

Tamil **TIMES**

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

— Voltaire

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Military Offensive in Northern Sri Lanka



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SLFP MUST RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGE

In the absence of any other tangible move towards a political process the appointment and deliberations of the All-Party Parliamentary Select Committee (PSC) with terms of reference to resolve the ethnic conflict provided the only ray of hope. Many political parties, concerned institutions and individuals submitted proposals to the PSC except for three organisations which, by reason of the position they occupy, the power and influence they exercise, have a decisive say in the affairs of the country did not respond. Neither the ruling United National Party (UNP) of which President Premadasa is the leader, nor the main opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) submit any proposals in spite of the fact they were represented and participated in the proceedings of the PSC. The LTTE also failed to put forward any proposals although it was requested to do so, but had invited the PSC to visit Jaffna to discuss matters.

The SLFP, by its shortsighted and ill-considered boycott has virtually placed the work of the PSC in serious jeopardy. While it is recognised that the government has arbitrarily denied the opportunity of debating in parliament matters of major public importance such as the Udugampola revelations, the Auditor General's Report on the financial misdemeanours in the Central Bank and the Report of the Commissioner of Elections, for the SLFP leadership to boycott the sittings of the PSC on that score only reveals its congenital incapacity to rise above the parochial party level in an endeavour to seek a resolution of a grave national problem.

It looks as if the SLFP has been bounced into the decision to boycott the PSC by extreme communal elements of the 'Jathika Chinthanaya' variety as represented by the 'Hela Urumaya' faction which claims to have a substantial following in the SLFP parliamentary party. It would seem that this faction takes the view that the SLFP should project to the public the image that the party is there to safeguard 'Sinhala-Buddhist interests' before trying to find a national consensus on the ethnic issue.

Plagued by a much publicised perennial problem of personality feuds at leadership level, the SLFP has not only failed to contain these extreme elements within it, but also displayed remarkable incompetence and ineptitude in performing its expected role of providing an effective opposition to the government. Having made an inglorious contribution, while in power and out of power, to the genesis and escalation of the ethnic conflict in the island, one would have thought that the leadership of the SLFP

would have learnt some bitter lessons to avoid the blunders of the past and to contribute to a national effort to bring about a rational and meaningful resolution to the conflict.

Not only has the SLFP in the past tried to sabotage every effort to resolve the problem by negotiations; it has never had a settled policy on the ethnic issue. The only policy it seems to have in this regard is to oppose any moves in the direction of a settlement. Against this background, it is the height of political impertinence and downright hypocrisy for its General Secretary, Mr. Dharmasiri Senanayake to say that 'if the government could not provide a solution to the ethnic conflict, it should resign and face elections'. ('The Island', 4 June 1992).

On the contrary, President Premadasa in a recent speech is reported to have said that 'he was prepared to make a public declaration conferring all honour and credit on the opposition for resolving the north-east conflict if the Opposition joined hands to make a joint search for a settlement to the current crisis' and that 'the government did not want any credit for resolving this. It will be given in writing that the Opposition deserved all credit for evolving a solution to the north-east problem. Opposition parties can share the honour and credit among themselves.' ('The Island', 1 June 1992).

It is a publicly known fact that for electoral purposes both the UNP and the SLFP have been using the ethnic issue as a political football each trying to outbid the other as champions of the 'Sinhala-Buddhist' cause. But the fact is also that for the last fifteen years, the SLFP has failed to increase its support base or its vote-bank at election time, and the UNP has been returned to power again and again. It also must realise that it has deprived itself of any support among the Tamil and the Muslim population because of its lack of a sensible and balanced policy on the ethnic issue. And in the proportional voting system that prevails in Sri Lanka, support from that segment of the population can make all the difference between returning to power and remaining in the opposition forever.

Now that the President has in effect challenged the Opposition to offer an opportunity to take the task of solving the ethnic problem above party politics, it is time for the SLFP leadership to accept that challenge, abandon the role it has played hitherto of sabotaging every effort that is made to bring an end to the conflict, and put President Premadasa to the test by engaging in a joint endeavour to arrive at a lasting solution.

Military Offensive in Jaffna

Rita Sebastian from Colombo

What was initially described as a limited military operation to expand the 'forward defended locality' around the northern Pallaly airbase, has turned into what could be the final push to wrest control of the peninsula from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Given the change in the military command structure, with the Joint Operations Command (JOC) virtually assigned a backseat, and the three service commanders given free rein to plan out battle strategy, the two operations in Mullaitivu and the peninsula came as no surprise.

It was not just a divided army that put the northern operation on hold, but the hard fact that it lacked the men and the material for the final thrust. There is also a tremendous financial constraint in spite of the increased defence levy of 3 percent. Added to it has been the indecision at the top whether the military option should be pursued.

Industries Minister, Ranil Wickremesinghe's recent statement that the military exercise would continue side by side with the Parliamentary Select Committee deliberations to find a consensus solution to the current conflict, was only reinforcing what assassinated former defence deputy Ranjan Wijeratne kept repeating. The battle against the Tigers he maintained had to be pursued on two fronts, the military and the political. Giving weight to the same thinking was John Amaraturunge acting State Minister of Defence whose reported address to military officers at the Pallaly army camp last week indicated that government would first 'use maximum force to totally annihilate Tiger strength. After completely wiping out the menace in that manner the government would try to seek a political solution to the problem', he said.

The Tigers have covered themselves with an aura of invincibility. An aura they substantiate with the claim to have taken on the world's fourth largest army (the Indian Peace Keeping Force). It is a debatable claim in the context of the Indian army's mandate of not 'annihilating the Tigers' but only marginalising them to the extent that they would be forced to return to the negotiating table.

Then followed the peace dialogue between the government and the Tigers. Thirteen long months of a dialogue that yielded no results. And it was back to the battlefield again. Not

even President Ranasinghe Premadasa's oft repeated formula of 'consultation, compromise and consensus' has since been able to open lines of communication with the Tigers, but it is not for want of trying by either side.

The Tigers persist in their claim that it is the Premadasa government that has failed to respond to international mediation to resolve the conflict. The government on the other hand has used informal emissaries to try to work out some meeting point with the Tigers without success.

Government efforts have also had to contend with opposition in the south to any dialogue with the Tigers unless they lay down arms to prove their *bona fides* that they are committed to democratic politics. And there has also been the India factor.

The ban on the Tigers by India and Tiger leader Vellupillai Prabhakaran being accused of masterminding the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has further complicated the issue.

Political observers feel that the proscription of the Tigers is part of a diplomatic offensive by India to isolate President Premadasa and prevent any possible negotiations between the government and the Tigers.

Some political commentators have even alleged that India's determination to wreck any possibility of peace in the northeast is in the pursuit of its policy to marginalise the Tigers.

Yet all signals now point to the army advancing towards Jaffna. It is a war that the forces will have to fight on many fronts. The spate of ambushes in the eastern province in recent weeks that has claimed the lives of several soldiers has made it quite evident that the Tigers will resort to guerrilla attacks on security force battalions in the eastern province, northeastern Mannar and in certain areas of the Wanni to make it impossible for the army to draw out troops from these areas without straining the security of these areas. Although moving into Tellipalli, 4 miles from the Pallaly airbase has been a boost for army morale, it knows that it will have to fight every inch of the way given the Tiger capability of using landmines and anti-personnel mines to maximum effect.

Military officials claim that after the abandoned 'Operation Liberation' of May 1987, this is the first time they

have been able to re-capture some of the territory they succeeded in gaining control of at the time. But the question that arises is can the forces hold the area captured from the Tigers and at what cost. Already the casualty tally is over 50 soldiers killed and over 125 injured in the Mullaitivu and Jaffna operations. And if army claims are to be believed then over 250 Tigers have been killed as well, with no figures however of civilian casualties, victims of the crossfire syndrome.

In Mullaitivu the army has made substantial gains moving down the coast to Alampil to effectively block, according to the army, the movement of Tiger cadres between the north and the east.

And while the two warring sides are engaged in battle hundreds of civilians are once again being displaced from their homes and forced to seek refuge in relief centres. The tragedy of the people of the peninsula would be that this time round there is the possibility of India turning a blind eye to civilian casualties and western countries taking a cue from them.

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'Operation Whirlwind'

Govt's Massive Northern Assault

The Sri Lankan combined security force - army, navy and the airforce - launched their biggest ever military onslaught in the northern province commencing 28 May. Thousands of troops backed by heavy armour, artillery and fierce naval gunfire support moved against what was described as Tiger strongholds while helicopter gunships and attack aircraft strafed and bombed alleged Tiger bases along the sea coast and on land.

The military operations have resulted in a considerable number of civilian casualties, killed and injured, mainly in consequence of indiscriminate bombing and strafing from the air and shelling from land and sea. Tens of thousands of civilians have been displaced from their homes.

The offensive commenced against the backdrop of the Indian ban on the LTTE and framing of charges against 41 persons including the leader of the LTTE on charges in connection with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Reflecting the hardening of the Indian attitude against the LTTE, the High Commissioner of India described the ban as: 'a symbolic gesture with international ramifications', and added that: 'As far as India is concerned the presence of the LTTE directly or indirectly is totally undesirable'.

The day after the government's offensive operations began, the Sri Lankan Prime Minister who is also the Minister of Defence 'gave a categorical assurance that the government would end terrorism in the North and East within the next two months. The Opposition should know that a solution to such a complex problem could not be found by merely shouting in Parliament... the Opposition might wish to inquire from the government how it was going to end the war within the next two months. But the government was not prepared to divulge that secret until it implemented the plan'. From the scale of the military operations that the security forces were undertaking in the north, there was no doubt what the government's plan was.

To underscore the government's confidence in undertaking the military offensive, President Premadasa was in Vavuniya presiding over his Mobile Presidential Secretariat, meeting people and making speeches.

The three pronged operation code-named 'Operation Maruthe' (Operation Whirlwind) began at 6am on 28

May directed at Tiger positions in the northern Jaffna peninsula, in Mullaitivu in the northeast and in Mannar in the northwest. Military sources claimed that the scale and severity of the operations took the Tigers by complete surprise.

In the Jaffna peninsula, combined security forces launched a series of major attacks on Valvettiturai with unrelenting shell fire from naval gunboats and air strikes by bombers and helicopters. At the same time, troops broke out from their forward defence lines (FDL) at Palaly and started moving, backed by T-55 battle tanks, in the direction of Atchchuveli and Thondamannar as helicopter gunships and attack aircraft provided air cover, facing fierce resistance from Tiger cadres.

Air and naval operations were launched against 'Sea Tiger' bases at Madagal and Valvettiturai. As the troops moved towards Thondamannar amidst fierce resistance by LTTE cadres, the Tigers responded by blowing up the Thondamannar bridge fearing an army advance into Valvettiturai. It appeared that the aim of the forces was to move beyond Thondamannar towards Valvettiturai in an attempt to secure the northern coastline of the peninsula which was thwarted by the Tigers blowing up the Thondamannar bridge.

By 1 June, the troops were consolidating their position in the town of

Tellipalai which they captured from Tiger control on the previous day after fierce fighting. The Tigers reportedly retreated southwards to Mallakam three miles from Tellipalai.

The army also claimed that Sea Tiger bases, mine factories and a secret radar station were destroyed.

The Tigers struck back with an ambush in Vakaneri in which 29 soldiers were killed, and in another attack at Mantai six soldiers were killed.

In the northeastern Mullaitivu sector, several thousands of troops backed by T-55 tanks accompanied by sustained bombing and strafing moved to attack Tiger positions with the aim of capturing Alampil where, according to the military, the Tigers' logistics base was located, and that capture of Alampil would severely affect their supply lines. It is reported that the Tigers put up fierce resistance to protect their bases and in the ensuing battles there were heavy casualties on both sides. Alampil fell to the advancing troops on 3 June.

By 4 June an announcement was made that government forces had halted the first phase of the offensive operations to allow for the consolidation of the ground captured from the LTTE, with a further announcement that the second phase would commence in a day or two.

On the government side it was announced that 70 soldiers were killed, one missing in action and 110 wounded. There are no precise casualty figures on the LTTE side, although government sources claimed that at least 300 LTTE cadres were killed.

'India all out to Overthrow President Premadasa' - LTTE

The state-controlled *The Sunday Observer* of 24 May has given front-page headline publicity to a broadcast by Yogaratnam Yogi, one of the top leaders of the LTTE and General Secretary of the Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT), over the 'Voice of Tigers' in which he accused the Indian government of going all out to overthrow the government of President Premadasa.

In an address broadcast on 22 May, Yogi added that, after failing to bring down the Premadasa government through the UNP rebels like Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Disanayake, the Indian government was now using the ban on the Tamil Tigers to sabotage any possible talks between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE.

He also claimed that the Indian government was working closely with the Sri Lankan Freedom Party and financing a leading newspaper group in Sri Lanka to destabilise the Premadasa government.

Yogi is also reported to have said: 'The late Indira Gandhi's government earlier tried to remove the Tamil Nadu State Government led by M. Karunanidhi. The Central Government of India does not want any party opposing them to be in power. Its handling of the political situation in Tamil Nadu itself is a clear indication of the Indian attitude. Only those parties which bow down to the Central Government could remain in power in Tamil Nadu'.

Yogi is also reported to have claimed that the banning of the LTTE meant

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SLFP Boycotts Select Committee on Ethnic Issue

The Central Committee of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, in a statement issued on 21 May announced its decision to boycott the sittings of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the ethnic issue. The statement said: 'whilst strongly deploring the undemocratic and autocratic actions on the part of the government in denying debates on issues which are of the utmost concern to the people of the country, decided unanimously, in view of the stubborn refusal of the government to allow the Members of Parliament to exercise their right of debate in Parliament and thereby deny the people their right to know the true facts in regard to these matters, the Parliamentary Group of the SLFP would suspend participating in the meetings of the Select Committee on the ethnic issue until such time as the government changes its attitude of non-co-operation and confrontation with the opposition.'

The SLFP resolution identified the following matters as the ones on

which the government refused to allow MPs to debate:

(1) The Report of the Commissioner of Elections which deals with the many malpractices in the conduct of the general election in 1989;

(2) The revelations made by DIG Mr. Udugampola by way of affidavits which relate to the killings of large numbers of active members of the SLFP and their supporters during the presidential and general elections;

(3) The statement made in Parliament by the Prime Minister regarding the strictures passed by the Auditor General on the Governor of the Central Bank; and

(4) A no-confidence motion against the government, inter alia, incorporating the above matters.

Following the decision of the SLFP, except the Tamil parties represented in parliament, MPs of other opposition parties also have decided to boycott the Select Committee on the ethnic issue.

Tamil and Muslim Parties Condemn Boycott of Select Committee

Tamil and Muslim parties represented in parliament have disagreed with and condemned the decision of the SLFP and other opposition parties to boycott the sittings of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the ethnic issue because of their rift with the government on other issues.

These parties view the crisis between the government and the opposition parties in parliament as a distinct issue and therefore it should not be allowed to sabotage the working of the Select Committee which is supposed to deal with a national issue of grave importance.

The eight parties which called upon the SLFP to

withdraw its boycott are the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC), Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS), Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC).

An EPRLF spokesman, Mr. L. Ketheeswaran, said that the Tamil parties were in favour of all parties continuing to attend the Select Committee and that it was

vital to delink the issues of dispute in parliament from the affairs of the Committee. The opposition boycott would have serious implications even leading to the collapse of the Select Committee process. As long as the opposition persists in its irresponsible course of action, the Select Committee exercise would be in danger of being thwarted. He said that the Tamil parties were urging the SLFP and other opposition parties to rescind their decision to boycott, and continue to participate in the Committee's proceedings so that the bloodshed in the northeast could be brought to an end.

The leader of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress appealing to the SLFP to reconsider their stand and to show a more responsible attitude to the select committee process, said that the destiny of the people of the north and east should not be made hostage for political expediencies. He said that top priority should be given to find an early solution to the ethnic issue and that every other issue must be treated secondary to the primary issue which was before the Select Committee.

Jaffna District MP, Suresh K. Premachandran said that the SLFP's boycott of the PSC would further nullify the chances of finding a political solution to the ethnic question. The Tamils would never accept this attitude of the SLFP, whatever the causes it gave to justify the boycott.

'The SLFP's decision to continue the boycott will make the minority races lose confidence in the SLFP. Furthermore the ruling United National Party (UNP) can delay submit-

ting its proposals on the basis of not getting anything constructive from the Opposition. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) will also justify their stand that the main national parties are not interested in finding a political solution to the ethnic crisis', Mr. Premachandran said.

The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) spokesman N. Srikantha said that the SLFP being the major political party, should realise that it has a significant role to play in the resolution of the ethnic crisis.

'This is not the time to engage in petty political stunts. We are very disappointed with the SLFP's intransigence in pulling out of the select committee. This conduct indirectly helps the LTTE to justify the war being waged by it. We expect the SLFP to rise to the occasion and join hands with all democratic forces in finding a solution to the ethnic crisis and thereby deprive the LTTE of its political weapon', Mr. Srikantha said.

Mr. Mavai Senathiraja, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) MP for Jaffna District said that the SLFP boycott of the PSC was not a very healthy action in finding a meaningful solution to the ethnic crisis. The boycott may lead to creating an impression among the Tamils that the majority community is not willing to arrive at a solution to the ethnic problem. 'The SLFP must realise its national political responsibility in reaching a solution through the overall participation in the Parliamentary Select Committee', Mr. Senathiraja added.

