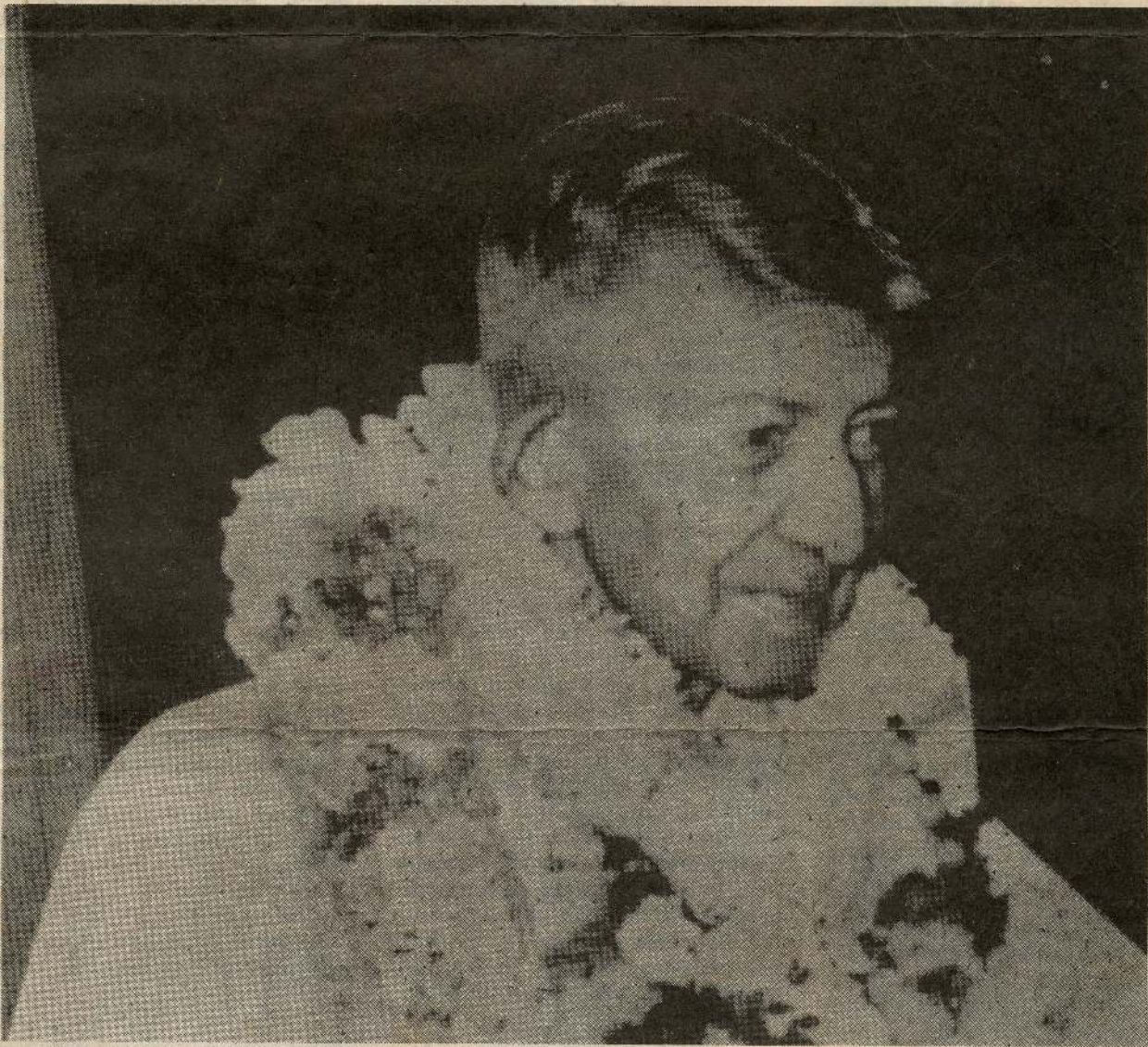


# TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

# TVI

Vol. 1 No. 11  
15th June, 1988

## THANTHAI CHELVA Harbinger of Tamil Eelam



(1898 - 1976)

**“I believe that my Father-in-Law, the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, would have given his blessings to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as the defenders of Tamil people and as the force that could take the Tamil people to their goal”.** *Prof. A. J. Wilson, at a public meeting in London on 2nd May, 1988, immediately after the International Tamil Conference.*

## YOUR VOICE

### IS EELAM VIABLE ?

N.Deva Rajan, Jaffna

This refers to the quotation, in the cover page of TVI Vol.1 No.8, from a report by Professor Virginia Leary. In this connection your readers may find the following extracts from the book *Tamil Culture in Ceylon* by Dr. M.D. Raghavan interesting and informative. Dr. Raghavan, of course, is an accepted authority on the ethnography of Ceylon. To quote: *On grounds of ancestral racial and cultural heritage, the Veddahs, the Sinhalese and the Tamils are the three Primary Races of Ceylon.* The Veddahs are the aborigines of the Island. Practically all authorities are agreed that the Tamils have been in occupation of the Island for over 2000 years" (Page 4). At page 9 Dr. Raghavan says, *Under a variety of forces, Jaffna developed as an independent sovereign power from early ages with its own line of Kings. Jaffna grew from strength to strength and, in later ages, became a strong political factor in the history of Ceylon, to middle seventeenth century when Jaffna passed into the hands of the Portuguese.* The Dutch and the British succeeded, and thanks to the latter we are now under Sinhala majority rule. This is what the British have done to people in their former colonies with different languages and divergent cultures. Unification with blood yet flowing in such territories!

*The Ceylon Tamils are intensely concentrated in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, regions which have come to be known as the homelands of Ceylon Tamils, and they are a strong minority in the rest of the provinces of Ceylon.....* says Dr. Raghavan in page 10 of his book.

Dr. Paul Peries, eminent Sinhalese civilian and historian, says in his book *Nagadipa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna, .....* "the village of Kantharodai has no reason to be ashamed of its contribution to our knowledge regarding the ancient history of the island. It stands to reason that a country, which is only 30 miles from India and which would have been seen by Indian fishermen every morning as they sailed out to catch their fish, would have been occupied as soon as the continent was peopled by men who understood how to sail. I suggest that the North of Ceylon was a flourishing settlement before Vijaya was born.... Long before the arrival of Vijaya, there were in Lanka five recognised Iswamas of Siva which claimed and received adoration of all India. These were Thiruketheeswaram near Mahatittha; Munneswaram dominating Salawatta and the

Pearl fishery; Tondeswaram near Mantota; Thirukoneswaram near the great bay of Kottiyar, and Nakuleswaram near Kankesan-turai.....".

**Of the Commonwealth's 49 members, 27 have populations under one million; some of them like Fiji have less than 1 million; Antigua & Barbuda and 4 others have a population of less than 2 lakhs and the people of little St. Kitts-Nevis number less than 1 lakh !**

**Why do intellectuals of varying calibre and colours pose the question "Is Eelam viable?." To Sri Lankan Tamils "Eelam" means freedom from fear, brutal assault, rape and arson. Leave us alone !**

### WAR CRIMES SHOULD NOT GO UNPUNISHED

Ratnam, Wembley

There is not the slightest doubt that, in the eyes of reason and justice, Mr. Jayewardene and Shri Rajiv Gandhi will be found guilty of serious war crimes. No legal evidence will be needed to try them in a Court of Justice. But who will punish them for their crimes? In their position, they are both "above the law." This situation will continue only till they hold office, or may be till their personal security system is effective.

So, let us Tamils, in all parts of the world, open and maintain files of records of not only crimes but also details of our families and dear ones affected by them. **The crimes committed by them are such that not only these two stubborn, power-drunk men deserve punishment, but also their closest associates. Therefore, let us ensure that the crimes they commit now go on record so that they may be deeply impressed in the minds of our offspring and, one day, this generation, or if it fails, the coming generation will take suitable action for the atrocities perpetrated by these two heartless beings. They should never be allowed to go scot free.**

### NORMALCY IN JAFFNA!

R. R. Viduranath

Having lived in Tamil Nadu for a couple of months, I returned to Sri Lanka two weeks ago. While I was in India I had the pleasure of reading Tamil Voice International. Here in Point Pedro no body knows of Tamil Voice Inter-

national, because it is not allowed to reach Jaffna. How can one expect that to happen when personal letters written by my kith and kin don't reach me. I trust that this letter will reach you.

I am writing this with a view to refuting the claims made by the Indian and Sri Lankan governments that all is well in Sri Lanka and that life in Jaffna has got back to normal. To illustrate the point, let me narrate briefly my experience in Sri Lanka since I stepped on the Sri Lankan soil.

I landed in Colombo on the 22nd of May. By reason of the strike in Jaffna I spent two days in Colombo. Then I managed to reach Kodikamam on the 26th of May. From Kodikamam I could not proceed to Point Pedro, which is only 10 miles away from Kodikamam because of the army brutalities, and therefore I went walking to Nunavil in Thenmaradchy where I spent 3 days with a friend of mine. Therefrom I managed to get a scooter ride to Point Pedro. When I reached Point Pedro I found the house where my wife was residing devastated and abandoned and it took me half a day to reach my wife who had shifted three houses within a period of 3 months as result of the ignominious deeds of the "Indian Peace Breakers".

Pennyless situation of my wife forced me to go to Jaffna to withdraw some money from the bank and on the way I got caught to the army operations and escaped detention by the skin of my teeth.

**One nice thing about the Indian army is that they don't show discrimination; they don't show distinction between old and young, male and female.** All are bundled up capriciously, taken to places of their choice and beaten up, molested and outraged. Yesterday an attorney-at-law of some reputation was taken for questioning and given a thorough thrashing. I can't describe the humiliation and degrading treatment that is heaped on the hapless Tamils of Vadamaradchy. It will well nigh be impossible for you in London to imagine what is happening here day and night. We are dying day by day. Even the Tamils of London appear to think that Jaffna is all right. Nonsense. Situation in Jaffna was never bad as it is today. Please publish this letter in your magazine to inform the International world that Jaffna has now become a veritable hell.

\*\*\*\*

## IPKF'S WAR CRIMES: EVIDENCE ESSENTIAL

The highly successful Conference of the World Federation of Tamils accomplished, among other things, two objectives: Firstly, India and President JR's now hardly legitimate government (the Sinhalese are likely to have JR as President for a third term) were reminded that though they could overwhelm the Tamil resistance led by the LTTE, they had no hold over the 'third force' - the Expatriate Tamil Community, the world over - to whom and to all the Tamil people they will have to render an account of their misdeeds on the appropriate day of judgment.

