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A HARE-BRAINED IDEA

The exchanges via public statements between India and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) are becoming more acrimonious and accusatory of each other following the total breakdown of 'informal talks' between Indian officials and the LTTE.

Rajiv Gandhi's recent denunciation of the LTTE for repeatedly going back on the assurances it had given has been matched by LTTE's accusation that India was hell-bent on imposing 'a charter for servility' under the pretext of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. The allegation by the Indian High Commissioner, G.N. Dixit, following the recent discovery of a SAM 7 missile in Jaffna that LTTE is being armed by sinister foreign agencies provoked the LTTE response that India had prior knowledge of LTTE's possession of and in fact had given training in the use of such missiles to LTTE cadres. Rajiv Gandhi rejects the call for a ceasefire 'in the present circumstances' on the basis that the LTTE was 'terrorising the Tamils with fire power and brutal violence', and the LTTE charges that India's refusal to order a ceasefire reflected its aim to liquidate the LTTE.

Trading in charges and counter-charges is not a productive exercise in the context in which the Tamil people are placed. Avoidance of public denunciations will lead to better understanding for mutual benefit.

Operations are being intensified, casualties are mounting and the people are suffering from the continuation of this undeclared 'war'. Restoration of peace and normalcy seem a far cry.

Preparations are being undertaken to hold the North-East

Provincial Council Elections with or without an agreement with the LTTE. Such a venture would not lead to the solution of the problem. We have warned in these columns that in the context of the situation in the Tamil areas, an attempt to hold elections without an agreement with the Tamil militant groups, particularly with the dominant LTTE, would be foolhardy and impractical. People will not simply participate or vote. Even the entire might of the IPKF would not persuade them to venture out and vote. Any such elections will turn out to be a sham and a counter-productive exercise.

From the angle of the Sri Lankan government, the constitutional imperatives may compel elections in the north and east to be held as soon as possible to facilitate the holding of the Presidential election which has to be held before January 3, and the general elections before September next year. It is this constitutional compulsion placed on the Sri Lankan government that may persuade India to go along with the rather hare-brained idea of holding the Provincial Council elections in the Tamil areas without an agreement with the LTTE.

The Indian government by taking for granted too many things in the past already finds itself embroiled in a situation which it had not intended or bargained. Let it not be said that it had not been warned by those who are well disposed to India, its government and its people that are going along with the idea of holding elections without an agreement with the LTTE is predestined to end in failure and may damage India's position further.

REACTION TO KANTHASAMY'S ABDUCTION

It is over two months since K. Kanthasamy was abducted. To date his whereabouts or the fate that has befallen him remains a mystery. Unconfirmed reports that are circulating indicate that the worst would have happened to him. If that is true, those who have known him and his dedicated work to the Tamil community when it was most needed will be filled with indescribable sorrow.

The perpetrators of this crime would appear to have perceived its diabolical nature for they have not had the courage to admit it nor to justify it. It may be that the perpetrators thought that they stood to gain in some way by Kanthasamy's disappearance. But the Tamil community has not only lost Kanthasamy's services, but also it has already begun to suffer from the consequences of the manner in which he was made to 'disappear'.

The aid giving agencies who have contributed substantial sums for the relief and rehabilitation of Tamil areas have suspended their aid. It is said that any further development or humanitarian aid would not be forthcoming directly to Tamil areas, and if such aid is to be given in the future, it is more likely to be routed through the government in Colombo.

Agencies which furnish developmental or humanitarian aid and international human rights organisations place much value upon the work of independent human rights and

humanitarian activists, workers and organisations. Today, they see in Sri Lanka, both in the Tamil areas and the south of the island, a grave danger to such workers and organisations. In the south, the JVP is targeting independent human rights activists and organisations who have carried on their work impartially highlighted the violations of human rights committed against the Tamil people. In the Tamil areas they see that not only people like Kanthasamy and Fr. Chandra Fernando are being targetted, but also a determined attempt to intimidate and influence the composition and work of the Citizens Committees and Rehabilitation organisations. The seriousness with which the international human rights and humanitarian community view this dangerous development has already demonstrated itself on two fronts. Firstly by the suspension of aid by donor agencies. Secondly, many Non-Governmental Organisations and Members attending the current Session of the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (generally referred to as the Human Rights Sub-Commission) have expressed serious concern and called upon all parties in Sri Lanka to respect the right and freedom of independent humanitarian and human rights organisations and individuals to carry on their work without pressure, intimidation or threats aimed at their physical existence.

DMK CALLS FOR CEASEFIRE

The DMK President, Mr M. Karunanidhi, announced that the Executive Committee and the General Council of the party would meet shortly to decide on a struggle to seek an end to the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis. The struggle would be to make the Indian Government realise the situation and initiate immediate steps to settle the issue, he said.

'Before this, I extend my final appeal to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to find a solution to the problem,' he added.

Mr Karunanidhi was addressing a public meeting at Royapuram to highlight the failure of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and protest against the killing of Tamils, on the first anniversary of the Agreement.

The DMK chief made it clear that the party would not rest until a solution was found to the ethnic issue. His party had been championing the cause of Sri Lankan Tamils since 1956 and 'it is not a part-time affair for us nor are we trying to secure political gains out of it' he added.

Mr Karunanidhi said that the genocide in Sri Lanka was on for the past five years. First it was by the Sinhalese, then by the Sri Lankan Army and now the IPKF has taken over.

Referring to the support extended to the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord by the former Chief Minister, Mr M. G. Ramachandran, in a meeting on the Marina on August 2 last year in the

presence of the Prime Minister, Mr Karunanidhi said: 'Mr Ramachandran was not satisfied with the accord. But he was afraid of expressing it. Hence he tried to leave for the U.S. for a medical check-up even before the meeting. But the Indian Government saw to it that his flight tickets were cancelled and forced him to support the accord,' he added.

On reports of the Sri Lankan president, Mr. J.R. Jayewardene wondering whether the DMK President wanted a new accord, Mr Karunanidhi asked whether it was not imperative to implement properly the agreement which had already been signed. The accord was ab initio void as it was signed without the concurrence of the LTTE leader, Mr V. Prabhakaran, one of the important parties involved. He said 'even that we accepted just because we wanted peace to return to the strife-torn areas.' And that was why the DMK did not condemn the accord much in the beginning, he said.

Referring to the provision which called for a referendum with regard to the merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, the DMK leader said that he smelt a rat as this could be manipulated to defeat the merger demand itself. In this connection, he cited the Indian Government's rejection of the plea for a referendum in Kashmir so that the question of that State remaining with India or joining Pakistan could be settled. He asked

'what right has India to accept a referendum in Sri Lanka?' Mr Karunanidhi charged that the substantial time given for holding this referendum, in December this year, was to reduce the number of Tamils living in the Eastern Province by methods of massacre and Sinhalese colonisation. The colonisation had been carried out effectively, he said and accused the Indian Government of having no guts to prevent or question it. 'Is it the way to implement the accord?' he asked.

Atrocities

Quoting profusely from various newspapers and magazines, Mr Karunanidhi sought to paint a picture of what he called atrocities by the IPKF against innocent Tamils including a large number of women. He also quoted the Economic and Political Weekly commenting that the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, instead of bringing about a political solution to the problem, had become one connected with the bilateral relations between the two countries and their security.

Mr Karunanidhi urged the Indian Government to declare a ceasefire immediately which would pave the way for surrender of arms by the LTTE. This had been openly accepted by the LTTE, he added.

According to him, the insistence of the Indian Government on surrender of arms by the militants before declaring ceasefire was not a practical proposition. 'Why should you stand on unwanted prestige?' he asked.

E.R.O.S. INSISTS ON PERMANENT MERGER OF N & E

V. Balakumar, leader of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students, says his group will never accept any solution without the permanent merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka.

In an interview with *India abroad* at his office here the other day, he said that the two provinces made up the homeland of the Tamils. 'It is a single entity. There is no question of a temporary merger (pending a referendum),' he declared.

Balakumar, who is in touch with leaders of the most-dominant militant group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, said that he was sure that the LTTE would not conclude any agreement with the Indians unless a permanent merger was assured.

He said that he expressed the same opinion during talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi three days before the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement of July 29, 1987. He accused India of indifference towards Tamil aspirations.

'The Indian's top priority is to save the Jayewardene government' he charged. 'They will go to any extent because the accord will fall flat the minute Jayewardene is out.'

'However, Rajiv Gandhi has given us an assurance that he would not let down the Tamils. I hope he will keep his word.'

Balakumar said his group's second demand was the demarcation of a separate area for Tamils of Indian origin living in the central hill country. This area was historically part of the Sinhala kingdom where the Tamils of Indian origin were settled by the British more than a century ago. Asked if such a demand was reasonable, Balakumar replied that the plantation Tamils lived like slaves and their basic rights should be recognised.

'There are areas in which Tamils are the majority in the central and Uva provinces' he said. 'These areas can constitute a separate province. However, I agree these things should

be discussed at a round-table conference and sorted out.'

He accused the leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress, Sauma Moorthy Thondaman, of 'exploiting his own people - he is good at dual acting.' He also said that Thondaman had failed 'to fulfill the aspirations of the Tamils of Indian origin.'

The EROS, he said, is cooperating with Indian peace-keeping forces in areas 'where the sufferings of the Tamil people could be reduced.' Members of his organisation are active in rehabilitation and reconstruction work, he said, adding:

'We have a number of farms. At the moment, we are lying low and working these farms. But we are definite that the accord will not work. When the period of so-called accord implementation is over, we will rise again. We have not given up our revolutionary ideas. When the time comes, we will be the flagbearers of the Tamil people.'

MADRAS NEWSLETTER:

by Arjuna

TENSIONS AHEAD! IN TAMIL NADU

Tamil Nadu politics is getting murkier and murkier every day! When the long-awaited elections do come around – the furthest could be December this year or January 1989 – they could probably turn out to be the most bitterly contested in Tamil Nadu's history; and given any spillover in likely developments in North-East Sri Lanka, they could even turn violent. This is the grim prospect facing the Rajiv Gandhi government right now.

While Chief Minister MGR held the reins of power for over ten years, whatever the plus or minus points of his rule, and his failing health notwithstanding, he cracked the whip and everyone fell in line – all the men and the two women in his life. Even the Congress-I, desperate as it was to gain power in what it considered the weakest southern state, chose to go along with MGR; courting him with flattery and an over-manifested concern for his health because he was considered, and rightly so, the only counterweight against the return to power of Delhi's biggest bugbear – DMK chief Karunanidhi. With MGR's death on December 24 last year, all power-seekers saw a large vacuum lying ahead.

The power struggle began with the two women, both Js, wife Janaki and political protegee Jayalalitha Jayaram, with strongman R.M.Veerappan backing the former and four other heavyweights, ex-Ministers V.R.Nedunchezhiyan, S.(Pandurutti) Ramachandran, S.Thirunavukkarasu, and C.Aranganayagam ranging eventually behind the latter. During the brief interim period Nedunchezhiyan who as No.2 in the MGR cabinet staked his personal claim to the MGR podium but was quickly upstaged by Veerappan, and on 3 January, the then governor Khurana called upon Janaki Ramachandran to form the government. She was sworn in on the 7th as Tamil Nadu's first woman Chief Minister, and she barely lasted a month in power, after Tamil Nadu witnessed the most uproarious scenes in its State Assembly, with Speaker Pandiyan making his name as the world's most controversial Speaker! On January 30, the Janaki Ministry was dismissed, President's rule imposed and Governor Khurana was himself eased out. The Centre had taken the first step towards the fulfilment of the Congress-I ambitions in the State.