Shells Fired at Temple, 23 Worshippers Killed

At least 23 Tamil civilians were killed and 30 others injured on 18 May while they had congregated at the Vathappali Kannagi Amman Hindu temple in Mul-

lattivu when four shells fired from an army camp situated about two miles from the temple hit the crowd of worshippers who had gathered at the temple

for the annual festival. One of the dead was identified as a driver of a Red Cross vehicle.

The army's explanation that they fired the shells following information they received about the gathering of some 200 Tiger cadres in the vicinity of the temple was dismissed by local residents as ridiculous and unacceptable.

Following protests and representations, the government has appointed a committee of inquiry to carry out an investigation into the incident.

The Trustees and Priests of the temple and other leading citizens of the area have prepared a memorandum for submission to the Committee of Inquiry. The memorandum states:

The Pongal festival has been held annually since the inception of the temple, and despite the disturbed situation that prevailed in the area, a large number of

devotees participated in this festival in 1990 and 1991.

Before this year's festival, the security forces were informed through the Government Agent of Mullaitivu that a large number of devotees were expected to congregate at the temple on 18th May. This information was confirmed again through the Mullaitivu Red Cross and its Headquarters in Colombo. In spite of this, by about 12.30pm, three shells fell on the north-western side of the temple where there were a large number of devotees. The devotees got into a panic over this and as the volunteers were busy trying to calm them and bring some order, a fourth shell fired from the Mullaitivu direction fell at a place where there were a large number of devotees, killing over ten on the spot. The injured were taken to various hospitals, and up to 25 May, 23 people had died.

Criminal Prosecutions Against Editors

The Editor of the 'Aththa' newspaper Lokubanda Wanigasekera and its publisher Walwita A. Daharmadasa have been indicted by the Attorney General on two counts under Emergency Regulations with causing hostility, ill-will and contempt of the Government of Sri Lanka under article 26 of the Emergency Regulations by publishing the statement of DIG Premadasa Udugampola on 8 April. The court allowed certified bail in Rs. 5,000 each and fixed further hearings for 31 July.

The Attorney General has also filed indictments against Mr. Udugampola both under the Emergency Regulations and section 120 of the Penal Code for inciting feelings of disaffection among the people of Sri Lanka and these charges are based on affidavits and statements made by him alleging that government sponsored 'Black Cats' were responsible for the murder

and attempted murder of several persons including members of the SLFP.

The Attorney General has filed criminal prosecution against W.M. Sunanda Deshapriya, editor of the Sinhala language weekly, 'Yukthiya', published by the MIRJE, under section 480 of the Penal Code in respect of a publication in its issue of 12 April purporting to be an affidavit from DIG Udugampola in which allegations had been made damaging the reputation of the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Ernest Perera.

Mr. Udugampola had said that Mr. M.A. Haniffa had allegedly obtained Rs. 500,000 from a Colombo bank to give a bribe to the IGP, and that the IGP had personally interfered in an investigation concerning the discovery of explosives at an organisation called Noorjeen Hadjar and Company of which Mr. Haniffa was a senior executive.

'No Direct Talks with Tigers'

The government of Sri Lanka would not have direct talks with the LTTE, but its decision not to ban the LTTE was to give it the opportunity to appear before the Parliamentary Select Committee on the ethnic issue, the government controlled 'The Sunday Observer' (24 May) reported quoting 'a Government top official'.

The official is reported to have said that the government would not have discussions with the Tamil Tigers at present because the Select Committee was sitting and the LTTE should make its representations to that Committee. That was

because the government wanted to solve this problem by consensus. If the government had direct talks with the LTTE, then the Select Committee might feel that the government was going over the head of the Select Committee.

The government wanted the LTTE to go before the Select Committee so that any decision would have the consensus of all the parties in Parliament. The reason for the government having not banned the LTTE was because the LTTE could have used the ban as an excuse not to submit its proposals to or go before the Select Committee.

Tamil Broadcaster Shot at in Toronto

Toronto - The Canadian police have launched a massive manhunt for two persons identified as Asokan and Paramanathan in connection with an attempt to shoot down a Tamil broadcaster on the night of 25 May.

The broadcaster identified as K. Sivasothy alias Elliya Bharthy was reportedly shot at by two gunmen, with alleged connections with the LTTE in Toronto, who stormed his residence after he reportedly refused to broadcast one of their advertisements ab-

out a film.

The victim, a native of Karainagar in northern Sri Lanka was an employee of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation before he went to Toronto in Canada. Bharthy was doing a one-hour radio programme titled 'Sangam' for a private radio station located in Toronto. Apparently the organisation to which the gunmen belonged were angered by Bharthy's refusal to announce their advertisement even after threats were made against him and his wife.

Swiss National in Custody for Arms Smuggling

A Swiss national who had allegedly smuggled a container load of new automatic weapons, ammunition, detonators and other items into Sri Lanka was taken into custody when officers from the Bureau of Special Operations raided a house at Ekala in the Ja-Ela area on 7 May.

The Swiss, aged 40, is married to a Sri Lankan woman who is holding a top post in foreign bank operating in the island. The couple with three children had been living in Switzerland

for over 10 years before they arrived back in the country in 1990. It was also revealed that the woman is of mixed parentage, the mother who is a Tamil lives in Switzerland, and the father who is now dead was a Sinhalese.

According to police sources, the weapons which include 18 types of automatic rifles, seven types of revolvers and pistols, over 50,000 rounds of ammunition including dum-dums which shatter on impact,

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ammunition containing chemicals, explosives, holsters, hand-cuffs, thumb-cuffs, manacles, walkie-talkies, telescopic sights for rifles, battery chargers, commando knives and other items had been smuggled in a container purporting to contain items which were to be used by the couple in building their house in Ekala. The container is reported to have been shipped into the island some time ago. However, the Director General of Customs, Lalith Heengama asserted that the smuggled cache of weapons and ammunition must have been brought into the country through an unauthorised route and certainly not through the normal channel. However, he was pursuing the records available and a special investigation has been launched since the suspect had told the BSO that the arms were consigned to him as personal goods.

The arrested man, who is now being held under a detention order under Emergency Regulations, has claimed that he is a former Customs Officer in Switzerland, but Interpol has contradicted this claim and stated that he had been employed by a private organisation at the airport. While the authorities are seeking the assistance of Interpol and the Swiss police to unravel the background of the man and his operations, police suspect him to be an agent of an

international arms syndicate.

The police also claimed that the suspect had many old scars on his body which are said to have been left by wounds received in 1976 when fighting in the Lebanese civil war. The suspect is said to have claimed that he fought on the side of the Christian militia as a volunteer and not as a mercenary. They also said that the suspect would have done a lot of firing during his stay in Kandana, judging by over 500 used cartridges recovered from a box in a house which he had been occupying before he shifted to his own house in Ekala.

The suspect had refused to eat any food from the day of his arrest on 7 May and kept it up until 18 May in spite of the urging from visiting ICRC members. Till the breaking of his fast with the eating of some, he had only liquids in the form of tea, coffee and soft drinks. He had told the police that he could survive on just liquids for up to 20 days.

Following these and other leads, police are probing the possibility of the man being in Sri Lanka on a mission not only to supply weapons, but also to provide training to some interested group.

A recent report indicated that two Customs officials are being questioned by detectives on the basis of the suspicion that the weapons were smuggled through customs.

Private Management of Tea Estates

The government has moved to allay the widespread fear based on the perception that it was engaged in privatising the ownership of tea estates through a process of handing over the management of the tea estates to private companies.

The Minister of Plantation Industries, Mr. Rupa Karunatileke recently spelt out the main features of the government proposals for the management of

state-owned plantations by 'management contractors for and on behalf of the government':

- ★ the full ownership of the 502 estates presently managed by the JEDB and the State Plantations Corporation will continue to be vested in the government;

- ★ four hundred and forty-nine out of the 502 estates will be regrouped into 22 independent regional management enterprises, each

consisting of 15 to 20 estates;

- ★ the 22 regional management enterprises will be fully owned and controlled by boards of directors appointed by the government; the estates will be leased out to these fully state-owned management enterprises;

- ★ 22 private sector companies with a proven track record of sound management have been chosen on the basis of competitive bids to manage these estates for and on behalf of the 22 regional enterprises;

- ★ all existing commitments with regard to land alienation will be honoured;

- ★ all staff and labour presently working in the estates and the regional

offices will become employees of the regional management enterprises, and no employees will be retrenched or made redundant;

- ★ all social welfare facilities such as creches, medical facilities and housing facilities will be made available without interruption;

- ★ recruitment and management policies will be determined by the regional management enterprises, and implementation will be by the management contractors; and

- ★ management contractors will be paid on a profit sharing basis. If regional management enterprises make losses, the management contractors will have to bear such losses.

Bomb Attack on Tamil Nadu TV Station

A bomb exploded on 24 May at a TV station in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu and leaflets praising the assassin of former premier Rajiv Gandhi were found at the site, according to a PTI report.

The bomb which exploded damaged a relay circuit at the station in Kumbakonam in Thanjavur district, but caused no casualties. Thanjavur district authorities had received anonymous letters warning of possible bomb attacks at government offices before the blast.

No claims of responsibility were made for the attack on the TV station,

but leaflets praising Dhanu, the woman suicide-bomber who killed Rajiv Gandhi last year at an election rally in Tamil Nadu, and leaders of the Tamil Tigers and denouncing Rajiv Gandhi as a 'vampire who sucked Tamil blood' were found scattered at the scene of the explosion.

Second Incident

At least two persons were killed and forty others injured when a bomb exploded in a bus travelling from Rajpalal to Vdar in the outskirts of Madurai. Police believe that it was the work of a terrorist group, but no one has claimed responsibility.

Liberals Against Banning of LTTE and JVP

If leading figures in the LTTE are responsible for the assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, as seems very likely, Sri Lanka should take all possible steps to apprehend such persons and extradite them to India for trial, states a press release by the Liberal Party.

The release adds that Liberals have always believed that banning of poli-

tical organisations, even those engaged in armed violence and committed to the politics of totalitarianism, such as the LTTE and the JVP does not serve any useful purpose. On the contrary, every effort should be made to encourage even those engaged in the politics of violence and intolerance to abandon such politics and enter into the liberal democratic process.

Family of Eight Killed in Reprisal

On April 1992, around 2pm, a group of army personnel accompanied by members of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO), an armed group working in conjunction with the military, reportedly killed deliberately all the members of the family of Thambimuttu Suppiah, his wife and five children, and a neighbour present in their house at Mandur, Batticaloa district.

The victims are:

Thambimuttu Suppiah.

P. Karunayamma - female.

Suppiah Kopalan.

Suppiah Saroja - female child.

Suppiah Sasikala - female child.

Suppiah Rajanayakam - child.

Suppiah Neela - child.

Vadivel - female.

The eight civilians were allegedly killed in reprisal for the killing earlier that day of two members of TELO by members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil

Eelam (LTTE), who had been lying in ambush near the house of the above family. Witnesses allege that other TELO members returned to the spot about one hour later after the killing of their two members, accompanied by army personnel, and entered the family's house. The witnesses said they heard shots. Later, the bodies of the victims were found with bullet wounds. It was also alleged that some of them had stab wounds. The bodies were taken to Batticaloa hospital, where a post mortem was carried out. The victims have since reportedly been buried.

Several newspapers, including *The Island* and the *Daily News*, carried articles the next day suggesting that seven civilians had been killed in a crossfire at Mandur, Batticaloa district.

Amnesty International is calling upon the government to establish a full and impartial investigation into this incident and to bring to justice those found responsible.

missioner, Mr. Sivagnanam said though an agreement could not be reached and they had to leave Colombo without taking oaths, their very presence there had strengthened the hand of the government which was in a difficult situation.

'Because we came to Colombo, President Premadasa was helped to win the impeachment battle. The government however was not ready to give us accommodation in Sravasti and we were virtually asked to leave Colombo,' he said.

Explaining as to how their presence in Colombo helped the government in the crisis Mr. Sivagnanam said when they came to Colombo, the government became confident it would have the necessary majority to defeat the impeachment motion. This, he said, prevented those vacillating UNP members from going against the government, which had secured the required majority with the presence of the new EROS members.

The impending entry of this EROS faction to Parliament and the meeting of three of its members with

the government sparked off a major controversy when other Tamil political parties alleged that this faction had strong links with the LTTE and that they had demanded an unconditional ceasefire as a prize for their vote in the impeachment crisis.

The government issued a statement on September 28 saying there was no truth in reports that the EROS members had demanded an unconditional ceasefire in exchange for their votes.

Meanwhile, officials at the Elections Commissioner's department said the six EROS nominees who were declared elected in September last year were now deemed to have lost their seats for failure to take oaths within the specified period.

They said no fresh nominations had been made by the EROS group.

The Colombo based EROS group, which has two sitting Members of Parliament, Cegu Dawood and N. Iyob, has disowned the EROS Faction aligned to the LTTE.

LTTE-EROS Wrangle over Re-entry into Parliament

Fresh moves by the EROS faction aligned to the LTTE to nominate nine members to fill the vacancies in Parliament are being stalled by the LTTE.

According to Velupillai Balakumar, leader of the EROS Jaffna faction and politbureau member of the LTTE, he had sought the approval of the LTTE hierarchy on two decisions taken by his party after the LTTE had demanded that any move by the EROS group based in Jaffna had to receive the consent of the Tigers.

The two requests made by the EROS - to send its renominated MPs to Colombo to take oaths to fill the Parliamentary vacancies and submit proposals before the Parliamentary Select Committee, were

both turned down by the LTTE, Mr. Balakumar said.

LTTE spokesman, Anton Balasingham is reported to have said 'The LTTE does not wish to present its stance through the EROS MPs because the government's rigid attitude will never bring peace to the country'.

C.V.K. Sivagnanam another of the EROS nominees to Parliament said that his party members were willing to come to Colombo despite the LTTE disapproval provided the government afforded them accommodation and security.

Outlining their controversial visit to Colombo in September last year where they met President Premadasa, Cabinet Ministers and the Elections Com-

Babies for Export

A total of 11,862 Sri Lankan babies were exported to foreign countries largely in the West for adoption by childless couples during the past two and a half decades, the Commissioner for the Department of Child Care and Probation, Ms. Padma Ranasinghe said.

She said that out of this figure which was obtained from court records only 911 were approved by the Probation Department. Over 10,000 babies including infants were given for foreign adoption by private individuals and related institutions, she added.

According to Commissioner Ranasinghe, Sweden and the Netherlands which has the lowest fertility rate in the world receive more than 50 percent of the Lankan babies. The demand for Sri Lankan babies in these two countries is

still very high she said. The other receiving countries for Lankan babies were Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Australia, she said.

The Commissioner also said that presently the Probation Department was processing 500 applications made by foreign couples seeking to adopt Sri Lankan babies. This figure is bound to leap by several fold over the coming years since the Government banned the adoption of Lankan babies by private individuals and institutions, earlier this year, the Commissioner added. Nearly 700 applications made by locals were also under process, Mrs. Ranasinghe further said. Under the ban future adoptions of Sri Lankan children could only be possible through the Department of Child Care and Probation, she said.

Govt.'s Dual Strategy Against the Tigers

by Taraki

'The security forces have been deployed to disarm militants carrying weapons (in the northeast). It is a dual political-military strategy that the government is adopting' Ranil Wickremasinghe; Cabinet Press Briefing. 4.6.92.

Speak soft and hit hard; this is the President's approach. The JVP was successfully destroyed. Can he succeed in the ethnic quagmire? The UNP's desire, it is now evident, is to gather Tamil support in the north and east while 'disarming' Tamil militants.

The goal of disarming is undoubtedly a sign of confidence. In Vavuniya the President claimed that he did not want to defeat anyone but only wanted to make everyone victorious. That day the government's newly acquired F-7 supersonic bombers took off from Katunayake towards Jaffna, each with a payload of four 250lb bombs. The 'thrust' into Jaffna was a political decision. It has taken some wind out of opposition sails. The military offensive into the peninsula has been long awaited in the south. The opposition had been casting doubts on the government's bona-fides. India was eager to see the Sri Lankan security forces smash their way into Jaffna and establish their control there. Some Tamil groups which work with the army had urged army generals in the north to expedite the blitzkrieg into the peninsula.

One of the biggest multi-pronged offensives by the army was launched while the President was in Vavuniya, either by meticulous design or by a significant coincidence. But the message to his southern electorate was clear: that militarily he means business in the north; that there are more sophisticated methods of initiating the destruction of 'armed Tamil militant' ideals, than the customary style of shaking the mailed fist across the ethnic divide.

India might now find itself in a situation where it cannot convincingly use the extradition issue to build up diplomatic or political pressure. The government has demonstrated, at a very critical point that it is after all, going hammer and tongs at the LTTE; it has even begun talking of disarming.

Although Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe says that the government is pur-

suing a dual political-military policy, the set of factors to which it responds in its self interests make such a policy impracticable. What are these factors and why does their impact make the government's purported dual policy difficult to realize? The factors are:

a) India's attitude toward the LTTE and its determination not to be left out from any serious process by which a settlement might be worked out for the ethnic crisis.

b) India's influence in southern politics.

c) the potential of the opposition to exploit the President's seemingly pro-minorities stance.

d) the imperatives of the strategies of the security forces in the north and east.