Secondly, and more immediate, was the advice of Ms. Karen Parker, international lawyer, human rights activist and lobbyist in the U.S. Congress. Ms. Parker exhorted the Tamils to collect and preserve every bit of evidence of inhuman conduct, cruel torture and calculated brutality by members of the IPKF; if possible any identification, in the way of a number or any other mark, should be noted. Ms. Parker explained the reason. Under international law, the perpetrator of an evil deed can be hunted down even several years later and brought to trial, just as the Israeli Documentation Centre is seeking the sub-human Nazis of the Holocaust. We therefore commend Ms. Parker's words of wisdom. Please collect and transmit your evidence in whatever form; sworn affidavits will be useful but it is necessary to have the record before the memory lapses. Our newly established Eelam Secretariat will retain the evidence. Even if the convicted are dead when a World Court gives its judgment, it will be enough if the verdict is one of guilty. Such verdicts will be a part of our recorded history. The surviving members of the family of the convicted will have to live with the knowledge that their kinsman or ancestor was condemned by a Court as being guilty of a war crime.

The crimes of the IPKF are too numerous; these men, who reportedly came to make peace, will, to President Jayewardene's surprise, remain on some pretext or another to make war. The Soviets had 115,000 troops in Afghanistan to fight the mountainous Afghan resistance of several millions armed with sophisticated, US supplied, weapons. The IPKF has 100,000, plus a further division of soldiers, to keep down a peaceful Tamil-speaking people of one- and-half millions. **There is little doubt that this huge army is intended to also engage at a future date the Sinhalese army!**

**Prime Minister Premadasa has stated in Parliament that the IPKF had raped a 79-year-old Tamil woman; that Indian soldiers visit Tamil homes asking for goats and women;** while a recent newspaper report from India indicated that an Indian customs man caught an Indian army officer with 100 sovereigns-worth broken jewellery in his possession while another 'plane in Madras had officers with loot comprising various items of electrical gadgetry.

We urge our expatriate brothers and sisters to appeal to the media in their respective countries to expose Indian lootings and war crimes in Sri Lanka. **India must be made answerable to world opinion.** International commissions of investigation must be permitted to visit the Tamil areas and see for themselves the horrendous damage heaped on innocent people.

**Jyotindra Dixit makes statements abrasive of Sri Lanka's sovereignty.** Surely he is not India's pretender to the Viceroy's office over a sovereign and independent Sri Lanka! He works hard for his promotion. He will go to Geneva shortly and from thence he will become India's Foreign Secretary. To prove his worth he must also report *Mission Sri Lanka* a success; though *Operation Pawan* and *Operation Vajira* have been damp squibs. **Why must career diplomats have to walk over our dead bodies on their way to satisfying their personal ambitions?**

# TAMIL VOICE International

எப்பொருள் யாறயாறவாய்க் கேட்பிலும் அப்பொருள்  
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

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# THE TAMIL EELAM STRUGGLE IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

By Thirumalai Nathan

## Strategic Implications

To view the Tamil national question as an internal issue in the island of Sri Lanka would be extremely myopic. The external impingements are too many. Placed as we are on a sensitive sea route in the Indian Ocean, a sea route that has vast trade and strategic implications, in a seabed with potentially rich resources, in an area that is rapidly getting militarised, in a waterway that carries constant super-power naval movements, the Tamil Eelam struggle cannot be viewed anymore in isolation. Our close physical proximity to India itself enmeshes us in that country's security concern; and India being a vast country surrounded by smaller nations, themselves increasingly alert to their own security interests and suspicious of every Big Power policy move, the Tamil question is fast becoming a focal and vital point of interest for the entire Indian Ocean region; and could indeed threaten to become a cockpit of international power intrigue. That is a danger one cannot be unaware of.

With Trincomalee, one of the finest natural harbours in the world and Admiral Mountbatten's main sea base in the anti-Japanese war, in the east, and with Katunayake, an international airport, in the west, the strategic vulnerability of Sri Lanka is accentuated. The future of the Tamil people is therefore inextricably linked to the power-play in the region, and to that extent the political, economic, trade and military interests of not only the regional power, but even of the super-powers have a direct bearing on the final outcome of our struggle.

## US's Vested Interest

Although the present posturings by the Big Powers tend to underplay the value and significance of the Trincomalee harbour as a military base, it cannot be forgotten that as recently as mid-1986 there existed a draft agreement between the Sri Lankan and U.S. governments, in respect of Trincomalee harbour. In fact, it is

suggested that this was one of the major ingredients that contributed towards the Indian initiative in signing the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. It has to be realised that U.S. imperialism has a vested interest in the Indian Ocean region; has an eye on the potentially huge export and trade market in the area; has therefore a logical interest in preserving the freedom of the sea for its own navies; both commercial and military shipping; and in pursuance of all these objectives will want, without upsetting the present balance of power, an ultimate dominance in the region. Various visible preparatory moves in this direction have been already taken over the years. The U.S. needs in the Gulf and West Asia are already met, through bases and facilities in Oman, Egypt, Somalia and Bahrain, and possibly through further facilities in Pakistan. The search for Air Force and Naval communication facilities in the Indian Ocean region is bound to be the next logical step in U.S. ambitions in the area. **The Voice of America station in Sri Lanka was the first intrusion.** Diego Garcia ceded to Britain and thereafter leased to the United States began as a communications facility, but is today enlarged into a major military base.

## US Encirclement of India

It is also no secret that while the super-power presence in the Indian Ocean region is, in the absence of any direct conflict largely 'invisible', a U.S. encirclement of India and the Indian Ocean region is being pursued with vigour, both by air and sea and undersea nuclear-powered submarines. U.S. satellites are constantly monitoring, probing and recording all earth-based military installations in this part of the world. Backed up by the U.S. facilities in the Australian continent, both naval and air, and with Pakistani willingness to permit Karachi for use by the U.S. forces in an emergency, and with Diego Garcia a formidable base already, it is obvious that Sri Lanka would have suited American interests

admirably, in order to complete the triangle of U.S. encirclement, and become the pivotal centre and the strategic post of U.S. in the Indian Ocean, in the same way as Israel serves U.S. interests in the Middle East.

## US and British Policy

It would seem that the thrust of both U.S. and British policy would be to keep India perpetually on a state of self-defence by militarising the Indian neighbourhood, and in effect destabilising the whole region. As far as Sri Lanka was concerned, the island's history during these past ten years has been one of U.S. involvement, but by proxy - funding through international aid agencies and supply of arms and weapons through satellite countries like Israel, Pakistan and South Africa. In return, President Jayewardene's government was prepared to grant the powerful VOA base that could undermine the security interests of the entire South Asian region as well as exclusive operating rights in and around Trincomalee harbour including the use of tank farms through front companies. The rationale behind the U.S. and British designs was to weaken India's interests without seemingly appearing to do so, and by giving no opportunity to India to interfere openly in that grand design. To that extent, the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement could be seen as a successful attempt on the part of India to checkmate U.S. designs; and the Indian secret boast that it was a turning point in India's regional and international ambitions could be seen as justified. But the moral of all these is that the Tamil Eelam question has to be resolved within this mesh of regional and super-power interests and their mutual clash of wills and antagonisms.

## Soviet Policy

The present Soviet policy in this region cannot be anything other than what it is today. The Soviets would indeed have to ensure that the trade and shipping routes have to

be freed from U.S. control, the region safeguarded from U.S. hegemony; and towards this objective, will want to back all Indian initiatives in the region, while continuing to subscribe to the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty. In India, the major power in the region, she has an effective proxy, unlike the U.S. which has none. But this again has an unfortunate bearing on the Tamil Eelam question.

### **Indian Foreign Policy**

Having achieved a formidable military strength, with the fourth largest army in the world, and a fast building up on naval strength, India will certainly want to hammer a foreign policy that would not only ensure its regional predominance but lift the country into an accepted status of a major power in the world. At the same time, as a founding father of the Non-aligned Movement, as a country with a history of opposition to colonialism and Western imperialism, as an opponent of racial discrimination and as a champion of oppressed peoples, India has to preserve her credibility in these areas, which credibility has brought her both respect and political benefits in the world comity of nations. While on the one hand forging a foreign policy that would ensure that the Indian Ocean region remains a zone of peace and that would insulate it from super-power presence, India would also like to project herself into a position where she would be accepted as a leader of the SAARC region, and as an umpire and mediator in problems arising within this region. **Although the basic thrust of Indian policy is to develop friendly links with neighbours in order to achieve this status, there have occurred many instances where that same policy had been handled with high-handedness - making the smaller neighbours to complain of an overbearing, Big Brotherly attitude, unethical dealings, postures of intimidation, underhand actions in the execution of policy, and show of military muscle. How India handled the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and continues to handle it is one such example.**

Firstly, the Government of India exploited the Tamil freedom struggle in Sri Lanka to browbeat the Govern-

ment of Sri Lanka. While extending support of various kinds including arms and training to Tamil militant groups, it brought pressure on the Jayewardene government. Thereafter it profited by the Sinhalese fear of an Indian invasion on behalf of the Tamils by selling out the interests of the Tamils in return for the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and the establishment of Indian hegemony over Sri Lanka. Having realised that objective the Indian policy makers were in a position to disregard the Tamil aspirations and their demand for power-sharing in their own country. Although President Jayewardene had to mortgage his country's sovereignty to India through the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, it is with the help of Indian military might that he is able to crush for the time being the Tamil Eelam struggle and the force that spearheads it - the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

### **US Blessings for the Accord**

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement received the blessings of the U.S. and British governments. If the U.S. government was prepared to give up its imperialist inroads into Sri Lanka as a result of the Agreement, it could have its own reasons for it:-

1. Since it recognised in the Agreement only a half-baked solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka, the problem would continue to simmer; in consequence India will get bogged down with the problem for a foreseeable period of time.
2. The calculation that, in the long run, it would get its opportunity to intervene directly on behalf of either the Sinhalese or the Tamils.
3. To make India temporarily safe for its own vast market.
4. To make the vast market in India immediately safe for economic exploitation.
5. The belief that it could be still possible to negotiate for military facilities with the Jayewardene government by striking a deal with India; a hope that cannot be dismissed in the light of the

### **recent visit of U.S. nuclear ships to Indian ports.**

Since the Tamil freedom struggle involves among its external objectives, opposition to all forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism and the working towards a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, it is a distinct possibility that the U.S. government through its agencies could attempt to infiltrate some Tamil militant groups. Given the present situation where U.S. incursions into Sri Lanka have been temporarily eclipsed, but where Indian dominance over Sri Lanka has yet to become a fait accompli, it will serve Soviet interests as well to be seen bolstering the present situation.

