dirty. Eight of the rebel UNP MPs who failed to pledge support for Premadasa have been expelled. Their attempt to have the District Court prevent the UNP Working Committee from expelling them failed when the court denied itself of jurisdiction. It is reported that they will take the matter to the Supreme Court.

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The 'Traitors'

The media which is generally controlled by the government is being used to the maximum to drum up support for Premadasa and denounce the UNP rebels as 'traitors'. The Sunday Observer of 8 September editorially said that the UNP rebels including Lalith and Gamini 'will be seen as traitors to the Party if they join hands with the Opposition in conspiratorial moves to undermine the leadership and destruct the structure and principles accepted by the Party'.

Anuruddha Tilakasiri, who in his previous incarnation was considered to be the most authentic defender of the Stalinist faith in Sri Lanka for his highly theoretical and polemical contributions in his pater's fortnightly and subsequently found merit in and advocated direct Indian intervention to resolve the ethnic crisis, and of late has discovered the glory of 'The Premadasa Phenomenon' and the evils of the 'regional hegemony', in an article titled 'AND NOW ... THE ACID TEST' in the Sunday Observer (8.9.91) mounted a vicious and vitriolic attack in his self-revealing style employing selective marxist jargon against those associated with the impeachment move:

'Even now the sight of Mr. Gamini Disanayake thundering against corruption, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali waxing eloquent on abuse of power and violations of human rights and Mrs. Bandaranaike droning on about democracy, inner party democracy and superstition, cannot but make one smile. But that aside, we must be able to see this attempt for what it really is - an offensive by the right wing oligarchic forces to destroy the progressive socio-economic reforms initiated by President Premadasa. The impeachment motion may seem an attempt to strengthen democracy by restoring the sovereignty of the Parliament, but this appearance is deceptive. In reality, it is a counter offensive by the privileged elite (on both sides of the party divide) to regain their previous positions i.e. it is a blow struck against social progress. The constitutional coup of last week is the last gasp of the ancien regime, the one final attempt to turn back the clock, to prevent itself from being relegated to the scrap heap of history. The conspirators are a motley crowd - disgruntled elements, opportunists, political has-beens who were at each other's throats only a few days ago. Only one thing keeps them together - their deep hatred of President Premadasa and their certain knowledge that their political survival will depend on discrediting the President and removing him from office. ... The conspirators well know that if President Premadasa's reforms are allowed to go through, if he succeeds in completing the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution, this will mean the total eclipse of the feudal-bourgeois SLFP and the comprador bourgeois old guard of the UNP.'

Taking a swipe at the support given by the left parties to the impeachment motion, Anuruddha continues:

'Some of the rebels are indeed the architects of many of the most anti-people, anti-

democratic policies and measures of the Jayawardene regime - including the PTA and the rigging of the Jaffna DCC polls. Their past record covers everything from corruption and abuse of power to kidnapping, acid throwing and murder. They constitute the 'Contra' faction of the UNP. Instead of exposing these UNP contras and their feudal allies for what they are, our Left is bestowing the role of guardian angels of democracy on these criminal elements. Obviously there is no limit to the folly of our Left parties'.

Poster Campaign

A 'poster war' has broken out in all parts of the south of the island. While one allegation against Premadasa is that he supplied arms to the LTTE and that he was carrying on secret negotiations with it, a poster put presumably in support of Premadasa denounced the impeachment move as a conspiracy hatched in association with the LTTE. When questioned by reporters about the allegation of the LTTE connection in the conspiracy, Lalith said, 'Who

**President Premadasa**

gave arms to the LTTE? The late Ranjan Wijeratne complained to me that he was upset about the decision to give arms to the LTTE to fight the IPKF. ... If there is an inquiry, members of the armed forces will give evidence about the giving of arms to the LTTE', and Gamini added, 'Not only arms and ammunition but even vehicles and cement to build bunkers were given. Even after the IPKF announced it was pulling out, these were given to the LTTE to fight the IPKF'. Posters have accused the rebels of having been financed by 'Casino Kings' and 'Jackpot Operators' to go against Premadasa who recently ordered the closure of casinos and jackpot operators. In response G.M. Premachandra, who resigned as Labour Minister after signing the motion, at a recent press conference produced several colour photographs of some key government politicians, including Premadasa his wife and daughter with Joe Sim who operated a large number of casinos until he was deported some months ago.

Premadasa is being supported in his campaign by some leading Buddhist monks. Ven. Rambukwella Sri Vipassi Thera, Mahanayake of the Malwatte Chapter is reported to have said in a statement, 'It is the bounden duty of all to co-operate in his efforts to develop the country and usher in peace and harmony. ... The farsighted leadership of the President was essential for the country's welfare'.

Prospects

The UNP rebel group and the Opposition parties have begun a campaign of public meetings and reports indicate large attendances and a newly found enthusiasm amongst opposition supporters. All anti-Premadasa supporters are likely to jump on this band-wagon. Whether such support and enthusiasm will translate into popular demonstrations of peoples power of the eastern European or Bangladesh variety is yet to be seen. On the other hand, the immense power and influence of the Executive Presidency, the almost inexhaustible organising capacity of Premadasa and his populist appeal may stand in his favour and against the gathering together of the people behind his opponents.

The question is as to what will happen when the parliament reconvenes on 24 September. While the opposition is demanding from the Speaker a secret vote on the impeachment motion to enable potential rebels yet in the UNP to support the motion without the fear of retaliation, the government party has called upon the Speaker to declare the motion that has been presented null and void because some of the signatories have either claimed that their signatures have been forged or been obtained under misrepresentation; and in any event they argue that before the Speaker takes up the motion, he should first institute an investigation to ascertain the authenticity of the signatures.

The chances are that Premadasa will survive the vote of impeachment as it is unlikely to receive the required two-thirds majority. The best the Opposition can hope for is to obtain a simple majority which will not be fatal to the President, but it will leave him severely wounded politically. And the Opposition may press further and move a no-confidence motion on the government and the government may fall. In either case, it is open to the President to dissolve the parliament and go to the country seeking a new mandate. The President has already warned his Party to be ready for a general election at any time.

Although the much talked-about proposed mediation by Cabinet Minister Thondaman between the government and the LTTE is reported to have been shelved because of the constitutional crisis following the presentation of the impeachment motion, another fallout from it can be that a politically beleaguered President and the LTTE which is facing a major crackdown in Tamil Nadu and military setbacks in its battles against the Sri Lankan army may gravitate towards each other giving a renewed scope for negotiations.

SRI LANKA: THE ETHNIC CONFLICT

Problems and Prospects for a Settlement

— Dr. P. Saravanamuttu —

(Continued from last issue).

The brief interval of peace turned out to be the prelude for a war that neither side can win quickly or cheaply, if at all. It is a war that the Sri Lankan government has declared as a 'fight to the finish' — a characterization that the LTTE does not dispute in relation to its avowed goal of a separate state.

Ominously reminiscent of the pre-Accord situation in 1987, it appears that the principal protagonists find it more congenial to revert to absolute aims through military means, rather than to confront directly the more challenging political core of their differences through sustained negotiations and mature appreciation of mutual constraints. The responsibility for initiating the current war, therefore, lies not so much in the details of localized incidents, but in the persistence of this predisposition on both sides. Furthermore, the political outcome of this war will be decided by default — by the manner in which hostilities are prosecuted rather than by the popular legitimacy of the belligerents' objectives. The government has portrayed this as a fight against Tiger extremism rather than an ethnic conflict with the Tamil people. Nevertheless, high-level statements threatening the LTTE with the fate of the JVP and destruction to civilian life and property could rebound to the Tiger's advantage. Whether the population of the north-east endorses or rejects secession by choice and not circumstance is a major question of Sri Lankan politics. Put differently, will they get the opportunity to exchange bodyguards for rules, or to confirm the bodyguards as rulers?

An examination of the justifications for the war provides an indication of the fears that caused it, and the reasons for its continuation.

In substantiating its thesis of Tiger extremism, the government claims that it was LTTE unwillingness to countenance the participation of other Tamil groups in fresh provincial council elections that wrecked the passage to ethnic reconciliation. This concession to pluralism, the government insists, is a *sine qua non* of selling another round of elections to the opposition parties. Furthermore, to illustrate its good faith in this respect, the government cites the dissolution of

defunct EPRLF-controlled council on 7 July and its willingness to consider revoking the Sixth Amendment.

The LTTE on the other hand, is adamant that the government negotiated in bad faith and always intended to go on the offensive once the IPKF had departed and the JVP had been suppressed. The existence of some 30 new Army camps in the east are provided as validation. Moreover, the LTTE contends that the devolution package is inadequate and in precisely the areas where it seeks further powers, principally land settlement in the east, the government has sought to alter the demographic balance against the Tamils through renewed Sinhalese colonization. In addition, the LTTE dismisses as spurious the government argument of an insufficient legislative majority to repeal the offending Sixth Amendment, pointing to the failure even to bring the issue to the floor of the Assembly. On the eligibility of other Tamil group participation, the LTTE avers that the age-old 'divide-and-rule' ploy is being employed by the government, who, having befriended rival groups, then proceeded to arm them. To allow other armed groups to participate in an election, the LTTE asserts, would be to deny its self-defined status as the sole authentic representative of the Tamil people.

The government has received genuine all-party support (extending to anti-Tiger Tamil groups) for its characterization of the conflict as a war against extremism rather than the Tamil people. As a measure of Tiger isolation and in an ironic role-reversal, the EPRLF, who had in March 1990 threatened a unilateral declaration of independence and in the era of Government-LTTE cordiality was cold-shouldered as New Delhi's pawn, is now upheld as a group that has disavowed secession. Internationally, and with India in particular, the government has emphasized what it believes to be its most effective propaganda weapon — the charge that the Tigers alone are fundamentally opposed to the political solution delineated in the Accord and resorted to war as the only method at their disposal to destroy this consensus. The assassination of 14 EPRLF leaders in Madras during the fighting in Sri Lanka, though denied by the Tigers and the

slaughter of captured Sri Lanka policemen invariably lends credence to this argument when set against the well-documented LTTE record of political killings. It has also eased the task of the multi-ethnic Opposition delegation dispatched to South Asian capitals to publicize the government's version of events.

Consequently, the LTTE has to contend with considerable political isolation — a not unfamiliar position for it, and one which it has exploited in the past to reinforce its credentials as an independent nationalist movement fully committed to self-determination. Moreover, in a situation of armed confrontation, the government's propensity to use its superior military power indiscriminately has enabled the guerrillas to portray themselves as the protectors of the Tamil. This calculation features in the Tiger attitude towards both the current hostilities and the issue of participation by other groups in the elections. The government's argument that the LTTE sought to obtain at the negotiating table what it was no longer absolutely confident of verifying at the polls — its standing as the sole authentic representative of the Tamils — is not mere conjecture. Colombo's refusal to accept this unconditionally, plus its military reinforcements and Sinhalese colonization of the east, constituted provocation to the Tigers. It justified a re-evaluation of their priorities — the renewed promotion of separatism through armed struggle as a primary goal and not as the insurance policy it had become in the optimistic climate of detente with the government.