As long as hopes were raised that the elections would take place before the 6-month Governor's rule ending July 28, individual ambitions within the Jayalalitha camp became stifled. No one was prepared to rock the boat or jeopardise their existing positions. Once it was known that Governor's rule was to be re-imposed for a further six months, the dam burst. Intrigues began, and whether the Centre had a hand in it as was alleged, or not, any confusion in the Dravida party ranks was an auspicious event from the point of view of the Congress-I, backed by a powerful Brahmin lobby. Now, within seven months of MGR's exit, the party that he founded has split for the second time – a three-way split.



Nedunchezhiyan with Thirunavukkarasu (left), S. Ramachandran and Aranganayagam

The four men who earlier stood behind Jayalalitha as against Janaki now seem to be seeing more virtues in the latter! Sacked by Jayalalitha on August 2, the dissident group of four have now "expelled" Jayalalitha in turn! As to whose sacking of whom matters, is something that has to be decided in course of time by the rank and file of the Jayalalitha AIADMK faction. But it is already evident that in a society that has been nurtured in cinema and glamour, popular charisma is what matters, and there is no plausible alternative to Karunanidhi except one, and that is Jayalalitha.

The rumblings within the Jayalitha camp began with the suspicion that "Pandurutti" Ramachandran who at one time became conspicuous as MGR's chosen spokesman on the Sri Lankan Tamil question, was holding secret parleys with New Delhi on a possible alliance with the Congress-I, a development which certainly would have interfered with the comely lady's own ambition to step into MGR'S shoes; but could have brought politic-

al benefit to the former. The next issue concerned party funds. Treasurer of the party Thirunavukkarasu who had always stood by Jayalalitha even during intra-party quarrels during MGR's lifetime was being left out in the cold. He had a valid grouse. Party funds, he protested, were being credited to the personal account of Jayalalitha. While it is a Treasurer who is usually asked the question, here was a Treasurer himself asking for accounts! And getting no reply. But what was most irritating to the four stalwarts was what they called Jayalalitha's "style of functioning", and her dependence on an extra-party coterie of persons headed by 'family friends' – the Natarajans. Natarajan is a public official, the Deputy Director of Information in the State government, but apparently enjoying long leave at present. The latest is that he has got himself warded for 'ulcers'.

The question now is, will there be three AIADMKs, each competing with the other two for MGR's legacy, or will the 'gang of four' try to team up with the Janaki faction in a bid to

bring down Jayalalitha? But party insiders in the Janaki camp say that while Janaki would like to keep that option open, Veerappan who has been her strong prop will have none of it. Being a radical 'Dravidian', he would rather go over to the DMK than hobnob with those of dubious Dravidian convictions. It is also no secret that Congress-I chief Moopanar will be weighing his own chances as Chief Minister, and would not mind if it comes to a crunch seek an alliance with the Janaki faction if Veerappan could be eased out! Sivaji Ganesan, the dissident Congressman who has been building a rapport with the Janaki camp will in that event be left high and dry. In the highly unprincipled state of politics in Tamil Nadu, and as the days pass, no one can predict with certainty, what strange polarisations would occur!

The DMK is the only party that is insulated from all these uncertainties, despite some different shades of opinion, particularly on issues related to the party stances on the Sri Lankan

question and the LTTE. For example, party M.P. Murasoli Maran is not known to be sympathetic towards the LTTE, while another M.P., Y. Gopalaswami is a fiery protagonist. But as far as national issues are concerned there is no doubt whatever that the DMK is a solid monolithic grouping, which whether in power or out of power has a permanent mass base in the State.

The DMK's hands have been further strengthened by a new development that occurred on August 6. Seven Indian Opposition parties have come together to form a National Front to contest the next Lok Sabha elections, and the DMK is one of them. The others are - Janata, Lok Dal, Congress(S), Telugu Desam, Assam Gana Parishad and Jan Morcha. They will have a common manifesto and programme and will set up a Secretariat in Delhi. DMK leader M. Karunanidhi who was visiting the Indian capital, New Delhi, after four years, was very forthright in his views. He accused the Congress-1 of misusing the Central Intelligence agencies including the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) for political purposes and directly charged the Rajiv Gandhi administration with responsibility for the split in the AIADMK after MGR's death. He said the government's efforts to split the AIADMK were aimed at weakening the Jayalalitha faction and make it submissive to Congress-1.

When asked at the Press Conference about the issues that would be placed before the electorate, he said, 'Sri Lanka will naturally be one of them'. Asked about the Congress-I claim that its electoral prospects in Tamil Nadu were bright, Mr. Karunanidhi sarcastically remarked that even during the Allahabad by-election, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had been confident about his party's victory. The DMK general council and working committee would be meeting shortly to chalk out a programme of action, a non-violent one he asserted, to see that elections in Tamil Nadu are not postponed any further.

As per the constitutional requirements, elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly will have to be completed before January 29, 1989 next year, when the State will complete one year of President's rule. There is no provision for extending the President's rule beyond January 29, 1989, unless the Constitution is amended, but that is ruled out since the Congress-I does not command the two-thirds majority in the Rajya Sabha now, required for effecting a constitutional amendment.

The swoop on the LTTE

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's recent hectic tour of the Thanjavur and Tiruchi districts in Tamil Nadu virtually represented the inauguration of the Congress-I election campaign.



Jayalalitha: Wiping a tear or turning a blind eye?

However much the Congress-I would like to dodge the Sri Lankan Tamil question in the election campaign ahead, the realisation has apparently come that it is not possible. This possibly explains why at every other meeting he addressed he kept on damning the LTTE, accusing them of going back on their word, even mentioning 'Kittu' by name: and the upshot of the Prime Minister's visit was that at midnight August 7, Police swooped on the LTTE's political offices at Indira Nagar and Padmanabha Nagar, took all inmates into custody, took away documents and sealed the offices. Kittu who had always remained at Thiruvananthapuram under house arrest was spared, but the security around him was streng-

thened. The next day and night, Police went on a manhunt, taking in not only suspected LTTE cadres and sympathisers but even youths suspected to belong to other groups, drop-outs and whoever happened to be available. Hundreds of them are now lodged in bug-infested cells at Madras Central Jail.

Meanwhile, an emergency meeting of the administrative committee of the DMK has been convened for August 13, and although no agenda has been fixed, it seems certain that the swoop on the LTTE will figure. In a strongly-worded statement on August 9, Mr. Karunanidhi condemned the arrests of more than 150 LTTE men "evidently as a follow-up to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's statements on LTTE during his recent visit to Tamil Nadu". While he was not against action to crack down on crimes, such large-scale arrests, he felt, were designed to cast a slur on the LTTE cadres. He demanded the immediate release of the arrested persons.

All indications are that the coming months will witness a tension-ridden atmosphere in Tamil Nadu. Opposition parties which have joined forces in the National Front see in the mishandling of the Sri Lankan Tamil question an easy opportunity to discredit the Rajiv Gandhi administration. September 16 has been fixed as the day for the formal launching of the Opposition National Front in Madras. The political fall-out - there is no reason to doubt it - will be to the DMK's advantage, and any over-reaction by the Government could heighten the tensions in the State.

Highest damages ever awarded to Mrs.B

The former Sri Lankan Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has won a defamation suit against a State-owned daily and been awarded the highest damages ever allowed by a Sri Lankan court. The Colombo District Judge, Mr. M.B. Moraes on August 1 ordered the Sinhalese "Dinamina" newspaper to pay Rs.1.4 millions as compensation to Mrs. Bandaranaike.

The newspaper, in a report published in January 1985, quoted the National Security Minister Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali as alleging in Parliament that Mrs. Bandaranaike had made a "traitorous speech insulting the armed forces". The Judge held that although Mr. Athulathmudali was covered by Parliamentary privileges, the newspaper did not enjoy such freedom. The owners of the newspaper, the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., which is fully Government-owned, said they will appeal against the judgement.

Engineers Seek Parity with Doctors

Engineers in the service of the government of Sri Lanka are demanding salaries and other perks similar to those enjoyed by medical doctors.

The engineers claim that there are wide disparities between the salaries paid to them and those paid to the doctors. Similar to the perks enjoyed by doctors, the engineers want duty free imported cars, a specialisation allowance, a 50 acre plot of land for a professional housing complex in Kotte to be built as a model town with shops and other facilities and loans for houses.

REFUGEE RETURN

299 Sri Lankan Tamil refugee families arrived at Kankesanthurai from India on August 6. They were received under arrangements made by the IPKF. Another batch of 127 families consisting of 553 members had arrived at Talaimannar three days earlier, according to a IPKF press release.

Limited Options on South

by Kendall Hopman

Almost 20 years ago, a group of German tourists visiting Yala saw a disturbing sight on the beach at Kirinde. They saw a group of youth at target practice. Their manoeuvres were so perturbing that the tourists reported what they had seen to the government.

Around the same time, a group of UNPers sought an appointment with the Governor General William Gopallawa to voice fears about a new group they had heard of. This group, calling itself the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna, intended disrupting the general elections of 1970, the UNPers feared.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, in the opposition at that time, saw the developments as an attempt by the UNP to postpone general elections. About a year and a half later, the SLFP government was ordering its security forces and police to wipe out the JVP at any cost.

Today the country's troops and the so-called People's Liberation Front are still locked in battle. Both have come a long way. The troops have refined their anti-guerrilla arsenal, and the JVP has learnt many lessons from its abortive insurrection of 1971. But little else has changed.

Ask a government politician today how he intends solving the problem of southern terrorism and he will shrug. 'What would you suggest?' will be his most likely reply. He may also add 'We have done what we could. It is up to them (the JVP) to respond.'

Go to an opposition politician and the stock answer will be 'The government is not serious about solving the problem. They must talk to the JVP.'

The country's options, it would appear, are limited. But so are those of the JVP.

If the JVP saw its performance at the Presidential elections of 1982 as justification of its status as a political party, it must know today that it has lost most of its electoral support. Even if its leaders find the courage to come out of hiding, its chances of winning an election are remote.

So the JVP has to depend on the bullet to attain its objectives. And the government has to reply in kind.

The country's options, it would appear, are limited. How many more July twenty ninths will it have to observe?

That leaves Sri Lanka with a not too pleasant spectre. How many July twenty ninths will it have to observe as it did recently?

July 29 had an important lesson for Sri Lanka. The people of this country

will have to be far more intelligent if they are to live with the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna.

They will have to see the Peramuna and its fighting arm the Deshapremi Janatha Vyaparaya for what they are.

A group of revolutionaries, who are rapidly passing the point of no return. A group whose arsenal has more



Troops in Matara: The military option

psychological weapons than even guns and bullets.

They will have to realise that it will be their own individual reactions and decisions which will prove or disprove the effectiveness of the psy-war of the JVP. That the JVP does not, at present, have the capacity to enforce its decrees on a countrywide scale and that the JVP objective is a passive public reaction because this will fuel the fear psychosis on which the peramuna thrives.

But that is not a solution to the problem. The violence is not going to fizzle out suddenly. It will have to be either stamped out, or remedied politically.

Government is trying – somewhat unsuccessfully at the moment – to do the former. The latter, it seems, is not a realistic option. There are many people, the SLFP and sections of the JVP included, who seem to think a general election will solve the problem. But they are presuming that the UNP will be defeated.

If it is, the SLFP will inherit the

problem. But the UNP obviously does not want to lose. It will fight hard to win and perhaps succeed. This is not likely to change the JVP's stance and the violence will continue.