### **After Disarming LTTE?**

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement has placed India in a position whereby she is called upon to underwrite the Agreement as a guarantor. But although the foremost objective of the Agreement was to safeguard Indian interests in the region, finding a solution to the problems of the Tamils is another responsibility that India has undertaken. Since disarming of Tamil militants is a proviso in the Agreement, the Indian government has been engaging in a war with the Liberation Tigers in order to fulfil that objective. **But if once India succeeds in meeting that commitment under the Accord, and manages to crush Tamil resistance what rationale can India find; or, what excuse can she offer to enforce her will on the Sri Lanka government or keep her troops there in the event of the present Sri Lanka government or any succeeding government tearing up the Accord and ordering the Indian troops to withdraw? Will she say that the Indian military presence will be required to ensure that the Tamils achieve their just demands? What if it happens that the Tamils themselves declare that the oppressive presence of the Indian troops was no longer wanted by them?**

### **Lebanon-type situation**

In Tamil Nadu itself, there is popular resentment building up over the prolonged IPKF operations against their

*continued on page 17*

# THIRUKKURAL

By S. Sri Skandarajah

செயற்கரிய செய்வார் பெரியார் சிறியார்

செயற்கரிய செய்கலா தார.

**"Seyathkariya Seivaar Periyar Siriyaar  
Seyathkariya Seikalaa Thaar"** (Transliteration) (26)

**'The great ones are they who can achieve the impossible; the feeble ones are those who cannot.'** (Translation)

This is the sixth Kural in the Chapter on "Greatness of Ascetics." The term 'greatness' is not easy to define. It can have different connotations for different people. To some inventors may be great; to some others artistes may be great; and to yet others divine men may be great. As for Thiruvalluvar, the great are those that can accomplish the most difficult or impossible deeds. According to him, those that cannot accomplish difficult tasks are feeble and ordinary.

Let me illustrate this Kural with the help of an episode from the Mahabharatha: The great king Santanu had a son by the name Devavrata, who later came to be known as Bhishma, the grandsire. When Devavrata was twelve years old, his father crowned him as 'Yuvarajah' (crown prince). Though the king, Santanu, was reasonably old yet he was not free from passions. One day, when the king was perambulating the banks of the river Yamuna, he accidentally set his eyes upon a maiden who was bewitchingly beautiful. The king approached the maiden, revealed his identity, and asked if she would con-

sent to be his wife. The maiden, who appeared to be very coy and shy, modestly answered and requested the king to seek the consent of her father who was the Chief of the fishermen in the Yamuna area.

The Chief of the fishermen, who was courteous, but shrewd, told the king that he would give his daughter to him provided the child born of her daughter would be the king after him. In spite of the overmastering desire of the king to possess the daughter of the Chief, he could not give that promise to the Chief because of the love he had for Devavrata, and therefore returned to the palace dejected and baffled.

Devavrata, the Yuvarajah, who was very observant, found his father to be very sad, and asked him as to what was worrying him of late. The king beat about the bush and tried to divert the attention of his son. But Devavrata approached the charioteer of his father and found out the truth. As a dutiful son, he went straight to the Chief of the fishermen and asked him to give his daughter in marriage to his father, the king. When

the Chief unhurtingly told the same reply as he gave the king earlier, Devavrata unhesitatingly promised that he would renounce his rights as heir-apparent to the throne, and took a vow to that effect. When Devavrata did this, the Chief could not believe it. He was overwhelmed with astonishment, joy and wonder, and readily declared that Devavrata could then and there take his daughter to his father, the king, to be given in marriage.

Even as the Chief declared his readiness to part with his daughter, a streak of doubt crossed the mind of the Chief, and he falteringly said, "I have no doubt in your promise and am certain that you will not go back on your word; but what can my daughter or her children do if your children try to snatch the kingdom from my daughter's children?" This question stunned Devavrata for a while. But his determination to fulfil the desire of his father was such that he made his supreme renunciation, and declared, "I shall never marry, and I dedicate myself to a life of unbroken chastity." This renunciation which Devavrata made is so rare and great that, Sage Vyasara says in Mahabharatha, the Gods in heaven themselves showered flowers on Devavrata; and cries of "Bhishma! Bhishma!" reverberated in the sky. The term 'Bhishma' is applied to a person who undertakes a terrible vow and fulfils it too.

Only persons of the calibre of Devavrata are worthy of being categorised as great. Others are mere ordinaries.

## INDIAN WITHDRAWAL MET BY SCEPTICISM

**As stage-managed troop movements go,** India's miniscule withdrawal of parts of its forces in Sri Lanka proved a box office flop with the world media flown out to the eastern port of Trincomalee to watch the show yesterday. **Even the musical scores seemed strangely inappropriate.** The bagpipe band of the First Battalion of the Mahratta Light Infantry played 'Over the Sea to Skye' as a mere 300 soldiers prepared to cross the ocean to Madras aboard a chartered passenger ship. India admits to having more than 50,000 troops in Sri Lanka; the Indian Peace Keeping force (IPKF) has grown enormously from the 6,000 men who first came over eight months ago to

disarm Tamil separatists in the north and east. **It is elections for provincial councils this week in the south which seem to have prompted this first reduction in the IPKF.** The real audience for yesterday's show was those watching the Sri Lankan news last night. The pictures must have been some reassurance for those in the south with fears that the Indians would become a permanent occupying army. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British came and saw, and stayed in Sri Lanka for centuries - and now the Indians, too, runs the paranoia. So the withdrawal is timely for a government which invited the Indians in and faces a stern test of its popularity and its

security forces in the Sinhalese heartland. It is in the south that the extremist People's Liberation Front, or JVP, has its strongest support. The elections are to go ahead on Thursday with a massive security operation underway to try to stem the tide of JVP killings of politicians and election officers. The JVP sees the Indo-Sri Lankan accord signed last year by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and President Junius Jayewardene as a betrayal. India's High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. J.N. Dixit, told a news conference: "I hope this is the beginning of the end of suspicions about Indian intentions." *The Guardian, London - June 8, 1988*

## MR.V.GOPALSAMY IN INDIAN PARLIAMENT

Mr. Gopalsamy, M.P.(DMK) who was one of the chief speakers at the International Tamil Conference held in London on 30th April and 1st May and at the Public Meeting held on 2nd May, 1988 returned to New Delhi to take part in the budget discussions. He grabbed the opportunity on the very day he reached New Delhi, 4th May, to raise the Eelam Tamil issue. He also made reference to the International Tamil Conference. TVI salutes Mr. Gopalsamy for not only referring to our plight frequently but also for his fervent feeling and whole-hearted support for our struggle from the beginning. This is an edited version of a part of his intervention.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, On the 28th April, Shri Upendra put a question to the Government as to how much money had been spent in respect of the IPKF operations in Sri Lanka so far. But the Hon. Minister stated that the Government is not in a position to inform Parliament about the actual expenditure. **Such is the arrogant attitude, irresponsible attitude, which the Government is persisting in.**

When a pointed question was put to the President of Sri Lanka by the pressmen, he stated, it has appeared in India Today also, 'I am in charge of the Indian forces'. So, we are spending money on the forces of India, whereas the supreme commander happens to be the President of another country.

Sir, a memorandum was given by the Association of Tamil Refugees in Tamil Nadu to the hon. Prime minister of this country. The office-bearers of that Association started a fast unto death at the Marina sands. I put a question whether any memorandum was received by the Government. I was shocked to receive the reply that there was no such memorandum from any association. I got a copy of the memorandum also. **That memorandum was sent to the Prime Minister. But this Government dares to**

**say, "there is no such memorandum." Even Goebbels would become a pygmy before this Government. It is a very serious matter, Sir. Governments of the Western countries are pressurising those refugees to go back. Where should they go? Death is awaiting them there. It is hell there. They cannot go back. But our armed forces are hunting and hounding not only the youths but also the girls. Under the Geneva Conventions, the crimes committed by any army are crimes against humanity. Now this crime of genocide, this atrocious crime, is committed by the Indian forces against our brothers and sisters in the island of Sri Lanka. There are sanctuaries in that island for wild animals, but there is no sanctuary for the Tamils where they can live in peace and harmony.**

Sir, Lt. Gen. Pande of the Indian Army has given a press statement, which has appeared in all the national dailies and the magazines, and there he says, "90 per cent of the population in the Tamil areas totally support the LTTE." If somebody is not supporting the LTTE, he says, then something is wrong with him. It is the statement of an Indian General.

In the Conference held day before yesterday in London the speech made by the LTTE representative impressed even Justice Krishna Iyer who said, *I had a misconceived notion about the LTTE.* But now he has changed it after listening to this speech. In the speech he said: *We love India; we love the people of India; we are for the Government of India. Even now, in the Indian Ocean we wish India should be the leading power. We are against the role of imperialist forces, but not against India.* In times of crisis in the past, the Tamils have stood by you in the past. But, you are crushing their backbone which is the only shield for the Tamils. If you crush that movement which has been

all along protecting the Tamils there against the Sri Lankan forces, when you are crushing them, the only shield for the Tamils, then one day Mr. Jayewardene or somebody will say, *Your dirty job is over. You quit. Then, what will happen? Will the Tamil people be thrown before the wolves? So, this is a mad war pursued by the egoism of a particular individual.*

Sir, when they are prepared even for talks, unconditional talks, everyday you are launching your troops in all the areas. It is a very wrong policy. For every drop of blood being shed by the jawans of the Indian army, also the cadres of the LTTE, this Government is responsible.