The shift in popular allegiance underlying this reasoning is predicated upon war weariness and, more importantly, the basic ambivalence surrounding the Tiger-Tamil relationship. This has always been accompanied by reservations and respect as much as by admiration and enthusiasm, referred to above as the 'bodyguard but perhaps not ruler' syndrome. LTTE arguments about how years of struggle have resolved caste and class contradictions amongst the Tamils notwithstanding, Tamil conservatism and battle fatigue might rebound to the detriment of the Tigers. Yet if the Sri Lankan government conducts this war brutally, a regrouped Tiger movement could emerge rejuvenated by a popular momentum towards secession.

Another factor in the changed strategic context is the unlikelihood of a second Indian intervention. To maintain this, following Indian expressions of concern, Colombo dispatched its foreign secretary to New Delhi to

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affirm Sri Lankan fidelity to provincial autonomy and to promise to keep civilian casualties to a minimum. With the IPKF experience behind it and Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh's professed desire for good neighbourly relations, New Delhi has stressed its reluctance to become embroiled directly in the conflict. Nor do Indian domestic political considerations favour intervention. Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi's preferences for the Tigers aside, there is limited sympathy for their cause in Madras. The Congress opposition, not surprisingly, has baited the Singh government for not adopting a higher and potentially interventionist profile. The extent to which Sri Lanka becomes a major internal issue in India will invariably be a function of its utility as an instrument of leverage in centre-state relations and local politics.

What has always militated in the Sri Lankan government's favour, and continues to do so in the present conflict, is

... the Tigers will have to decide whether their undisputed contribution to the Tamil cause can be rechannelled into the politics of pluralism and compromise. A negative decision carries the risk that militancy could become a diminishing asset. . . Between the tactical flexibility that the LTTE can afford, and the decentralisation that the government can concede, lie the ingredients for a settlement which resembles the Accord substance but, as a direct agreement between the principal belligerents, does not replicate its flaws.

the Indo-Sri Lankan congruence of interest against secession. The Indians cannot be indifferent, but with Punjab, Kashmir and a host of centrifugal pressures unresolved, (not to mention their earlier manifestation in Tamil Nadu), they cannot champion separatism in Sri Lanka either. Their defence of the union in Kashmir inhibits outright condemnation of the methods adopted by the Sri Lankan government. Yet this detachment only signifies military retrenchment, not political or diplomatic disengagement. The protagonist's dilemma – their ability to wage only inconclusive war and not indefinitely – underlines the inevitability and urgency of external assistance in the search for a diplomatic exit from the impasse. In this process Indian agreement, if not assistance, will be sought. Until the conflict has been resolved and a solution implemented, signature of an Indo-Sri Lankan treaty will be delayed – with Colombo, rather than Delhi, being the more eager to sign.

Political and Military Asymmetries

For a variety of reasons, the government needs a quick and decisive end to the conflict. In comparison, the LTTE is no stranger to prolonged struggle and can simply retreat into the jung-

les. The economy is even worse than in 1987 (largely because of the damage caused by the JVP insurgency), and so peace is essential for reconstruction. The vital flow of aid and its disbursement has been promised on a termination of hostilities; continuation of the conflict will therefore try the patience of the donors further and fatally retard economic recovery. Politically, the consequences could be a fillip to the JVP. As the programme for the alleviation of poverty promised by the President is delayed or redesigned beyond recognition, the JVP would be able to denounce it as yet another unfulfilled electoral promise. Indeed, the repeated government failure to address this fundamental grievance has sustained the JVP through adversity in the past. Another disturbing factor is that yet again Sri Lanka's fate depends upon the performance of the security forces. More than mere brutalization of society, in the 1980s Sri Lanka experienced unparalleled militarization. A coup can be discounted in the absence of an undisputed military leader, but the

prominence and politicization of the armed services must be viewed as an unhealthy precedent. Those who argued in the aftermath of the last JVP uprising for a return to non-partisan civilian control of the security services now have to refute the apparently potent counter-argument that such forces are securing the country against extremism, rather than endangering democracy.

Therefore an early resolution of the existing military stalemate is imperative for Colombo, and an essential prerequisite for whatever settlement it envisages. However, the battle for Jaffna, averted in 1987 by Indian intervention on the pretext of preventing a civilian bloodbath, will be no less bloody in 1990 – arguably even more so given the stakes and the degree of Tiger entrenchment. The opposition of both sides to external military intervention only confirms this. External assistance will be sought once the military balance has definitely swung in a particular direction but insufficiently to deal the final blow, or alternatively, to monitor a cease-fire and in a mediatory capacity to secure agreement to a solution. This assumes, however, the willingness of external powers to overcome their reluctance to take a direct role in the Sri Lankan conflict and to risk harassment or

non-co-operation from the protagonists.

The differing political constraints on both sides suggest that with regard to a settlement, the guerrillas could afford greater flexibility than the government. Profound mutual distrust and the need to maintain credibility reinforces the adherence to uncompromising definitions of objectives. But, as in 1987, the Tigers could justify qualified acceptance of a settlement on tactical grounds, without great sacrifice to their reputation. The likelihood of this depends on the course of the war. At present a test of wills is being enacted, in which each side is resolved to prove its tenacity and to wear the other down.

The government, on the other hand, cannot display any equivocation regarding secession without seriously prejudicing its position in the south. Yet the 'fight to the finish' cannot be accomplished by military means alone, but will require a viable political solution that meets the standards of legitimacy and meaningful decentralization. No solution imposed by the government will last and therefore the case for fresh elections should be welcomed at the earliest opportunity. In addition, the issues of colonization and policing will have to be readdressed within the broad framework of a distinctive devolution package for the Tamils.

Provincial elections or not, there are indications that a referendum will be held, and a territorial adjustment to reflect the electoral verdict in the east is a possibility. The Amparai district, with its Sinhalese-Muslim majority, could be detached from the amalgamated province and the strategic neutrality of Trincomalee protected through an Indo-Sri Lankan treaty. The territorial adjustment, however, would not be easy or represent a simplifying segregation. A general election to secure a mandate or *post facto* legitimation for these proposals and those emanating from the All Party Conference convened in September 1989 at the height of the JVP insurgency to deliberate on the national crisis, is another government option and that could buttress the President's position.

Demonstrable commitment by the government to decentralization and development is an absolute minimum condition for a settlement. Were the provincial council to be subjected to the same treatment as before, it would be compromised. In the north-east, too, durable bases for sustainable prosperity have to be laid. Finances pledged for this purpose must be released and this crucial venture expedited. Whichever Tamil group or groups are elected to the council, they must be treated as partners, not pawns, and not forced into militancy to avoid poli-

tical extinction. In short, the council remit must reflect the LTTE success in advancing recognition of Tamil interests, even if the council will be inaugurated without it. Failure to do so would be tantamount to inviting a debilitating war of attrition, economic devastation and chronic instability.

The Tigers would dismiss the prospect of any solution without their direct participation or concurrence as a farcical duplication of the defects of the Accord. However, there is now a more widespread perception that a settlement is imperative, and that it should not be contingent upon completion of the LTTE's transition to mainstream peacetime politics within Sri Lanka. Taking heart from other guerrilla groups that have prevailed after decades of seemingly hopeless struggle, the Tigers have vowed to fight on in the hope that international opinion will eventually shift in their favour. The analogies with other groups are somewhat misplaced, given strained Indian-Tiger relations, and greater multipolarity in the international system. Furthermore, it is inconceivable that any government in Colombo would, having failed to defeat secession on the battlefield, be immune to irredentism thereafter. In this respect, the Tigers have yet to demonstrate that they could acquire the requisite conventional military capability or would be able to forge the alliances necessary for the attainment of Eelam as well as its defence.

Guerrilla movements, however, also adapt to survive. The LTTE is no doubt aware of the obstacles to the realization of Eelam. They are fully cognizant, too, of the power at their disposal, even in the changed strategic environment, to destroy any settlement that excluded them. Therefore, it is likely that the real significance of Eelam is as a unifying force for the LTTE, espoused to obtain maximum concessions, but not necessarily as an end in itself. Exercised with dexterity and acute sensitivity to the power configuration of the day, this could be a versatile *modus operandi*. Exercised frequently, its strategic rationale could become too transparent, locking its exponents into protracted and unprofitable struggle and self-imposed exile from the political arena. Consequently, as the military situation is clarified, the Tigers will have to decide whether their undisputed contribution to the Tamil cause can be rechannelled into the politics of pluralism and compromise. A negative decision carries the risk that militancy could become a diminishing asset. In addition, there is the possibility that if a settlement for the Tamils proves unsatisfactory, an *infatada*-type popular movement could spring up that ostensibly accepts LTTE leadership, but in reality has a momentum of its own.

Conclusion

Between the greater tactical flexibility that the LTTE can afford and the decentralization that the government can concede, lie the ingredients for a settlement which resembles the Accord *substance but, as a direct agreement between the principal belligerents, does not replicate its flaws*. The legacy of mistrust and bitterness will not be erased immediately; it will be substantially reduced if this common ground is seized with imagination and magnanimity.

Perhaps the form of external assistance that could best reduce distrust and enhance confidence in a settlement is the participation of the international donors in discussions pertaining to rehabilitation and development.

LTTE READY FOR TALKS

— V. Prabhakaran

'We are always ready for peace talks, but such negotiations should always be non-conditional. We are currently observing the constitutional crisis that has come up and as such we are not in a position to comment on it' said Tiger Supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran in an interview with the BBC broadcast on Wednesday. This was part of a magazine programme presented in Tamil called 'Tamilosai' and broadcast between 9.15 p.m. and 9.45 p.m.

Answering questions put to him by the BBC correspondent, the LTTE leader answered in Tamil in his own voice.

Prabhakaran said his movement has no connection whatsoever in the assassination of former Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi. However, he said there is a long conflict between his outfit and the Indian government. He said the Indian government's approach to the Tamil problem had been disappointing.

The elusive militant said that since 1983, the Indian government had been involved in Sri Lanka's ethnic problem and had helped many militant groups with arms and training. It later entered into an agreement with the Sri Lanka government. The Indian government then proceeded to preserve its own interest by 'waging a war against our movement'.

The enmity between the Indian government and the LTTE began when the latter began to preserve its own interests, said Prabhakaran.

He accused the central government of India and the Tamil Nadu state government of carrying out a systematic planned action against their movement, but the people at large are in support of their movement, he claimed.

He said Britain had not acted justly in the case of the extradition of Kittu. It was an irresponsible and inhuman

tal programmes in the north-east. Project-related aid, monitored by donors rather than by a government which the recipients do not trust would be a visible expression of commitment to peace and stability. It is, of course, not above reproach. Some would argue that economic aid of this kind would be an unwelcome interference in Sri Lanka's internal politics. But in an ever more interdependent world, one hopes that this would only be a minority concern.

Indeed, interdependence is a central concept to the settlement of the conflict. Whatever forms of political association emerge, the peoples of the island will have to co-exist. If they are to prosper they cannot survive in two armed camps.

act particularly when the British High Commission itself had given a visa to him for treatment in UK.

He disclaimed that the Eastern province is under government control and accused that colonisation takes place there.

Exodus from Jaffna

More and more people are fleeing Jaffna, say NGOs as conditions deteriorate inside the peninsula. Over 60,000 people are in 157 refugee camps in the District and another estimated 100,000 sheltering with friends and relatives. Refugee figures remain volatile as waves of civilians flee regular shelling from three military complexes inside the peninsula at Karainagar, Palaly and Kankesanthurai. The Government plans to channel future relief ships through Kankesanthurai to force hungry civilians back inside the slender cordon of Army-controlled territory.