So it is in the interests of the UNP to find a solution to the problem. Yet the political initiatives are at a standstill. Government appears to be depending on a military solution to the problem of the JVP, and a long-term political solution to the problems of the South.

The JVP seems set to escalate violence in the South and several other

parts of the country. The massacre of five members of DIG (South) Premadasa Udugampola's family was a frightening omen. The war will get dirtier. The security forces could be provoked to react with equal ferocity.

"What is needed is a military solution on one hand, and a long term political revolution on the other."

Since it proscribed the JVP in 1983, the only positive political initiative the government has taken was the lifting of the proscription in May this year. Since then, the government has repeatedly invited the JVP for talks.

The JVP has not responded positively at all, except to issue a long list of demands. The demands were made shortly after the notorious K.C. Senanayake hoax, but they implied that the JVP was willing to give up violence if they were met. But some of the demands were obviously unrealistic.

It is equally unrealistic to expect Rohana Wijeweera and his colleagues to surface and take their chances with

the families of all their victims. The JVP leader now finds himself in the same predicament that Velupillai Prabhakaran, the Tiger leader finds himself. There will always be someone somewhere who wants them dead.

The impasse leaves many questions unanswered. Has the government done everything possible it could to solve the problem? Was lifting the proscription the best it could do to convince the JVP to give up violence?

Has the government made any efforts to initiate talks with the JVP leadership? Has it studied the JVP demands with a view to granting at least some of them?

Is the government serious about its invitation to the JVP to come forward and negotiate? Do the JVP leaders have reasonable grounds to fear prosecution if they do? If so, can the government remedy the problem?

A cohesive imaginative plan to solve the problem does not seem to be available. There isn't an accord in sight.

And most important, is the government continuously reviewing its options on the South or is playing things by ear?

The answers differ from one Cabinet minister to another. Here are the views of two senior ministers who for obvious reasons cannot be identified:

(1) 'The problem of the JVP has to be solved by the security forces and the police. And it is possible. What we have to do is to remove the leadership and the hardcore cadres of the JVP. The rest of the hangers on will find an alternate stream to pursue their politics. For this, the security forces have to cooperate with the politicians. They do not have to undertake a 'hearts and minds operation'. The people are already there, and they are with us. We are confident that if we have a general election, 85 per cent will vote, and at least 35-40 per cent of the people will vote with us. Of the rest 10 per cent or so will vote accordingly to the situation at that time. We can win, or if we don't we will still be an important factor. What is needed is a military solution on the one hand, as a temporary solution, and a long term programme to resolve the problems of the southern people through our economic policies.

The problem is that the JVP is not being tackled properly by the security forces. We do not have the intelligence we need. The security forces are not really treating this as a crisis. For their own purposes, they are letting the problem continue, and trying to blame the politicians.

'What must be understood is that the JVP problem is part of the revolutionary upheaval we have to undergo. It would have come up anyway. The JVP was looking for issues to pin their

revolution on, and the Indo-Lanka accord, and general elections gave them the opportunity. If these two issues had not been available, they would have found some others. Their ultimate objective is to form their own government. They do not have a chance of doing this democratically. So they have to do it militarily. That too is doomed to failure.

'I cannot foresee the SLFP solving the problem by giving the JVP a coalition. How can the economic policies of the SLFP be reconciled with those of the JVP. Such an alliance will not last. There may be peace for six months but then the problems will continue.

'It is futile to hope for a politically negotiated settlement to the problem. The JVP knows that the government cannot give in to all its demands. Even if it did, and the JVP entered the mainstream of politics, it would have to depend on the vote of the people, which it won't get.

'The only political point the JVP has made is in the third lecture, way back in 1968 when the movement was born. It dealt with Indian expansionism, and appeared to foresee today's situation. The JVP will be on a strong wicket if it were to score political points on this.

'On the military side, what we need is somebody with imagination. Someone who can do something beyond the routine military operations. That is why we wanted Colonel Lakshman Alaguma to coordinate the South.

'Make no mistake, the JVP does not have the public support. Issues like the Indo-Lanka accord don't matter so much to the people in the South. What they are more concerned about are problems like unemployment, which have to be addressed by the government. And unlike the Tigers in the North and East, the JVP cannot harness public support by claiming to fight for the people, because most of the people do not sympathise with the JVP's policies.

'From the government point of view, what more can it do? We cannot expect the JVP to have a change of heart and come forward for talks. But as far as Wijeweera is concerned, he has nothing to fear from the government because he cannot be indicted for any particular crime. And President Jayewardene has assured that he would grant an amnesty to all JVP cadres if they gave up violence.'

(2) 'Of course the government is constantly reviewing its options on the southern problem. But what can we do? Nowhere in the world have such problems been solved overnight. The government has kept its promise. It lifted the proscription on the JVP and did not reimpose it even though the JVP continued with its acts of barbarism. We feel we have done our part. The onus is on the JVP to come

forward. Either that, or the Sri Lanka Freedom Party must get involved and play the role of midwife.

'A large section in the government subscribe to the view that the JVP is not responsible for all the violence that is taking place, and that the SLFP is also involved to some degree. The SLFP does not seem to realise it is playing with fire. The JVP is blamed for everything that happens and the SLFP takes the credit. We feel the SLFP should persuade the JVP to give up violence.

Wijeweera and Prabhakaran are in the same predicament. There will always be someone somewhere who wants them dead.

'But how can the JVP leaders come out of hiding after all the murders they have been responsible for? They fear the revenge of the families of their victims. The government does not need to campaign against the JVP. They will be beaten before they start. Rohana Wijeweera who got just 200,000 votes at the Presidential elections in 1982 knows he does not have a prayer now.

'Ultimately the solution to the problem is a long-term one. One of the most crucial issues that will have to be resolved is the problem in the universities. Even though the system of admission has been structured to help students from the under privileged areas, they cannot compete with the urban-based students. They have problems with the English language requirement for jobs. There are many deep-rooted problems that nurture frustration among the southern youth. Until these problems are systematically remedied, the problem of unrest will not be solved.

'Wijeweera may want some guarantees from the government regarding his personal safety and that of his colleagues, if he is to come forward and join in talks with the government. If that is the case what is stopping him from making contact with the government through an intermediary? The JVP must respond to the government's initiatives - lifting the proscription and inviting it for talks - if the problem is to be tackled. But it has not. Who knows who is printing all the leaflets and posters that come up?

A cohesive, imaginative plan to solve the problem of southern terrorism does not appear to be available. There isn't an accord in sight. The southern problem is here to stay. We will have to learn to live with it.

And, as of now, decide on what our own individual reaction to the problem is to be. That decision taken collectively may well shape our destiny and our immediate future.

By courtesy of the *Sunday Times*, 31 July 1988

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COMMENTARY

by Quadri Ismail

It's evening in Lanka

It is with states as it is with individuals: one goes through convulsions of birth, is pampered in infancy, enjoys childhood and is mischievous in adolescence. One of them grows up. As it is with individuals, it is also with states: there are those who will not follow the usual pattern, who refuse to grow up and conform. The similarity continues: some rebels, due precisely to their operating outside the rules, chart new paths and become examples to the rest: others become outcast, a blight.

It looked as if Sri Lanka was on the way to ending its adolescence on July 29th, 1989. The 'Indo-Sri Lanka agreement to establish peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka' (implying, thereby, that there wasn't peace or normalcy in the country before) had a fundamentally important statement at the beginning. 'Acknowledging that Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual plural society consisting, inter alia, of Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims (Moors) and Burghers,' That avowal was thirty nine years, five months and twenty four days late. It should have been - should have always been - in the Constitution. Still, that is a part of growing up.

Air drop

One year later, it is clear that the accord has so far failed: though not for the glib reason often given in the south, that India has not fulfilled its obligations. It's not only India that is to blame here. But before we get there, we must find out why there was an agreement in the first place.

The great myth about the accord is that it was imposed on this country as part of the devious Indian conspiracy to dismember it. The first part of that statement is correct. However, Rajiv Gandhi's government never had a serious intention to divide this country. The objective of Indian regional policy has been to bring the entirety of South Asia within the sphere of its influence. (Another instance of which was to be seen in Mr Gandhi averring recently that he would not like to see an Islamic fundamentalist government in Afghanistan - as if it was any of his business.) You can't have the whole of Sri Lanka 'responsive to India's political and security concerns' and be plotting at the same time to cut it in half.

No, there was an accord because India's 'concerns' could only be met by ethnic peace, political stability and national unity in Sri Lanka. It was

imposed because the Sinhalese and Tamils had demonstrated, especially the former, that they were not considering the option of living harmoniously and equitably together in one country.

The common Sinhala assumption is that the June 4th air-drop prevented what would have been a famous victory against the Tamils, or their fighters, the Tigers. Nothing could be further from the truth. At that point of time, India was training representatives of all the militant groups (except PLOT) in the handling of anti-aircraft guns and missiles. They always had the option of giving the groups these weapons and so significantly altering the military balance, as the United States did in Afghanistan after supplying Stinger missiles to the Mujahideen.

No final victory

Even if this did not happen, there would be no final victory. Some of the troops used at Vadamaradchchi were fresh from training, and even then the Sri Lankan Army did not have adequate personnel for a totally successful operation. There were not enough men to cover the eastern coast of Vadamaradchchi, from where the bulk of the guerrillas exfiltrated back into the heart of the Jaffna peninsula. And even if the next two phases of 'Operation Liberation' were completed, and Jaffna taken - and remember that the IPKP used twice the number of troops that the SLA did and had more than four times the casualties in fighting in a heavily built-up area - the Tiger guerrillas would again have escaped into Vavuniya and Mullaitivu, to fight another day. As they did with the Indians.

There cannot be a solely military solution to an essentially political problem. That is why India, after inflicting a crushing blow to the Tigers, decided to open negotiations. This was based on the fact, obvious to many, that there cannot be permanent peace in the Tamil areas without the co-operation of the LTTE. At best, the guerrillas could be militarily marginalised, which means they will be around as a political nuisance. But more of that later.

It is important to look at the mistakes made on the Sri Lankan side in the past year, most of which go against the spirit of the accord, rather than its letter. With regard to devolution, the powers finally granted to the Provincial councils were objected to as inadequate even by the moderates in

the TULF. Fresh Sinhala colonisation of the Eastern province continued after the accord. For instance, 8,000 new acres were opened in Weli Oya and people sent there. (This is where the latest Tiger massacre took place this week.) Sinhala refugees from the east have been largely resettled with a grant of Rs 25,000 per family. No serious rehabilitation efforts have been made for the Tamils, though it is possible in many areas.

No Trust

Apart from this, there has been failure to stick to certain definite aspects of the accord. Still, many members of non-Tiger groups are in custody for no good reason, though an amnesty and release was promised. The groups themselves have handed over weapons and accepted the accord. Though the accord promises special rehabilitation efforts for them, nothing has been done for those released. They were not even issued with identity cards - thus making a return to and life in their homes, a hazardous process. And we had the famous incident where seventeen Tigers were caught at sea and were to be brought down to Colombo on the grounds that some of them had committed terrorist crimes outside the North and East. The accord, of course, makes no mention of this, it states that a general amnesty will be granted, with no geographic area mentioned. (As a matter of record, these guerrillas had only three machine-guns and some ammunition, they were bringing back documents, not arms, from Madras.)