**Sir, after the accord, 10,000 Sinhalese families have been brought to settle in the traditional home areas of the Tamils. Even our Minister in his statement has admitted to a certain extent that the traditional home areas have been colonised by the Sinhalese. It was done by the Israelis in the West Bank and the Gaza strip. Sir, have we got the audacity to tell the Palestinians not to have their homeland? Have we the guts to tell the Blacks of South Africa not to have their homeland?**

When Indra Gandhi was shot dead, the Tamils in the North and the East came on the streets with black flags. What happened? Eleven Tamils were shot dead by the Sinhalese army. Now you are pursuing the same policy. Instead of the army of the Sri Lankan Government, you have sent your army. **You are doing the dirty job of Jayewardene. You are playing the role of mercenary there.**

**Only one thing I would like to ask before I conclude: whether this Government is prepared to permit the international press and the International Red Cross in the North and East of Sri Lanka. Why are international press and the International Red Cross not permitted there?**

# JAFFNA HOSPITAL KILLINGS ON 21.10.87

AN EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT by a Medical Doctor. (Part I appeared in TVI Vol I No 10.)

We were all escorted to Ward 25 and the officer in command who escorted us said, "Now you don't have to worry. We have gained control of this area.... Everything is over.... We will do everything for your good. I have opened a new office, next to this ward, at the Nurses' Quarters. If you want any assistance, you send a message through one of my men, or one of you just can walk through." - a moment of relief!

Then suddenly two soldiers of the Sikh regiment appeared in front of us and said, in Hindi, which none of us understood, but from their tone we realised they were serious. Fortunately one Mr. Quadar, a Muslim gentleman, who knew a little bit of Hindi, volunteered to translate: "Who are these people....?" "All are Tamils (Tamilians)" "Tamils means ..?" "We are all Jaffna Tamils." "That's right. We are searching for those people. If any non-Jaffna Tamils in this crowd, like Colombo Tamils or up-country Tamils, they can come out. We are not going to do any harm, but we are here to evacuate Jaffna Tamils. We have been instructed to do so. Only two minutes will be given; get ready." We were all stunned.

Their tone and the hard look in their eyes; already they had demonstrated their cruelty; they were capable of doing it again. Then a gentleman was trying to explain to these people, "We all are innocent people. These are doctors, nurses, patients, and their relatives."

"We don't want to listen to your explanations and reasons. We are here to carry out our commands." Then one minute went by in silence. Everyone of us was preparing our mind and soul to meet our fate. Death sentence has been given; only the action to be carried out. Some people were praying to God, and some were getting under patients' beds for cover.

As a final effort he tried again, "We would like to meet your Officer-in-Command, who said he would be at the Nurses' Quarters. Could you

please be kind enough to inform him, because this is life and death. Already we have lost enough of our people in this hospital yesterday." They just loaded their machine guns. I think we all had a good *fate*, because people who had a *bad* fate lost their lives in that tragedy. Otherwise, there was no way to explain this type of miracle. They had second thoughts. They unloaded their guns and walked away to the Nurses' Quarters. For another five minutes they did not turn up.

In the meantime some of the new officers, including two or three military doctors, arrived from this side of the corridor. Almost all of them were English-speaking, including one Tamil-speaking military doctor of Captain's rank.

Then, in a few hours' time, Indian food was brought for all the people in the hospital. Now, some of the officers wanted our help to evacuate all the dead corpses that same day. It was almost dark, in the same evening of the 21st October. Many more army personnel were deployed throughout the hospital. We were dead tired; morally broken down, still uncertain of our lives; it was the psychological impact on our minds and, on the whole, we were badly disturbed and disorganised within ourselves.

So everyone of us refused to accede to their request with what was left of our will. They were hurrying to evacuate the bodies in order to black out the incident. At the same time some high-ranking officers arrived and they were interrogating the doctors, nurses, patients, and their relatives who had been there at the time of the tragedy of the massacre but subsequently escaped. Their intention was clear: to find out whether there were any eye-witnesses. Most of the people realised this very quickly, so they cleverly dealt with the interrogators.

That evening, some of us were co-operating in the distribution of the food which was brought from the Palaly camp in an Indian military vehicle. People were rushing, breaking the queue, and even stealing because of acute shortage of food,

which had led to starvation during the last eleven days. They got down a barrel of diesel and started the hospital generator.

That night we did not go to remove any corpses from the Quarters, but were trying to negotiate about the funeral arrangements for the following morning. Actually we wanted them to inform all the relatives to come and remove the bodies to pay their last respects.

But, soon, we were completely losing hope; we were pleading at least for the bodies of hospital staff like **Dr. A. Sivapathasundaram** whose residence was in Vannarponnai, only a kilometer away from the hospital, and whose wife and 4 daughters were either at home or in a nearby refugee camp. **Dr. Ganesharatnem**, from Chundikuli, (2 km from the hospital), unmarried. Only two days before his tragic death, he had left his mother at the Nallur camp because of army occupation of Chundikuli. **Dr. Parimelalahar**, **Mrs. Vadivelu**, **Matron**, and two nurses and 17 minor staff, at least we wanted their families to be informed.

Finally, after long tiring arguments, the officer angrily remarked, "Look here! It is a war situation. The war is going on between two parties. Still we have no control apart from this hospital and your roads. No telecommunication facilities have been established. All the roads are mined. So how can you expect us to send these corpses to different places. It's just impossible. If any of you are more sympathetic, then walk on the road. But, I am warning you. You are in potential danger of being killed either by the Indian army or by your 'boys' because nobody knows who you are. After all we, as military people, don't much bother about the dead. Dead is dead. We are only concerned about the living. Please try to understand our position. **You must all try to adapt yourself to live in a war situation which, I am afraid, is going to last for many months**"

Our request was turned down on security grounds, and we were com-



pelled to accept defeat. All of us, who escaped death yesterday evening, were gathered in the Maternity Ward building. Heavily armed personnel were on guard, not only in the surroundings but also on the first floor and at the entrance. We were instructed not to leave the building without their prior approval or permission. The warning was, "You will be killed, on misidentification, by somebody."

**Early morning, on the 23rd October 1987,** the same officers came and wanted our assistance to evacuate all the corpses, and subsequently to cremate them. They said, in their stern military tones, "We have got to get this hospital running again. Your service, and this hospital's service, are very important for everyone at this juncture. We can't afford to waste even a single day. So we have to get the cleaning done first."

A set of tables and chairs were put in front of Ward 9 which connects the Administration Block and the Doctors' Quarters to the rest of the hospital. Dr.S.Raviraj, Dr.A.Nadarajah, Dr.A.Sripathy, Dr.S.Subakumar, and some others were at the place identifying the bodies and collecting their belongings separately. Many of the hospital staff and the Indian soldiers were collecting the corpses from all over. On the left of the Administrative Block, **inside the Overseer's room,** were found the bodies of hospital Ambulance Driver Kanagalingam, Overseer Thurairajah, minor hospital staff

**Peter, Markandu and Thurarajah. No one in the Jaffna Hospital would ever forget the efficiency and courage of Kanagalingam.** During the last four and half years of agony, whenever there was indiscriminate shelling from the Jaffna Fort camp, or from a helicopter by the Sri Lankan army, into civilian targets, followed by mass casualty flowing into the hospital for immediate attention, he was the man who went out with his ambulance, taking enormous risk against shelling on the way, to bring down the Surgeon, Anaesthetist and Doctors to the hospital.

On several occasions, the late Dr.Ganesharatnam had been accompanying him in the ambulance, on compassionate grounds, and used to argue, *There is one hundred per cent risk of being killed on the road by shelling. He is a married man, with 4 children. So he should not be sent out alone.* During the crisis, once the war erupted on the 10th October, due to indiscriminate shelling, he had brought his wife and four children to his hospital quarters. On the 21st October, once the men in uniform burst into the hospital, he got into the Overseer's room with his two sons aged 9 and 7. They banged the door, and later opened fire at point blank range when all the seven people in that room got killed instantly. Later his two sons, who had miraculously escaped, said, that once the shooting was heard their father put them down under the bench and he slept over

them to give protection. At that time they didn't realise he was about to be killed, but once the door was forced open, they had thought all were going to be killed. He couldn't believe for several hours, after the firing stopped, that he was still alive.

**In the corridor, a few more bodies; and under the stair case the doctor's cook Appu (65 years) from Mallakam, father of 7 children, was found dead, in cold blood.**

As most of the doctors in the quarters were aware, he used to argue, *India is the only saviour for the Tamils,* whenever there was any shelling or aerial bombing. In fact, he used to listen only to the "States News" of the All-India Radio, and never watched *Rupavahini* news because he used to say they were 'biased' and 'liars'. **Finally he was murdered by the very people he believed in.**

**Then, in the Accountant's room, the hospital matron Mrs.Vadivelu's body was found, soaked in blood. She had got gun shot injuries in her head and back.**

On the other side of the Block, were most of the doctors and patients who were killed on that day. **In front, Dr.Sivapathasundaram's body was found, with his stethoscope still around his neck. His body was removed for cremation along with his stethoscope.**

\*\*\*\*\*

*Please help rehabilitation and resettlement of Eelam Tamils through:*

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## PRABA IN PROFILE

We publish below excerpts from a long, well-researched and gripping report in 'The New Yorker' of March 21, 1988, by Mary Ann Weaver who first visited Sri Lanka in early 1983 and has been there several times a year since then. We have, for this issue, chosen only those portions of 'A Reporter At Large' where reference is made by name to the Leader of the Tamil War of Liberation. Not all of it is complimentary, but, nevertheless, fascinating and revealing, especially to those in the West who tend to adopt double standards, e.g. in characterising the insurgent Contras as 'freedom-fighters' and the A.N.C's military wing as 'terrorist'.

As early as 1956, language riots had broken out in Colombo and other parts of the country, and they have occurred intermittently ever since. Over the years, voices began to be heard calling for autonomy in the heavily Tamil north. And in 1972 thirty teenagers, led by a 17-year old named Velupillai Prabhakaran, proclaimed that their established politicians were no longer protecting their rights, and set up a guerrilla organisation in the Jaffna peninsula. They called it the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, or LTTE. ('Eelam' means 'precious land').....

### PARADISE BECAME IRRETRIEVABLE

By the time I first visited Sri Lanka, in early 1983, this once idyllic island was already drifting toward chaos. I returned to the island several times a year, and on each occasion, however grim my expectations, I was startled anew by the deterioration of the country's integrity as, bit by bit, paradise became irretrievable. The turning point came in July of 1983.