Increasing numbers are fleeing south after paying anything from Rs. 10,000-100,000 for a gold-embossed Tiger 'Exit Visa' signed by leader Prabhakaran. Young males are refused exit as the Tigers' conscription drive intensifies. The journey to the Government-controlled checkpoint north of Vavuniya at Thandikulam takes ten days by bicycle or on foot and there they face another gauntlet of suspicious questioning and more demands for bribes.

West of Vavuniya at Madhu, 27,000 refugees from Jaffna, Mullaitivu and Mannar survive on a lifeline of two food convoys a week supplied by international refugee agency UNHCR. Most of them are farmers, too poor or too frightened to risk the journey to

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LET'S SILENCE THE GUNS

by Richards Karunairajan

IN THE LIGHT of the incredible and exciting events taking place in the USSR, and the worldwide striving for self-determination and the right to a homeland, unless Sri Lanka is hell-bent on plunging the country even further into the abyss of violence, Colombo has to sit down and talk with the Tamils. There are many possible solutions to the country's ethnic problems but none of them conceived by Colombo to date, can in anyway be considered as acceptable to the pride and dignity of a human being, whoever and wherever he or she may be.

Seeking solutions to problems demand that all contending parties have to cease riding their high horses of racial vanity, airs and arrogance and seek the solid ground of realities. Apart from the devastation caused to property, public buildings such as schools, hospitals, market places and communication facilities and the destruction of jungle environments, fishery coastlands and farming habitats, since 1990 alone, more than 10,000 lives have been lost.

This is because we have relentlessly hung on to positions that are totally in conflict with the tenets and ideals essential for peace, harmony and development. This is incredible in a country succoured by four great religions of the world - Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism. In a situation of this nature, the oppressor and the oppressed stand in dire need of liberation.

Unfortunately, while moderate Tamil leadership was made sterile and inconsequential by the racist intransigence of successive Sri Lankan governments beginning with the Indian Citizenship Act and the large scale Sinhala farmer settlements in traditional Tamil homelands, Colombo has consistently lacked the kind of leadership necessary to pull the country out of the crisis and liberate the people from unfounded fears and suspicions and the oppressive social, racial and religious consequences to insensitive governmental measures.

Tamil militancy, it must be accepted, was forced on the Tamils by Colombo. If the Senanayakes, Bandaranaiques and the Jayawardenes could not talk political sense with the revered leader of the Tamils, the late S.J.V. Chelvanayagam who never ever softened on his steadfast commitment to non-violence and for this earned the admiration and adoration of the Tamils whether they supported his federal policy or not, with whom else

can any Sinhala leader discuss politics in a sane political environment? This is Colombo's abject political poverty.

Its lack of political commitment to the welfare of the entire Sri Lankan community is its tragic hallmark as would also be seen in the way thousands of Sinhala youth have perished at the hands of the state forces. Furthermore, pressing into service readily available over zealous volunteers from the saffron-robed Buddhist clergy to man the frontlines of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism, Colombo pursued the communal spectre as a scapegoat for its lack of vision and national development sense, and dwelt too long in the premises of racial intolerance and violence.

The Tamils called for a separate state only in 1975 and even a minister in the present government felt, under the circumstances that prevailed, there was a need for it. Today, he alone stands as the only politician who can build the bridge between the Tamils and Sinhala politicians to bring about a just solution. It is therefore essential that all politicians including the militants, get off their hobby-horses and face the tasks before them with a spirit of statesmanship and vision.

The main question is whether every man, woman or child in Sri Lanka enjoys the same right as another whether he be Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim, Malay or Burgher! The fact that one is a member of the majority community and the other of the minority community has no relevance whatsoever. Furthermore, the question of self-determination and traditional homeland is a very vital factor and there cannot be any compromise on it.

Experience since independence has shown beyond any doubt that the Tamils as a minority community that has been ravaged politically and militarily despite having their own traditional homeland, must be assured that there are no more incursions by way of settlements, agriculture or otherwise, or even occupation by armed forces which do not have the approval of the Tamils. Homelands and self-determination which ensure to a great degree the right to determine one's own fate or course of action with free will are sacred facets of democracy and these are birthrights.

The guns, whether they roar from the battlements and ground, sea and air mobiles of the Sri Lankan Forces or from the feline tracks, treetops and dens of the North and East may achieve a limited result for a very short

time. But even while they last, the havoc they could cause, particularly to the humanity of the human beings is too immense a price to pay. Guns and mines can only cause hatred and scars that can last too long a time and particularly in a small nation state like Sri Lanka, strained relationships among the various communities can go on for decades.

Today all parties to the conflict have to bring their differences and contentions within the mainstream of politics and to the public forum and not continue to parry and tarry at the battle fronts. The solutions to be sought must be those that enable every Sri Lankan to be proud of his citizenship.

Is it possible that a Sinhala man, or woman or child may enjoy rights and privileges that are denied to another because he or she hails from a different community? If a Tamil has to flee his country and seek asylum elsewhere, then this is a matter of grave concern. If a Burgher feels that Sri Lanka cannot anymore be a home for his or her people, then there is something very wrong with the society. If Muslims are of the view that they are no longer safe wherever they have established their homes and enterprises, then it could be argued that a dangerous social intolerance, like a crop pest, has taken roots.

Unfortunately, all these factors are tragic realities today and the government's reactions have generally been to blast the voices of human rights and political will with military hardware obtained at a cost the country could ill-afford. Extremists frothing racial intolerance become acclaimed as heroes and to these, the species of Lesser Rasputian political monks lend support and encouragement. Has it not dawned on Colombo to very politely tell the 'saffronery' to retire to their hermitages and preach the lofty ideals of Lord Buddha and leave all matters of the state to the politicians?

Sadly, far too many Sinhala politicians have found 'Buddhism' an asset in their striving for political power, importance and authority. They have successfully practised a fraud on the people by their determined misuse of religion for this purpose. If there is one revolution that is overdue in Sri Lanka, it is the one that will make all politicians keep their respectable distance from the vihares, temples and the churches.

If a climate necessary for talks is to be achieved, all parties must accept that solutions have to be political. Armed struggle and military campaigns have no place. While Colombo has to be conscious of the fact that the Tamil problem emanated from the acts of omissions and commissions of successive governments, Tigers and other

militants too will have to understand that they have not really endeared themselves to the people they have chosen to serve.

The Tigers are certainly at the vanguard of the Tamil struggle and have the right to speak for the Tamils. This is a political reality. They and they alone have been the only Tamil establishment that has been able to withstand the racial intolerance of Colombo governments with some degree of success. They are, as a matter of fact, the children of the Colombo government conceived in intolerance, born into violence and nurtured in armed struggle. The choice of the Tamils was non-violence not armed struggle and the moment Colombo destroyed that movement, Colombo's kids, the Tigers took over the defence of their community and their homelands.

Apart from the fact Colombo has cast the Tamils to the desolation of second class citizenry and subjected them to police and later military indignities and high-handedness creating a state of much hostility and contempt among the entire Tamil population, the Tamils have not had it easy with the militants as well. The catalogue of social upheavals, bloody militant rivalries, harassment, extortion and indiscriminate killing of people on the plea that they are informers, is just too long for comfort.

But until the liberation of the Tamils is achieved and their homelands secured, the Tamils cannot seek the luxury of diverse views. The Tamils are not even in a position to take to task the forces that killed Rajiv Gandhi if the assassination indeed has a bearing on the Tamil liberation struggle. The fact that Rajiv Gandhi who sent his forces to protect the Tamils ended up adding to the butchery of the Colombo forces does not in any way support the need to kill him. This is quite counter to the spirit at the very depth of the struggle of the Tamils which unfortunately has become a prisoner in a shroud of violence.

The Gandhi assassination should not in anyway cloud the cause of the Tamils. Some Indian politicians who are shouting at the Tamils and even Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu must first ask the question as to why India messed itself up on Sri Lankan soil — night and day, with all their activities when they went there with the purpose of banging the nail on the genocidal intentions of Colombo against the Tamils.

Let not Colombo be under the false impression that once the Tigers are dealt with the Tamil problem will be solved. Not even the arms supply of the Chinese gerontocracy with its Hitlerian intentions will achieve its purpose. If the Tigers are the creation of Colombo, the Tamils will take care of

them when the time comes. If political solutions are reached, the Tamil social structure and family bonds are so strong that every Tiger will return to the loving bosom and comfort of his or her family and the dedication that called them to arms to defend their community will be strong enough to rehabilitate themselves and step out with pride with ploughs instead of guns in their hands.

The option for peace and harmony in Sri Lanka rests entirely on the shoulders

of the Colombo government. If only it will hearken to the words of wisdom of Lord Buddha in the manner he preached and how his teachings influenced King Asoka to give up violence altogether and in turn made a great impact on the great King of Sri Lanka, Devanampiya Tissa, and not blindly follow and pay obeisance to those politically-crazed 'safronery', sense and sensibility will return and Sri Lanka as befits its name, will be blessed.

GENOCIDAL SPECTRE STALKS THE CROATS

— Jayan Deivendra —

[Speaking at a public meeting in Kamburupitiya recently, Sri Lanka's President Ranasinghe Premadasa said quite categorically that the Sri Lankan Government will not seek advice from other countries to solve internal problems. While one cannot disagree under normal circumstances with such a stand, hoping that this also includes advice on the use of deadly arms, it is useful for him and his government at least to learn from the problems that other countries face when it comes to self-determination of constituent national communities, justice and fairplay. Sri Lanka has much to learn from many countries and Yugoslavia which has problems parallel to that of Sri Lanka, offer much food for thought. The intransigence of Belgrade must be familiar grounds to the powers that be in Colombo.]

The State of Yugoslavia stands today at the threshold of a civil war determined, it appears, to tear itself into shreds propagating racist hatred between the nationalities that constitute the Yugoslav nation. The people in immediate danger are the Croats whose capital is Zagreb.

The main ethnic groups of Yugoslavia are the Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, Muslims, Albanians, Turks, Hungarians, Montenegrins and Macedonians and the key aspect to the current problem is the struggle for self-determination and independence by the Slovenes and the Croats in the light of the efforts of the central government in Belgrade to totally dominate the entire country.

Yugoslavia was formed as a kingdom in 1918 following the peace settlement at the end of the First World War. The architects of this nation, conscious of the diverse racial and religious groups that came together into a federation of six republics each enjoying equal rights, talked of national self-determination as a universal right granted to all peoples of the new state.

Unfortunately, during the first two decades, despite its federal structure, political power remained highly centralised in Belgrade. There was, however, a shift of power to the republics in the 1960s and 70s and a new constitution was adopted in 1974.

But when the government of Slobodan Milosevic took power, most of it was destroyed and there was a new determination to create a 'Greater Ser-

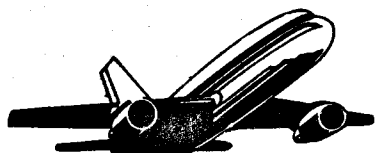
bia' or for the 'Serbianisation of Yugoslavia' by subjugating other nationalities to the political will of the Serbians. This included the forced incorporation of the republics of Kosovo and Vojvodina who received full federal status only a few years earlier, into Serbia.