It was with all this in the back of his mind that Sathisawam Krishnakumar, in Madras in April, explained why the LTTE was not considering direct negotiations with the Sri Lanka government. 'What have they done?' he asked, 'To make us trust them? Everything they have done since the accord makes us think that they don't want to treat us as equal.' In response to this, an important Minister asked whether mistakes could be publicly admitted on this side and a fresh beginning sought thereafter, said: 'How can we do it'.

The accord was also meant to bring an attitudinal change outside the north and east. If it failed to do so, it had to fail in its larger purpose. And this has been as much a contributor to its failure as has been LTTE intransigence, fundamentalism and power-hunger, as has been the Indian inabil-

ity - not unwillingness - to deal with it.

Grains of Truth

Many of the Tiger statements that have come out of London of late (Isn't it interesting that those who protest against the continuance of the LTTE Madras office say nothing about the London one?) have been histrionic and difficult to believe. The one on the first anniversary of the accord has many grains of truth, especially when it calls the accord, in a quaint choice of language, 'a mid result of the triangular struggle between Sri Lankan greed to install a Sinhala-Buddhist state in the island, Indian sensitivity regarding the security of the South Asian region and the commitment of the Tamil people to reiterate their right to self-determination.'

This statement makes no mention of permanent merger, or even of a ceasefire. The LTTE states categorically that, 'it is our position to extend our co-operation for the implementation of the accord, if the Tamils' interests and aspirations are safeguarded'. Significantly, it contained none of the rhetorical flourishes of the 'charter of servility' statement of 9th

July. Last week, in a call from London, senior member of the Tiger political wing, Thilakar, indicated they were disillusioned with the negotiations with RAW and wanted to talk with political representatives. This could be another play, it being unlikely that the LTTE has given up its dream of a Tamil Eelam. It is also possible that, with only low-key Indian reaction to their extremism, the LTTE is beginning to re-think its strategy.

On Wednesday, Indian High Commissioner Dixit met his Prime Minister, with senior Indian officials, and reviewed India's options now. The possibility of negotiations have not been ruled out, but there are indications that the Indian line against the Tigers will change over the next few days. With an enhanced role for Mr Dixit.

Provincial polls

And from the way things have gone of late, such a change cannot be to the advantage of the guerrillas. Either way, the Indians are very determined to have provincial elections in the north and east in the recent future and prevent a slide in total anarchy.

Without the Tigers, if needed. In the latter case, the Tigers are making noises that they would contest by proxy. (After all, a lot of money is at stake). But, if the Tigers don't give up their dreams, we cannot hope for anything that looks like peace Unless...

Unless the impossible happens. Unless the government of Sri Lanka, the LTTE, other Tamil groups, and the government of India sit down around a table and decide not to get up until they have sorted things out and drawn a new social and political contract for this country. The Indo-Lanka agreement is not an end in itself. It failed fundamentally because all parties to the conflict, all interest groups, were not consulted and taken into account when it was drawn.

Such a meeting could have the results this country badly needs. But such a meeting is not going to take place. The different groups are pulling in very different directions. The chances of such a meeting are only slightly lower than those of the sun rising in the west.

Good evening, Sri Lanka.

978 SECURITY MEN DIED SINCE JULY '83

A total of 978 Sri Lankan Army, Navy, Air Force and Police personnel died in their military encounters in the northern and eastern provinces since 23 July 1983, according to official statistics.

The Army which suffered the most number of casualties lost 646 personnel while the Police running second lost 268. The Navy lost 37 men and the Air Force lost 27.

The government paid out millions of rupees as compensation to the families or next of kin of those security personnel who died. The compensation was at the rate of Rs. 75,000 to each widow and Rs. 18,500 to each child. In certain cases, a sum of Rs. 37,500 was paid to each father and mother.

However, family members of some of the security personnel who were killed have complained that they have not yet been paid any compensation.

JANAKI'S RETURN

The AIADMK leader and Chief Minister for a time, Mrs. Janaki Ramachandran returned to Madras on August 5, from New York where she had gone for a medical check-up. She was received at the airport by a large gathering of partymen, including Mr. R.M. Veerappan and other former Ministers and Speaker Mr. P.H. Pandian.

NCMC FOREIGN STUDENTS LEAVE FOR HOME

The majority of foreign students of the North Colombo Medical College (NCMC), a private fee paying institution, has left Sri Lanka in desperation after more than a year's wait for a settlement of the dispute concerning the NCMC.

Of a total of 120 students, not more than twelve continue to remain in the island at present.

There are final year students among those who had already left. The students complained that for the past one year there had been only

talks and talks about a settlement of the dispute, but no lectures. Their continued stay would only be a fruitless waste of time and money, the students complained.

The expenses incurred by the students during the last one year had been a total waste. Besides, on an average each student had paid 20,000 US dollars by way of fees.

Some students have sought legal opinion to sue the NCMC for return of the expenses they had incurred and for additional damages.

No growth in economy, without stability

Dr Gamani Corea, former Secretary General of UNCTAD, told the annual general meeting of the Sri Lankan Chamber of Commerce that there could be no growth in Sri Lanka's economy without relief from the political problems now facing the country.

In the event of a change Sri Lanka must be prepared for a structural alteration of the economy, in the form of industrialisation, high agricultural production and modernisation of the service sector, he said.

Dr Corea also emphasised the need for South-South co-operation, for which the prospects were good, he said, and should be consciously followed.

MADURAI BANK ROBBED

The Bank of Madurai in K.K. Nagar on the outskirts of Madurai was robbed of Rs. 62 lakhs on Saturday August 6, in what was described as a 'daring but smooth operation'. In what appeared to be a thoroughly professional job, the culprits were able to complete their work in less than 15 minutes and make good their escape without causing any physical violence. The Police ruled out the possibility of the involvement of any Sri Lankan militants or their supporters. The gang members, including a woman, conversed among themselves in Tamil and the leader spoke with a Malayali accent, according to a newspaper report.

'BASIS OF ACCORD IS WRONG'

The President of the Ceylon Workers Congress and Minister of Rural Industries, Mr. S. Thondaman in a statement issued on the anniversary of the Indo Sri Lanka Accord said that India had acted in good faith in entering into the agreement with Sri Lanka. Though the IPKF actions had caused much hardship, one could not deny that the Tamil people wanted the Indian army to enter Sri Lanka. But the main reason for the lack of success of the agreement was its wrong basis, he added.

The following is the full text of Mr. Thondaman's statement:

'The Indo-Lanka Peace Accord came into existence because India wanted a peaceful solution to the Tamil demand for a separate state. Though India did not endorse the Tamil claim, it did recognise the fact that the Tamils were fighting for their legitimate rights. One cannot I think, doubt India's good intentions in conceiving the Accord and entering the island with substantial arms in the form of a Peace-Keeping Force.

'After India moved in, however, it found that it did not possess the resources to implement the Accord. And since it had signed

an agreement with the Sri Lankan Government, it was anxious to honour the terms, and consequently began to resort to military measures.

'The main reason for this turn of events was the basis of the Accord. Rather than having the two principal protagonists sign the Agreement—that is, the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamils—with India underwriting it, the Accord was signed by the two governments, without involving the Tamils directly in the process.

'Though India negotiated with good faith in the interests of the Tamils, as it has demonstrated by its subsequent actions, India did not really understand the aspirations of the Tamil people. It felt that a minimum degree of devolution under the Accord would satisfy the Tamil people. But it did not. The Tamil demands at present centre on a merged North and East, substantial devolution of power and a halt to Sinhala settlements in the Eastern Province. The crux of the matter is that if the Tamils and the Government had

been the main negotiators and India only a guarantor, this problem would not have arisen. India did not understand the true aspirations of the Tamils and found that it had to use the IPKF against the very people whose interests it came to protect.

'Though the IPKF actions have caused much hardship to the Tamil public, one cannot deny the fact that the Tamils, too wanted the Indian Army to enter Sri Lanka. The IPKF is here to fulfil a specific task — the implementation of the Accord.

'And since they have been called in by the Sri Lankan Head of State, who feels that is the best thing, there is nothing that can be done about it. The best solution to this problem would be for India to recognise and acknowledge the aspirations of the Tamil people, and draw up a satisfactory formula which would meet the just demands of the Tamils. This will lead to the gradual cessation of hostilities after which the IPKF will not have need to resort to militarism to control the Tamil people.'

'LEFT INDIA IN FEAR OF HIS LIFE'

By M.R. NARAYAN SWAMY

The LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran says in a new biography of him that he left India for Sri Lanka in January 1987 because he feared for his life.

Prabhakaran, 34, is quoted as saying that plans had been made to have him killed in New Delhi or Madras on the pretext of engaging him in talks.

The revelation forms part of a book on the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam by P. Nedumaran, who heads the Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress Party and is a close associate of the guerilla leader.

'The danger will continue as long as I am here. Our struggle will intensify further if I return to Eelam. So I am going there,' Prabhakaran reportedly told Nedumaran before leaving Tamil Nadu in the first week of January.

Until He Crosses Sea

'The danger will remain only till I cross the sea. After that, no one can do anything,' he added.

Reports in the press had then said that Prabhakaran was shifting to the Tiger stronghold of the Jaffna Peninsula to clip the wings of his deputy, Sathasivan Krishnakumar alias Kit-tu, who was said to be emerging as a threat to his boss.

The 104-page book in Tamil, published last month, does not say when

or how Prabhakaran learned about the murder plots or whether attempts were actually made on his life.

But Nedumaran, who has known Prabhakaran for years, says, 'Having said all this, Thambi (younger brother) showed me documentary proof for all this. I was furious but not surprised.'

The book is reportedly the first biographical sketch of Prabhakaran and is based on conversations with Tiger leaders, some of whom now dead. Nedumaran had written another book two years ago on his clandestine visit to the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka in 1985.

Prabhakaran is quoted as saying that the Indian government gave special training to members of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) to murder him in India. The two groups were also given huge quantities of modern weapons by New Delhi, he added.

Sees Plot by RAW

Nedumaran says the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), India's external intelligence agency, was behind attempts to assassinate Prabhakaran with the help of rival groups. The author also blamed RAW for straining the relations between the LTTE and New Delhi.

says LTTE leader.

Prabhakaran says Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi became angry with him after he refused to accept a negotiated settlement to the ethnic conflict during the November 1986 summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) at Bangalore.

Prabhakaran was flown from Madras to Bangalore then amid reports that he was to meet Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene for an agreement to end the campaign for Eelam. The meeting never took place.

Nedumaran quotes Prabhakaran as saying that the LTTE attacked the TELO in May 1986 after learning that RAW had made plans to have the LTTE wiped out. 'If we had not taken action, TELO would have tried to destroy us' he said.

The LTTE-TELO clashes, the first major intercene war in Sri Lanka, led to the death of at least 150 TELO cadres and its leader Sri Sabaratnam and effectively destroyed the latter in Jaffna Peninsula.

Other Excerpts

The book also says that:

- Prabhakaran's daughter, Dwarka, died for lack of medical treatment after the Indian military offensive in October 1987.
- Prabhakaran did not tell his parents about his marriage (in 1985) and they came to know about it only after he had a son, named Charles.
- In 1987, after Sri Lanka launched

Continued on Page 19

READERS' FORUM

ABDUCTION OF KANTHASAMY

I write with a sense of outrage, dismay and anger at the abduction and possible murder of K. Kanthasamy, the former Director of the Tamil Information Centre in London and the Central British Fund for Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation (CBFTRR). He was kidnapped by a group of Tamil men (let us stop this nonsense of calling them 'boys') from his Jaffna residence on Sunday 19 June 1988 and has not been seen since. Although there is a remote possibility that he is still alive, the probability is that he has been 'eliminated'.