The government is only too well aware that any move at this juncture to openly and actively consider the LTTE as an essential component in a political solution to the Tamil question would jeopardize its hold on political power. It has to demonstrate that it sincerely backs the security forces' campaign against the Tigers in the North and East.

Furthermore, a wide spectrum of people in the south now believe that India's antagonism toward the LTTE is a positive gain that should be fully exploited for the benefit of the military campaign to destroy the Tigers.

The government of course, is keen to avoid being seen as soft pedalling the Tiger issue to spite India. All Tamil parties and groups assert that a merged north-east is non-negotiable in working out any solution to the Tamil problem. Even if the government were to accept this in principle it will be seen as a major blow to one of the army's most important imperatives - the Welioya settlement zone. Under these circumstances, the government will find it easier to address the north-east problem as a military question. By doing so, the government may believe it can ensure stability and effectively deflect, or neutralize both internal and geopolitical pressures.

The political part of the government's dual strategy will, therefore, be limited only to standard rhetoric, to woo Tamil votes. It is argued that if the army could smash its way into Jaffna, the LTTE morale would be

destroyed locally and internationally; that there will be many desertions; that the Tigers will not be able to muster enough strength to launch major attacks; that the volume of information on the LTTE provided by the people of Jaffna (which is already said to be quite considerable) would dramatically increase.

It is also claimed that once the army moves into Jaffna it would be extremely difficult for the Tigers to revert to a pre-1987 situation, because of these reasons.

Therefore most of the anti-LTTE (armed) groups see the continuation of the army's offensive into Tiger terrain in the north as a means of establishing minor domains of their power and influence.

Thus, the government will increasingly find it easier and politically advantageous to address the Tamil problem as a military question. Therefore the Tamil problem as a political question is bound to lose its cogency in the schemes of India, the opposition the anti-LTTE groups and the government. The ethnic question is already a rhetorical question.

How is the Tiger planning to face these developments, in the aftermath of the President's Vavuniya approach?

The latest issue of their official organ outlines their thinking. The LTTE says: 'It is the wish of the international community that the Tigers should not close the doors to finding a just solution to the Tamil national problem and that the Tigers should try all means and opportunities before taking the final decision to secede. Countries have brought diplomatic pressure on the Tigers on this basis.'

'The western world is pressing that the Tigers should examine a substantial arrangement for regional autonomy as an alternative to a separate state. At the same time these countries have not failed to imply that they may favour the Tamils if the Sinhala government refuses to give a just solution, steps up oppression and if a situation should arise where a political solution becomes impossible. Our political approach is determined by these international conditions.'

A brief perusal of the LTTE's rise to power would reveal that they adjust political setbacks with military gains and military setbacks with political gains.

It remains to be seen whether the President's speak soft, hit hard approach can deny the LTTE military as well as political gains.

(Sunday Island, 7.6.92).

JAFFNA REVISITED

An Agenda For Peace

Fr. Paul Caspersz

Never have I used the word 'agenda' with more regard for what it etymologically means: 'things that simply have to be done'. The clock in the Jaffna clock tower had stopped ticking at, if I remember rightly, sixteen minutes past six. Yet, with the Chelvanayagam Memorial Tower, it is one of a very few high-rise structures still to stand erect in the Fort area. But the fact that it and the Tower still stand gives hope (against hope?), that there are still a few hours, to midnight.

My two immediately previous visits to Jaffna had taken place just before the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and seven months after it began to break down. The first article ended:

(On 13 July 1987) ... I returned to Kandy. More hopeless? Or more hopeful in our helplessness? The time has come for our common humanity to rise up and say to everyone on every side: Enough!

And the second:

... Finally, though it may take years, dawn will break again upon the now benighted land.

The cry of humanity has not been loud enough and so the dawn has remained distant. Between April 1989 and March 1992 the cup of pain of the people of Jaffna had filled to the brim. Everyday life was very hard. They told the three of us (the others were an Anglican priest and a Methodist lady) that the prices of basic food items had decreased considerably from their previous extremely high levels. But they were yet much higher than in Kandy or Colombo. The poor, as so often, are the overwhelming majority and suffer most. The average birthweight of babies, we were told, has decreased most alarmingly since the outbreak of hostilities in June 1990 and is now barely above 2 kgs. Rice was Rs. 25-30 and sugar Rs. 28-32 per kilo, kerosene oil was Rs. 30 per litre, a box of matches Rs. 3, a bottle of orange barley Rs. 30, an egg Rs. 8.50-10 (without day old pullets and the transport of commercial poultry mash no deep litter is possible, so eggs can come only from free range fowls, for whom, when they get sick, no medicines are available). We found only vegetables and fish to be fresher and cheaper than in Colombo; for these the prices were moderate because of the difficulties of transport from areas of plenty to areas of scarcity, even if the latter

were only four or five miles away. The price of petrol at Rs. 2400 per bottle or more than Rs. 10000 per gallon still hit the sky.

Travel and transport are difficult and hazardous. The journey from Colombo to Jaffna costs nearly Rs. 1000 per person and takes a minimum of 15-16 hours; from Jaffna to Colombo, one is lucky to do it in 24, as no transport to the lagoon leaves Jaffna before 2 in the afternoon, and the Sri Lanka army is ready at the Thandikulam checkpoint only at 9.30 the next morning. Vehicles run on kerosene oil, or a mixture of kerosene and vegetable oil, with a few drops of petrol for the initial ignition. Motor cyclists carry the petrol, as we would a ballpoint pen, in their shirt pockets in little plastic phials with long nozzles; the smaller phials cost Rs. 80 and suffice for about ten kickoffs, while the larger ones cost Rs. 150. Electricity has not been available for the past year and a half with adverse effects on education, industry and agriculture. When peace returns, ROTE (the Research Organization for Tamil Eelam) will have much to teach the rest of us about oil-saving, safe and sadly attractive bottle lamps and how to grow large cabbages and beetroot in the dry zone without chemical fertilizer and chemical insecticides; organic farming may be a fashion for the few elsewhere, in the North today it is the only farming possible. Torch batteries and candles are banned items for those travelling North.

'Why do they hide these things in their brassieres and underwear?' lamented the kindly Colonel at the entrance to Vavuniya where our van had to stop for the first inspection en route.

'Surely we are reasonable persons and would allow anyone to take 2 or 3 batteries for personal use, or 3 or 4 small candles.' We hadn't the heart to tell him that we ourselves had already been courteously asked to empty the single torch we had in our team, though we were assured that we could collect the two batteries on our return journey.

Most severe of all the hardships - at least for those who had money to satisfy the more basic needs of food - was the acute shortage of medicines. People died every day of 'natural causes', but the natural causes should not have led to the grave if the basic

drugs were more easily available. That the Tigers would use them as pain-killers or for treating their own sick or wounded cadres was probably the fear. But our information was that the Tigers somehow succeed to get the medicines they need. Those who do not are the non-combatant civilians, who are the overwhelming majority.

Malaria has become a problem in many areas. Yet a course of chloroquin costs Rs. 60/- which the great majority of the population cannot afford, or afford only at the cost of going hungry. The danger of rabies has also assumed serious proportions because of the shortage of the anti-rabies vaccine. A high government official however told us that the people tended to use up what little vaccine was available because of unfounded fears that any dog that growled at them probably had rabies. With the shortage of food and the movement of families away from the danger zones, the number of stray dogs had increased. Numerous persons with whom we spoke urged us to do all we could to move the authorities 'in the South' to attend with the utmost urgency to the medical needs of the people 'in the North'.

The first signs that we were about to enter a very special part of the island came to us between Kekirawa and Medawachchiya where we saw military vehicles with armed soldiers in combat fatigues proceeding northwards. At 11.30 in the morning (having left Kurunegala at 7) we reached the final army checkpoint at Thandikulam. When we left Thandikulam to enter a kilometre or so of No Man's Land, it was difficult to avoid a lump in the throat as we read BEYOND THIS AT YOUR OWN RISK. Then we came to the first Tiger checkpoint at Paranatungal. Here for the first time we saw and smelt motorbikes running on kerosene oil. I asked the young Tiger sentry in civilian clothes. 'Aren't you afraid to die?' I never heard a more spontaneous laugh until I returned to Kandy on the 16th.

'What is your theological reflection?' I asked my silent companion. 'I was thinking of the Parable of the Sorrowing Father, waiting first for one son, and then for the other' he replied. He didn't say which son went away first.

At Omanthai we saw for the first time what was to be seen at every important street corner after that, wall posters and photos commemorating the young Tiger dead. Sometimes the posters read: 'These are not dead, they have only sowed the seed.' The grain of wheat must fall into the ground and die before the new grains

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appear, a hundred for one. This seemed to be the dominant ideology of death for the Cause. We were later told of a Tiger cemetery where the Notice firmly ordered visitors at the entrance: 'No one is allowed to cry here'.

From Paranatungal to Paranthan it took us about 3 hours. From Paranthan in 1987 and 1989 the road was the usual one; to Elephant Pass, from there to Jaffna. Now civilians branch off to the east in hired tractors or on the pillion of hired motorbikes, sometimes two adults on the pillion with another small person in front of the rider, on a dusty 10-kilometre track hacked out of the shrub jungle to a place called Uriyan where the lagoon is. The western route through Pooneryn had been closed by army action.

From Uriyan South to Uriyan North across the lagoon in a sailing boat it is about four miles and takes about 90 minutes. How much at peace and suffused with the beauty of dusk was nature on the lagoon with hundreds of flamingoes in the water close to the shore, black-winged stilts looking for fish, pintails and garganey ducks flying in formation in the skies, cormorants and other birds, with the gentle ripple of the water as the oarsman steered the boat forward against the wind. Yet across the lagoon at Elephant Pass with the naked eye could be detected the Army posts. Maybe some weary soldier spotted us with his binoculars and was filled with memories of home. At Uriyan North a Tiger Master of Ceremonies helped us ashore. He had been instructed to treat us well as we were on our way to Jaffna on a mission of peace and goodwill. Even the Tiger girls who had come ashore with us in another boat relented a little and relaxed when they saw that we were expected visitors and forced themselves to respond to our greetings with reluctant smiles. But, presumably under orders, they did not tarry for a chat but jerked their rifles into position and moved away into various huts and thatched sheds. From Uriyan North one has to get to Iyakachchi from where motorbikes or trucks take people a distance of 30 miles to Jaffna town.

In Jaffna and the North over the next five days the strongest and most lasting impression we received was that the Tamil people want peace, but peace with honour founded upon justice. Our task then in Jaffna and elsewhere during our visit was to investigate what the agenda for such an honourable peace would be.

An agenda calls for agents. The first of these agents would be the people in the North and the thousands in the South who actively want a just peace. In Jaffna itself, we heard two voices: one saying that the alienation was complete and the point of no return had been reached, the other crying that it was yet possible to return to the time when we lived and prayed and played together. But there was a third voice struggling for articulation and an audience: there are points of return and there are points of no return, but the way to the former inexorably passes through the latter.

What then are the points of no return? First, the Tamil wants to be considered as the free and equal Other. The Tamil will no longer settle for the second class. No longer do the Tamils want to be considered even as an oppressed people. They want to be considered as equals. Second, the Tamil problem needs to be recognized as the problem of the Tamil people. The Tamil problem is not the problem of the Tamil militants. Solve the 'numerous problems' of the Tamil people in the areas of land, language, education and employment – admitted to be real problems both by the UNP Manifesto of the 1977 Elections and in the First Statement of Government Policy in Parliament on 4 August 1977 – and the problem of the Tamil militants will disappear. It is the only way, but the way that becomes increasingly rugged with each day of delay.

It is the people above everyone else, whether they be Sinhalese or Tamil or Muslims or Burghers, who have to support all moves, national and international, hitherto made or still to be made towards a peaceful and honourable solution of the crisis. There has been no dearth of even formal attempts at such a solution from the time of the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam proposals of 1957 to the Thondaman proposals of December 1991.

In 1987 came the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. Maybe it called for adjustment and modification. Yet it provided a basis for a solution of peace with honour to all sides. What wrecked it was a single, monumentally myopic decision to bring the Tiger leaders caught on the high seas between India and Sri Lanka to trial in Colombo. J.R. Jayewardena came close – but characteristically not too close – to admitting it in his interview with Mervyn de Silva in June 1990 (*Lanka Guardian*, 13:5, 1 July 1990).

M. de S.: The Accord broke down in October 1987 – 3 months later, after some LTTE men had taken cyanide?

J.R.: Yes, but I am sure that was only an excuse. . .

M. de S.: But Dixit told me that he had pleaded with you to have interrogation of the captured 'Tigers' in Jaffna and that he would give an Indian airforce plane to take all your investigators to where they were being held. . .

J.R.: I had to listen to my security officials . . . Anyway, I think the Tigers would have found some other excuse to break the Agreement. . .

The second set of agents are the Government and the Armed Forces of Sri Lanka. They have to agree on an immediate bilateral ceasefire, suitably monitored, probably by both national and international monitors of accepted authority and impartiality. If a full-scale attack is launched on Jaffna, the well-trained Tiger young women and men will take cover, but thousands upon thousands of civilians will die. A steady supply line of all essential goods to the North should be maintained not only for humanitarian reasons but as the surest way to win the support of the Tamil people. It is sterile to say that it is illogical for the Tiger leaders to say that they have the right to want to be the sole rulers of the Tamil people and in the same breath to say that the Sri Lankan Government has the duty to maintain uninterrupted supply lines; you cannot have your cake and eat it. For the Tiger leaders would reply, When Eelam comes, we shall fulfil our duty, but until then the responsibility is the Sri Lankan Government's.

Land colonization is land-mined. The Sinhalese people love the whole of the island. The Tamil people have particular love for that part of the island which history has led them to regard as peculiarly, though not exclusively, their own (recall *He Comes from Jaffna*.) So until dialogue is resumed, and a consensual accord is reached, all new state-aided settlements in sensitive border areas should be suspended.

With a view to an eventual consensus the Government and the Joint Operations Command should encourage private and official visits of persons and groups from the South to the North and from the North to the South.

The third agents are the leaders of the Tamil people. Like the Government of Sri Lanka they too should agree on an immediate bilateral ceasefire, help to maintain supply lines, freeze present settlement patterns and encourage free movement of people (maybe asking rich Tamils to return home and not escape to foreign lands).

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BANNING OF LTTE BY INDIA

'Domestic Compulsions Led To Indian Ban'

Prof. Shelton Kodikara
University of Colombo

The divergent Shri Lankan reactions to India's recent ban on the LTTE, and the diverse speculation which surrounds the possible motives for it in political circles here tend to overlook one important dimension of it, namely that the decision sprang from domestic political compulsions in India as much as from considerations of Indo-Shri Lankan inter-state relations.

I was among a group of participants attending an international seminar organised by the Indian Council for South Asian Co-operation in New Delhi earlier this month, who were hosted to dinner by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in the spacious lawn of his modest official residence. Although the time he could spend with the invitees was short, he did exchange a word or two with all those who went up to pay their respects to him. He was telling a fellow Shri Lankan participant in my hearing: 'This is your problem not ours', and again: 'I am under pressure to ban the LTTE'.

And the pressure was gathering momentum with each passing day, because 21st May 1992 was the first anniversary of the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, and the Prime Minister was being called upon to take some action against the LTTE before that date. The pressure came principally from Tamil Nadu, but there were also articulate Opposition politicians, like Dr. Subramaniam Swamy of the Janata Dal who wanted the LTTE proscribed. Apart from Tamil Nadu's Chief Minister Jayalalitha's concern that the assassins of Rajiv Gandhi must be brought to book, she also felt that any LTTE presence in her State was destabilizing, and constituted a threat to her own life.

The LTTE has denied any implication with the assassination. The designated court investigating the matter in Madras has accepted the charge sheet issued by the Special Investigating Team (SIT), the 1000-page report which has named 41 persons with conspiracy to assassinate, and with the assassination, of Gandhi. Twelve of the 41 are Indian nationals, the others are Shri Lankan Tamils. Some of those indicted are dead, some are in custody, and some are on the wanted list. In the latest development in the

case, the Government of India is reported to have requested the extradition of Prabhakaran, the LTTE leader, and two of his lieutenants.

Official Indian statements relating to the full LTTE ban suggest that it had implications going beyond the Rajiv assassination itself. Minister Chavan's statement published in the *Sunday Observer* of 17th May, for example, refers to an organisation called the Tamil National Retrieval Troops, who are alleged to be trained and armed in Jaffna with a view to their being sent to India to work for the separation of Tamil Nadu from India. In this statement, the LTTE was also accused of 'providing encouragement and inspiration to chauvinistic groups in Tamil Nadu which openly preach secession and engage in unlawful activities'. The statement goes on to say:

'We have also come to know of the links established by LTTE with United Front for Liberation of Assam (ULFA) which already stands declared as an unlawful association. Because of these activities, we are of the view that the larger objective of LTTE goes beyond establishment of Tamil Eelam in North-Eastern parts of Shri Lanka and poses a threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.'