Slobodan Milosevic who became head of the Serbian Communist Party in 1987 owes his position to the largely Serbian dominated Armed Forces. He has since unashamedly attempted to protect and promote the position of the Communist Party elite by appealing to ethnic rivalries and in this, the main target of his offensive being the total subordination of Croatia.

The difference between the Serbs and the Croats are cultural rather than linguistic. There are over ten million Serbs to about five million Croats and while the former belong to the Eastern Orthodox faith, the Croats are Roman Catholic. Language-wise, the two tongues are considered quite similar and belong to the Slavonic group of languages. But they use the Cyrillic and the Roman alphabets respectively.

The current outrage in Yugoslavia is largely motivated by political considerations, certainly not economic, and the Armed Forces are non-supportive to the multi-party system. They are also opposed to all reform activities within the Slovene and Croatian Communist Parties viewing them as a threat to Serbian interests. The Generals of the Armed Forces and other top ranking officers favour, in the light of

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INDIA! OH INDIA!

Sujin Segar

Even worse off is India's 'Lesser Beings'

THE WEEK of India (4 August 1991) reports that atrocities on women on a day to day basis are much more than the terrorist outrages in Punjab and Kashmir but that these no longer catch the attention of the media. Even bride burnings and rapes have come to be accepted as routine stuff to be relegated to the filler slots in newspapers.

However, a current weekly TV programme appears to have shown great foresight by baring open the brutalisation of women with episodes based on real happenings. Among the many bare-faced evils that women are confronted with throughout India are female infanticide, marital violence, unorganised slave labour, alcoholism among men, daughter-in-law syndrome and being pressed into prostitution by all kinds of circumstances.

A woman is a faceless entity unless she has a male attachment – at first a father, then a husband and finally a son. Any meanings in life have to emanate through any one of them or two or all of them. It is said that only a male can 'give life' to a woman and without him she is a nonentity. In urban India the woman may appear to be liberated – at least to some extent, but among India's millions, the women certainly are lesser beings. And without male attachments they are mere chattels!

A gruesome incident reported in the weekly international edition of THE HINDU (24 August 1991) is further evidence of the lot of women in the Indian society. This is worse when they are from a caste with traditional obligations to serve the high caste particularly the landlords.

A 35-year-old mother of a 15-year-old son belonging to the caste of shepherds was a servant in the house and farm of a Reddy landlord. She was suspected as having helped a married Reddy woman, who appears to be the sister of her employer, to elope with a young man from her caste who was employed with another Reddy landlord.

On mere suspicion, three Reddy landlords took the law into their hands, 'forced a quarter litre of arrack down her throat and paraded her naked on the streets, with her hands tied behind with her blouse'. While one of the landlords held her hair in a twisted cruel grip, she was thrashed all the way to the market by the others

with a stout cane and an axe handle and finally kept in public view for an hour.

When a man from her caste attempted to cover her with a towel, he too was assaulted by the landlords who are locally referred to as the 'aasamis'. She was later left near a social welfare hostel for children of the backward class where she attempted to commit suicide by jumping into a waterway. But her relatives who were hiding all this time rescued her and took her to the police.

But one really has to wonder as to what happened to the police during all the time taken to assault and degrade her and then parade her through the street and have her on public view. Are these 'aasamis' so powerful that they can do whatever they wished?

As for the alleged charge against her about helping the Reddy woman who eloped, it emerged that the women in the Reddy households were aware of the affair of one of them with the shepherd youth. It is evident from this incident that the male Reddy machismo was hurt. Angered by this so called 'outrage' they took it out on a poor defenceless and helpless woman.

The official government intervention came pathetically late with a drop in the bucket kind of sop when the District Collector announced an 'immediate relief' of Rs.1,000 to the victim of this vicious and high handed attack. The collector also visited her at the hospital in the company of the Superintendent of Police in the area to console her it seems.

One wonders whether the Reddy landlords, obviously belonging to a much higher echelon in the Hindu caste system, were aware of the fact that Lord Krishna, the eighth and the most important avatar of Vishnu, found the company of shepherd women most pleasant to him. Even in the Christian faith, it was to the shepherds the angels gave the first news of the birth of Christ.

Shepherds are also the forerunners of humankind's organised community life and composite farm management and landlords of the types in this tragic incident have been the exploiters through the ages and still they survive with all their viciousness and nastiness.

★★★★★

Sheikh's Pre-teen wife

The vigilance and concern of an Indian Airlines cabin hostess, Amrita Ahluwalia rescued 10-year-old Ameena

Begum who was travelling in the company of a 50-year-old toothless Saudi Arabian citizen, believed to be a sheikh on a transit flight between Hyderabad and Delhi bound eventually for Saudi Arabia.

As the IA Flight 440 took off from Hyderabad, the veiled Muslim child was noticed to be sobbing. When her sobbing turned to more audible expression of her terrified feelings, despite the sheikh's assurance that she was his wife, suspicion of something quite foul became writ large on the faces of the passengers.

Finally, Air Hostess Amrita came to her rescue, took her to another part of the aircraft where the pre-teener poured out her tale as to how her father had sold her to the sheikh for a sum of Rs.6,000 as his second wife. In fact, it was her elder sister who was first offered to him but the sheikh had rejected her as too dark and opted for Ameena instead.

On hearing of her plight, the passengers reacted with an immediate signature campaign in her support and within minutes 200 signatures were collected. Some women passengers even offered to help her with accommodation and succour. When the aircraft landed in Delhi, with the authorities already informed by the captain of the aircraft, the sheikh and the child were taken into custody.

Although this time a child was saved from an Arabian harem, it became evident that there is an on-going racketeering in the sale of child brides to ageing sheikhs. Some estimates indicate that during the last 15 years thousands of Muslim girls have been married to nationals from the oil rich states of Arabia. While a few have made it good, far too many have ended in circumstances akin to slavery of the most demeaning kinds.

There have also been reports of marriages by proxy and even telegraphic divorces by bored husbands – and that much for Indo-Arab relations! Little Ameena Begum whose father drives a three-wheel motorised rickshaw, has received a deluge of support and sympathy. Even the Air Hostess Amrita Ahluwalia has offered to adopt her as her own child.

★★★★★

Caste-based carnage over a trifle

Tsundur, 12 kilometres from Tenali in the Guntur District is a sleepy village but recently it sent shock waves and tremors throughout the country when a murderous sweep of caste carnage left a number of people dead. The root cause of this outrage appears to be a trivial incident in a cinema house

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when a low caste youth stretched his feet up on a seat in front without realising that the man seated next to him would take offence.

The following day the young man's school teacher father was assaulted by an upper caste gang. Members of his community were also made to suffer a great deal of privations by some kind of social and economic blockade imposed on them. Time and again there were some violent clashes all traced to the cinema house incident.

One morning a low caste was fatally stabbed for the alleged teasing of a Reddy girl and this was followed by the looting of a low caste shopkeeper's establishment. The police, to make matters worse, descended on the village and ordered all the members of the low caste community to quit and as panic took grip of the situation, the members of the upper caste who were evidently lying in wait for them by some kind of prearrangement, hacked the fleeing low castes, watched, according to various reports, by the police.

The low castes with no place to go back, gathered together and hit back killing a high caste farmer and setting on fire a number of houses and this violence continued for many days. Even the shoot-at-sight order issued by the police to contain this violence has not succeeded in containing this problem.

Tsundur could be claimed as a highly organised agricultural village situated in the rich rice bowl of Andhra Pradesh and where the lands are irrigated by the Krishna River. Three main castes inhabit this area - the high caste

Reddys and Telagas and the low castes who were called Harijans (Children of God) by Mahatma Gandhi. A third of the village population are agricultural labourers and in Tsundur, they lead a well settled life with tidy homesteads with a community school and church.

Schooling has been a great boon to these people and with the impact of Gandhian philosophy and Christian religion, they have become less submissive to the dictates of the landlord gentry, a trend that troubles the upper castes.

Following the caste carnage, 2,000 people have taken shelter in a relief camp and these victims have made their distrust of political leaders known by barring Congress, Telugu Desam and BJP leaders from entering their camp. It is their claim that all these people only represent upper caste interests. Despite various compensatory efforts being made, the mood in Tsundur remains hostile and once again the police have a lot to answer, even more than the bureaucrats who run India's villages.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Marketable commodities

Every year, in the summer a unique fair is held in Saurath near the town of Madhubani in Bihar where bridegrooms are the marketable commodities.

During a three-week period, hundreds of grooms are 'on sale' and this year more than 1200 grooms returned home very much satisfied with the

prices they fetched for themselves. Each one will now have a bride who has paid this 'seen god' a fat dowry for the honour of serving and labouring for him through her life. She will, however, enjoy a slightly better status if she has sons as his children.

The Bridegroom Fair dates back several decades and it was founded with the noble intention of fighting the pernicious dowry system and to help parents of daughters to find suitable grooms. It was about 200 years ago when it was ordered by a king of that region that all marriages should be finalised by certain unofficial registrars called panjikars that dowry bargaining took roots.

The main role of these panjikars was to identify the gotras of the respective parties which later led to a system of bargaining with the offer of dowries.

At this annual fair, the prospective bridegrooms often as young as 11 years of age squat on bedsheets in the shade of giant mango trees usually in a red attire so that they could be easily identified by the parents and guardians of the brides. It is said that although there are rules governing the amount of dowries that could be offered, there also exist much scope for haggling.

A report on the fair claims that grooms with medical and engineering degrees are those very much in demand and are quickly grabbed. The dowry for them could vary from two to four lakhs of rupees. Graduates fetch about Rs.50,000 and this may go up by another Rs.50,000 if there are other features attractive to the brides' people. The unemployed grooms, however, have to be satisfied with offers for Rs.5,000 or less.

Although it has been claimed that all grooms return home with a bride, this was the fourth unsuccessful attempt for Sitaram Jha who feels that as a groom who had lost sight in one eye he was rejected by groom hunters. Thirteen-year old Rupnarain Jha went back home for the third year without a bride. At this tender age he is a rickshaw puller, evidently an unattractive profession for a prospective son-in-law.

In this groom market, the panjikars hold court and are held in high esteem. They belong to the family of Maithili Brahmins, a highly organised Aryan community, and are said to possess the family history of all their members anywhere in the world.

The local women's organisation is quite concerned about the question of dowry that prevails in this market and are clamouring for the entry of women into this fair. They have charged the organisers of the fair as having allowed the dowry sharks to defeat its 'lofty aims'.

Kittu in Switzerland

Switzerland will offer sanctuary to LTTE leader *Kittu* say sources in Geneva, in a bid to broker a solution to Sri Lanka's North-East war and stem the flow of Tamil refugees to Europe.

Kittu, the nom de guerre of Sathasivam Krishnakumar, 31, former military commander of Jaffna and head of the Tiger's International Wing, was refused political asylum in Britain and served with a deportation order in late July, which accused him of attempting to buy arms and of raising money from the Tamil community by 'threats and coercion'.

Sources say *Kittu* entered France clandestinely in mid-July and after a period in hiding, slipped across the border to Switzerland where LTTE Paris representative Lawrence Thilagar negotiated a haven for the guerrilla leader with the Swiss government and international refugee agency UNHCR. It remains unclear what immigration status he will be accorded.

Swiss Minister for Refugees Peter Arbenz visited Colombo in July and in wide-ranging discussions with the Government and Tamil groups, offered to supply the infrastructure for peace talks in Geneva.