No group has had the courage to admit to this dastardly crime. But disturbing events that occurred prior to his kidnapping concern the Tamil militant group, Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS). Kanthasamy, who kept a careful diary which is now in the possession of his friends in London had documented a number of meetings he had with some members of this organisation at their own demand during which he had been threatened that unless he stopped his rehabilitation work and fell in line with the policy of EROS, he would be 'death with'. He was sufficiently concerned about these threats that he even made contact with the EROS high command in London (which I confirmed with an EROS spokesman subsequent to the kidnapping) asking that he be allowed to carry on with his rehabilitation work with safety. The same spokesman did not disguise his displeasure about Kanthasamy's activities, but denied that EROS had had a hand in the abduction and attempted rather unconvincingly to incriminate a small unknown group of Tamil militants. On July 2 EROS belatedly released a statement denying responsibility and threatening dire consequences upon those who pointed an accusing finger at them. I also have information from reliable sources in Sri Lanka that there were eye-witnesses to Kanthasamy's abduction. Since then, these witnesses have melted away possibly fearing 'consequences'.

If EROS and other Tamil militant groups which are endeavouring to establish themselves as leaders of the Tamil people are not to go the same way as the much despised 'Tristar' and other quisling groups, they have an obligation to get at those criminals who committed the abduction, and make an honest effort to find and get Kanthasamy released. No such effort has been made.

What crime did Kanthasamy commit to deserve abduction and possible

assassination ?. His only crime was that he was determined to continue his work of rehabilitation and reconstruction of the devastated lives of the Tamil civilian population in Jaffna and Trincomalee. He started this work in Sri Lanka while still in London. For obvious reasons, he had to rely on people in Jaffna and other parts of the North and East to carry out the programme. After the signing of the Peace Accord, Kanthasamy left London in January 1988 to return to Sri Lanka to continue the rehabilitation work. Some in Jaffna did not like his closer supervision and joined forces with a group of Tamil militants, allegedly EROS who thought that all rehabilitation schemes should, for some unknown reason, come under their purview. When Kanthasamy stood firm and stated that he had a mandate from a large number of NGOs such as church groups, human rights groups and several others to do this work, he was warned twice and then dealt with. At the time of his abduction, he was setting up a consortium of NGOs to undertake refugee rehabilitation programmes in the devastated Tamil areas of Sri Lanka.

Kanthasamy, an advocate by profession, was a committed human rights and rehabilitation social worker with a distinguished record of achievements over some 25 years. He was a quiet, unassuming man with unlimited energy who worked for no reward, financial or otherwise—truly a rare human being. After years of work in his native Jaffna he earned the displeasure of the Sri Lankan government and in the interests of safety, arrived in London. Working in his attic-like office in a derelict building in Clapham, London he was a founder member of the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO, 1977), the Director of the Central British Fund for Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation (CBFTRR, London 1980) and the Tamil Information Centre (TIC London, Madras and Madurai 1984). He was a prime mover in setting up the Theepam Research Institute (Jaffa 1980), and the movement for integration of Refugees and Repatriates (MIRT, Madurai 1984).

I first met Kanthasamy in London at the TIC some years ago while I was on a mission to solicit support for the commendable struggle of the Tamil people. His help was invaluable. He arranged for me to meet with Lord Avebury, Chairman of the Human Rights group of the British Parliament, Dame Judith Hart MP, PC another distinguished human rights

activist, British media personnel, senior members of the British Foreign Office, and several others. I found Kanthasamy a truly remarkable man. Quiet-spoken, self-effacing almost to a fault and totally averse to publicity or position, he functioned at the TIC as Director, clerk, office boy and kitchen hand. With tireless energy, wearing an old worn-out pair of tennis shoes, he would trek across London unobtrusively arranging interviews with some of the most inaccessible men in London. There are many other things Kanthasamy has done for me and others which I do not want to detail since, if he is alive, he would shun the publicity.

If Kanthasamy has been murdered the damage done would be far more than the loss of a fine man. Serious damage will be done to the rehabilitation programme and hence to the devastated Tamil civilian population about whom no one, including their supposed 'liberators', seem to care. Serious damage will be done to the entire militant movement because of the barbaric behaviour of a handful of hoodlums-terrorists in the true sense of the word. Damage will be done to the liberation struggle of the Tamil people. What goes on today is what will go on in Eelam, if and when it is obtained. If an AK47 rifle is how differing approaches to a problem are settled, the question must be asked whether the terrorists in Eelam will be any better than the terrorists of the Sinhala regime in Colombo or the terrorism of the Indian Peace-Keeping force.

The greatest damage that could be done by Kanthasamy's death is to the thousands of hopeless Tamil refugees—the victims of this senseless war. Kanthasamy, for very good reasons, had the unqualified support of an array of organisations who were prepared to pour vast sums of money into the rehabilitation effort. It would be unrealistically naive to expect them to make these funds available to a band of brigands, whatever title they choose to style themselves. The money simply will not be available until an acceptable replacement is found. In the light of Kanthasamy's fate, few will be prepared to offer themselves for a mission that might result in a similar fate.

Revenge was not in Kanthasamy's vocabulary but at the same time, his abduction and possible death must not be allowed to be lost in the sea of destruction that has befallen the Tamil people. Kanthasamy was a man of action, as his achievements amply demonstrate. Some positive effect or even a change in the insanity that currently prevails in Sri Lanka must be generated by his abduction and possible death. The least his numerous friends and admirers both in London and Sri Lanka can do is to organise a world-wide protest and see that a sense of outrage is conveyed to

those in Jaffna who are responsible for this heinous crime. It might save the lives of other prominent civilians who would be on the hit-list of one or other of these groups of maniacs. If by Kanthasamy's ordeal he saves other lives, his agony and possible death would not have been in vain.

The Tamil people of the North and East of Sri Lanka in whose service Kanthasamy paid this terrible price, have a responsibility. Whatever the threats (these have already been issued by those responsible), people must register their disapproval of what has happened. However difficult this may be under the tyrannical conditions in which they live, their very future, their existence and their safety might well depend on an effective protest being registered now. A lack of protest will encourage those terrorists and murderers to repeat their cowardly act. It is worth remembering that no militant movement, however powerful, will survive if it does not have grass roots support. If this support is withdrawn, neither an AK47 nor a T56 rifle will save those who carry them.

The Sri Lankan government and the Indian Peace Keeping Force must carry some responsibility for the current spate of insane killings. Recently the saintly Rev. Fr. Chandra Fernando was gunned down in his church, allegedly by a senior member of PLOTE, who did not take kindly to Rev. Fernando's objection regarding the siting of an office. Now another social worker has disappeared. These crimes are far less likely to occur if Amnesty International, International Red Cross and independent observers are allowed into the Tamil areas. If the government of the country and the self-appointed peace-keepers cannot keep peace or maintain law and order, the least they can do is to allow unrestricted access to those who can monitor what goes on in the Tamil areas. If Kanthasamy's ordeal results in a massive international protest and pressure the Indian and Sri Lankan governments to admit internationally-respected human rights organisations into Sri Lanka, Kanthasamy, a dedicated human rights worker, would not have lost his life in vain. The 'Save Kanthasamy Appeal' signed by some 30 international organisations stated, 'we cannot forget the fact that no individual has given so much to the promotion of human rights in general and in particular to the alleviation of the sufferings of the Tamil community for the past 11 years'. If by some chance, however remote, he is still alive, may I appeal to those who are holding him to release him forthwith. He has had serious heart surgery and will not stand much physical or mental strain. If he has been killed, may the soul of this great man rest in peace.

Queensland
Australia

Dr. Brian Senewiratne

INDIA AS PEACE MAKER

India as the peace maker between the Sri Lanka Tamils and the Sri Lanka Government has undertaken a tremendous and delicate responsibility. It is currently engaged in negotiations with the LTTE, the most formidable militant group in order to persuade it to accept and help in the implementation of the India-Sri Lanka peace accord. Any peace to be enduring and binding should be based on justice and truth.

Since the Sri Lankan Government has now no direct dealings with the LTTE and the TULF, the Government of India and the Tamil Nadu political parties sympathising with the sad predicament of the Lankan Tamils should address their minds in a spirit of true altruism and humanism to the following points.

(1) To bring about peace and harmony among all the militant groups and the TULF. All the militant groups willy-nilly took up arms to safeguard the Tamils' interests and in the process they all suffered immensely. LTTE's bete noire is the TULF and notably its Secretary General Mr. A. Amithalingam. This attitude of LTTE is not at all good and not in the interests of the unity of the Tamils. TULF has many mature and seasoned politicians whose services are indispensable to the LTTE and others. Therefore they should patch up differences with the TULF for the unity of the Tamils.

(11) There should be once and for all an end to all internecine feuds and fratricidal killings among rival groups.

(111) All parties and groups opting to join the mainstream of political and democratic life should be allowed to participate without fear psychosis in free and fair elections to one Provincial Council for the North and East where the Tamils have traditionally lived for centuries. Ultimately it is the Tamils who should choose their representatives without fear of the bullet.

(iv) The Tamils should infuse confidence in the Muslims of the North and East by their conciliatory conduct. The Tamils and Muslims have lived in cordial relations for centuries. Two Muslim Members of Parliament from the East were once Federal members. The Tamils should also live in amity with the Sinhalese.

(v) Before India withdraws its helping hand it should firmly establish peace in the North and East without the possibility of recrudescence of violence. Under the peace pact India will remain its under-writer and not its undertaker.

Dr. K. Subramaniam,
Colombo.

KANTHASAMY APPEAL

Kindly include my name also in the appeal to save Mr. K. Kanthasamy. Before he went back to Eelam, he was with me in Uppsala and we became good friends.

Peter Schalk Professor in the History of Religions at the University of Uppsala.

Gerd Falk Activist for Human Rights.

TWO KILLED IN PRISON CLASH

Two remand prisoners were killed and several injured on 30 July in a clash between suspected JVP (Peoples Liberation Front) remand inmates and another group of remand prisoners at the Negombo prisons. Seventeen prisoners who received serious injuries were admitted to the Negombo and Colombo hospitals.

One of those killed in the fight was identified as a JVP suspect while the other was an ordinary remand prisoner.

According to prison sources, the JVP suspects had attempted to hold a demonstration and hoist black flags in protest against the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement within the prison complex. The clash was sparked off when those belonging to the JVP demanded the participation of other prisoners in the protest demonstration.

Sticks and stones are reported to have been used in the clash, and prison officials had great difficulty in stopping the fight and bringing the situation under control.

Following the incident, all JVP suspects were transferred to the Magazine prison in Colombo.

Youths Arrested by IPKF

The IPKF arrested several hundred Tamil youths in a cordon and search operation in the eastern city of Batticaloa on 23 July. It was claimed that these operations were carried out following an alleged order from the LTTE leader to his cadres to mount attacks upon the IPKF in the run up to the first anniversary (July 29) of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

Among the youths arrested were a large number of students sitting the GCE A Level examination which commenced on 23 July. The request by the Education authorities in Batticaloa not to arrest those with examination admission cards was apparently ignored by the IPKF.

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ONE YEAR OF INDO-LANKA AGREEMENT

by **JUSTICE SATCHI PONNAMBALAM**

(Being an address delivered at a Meeting on the occasion of the First Year of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement held on 30th July 1988 at Fairleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey)

One year ago, on 29 July 1987, the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement or the Gandhi-Jayewardene Accord was signed by these two men in Colombo. It was said to be an Agreement 'to establish peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka', and so the news media has christened it the 'Peace Accord'. The first year of its operation has brought neither peace or normalcy, but instead war by the Indian army on the innocent and defenceless Tamil civilians in their homes, towns and villages, all over North and East Sri Lanka.