It happened not in a typical ambush site - an isolated ravine, or a hairpin turn in the mountains - but in an upper-middle-class neighbourhood on the outskirts of Jaffna, where Tamil homes were well appointed and adorned with gilded statues of Hinduism's sacred cows. Velupillai Prabhakaran, who was now twenty-eight, carried out an attack on an army convoy with thirteen other guerrillas, dressed in fatigues and armed with AK-47s and strings of grenades. He had been planning the attack for more than six weeks, and it was his most daring operation since he formed the Tamil Tigers. The guerrillas now numbered about five hundred and were weather-hardened and tough.

They came from the fishing villages of the Jaffna peninsula, such as Valvedditturai, where their forefathers had been smugglers and pirates, plying the waters of the Indian Ocean.

### MORE POLITICALLY ADEPT

The Tigers had already launched sixty assaults in 1983, ranging from political assassinations and raids on banks to executions of suspected informers, who were shot and left hanging from Jaffna lamp-posts. The guerrillas had also become far more politically adept than the ragtag teenage idealists of eleven years before. When they called for a boycott of District Council elections in the northern districts in May 1983, as much as ninety-five per cent of the electorate stayed away in some areas.

### STRICT DISCIPLINARIAN

Prabhakaran, a handsome young man with flashing eyes, known to his friends as Thamby (Little Brother), was an impressively elusive leader - he had slipped past soldiers and police many times, once disguised as a peanut vender, another time as a priest - and, indeed, could have been mistaken for a rich, eccentric undergraduate. He was born in Valvedditturai, into the lowly Karaiyar, or fishermen's caste. (He eventually married into the higher Vellala caste.) At the age of four, he saw his uncle burned alive in the language riot of 1958. He has said that his childhood was lonely and that he was painfully shy, especially in the matter of mingling with girls. He was a Boy Scout. His father was an educated government civil servant, employed as a district land officer in the Jaffna peninsula. Prabhakaran adored his father, and once told a journalist, *I was brought up in an environment of strict discipline.... My father set an example....He would not even chew betel leaves. People in our*

area say, 'When he walks, he does not hurt even the grass under his feet' Prabhakaran has also said, *I used to read books on the rise of Napoleon and his exploits. This kind of history held special appeal.* In groping for an answer to a political question in recent years, he has often quoted from the Mahabharata, the ancient Indian epic of legendary battles and struggles between glorious kings. He had only a high-school education,



however, having gone underground when he was seventeen. He is said to be an unerring marksman, who can hit a cigarette with a pistol shot at a hundred paces. (For inspiration, he likes to watch Clint Eastwood video-cassettes). He may have been trained in Cuba. He certainly modelled the Tigers on Fidel Castro's original guerrilla group, and from the start the LTTE has been a tightly controlled organisation that has kept its strategy and movements secret through threat of public execution. It has also regularly shot up rivals from other Tamil militant groups. But Prabhakaran is not a Marxist in the traditional sense. In fact, his political thinking seems a bit muddled, and the labels pinned on him have ranged from extreme rightist to extreme leftist. All that can be said for certain is that he is an extremely militant and angry Tamil

nationalist. He and his men wear cyanide capsules around their necks as a special badge of membership and determination - and, of course, as a means of avoiding interrogation under arrest. He is a strict disciplinarian, who neither smokes nor drinks - he also does not drink coffee or tea - and is something of a puritan; he demanded celibacy and sobriety of his fighters in the movement's early days.

The story of how Prabakaran met his wife, Mathivathani, is a tale often told in Sri Lanka. In 1984, a group of Tamil law and medical students at Jaffna University - Mathivathani among them - went on a hunger strike, vowing to fast 'unto death' to compel the government to address the problem of discrimination against Tamils. The prospect of these future Tamil leaders starving themselves to death so angered Prabakaran that he and a unit of his Tigers swept onto the campus, bundled the students into trucks, and took them to a hospital, where they were force-fed. One of Mathivathani's friends, a fellow law student, who participated in the fast, has told me that Prabakaran shouted at his future wife, "We can't afford this idiotic self-sacrifice!", and informed her sternly that the first obligation of potential Tamil leaders of her generation was to stay alive to help the Tamil people.

### SINHALA MOB ENCOURAGED BY GOVERNMENT

The 1983 ambush in Jaffna, which killed thirteen government soldiers - Prabakaran is said to have killed nine of the men himself - unleashed an unprecedented wave of violence and a chain of events that changed the face of Sri Lanka. In retaliation, mobs of Sinhalese youths - who were almost certainly encouraged by some government ministers and officials - together with members of the security forces and political-party thugs, went on a five-day rampage of burning and slaughter that swept across the south of Sri Lanka into the east and the central plains. For the deaths of thirteen Sinhalese Buddhists, a thousand Hindu Tamils lost their lives. All

over the island, Tamil homes, shops, and businesses were burned. Three hundred million dollars' worth of property damage was done in Colombo alone, where a third of the investments and businesses had been Tamil-owned. In all, a hundred thousand Tamils lost their homes.

### ENDLESS WAR

By the spring of 1987, the violence was clearly beyond control. Both Sinhalese and Tamils were predicting endless war. The almost inevitable failure of intermittent peace talks was accompanied by assaults and summary executions carried out by government military, paramilitary, and vigilante groups, and by fresh outrages by the Tamil militants. Nearly every day, innocent people were killed. More than six thousand people had died since Prabakaran's ambush in 1983. (Today, the figure has reached twelve to sixteen thousand, according to human rights groups. As recently as March 5th, nineteen men, women and children were killed by a terrorist mine in the Eastern Province).

After the ambush, Prabakaran left Sri Lanka and set up his headquarters in Madras, the capital of the Indian State of Tamil Nadu, whose chief minister, the late M.G.Ramachandran, provided him and other Tamil separatists with sanctuary and bases, while the central government, in New Delhi, authorised their training by the Indian Intelligence agency RAW. It was said in India at the time that Indira Gandhi had approved the policy, to enhance her domestic political standing among the fifty-five million Tamils of Tamil Nadu. In any event, the policy constituted a safety valve to prevent a resurgence of separatist ambitions in Tamil Nadu itself. India had also become increasingly uneasy about Sri Lanka's links with what it perceived as two of its more interventionist neighbours, China and Pakistan. Before the Tamil insurgency, New Delhi's relations with Colombo had been formal and correct, but it had not had good

relations with its other neighbours for years. By 1986, Prabakaran's Tigers and the other Tamil separatist groups had thirty-nine training camps in the swamps and jungles to the south of Madras. One consequence was that the rebel soldiers were far better trained and disciplined than the Sri Lankan army was. Many of the guerrillas had Indian passports, and skipped across to Jaffna with ease; it was a ninety-minute ride by powerboat. The Sri Lankan 'surveillance' had little effect, and about two hundred militants - Prabakaran himself sometimes among them - came and went each week...

### DEC 19, 1986 PROPOSALS

He (Rajiv Gandhi) reached an agreement with Jayewardene on December 19, 1986, for a reasonable devolution of power, in which the Tamils would administer the Northern Province through a provincial council, with powers of land distribution, policing, and education firmly in their hands. The ethnically mixed Eastern Province - which the militants claimed as part of their traditional homeland - would be split into Tamil and Sinhalese areas. But Prabakaran refused to accept the agreement, reportedly telling Gandhi, *In serious politics, it won't do to concentrate on talking. You must go through actions and then you talk. He insisted on a merger of the north and the east, and, piqued by Gandhi's pressure, abruptly packed his bags and his .357 Magnum and returned to Jaffna in early January of 1987. Just before he left, an old friend of his father's who lives in Madras expressed concern about his going back. Don't fret, Uncle, Prabakaran told him, I have an uncanny hunch about impending military attacks and attempts to capture me. He laughed. Besides that, the gods and the stars are looking after me.*

### NO EFFECTIVE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

In Jaffna, Prabakaran resumed his underground life, moving

*continued on page 23*

# Colombo Commentary.

## JR WILL WIN A THIRD TERM

### Provincial Council elections - UNP wins 88, USA 64.

(An Indian journalist, Thomas Abraham, has two interesting reports in *The Frontline*. The first is on the results of the PC elections; the second on the JVP. We give below, in separate headlines, some of Abraham's shrewd observations, and our own comments). Why did President J.R. hold elections in four provinces and not a one-day election? Obviously JR knew he would win and cash in on the momentum in the other provinces. Abraham thinks that the vote in its own way approves the Accord and signals the emergence of the USA (an incongruous name for Chandrika Bandaranaike's United Socialist Alliance) as an alternative to, what we think is the Noah's Ark in Sri Lankan politics, the SLFP.

We will not fault Abraham for any of these conclusions. His inferences provide insights into Sinhalese politics. Abraham speculates that in the next round, the UNP will win two

The media speculates on Presidential policy adviser, Lalith Athulathmudali (the hare, sometimes as mad as a March hatter, in regard to JVP negotiations), on Presidential pet, Gamini Dissanayake (the tortoise) and Ranasinghe Premadasa (Jacques Chirac all over again and more like Oscar Wilde's "The Sphinx without a Secret") as potential presidential candidates.

Our bets are on our own Konrad Adenauer (for tangential confirmation, read Mary Ann Weaver's recent article in *The New Yorker* of March 21, 1988.

President J.R. will have the Constitution manipulated. He will obtain a third term and the Sinhalese will, as Premadasa once exhorted a Southern audience, have to pray that they will be rid of their "Wicked King." This will not happen. **Third-term President J.R. will want a fourth term and will go on and on. The secret of his success lies in that he suffers from no organic disease.**



Athulathmudali,

Premadasa,

Dissanayake

### Presidential hopeful Lalith fooled

*The Hindu* (May 21, 1988) virtually tells us that Lalith acted like a buffoon when he was misled by a man notorious for his forgery, claiming to represent the JVP. What has not been mentioned are the posters that went up all over Colombo with the caption over Lalith's picture, *Instant Charisma..... Veeraya* even talked about bringing off a similar deal with Mr. Prabaharan (*If only the Indians will leave Lankan to talk to Lankan*). The priest (Father Balasuriya) who was one of the catalysts in putting the deal through is reported resting in Ireland.

provinces, and the USA one (probably the JVP-infested Southern). He is not right when he says *the fairness of the elections also made it clear that the Jayewardene Government was serious about devolving powers to an extent in allaying Tamil suspicion*. One does not need a pickaxe to find out that beneath their skins, Sinhalese politicians are ever ready to cheat the Tamils.