Mr. Arbenz is seeking to create conditions for the speedy repatriation of Tamil refugees in Europe and clearly believes that *Kittu* as an LTTE Central Committee member with a hot-line to Commander-in-Chief Prabhakaran can increase outside pressure for a negotiated settlement.

Mr. Premadasa's international advisor, Bradman Weerakoon on a private visit to Europe this month, held a wide variety of consultations which included talks with Lawrence Thilagar and plans are now well advanced for higher-level exchanges between the warring parties.

Mr. Arbenz may also seek *Kittu*'s

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NEWS ROUND-UP

● **ANTON BALASINGHAM**, chief spokesman for the LTTE, told a press conference in Jaffna on 22 August that the LTTE would be prepared to talk to Cabinet Minister and leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress, S. Thondaman, if he visited Jaffna. 'If Minister Thondaman is genuinely interested in bringing the sufferings of the Tamil people to an end, if he is genuinely concerned about peaceful negotiations, he can come to Jaffna. He can come to Jaffna without any fear and talk to us', he added.

● **TWO CABINET MINISTERS**, Lalith Athulathmudali and G. Premachandra, two State Ministers Chandra Gankanda and Lakshman Seneviratne and four other Members of Parliament, Gamini Dissanayake, Vincent Perera, P. Gunasekera and S. Weerawanni have been expelled from the ruling United National Party for their role in signing the impeachment motion against President Premadasa. Mr. Stanley Tilakaratne, Member of Parliament belonging to the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has been suspended from the SLFP for refusing to contribute his signature to the same motion. J. Thivyanathan, a Member of Parliament from the Amparai district, who signed the motion to impeach the President has withdrawn his signature having alleged that his signature was obtained by misrepresentation. G. Karunakaran, Member of Parliament for the Batticaloa district and belonging to the TELO has refused to support the motion having described it as an adventurist move which is a clear attempt to crucify the President through a constitutional coup.

● **LTTE LEADER** Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu against whom the British government issued a deportation order is reported to be now in Switzerland where he is seeking political asylum. Kittu is said to have entered France to seek asylum, but was refused.

● **THE INDIAN DAILY** 'The Hindu' of 24 August editorially commented that the Rajiv Gandhi killing was 'a ghastly way for India to learn its lessons on Sri Lanka', and that the LTTE 'by this one act of treachery and betrayal had forfeited the goodwill of the people of India'. The killing had 'demonstrated the contradictions of India's Sri Lankan policy and had caught up with it in what was the most grotesque manner possible. The investigation has unearthed a complex web of intrigue, replete with all the sordid ingredients of smuggling, drug trafficking, clandestine arms piles and communication links to Jaffna and London, underlying the painful horrifying fact that Tamil

Nadu was fast coming into the stranglehold of Sri Lankan Tamil militants, particularly the LTTE'. The editorial added that the LTTE had not only killed a former Prime Minister, but had also 'symbolically maimed India'. The LTTE's bloodstained record is 'a chilling indication of its fascist streak. The notion of India increasing its leverage in Sri Lanka by developing a relationship with the Sri Lankan Tamil groups must be completely discarded as a tactical principle'.

● **PRESIDENT** Premadasa has appointed a four member Human Rights Task Force with effect from 23 August. The main function of the Task Force is to monitor the observance of the fundamental rights of persons detained in custody otherwise than by judicial order. Its duties include the maintenance of a comprehensive and accurate register of persons detained in custody with full details, and ensuring the observance of their fundamental rights and humane treatment for them. The Task Force has the power to investigate and establish the identity of each such person and monitor their welfare, to carry out regular inspection of places of detention and to record any complaints or representations or grievances and to take immediate remedial measures. The members of the Task Force are J.F.A. Soza (former Supreme Court Judge), Sam Wijesinghe (former Secretary General of Parliament), M.C. Wijenathan (a businessman), and P.A. De Karunaratne (a lawyer).

● **NAGULESWARAN**, aged 30, from Valvettiturai and alleged to belong to the LTTE's intelligence wing has been arrested by the Colombo police.

● **POLICE CONSTABLE** Samantha Edirisinghe Atukorale who has been held as a prisoner by the LTTE since 13 June 1990 has said in a letter sent to his parents through the ICRC that the LTTE was holding forty-four policemen who had been captured from Mankulam and Oddusudan police stations.

● **THE DECOMPOSED** bodies of over thirty policemen were found in unmarked graves at Kaludavil, south of Batticaloa on 26 August. The police victims, some dressed in uniforms and others in civilian clothes had their hands tied behind their backs. It is believed that the victims were among the several hundreds of policemen captured by the LTTE in June last year when fighting broke out between government forces and the LTTE. Identification of the bodies was not possible because they were too decomposed. Police sources claimed that the discovery of the bodies was made following information given by an arrested LTTE member.

MILITARY OFFENSIVE IN THE NORTH

Over five hundred persons, including civilians, LTTE cadres and security service personnel, are reported to have been killed so far in what is described as the biggest offensive by government forces against LTTE positions in the northern Mullaitivu district. 'You could say that the entire army is involved in this operation. This is our biggest ever jungle operation against the Tigers', an army spokesman claimed.

Over eight thousand troops with support from the airforce and the navy are reported to be involved in this operation which began on 2 September. Before launching the attacks, the entire district and parts of the Jaffna and Vavuniya districts were placed under a curfew. While aircraft are raining bombs and helicopter gunships are strafing alleged LTTE bases located in the jungles along the coastal Mullaitivu district, naval gunboats are reported to be pounding the area with shells and mortars as the ground troops attempt to inch their way forward.

An army spokesman claimed that a large quantity of communications equipment, arms and food was captured from one of the twelve Tiger bases in Mullaitivu. The army admitted the death of seventeen soldiers and fortytwo injured while claiming to have killed several hundred Tigers in the fighting which is said to be fierce.

In what is described as a diversionary attack on 11 September, dozens of Tigers tried to overrun a police station in the Batticaloa district killing two policemen and wounding ten constables and four soldiers.

Continued from page 13

Colombo where there are now over 100,000 Tamil refugees from the North-East in cheap lodgings or staying with friends.

Control of Mannar District is still fiercely contested by the Tigers and nine soldiers were killed in an LTTE ambush between Vankalai and Thalady on 28 August. After such attacks there is grave risk of Army reprisals and the red-dirt country roads are full of frightened villagers fleeing to temporary safety at the UNHCR camp.

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LETTERS

'MAN HUNTERS'

'... Man is a talking animal, he insists on interpreting the religious mystery in terms of his own experience. The completely other, the absolutely unlimited, seems to be akin to the utterly indefinite. The human mind craves for something definite and limited and so uses its resources for bringing down the supreme to the region of determined' (RADHAKRISHNAN: 'The Hindu view of life').

The killing of Rajiv Gandhi not only offended the Indian community but I'm sure it has stirred the minds of millions who believe in freedom of speech, rights of existence, and most of all the fundamental principle of the duty of an ordinary human not to abuse his abilities.

It doesn't matter whether the prime suspicion is on the LTTE or not but their manner of denial and their response to investigation is sufficient to show who was involved. Peoples' knowledge of past events has led them to draw their own conclusions.

One wonders whether the killing of Rajiv and other killings in the past were necessary and if all that destruction was an integral part of the process of the struggle for freedom.

A real freedom fighter does not always use his gun if he thinks he has the support of the people who he is supposedly fighting for. None of us really would disagree that the LTTE have killed men and women selectively in order to achieve supremacy.

When they talk about the supreme sacrifice of life they only recognise their own interpretation; the one that justifies murder.

The reason for these murders is not really based on any political analysis but on a mere fanaticism and paranoia.

From the killing of 'Oberoi Devan' to Rajiv, the justification they have offered or not offered indicates how little belief they really have in their political strategies and how little ability to think further ahead from their own jealousy and fear of others' determination.

No one in the world, who studies what's going on in Sri Lanka would deny the fact the Sri Lankan Tamils have been persecuted and they have a right to fight for their freedom, but the self-made leadership of the Tamil nation has done little for the cause.

If Hitler was a man with self respect and love for others he wouldn't have committed the murder of seven million Jews and justified his action with Christian beliefs.

When fanaticism takes over a man, he often justifies his manipulation with

beliefs and tradition. Tradition is something which is for ever being worked out anew and recreated by the free activity of its followers. What is built for ever is for ever building. If a tradition does not grow within the fundamental rules of its origin (which is often based on religious beliefs, cultural practices and respect for 'otherness' it only means that its followers have become spiritually dead.

When some one is spiritually dead, as his mind no longer feels love for himself or others, he will have no guilt about what he does to reach his goal.

What Hitler did to Jews and others was due to the paranoid fear he had of the Jews.

According to Micheal Gelder, Dennis Gath and Richard Mayou 'One subject believes that some one or some organisation or some force or power is trying to harm him in some way, to damage his reputation, he causes him bodily injury, to drive him mad, or to bring about his death, ... The subject with delusions of grandios ability thinks he is chosen by some power, or by destiny for a special mission or purpose, because of his unusual talents. He thinks he is able to read people's thoughts or that he is particularly good at helping them, that much better than any one else, that he has invented machines, composed music, or solved mathematical problems beyond most people's comprehension. ...' (Oxford book of psychiatry).

Hunting for food is the nature of an

animal but they do not look for men to destroy and justify their fear of being hunted down, but some men do. If they have the ability to wipe out the whole earth to get what they want to achieve they have no hesitation to do so.

Our upbringing is based on competition with others; the majority of us lost our right to be children the day we were born as our parents see ourself as a young doctor or an engineer. Growing up is a natural process and a child should know the right and wrong through his or her own experience but our life has already been planned for us forty or fifty years ahead and we must get in to the top, and it doesn't matter who gets hurt in that process.

To prove our courage and will power we are forced to win over the next door man; that mentality is reflected in our struggle; we would not feel happy unless we 'beat' the others.

Freud (1911) proposed that in pre-disposed people, paranoid symptoms could arise through the defence mechanisms of denial and projection. He held that a person does not consciously admit his own inadequacy and self distrust, but projects them on to the outside world. Clinical experiment confirms this idea. If one examines paranoid patients one often finds an inner dissatisfaction associated with a sense of inferiority, and self esteem and ambition which are inconsistent with achievement.

— Mrs. L.M. Govindan

Continued from page 15

falling support for the Communist Party, a recentralised Yugoslavia, which in other words means a dominant Belgrade and the supreme Serbian consigning all other Yugoslavs to the status of the lesser beings.

The army's attack on Slovenia, ignoring rational economic thinking, is in line with Slobodan Milosevic's plans to dominate the whole federation. It could also be surmised that the main interest is not to ensure that Slovenia remains within the federation but to ensure that all borders of Croatia are secured from the supply routes of the West.

Slovenia, unlike Croatia is ethnically homogeneous and the impression that Serbia wants to drive Slovenia out in order to be better able to impose its will and domination on others, particularly Croatia, is now gathering momentum. It will be recalled that in the original Yugoslav state after 1918, Slovenia was only added at the insistence of the Croats and the Slovenes.

The tragic irony of the whole Yugoslav question today is that during the early years of the dominance of the Communist Party in a state that was

founded bringing together Serbia, Montenegro and the Slavic provinces of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the determination was to limit the powers of the Serbs. But today the non-Serbic sectors are under very serious threat in the light of the demands that are being made for Serbianisation by the Armed Forces and President Slobodan Milosevic.