Rajiv Gandhi and Jayewardene signed the Agreement, worked out in secret talks the weeks before in New Delhi and Colombo. Both the Sinhalese and the Tamil people and also the Sri Lankan and the Indian news media were kept in the dark. There was no mandate whatever by the Sinhalese or the Tamil people for the Agreement and the calling in of the Indian army into the country. In fact, the Tamil leader Prabhakaran was under guard in a New Delhi hotel after he had described the Agreement to the Indian authorities as a 'stab in the back'. In Colombo, there was rioting by angry Sinhalese mobs and over 70 people were killed as police and soldiers resorted to rifle fire to contain the rioting. All island curfew was declared and soldiers were mobilised to keep demonstrators from approaching President's residence, where the Agreement was signed. President Jayewardene's vacation home in the South called the 'Red Cliffs' was set on fire and burnt. The signing ceremony was boycotted by Prime Minister Premadasa and other cabinet Ministers. We remember, however, Jayewardene's charade, a few years ago, of summoning the All Party Conference several times, and dragging his feet all through discussing the Tamil problem. But in drafting this Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, he consulted nobody. Thus, the essential characteristic of this Agreement remains as one that was forced on the Sinhalese and the Tamil people.

We all know what the Agreement says. We will come to that shortly. But none of us know, not even today, one year later, how this Agreement, or how this 'deal' came about.

Avoids 'colonisation'

The Agreement states that the Tamils are an ethnic group and that the Northern and Eastern Provinces have been areas of historical habita-

tion of Sri Lankan Tamil speaking peoples, who have at all times hitherto lived together in this territory with other ethnic groups. This is some new history that is being written. The Agreement does not say that the Tamils are a nation or that the North and the East are their traditional homelands or that they are entitled to self-determination. These are unacceptable, however true and real they may be, to the Sri Lanka Government, as it was to its delegation at Thimpu.

The Agreement also does not mention anything at all about the vexed question of state-sponsored and state-aided Sinhalese colonisation of the Tamil areas of the North and East. In fact, any mention of this is scrupulously avoided, for the clear intention, as seen from the provisions of the 13th Amendment is to continue the state-aided and state-sponsored colonisation of Tamil areas. And, we would say that any Agreement or Accord that does not put an end to this state-sponsored and state-aided colonisation of Tamil areas does not even touch the fringes of the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. And so it is with the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement or the Rajiv Gandhi-Jayewardene Accord.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement provided for an interim government, merger first and later separation by referendum of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and Provincial Councils with a Governor, a Chief Minister and a Board of Ministers. The Agreement provided for Tamil and English to be also official languages, along with Sinhala. The Sri Lanka Government has already gone back on this official language agreement in regard to English. The 13th Amendment to the Constitution, passed in November 1987, provided for Tamil also to be an official language, but in regard to English it said, 'English shall be the link language'. What that means is anybody's guess.

India underwrites

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement provided that within 48 hours of the signing of the Agreement, a ceasefire will come into effect all over the island. All arms held by the militant groups will be surrendered to authorities to be designated by the Government of Sri Lanka. Consequent to the ceasefire and the surrender of arms by militant groups, the Sri Lanka army will be confined to barracks in camps. The process of surrendering of arms and the confining of army to barracks will be completed within 72 hours of the ceasefire coming into effect. Sri Lanka Government will give a general amnesty and free all political prisoners and combatants held in custody.

The Agreement contained that if the Government of Sri Lanka requests the Government of India to afford military assistance to implement these proposals, the Government of India will give such military assistance.

The Agreement also provided that the two Governments will ensure the physical security of all communities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The Government of India agreed to underwrite and guarantee the resolutions, and cooperate in the implementation of the proposals of the Agreement.

In entering into this Agreement, it did not matter to Jayewardene that he was bringing in foreign military intervention, so long as he could achieve his objective of decimating the Tamil liberation struggle and putting the Eelam demand to rest. To achieve these, he had earlier obtained the assistance of the British ex-SAS and the Keenie Meanie Services (KMS) mercenaries, who were hired by Rhodesia's Ian Smith and South Africa. The Israeli involvement in Sri Lanka Government's brutal war with the Tamils started with the opening of the Israeli Interests Section in the US Embassy in Colombo. Then came the Israeli Mossads and the Shin Bet, the Israel's domestic Intelligence Agency. These were responsible for the atrocities of the Special Task Forces against the Tamils in the Eastern Province. When all these could not tame the Tigers, Jayewardene felt he had nowhere to turn except to India.

Rajiv's optimism

Rajiv Gandhi felt that the Agreement provided India with an opportunity to succeed in its peace-making mission and to bring to end the ethnic strife in neighbouring Sri Lanka. But he left the chances of success not to the written provisions in the Agreement but to the good intentions of President Jayewardene. Hence, his optimism was not well founded, although he articulated them with enthusiasm. On 31 July 1987, in the Indian Parliament, he said:

'This Agreement meets the basic aspirations which animated the Tamils' struggle, namely, the desire to be recognised as a distinct ethnic entity; political autonomy for managing their political future; and appropriate devolution of governmental power to meet this objective, the recognition of the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka as areas of historical habitation of the Tamils and the acknowledgement and designation of Tamil as an official language...'

At a public meeting in Madras, explaining the Agreement, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said:

'The Agreement secures everything that the Sri Lankan Tamils had demanded, short of breaking Sri Lanka's unity. In fact, it goes well beyond the initial demands of the Sri Lankan Tamils. Under the Agreement, approximately one-third of Sri Lankan territory will be made a single province, where the Tamils will have a clear majority. They will have regional autonomy, comparable to the State Governments in India.' (THE HINDU, I.E. 8/8/1987.)

It is on this view of the Agreement that the Government of India signed the Agreement without consulting the representatives of the Tamil people, who were protecting the Tamil people and fighting the Tamil cause. When it found that they were unwilling to accept the Agreement, then it forced them to accept, denying them the right to disagree. Then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi gave several assurances that the Agreement will be implemented safeguarding the interests of the Tamils. Because of these assurances, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) accepted the agreement (vide Prabhakaran's Interview, INDIA TODAY, 15/8/1987)

LTTE's unequivocal acceptance of the accord

At a public meeting in Jaffna, LTTE leader Prabhakaran said:

'Even though the Accord does not fulfil our demands, we hand over our arms in the presence of the IPKFs because we want to respect India, which we love and also show our regards to the assurances given by the Indian Prime Minister. But, at the same time, as we hand over our arms in the presence of the IPKFs, we hand over responsibility of protecting our people also, which we were doing all these days, to the IPKFs.'

The LTTE was the only liberation organisation to publicly hand over a substantial stock of its arms and ammunitions to the IPKF in terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. The LTTE had publicly committed itself to surrendering all its arms to the IPKFs. Its acceptance of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement had become unequivocal. However, before the hand over of all arms could be completed, there were armed attacks on LTTE cadres by other groups and by Sinhala Home Guards on the Tamil people. This derailed the surrender of arms, leading to conflicts over nomination to the interim administration and finally the peace process being overtaken by Thileepan's Fast Unto Death. Thileepan's death and the arrest, de-

tention and death of two regional commanders and 10 senior members in the hands of IPKF brought about discord and estrangement between LTTE and India.

The interim government, in which the LTTE was assured a major role by India was not formed. The merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces into one administrative unit, envisaged by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement did not take effect. The interim government was not put in place because the persons nominated by the LTTE from the Eastern Province were found unacceptable to President Jayewardene and he proceeded to nominate his persons to fill the LTTE names.

The Provincial Council constitutes the centre-piece of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

We do remember that in the past 35 year political history, the Tamil people and their political parties have earlier advocated and demanded a federal structure of government and later a separate state of Tamil Eelam. In the 'Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact' of 1957, as a compromise agreement, the Tamils accepted Regional Councils, with the widest powers of devolution and amalgamation.

There has never been any demand by any Tamil or for that matter by anyone in Sri Lanka, for Provincial Councils. Yet, in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, to Sri Lanka and Indian governments, Provincial Councils have been found to be the solution to put an end to the bloody war to create a separate state.

Perpetuates unitary system

The law to bring the Provincial Councils into effect has been enacted by the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, which came into force in November 1987. But no Provincial Council election has been held in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Hence, the Provincial Councils for the Tamil areas have not come into operation.

The present constitution of Sri Lanka, which was enacted by the Jayewardene Government in 1987, perpetuated the hitherto existing unitary system and introduced a highly centralised executive presidential government with a devalued parliamentary system. It is upon this constitution, which proclaims Sri Lanka a 'unitary state' and having a highly centralised and authoritarian presidential system that the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and the 13th Amendment engraft the Provincial Councils with devolved powers. On the face of it, one can only see mutually antagonistic and conflicting concepts and institutions brought together in a hotchpotch, for the sake of political expediency to end the stalemate than devising viable and

endurable institutions representing structures of compromise, recognising Tamil national identity so as to launch the united nation-state on a course of nation-building. In the scheme that is bound to emerge, the Provincial Councils, as presently devised will be stunted at birth, crippled in growth and deformed at old age.

The devolution of power to the Provincial Councils under the 13th Amendment, is the same for the Councils in the Sinhalese and Tamil areas. Therefore, it cannot be contended that any special dispensation or concession has been made to the Tamils. The devolution of power to the Provincial Councils is a very miniature form, in no way comparable to those of the States under the Constitution of India. The existing unitary system and centralised presidential government preclude a genuine devolution of power.

Although every legal provision effectuating this reform is textually based upon a comparable provision in the constitution of India, nevertheless subtle changes and departures have been incorporated in certain places which make the Sri Lankan provisions differ from their Indian counterparts. Most of such Sri Lankan mutations will go to further constrict and cripple the miniature devolution of power and prevent the Provincial Councils from growing and developing into genuine institutions of autonomy and internal self-government.

How much of a sham the devolution of power to the Provincial Councils can be seen from the sensitive subject of land. It is instructive to see how the subject of land has been dealt with in the constitution of India. Land is in the State List. It is stated as: 'Land, that is to say, rights in or over land, land tenures including the relation of landlord and tenant and the collection of rents; transfer and alienation of agricultural land; land improvement and agricultural loans; colonization.'

The land question

Under the 13th Amendment, 9.1 of Provincial Council List states: 'Agriculture, including agricultural extension, promotion and education for provincial purposes and agricultural services (other than inter-provincial irrigation and land settlement schemes, state lands and plantation agriculture). 18.1 of the Provincial Council List states: 'Land - Land, that is to say, rights in or over land, land tenure, transfer and alienation of land, land use, land settlement and land improvement, to the extent set out in Appendix 11.'

Appendix 11 states: 'State land shall continue to vest in the Republic and may be disposed of in accordance with Article 33(d) and written law governing the matter.'

Subject as aforesaid, land shall be a Provincial Council Subject, subject to the following special provisions:-

1. State land:-

1:1 State Land required for the purposes of the Government in a Province, in respect of a reserved or concurrent subject may be utilised by the government in accordance with the laws governing the matter. The Government shall consult the relevant Provincial Council with regard to the utilisation of such land in respect of such subject.

1:2 Government shall make available to every Provincial Council State land within the province required by such Council for Provincial Council subject. The Provincial Council shall administer, control and utilise such State land, in accordance with the laws and statutes governing the matter.