'The Ban Can't be Implemented in Sri Lanka Easily'

Prof. Bertram Bastiampillai
University of Colombo

India's ban of the LTTE has been expected. It is not a surprise. The LTTE's alleged involvement in the assassination of former Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi, the encouragement afforded to forces that plan to break up India's unity by the Tigers and the threat their members posed to life, law and order in Tamil Nadu in particular which Indian investigations revealed made the ban inevitable.

The ban was strongly demanded by the Indian media except for some Tamil newspapers in Tamil Nadu. It

The allegations are hotly denied by the LTTE. But they sustain our argument that considerations of Indian domestic politics had a lot to do with the ban.

Relations with Shri Lanka are always important to India, but just at this moment India has its plate full with other problems. The changing relationship with the United States in the context of the Indo-Russian agreement for the transfer of rocket technology is one of these, the reconstruction of the Indo-Russian relationship itself is another top priority. Then, there are the perennial problems of Kashmir and Punjab. On the domestic front, the impending presidential elections in India in July this year might demand all the attention of the Prime Minister and the Indian government. There is also the all-important problem of the country tiding over its economic crisis, steering itself over the newly announced package of market-oriented economic reforms, and sorting out a stable relationship with the IMF and World Bank.

Given our situation and the geopolitical realities of our relationship with India, we Shri Lankans tend to think that India is our biggest problem (which may be right), and to visualize a continual Indian preoccupation with Shri Lanka, which is quite wrong. India's banning of the LTTE obviously applies to the confines of India's territory, and may be to its adjacent seas. It cannot apply within the territorial jurisdiction of Shri Lanka. It is up to the Government of Shri Lanka to sort out how the ban (a) affects its own relationship with India, and (b) impinges on its own peace process and attempt to find a political solution of the ethnic problem.

was more forcibly urged by Chief Minister Jayalalitha Jayaram and her supporters.

The government could not forfeit the support of Jayalalitha and her group, both at the Central and State levels and the Centre had to be deferential to her particularly where it could do little in regard to other bones of contention such as the Kaveri water dispute.

The only fear expressed has been whether the ban could be used as cover to persecute political adversaries by

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Jayalalitha and her ruling AIADMK. Time will show whether this fear is founded in fact but it is a fair apprehension.

At this point, a tricky question has been raised. Why single out the LTTE when the EPRLF's one-time Chief Minister Varatharaja Perumal who had announced a unilateral declaration of independence in Shri Lanka was left free? Obviously India distinguishes the 'paper Tigers' from the real animal.

The ban, in fact, will hurt those such as who possess LTTE literature in India, publicly advocate Tiger causes or objectives and who can be identified as having links with the LTTE and are in India. However, the prime LTTE figures have already quit India. The horse has bolted before the stable door was closed. The ban is now a preventive or precautionary measure for times to come. It is hoped that the measures will not hurt genuine refugees in Tamil Nadu – a reasonable fear, indeed.

In Shri Lanka, the government is battling the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). This is a more grievous step than the mere banning. Shri Lanka wants the LTTE subdued, annihilated or driven to surrender so that they may have an upper hand in any negotiation with the group. The ban is academic when the Tigers are alive, and fighting back in the North and even the East. They are already outlawed and militarily confronted and a pronouncement of a ban now is not going to do more to stifle them. Further the Tigers will – until militarily defeated – act as rebels despite a ban which cannot be implemented in practice easily. The ban is wanted by oppositional elements. The more politic and constructive gesture would be to evolve a package that would meet Tamil aspirations and give Tamils autonomy and rights to live as equals as the majority.

What the government and the opposition should do is to gain the confidence of ex-militant groups who are now co-operating with the government and the others who have endeavoured to redress Tamil grievances non-violently such as the TULF and the ACTC. More than a ban, the need is for a political will to settle the conflict that has wrought so much damage to all communities in the country. More repression will only lead to further alienation and strengthen the Tigers' hold on Tamils where a solution is the need of the hour which will leave the Tigers with no role to play as rebels.

The Indian ban, however, will make other countries which naturally like to maintain cordiality with populous India, a principal power in South Asia to frown upon and disapprove public Tiger activities. This will rebound to the advantage of Shri Lanka.

The extradition of the Tiger leaders named in the assassination case has to be considered in terms of Shri Lankan legal provisions, the relevant terms of the SAARC Convention on Terrorism,

and in accordance with convention and practice governing international relations.

More importantly, the Tiger leaders have to be captured. After all Shri Lanka herself has issues to be arraigned against them. Even India failed to trap the Tiger leaders although, as General Depinder Singh acknowledges, the IPKF were close on their scent on more than one occasion.

'The Ban Adds Fuel to the Fire'

Ven. Madampagama Assaji Thera
(Who led the Buddhist Mission to Jaffna recently).

India banned the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) because of various domestic compulsions. They include the pressure from Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Jayalalitha Jeyaram and her AIADMK, pressure from Tamil Nadu Congress (I) and the assassination of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi. It is too early to say whether the ban would help Shri Lanka or not. But one thing we have to understand is that it was not done to help Shri Lanka. It was not a step taken in the interests of Shri Lanka or in the interests of Indo-Lanka relations.

When Shri Lanka repeatedly made requests to India to curb the LTTE activities, India maintained a steadfast silence. On the contrary, they went on extending every possible assistance to the LTTE including a grant of Rs. 40 million which was given by the then Chief Minister, M.G. Ramachandran on the covert approval of the Centre. The whole world knows that the LTTE had become a powerful organisation because of the Indian help.

When we wanted India to take action against the LTTE, again there was steadfast silence. Even at a time when the LTTE was waging war against India – fighting the IPKF – New Delhi did not think of banning the LTTE. Now they have done that in

their own interests. There is no reason why Shri Lanka should follow India. Of course, if by following India we serve the interests of our country, then we should not hesitate to do so. But we need not follow our neighbour blindly.

Banning the LTTE at this stage will definitely hamper peace efforts. After talking to the LTTE leadership in Jaffna – here I must clarify that we did not talk to third grade leaders as some opposition people suggested – I am of the opinion that we can solve this problem through negotiations. At this crucial stage one should not take any action which would hamper the peace process.

The Opposition says the LTTE should be banned. If by banning the LTTE we can stop this senseless war, we must immediately ban that organisation. But can you eliminate an armed militant organisation by merely banning it? Furthermore, there are many other Tamil and Muslim armed militant organisations. If the LTTE is to be banned all others also must be banned.

We condemn the assassination of the great Indian leader, Rajiv Gandhi. However, we have to give the benefit of the doubt to the LTTE until it is proved that the LTTE was responsible for the murder. I feel banning the LTTE at this stage would be adding fuel to the fire.

'The Ban Will Not Solve Sri Lanka's Problem'

Rev. Fr. Alfred Alexander
St. Philip Neri's Church, Colombo

Every country must act according to its own interests and for the welfare of its own citizens. By banning the LTTE, India has taken into consideration its own integrity and the security of its region. India had not acted in the interests of Shri Lanka in any way.

The most important thing for our country today is to solve the ethnic problem. So, the banning of the LTTE is not going to help solve that problem as, so far as we are concerned, negotiations had to be conducted with it to get

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People & Politics

★ Rumpus in Parliament

Strange things have been happening in the Sri Lankan parliament leading to a crisis in the relationship between the governing party and the opposition. On 19 May, the acting leader of the house Wijepala Mendis took the opposition by surprise when he announced that the government would not answer or respond to any questions asked by the Opposition. When MPs from the opposition whose questions had already appeared in the order paper protested claiming that failure or refusal to answer questions was against Standing Orders, a helpless or rather a 'powerless' Speaker said that members were entitled to ask questions, but he could not force anybody to reply to them. One by one, the listed Opposition MPs went through the motion of asking their questions, but there was no response from the government side to any of the questions. 'The government is not answering. I am helpless. I adjourn the House until 9am tomorrow', the Speaker announced.

Earlier on the same day, when several regulations under the Appropriation Act were being taken up for debate, a 'closure motion' was moved on behalf of the government thus preventing opposition MPs from speaking and bringing an end to the debate. The protests by the Opposition went unheeded.

On the following day (20 May), further turmoil and protests from opposition MPs followed when government ministers refused to answer any questions on the alleged ground that the 'opposition was not cooperating with the government'. Having failed to bring some resolution to the dispute with his 'fervent appeals', the Speaker continued to call out the names of Members to ask the questions listed in their names. There were nineteen questions listed all of which were asked one after another and none of them elicited any answers from the government side.

Again the government rushed through 16 resolutions by guillotining the debate with a series of closure motions amidst uproar from the opposition benches.

Forty-eight opposition MPs staged a 'Sathiyagraha', a sit-in protest, in front of the parliament building to protest against what they described as the suppression of their freedom of expression in parliament. They walked in a procession from the main gate of

the parliamentary complex and sat on the steps leading to the parliament building.

Trouble has been brewing between the government and the opposition from the time the government refused to debate or answer questions relating to three matters which the opposition regarded as matters of public importance.

First the government, invoking the procedural technicality of the *sub judice* rule, refused to allow any discussion relating to the much publicised revelations about mass scale killings by death squads known as 'Black Cats', corruption and bribery in high places, abuse of power etc., by the one time mighty and powerful Deputy Inspector General of Police, Premadasa Udugampola on the ground that, following the institution of proceedings by the Attorney General against the DIG and editors of some newspapers under Emergency Regulations 26(A) and (E) with causing hostility, ill-will and contempt of the Government of Sri Lanka, all the allegations contained in the DIG's statements were *sub judice* - under judicial consideration. (See box: 'The Sub-judice Perehera').

The second issue related to the belated publication of the Report of the Commissioner of Elections on the General Elections held in February 1989 amidst widespread violence, intimidation and allegations of malpractices.

The third issue related to the Report by the Auditor General for 1990 which made adverse comments on the Central Bank and its Governor. The Auditor General, who is directly accountable to parliament, has virtually refused to approve the Bank's accounts when in his report he expressed his inability 'to express an opinion on the accounts presented' to him because of the 'denial by the Governor of access to information with respect to matters connected with the accounts of the Central Bank'.

The irregularities identified by AG's report include (a) failure to furnish information for audit, (b) omissions in the accounts, (c) inappropriate charges against revenue, (d) overstatements and understatements in accounts, (e) inappropriate disclosures in the accounts, (f) apparent fictitious assets, (g) apparent overpayments, (h) deficiencies in land transactions, (i) deficiencies in contract administration, (j) non-compliance with laws, rules and regulations, (k) excessive destruction

of currency notes, (l) systems and controls not being adequate to establish the accuracy of books and records, etc.

The report of the AG also notes, *inter alia*, that (a) six files relating to foreign travels by the Governor were withheld from disclosure to the AG; (b) of the Rs. 38,633,201 spent on the Bank's 40th Anniversary Celebrations, Rs. 34,412,724 was classified under 'sundry expenses' without proper identification and certification, and Rs. 30 million of this amount was donated to the private Jayawardenepura Hospital in contravention of established rules and without specific cabinet approval; (c) the deficiencies in land transactions include one case of a purchase of land for Rs. 21,728,000 based on a valuation report of a private valuer obtained for the vendor, and the liabilities of the vendor to a lending institution amounting to Rs. 11.5 million were settled prior to the transaction.

One of the most grave and disturbing aspects revealed in this saga is the forgery of the signature of the Auditor General on the Balance Sheet of the Central Bank!

Because of the wide publicity that the AG's report received, the Prime Minister, who is also the Minister of Finance, thought it appropriate to make a statement before Parliament which amounted to a defence of the Governor of the Central Bank and the Ministry of Finance. The Opposition seemed outraged when the government refused to allow opposition MPs to speak on either the Auditor General's Report or the Prime Minister's statement.

Opposition leaders have now submitted a resolution expressing No-Confidence in the Speaker, Mr. M.H. Mohamed, alleging that he has failed to protect the right of free expression by MPs. On the other hand, the conduct of six opposition MPs has been referred to the parliament's Committee of Privileges on a government motion. They have been accused of having shouted insults including making racist remarks and throwing papers and books at the Speaker, Mr. M.H. Mohamed.

★ Defamation Case

Strange as it may seem, a defendant who is facing a claim of one million rupees in a defamation case in the Colombo District Court has asked that the hearing of the case against her be expedited. Normally, in such a case it is the plaintiff who filed the case who

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The Sub-judice Perehera

— by Lucian Rajakarunanayake

The other day I went to the corner shop to buy some groceries, and by way of conversation asked the mudalali why there was no price list on display. He asked me if I had not heard of the principle of sub-judice.

How would sub-judice apply to this, I asked.

He asked me whether I did not know that one could not discuss or comment on what is before the courts.

Does that mean the Price Control authorities have filed action against you for non-display of prices?

No. There are so many cases of the same type before the courts awaiting adjudication. Until they have been properly disposed of I won't permit discussion about price lists at my shop. The matter is sub-judice.

Well well, so who's to object to such a liberal interpretation of the law.

If everyone gets on to interpreting the law, and especially the principle of sub-judice in such ready and simple terms, the problem of the governance of Lanka will soon become a very simple matter. A government which observes the sub-judice idea so meticulously would be able to control the Press with no need for Emergency Reg-

ulations, censorship or competent authorities. All one needs to do is file a few indictments in courts relating to the hottest issues of the day, and hey presto, sub-judice applies. Mum's the word.

If corruption is a major issue, the government could on its own initiate action against the most glaring of such cases and instantly silence all discussion of the matter.

Similarly, in every other area of activity, what will soon be needed is for every ministry to have a sub-judice officer attached. It won't be difficult to second some officers from the Attorney General's Department, who work like greased lightning as one editorial aptly stated, to these posts, possibly at Additional Secretary level. All they would have to do is scan the newspapers for matters the public would be interested in, and rush to the courts with an indictment. All discussion, including debate in parliament, is instantly silenced.

What you and I could do is wait for the next May Day when we can all go to Galle Face Green and enjoy the dimensions of the cut-out of power, no pun intended so soon after those hot and bothersome days.

I see the same attitude of insult and humiliation of the judiciary which we saw in the not too distant

past in this new respect for sub-judice. With the judges in our courts being men and women of learning and experience, skilled in weighing the merits or otherwise of the evidence placed before the courts, I do not see why discussion should be stifled merely because a matter is up for adjudication.

There could be some need for caution in the instance of trial by jury. Even in such instances, there are other countries with more vibrant legal systems, where public discussion is permitted with adequate, often extreme, safeguards to prevent the jurors being influenced by such discussion.

To keep dancing about waving the signboard of sub-judice means that one does not really extend to the judiciary and the courts the respect they deserve for their honesty, independence of thought and experience in the law. You don't need the mob before the judge's home; all you need is to let the silence of sub-judice do the work, and lower the esteem with which the public holds the courts by giving more than a broad hint that the courts could be swayed by public discussion.

What's more, as one saw at last Thursday's Cabinet Press Briefing, the idea of sub-judice enforced silence is also being extended to committees of inquiry and other special inquiries which have no judicial status. The day of the Sub-Judice Perehera is not too far away.

(Extract from the *Sunday Island*, 10.5.92).

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would be eager to expedite the case and the defendant would seek to prolong it as long as possible.

In this case, the plaintiff is a Senior Superintendent of Police, Mr. Gurusinghe who has filed the action against Mrs. Manorani Saravanamuttu, the mother of assassinated journalist Richard de Zoysa, claiming damages

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free expression and free discussion of alternate models of devolution and nationhood.

Peace is the agenda of the hour. But peace is not possible without justice. To achieve it what is needed is not knowledge of what is right and just but the moral and political determination to achieve it. The alternative for the Country Beloved is altogether too terrible to consider.

(Fr. Paul Caspersz visited Jaffna recently as a member of Christian Peace Mission.)

amounting to one million rupees. Mr. Gurusinghe has alleged that he had been defamed by Mrs. Saravanamuttu when she in a statement to the police had identified Mr. Gurusinghe as one of the persons in the group which abducted her son who was later found murdered.

Mrs. Saravanamuttu, through her Counsel Mr. Batty Weerakoon, has requested the Chief Justice to direct the District to hear the case against her without any further postponement. The request follows in the wake of reports that several judges of the District Court have declined to hear this case.

★ Abduction of Prof. Buultjens

Professor Ralph Buultjens was abducted on 26 June 1988 on his way to address a seminar, kept in illegal detention and was subsequently re-

leased unharmed. It was generally believed that the abduction was aimed at preventing him from speaking at the seminar. In spite of a complaint made by the professor to the police, whatever investigations that were carried out did not result in anyone being apprehended or prosecuted. The professor did not know the identity of his abductors.

Quite unexpectedly rumours, presumably based on unofficial leaks, began to circulate during the early part of 1991 about the possible involvement of a former Minister in the abduction, and it soon emerged that the authorities had obtained sufficient evidence regarding the abduction of the professor to mount a criminal prosecution.

Four persons were charged in the High Court of Colombo, and the first accused in the case was a former Cabinet Minister and a leading UNP

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NEWS ROUND-UP

● **THE PRESIDENT** of the Upcountry Peoples Front (UPF), Periyaswamy Chandrasekaram, and two other officials of the Front, Vice President Vadivelu Thangavelu Tharmalingam (who is a school principal) and Secretary Bawa Abdul Cader were indicted on 18 May in the High Court of Kandy with having harboured Varathan, the alleged LTTE's mastermind behind the bomb attack on the Joint Operations Command (JOC) of the Army in Colombo last year. They are charged under the Prevention of Terrorism Act with having harboured Varathan between 22 June and 4 July 1991 at Talawakele and for withholding information about him. Cader is facing an additional charge of aiding and abetting.