As a result what is at stake is the right of self-determination of the Croats and the Slovenes and other nationalities. The prospects of any solution which will uphold the principle of self-determination, and if the Slovenes and Croats want, their independence, has been sabotaged by the intransigence of the Serbian leadership.

These ambitions appear to raise their head again and this time at the expense of the constituent nationalities of Yugoslavia. Should Belgrade persist with this and rough ride the rights of various nationalities of the country, the result could be a civil war of immense tragic proportions. Under these circumstances, the powers that be in Belgrade may very well go for a genocidal attack on the Croatsians.

Continued from page 6

house to identify Sivarasan and Subha. Media-men were initially kept out but later invited to see the bodies.

The investigation of the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case thus culminated in a house at Konanakunte on the outskirts of Bangalore, though it was never believed that this city could afford a safe shelter to the prime accused on the run. The SIT, however, has plans to continue with the investigation — over the next few days charge-sheets against those people who have been roped in would be prepared and filed.

The whereabouts of the prime accused came to be known, both due to luck and a well-coordinated effort of the Karnataka police in general and the Bangalore police in particular. Soon after the raids in Mandya district, the police recovered a diary from the house which mentioned an address. The follow-up action, which was carried out at lightning speed by the Basavanagudi Assistant Commissioner, Mr. A. Aswatharamaiah, under the supervision of the Bangalore Police Commissioner, Mr. R. Ramalingam and the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Kempaiah, led to the location of the house occupied by Sivarasan and Subha.

To start with, the police would not believe the version given by the two persons who had helped them secure the house. It is only after the gun battle of Aug. 19 evening and the repeated statements made by the persons interrogated that the police realised the seriousness. On Aug. 18 morning, when the first information was received, it was believed that the militants could possibly be hardcore but definitely not connected with the Rajiv Gandhi case.

In their effort to help the SIT, in nabbing the prime accused, the entire State police rose as one man over the past few weeks. Their attention on the case was stepped up after the raids at Indiranagar here in which two militants died and several others were held. What, however, shocked the police was the sympathy the LTTE had received even from Kannadigas. The vital information leading to the arrest of the prime accused was given by a Kannadiga couple. The police were earlier of the opinion that Tamilians settled in Karnataka could possibly be the only supporters of the militants.

12 COMMIT SUICIDE AFTER POLICE RAID

BANGALORE, Aug. 18. Twelve militants of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam died, five were nabbed alive and two others escaped during the course of police raids on their hideouts in Muthathi and

Beeroot villages of Malavali taluk in Mandya district through the whole of last night. The raids commenced a little after sunset and ended some time before sunrise in the two villages which were located in a near inaccessible terrain.

The police of Halagur with the assistance extended by the police of Malavalli, acting on a tip-off that some Sri Lankan militants were holed up in a house at Muthathi decided to raid the house after sunset. Soon after the police party reached the village the militants turned alert. During the raid, of the 11 militants present in the small one room house, six consumed cyanide and died while three were nabbed alive and two others escaped. The raid at Beeroot village located about ten km. from Muthathi was on the information provided by the militants arrested in the first place. At Beeroot, of the eight militants who were lodged in the ramshackle house, six persons consumed cyanide and died on the spot while the remaining two were nabbed.

According to reports it was the shortage of cyanide in the possession of the militants that prevented all of them from committing suicide. Further there were at least three persons who had neither hands nor legs, one person had no hands and yet another no legs. These persons could not be helped by the others during the raid.

It is learnt that neither the militants who have been nabbed alive nor those who were dead were of the hardcore LTTE variety. At best they could be remotely connected with those involved in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination. Most of these persons who were barely 20 years old, had suffered serious injuries during the LTTE fight against the Sri Lankan army and had arrived in Tamil Nadu for medical treatment. Owing to the pressure being mounted on them in Tamil Nadu and by the Bangalore city police, the militants had chosen Muthathi for a temporary stay.

Muthathi provides an ideal setting for hiding. With its picturesque surroundings, especially the Cauvery flowing between two hill ranges, it is a good tourist attraction. The local people said young men generally come to the place with women of loose character from other places. These men are ready to pay a price for the rooms they seek. It was this aspect that made the villagers believe that the young militants were possibly tourists. But when the tourists never got out of their single room house for four days continuously the suspicions of the villagers were aroused. The movements of the leader of the militants by night also heightened their suspicions.

Yet another interesting feature was that the LTTE militants were escorted to Muthathi and Beeroot by Kannada

speaking persons who travelled with them in their Maruti jeeps and were identified as their friends. One of them who has been detained was Chikkan-na, a forest guard at Muthathi.

The State police who had taken up the LTTE threat to blow up the Krishnarajasagar dam across the river Cauvery on August 14/15 quite seriously, now believe that the threat could not have been just a hoax. The big police presence could have prevented the LTTE or its supporters from carrying out the threat. Yet another possible rumour doing the rounds at Muthathi was that the LTTE militants had come to the spot to dump poison into the drinking water carried to Bangalore from Torekadinahalli.

500 CAME IN MAY

KARUR, (Tamil Nadu), Aug. 18

A contingent of 500 gun-trained militants of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam landed on the Vedaranyam-Kodiakarai coast on May 10, 1991. Many of them had a record, killing civilians and soldiers of the Indian Peace Keeping Force, which went to Sri Lanka. This disclosure was made by Varadhan alias Shankaran (20), who was nabbed in a raid on an LTTE hideout at Chettapalayam, four km from here, last night.

Varadhan, in a statement made to the Tiruchi Superintendent of Police, Mr. V. Jagannathan, said he was a native of Chavakacheri. After his matriculation in his village school, he underwent four months' arms training at Mullaitheevu in the north of Sri Lanka. He fought against the IPKF and killed many.

Mr. K. Kasim, DIG of Police, said it was Dixon, (militant who killed himself when the police laid siege to his Coimbatore hideout on July 28) who brought Varadhan to Tiruchi in an Ambassador car from Vedaranyam. He remained in Tiruchi for three months. From Tiruchi he went to Bangalore and when the Indiranagar hideout there was busted a couple of weeks ago. Varadhan was in the same house along with two fellow cadres.

CHAVAN PROMISES TO UNRAVEL CONSPIRACY

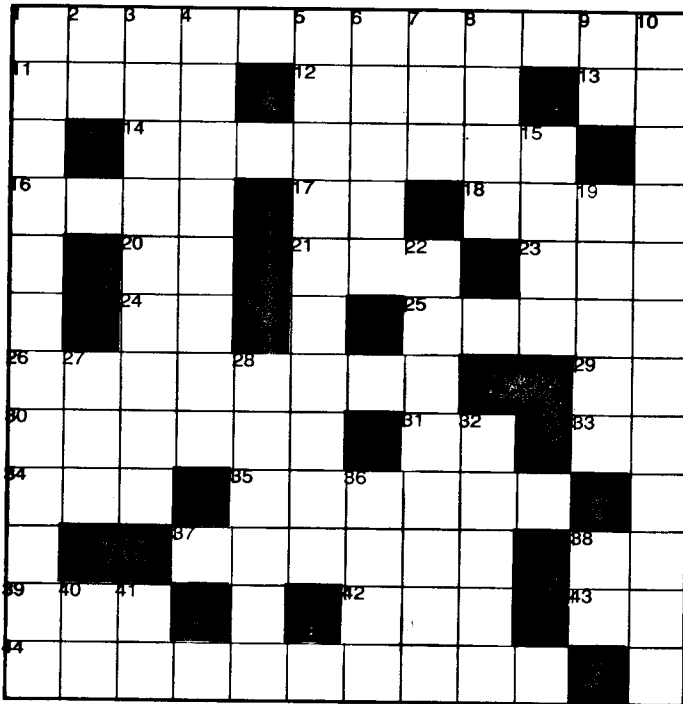
NEW DELHI, Aug. 21.

The Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, today assured the Lok Sabha that the Special Investigation Team of the CBI would continue to unravel the entire conspiracy behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

Making a statement on the circumstances leading to the death of the main suspect, Sivarasan, and six other militants of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam at Konanakunte near Bangalore, he said the objective was to

Continued on page 23

QUIZ CROSSWORDS – No. 8. Set by: Richards



Quiz Crosswords – 6: Solutions.

Across: 1. Anuradhapura, 11. None, 12. Aesop, 13. Tsar, 14. Ra, 15. Edit, 17. Komahan, 21. Del, 22. Snail, 23. MT, 24. IL, 25. Tether, 27. Lunges, 30. Ire, 31. Usurps, 32. NT, 33. SM, 34. Vi, 35. TT, 36. IW, 37. Ionia, 41. Hatred, 42. Anent, 43. Iliad, 44. Tsetse, 45. QED.

Down: 1. Antediluvian, 2. No, 3. Until, 4. Rest, 5. Darkness, 6. He, 7. As, 8. Po, 9. Up, 10. Anantham, 14. Ram, 16. Delusion, 18. Oat, 19. Mihintale, 20. Alert, 22. Step, 26. Re, 28. Nu, 29. Grains, 33. Swede, 35. This, 36. Iraq, 38. Net, 39. Ate, 41. Ti.

Winner: P. Ramanathan, 3161 Eglinton Ave. E., Apt. 1209, Scarborough Ontario M1J 2G7, Canada.

Closing date for completed grid and coupon to be received is 31 October 1991.

Answers and the name of the winner – first all correct entry pulled out of a bag – will be announced in the November 1991 issue.

The winner will receive a prize of £20.00 sterling.

All entries should be sent to: Tamil Times, P.O. Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD, UK.

Across.

1. A dance form which has become popular among the Sri Lankans in London, Paris, Sydney and Toronto (12)
11. One admired for great deeds and noble qualities (4)
12. Sixth of the minor planets is named after the cup bearer in Greek mythology (4)
13. Mother affectionately (2)
14. A North Indian ballet type dance form (8)
16. Male voice of the lowest range (4)
17. Egyptian sun-god (2)
18. Even more affectionately 13 Across (4)
20. Teetotaler (2)
21. Short ultimatum (3)
23. Identification strip or flap (3)
24. Denotes hard imprisonment in a Sri Lankan court verdict (2)
25. Arrive at a destination (5)
26. Lengthen (8)
29. Express surprise or triumph (2)
30. An essential member in an Indian classical dance performance apart from the instrumentalists and the nattuvanar (6)
31. Member of Parliament (2)
33. Denotes an alternative (2)
34. A male pig reared for meat or a greedy person (3)
35. Indian headgear that caused a controversy in England (6)
37. Paintings mostly for the walls (6)
38. Communication organisation in the UK, briefly (2)
39. Imitate (3)
42. Popular reference to the Paris and Montreal underground systems (3)
43. — Law, an American TV programme (2)
44. South Indian town known for its

great temple with the world's largest corridor (10)

Down:

1. North Indian city famed for its temples and architecture (12)
2. An ambassador officially will be addressed with this salutation, briefly (2)
3. The first mortal to set foot on another celestial body (9)
4. Extremely hot (8)
5. Three great composers of the classical carnatic musical traditions hailed from this South Indian riverside hamlet and is the venue of an annual music festival (10)
6. Himalayan Hindu state (5)
7. — Simbel, Egyptian village known for the Temples of Rameses II now submerged by the waters of Lake Nasser (3)
8. A period of time familiar to all school children in particular (4)
9. Morning perhaps (2)
10. This epic certainly could be claimed as the longest single poem in the world – 100,000 stanzas of a story that evolved over centuries (12)
15. An international air transport organisation, briefly (4)
19. Manly and virile (5)
22. Automatic vibrator that makes or breaks an electric circuit (8)
27. Oil in reverse (3)
28. Arrangements or styles in dress (6)
32. A great favourite with the Italians (5)
36. A Vishnu avatar and the hero in a great epic (4)
38. Bachelor of Laws in India (2)
40. Dad affectionately (2)
41. Printer's measure (2)

Continued from page 22

identify and arrest the remaining accused, leading to filing of the charge-sheet in court.