1:3 Alienation or disposition of the State land within a Province to any citizen or to any organisation shall be by the President, on the advice of the relevant Provincial Council, in accordance with the laws governing the matter.

2. Inter-Provincial Irrigation and Land Development Projects

2:1 Such projects would comprise irrigation and land development schemes:-

(a) within the Province initiated by the State and which utilise water from rivers flowing through more than one Province: a Provincial Council however, may also initiate irrigation and land development schemes within its province utilizing water from such rivers;

(b) within the Province which utilizes water through diversions from water systems from outside the Province; and

(c) all schemes where the command area falls within two or more Provinces such as the Mahaweli Development Project.

2:2 These projects will be the responsibility of the government of Sri Lanka.

In the Concurrent List are:

17. Irrigation

17:1 Water storage and management, drainage and embankments, flood protection, planning and water resources:

17:2 Services provided for inter-provincial land and irrigation schemes, such as those relating to rural development, health, education, vocational training, co-operatives and other facilities.

From a consideration of the totality of the provisions concerning land, we can see that the nominal power over land given to the Provincial Councils by item 18:1 of the Provincial Council List is substantially circumscribed

and limited by the introduction of the arbitrary concept of State Land and the so-called inter-provincial irrigation and land development projects. Land and land development is usually the first item to be devolved in any scheme of regional autonomy. But in the Sri Lanka's scheme of devolution, the distrust of the Provincial Council to be vested with power over its land is manifest. The reason is obvious. And that is colonisation. State-aided and state-sponsored Sinhalese colonisation of the Tamil areas by the Government of Sri Lanka will continue. That is just what is hiding behind the so-called State land and inter-provincial irrigation and land development projects.

No neutral machinery

Although the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was drafted and signed, no independent and neutral machinery was put in place to usher in the ceasefire, the surrender of arms by all fighting groups and set up the interim administration. All these were left to the existing lines of political command in Colombo and newly set up Indian military command in Jaffna. The peace Agreement was not negotiated by the combatants or by their representatives, but almost overnight they were required to restore status quo ante. This proved formidable and difficult in the circumstances. A number of initial minor problems were allowed to snowball into confrontation between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the LTTE. The death of the two regional commanders and 10 senior members of the LTTE in the hands of the IPKF worsened the situation. With the confrontation fast escalating, the Indian Peace Keeping Force resorted to a military offensive in Jaffna from 10th October 1987 for six weeks. The deaths, destruction and devastation and the brutalities, indignities, sufferings and oppression suffered by the innocent and defenceless Tamil people - our fathers, our mothers, our brothers, our sisters, - as a result of the military offensive have been told and retold many times. I do not propose to recount them here.

For about a quarter century, the small Sri Lankan Tamil nation has been oppressed by its own State. The Tamils were deprived of their individual and collective fundamental rights to language, education, employment and finally even representation in Parliament. They were discriminated, terrorised and bullied by their own State. They were driven to fight for their survival. It is to the help of such a nation that the Indian forces went as peace-keepers. They were welcome as friends and saviours. History will never absolve the taking of arms against such a nation of people as the Tamils by the Indian peace-keepers. Such act, violated the trusted neutral role of peace-keeping in a foreign land. 'Peace-keepers have

a place and a role in international law. That has been violated. I will leave the matter at that.

The events of last year have brought about many changes in the external character of the Tamil problem. The actors have changed. The Indian forces have taken the place of the Sri Lankan forces. The Tigers who are holding their ground openly have gone underground. The focus has changed. Earlier, it was confronting the Tigers indirectly and not openly. Now, it is finding the Tigers in their jungle hideouts and disarming them. All these changes do not add even a wee bit to solving the Tamil problem. Indeed, the problem remains totally untouched by all these changes. It is misplaced belief in the power of military might to solve the Tamil problem that has brought all these irrelevant changes to the forefront. The Tamil problem has not been and will not be solved by any superior armed military might. It is a problem of a nation created by the denial of equality, justice and dignity. What the Tamil people want is to live in equality, justice and dignity. Restoration of these to them do not need any armed military might.

The restoration of these in the various forms cannot be done in vacua. It must be done in consultation with and in agreement with the representatives of the Tamil people. Such a settlement will bring about a lasting and durable solution to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka.

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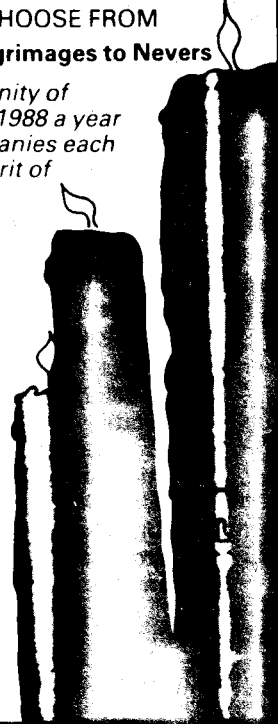
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'NO MORE TALKS WITH R.A.W.'

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the dominant Tamil militant group which is currently in confrontation with the Indian Peace Keeping Force wants to continue negotiations with the Indian government, but not with officials of the Research Analysis Wing (RAW), the intelligence unit of the Indian government, according to a telephone interview given to the Colombo 'Sunday Times' by Mr. Thilagar, a Central Committee member of the LTTE who is presently in London.

LTTE leaders in Madras including Sathasivam Krishnakumar (popularly known as Kittu) have been negotiating with RAW officials for the last several months. But recently the negotiations broke down.

Referring to LTTE's statement of July 9 which characterised the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement as a 'charter for servility', Mr. Thilagar said that such

Says LTTE

a description did not amount to a rejection of the Agreement by the LTTE. Reiterating the LTTE's previous position, Mr. Thilagar added, 'The 13th Amendment to the Constitution and the Provincial Councils Act are a dilution and a withdrawal from commitments by both governments. We are always ready to hand over our weapons and co-operate in the implementation of the accord, but we need certain promises from the two governments first'

The promises Mr. Thilagar referred to are a proclamation merging the two Tamil dominated northern and eastern provinces, greater devolution as outlined in the memorandum the LTTE had submitted to the Indian government, a halt to colonisation by Sinhalese in the eastern province and a ceasefire followed by negotiations.

'INDIA KNEW WE HAD SAM MISSILES'

LTTE Alleges

The Indian authorities accused unidentified foreign powers and agencies of assisting the LTTE following the recent discovery by the Indian Peace Keeping Force of a SAM missile among arms belonging to the LTTE.

The LTTE, in a press release issued said that the government of India had been aware for a long time that the LTTE possessed SAM missiles.

The press release has, in reference to a recent statement by the Indian Government that the IPKF has discovered a SAM missile in the LTTE arsenal and regretted that foreign powers were assisting the Tiger movement to prolong the unnecessary war to destabilise the region.

The LTTE press release further states, about one and a half years ago, before inviting our leader Prabhakaran to the Bangalore conference, the Government of India, confiscated our arms in Tamil Nadu as a pressure tactic.

The confiscated arms contained

SAM missiles also. These missiles were later returned to us. Following the 'Operation Liberation' offensive launched by the Sri Lankan government, the government of India arranged a training programme to train our cadres in the use of SAM missiles. During these times, the Government of India, did not bother which foreign forces have supplied these missiles.

At these times, the Government of India was primarily motivated in utilizing us as their mercenary force to secure its own interests. But the Government of India realised to its great disappointment that the LTTE could not be utilized as mercenaries since our movement is deeply committed to the cause of our people. We are aware of the consequences of involving foreign powers in our struggle.

The Indian involvement and the genocide practised by the Indian troops against our people is a glaring example of foreign intervention.

IPKF TOLL-511 DEAD 1526 INJURED

A total of 511 soldiers, including officers, of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka were killed, and 1526 were injured between October 1987 and 17 July 1988 mainly in the course of their confrontation with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). This information was given by the Indian Defence Minister, K.C. Pant, in the Indian Upper House, the Rajya Sabha on 28 July.

According to the account given by the Defence Minister in the course of

a written reply, the present strength of the IPKF in Sri Lanka was 49,000. Up to May 31 this year, a sum of 980 million rupees had already been spent in connection with the IPKF presence and operations on the island.

Knowledgeable sources in the Tamil areas of the island claim that IPKF casualties were very much higher than what the Defence Minister was prepared to admit. The true position would be about 1200 IPKF men killed and about 3,000 injured, they said.

'RENOUNCE YOUR ANTI-TAMIL POLICIES'

U.S.A. Tells S.L.F.P.

The United Socialist Alliance (USA) is prepared to invite the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) to participate in its mass mobilisation campaign for the holding of general elections provided the SLFP is prepared to abandon its present anti-Tamil policies.

The USA, an alliance of left parties-Sri Lanka Mahajana Party, Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Communist Party and Nava Sama Samaja Party, has worked out a programme to campaign for the holding of general elections immediately. The present government elected for six years in 1977 postponed the elections due in 1983 thereby extending its life without a mandate at a general election for a further period of six years.

Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, the leader of the NSSP said that the USA would endeavour to obtain maximum participation of all political parties, trade unions and other peoples' organisations for its campaign.

The SLFP also could participate in this campaign if it renounced its anti-Tamil politics and its opposition to the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, Provincial Councils and the granting of citizenship rights to Tamil plantation workers of Indian origin, said Mr. Nanayakkara.

He added that the campaign for the restoration of democracy would also include Tamil militant groups such as the EPRLF and PLOTE.

Although the principal demand of the campaign was the holding of the general election, the campaign would also include a call for the holding of Provincial Council elections in the north and east of the island.

From Page 11.

the Vadamarachchi operation, Prabhakaran repeatedly sought military assistance from India.

● In 1982, after Prabhakaran was arrested in Madras following a shoot-out with a rival rebel leader, several of his deputies wanted to jump to their death from the roof of the City's Life Insurance Corporation building to demand his release. But the plan was resolutely opposed by another aide, S. Subramaniam

● Prabhakaran quit the LTTE and joined the TELO in 1981, but left the group at the end of that year.

● Prabhakaran and his associates left TELO without any money and took to doing hard labour and hunting wild animals for food and living for a while.

● When the LTTE was set up in 1976, all it had was a revolver.

● Prabhakaran feels hurt even today that he doesn't know English well.

(Courtesy of 'India Abroad' 1/7/88)

INDIA BUYS GANDHI LETTERS

The Indian High Commission in London beat off strong competition to buy a series of letters written by Mahatma Gandhi to his legal partner Henry Polak for 95,000 pounds—three times the price expected by the auctioneers, Sotheby's.

The letters, a series of more than 80, written between 1905-41, will go to the National Archives of India. When commissions and other charges are added, they will have cost the High Commission 104,500 pounds.

It also bought another collection of papers belonging to Polak for 24,200 pounds (estimate 1,200-1,500 pounds) and an autographed manuscript by Gandhi for 23,000 (estimate 300-400 pounds). He had been interviewed while under a vow of silence and had written down his answers in the four-page document.

The High Commission dropped out of the bidding for two further lots in the sale, an autographed letter from Gandhi to the Rev. Norman Bennett, which fetched 9,900 pounds (estimate 300-400 pounds), and three autographed letters from his secretary to his biographer Ronald Duncan, which went for 3,850 pounds (estimate 300-400 pounds). Both went to anonymous buyers.

The High Commission were mainly concerned to secure the letters to Polak, one of the three Europeans closest to Gandhi during his time in South Africa. Polak became Gandhi's article clerk and later his legal partner, and his English born wife Millie was governess to the Gandhi children. The letters span the period from the earliest days of passive resistance to shortly before Independence. The sale also included telegrams and early pictures of Gandhi in South Africa and glass plates of him later in India.