Varathan was hiding in a cottage in the Chrisler farm in Talawakele when he was tracked down by detectives. He committed suicide by swallowing a cyanide pill when he was about to be arrested. The defendants pleaded not guilty, and the judge fixed trial for 2 September 1992.

A few weeks earlier, a Colombo businessman named Balachandran, in whose lorry Varathan had travelled to Talawakele, pleaded guilty in the High Court of Colombo to charges of withholding information about the whereabouts of Varathan.

● **THE SUPREME COURT** recently granted leave to proceed with the fundamental rights violation application by W.K. Chandrasiri, a person held in detention under the Emergency Regulations, who alleged that he had been detained for over two years without any charges in addition to having been sent for rehabilitation, even after the police had said that he was exonerated of any charge. The petition also alleged that he had been arrested on 27 June 1990 without any reasons having been given for the arrest, and he was subsequently detained in a police station and an army camp.

● **MR PRINS GUNASEKARA**, Attorney-at-Law and former member of parliament, who is presently in the United Kingdom having fled from Sri Lanka some two years ago following threats to his life during the height of the campaign against the JVP, has sued the state-controlled Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., (Lake House) for damages in a sum of five million rupees over an article published in the Daily News of 17 May 1990 under the headline 'Tarbrush Campaign Against Lankans in London'. Mr. Gunasekera has alleged that

the article was defamatory of him, false, malicious and published animus injuriandi, and has brought him into hatred, ridicule and contempt.

In a similar action filed in London High Court against the same company, the court last year awarded Mr. Gunasekera a sum of £150,000 in damages.

● **THE CID**, port section, recently busted a gold smuggling racket in the air parcels branch with the arrest of several businessmen, customs officials and postal department personnel, and on the basis of the CID report, two customs officials have been interdicted from their posts for alleged bribery in accepting Rs. 100,000 each from a consignee of an air parcel containing gold biscuits worth over five million rupees.

The racket was bared when a porter at the air parcels section at Hulftsdorp and the smugglers' agents had a fight over the former attempting to conceal a gold biscuit by putting it in his mouth. Investigations into the cause of fighting led the CID to arrest four millionaire businessmen from Colombo, two customs officers and two postal employees. According to the CID, 67 gold biscuits in three air parcels addressed to three fictitious shops in Panchikawatte arrived on 29 March and were cleared on 12 April, but not before a suspicious porter had cut a hole in one of them and shoved a gold biscuit in his mouth.

● **EIGHTEEN** senior students of the University of Peradeniya have been suspended indefinitely for allegedly ragging 'freshers' recently, and holding the Dean of the Arts Faculty, three dons and the chief security officer hostage for nearly four hours.

● **SRI LANKA'S** defence budget will overshoot original estimates by three billion rupees this year. According to Finance Ministry officials, the defence expenditure for the year would be Rs. 18.4 billion, up from Rs. 15.4 billion estimated earlier this year. The extra funds are expected to come from the special defence levy and other taxes.

● **NEVILLE KANAKARATNE**, Sri Lanka's ambassador in India, in an interview published on 24 May said that capturing LTTE leader Prabhakaran, for whose extradition India is reported to be asking, was a difficult task. 'The whole of the northern peninsula is de facto under the control of the LTTE. The writ of the Sri Lankan government does not run in that area. We don't know where Prabhakaran is... so militarily capturing him is at present a matter of speculation... but by some good fortune if he were to fall into the hands of the Sri Lankan

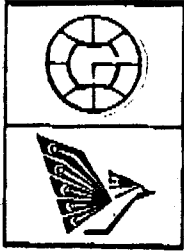
forces, then arises the question of extradition'. Kanakarathne derided suggestions of an Indian commando raid to capture Prabhakaran, calling it 'kite-flying by some irresponsible and loud-mouthed politicians.' No responsible government would undertake such a mission, he said.

● **THE LEADER** of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress recently said that the SLMC was for a merger of the northern and eastern provinces with provision for two provincial councils one of which should consist of the present electorates of Kalmunai, Sammanthurai and Pottuvil and should have the powers presently enjoyed by other Provincial Councils. The prospects for peace in the north and east depended on a political settlement between the Tamil and Muslim communities. The Congress would not permit the southern communalists to divide the Tamils and Muslims and establish their hegemony over both the communities.

● **JANATHA PARTY** President, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy said on 22 May that if Sri Lanka expressed its inability to apprehend the LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran, India should be given a free hand to accomplish the task. The failure to bring the Tiger leader to trial for having masterminded the killing of Rajiv Gandhi would be in insult to the entire nation. Dr. Swamy also suggested that the Indian government should announce a reward of one crore rupees to anyone giving concrete information that would lead to the capture of Prabhakaran.

● **SRI LANKA HAS** one of the highest rates of suicide in the world today. The island's ratio of forty suicides per 100,000 of population is higher than that of the USA and Japan, countries in which the suicide rate is considered to be very high. Only a few Scandinavian countries do have a slightly higher ratio than Sri Lanka, Prof. K. Tudor Silva, head of the department of Sociology at the University of Peradeniya, said at a recent seminar.

● **CUSTOMS OFFICERS** recently recovered foreign currency valued at Rs. 15 million concealed in cane baskets containing live crabs for export. The baskets were inside the air cargo complex at Katunayake and were to be sent to Singapore by a local exporting company. The foreign currency comprising US dollars, pounds sterling, Japanese yen, Swiss and French francs, Deutschmarks, Saudi riyals and Kuwaiti dinars had been wrapped in cellophane and tucked inside two of the 33 cane baskets containing live crabs.



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The Language of the Indus Valley Civilisation – 3000BC

by T. Pathmanathan*

By the year 523 BC when Buddha began to preach a faith that has spread across the greater part of ASIA and is followed by around a fourth of the world's population, Indian civilisation had already experienced long and successive phases of which we possess almost no historical vestiges. It was left to two of the greatest archaeologists of the 20th century, Sir John Marshall and Sir Mortimer Wheeler to begin the monumental task of unearthing one of the oldest and highly developed civilisations of the ancient world. It is a culture and civilisation older than the better known civilisations of Egypt, Babylon, Persia and even the Chinese civilisation.

In the twin cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa – in an area covered by the province of Punjab in the present-day Pakistan – there flourished a civilisation that has excited the imagination and challenged the skills of the greatest archaeologists, historians, linguists, anthropologists, scriptologists and others interested in unravelling the mysteries of the 'lost' civilisations like, for example, the Maya civilisation of Central America and the civilisation that produced the monumental edifices of ANGKHOR VAT in Cambodia.

The Indus Valley civilisation – so named, because it embraces within its fold the land within the five tributaries of the river Indus in Pakistan – caught the attention of historians after the archaeological excavations during the inter-war period (particularly those done between 1922-1926) by Sir John Marshall and Sir Mortimer Wheeler. These excavations were unfortunately interrupted by the Second World War and later by the tragic Indo-Pakistan Wars and its aftermath. Till recent years, however, the nature, origins and identity of this civilisation was something of an enigma as the earlier scholarship in this field was handicapped by paucity of material and inadequate funding and severely limited in method and interpretation.

Recent examples in the methodology of research combined with the enormous financial resources expended on the project by the U.N.E.S.C.O.

* The author, an alumnus of the University of Georgetown, Washington DC and a former Secretary of the Ministry of Information of the Govt. of Sri Lanka presently resides in UK. He was a recipient of the 'Fulbright Award' by the US Govt.

together with the use of advanced technology have largely dispelled the enigmatic nature of this civilisation. The recent work – a collection of research papers – 'Harappan Culture – a Contemporary Perspective' edited by Dr. Gregory L. Possehl, Professor of South Asian Regional Studies, University of Pennsylvania and Curator of the University's South Asian Archaeology Museum has profoundly altered our understanding of this hitherto lost civilisation and transformed what western historians had till recently regarded as the pagan culture of the mysterious Orient! This publication has been aptly described as 'a unique resource which presents a state-of-the-art perspective of one of mankind's greatest achievements'.

It has now been accepted, contrary to earlier views – that these civilisations (all pre-Christian) – Sumerian, Persian, Egyptian, Babylonian and Indus Valley – did not spread from one central point but developed separately at several points in the globe at different points of time viz. the 'diffusion theory'. It is now common ground that the Indus Valley civilisation – which I shall refer to as the 'Harappan' civilisation – was indigenous to the Indian sub-continent and not brought in by nomadic or marauding 'invaders' as was speculated upon in earlier years. These recent findings have dispelled and laid to rest the earlier theories and platitudes that fair nomadic Indo-European Aryans who invaded north-western India circa 2000 BC, had entered a savage land inhabited by a primitive dark-skinned race and driven them southwards largely by their military prowess and skills in metallurgy!

Sir John Marshall in his work, 'Indus Valley Civilisation' stated 'the civilisation at these two places is not an incipient civilisation but one, already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil, with many millennia of human endeavour behind it'.

Marshall continued: '5000 years before ever the Aryans were heard of this area (of present day Pakistan) was enjoying an advanced civilisation superior to that of Mesopotamia or Egypt. They were in possession of a highly developed culture in which no vestige of Indo-Aryan influence is to be found'.

It has also now been established that the Harappan civilisation had reached a remarkably advanced level

'when the so-called Aryans entered India from Central Asia and eventually destroyed this civilisation'. It was more an urban rather than a rural civilisation (unlike the Aryan which was pastoral) in the sense that the population was concentrated in towns with their streets laid out in grid patterns denoting an advanced level of town planning. Evidence has also been discovered of excellent sewage and water systems and even public baths excelling the much publicised baths of Emperor Caracalla in ancient Rome of a much later era! Evidence has also been unearthed that the houses were spaciouly designed and were of baked brick; some of them had sculpture and jewellery within of better quality than those found in the buried cities (now unearthed) of Pompei in South Italy. This splendid urban civilisation was, however, supported by a flourishing agriculture based on wheat, barley and the palm tree and the domestication of the buffalo, the ox, sheep, camel and elephant.

Harappan culture, its origins, identity, duration and its eventual disappearance has fascinated scholars for several decades after the initial pioneering work of Marshall and Wheeler. This has led to many revolutionary discoveries largely by the use of the new methodology in historical research due to the advancement of science and technology viz. carbon-dating, computer concordances, stratigraphy, context analysis etc.

Kenneth A.R. Kennedy, Professor of Anthropology of Cornell University, U.S.A. in his study 'The Interface of Archaeology and Skeletal Biology in the Study of the Harappan Civilisation' raised the fundamental issue 'To what ancient race did the Harappans belong?' Allied to this arose the equally baffling question 'what language did they speak and what script did they use?' The first question got bogged down in conflicting theories of anthropologists whether they were Indo-European, Pre-Dravidian, Negritoid, Nordic, Irano-Afghan, Aryan, Mongoloid, Scytho-Dravidian or Dravidian etc., till the second issue was resolved.

The real clue to identifying an ancient culture is now believed to be in the realm of scriptology, if data is available rather than in anthropology i.e. in the language or script that was then used. Most of the scripts in the ancient world in the pre-Christian (or pre-Jewish era) were the cuneiform script of the Sumerian civilisation or the hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt.

The greatest discovery of the scientists who worked on the Indus Valley

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civilisation was the discovery of an **original** script that had no connection with either of these two scripts. This has now been identified and classified as the 'Harappan Script' found in more than 800 seals, a script that runs from left to right and continues thereafter from right to left.

Decoding this most ancient of all scripts remained unsuccessful till the famous Russian linguist, Yuri Knorsov who had the distinction of having cracked the hitherto undeciphered ancient MAYA script of Central America turned his attention to the Indus Valley code. He was supported in this task of decoding by a highly trained team equipped with computers and the latest technology in historical research from the Soviet Institute of Ethnography in Moscow, and his findings are published by the Institute under the caption: 'The Report on the Investigation of the Proto-Indian Texts of Harappa'.

One conclusion they reached was that the Harappan people did a lot of writing particularly on manuscripts of palm leaves and boards; several writing instruments, brushes and ceramic ink pots had been discovered. A good many of these inscriptions had been found in ceramic vessels or statuettes brought to temples by worshippers or handed by priests to the worshippers.

Knorsov established a clear sequence in the writing viz. that the inscriptions consisted of the name or title of a god followed by a reference to a calendar formula indicating when the offering was made to the temple; then it was followed by the symbol of an animal usually a goat, tiger, ox, capricorn, auroch and another (undeciphered) animal each of these representing a season of the year. From this Knorsov proceeded to establish that this priest-astronomer-class in Harappan society had a highly developed calendar which combined lunar and solar observations and that they were thereby able to calculate the cyclical movements of the Sun, Moon and Jupiter, in particular, the time it took for Jupiter to move round the Sun!

This remarkable familiarity of these ancient people with the science of astronomy, with the movements of the celestial bodies with the Sun as the centre of the universe, places them far far ahead – millennia ahead of Copernicus! It is no wonder that this scientific tradition led later to that 'most unique and fundamental of scientific discoveries for which India is the home – the discovery of the number **zero** (which Arab travellers took to the west) without which modern mathematics would be wholly inconceivable'.

The discovery of this Harappan script however, which had baffled many of the earlier scholars came of age with the publication of two computerized concordances which cover between them the entire known inscriptional material of the Harappan civilisation. Based on these concordances which enables the trained scholar to verify their hypotheses regarding the script and typology of a language, some positive findings have now found common acceptance:-

- 1) *The Harappan script is not related to any of the contemporary pictographic scripts of the 2nd or 3rd millennium BC.*
- 2) *This script is not related to the much later Indian scripts like Brahmi.*
- 3) *This script is not related to the Sumerian or other Western or Central Asian languages.*

The question then arose among the investigating scholars whether this was a lost language (spoken in the third millennium BC) that cannot be deciphered or decoded? Knorsov and his team found supporting evidence and interpretation from other scholars in this field. Further light was thrown by (1) A. Parpola's study 'Decipherment of the Proto-Indian Inscriptions in the Indus Valley' published in Copenhagen by the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies; (2) the work of G.R. Hunter 'The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro' published in London.

Two clear reasons have been adduced by scholars which negate the assumption that it could be a lost script: (a) it is an axiom of scriptology that no code or cypher can successfully resist deciphering for all time if sufficient material is available; the subsequent excavations at Harappa rectified this drawback; (b) considering the vast extent and the astonishingly long duration of the Harappan civilisation it is unlikely, even untenable, that the Indian tradition with its acknowledged continuity and vitality could not have preserved at least some facets of the Harappan culture.

Several valuable clues were then found for an understanding of the contents of the Harappan script and its link with the perennial Indian tradition. The pictorial motifs associated with these inscriptions particularly the depiction of god 'Pasupati', 'Siva-Mahadeva', phallic symbolism, the veneration of the pipal tree and the serpent clearly established the required interconnection between the Harappan inscriptions and the later, yet surviving, Indian tradition; phallic symbolism occupies a central position in the form of worship in South India.

Finally, using the principle of context-analysis of historical research with reference to their background particularly the stratigraphy of the pictorial motifs associated with the inscriptions, Knorsov and others made the fundamental breakthrough in cracking the Harappan code and established that **'the typology of the Harappan language is non-Indo-European and resembles the Dravidian languages very closely particularly the Tamil and Malayalam languages of South India'**.

Even after the Harappan script ceased to be a formal writing system, the more important ideograms survived, for example the iconographic and other religious elements, numismatic evidence by way of emblems on coins, royal insignia etc: these amply support Knorsov's findings. These comparisons have been found to be consistent with the formal textual analysis of the inscriptions. 'The method of "bilingual parallels" also confirmed the link between the Harappan culture and the yet surviving religious and linguistic Dravidian traditions'. These findings, of a consensus of scholars, from various parts of the world (vide bibliographical notes) were reached, therefore, without any *a priori* assumptions of the nature of the Harappan culture. The Harappan script thus decoded after years of dedicated scholarship was therefore 'found to be completely indigenous and that the Aryan invaders far from bringing a higher civilisation destroyed a very fine established Dravidian civilisation' concludes Knorsov.

Subsequent researches reproduced in the work of Dr. Gregory Possehl of the University of Pennsylvania, referred to earlier, confirms the above thesis which is therefore now accepted as fairly conclusive.

A more recent study reveals that the most frequent sign in the Harappan script is a vessel with two handles – the 'jar' sign (found in graffiti excavated at Harappa). The symbolism of the jar is closely associated with the Indian tradition, particularly South Indian, with priestly ritual. The legend of the 'jar-born sages' is very ancient and is frequently referred to in ancient Tamil literature, for example, Puraṇam 201 refers to sage Agastya as having 'risen from a vessel and led the migration of his clan southwards from Dwaraka'.

Linguists have accepted that even in Vedic literature the word 'sata' for a wooden vessel is an example of a word of 'mlechcha' origin without an etymology in Sanskrit, the language of the

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over the differences between the north and south. No sensible man at this juncture will feel that banning the LTTE would help solve the ethnic problem.

Whether we ban the LTTE or not, we will have a war on our laps. One would envisage leaving things as they are to find a lasting solution through political measures which is already continuing through the Parliamentary Select Committee.

The LTTE has also responded through various peace missions expressing their desire for a negotiated settlement of the ethnic question.