In a brief statement on the events, Mr. Chavan justified the decision not to storm the house where Sivarasan and his accomplices were hiding. Storming of hideouts in the past had resulted in even minor LTTE functionaries committing suicide. The effort was to capture Sivarasan and others alive, and to ensure this the entire area was encircled and guarded by plainclothesmen on Monday. Commandos of the National Security Guard were positioned strategically.

The NSG commandos returned fire after unprovoked and indiscriminate firing from inside the hideout at 7pm that day. The firing continued for about 30 minutes, resulting in injuries to an NSG man and two Karnataka police personnel. Two militants came out in an apparent bid to escape but quickly retreated, and at about 8pm seven or eight rounds were fired by the militants for half a minute.

The hideout was stormed at about

6.30am the next day after additional reinforcements and a medical team with antidote for cyanide poison had arrived from Delhi. The NSG commandos, who blasted the door and entered the house, found the bodies of seven militants.

The siege at the Konanakunte hideout followed the August 17 raids at Muthathi and Beeroot villages of Mandya district in Karnataka. In the raids, held following a tip-off that some militants were hiding there, 12 LTTE cadres committed suicide and five were arrested. They were admitted to hospital in Bangalore.

Investigations indicated that one Anjanappa of Puttenahalli had helped the LTTE militants find houses at Muthathi and Beeroot. A diary containing the names of 26 militants was also found at Muthathi. This led to the arrest of one Ranganath and he gave information about the Konanakunte house arranged by him for six militants.

The *denouement* began on Sunday night, with the city police and the SIT surrounding the house and keeping vigil. Simultaneously, one Prem

Kumar was arrested at Konanakunte Crossing. He had been supplying food to the militants holed up in the house. Enquiries revealed that among the militants were Sivarasan and 'perhaps Subha.' The vigil continued throughout the next day, and the evening saw the beginning of the last 'act' with exchange of fire.

Continued from page 18

help in keeping Switzerland's 60,000 Tamil refugees in line. A Sri Lankan refugee died in a stabbing incident in Zurich in June resulting from attempts at enforced raising of funds for the 'movement'.

There is a growing backlash against Tamils in Switzerland who have become a symbol of the new wave of Third World refugees, most of whom are regarded as 'economic migrants'. There have been 25 firebomb attacks by right-wing groups this year on refugee hostels, many of them Tamil houses.

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MATRIMONIAL

Jaffna Hindu parents residing Norway seek attractive homely partners for qualified sons aged 32 and 28, in permanent employment, Norwegian citizenship. M 518 c/o Tamil Times.

Brother seeks Christian partner for Tamil sister, 36, pleasant, friendly, employed in Sri Lanka, willing to migrate. M 519 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu male, 48, American citizen, innocent divorcee without encumbrances, house owner, in U.K. till October first, seeks fair partner, 30 - 45, widows, divorcees considered. Send photograph. M 520 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parents seek suitably qualified partner with stable job and good family background for their attractive graduate daughter, 25, Australian permanent resident working in Sydney. Send details including horoscope. Confidentiality assured. M 521 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parents seek bride for son, 29, British citizen in good employment, owns house, religion immaterial. Reply with details. M 522 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parents of good standing, permanently settled U.K. seek attractive, accomplished bride for son, late twenties, doing business in his own premises. M 523 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parent seeks professionally qualified groom for daughter, 33, fair, 5'6", in London. Send details, horoscope. M 524 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu seeks partner for his brother, 32, civil servant, house owner, resident U.K. 8 years. M 525 c/o Tamil Times.

ENGAGEMENT

Anantham-Karunairajan

The engagement of **Abraham Komahan Anantham** son of the late J.S.S. Anantham and **Isabella Anantham** of Kopay and **Marylou Gowrikumari Karunairajan**, daughter of **Sarojini and Richards Karunairajan** of Sithankerny, Sri Lanka took place at Kenley, Surrey, United Kingdom on 24 August 1991.

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent wedding.

Darshan son of Mr. & Mrs. K. Alagaratham of St. Albans, Herts, U.K. and **Chrisa** daughter of Dr. & Mrs. K. Sathananthan of 15 Rosewalk, Purley, Surrey on 27.7.91 at the Baptist Church, Purley.

Dr. Nimal Nitchingham son of Mr. & Mrs. V.W. Nitchingham of 11A Lorong Timor, Petaling Jaya 46000, Malaysia and **Ranjini** daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Selvam Thambimuttu of 41 Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Penang 10350, Malaysia on August 24 in Penang.

Niranjali daughter of Dr. & Dr. Mrs. V. Rajeswaran of 8 Buckingham Drive, Chislehurst, Kent, U.K. and **Pradeepkumar** son of Mr. & Mrs. L. Dandiker of Cheltenham, U.K. on 25.8.91 at Great Hall, Bromley Civic Centre, Kent, U.K.

Prema daughter of Mr. & Mrs. P. Vallipuram of 34 Hemsley Avenue, Serangoon Gardens, Singapore and **Kuhanandan** son of the late Mr. & Mrs. M. Thananayagam of Chunnakam, Sri Lanka on 31.8.91 at Kalamandapam, Brickfields, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

OBITUARIES

Kanagarajah - Herbert Rasiah, beloved husband of **Pearl Selvaranee** (nee Sanders); father of **Dhayanthi**, **Vasanthi** (Melbourne, Australia); **Mohan** and **Suhanthi** (London, U.K.); father-in-law of **Devakumar Devasagayam** (Melbourne, Australia); grandfather of **Rebecca**; beloved son of the late Mr. & Mrs. S.K. Rasiah (Tellipallai, Sri Lanka); brother of **Selvaranee**, **Amirtharane**, **Thevaranee** (London, U.K.) and the late **Selvarajah** passed away peacefully at his home in Melbourne, Australia on 25th July 1991. Sadly missed by all his loved ones and friends. - 31 Donald Street, Blackburn South, Victoria 3130, Australia. Tel: 03 894 3366.



Mrs. Sunthara Luxshmi Sri Pathma wife of the late **Suntharampillai Sri Pathma**, formerly General Manager, Ceylon Ceramics Corporation; mother of **Kumar Sri Pathma** (Sydney) and **Raj Sri Pathma** (U.K.); mother-in-law of **Manjula** and **Bhama** and grand mother of **Rishyan**, **Vishala** and **Vibushan** passed away in Sydney on 1.8.91 - 49 Buxton Drive, New Malden, Surrey KT3 3UX, U.K. Tel: 081 949 2053.

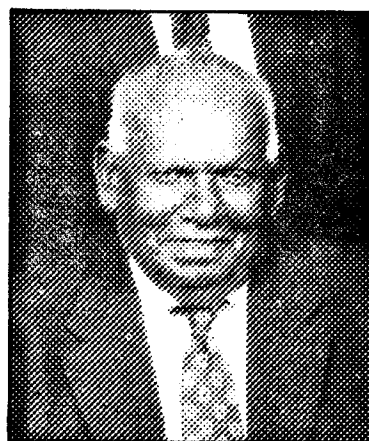


Kanagasabai Ganakenthiran (45) popularly known as **Andrew Gannon**, beloved son of Mr. & Mrs. C. Kanagasabai of Varikkalladi

Chunnakam, Sri Lanka; brother of **Manicken-thiran** and Mrs. **Indradevi Somasundram** passed away in **Bounds Green, London** on 19.8.91. The members of his family sincerely thank all friends and relatives who condoled with them, sent messages of sympathy and floral tributes attended the funeral and assisted in several ways. They regret their inability to thank them individually. - 10 Kendor Avenue, Epsom, Surrey KT19 8RH Tel: 03727 23918.

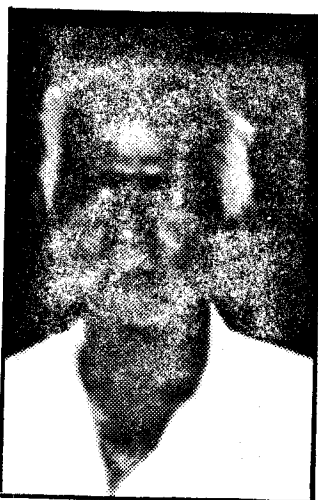


Mrs. Yogamany Kandiah (63) beloved wife of **S. Kandiah**, formerly of Dept. of Local Govt., Water Supply & Drainage, Sri Lanka; **Lusaka City Council, Zambia**; **Gaborone City Council, Botswana**; mother of **Chandrakumaran** (Canada), **Mrs. Chandrakumary Rajasooriyar** (Bury, U.K.), **Chandrasekaran** (U.K.), **Mrs. Chandramalar Wigneswaran** (Canada), **Mrs. Chandrakanthi Sivasekaram** (Canada), **Chandramohan** (Canada) and **Mrs. Chandrakala Pathmanandavel** (Australia); mother-in-law of **Usha**, **Rajasooriyar**, **Shanthini**, **Wigneswaran**, **Sivasekaram**, **Mirunalini** and **Pathmanandavel**; sister of the late **Yogar-atnam** (Survey Dept.) and **Yogarajah** (Dept. of Buildings, Sri Lanka) passed away on 2.9.91 in Epsom, U.K. and was cremated on 7th September - 49 Courtlands Drive, Ewell, Epsom, Surrey KT19 0HN Tel: 081 393 5420.



Kanapathipillai Culanthaivelu Praesooddy (85), former Superintendent of Excise, Sri Lanka; husband of the late **Thevayogam nee Kovindapillai**; beloved father of **Mrs. Sita Kandasamy** (U.K.) and the late **Nagendra and Rajah**; beloved grand father of **Chevanthy**, **Senturan** and **Harishankar**; brother of **K.C. Gananathan** (Retired Superintendent of Prisons, Sri Lanka), and the late **Sivagadacham**, **Sathasivam**, **Mrs. Rasamanickam Thamootheram**, **Mrs. Pathmanayaki Subramaniam** and **Mrs. Kanthymathy Sathasivampillai** passed away on 7.9.91 and was cremated on 14.9.91 - 111 Fishponds Road, London SW17 7LL. Tel: 081 767 2005.

Mrs. Annammah Kanapathipillai of Urumpirai, Sri Lanka, widow of the late V. Kanapathipillai (Retired Surveyor, F.M.S.); beloved mother of Sitsapesan (Retired Engineer, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Zambia), Dr. Yoheswaran (Surgeon, Jayawardeneperu Hospital, Colombo) and Mrs. Kamaladevi Nithiananthan; beloved mother-in-law of Sivagamasunthary, Rohini and Dr. K. Nithiananthan (Dental Surgeon); beloved grandmother of Manoharan, Savithri (both of London), Mrs. Sharmini Poulin (Cairo), Mrs. Anoji Satyendra, Dilani (both of Sri Lanka), Devanandan (Kuwait), Mrs. Chitrangani Vigneswaran (U.S.A.) and Ashokanandan (Australia); loving great grand mother of Holly, Alexander, Jessica, Viren and Krisanthi passed away peacefully on 22.8.91 at her son Dr. Yoheswaran's residence in Colombo and was cremated according Hindu rites on 24th August at Kanatte Cemetery, Colombo. - 6 Cambria Lodge, 2C Oakhill Road, London SW15 2QU. Tel: 081 870 1072.