There was also a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Polak, expressing sympathy on the death of Polak's son in 1926, and some pages of corrected galley proofs of Gandhi's printed instructions for Satyagraha in South Africa.

LTTE: ACCORD HAS NOT SAFEGUARDED TAMIL INTERESTS

"The Indo-Sri Lanka accord as a whole aids and abets Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism. In such a situation, it is unreasonable and unjust for the Indian forces to engage in a war with our organisation to disarm us", said a statement issued by the LTTE.

The statement blamed the government of Sri Lanka for "failing to implement a single provision of the

accord fully". It says that no force on earth, however formidable, can impose a solution on a people through genocide and oppression.

The trust they (the LTTE) placed on the government of India and the long-standing friendship that India had with the people of EELAM and apart from these, considering that a force beyond our power of influence placed before us this accord, our position was to extend our cooperation for it as long as Tamil interests and aspirations are safeguarded, the statement adds.

Weapons were handed over in accordance to this position, the statement adds.

The accord has not safeguarded the interests of the Tamil people — an interim administration has not been constituted in accordance with the accord, an assurance by Rajiv Gandhi that autonomous provincial councils with power akin to those enjoyed by Indian states has been abandoned. The Tamil language has not been given equal status, Indian forces have failed to protect the Tamil people and the Tamil homeland is being annexed through Sinhala colonisation.

The statement added:

"After an year, has this accord safeguarded the interests and aspirations of the Tamil people?" the LTTE asked, pointing out that an interim administration till the holding of elections, which should have been constituted in accordance with the accord, has been disregarded; the assurance of the Indian Prime Minister that autonomous provincial councils will be created with adequate measures of

autonomy or powers enjoyed by the Indian States, has been abandoned; the Tamil language has not been given equal status, as stated by the government of India, Indian forces have failed to protect the Tamil people; and the Tamils homeland is being annexed through Sinhala colonisation with Sinhalese in the past five years.

TIGERS ROUNDED UP IN MADRAS

The police swooped down on cadres of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam operating in Tamil Nadu and took 154 militants into custody. Sixty-seven were seized in Madras and 78 in Madurai. The rest were from other parts of the state, police sources said.

The raids began early on Aug. 7 morning barely two days after Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had warned at a public meeting at Mannargudi in Thanjavur district that the intransigence of the Tigers could not be allowed to continue.

This is the biggest crackdown on militants since the India-Sri Lanka accord was signed on July 29 last year.

Sathasian Krishnakumar, alias Kittu, the former Jaffna commander of the LTTE and its chief representative in India, has been under house arrest for sometime.

Most of the cadres in Tamil Nadu were put under arrest or surveillance just before the anniversary of the accord, when the Tigers had planned protests.

— The United News of India

Sri Lankan 30,000 year old Stone Technology found

An advanced prehistoric stone tool technology — of a type not known in Europe before 12,000 BC — has been discovered in Sri Lanka and dated to 30,000 years ago.

A hundred tiny, yet finely made stone barbs for harpoons or spears, which were found in two caves and some sand dunes in the south of the island, have for the first time suggested that sophisticated stone tool manufacturing technology was being developed outside Africa in that early period.

Up until now, advanced techniques of such early date have come to light only in southern Africa and Zaire.

The stone barbs — known as geometric microliths — appear to have been used for hunting such creatures as porcupines, monkeys, giant squirrels, snakes and birds. Used as small blades — also hefted into wood or bone — the same sort of tiny stone artifacts were probably used for cutting up meat and vegetables.

Wild breadfruit and wild banana seeds, as well as the bones of various types of prey, have been found together with the stone barbs and blades in the caves.

The same type of stone tool technology continued with very little change from 30,000 years ago until around 1,700 BC.

Archaeologists working in the caves have also unearthed the earliest skeletal evidence of modern humans — Homo Sapiens — ever found in south Asia. Dating from 30,000 years ago, the bones are being analysed by Cornell University in New York state.

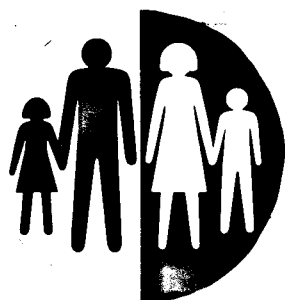
An earlier type of human had also inhabited the island. A series of small stone tools, mostly less than five centimetres long, have been found under the sand dunes and probably date from 125,000 years ago.

The archaeological excavation and research work has been directed by Dr Siran Deraniyagala of the government of Sri Lanka's Archaeological Survey Department.

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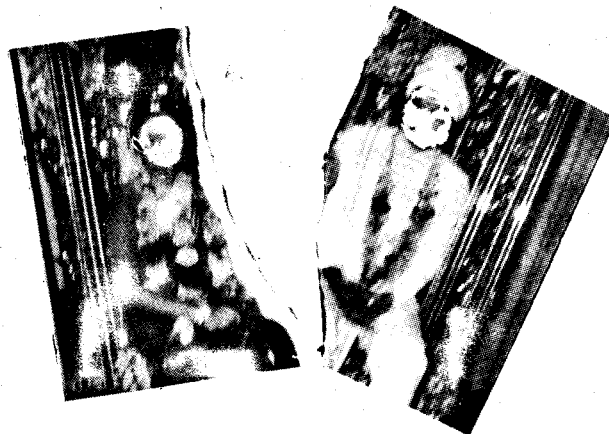
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Tamil Hindu 42 years divorced with son settled in U.K. seeks suitable lady with view to marriage. Write with details to M 230, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu Parents seek professionally qualified partner, working abroad, vegetarian, for their daughter, 29 years, tall, British qualified radiographer in U.K. Horoscope and details to M 241, c/o Tamil Times.

Tamil Christian parent seeks for their accountant daughter, fair, medium height, working in U.K., professionally qualified or graduate partner in early thirties. Reply giving details to M 242, c/o Tamil Times.

Aunt seeks for Tamil Christian engineer, tall, holding good position, owning house in U.K. pretty girl, professionally qualified or graduate between 25 & 28 years. write all particulars to M 243, c/o Tamil Times.

Tamil Hindu brother seeks suitable groom for divorced sister, 36 years, employed and U.K. citizen. Details to M 244, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parents seek working partner in U.K. for their 29 year old daughter, British citizen, employed in London. Students completing their studies also considered. Please reply to M 245, c/o Tamil Times.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

August 21st 6.00pm. **Musical Extravaganza** by **London Veena Group** presented by Northern Tamil Association at **Longsight Community Hall, Stockport Road, Manchester 14**. For tickets telephone (061) 224 5019.

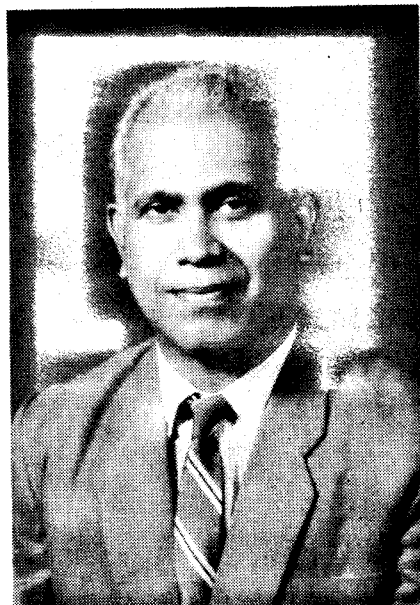
September 24th 6.00pm **Jaffna Central College Old Boys & Girls Association Dinner and Social** at **Lola Jones Hall, Greaves Place off Garratt Lane, Tooting, London SW17**.

September 30th 7.30pm **Bharatanatyam** by **Pushkala Gopal & Unni Krishnan** at **Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4a Castletown Road, London W14**.

OBITUARY

Gnanasooriyar - Beloved husband of Vijayalaxmi, father of Sivakumaran, son of S. Kasilingam (Retired, Colombo Municipality) and Periyannayaki, brother of Dr. Saravanamuttu, Dr. Vigneswaran, Dr. Pushparajan, Kugapalan,

Sivagnanapooshani, Hariharan passed away. Funeral took place at Nainativu on 15.6.88 - 33 Polwarth Drive, Newcastle Upon Tyne, U.K.



Elayatamby Sabalingam Beloved husband of the late Malarjothi, father of Dr. S. Jothilingam, Mrs Katpakambigai Poovendraraj, Mrs Jegathambigai Ananthapaskaran, Uthamalingam, Mrs Uthayakumari Mahendran, Jeyalingam, Abayalingam and Mrs Kalaichelvi Naveendran passed away in England on 3.8.88 - 'Kurunji', Millfield Lane, Hitchin, Herts SG4 7NH.

AN APPRECIATION

It is an irony of fate that Saba, much younger in age should have predeceased me. Many years of our close association entitles me to write an appreciation of a person whose record achievements mainly in the sphere of education in our homeland, are widely acknowledged and cannot be easily surpassed. He had the unique distinction of having held the stewardships of two leading educational institutions in the island.

Jaffna Central, one of the oldest centres of English education in the island, had the good fortune of securing his services at a time of great need and benefitted considerably from his efficient and determined effort to fulfill the expectations of the department of Education and the school community at large. His memory should remain fresh in the minds of all connected to Jaffna Central. Perhaps the pinnacle of his long and successful career was his appointment as Principal of the premier Hindu institution - Jaffna Hindu College, in the country. That he made a success of this assignment is an undisputed fact which deserves its rightful place in the annals of the great institution.

I had known him for over half a century and our association began at school with Saba having been a junior contemporary of mine at Jaffna Hindu. He distinguished himself not merely as a good student but also in

many extra-curricular activities. He came into the limelight as a goal keeper par excellence, among the school soccer teams in the north. This special skill continued to flourish in other members of his family especially his younger brother and eldest son.

We came closer together at Kokuvil Hindu where Saba had the bulk of his teaching career. He did not take time to gain recognition as a reputed teacher of Mathematics and Science through the Advanced Level classes. He came to be loved and admired by his students and was held in high esteem by his colleagues and the school community at large.

He made a distinct contribution in the development of the institution, extending his interest and dedication at all times connected with the growth and growing pains of Kokuvil Hindu. He was rewarded with a grade 1 special post early in his life there. Subsequently he was elevated to the post of Deputy Principal. The rich experience he gathered at Kokuvil Hindu over two decades stood him in great stead in the advancement of his subsequent successful career. Even when he was at the helm of affairs in the educational sphere holding in succession the stewardships of the two leading institutions in Jaffna, he felt proud to make emphatic mention of his gratitude to Kokuvil Hindu, and described his experience in educational planning there as the secret of his success. Kokuvil Hindu in turn never failed to feel proud of the achievements of its distinguished product.

A special mention must be made of the fact that he was one of the only two Tamil Heads of Schools to be awarded by the department of education the highest rank of selection Grade Principal, equivalent to that of the Regional Director.

He was in the main stream of public life in Jaffna and held positions of responsibility and honour, not only in the sphere of education but also in a multitude of other social organisations. He was keenly interested in the activities of Hindu religious bodies and contributed in no small measure towards their advancement.

Saba was very closely attached to me and the mutual affection between us was so deep rooted that it endured the trials and tests of time and remained as fresh and harmonious as at the beginning.

My family too is deeply grieved over his passing away but we feel consoled that he was among and in the midst of his children during his last days. His children led by his eldest illustrious son, Jothi, would no doubt bring greater glory to the memory of their distinguished father. May Saba rest in peace at the feet of God.

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