We have to keep on working for a peaceful negotiated settlement. The LTTE is a dominant militant group in the country. Therefore, we cannot isolate the LTTE as we continue to create the climate for a permanent settlement to our ethnic problem.

Certain politicians are using this opportunity to destabilise the government, and to create problems to the government. If these politicians and their henchmen are really interested in settling the ethnic issue, they should come out into the open without any reservations, realise the gravity of the problem and act boldly to face the problem with a view to settling it once and for all.

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Vedas. It is also significant that one of the most famous South Indian royal dynasties was the 'Sata-Vahana' dynasty of the Andhras!

The second most common pictogram of the Harappa inscriptions was the 'bearer' sign; this merged subsequently into another South Indian tradition, that of the Chera dynasty; they were known as 'bearers' in Tamil.

Further evidence was subsequently found to prove the continuing link between the Harappan and South Indian pictograms in a series of copper coins of the late mediæval period of the rulers of Travancore who inherited the traditions of the Cheras. ('The Pallavankovil Copper Plate of the Early Pallava Period' by T.S. Subramaniam published by the Archaeological Society of India).

The legacy of the Indus Valley civilisation must, therefore, be sought in the life-style of the common people of South India, in their coins, in the images in their temples, in their 'lingams' of terra-cotta or stone that is central to their form of worship, in the priest-astronomer strata in their society and most importantly in their script - all of these as established by an academic consensus.

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stalwart during J.R. Jayawardene's Presidency, Mr. Lionel Gamini Dissanayake; the others were M.A. Abdeen, M. Don Sunil (alias Mony) and W.A. Don Mahinda Kumara. All four were indicted on a charge of conspiracy to abduct Prof. Buultjens, and the latter three faced the additional charge of actually carrying out the abduction.

The charges also alleged that the offences were committed with the assistance of seven other persons, namely A.A.M. Don Wilbert, M.A. Perera, S. de Silva Jayasinghe, M.K. Ratnayake, J.P. Wijesinghe, Nimal Richard and O.H. Sarath. The last two had died by the time the case came up for trial. The other five persons became prosecution witnesses presumably having been given immunity from prosecution by the Attorney General.

The case was guaranteed wide publicity because of the fact that the first accused was a high profile former Minister and later fell from grace after Mr. R. Premadasa became President. Himself a senior lawyer, Mr. Dissanayake was defended by a battery of

prominent lawyers. From the beginning the evidence against him appeared to be rather dicey from the fact that the professor had waited for over two years before making a statement implicating Mr. Dissanayake, and there was no evidence against him other than that of A.A.M. Don Wilbert, whose evidence was proved to be untruthful and untrustworthy. The charges against him were dismissed and he was acquitted on 30 March this year at the end of the prosecution case without the judge even calling upon the defence to call evidence on his behalf.

The Attorney General pressed on with the charges against the other three defendants in the case till the end, but they too were acquitted by the judge on 27 April. What makes this case specially intriguing is that the judge, while holding that there was no evidence to convict them on either the conspiracy or abduction charge, found that the only persons who were shown to have participated in the crime were the three prosecution witnesses, including A.M.M. Don Wilbert whose name figures prominently in one of the affidavits of DIG Udugampola!

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READERS FORUM

LTTE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

I WISH to make a few comments on the LTTE's statement on 'human rights violations' published in your journal of 15 March 1992.

All the Tamil people and in fact all people inside and outside Sri Lanka know the record of the LTTE on human rights, and I am surprised that your journal should have provided space to publicise their false claims and whitewash their sins against the people. However what is of importance is that the Tigers have for the first time publicly admitted that they are keeping people in their detention camps, although this fact was known to many for a long time.

But the Tigers' claim that 'Prisoners are kept in custody under conditions which accord with both local and international law and they will at all times be treated humanely', is an outrageous lie. I enclose sworn testimony in the form of two affidavits by two persons who have been held in the LTTE's Thunnukkai camp and other camps which reveals the barbarity of the torture, physical violence and deprivation of food which all persons have to undergo. I hope you will have the courage to publish the full text of this evidence in your journal.

To claim that the treatment of their prisoners 'accords with local and international law' is farcical when one knows that there is only one law, that is the Tigers' gun-law, that is practised in the areas under their control.

Expecting the two-legged Tiger to observe human rights is to dream about the four-legged Tiger to be content with eating grass.

S. Anthonipillai

Colombo 3,
Sri Lanka.

A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

The London Seminar convened recently by a number of Tamil Associations called upon the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE to commence 'negotiations to establish an associative structure within which the Sinhalese people and the Tamil people may live in peace and freedom'. To bring about this associative structure it is necessary to examine critically the claims of the two peoples. It will be helpful if you or any of your readers

can enlighten us on the following matters:-

1. The Tamils claim the North and East as their traditional homelands. The Sinhalese point to the Dagobas and Vihares in the Eastern Province and say that the East was also the home of the Singhala people from times past. When the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon, there were three kingdoms, those of Jaffna, Kandy and Kotte. The Kingdom of Jaffna was conquered by the Portuguese in 1621 and thereafter, it came successively under the rule of the Dutch and the English. The claim of some Tamil parties is, that, when the English left, the territory which comprised the Kingdom of Jaffna and which the Portuguese conquered, should have been given to the Tamils as a separate and independent territory. It will be good to know what territories comprised the Jaffna Kingdom then, and whether it included then, or at any other time, the present Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Amparai districts all or any of them.

2. The Tamil parties insist on the permanent merger of the North and the East. The Sinhalese oppose this and want a referendum to be held in the East to find out whether the people there want to be permanently merged with the North. We, the Tamils, claim that self-determination is our inalienable right, that we should determine our destiny and have the right to conduct our own affairs. Therefore, it seems unjust to deny the people of the East their right to decide their own destiny. How do we find out the 'Self-determination' of a people? Is it by a referendum or plebiscite or is it determined for them by their leaders. Self-determination, referendum, plebiscite are these terms synonymous?

3. The Northern and Eastern Provinces are the creations of the British and the boundaries were drawn by them. Is it not possible to re-draw the boundaries, carving out a predominantly Sinhalese area around Amparai and a predominantly Muslim area around Samanturai and join these areas to the Province of Uva. The rest of the present Eastern Province can be joined to the present Northern Province. The word 'merger' will then disappear from the negotiations! The residents of these areas may vote in a referendum or plebiscite to endorse the boundaries fixed by a commission which would include mutually acceptable representatives of neutral countries.

The present carnage is appalling and should be ended. A negotiated settlement is a crying need. It should be the result of an unbiased considera-

tion of the claims of both parties. Intransigence of either side should give place to an accommodating spirit of give and take, so that the Sinhalese people and the Tamil people may live in peace and freedom.

C.S. Maniam

Ontario, Canada.

IN DEFENCE OF THE TIGERS

I WISH to respond to the article by Ram Manikkalingam, M.I.T., entitled, 'Defence of the Tigers is Morally and Politically Reprehensible' (*Tamil Times*, April 1992). I believe the writer is from the USA. If this is so, I also thought that the writer would have studied the independence movement which gave rise to the country USA. But my assumptions have been proved wrong since Manikkalingam seems so ignorant about the revolutionary history of the USA and the methods adopted by the rebel group led by George Washington.

1. Manikkalingam accuses the Tigers of 'denial of pluralism' and achieving supremacy by 'murder of all political rivals'. Well, if this is so, does not George Washington and his rebels also stand accused of similar 'atrocities'? Did these rebels who initiated the liberation movement against the British accept pluralism? They even had slaves, while espousing the principles of freedom and liberty! The entry on the American Revolution in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Macropedia, Vol. 29, 15th ed., 1990) states, 'As the debate on independence moved toward a climax... in New England, minority groups were overridden, royalists fleeing for Nova Scotia or England, while Baptists and other religious minorities were vigorously suppressed; south of the Potomac, backcountry dissenters were subdued by force, though loyalism remained endemic in the area...'

2. Manikkalingam also castigates the Tigers for compelling the Tamils to 'choose between Tiger rule or Sri Lankan military rule'. Isn't it similar to what the Founding Fathers of America did 216 years ago? They also compelled the then citizens of the New England colonies to choose sides, either forcing them to support the rebels, or the British crown. And what happened to the 'loyalists' who supported the British crown, after the American independence? Again for the benefit of people like Manikkalingam, I quote from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* article on the American Revolution. 'Perhaps as many as 80,000 Tories (loyalists to the British crown) migrated to Canada, England

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THE SUB-CONTINENTAL SCENE

Tributes to Rajiv

Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, accompanied by some of his Cabinet colleagues, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Jayalalitha Jayaram and Tamil Nadu Congress(I) President Vazhappadi K. Ramamurthy, flew into Sriperumbudur on 21 May and paid homage at the site where former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated on this day last year.

The occasion described as a simple half an hour solemn function marked by a floral tribute and a prayer meeting was subject to elaborate security arrangements, and attended by the State Governor, many Union and State Ministers and several AIADMK and Congress(I) leaders.

Silence seems to have descended even from the early hours on the vast dry land dotted with palm trees, and the thousands of people, including Congressmen, who thronged the open ground were regulated through specially erected barricades. They were frisked thoroughly by police using metal detectors before they were allowed to get into various enclosures. The Congress(I) and AIADMK flags formed a ring around the ground which had huge cut-outs and portraits of Rajiv Gandhi.

The Prime Minister Rao administered an 'anti-terrorism day pledge' to those assembled and the Chief Minister and others repeated the pledge read out by the PM to uphold and promote peace, social harmony and understanding among the people and fight the forces of disruption threatening human lives and values. This was followed by prayer meeting and rendering of hymns and bhajans by well known singer M.S. Subbulakshmi.

In New Delhi, people from all walks of life converged at Rajiv Gandhi's Samadhi on 21 May to pay homage on his first death anniversary. A special commemorative function was held at the Samadhi and a wreath was laid on behalf of President R. Venkataraman, who was in China on an official visit, by Vice-President by Dr. Shankar D. Sharma.

The Vice-President, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, his Cabinet colleagues, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi along with her two children, Rahul and Priyanka, were prominent among those who attended the ceremony.

The Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development for 1991 was awarded posthumously to Rajiv Gandhi 'for his outstanding and

innovative contribution to the cause of nuclear disarmament, global peace and economic development'.

According to reports from Madras and confirmed by a news item published in the LTTE's Tamil weekly, 'Kalththil' (29.5.92), published in London, breaching the security arrangements a white van approached the site of the commemorative ceremony at Sriperumbudur sometime before the ceremony began and hundreds of mini posters and leaflets were thrown from the vehicle which vanished before the police could intervene.

Describing Rajiv Gandhi as a 'bloodthirsty vampire and a fascist', the contents of the leaflets justified his killing for sending the IPKF into 'Tamil Eelam' where they committed atrocities against the people. Paying tribute to her sacrifice and praising her courage, the belt-bomb assassin of Rajiv Gandhi, Dhanu, was hailed in the leaflets as the legendary 'Kannaki' who sacrificed her life in the cause of seeking 'justice'!

Gorbachev Makes India's UN Case

Former Soviet President Michael Gorbachev called for the inclusion of India as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in an address in Missouri during his recent speech-tour of USA. A country with a population of 800 million should have a place in the decision making process of the UN, he argued. Presently, the 12 member Security Council has five permanent members heavily weighted in favour of the western block.

It is significant that Gorbachev's call comes when, in spite of much publicised recent improvements in relations between India and USA, Washington has clamped down 'sanctions' against both India and Russia for their '\$250 million rocket technology agreement'. The US ban on trade and technology to the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) has been branded by Indian opposition politicians as 'an attack on Indian sovereignty', and as 'an exercise in gun-boat diplomacy'.

The ISRO Chairman, Dr. U.R. Rao, at a press conference declared, 'The ISRO is determined to make one space programme a success notwithstanding the delay the US ban could possibly cause. The ban is arbitrary, unfair and unjustified and cannot stand technical scrutiny'.

India seems to have again angered the Bush administration when it re-

cently successfully test-fired Agni, a top-of-the-line ballistic missile with a range of more than 1,500 miles with a ton payload. The test reinforced India's status as the sixth country with the capability of an intermediate-range ballistic missile, the others being USA, UK, Russia, France, and China.

Agni is a modified version of India's civilian rocket, the Space Launch Vehicle, the entire design, development, manufacture and testing subsystems and components of which are said to be wholly indigenous.

In Washington, the Bush administration expressed regret that India had gone ahead with its test firing of the Agni missile on 29 May. State department official Richard Boucher said: 'we regret India's decision to proceed with further testing' of the intermediate-range ballistic missile. 'We believe ballistic missile programmes in areas where there are chronic regional tensions undermine rather than enhance regional security'.

Biggest Financial Scandal

Criminal prosecutions are likely following investigations by the Reserve Bank of India and the Central Bureau of Investigation in what has become one of India's biggest financial scandals, certainly the biggest in its stock-market history. The media has already published enough material which unravels the amazing 'rags-to-riches story' of the main character in this inglorious drama.

The rise and fall of stock-broker Harshad Mehta reveals how he came to possess \$250 million belonging to the State Bank of India without adequate security and helped himself almost overnight to an astonishing fortune through manipulating the country's stock and financial markets. Mehta had exploited the inadequacies in the regulatory mechanisms of the stock market proving himself to be the most maladroitness manipulator of the stockmarket game.

Investigations into the scandal have revealed that banks have been defrauded to the tune of Rs. 3,000 crores. A criminal conspiracy with Mehta at its centre had been playing havoc with the banking system - yielding 'money' which was being used to play the stock markets. Mehta and his associates, some of them bank officials, are to face charges of cheating, falsification of accounts, criminal conspiracy and under provisions of the Prevention of Corruption Act.

Now Mehta, the man who could write cheques worth over Rs. 500

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crores to the State Bank of India without batting an eyelid is in real trouble. However, having hired a battery of the country's best legal brains and with the help of a powerful lobby of grateful businessmen and friendly bureaucrats, Mehta is trying to ride out of a wave of troubles disdainfully claiming, 'I don't create waves, I ride them'. His crash could be as resounding as his astonishing rise.

Outrage at Beheading

There was nationwide outrage at the recent beheading of an All India Radio official by a Khalistani separatist group in Punjab. The decapitated body of the official, Mohan Lal Manchanda, aged 50 was dumped under a tree along a national highway at Patiala near the border with Haryana. His head was left at a town square in nearby Ambala.

The Babbar Khalsa International, one of the separatist groups in troubled Punjab, claimed responsibility for the execution. A handwritten statement issued by the organisation said that the 'sad' decision to kill Manchanda was taken because the government had not met its demand for a more complete use of the Punjabi language on television and radio, and threatened other employees with a similar fate.

As Manchanda's family mourned under a portrait of Guru Nanak, the Sikhs' most revered saint, there was a wave of outrage and anger. Employees of the television network, Doordarshan, and All India Radio went on strike for ten minutes disrupting all broadcasting. In Punjab, local TV and Radio stations remained off the air completely.

Most political parties in India condemned the killing. The Communist Party said that the killing revealed 'psychopathological degeneration in the garb of insurgency'. The Marxist Party said: 'Such an act has nothing to do with religious preaching, and it is nothing but barbarism'.

The victim was kidnapped on May 18 and two days later Babbar Khalsa International claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and made known its demands which included broadcasting on television and radio the letter written by Harjinder Singh Jinda and two associates to the President, in which they owned up to responsibility for the assassination of the former Army Chief, Gen. A.S. Vaidya and demanded the scrapping of news bulletins in the Hindi language and replacing them with Punjabi.

Manchanda was the second radio official to be killed by militants. Last

year they gunned down Rajindar Kumar Talib, director of the Chandigarh station. The killing comes in the wake of increasing pressure and intimidation upon newspapers and journalists. Recently this particular organisation succeeded in getting the news editor of *The Tribune*, a leading Punjabi daily, replaced. Dalbir Singh, 40, the editor is a former Communist Party activist. He 'voluntarily' sought a different post after his chief, Harbhajan Halvarvi, received a telephone threat that Dalbir Singh should be removed by 31 May or he would be eliminated.

Diplomatic Incident

Indo-Pakistan diplomatic relations received a setback when, on 24 May, a senior Indian diplomat was forcibly abducted from outside his house in Islamabad, beaten up and released some seven hours later after Pakistan declared him *persona non grata*.

According to Indian sources, Mr. Rajesh Mittal, a counsellor of the Indian High Commission, was proceeding towards his office on the day when three cars belonging to Pakistani intelligence agencies blocked his car. His father, Dr. B.B. Mittal, who rushed out of his house in aid of his son was physically restrained by the Pakistani officials before abducting his son.

However, a statement by the Pakistani Foreign Office issued after the diplomat's release alleged that 'Pakistan security agency apprehended Mr. Mittal while receiving highly classified documents from a Pakistani contact. His identity was established during interrogation by police'.

The released diplomat claimed that he was tortured and interrogated for nearly seven hours and ordered to sign a confession which he refused. He showed newsmen bruises and welts on his body and said that he fainted after receiving electric shocks.

The Pakistani Chargé d'Affaires was summoned to the External Affairs Ministry in Delhi to hear a strong protest against the 'unacceptable and regrettable' action by Pakistani intelligence. India later responded with the expulsion of two Pakistani diplomats.