V.S. Thirunavukkarasu (67), of Uyarapulam, Annaicoddai, Sri Lanka; Proprietor, Sri Vinayaga Stores, Gampola; beloved husband of Kanagaletchumi; father of Mrs. Bhuvanewari Mahendra, Sri Ram (both of Sri Lanka), the late Sri Kanthan, Mrs. Naguleswary Rajayogan (U.K.) and Sri Tharan (Sri Lanka); father-in-law of the late Mahendra, Mrs. Kalavalli Sri Ram, Rajayogan and Mrs. Devarani Sri Tharan; grand father of Sri Ganesh, Renuka, Sujanthini, Shayanthan and Tharmini passed away on 10.9.91 in Gampola, Sri Lanka. - 15 Hampton Road, Croydon CR0 2XJ, U.K. Tel: 081 689 4598.

father-in-law of V. Sivagnanapiragasam (Australia) and late Mrs. Santhini Tharmakulasingham (Kopay) and much loved grand father of Sharanyaa (Australia) passed away peacefully on 27th August and was cremated in Kaithady, Sri Lanka on 28th August 1991 - 11/22 Doomben Ave., Eastwood, N.S.W. 2122, Australia. Tel: (02) 874 2312.



Mrs. Maheswary Sivarajah, beloved wife of the late Mr. K. Sivarajah of Illavai, Retired Principal, Yarlton College, Karainagar, Sri Lanka; mother of Dr.(Mrs.) Sarathadevi Sivagnanavel, Gopalan, Ragupalan (all of London), Mrs. Shakuntala Kumarasingham (Dehiwela, Sri Lanka) & Jayapalan (Wellington, New Zealand) passed away in London in the presence of all her children on 25.8.91 and was cremated on 1st September. - 282 Coombe Lane, London SW20.



Sinnathamby Sinnathurai (87), (Pariyariar, Thambachetty, Pt. Pedro); beloved husband of Luximpillai; father of Karunanantham (Colliers Wood), Mrs. Karuneswari Ratnasingham (Wimbledon), Mrs. Indrani Velautham (New Malden), Sarvanandam (Morden), Sathanandam (Wimbledon) and Satchithanandam (Alvai, Sri Lanka); father-in-law of Rajalaxmi, A.T.S. Ratnasingham, A.T.S. Velautham, Sashikala, Helen & Rajini passed away in London on 1st September and was cremated on 8.9.91 - 178 Queens Road, Wimbledon, London SW19, Tel: 081 946 1140.



Mrs. Sushila Jayaratnam, (Retired English Teacher, Sri Vigneshwara Vidyalaya, Jaffna), beloved wife of Mr. A.V. Jayaratnam (serving with the Government of Botswana); daughter of the late Mr. J.A. Thambyayah (Retired Head Master, M.M. School, Averangal, Sri Lanka) and the late Mrs. L.R. Thambyayah (Retired Teacher, M.M. School, Averangal); mother of Kalyani, Tharani and Sumanthini (all of Madras, India); sister of Kamala (Madras) and Indra (Montreal, Canada); daughter-in-law of the late Mr. T.B. Alagiah (Irrigation Engineer) and Mrs. S.R. Alagiah (Vancouver, Canada) passed away in Madras on 14.7.91 and was cremated in Madras on 15th. - 84/2 Mc Nicola's Road, Chetpet, Madras 31, India & P.O. Box 174, Gaborone, Botswana.

M.A. Thambialayah, Proprietor of Luxmy Stores, Kaduruwella, Polonnaruwa and Siva Rice Mills, Navatkuli, Kaithady; beloved husband of Rasaladchurny; father of Mrs. Raji Sivagnanapiragasam (Australia), Tharmakulasingham (Switzerland), Kumarakulasingham (France), and Aklakulasingham (U.K.), Kuganthi and Sivatharshini (both of Sri Lanka);

IN MEMORIAM

In loving memory of our beloved Dad.

T.J. Rajaratnam

(Retired High Court Judge)

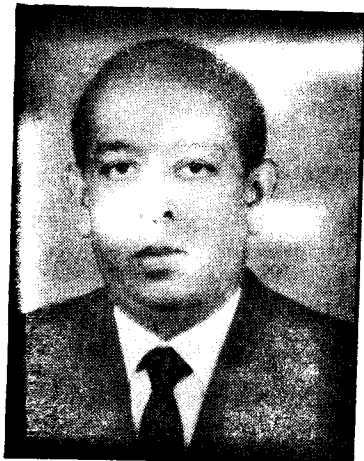
Born 23-1-1919



Called to Rest 15-9-1981.

To love and then to part
Is the greatest sorrow of one's heart
The tears in our lives we wipe away
But the pain in our hearts Dad
Will always stay
Love and miss you more each day.

Sadly missed and lovingly remembered by
your wife Arul, Children Rohini, Renuka,
Rajiv, Sons-in-law Vijayan, Sriharan, Grand
Children Vasi, Ravi Prathi, Jayanthi and Ajit.



Reggie Hunt (61) beloved husband of Angie; loving father of Debbie and Rennie; brother of Leslie (Australia) and Winnie (Sri Lanka) passed away in Jaffna on 9.9.91 - 145 Milton Road, London E6 2NS. Tel: 081 471 1173.

3rd ANNIVERSARY



Chelliah Kanthasamy (Telecommunication Engineer) of Kaddudai, Manipay, who passed away on 11.9.1988.

Our hearts still ache with sadness
Our eyes still fill with tears
We never cease to love you
Remembering you is easy
We do that every day
It's the emptiness without you,
That never goes away
Thanks for all those happy years.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by your everloving wife Pushparani; Children Ranjini, Ranjan, Mohan and Raji; Sons-in-law Nadesan and Ravi-Indran; Daughters-in-law Rajarajeswari and Ranjini; Brother Karthigesan; Sisters Ponnimalar and Kanthimathy; Grand Children Kishanthan, Arun, Ramesh, Rangan and Lakshmi; Nieces and Nephews - 58 Magowar Road, Girraween, NSW 2145, Australia.



Rukmani Coomaraswamy
Departed : 20 September 1990.

Fondly remembered on this First Anniversary of Her union with God by her children and grand-children.

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, Pushpa Somaskanthan, Puvanam, Mahendra, Dr. Vijendra, Pathma and Dr. Sivendran; mother-in-law of the late Alfred Duraiyappah, Somaskanthan, Dr. Pathmanathan, Usha, Shamala, Wimal Sockanathan and Indrakanthie; beloved grand-mother of Rochana (Esha) and David of Perth, Australia, Yoshana (Jo) and Raj of Florida, Priya, Cumaresan, Narendran. Lavanya, Sowjana, Sujana and Subajan - 767B London Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey. Tel: 081 689 7503.



In ever loving memory of **Vathsaladevi** on the first anniversary of her passing away on 9.9.90.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by her grieving parents Mr. and Mrs. Ponnudurai, brothers and sisters Nageswary Thirunabukkarasu, Kalyanasundram, Kamaladevi Tharmalingam, Balasundrampillai, Vimaladevi Vijayakumar, Nirmaladevi, Vimalendran, Balendran, Yogendran, Raveendran and Puvanendran. - 21 Coverton Road, London SW17 0QW. Tel: 081 672 5111.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Sept. 29 7.00pm Jaffna College Alumni U.K. Association Annual Dinner & Dance at Lola Jones Hall, Greaves Place off Garratt Lane, London SW17. Tel. 0707 52819, 081 599 8162/942 6643.

Oct. 5 9.00am to 5.00pm Seminar on the Denial of Self Determination by Minority Peoples at Longsight Community Hall, Longsight Library Buildings, Stockport Road, Manchester.

Oct. 5 7.00pm Natha Vidyalaya presents Sangeetha Vidwan Smt. Kalaivani Indrakumar with her Sishyas Selvikal Janani & Jayavani Atchuthan at a Violin Recital at Baden Powell Hall, Queens Gate, London SW7. Tel: 081 200 7350/968 7816.

Oct. 6 3.30pm Novena at Asian Chaplaincy, 48 Gt. Peter Street, London SW1P 2HA. Tel: 071 222 2895.

Oct. 7 Ammavasai.

Oct. 8 Navarattiri Festival - First Day.

Oct. 12. 6.00pm Union College O.S.A. A.G.M., Cultural Show, Dinner & Dance at Acton High School Hall, Gunnersbury Lane, Acton, London W3. Tel: 081 647 2993/672 6261.

Oct. 12. Purattasi Sani 4th and last week.

Oct. 16 Navarattiri Festival 9th day - Saraswathy Poojah.

Oct. 17 Vijaya Dhasami - Vidhyarambam for new starters.

Oct. 20 6.00pm Mrs. Subathra Sivadasan presents 'Adhi Parasakthi', a programme of Bharatha Natyam by her students in aid of Sangarathai Pathirakali Amman Temple at Assembly Rooms, Maple Road, Surbiton, Surrey. Tel: 081 843 0780/949 7376.

Oct. 23 Full Moon.

Oct. 27 2.30pm Kala Chethena Kathakali Troupe presents Mohiniattam Dance by Kalamandalam Leelamma at Commonwealth Institute, London W8. Tel: 071 602 0702. Admission Free.

At the Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. Tel: 071 381 3086/4068.

Oct. 2 6.00pm Gandhi Jayanthi Celebrations. All Welcome.

Oct. 5 7.00pm Kathak by Meera Batra.

Oct. 12 7.00pm Bharatha Natyam by Vena Gheerawo.

Oct. 20 6.30pm Kathak by Sushmita Banerjee.

Oct. 23 & 24 7.30pm Katha - Kirtan Spiritual Discourse by Sant Keshavdasji.

Inaugural Meeting & Complimentary Dinner

The inaugural meeting of the Skantha Varodaya College Old Students' Association, Canada Branch and a complimentary dinner to the former principal, Mr. C. Subramaniam and Mrs. Subramaniam will be held on Saturday, 28th September 1991 at 6.00pm at the Don Mills Middle School Hall, North York, Toronto.

The Chief Speakers will be Messrs. T. Manicavasagar, Retired Director of Education; V. Ponnampalam, Retired Teacher and S. Kanagasabapathy, Retired Principal, Mahajana College, Tellipallai.



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Chandran is the son of the late Mr. A.A. Rajaratnam of Calgary and the late Dr. Mrs. Nages Rajaratnam who was Professor of Education at the University of British Columbia.

Jaffna Central Vs St. Johns in Canada

The 3rd Annual Cricket Match between the Old Centralites and Old Johnnies was played on 17.8.91 on Eglinton Flats Cricket Grounds, Toronto, commencing at 12.30pm.

The Old Centralites batting first scored 131 runs for 9 wickets in 40 overs, Jayakumar top scoring with 43 runs. In reply the Old Johnnies scored 27 runs for 1 wicket in 11 overs when a torrential downpour interrupted play. The match was declared a draw.

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