The Accord, the Thirteenth Amendment and the P.C. Act are cosmetic. Abraham proceeds to seek lessons from this exercise in effortless democracy (the P.C. elections). These are relevant but we need to look to the underlying factors. The PC elections were obviously a test

run. It gives the UNP an idea of where it stands. They were deliberately staggered so that with the UNP victory in four provinces, the UNP will win in the other provinces (*Vaasi Peththatta Hoiya*, cheers to the winning side). The results on grouped provinces could be used for the General Election (staggered so that after a UNP victory in the four provinces, the carpet-baggers will stomp the other three provinces).

What if the UNP had lost? JR had a ready excuse. Political conditions will not for the time being, he would have said, permit the holding of any further elections. **The new model will help JR to fix the Presidency for himself. One plan mooted is to have each province elect a certain number of electors to a Presidential Electoral College (as in the United States). Presidential elections will now win in the four provinces and probably in two of the three provinces. Well done J.R.!**

### JVP's Flawed Strategy

Wijeweera's *killerat* have done their damndest. But "T.A." (probably Thomas Abraham, Jr. again), says the killing of selected individuals has boomeranged on the JVP as the results of the recent elections indicate (*Frontline* - May 14-27, 1988). 'T.A.' says Wijeweera ordered the killing of Vijaya Kumaranatunge when a majority of the JVP central committee was against Kumaranatunge's slaying. This is what excerpts from a leaflet published by Wijeweera's principal lieutenant, Upatissa Gamanayake, now a dissident, states the CPM fortnightly *Forward* has published English translations of these excerpts. T.A. says some political settlement as was done with the Tamils could contain rural discontent among the Sinhalese, this being the main cause for the violence.

*Tamil Voice International* has other views. We need to find out more about who killed Vijaya Kumaranatunge. We need to be convinced that it was Wijeweera's men, not anyone else. The Tamil settlement, if ever there was one, cannot be an answer to the JVP's problems. We detect incipient Polpottism (indiscriminate systematic killing of the middle and upper age brackets). There is a thirst for Stalinist power.

VOICELESS TAMIL

# THE TRAUMA AND AGONY THAT IS KOKKUVIL

By "Jaffna Damsel in Defiance"

With the signing of the Peace Accord on July 29, 1987, there was a sigh of relief that normalcy and peace would be restored in the North and East of Sri Lanka. Immediately after signing of the Accord, troops were flown in numbers, bombers, helicopters and fighter planes arrived. Soon we saw a convoy of military vehicles streaming through the streets of the Jaffna peninsula waving flags of peace. The people of Jaffna greeted them with joy and more so, when notices were dropped from planes ushering the message which read, *We have come to protect the rights of Tamils in Sri Lanka and maintain peace.*

**The peace and calm were but brief.** Very soon, this normalcy was shattered as LTTE found that IPKF was trying to consolidate its position in the Jaffna peninsula. The safety and protection of LTTE seemed to be at stake when rival militant organisations like PLOTE, TELO, and THREE STARS were brought to Sri Lanka with India's patronage to make them enter a democratic way of life. They were made use of by IPKF for intelligence gathering and soon there were outbursts of violence among the rival organisations. The innocent civilians could not guess the intentions of the giant neighbour when they deployed so much of arms and ammunition despite the size of Sri Lanka. India always spoke of the security of this region and they appeared to be in the process of convincing LTTE of their good intentions of maintaining peace in this region. But LTTE cadres suspected the IPKF as an agent deployed to find a military solution to the ethnic strife to which President Jayewardene's Government subscribed. LTTE on the other hand believed that *Eelam* was the only solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka but still supported the Peace Accord for a negotiated political settlement.

LTTE cadres were horrified when seventeen of their men were arrested by the Sri Lankan Government and ordered to be flown to Colombo for further questioning. Violence escalated when 12 of these boys com-

mitted suicide by taking cyanide just before being flown to Colombo. The real war scenario started all over again in the Jaffna peninsula - LTTE called for the staging of interminable hartals, street demonstrations, satyagrahas, and poster protest against the implementation of the Peace Accord. Dhileepan fasted unto death. These demonstrations disrupted the normal life and the climax came when the student population too joined protest marches and boycotted schools. When the massacre of Sinhalese civilians took place elsewhere, the IPKF suspected that the LTTE was in possession of arms.

The IPKF labelled their military offensive as *Operation Pawan*. They cordoned off Pirambadi, in Kokkuvil, for search operations, bombarded the area with air cover, blasting houses and public buildings. We heard a radio message warning citizens to leave their abodes and rush for safety to temples and schools. People were taken aback and were rushing in panic for safety here and there and many lost their way. In the meantime, mortar shells were hurled from all directions in which some lost their lives. We heard bomb blasts and booming of guns and we did not know from which direction the sound came. Round the clock curfew was clamped in many areas; all modes of transport were suspended and hundreds of soldiers with guns were advancing from all directions. At the Kokkuvil Hindu College itself refugees totalled 7,000. **At Kokkuvil, Urumpiray, and Urelu the IPKF shot at sight any person on the road or in the house, whether old or young, man or woman, child or infant. The houses were bombed, destroyed and some razed to the ground. The Kokkuvil Refugee camp was no exception. At Kokkuvil, the death toll was 37 and several others were wounded. The wounded victims could not be taken to hospital and some of these subsequently died. The shells hit children and women who were blinded. Mutilated bodies were crushed by tanks and armoured**

personnel carriers. We heard cries of pain, anguish and some people were dumb-founded to see the bodies of relatives burnt before their eyes in their own camp. Blood was spilled all over and we had to spend days and nights in this gory atmosphere. Oh, what a bloody battle that raged and senseless killings, which lasted several days. Once the violence gradually stopped, the people began to peep out into the streets where lay the remains of the dead. People in anxiety rushed to see their houses; while on their way the IPKF shot down some of them. In one instance, a man went to collect clothes for his wife and was gunned down by the IPKF. Another person who went to feed his cow was shot and thrown in his garden. A beloved son of an old mother, half blind, going to feed her was shot on his way. **There was no rhyme or reason for these killings. Nobody thought that the army of Mother India would do this to us.**



From October 10 till the war ended, some 21 days after, it was a period of terror, injustice and brutality. The massacre of innocents was widespread. They did not stop the offensive even with the killing of the ordinary people. They started a crackdown on the militants and made large scale arrests of men, women, boys and girls irrespective of their age or affiliations. They sent all of them to Boosa or Palaly air base. The

Continued on page 23

# TAMIL EELAM NEWS

## PRESENCE OF INDIAN TROOPS DISTURBS SINHALESE

Recent reports indicate that sporadic attacks against Tamil Tiger hide-outs in the jungles are still continuing. The large presence of Indian troops in the Vavuniya area has disturbed the Sinhalese in Vavuniya and they have made several protests to the Sri Lankan military authorities and the government.

According to later reports, the massive military presence of Indian forces in Mullaitivu area has severely disturbed the civilian population there. People are fearing to leave their homes to attend to their normal duties. Reports are trickling in of killings of innocent Tamil civilians by the Indian soldiers.

## DEADLY TYPE OF WARFARE

An Army Officer involved in the Indian operations against the Tamil Tigers is said to have told some Tamils who went to meet him, that the Indian forces are facing a deadly type of warfare in the jungles as landmine attacks had claimed many lives of the Indian forces. He refused to comment on the number of casualties. But unconfirmed reports state that, in the surprise attacks launched on the Tiger hide-outs, a number of IPKF men were killed, a few missing and some Indian soldiers had been captured by the Tigers. The areas surrounding the Tiger bases are said to have been heavily mined and booby-trapped, and thus the IPKF were unable to gain ground. Reports also indicate that the IPKF may choose to bomb the jungles if they are unable to move their men on foot.

## LEADERS SAFE; BASE ABANDONED

The LTTE claim that their fighters had killed altogether 42 Indian soldiers, seven of them on one day (30.5.88) and wounded many of them. The LTTE are also reported to have acknowledged that one of their bases within the Mullaitivu perimeter has been abandoned but that they are

still in control of their other two bases. Their leader Prabaharan and his deputy Mahataya are said to be safe and that they are not in danger.

## GENERAL KHALKOL OFFERS OLIVE BRANCH

According to further reports from Sri Lanka, the Commander of the Indian forces in Sri Lanka, Major Gen. Khalkol, has had talks with the former Jaffna Municipal Commissioner, Mr. C.V.K. Sivagnanam, in connection with a ceasefire in the fighting between the IPKF and Tamil Tigers.

The IPKF is said to have stepped up their campaign to restore the civil administration in the North. Our sources report that a team of English-speaking IPKF officers had visited the homes of a number of staff-officers attached to the Jaffna Kachcheri and the Municipality and requested them to persuade their colleagues and other officers to resume work immediately. The IPKF officers had also promised them the services of body-guards round the clock and also promotions and pay rise.

The Indian Navy is said to have increased their strength to patrol the coastal areas from Kumari to Pt. Pedro in the North. They have ordered fishermen to refrain from using motorised boats within this area until further notice.

## RETURNING REFUGEES STRANDED

On the refugee front in Mannar, reports indicate that the refugees who were taken to Mannar from India are encountering many difficulties, and most of them have found less assistance than expected. A part of a group of 549 refugees taken from India to Mannar by the UNHCR in February and housed in Thiruketheeswaram Hindu temple were later refused accommodation by the temple authorities and were left outside the temple to fend for themselves. Indian press reports have drawn attention to allegations of refugees evicted at gun-point from refugee

camp in the South Arcot district in Tamil Nadu.

## LTTE BANS ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

In a hand-out distributed in Jaffna on 16th May, the LTTE has banned all mini-cinemas and private broadcasting in the Jaffna area. "In the past couple of months, mini-cinemas and private broadcasting have been encouraged by foreign powers to brain-wash the Tamil youths and to destroy the feeling of national liberation struggle", the leaflets said. From 18th May all such broadcasting has effectively been banned by the LTTE, and it has warned severe punishment for anyone breaching it. It must be noted that the LTTE has already banned the use of drugs, prostitution and viewing video 'nasties' in the Jaffna peninsula.