Presidential Candidate

The strongest suggestion on the forthcoming Indian Presidential election from the ruling party so far is that Congress(I) would like to field Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the incumbent Vice-President, for the Presidency in succession to President R. Venkataraman.

In an effort to obtain the unopposed election of Dr. Sharma so that the

President does not become the subject of political controversy at a time when the country is passing through a difficult phase, the leadership of the ruling party would appear to have already sounded out the 'feelings' of leaders of opposition parties. Before Dr. Sharma's formal nomination is announced, the ruling party is bound to have formal talks with the key opposition parties to obtain a 'consensus'.

It is believed that no major objection would be raised against Dr. Sharma's candidature, given his record as Vice-President and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. The Communist parties have already indicated that they would have no difficulty supporting him as he has 'secular' and 'democratic' credentials.

Ban in Andhra Pradesh

In the wake of the outlawing of the LTTE (Tamil Tigers) by the Indian government, the State Government of Andhra Pradesh has banned the Peoples War Group of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) headed by Mr. Kodapalli Setharamaiah.

Making his announcement on 21 May at a government organised rally to observe the first death anniversary of Rajiv Gandhi, the Chief Minister, Mr. N. Janardhana Reddy said: 'After patiently waiting for the last 18 months to control the anti-people activities of this group of extremists through the normal process of law, I am banning the PWG which has firm links with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. From this moment, the consequences of our decision will be made clear to the PWG, as it will be dealt with on a different footing'.

Minister Sacked

The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister and leader of the ruling party, AIADMK, Ms. Jayalalitha Jayaram has removed Mr. R.M. Veerappan, a senior party leader, from her state cabinet. A few days earlier she had dismissed him from the important portfolio of Minister of Education and from the party post of Joint Secretary.

Mr. Veerappan is the third Minister to be removed since Jayalalitha assumed office in June last year. The sacking of Veerappan came amidst reports of his meetings with a film actor who is being promoted in certain quarters as a potential rival to her.

Continued from page 5

discrediting the Tamils internationally, and that there was Brahmin hypocrisy in India and that the newspapers and other media channels controlled by the Brahmins played a major role in banning the LTTE in India.

Ominous Signs on the North-West Frontier

There was a sigh of relief in the sub-continent and elsewhere as the cruel and agonizing civil war in Afghanistan came to an end with the fall of Najibullah and the installation of Professor Sibghatullah, a modern version of the mediæval Moghul Padushah, as interim President at the head of a ruling council consisting of a number of Mujahideen leaders.

However, developments since would seem to suggest that the much hoped for peace that returning Mujahideen leaders brought to Kabul is a tenuous one built on a shaky new political framework of a hastily stitched up 'troika', a patchwork coalition that would appear to control the levers of real power behind the aging interim President.

Even before the fusillade of shots, grenades, rockets and tracer bullets that hailed the victory celebrations had died down, the tribal commanders of the various ethnic groups (the Pakhtoons, the Hizbes, the Tajik Shias and others) were chalking out their paths to positions of strength and strategic advantage. With the UN reduced to the status of mere bystander and unable even to ensure a safe escape passage to the deposed President Najibullah, the Soviets in disarray after their major military debacle in the region, Washington not quite sure which side to support and other capitals somewhat confused at the complex turn of events, Afghanistan proclaimed itself an Islamic Republic accompanied by assertions that reflected a fundamentalist and an anti-western stance, with overtones of growing Iranian influence and Pakistan busy seeking to buy influence and win friends.

There are already ominous signs of disintegration along ethnic lines in this unfortunate and tormented country, a possible Balkanisation making the northwest frontier of the sub-continent a powder-keg with awesome possibilities.

While Pakistan would appear to have a direct line of communication to Kabul having played a leading role in the long years of war, what could be of some concern in Delhi is the likely impact the developments in Afghanistan would have on India's border states of Jammu and Kashmir. There are already visible signs of exultation among fundamentalist guerrilla groups in Kashmir over the 'Islamic victory' in Kabul, and there is little

doubt Pakistan is trying its best to fish in the troubled waters of Kashmir. Certainly displeasing to Pakistan which has tried its best to incorporate Kashmir within its boundaries is the phenomenon of growing Kashmiri Muslim separatism which seeks to be independent of both Pakistan and India.

The Bangladesh war of independence and the eventual creation of the state of Bangladesh struck at the very ideological foundation of the concept of an 'Islamic Nation', Jinnah's rationale for the founding of Pakistan independent of and separate from India. Now the ever growing tensions and claims for autonomy along sectarian ethnic and linguistic lines within Pakistan itself might prove to be the gravedigger for the fictitious and fragile nature of the notion of an 'Islamic Nation'.

Jayalalitha's War on the Press

Unlike many countries in the third world, India can legitimately be proud of a vibrant free press. *Freedom of the Press is the Ark of the Covenant of democracy because public criticism is essential to the working of its institutions*. In spite of these ringing words delivered by the Indian Supreme Court in 1972, there have been many repeated attempts to muzzle the press primarily at state levels by the gross abuse of 'privileges' of State Assemblies.

When the Uttar Pradesh Assembly went berserk ordering the arrest of two High Court judges, the Supreme Court ruled that the fundamental rights to personal liberty, to freedom from arbitrary arrest and to move the Supreme Court for the enforcement of fundamental rights provided under the Constitution prevailed over the privileges of the legislature. However, the court sadly failed to pronounce on the issue whether the fundamental right to freedom of expression also prevailed over legislative privileges. Thus the path was left open for the continued abuse of archaic and ill-defined privileges.

Having come to power on the crest of a sympathetic wave in the wake of the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Jayalalitha Jayaram brooks no opposition from anybody, high or low, bullies the press, extends largesse to chosen stooges in the legislature who even genuflect

Islamabad, though initially unhappy over the turn of events in Kabul in that its fundamentalist protege Hekmatyar did not emerge on top and continues to remain sidelined by those in power, would not abandon its aim of installing a regime in Kabul in which its own 'fundamentalist friends' hold the levers of power, irrespective of all other considerations of triggering separatist and divisive forces thereby throwing the entire region into turmoil. The events that are likely to unfold in Afghanistan could spark off an already heightened sense of ethno-nationalist fervour that might spill over into the sub-continent that is already afflicted with separatist tendencies and beyond with disastrous consequences.

As Aabha Dixit of the Delhi based Indian Institute of Defence Analysis puts it: 'The tide of ethno-nationalism unleashed by the Afghan civil war can change the political character of South Asia forever and present a powerful challenge to an entrenched nation-state system'.

before her and 'treats others in the party as slaves' in the words of the Editor of *Thuglak*, Cho Ramaswamy. With the assistance of her chosen Speaker, R. Muthiah she has declared war on the Fourth Estate with a vengeance, employing the 'privileges of the state legislature' as her primary weapon.

A number of journalists have been accused and ordered to be arrested by the Speaker for breach of the privileges of the state legislature. The Chief Minister has flagrantly disobeyed the Supreme Court in getting her supine Speaker, Muthiah to order the arrest of K.P. Sunil, a correspondent of the *Illustrated Weekly*. An arrogant Muthiah when told that the Supreme Court had granted a stay order on his warrant of arrest of the journalist declared that his warrant was effective and that the police would enforce it. Later he went further and said that the Supreme Court order bound neither him nor the Assembly and that he had directed the Commissioner of Police not to heed the Supreme Court's stay order!

A new journal 'Rajarishi', was forced to close down following repressive action taken against it. When its editor, Valampuri John, an ex-MP, announced that he would serialise a biography of Jayalalitha, injunctions were obtained to prevent serialisation, but when the first instalment

Continued on page 27

Closing date for completed grid and coupon to be received is 31 July 1992.

Answers and the name of the winner – first all correct entry pulled out of a bag – will be announced in the August 1992 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.

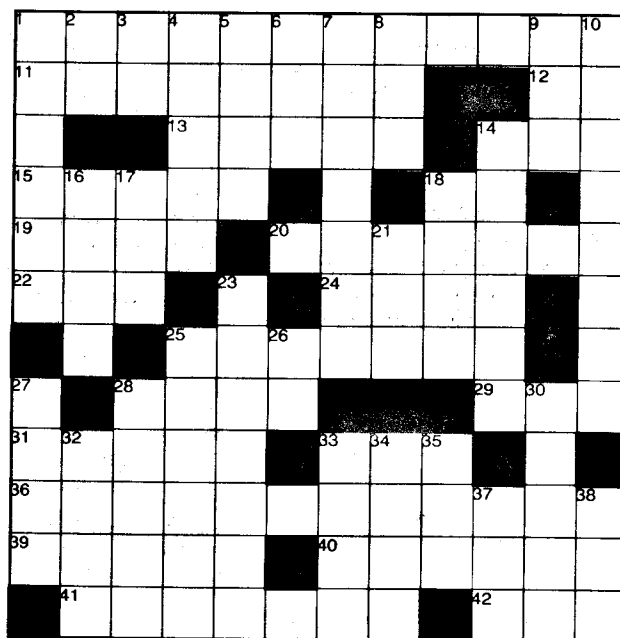
Across.

1. Packed with pearls of goodness, splendid fruits for jaundice patients and all convalescents (12)
11. Shapely Jaffna delicious with a tangy flavour (8)
12. If expressed with assertion could be egoistic (2)
13. The vital feather in a bird's wing (5)
14. One who lives off others (3)
15. A fruit on its own but in Jaffna it could be stone, wood or even custard (5)
18. Abb. Judge Advocate (2)
19. Alert to danger (4)
20. 'Devil's Abode' that produces one of Jaffna's favourite vegetables (7)
22. Artful and cunning (3)
24. It's eruptive anger could let loose hell (4)
25. An emotional thrill (7)
28. A blunder (4)
29. One of Henry VIII's several wives a victim of political manipulation (3)
31. In Indian mythology this divine being is evil; in Zoroastrianism, benevolent (5)
33. Cheated in slang usage (3)
36. Jaffna's pride – a choice variety of mango (5,7)
39. Rescues from harm (5)
40. Most famous duck of all, worldwide (6)
41. A creeper's fruit produces a most refreshing juice (7)
42. Mark aimed at in bowls and quoits and a term familiar in golf (3)

Down:

1. Fruits with thick fleshy rind from palmlike tree (6)
2. A mystic syllable used in Hindu prayers related to the creation of the universe (2)
3. Medicinæ Baccalaureus, abb. (2)
4. Forward in flowering and ripening (5)
5. Triumphant joy (4)
6. Sign of the zodiac Aries (3)
7. Usually streets lined with trees (7)
8. Nothing (3)
9. Large flightless Australian bird (3)
10. Another of Jaffna's delicious mangoes usually of the red soil region (8)
14. This fruit's Jaffna cousins come in several varieties (6)
16. It could be palmyra, coconut, arecanut and even kittul but outside Sri Lanka there are many others (4)
17. Inquire impertinently in other people's affairs (3)
18. Italian goddess identified with the one the Greeks recognise as the wife and sister of Zeus (4)
21. Radio Television Seychelles popularly (3)
23. Sounds of the crow and of the frogs too (6)
26. Kipling's great poem (2)
27. Pokes roughly (4)
28. School children's favourite fruit from trees that virtually grow wild in Jaffna (5)

QUIZ CROSSWORDS – No. 17. Compiled by: Richards



30. Person free from pettiness (5)
32. Teacher or parent who does this to children is a poor one (4)
33. The last of these gentle, friendly birds became extinct in Mauritius through British and French sailor greed not so long ago (4)
34. A lion gone awry (4)
35. Professor popularly (3)
37. Floor covering (3)
38. Poem composed to be rendered in song (3)

Quiz Crosswords – 15: Solutions.

Across: 1. Neil Kinnock. 9. Air. 10. Emote. 11. Brandt. 15. Ammeters. 17. Yap. 19. Sa. 20. Nice. 21. Pa. 22. Intent. 24. Pique. 25. Mer. 26. Gala. 27. Hail. 29. Laika. 32. Atoll. 34. Mined. 35. Re. 36. Dance. 39. Oya. 40. Ark. 41. Moa. 43. Os. 44. Birendra.

Down: 1. Narasimha Rao. 2. El. 3. IRBM. 4. Keating. 5. Nets. 6. Om. 7. Cory Aquino. 8. Kt. 12. Rene. 13. Nectar. 14. Dre. 16. Maneaters. 18. Premadasa. 21. Pi. 23. Trio. 24. Palme. 28. LLD. 30. Ai. 31. Key. 33. Lamb. 37. Noi. 38. Car. 42. Zn.

Winner: Mrs. J. Sivapatham, 478 York Road, Stevenage, Herts. SG1 4EW.

Continued from page 26

appeared, thousands of copies of the magazine were seized. When *Kumudam* published an editorial criticising the CM on a public issue, Cauvery waters, the press was raided and ransacked. Other journals which became victims of the whimsical viciousness of Jayalalitha were *Nakkeeran*, *Tharasu* and *Thalapathy*. Speaker Muthiah went a step further and issued arrests warrants against *Murasoli* editor, Selvam and *Kovai Malai Murasu* editor, Sunder, both of whom have moved the Supreme Court and obtained a stay order.

Muthiah has undermined the status of the Speaker by succumbing to the dictates of Jayalalitha; it is said that following his appointment as Speaker, he prostrated himself 'before the Iron Goddess', and on one occasion even permitted the 'Nadamaldum Theivam' (Moving Goddess) to occupy his Chair and the CM's companion and friend Shasikala to occupy the Deputy Speaker's Chair! As an opposition MP said: 'Muthiah's job is to ensure that the House is for the AIADMK, of the

AIADMK and by the AIADMK', and added that Abraham Lincoln would be turning in his grave.

The actions of the Chief Minister and the Speaker are in contempt of the highest court of the land and have produced a 'constitutional crisis of mega-proportions'.

Continued from page 22

and the British West Indies. Many of these had served as British soldiers, and many had been banished by the American states. . . The loyalists were harshly treated as dangerous enemies by the American states during the war and immediately afterward. They were commonly deprived of civil rights, often fined and frequently deprived of their property. The more conspicuous were usually banished upon pain of death. . .

3. Manikkalingam's naïve belief on the benefits of the 'comprehensive federal package of devolution put forward by the government' astounds me. Between 1956 and 1977, when the Tamils under S.J.V. Chelvanayakam

agitated for federalism (non-violently of course!), the Sinhalese-dominated government didn't budge an inch. And, if the same ruling hierarchy is at least paying lip-service to the ideals of federalism now, then it tells how much the Tigers have made the ruling Sinhalese elements to sit and think. Why not score one for the gun?

4. Manikkalingam also seems too optimistic about the 'compassion' shown by the Sinhala nationalists these days, in quite a number of international seminars and journal outlets. He states: 'although Sinhala nationalism may continue to be a part of the state ideology, it is no longer the dominant part'. Is this a joke? In the island where only 70% are Buddhists, why the armed-forces and security-related professions are made up of more than 97% Sinhalese? This discrepancy alone disproves the point made by Manikkalingam.

Sincerely yours,

Sachi Sri Kanthi

Osaka BioScience Institute,
Osaka 565, Japan.

CLASSIFIED ADS

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MATRIMONIAL

Hindu brother seeks partner for brother, 35, landed immigrant, Canada, working in travel industry. Send horoscope, details. M 592 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Christian parents seek partners for son, medical doctor, 26 and daughter, final year computer degree student, 24. M 593 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu brother seeks groom for sister in Colombo, 35, skilled dressmaking, cookery, etc. M 594 c/o Tamil Times

Jaffna Hindu seeks partner for his sister, 32, Montessori teacher in Colombo. M 595 c/o Tamil Times

Jaffna Hindu parents seek partner for daughter, 31, 5'4", pretty and attractive, UK permanent resident in good government employment, innocent divorcee. M 596 c/o Tamil Times

Jaffna Catholic parents seek professionally qualified partner from good family background for daughter, 31, BDS, FDSRCS, Hospital Dental Surgeon in UK. Send details M 597 c/o Tamil Times

Jaffna Hindu seeks educated partner for attractive, accomplished sister, 32, settled in Australia. Send all Details. M 598 c/o Tamil Times

Jaffna Hindu Lecturer, Medical Faculty, Sri Lankan University, 32, Ph. D., seeks groom for early marriage. M 599 c/o Tamil Times.

Brother seeks professionally qualified groom, preferably doctor, for sister, 33, doctor in U.K. Mars afflicted. Send details. M 600 c/o Tamil Times.

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couple on their recent wedding.

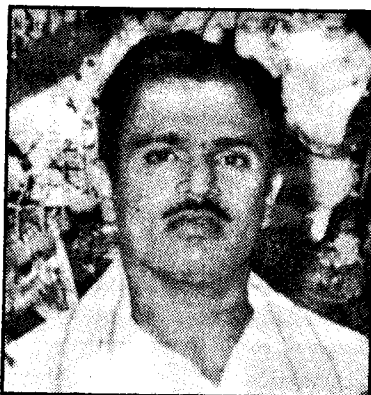
Rasasingam brother of Mr. & Mrs. B. Amarasingam of 7497C May Fair Garden, Klebang Besar, 75200 Malacca, Malaysia and **Sivamayaki** daughter of Dr. & Mrs. K.S. Paramalingam, 334 KKS Road, Jaffna on 6.6.92 at Oshwal Main Hall, Campbell Road, Croyden, Surrey, U.K.

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OBITUARIES



Mr. Subramaniam Sivagnanasundram, son of late Mr. S.V. Subramaniam of Patanai, Tholpuram, Chulipuram, Sri Lanka; former Teacher Jaffna Hindu and Kokuvil Hindu Colleges and late Mrs. P. Subramaniam (Thiraviam) of Kalvalai, Sandilipay, Sri Lanka; beloved husband of Jayarani; father of Sivagobikrishna, Jayagobikrishna and Sivahamy; brother of late Mrs. Leela Visvanathan of Kollankallady, Tellippalai, Sri Lanka and Mr. S. Sivagnanasekaram (U.K.); uncle of Mr. V. Sriganeshakumar, Ranjan S. Sekeram and Mohan S. Sekeram (all of U.K.) passed away on 12th May 1992 and was cremated in Manipay, Sri Lanka on 15th May. Sadly missed by all his loved ones and friends - Memorial Lane, Manipay North, Manipay, Sri Lanka.



Mr. Ponniah Ratnam (82), of Jaffna, Retired Principal, Kayts Maha Vidyalaya; beloved husband of Paramaratnam; loving brother of Nadarajah (Jaffna); loving father of Jayaratnam, Jawaharatnam and Gopalaratnam (all of U.K.), Vijayaratham, Ratneswary, Ratnam-bikai and Ratnavathy (all of Jaffna); loving father-in-law of Jokambikai, Sarathadevi and Rohinidevi (all of U.K.), Parameswary and Thurairajah (both of Jaffna); loving grandfather of Jayakumar, Jayamohan, Thushara, Dharshan and Dharshi (all of U.K.), Vijayanthi, Thinesan, Jayahari, Ravimohan and Suganthi (all of Jaffna) passed away in Jaffna on 21.5.92 and was cremated on 23.5.92. Sadly missed and mourned by his loved ones. May his soul rest in perfect peace. A Pooja and prayers in memory of him will be held at 12 noon on Saturday, 20th June 1992 in London Sri Murugan Temple, Manor Park, London E12 - R. Jayaratnam, 56 Tryfan Close, Redbridge, Ilford, Essex IG4 5JY.



Mr. Ramalingam Nagulesu (83), Retired Superintendent of Post and Telecommunications, Sri Lanka; beloved husband of Nageswary (Sri Lanka); beloved father of Pathmini (U.K.); father-in-law of Dr. Thillai (U.K.); brother of late Kandiah, late Selvadurai, Mrs. Ponniah, Nadarajah (both of Sri Lanka), late Murugesu, late Mrs. Kanagasabai, and Mrs. Krishnapillai (Sri Lanka) passed away peacefully on 4.2.92 in Kaddudai, Manipay, Sri Lanka. Sadly missed and mourned by his loved ones, friends and relatives. - 24 Epworth Close, Truro, Cornwall, TR1 1UP, U.K. Tel: 0872 74111.



Mr. Chinnathamby Jayasingh, Retired Director of Works, Ministry of Irrigation, Sri Lanka; beloved husband of late Saraswathy; father of Bremawathy, Nithiyavathy, Jayaseelan and Renukavathy; father-in-law of Dr. Mahendran, Elizabeth and Baskaran; grandfather of Geethanjaly, Sri Ram, Nagulini, Anandan, Sanoj and Dhylan expired on 17th April 1992. Funeral took place at 18 Chetty Street Lane, Nallur, Jaffna - 3 Shrewsbury Avenue, Kenton, Middlesex HA3 9LX, U.K. Tel: 081 204 0870.

Mrs. V.R. Nevins Selvadurai (87), Relict of the late Dr. D.D. Nevins Selvadurai; mother and mother-in-law of Anton & Leila, Letitia & the late Vernon Chanmugam, Felicia & Reggie, Timothy & Indranee, Deva & Christine, Patricia & Prince Watson, Stephen & Gnani, Paul & Debbie, Rohina & Luke de Silva passed away on 26th May 1992 in St. Louis, U.S.A.

IN MEMORIAM



In loving memory of **Mr. S.S. Bastiampillai** on the fourth anniversary of his passing away on 14th June 1988

You were a great man
So noble and great
Whom we all miss
And will never forget.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his loving wife Ruby; children Vinothini, Pathmini, and Rajan; grandchildren Tilan, Arosha, Sumithra, Suthashini and Julian - 24 Woodend Avenue, South Harrow, Middx., HA2 8NX, U.K.



In loving memory of **Mr. Thuraiappa James Jayaratnam** on the first anniversary of his passing away on 20.6.91.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his loving wife Regina; children Jayamani Emmanuel, Dr. Albert Jayaratnam, Jayasothi Benedict, Dr. Rabin Jayaratnam, & Dr. Anandha Jayaratnam; sons-in-law Naesan Emmanuel & Anton Benedict and daughters-in-law Ranji Jayaratnam, Swanitha Jayaratnam and Kamala Jayaratnam - 16 Parkland Avenue, Slough, Berks. SL3 7LQ, U.K.



In Loving Memory of **Mr. Dayalakumar Sivajoti**, born, 17.3.45, died 15.7.91; on the first anniversary of his passing away.

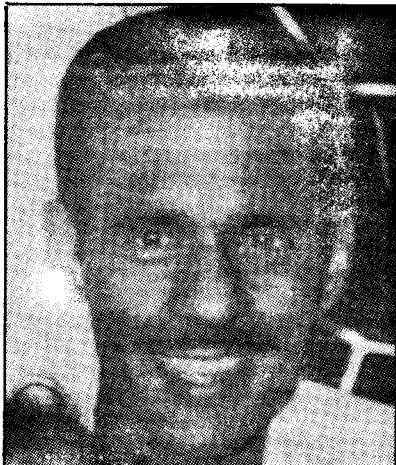
Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his wife Mahendra Ravi Rani; daughter Raniitha; mother Mrs. L. Sivajoti; Mother-in-law Mrs. M. Ratnasabapathy; brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, nephews and nieces. - 360 Thorold Road, Ilford, Essex IG1 4HF, U.K. Tel: 081 518 0826.



In loving memory of **Mr. P. Thiagarajah**, retired teacher, Jaffna Hindu College, Sri Lanka, on the 10th Anniversary of his passing away on 9.6.82.

Times may change, but
Memories of you never fade
In our hearts you will always stay
Loved and remembered everyday.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his loved ones - 310 Navalar Road, Nallur, Jaffna, Sri Lanka.



In everloving memory of **Mr. B. Sivaganathan** on the first anniversary of his passing away on 22.6.91.

Remembered with love and affection by his step mother Mrs. Rajaletchumy Balasubramaniam; wife Kamala; brothers Dr. Sivaloganathan, Thirunavukkarasu, Radhakrishnan and Sriharan; and sisters Mrs. Gowri Pathmanathan, Mrs. Bhagawathy Mohanadas, Mrs. Mangayarkkarasi Jetheendran and Mrs. Jayanthi Kumaranayagam - 9 Upton Close, Park Street, St. Albans, Herts., UK. Tel: 0737 873537.

Academy of Fine Arts, London

Annual Examination (Practical & Theory)

In Vocal Music, Violin, Veena, Miruthangam & Flute will take place on Saturday & Sunday 25th & 26th July 1992 from 9.30am to 3.30pm at: Wembley High School, East Lane Wembley, Middx., U.K.

Entries close 15.7.92. for further details please contact the Chief Examiner:

Mrs. Saraswathy Packiarajah,
34 Blackthorn Court, Springwell Road,
Heston, Middx., TW5 9EL.
Tel: 081-577 3588.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

June 27 4.00pm London Music Circle presents Flute Recital by K. Jananayagam at the Indian Y.M.C.A., Fitzroy Square, London W1. All Welcome.

July 3 Chathurthi.

July 4 Manickavasagar Guru Poojah.

July 4 10am to 11pm Jaffna Hindu College O.B.A. (U.K.) Social, Get Together & A.G.M. at Wembley High School, East Lane, Wembley, Middx., Tel: 081 330 6120.

July 5 6.00pm Isai Vizha at Surbiton Assembly Hall, Maple Road, Surbiton, Surrey. Tel: 081 398 3797/949 3770.

July 6 Aani Uththiram.

July 10 Ekathasi.

July 10 7.45pm Music & Dance by Bhavan's Outreach Classes at Kingsbury High School Tyldesley Hall, Stag Lane, Kingsbury, London NW9.

July 11 6.30pm S.C.O.T. presents two Tamil plays by Tamil Performing Arts Society, Violin duet by Dr. Lakshmi Jayan & Arvind Jayan at Charles Cryer Theatre, High Street, Carshalton, Surrey. Tel: 081 468 7181/764 7912/870 9897.

July 12 Prathosa Viratham.

July 14 Full Moon.

July 19 11.00am to 10.00pm Mahajana College O.B.A. Open Day at Rutlish School, Watery Lane, Merton Park, London SW20. Tel: 081 841 5186/399 7848.

July 19 6.00pm Speech Day of West London Tamil School, Wembley at Wembley High School Hall, East Lane, Wembley, Middx.

July 25 12 noon Cricket Match, Old Royalists vs. Old Thomians at Maori Club, Third Grounds, Worcester Park, Surrey.

July 25 6.30pm Miruthanga Arangetram by Selvan Dushynathan, son of Mr. & Mrs. Puvanendrampillai at Walthamstow Assembly Hall, Forest Road, London E17. All Welcome.

July 26 London Sri Murugan Temple Ther Festival, 78 Church Road, Manor Park, London E12.

July 29 Aadi Amavasai.

July 29 to 31 8.00pm Shobana Jeyasingh Dance Company presents 'New Cities, Ancient Lands' in Bharatha Natyam at Purcell Room, Royal Festival Hall, London SE1 Tel: 071 928 8800.

At Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. Tel: 071 381 3086/4608.

July 3 7.00pm Lecture by Dr. H. Upadhyay on Bhagavat Gita. All Welcome.

July 17 7.45pm Hindustani Vocal by Lakshmi Shankar.

Numerology in a Nutshell

by V. Anandanadarajah

Numerology is the study of the occult significance of numbers that goes back to ancient times. It has been the basis for architectural designs from simple houses, temples and palaces to towns. In Hindu astrology, numerology plays a decisive role with the aspirants of this faith. But today in many parts of the world, a great interest is being shown to revive the study of numerology using English alphabets for calculations.

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Deductions are based in planetary numbers from one to nine representing the Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Ragu (descending node), Mercury, Venus, Kethu (ascending node), Saturn and Mars in that order. They are made by simple arithmetical calculations using dates of birth and numbers given to each letter of the alphabet which are as follows:

1. A, I, J, Q, Y; 2. B, K, R; 3. C, G, L, S; 4. D, M, T; 5. E, H, N, X; 6. U, V, W; 7. O, Z; 8. F, P.

Example: G. Hari was born on the 23 12 1960 giving him a birth number of 5 and 6. This is reached from his actual date of birth 23 reduced to $2 + 3 = 5$ and the number 6 reached by adding $2 + 3$ (date) + $1 + 2$ (month) + $1 + 9 + 6 + 0$ (year) which comes to 24 and finally $2 + 4$ added to make 6.

In his case the ruling planet is Mercury (5). He is also influenced by Venus, 6 being the digit arrived by adding all the numbers in his date of birth. Both these planets will be very beneficial to him. If his name is reckoned it will be $3(G) + 5(H) + 1(A) + 2(R) + 1(I)$ which adds to 12 and finally $3 (1+2)$. The number 3 represents Jupiter and this should ensure much happiness for G. Hari.

Furthermore, there are the compatible numbers and these could be tabulated as follows:

The number one agrees with 3; Two with 3 and 5; Three with 1, 2, 5, 6 and 8; Four with 3, 5 and 6; Five with 2, 3, 6, 8 and 9; Six with 3, 5, 8, and 9; Seven with 3 and 5; Eight with 3, 5, and 6; and Nine with 5 and 6.

Planetary characteristics:

1. SUN: Subject is well informed; ambitious, aspiring and should be an able head of an enterprise.

2. MOON: This celestial body governs one's points of view but a Moon subject, amiable by nature, will have to adjust a great deal in life.

3. JUPITER: Subjects are often persons of letters, they are jovial and much blessed.

4. RAGU: Strict by nature, those under the influence of this planet are good to strangers and will prosper in alien lands.

5. MERCURY: The planet of scientists and mathematicians and as befits it, those under its influence understand the subtle problems of life better.

6. VENUS: The Venus people love beauty, are involved in business activities and worldly. They possess wealth and enjoy much comforts.

7. KETHU: Saints, philosophers and persons of integrity usually have this planet as their ruler.

8. SATURN: Saturnians are conscientious people and are dedicated to the larger welfare of the community.

9. MARS: Martians are very courageous and adventurous folks.

Madhuvanathi Was Magnificent

Kumari Y.G. Madhuvanathi, the 14-year-old daughter of film actor Y.G. Mahendra, gave a recital of 'Bharata Nrityam' at the Bharata Vidya Bhavan in London on May 23, 1992.

Madhuvanathi is a shishya of Dr. (Miss) Padma Subrahmanyam, whose achievements as a brilliant dancer, research scholar, innovative choreographer, music composer, teacher, author and Indologist are unparalleled in the contemporary dance scene. Padma's creative choreographic efforts include, inter alia, translating the frozen dance postures of karna (ancient basic units of dance) sculptures into pulsating, fascinating

and dynamic movements. She has evolved her own unique technique of bodily movements and kinetics. It has an arresting and captivating sculptural quality which dazzles the audience by its sheer dynamism and innovative ability. She is a 'constructive rebel' who opened a new chapter in the evolution of Bharata Natyam.

To be a shishya of Padma therefore bestows extra demands and expectations on the



shishya. She is inevitably assessed and reviewed in the context of the uniqueness and grandeur of the 'Padma style' which today is synonymous with the term 'Bharata Nrityam'. How did Madhuvanathi acquire herself under this probing microscope?

Madhuvanathi commenced with a brisk and pulsating Pashpanjali which set the tempo for the items to follow. This was followed by a unique 'Jathiswara Sahityam' in Kamas and Rupakam. Not many people in the dance field even in India have heard of this item. Traditionally Jathiswaram has no sahityam, but Padma has revived an obsolete dance form of Jathiswaram with sahityam. And in dancing to her Guru's choreography with lyrics dedicated to Lord Muruga, Madhuvanathi did raise quite a few eyebrows at the Bhavan.

Pabhanasam Sivan's Varnam - 'Nee indha mayam' in Dhanyasi and Adi, choreographed by Adyar Lakshman is perhaps the most performed Varnam in the London scene so far. Madhuvanathi danced the same Varnam, but choreographed by Padma. It depicted the longing of the human soul for union with God in the form of a lover on a pining for the arrival of her lover - Lord Vishnu. In Madhuvanathi's interpretation of her Guru's choreography, what has hitherto come to be regarded as a rather stale Varnam, suddenly sprang into life and assumed new exciting dimensions in terms of vivid and imaginative sanchari bhava extolling the virtues of Lord Vishnu. Madhuvanathi's portrayal of Gajendra Moksham was really fantastic.

Swami Dayananda Saraswathi's 'Bho Sambo', dedicated to Lord Shiva and Oothukadu Venkatasubba Iyer's 'Kalyana Rama', dedicated to Lord Rama (being dressed up for his wedding) were beautiful and uncommon compositions brought to life by Madhuvanathi in the portrayal of 'Varugalaamo', wherein she portrayed Nandan (of low caste) praying to the deity at Thillai to help him surmount the obstacles placed in the way of his visiting His sanctum. The amount of empathy a 14-year-old girl brought into play to depict Nandan's deep anguish, calling into action every facial

muscle and also perhaps opening up every alveole in her lungs, spoke volumes about her great potential for the future. The programme came off to an appropriate conclusion with a lyric of Abhinavagupta set to music by Padma in Kannada Raga in a delightful rendition of Thillana by Madhuvanathi.

In conclusion, Madhuvanathi's sense of rhythms was impeccable, her interpretation of bhava was precocious and she proved herself to be a magnificent shishya and a worthy ambassador of Padma's unique 'Bharata Nrityam'.

- Review and photo by Dr. K. Indra Kumar.

Sri Rama Pattabhishekam



The South London Tamil audience which had seen the staging of the Ramayana in the first three parts by the children of South London Tamil School during the past years were treated to the last and concluding part, Rama's Pattabhishekam on 9th May last. It was a grand show by the little children speaking their parts with admirable style and acting splendidly. A surprising feature this time was the introduction of singing by some of the cast, the songs of Arunachala Kavirayar whose opera Rama Nataka Keerthanas is famous. The children most of whom do not learn music were able to sing the songs correctly with raga and thala which were applauded by the huge audience with gusto.

The final scene in which the return of Rama with Sita to Ayodhya after completing the fourteen year exile was enacted with a beautiful procession with royal paraphernalia along the aisle of the auditorium which was an unexpected treat to the huge audience. Troops of dancers enlivened the final arrival of the royal party and the crowning of Rama by Vashishta in the presence of the royal party and rishis.

More than sixty children took part in the play and the pranks of the monkey army led by Hanuman were interesting. Among the parts, Rama, Sita, Lakshmana, Hanuman, Ravana, Mandodhari, Angathana, and Bharatan were outstanding. But on the whole all the children did their parts well. The drama was produced and directed by the school's Drama teacher Mrs. Sivapathasundaram.



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