## SEVEN INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED

Six Indian soldiers were killed when the Tamil Tigers blasted an army vehicle with a landmine in Eastern Sri Lanka. The vehicle was proceeding along the Muttur-Thoppur road in Trincomalee district on 27th May when the mine was detonated. On the following day another IPKF soldier was killed in similar circumstances near Trincomalee town.

## EROS SAYS 'DOUBLE-STANDARD'

The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS), in a letter to the Government of Sri Lanka, says it is disheartening to find that many of its members who are held as political prisoners continue to languish in prison although nine months have elapsed since signing the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord. It says that continued detention of its cadres is also arbitrary, because PLOTE, TELO, and EPRLF members have already been released. EROS complains that though it had surrendered all its weapons in accordance with the Indo-Lanka Accord, this had not paved the way for the release of the prisoners. The letter to the President con-

cludes, "You repeatedly invited us to employ democratic and peaceful means to fight for our rights. Now that we have thrown up our hands on the bargain, it is unfair of you to let your actions contradict what you said in the past. If this unpleasant state of affairs continues we may lose confidence in the Peace Accord."

### PLOTE CHARGES IPKF

Mr. Manickadasan, the PLOTE military leader for Mannar, Mullaitivu and Vavuniya, has condemned the IPKF's operation against the LTTE. He also said that a PLOTE supporter Mr. Karunamurthi, leader of the Vavuniya Traders' Association, was shot at and injured by two armed TELO men. He accused the IPKF of instigating the TELO members to carry out this operation.

### RELIEF AID TO TAMILS WITHDRAWN

The Ministry of Rehabilitation has announced that the government aid given to about 3000 Tamil refugees in Colombo, who fled Jaffna after the IPKF offensive, is to be withdrawn forthwith. The refugees were receiving a sum of Rs.100 per week as financial assistance for the past six months.

### FOUR INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN POINT PEDRO

Two IPKF soldiers were gunned down by the LTTE in Point Pedro on 1st June while buying textiles in a

shop. Their arms were taken away by the assailants. The ambulance that rushed to the scene crashed into an IPKF road-block, resulting in the death of two more IPKF personnel. In a subsequent search operation, the IPKF violently attacked seven civilians who were later admitted to the Manthikai Hospital with severe injuries.

### TWO INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED

It is reported that two IPKF soldiers were killed in a bomb attack at Vasavilan in the Jaffna peninsula on 24th May.

### LTTE'S 3 PRE-CONDITIONS

A Political Affairs Committee member and LTTE spokesman in Madras, Mr. S. Subramaniam, is said to have laid down three pre-conditions to hand over their arms: 1. The Sri Lankan government and the government of India should provide adequate compensation to the Tamil people in Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka for the property destroyed as well as the loss of life suffered during the action by the Sri Lankan and Indian armies. 2. There must be substantial devolution of power to the proposed Provincial Councils and 'not as envisaged in the 13th Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution'. 3. The proposed Interim Government should be formed along the lines agreed on Sept. 28, 1987, between the Indian High Commissioner, Mr.

J.N. Dixit, and the LTTE.

### AN APPEAL TO RAJIV

The Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria, Australia, has appealed to the Prime Minister of India to stop killing the innocent Tamil people by the IPKF and to seek a solution to the ethnic problem through dialogue with the LTTE. In their appeal they further stated, "We urge the Government of India to realise that the Tigers truly symbolise the national aspirations of the Tamil people and any attempt to destroy the LTTE would only serve to further alienate the Tamil people and make reconciliation more difficult." Similar appeals are being made from Tamil groups all over the world.

### V.C FOR JAFFNA UNIVERSITY

Prof. Kaneshalingam has been appointed to the vacant post of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jaffna. It will be recalled that Prof. Vithiyananthan had resigned as Vice-Chancellor some months ago, and subsequently Prof. Balakrishnan, who succeeded him, had also submitted his resignation.

### DIES IN IPKF CUSTODY

A Batticaloa Citizens' Committee member said that on the 28th May, 1988, one Kanapathipillai Thiruchselvam, one of the eight persons taken into custody by the IPKF at Kirankulam, died hours later.



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# SRI LANKA NEWS

## BEGINNING OF THE END ?

BBC's Delhi correspondent Mark Tully is of the opinion that Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayewardene are seeing the latest Indian offensive against the Tamil Tigers as the beginning of the end of the insurgency in the North and East of Sri Lanka. He states further that political pressure is being brought on the two leaders to hold Provincial Council elections in the North and East and that Tamil Nadu has charged Rajiv Gandhi with having sold the Sri Lankan Tamils to the Sinhalese.

## PARDONED BUT STILL ON THE RAMPAGE

In the Hambantota district, JVP militants are reported to have set fire to and burnt down several government buildings and brought down electric posts and pylons thereby disrupting the electricity and pipe-borne water supply to Ambalantota, Tissamaharama and Hambantota in the Southern Province. JVP militants are reported to have been involved in violent activities in the three provinces where Provincial Council elections are due to be held this month, burning railway carriages, buses and government offices. Shops in Colombo are said to have closed early following rumours of impending violence by JVPers and of the imposition of a curfew.

Three persons including a policeman are reported to have been killed and there were bomb explosions outside polling booths in election violence, on 2.6.88, believed to be by JVP militants, despite a security cordon made up of over 15,000 police and military personnel.

The JVP has been distributing leaflets in Colombo and other areas in the South calling upon the masses to rally round them to defeat the UNP regime and the United Socialist Alliance, their 'agents'. The leaflets also state that the Sri Lankan government was forced to set up Provincial Councils by the Indians, that Provincial Councils will compel the non-Tamil population in the Eastern Province to leave their homeland, and that Provincial Councils will mean the pawning of the remaining fertile land in the island to the Tamils who are only one-third of the total population in the Eastern Province.

## TWO U.S.A. CANDIDATES SHOT DEAD

Two United Socialist Alliance candidates and a photographer were shot

dead at Godapola junction near Matale at 10 am on 28th May. The candidates killed were Mr.S.B. Yalegama, a former member of Parliament for Rattota and Mr.Palitha Udagama. The photographer was Nimal Gunawardena from Matale. Three assassins suddenly appeared on their way while they were canvassing for the party and shot them in cold-blood. The Matale police later found 5 empty T-56 cartridges near the place of the incident and an abandoned motor-bicycle at Wariyapola Estate believed to have been used by the assassins.

## FOOD MINISTER'S CLERK SHOT DEAD

JVP shot dead a personal clerk of Sri Lanka's Food Minister Mr.Sarathchandra Rajakaruna, at his residence in a village in the Dompe electorate, about 40 km east of Colombo. The victim, Mr.A.M.Piyasena, was gunned down by a burst from a T-56 automatic rifle on 28th May.

## SRI LANKA TO BUY NEW ARMY VEHICLES

Sri Lanka is to buy a new type of AFV (Armoured Fighting Vehicle) of Brazilian or American make. The two types of AFVs currently being evaluated are the Cardillac V300 Commando and the Engesa, Urutu-American and Brazilian makes respectively. Both vehicles carry a 90-mm Cannon and several machine guns and are fully amphibious. Each of these costs about Rs.16 million and can carry up to ten soldiers in addition to the crew. The total purchase may eventually run into 36 vehicles to form three squadrons. These vehicles' ability to operate off the roads which are often mined is considered to be another reason for the purchase of this type of vehicle.

## JVP KILLS SIX

JVP militants gunned down six people during a late-night attack on a ruling party candidate contesting the Provincial Council elections. Gunmen burst into the house of the United National Party (UNP) candidate, Mr.K.W.G. Dharmasena, around midnight and opened fire with Chinese T-56 rifles. Mr.Dharmasena was wounded but six people died, including his 10-year old daughter, father and brother-in-law. His wife and two volunteer policemen were also wounded. The attack took place at Homagama, some 25 km east of Colombo.

## TROOPS WITHDRAWAL QUESTIONED

In order to boost the chance of the ruling UNP winning the 2nd and 3rd rounds of the Provincial Council elections, India has announced that there would be a phased withdrawal of its troops from the island. It is reported that out of the 130,000 troops stationed in Sri Lanka, about 2,500 are to be withdrawn initially. Meanwhile, Indian Defence Minister, Mr.K.C.Pant, told a press conference in Colombo on 31st May that the total withdrawal of troops would take place only after normalcy and civil administration is restored in the north and east of the island.

## NEW INDIAN ENVOY APPOINTED

Mr.Rajhotra has been appointed High Commissioner to Britain by the Indian Government. He was Foreign Secretary during the late Mrs.Indira Gandhi's last administration. He was recalled to serve as High Commissioner from his retirement.

## JR CHALLENGES ROHANA

*Reversal of the Dutugemunu-Elara Duel!*

President J.R.Jayewardene of Sri Lanka has invited the JVP leader, Rohana Wijeweera, to come for an open challenge at the Galle Face esplanade in Colombo. In an election meeting at Homagama the President said, "I invite Rohana Wijeweera for a fight, either with T-56, hand-bomb, knife, sword or even without any weapon, at the Galle Face Green. Instead of killing the innocent people, he can fight with me. Let us see who is going to win. It is entirely up to Rohana to decide the date and the mode of the fight and I hope that he will be prepared to face this challenge."

## SRI LANKA TO STRENGTHEN ITS SECURITY FORCES

Reports from Colombo state that despite cuts in defence spending after the arrival of IPKF, the Sri Lankan government has agreed to induct another 10,000 men to the security forces. The army and navy will recruit 1,500 men while the air force is allowed to take another 1,000. The recruitment of 6,000 to the Police is the highest on record.



## THE TAMIL EELAM STRUGGLE IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

*continued from page 5*

brethren in Tamil Eelam. The Centre is coming under severe criticism. It is only by putting a halt to the war against the Liberation Tigers and paving the way for the emergence of a Tamil homeland that India can restore its credibility as a champion of freedom struggles all over the world. **If the Indian Prime Minister keeps clinging to an Accord which is already proving self-destructive, for reasons of false personal prestige or for achieving objectives through the Accord which are inherently contradictory, he will be only paving the way for a Lebanon-type situation.**

### **India's Security Concern**

It will be remembered that the General Officer Commanding of the IPKF, Major General Sardesh Pande himself declared that it was not necessary that India should have actual physical control of Trincomalee in order to safeguard the country's strategic interests. "We have better places in India from where we can protect our strategic interests", he said.

If Indian objectives are that her security interests in the region should be safeguarded, that U.S incursions should be prevented, that the policy of Non-Alignment should be maintained, well, these are aspirations that the people of Tamil Eelam will themselves endorse and support. That imperialist forces are at work in the Asian region is not a fact unknown to the vast majority of Tamils. But what do they do if India herself takes on the role of an assertive military power, and dons the mantle of imperialism to crush people's struggles and sit over smaller nations and aspiring small nations? **While the smaller countries and the people in the**

region are prepared to recognise India's size, and strength, they certainly are not going to accommodate her Big Brotherly fixation. **They will accept only the situation where there is equal security for all. Having lived through centuries of Western subjugation, and having emerged out of it into freedom, they cannot be expected to accept a new form of regional subjugation.**

### **India's Image**

For a country that spearheaded the efforts of many Third World countries to extricate themselves from a process of bipolarisation and the tensions caused by the Cold War and in the process became a leader of the Non-Aligned assembly of nations, to involve itself in regional hegemonic desires and to suppress national freedom struggles, is an alarming prospect, and one that has already created warning bells in the entire SAARC region. **Doubts have arisen whether even those objectives that are sound and rational by themselves, such as the establishment of a Peace Zone and the founding of SAARC, are only devices that are meant to further India's hegemonic intentions. It is regrettable that Indian policy today has taken several regressive steps marking a departure from the image that this country enjoyed in the past. It would be foolish to ignore the process of history where all peoples hold it as a fundamental creed to oppose any attempts at overlordship, despotism. Liberation struggles are not new phenomena; they have the sanction and support of people themselves; and eventually it is the people's will that prevails.**

## WHO IS PRABAHARAN ?

*(Dr.S.Pothalingam, speaking at the International Tamil Conference, London)*

Prabaharan is the leader of the Tamils of Ceylon. He is not a mere politician. He is a true patriot. He is the man who has restored the Tamils to the status of a people. He is our hero. He is the leader who has brought back our self-confidence that we had lost for four decades. After the so-called Independence, the passiveness of the Tamils was mistaken as an inherent submissiveness by the governments in Colombo. Harassment and humiliation of the Tamil people with recurrent waves of racist violence had become a ritualistic routine in Ceylon. Prabaharan has put an end to it.

**He has the courage of a Napoleon, the military genius of a Wellington and the stature and leadership of a Winston Churchill.**

The civilised Christian pacifism of Chelvanayakam made no impression on the savages of the South. Slaughtering Tamils became the accepted norm amongst them. This will no longer be, thanks to Prabaharan.

**He has moulded the Tamil people into a nation with a vision and a will for the future. I feel confident that under the leadership of Prabaharan we will achieve this goal.**

## ANOTHER UNIT MOVES SOUTH

Proscription or no Proscription, Commander-in-Chief JR is keeping his powder dry. Last week-end, a new unit of the Combined Services moved out of barracks. Its destination - the Southern Province, where the government is ready for a full-scale battle by June 9, the day of the provincial polls.

President JR has been planning his polls like a military campaign. Once it was clear that the East was not peaceful enough to hold the North and East election required by the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, he decided to have elections in the seven predominantly Sinhalese provinces. But the JVP stepped up its own armed attacks on UNP stalwarts, district organisers and potential candidates (UNP and USA). In the light of these spectacular JVP 'strikes', the armed forces would have had to be spread out over seven provinces, and spread out thin.

The C-in-C picked four of the less disturbed areas to defend, and to test also the JVP's capacity for deployment, its territorial reach, manpower and its arsenal.



R.Wijeweera

From both a security and a political point of view, the provincial polls, despite a relatively poor turn out, represented a psychological victory. Then he decided to have the Western Province, and the South, the JVP bastion, on different days. In short, he has picked both the place and time for the big battle. The JVP replied with its daring raid (for the second time) on the SLAAF base, a superb operation, not only in terms of dramatically enhanced firepower but of the newly acquired communications equipment, communications by the way being one of the secrets of the LTTE's success. So, another unit moves South.

## MEDIA REPORTS

### TIME FOR A SETTLEMENT WITH THE TAMIL MILITANTS

*In Rajiv Gandhi's circle, Jayewardene is painted almost as a rider on a white horse, staking his political fortunes to retain India's goodwill..... Recent events in Sri Lanka have punctured this myth. President Jayewardene has assiduously fed the decision-makers in New Delhi that he could not speed up the constitutional reforms because of strong opposition to the Accord.*

The media in our country has not been following carefully the significant developments that have been taking place of late in Sri Lanka. Over-preoccupation in the last nine months has been concentrated largely on the LTTE. But the happenings in the rest of the island-republic have a bearing on the Tamil problem as well. One cannot look at the Tamil area nor solve its problems in isolation from the developments in the rest of Sri Lanka.

One of the myths with which President Jayewardene has assiduously fed the decision-makers in New Delhi has been that he could not speed up the constitutional reforms nor could he institutionalise the devolution of powers to the provinces to the extent envisaged in the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement because of the strong opposition to the accord itself, that he has been fighting a lonesome battle in the interest of Indo-Sri Lanka goodwill. That has been the crux of his explanation why the constitutional reforms enacted so far could not come up to the expectations of the Tamil moderates represented by Amirthalingam's TULF, not to speak of meeting the demands of the militants as represented by Prabaharan and his LTTE. **In Rajiv Gandhi's circle, Jayewardene is painted almost as a rider on the white horse, staking his political fortunes to retain India's goodwill.**

Recent events in Sri Lanka have punctured this myth. The first phase of the elections to the provincial councils in Sri Lanka took place on April 28. In the elections to the provincial councils in four provinces considered peaceful, the results reveal a significant trend. The largest Opposi-

tion Party, Sirimavo Bandaranaike's SLFP, boycotted the poll and the outlawed militant JVP threatened to wreck it. Even then, defying the boycott call and the physical threat, as many as 61.49 per cent of the electorate turned up to cast their votes. This is an indicator of the mood of the public in the island today; it would like to have a peaceful and stable situation, anxious to go for orderly political functioning, making full use of whatever devolution of power has come. In other words, the public temper in Sri Lanka today is for peaceful political approach to problems and disfavours any attempt at military solution.

More importantly, the analysis of the poll results shows that out of a total of 17.8 lakh votes cast, as many as 15.8 lakh came to two leading parties that have strongly committed themselves to the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. Of the two parties, the largest number of seats was bagged by Jayewardene's UNP, with a total vote score of 918,211. Next to it is the United Socialist Alliance composed of four parties of the Left - Sri Lanka Mahajana Party, recently formed by the noted film star, Vijaya Kumaranatunga who was killed three months ago by JVP terrorists, also the CP of Sri Lanka, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Nava Sama Samaja Party. This United Socialist Alliance has been openly campaigning for the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. What is further significant is that this United Socialist Alliance polled heavily in some of the known strongholds of the JVP.

While it would certainly be a mistake to under-estimate the danger to constitutional process posed by the JVP, it would be correct to take as a major positive development the emergence of the United Socialist Alliance. Along with the ruling UNP, this Alliance stands for bettering relations with India. **In this context, it was rather strange that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi should send a message of congratulation only to President Jayewardene on the victory of his party in the poll. It could and should be legitimately highlighted by the govern-**

ment of India is that the supporters of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, irrespective of their party affiliations, have together received a resounding mandate from the electorate. It is necessary for New Delhi to remind itself that India's friends and well-wishers in Sri Lanka are far wider in number than President Jayewardene's following in the island, that the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement is not a private contract between the ruling parties in India and Sri Lanka.

The lesson to draw from the results of the April 28 poll is that the environment is congenial in Sri Lanka for renewed political initiative - instead of resorting to arms - to settle the ethnic question. It is therefore the opportune moment to bring about an understanding with Tamil militant groups, including the LTTE. To create the condition for such a settlement, **there has to be a bold initiative on the part of the government of India. The immediate ordering of a cease-fire by the Indian armed forces in the northern and eastern provinces would have an electrifying effect in the Tamil areas as well as in Tamil Nadu.** In the favourable condition that will thus be generated, the LTTE leadership itself would have to come forward and abandon its armed operations. This way the road will be cleared for them to join the political process which ultimately will lead to the holding of elections in the combined northern and eastern provinces. **To say that the LTTE first has to lay down its arms and swear by the Indo-Sri Lanka accord before a cease-fire could be ordered, would be counter-productive at this stage, as it will lead the Indian authorities nowhere since no political group agrees to surrender when put against the wall. It is for the party with the superior forces to bend backwards to win over the other side. After all, the broad objective of India in Sri Lanka is to pave the way for a settlement of the ethnic problem, and not the physical extermination of any group, however obnoxious it may appear to be.**

**What is needed today in Sri Lanka**

therefore is not the settling of scores, nor teaching lessons in the Chinese style towards the Vietnamese, but calling up the courage and conviction for statesmanship. This has to be the agenda of the day for New Delhi. (Courtesy 'The Sunday Telegraph' (Calcutta) - 8 May 1988)

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### SRI LANKA MAKING INROADS INTO WORLD DIAMOND MARKETS

Sri Lanka's world-renowned gem industry sees sparkling new prospects ahead and not because of the traditional item, the indigenous sapphire. Instead, Sri Lanka is now making steady inroads into world diamond markets. There is no diamond production in the country, but they are imported in their rough state and then are cut and polished by highly-experienced gem cutters whose services are comparatively cheap.

Today, at least 10 joint ventures, involving foreign investors and expertise, mainly from Belgium and Switzerland, have gone into production of cutting and polishing diamonds in Sri Lanka. (Courtesy 'The Hindu' - International Edition - May 21, 1988).

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### NOT ALL DESTRUCTION

When the Indian peace-keeping force (IPKF) launched 'Operation Pawan' in Sri Lanka recently, they ran into an unexpected problem. Sophisticated medical equipment was lying in a state of disuse at the Jaffna Civil Hospital and other hospitals in the region. Engineers from Colombo had stopped coming to Jaffna to carry out repairs and the equipment was literally rotting for about three years.

Enter the engineers of the Electrical and Mechanical Engineering (EME) School of Baroda. They were summoned to Jaffna and a team flew out promptly. A few weeks later, another team was sent after the first returned. Within a few weeks, EME engineers and technicians had repaired more than 200 instruments, which had been imported into Sri Lanka from countries such as Japan, Denmark and England. All without the help of manuals, circuit drawings or spare parts. (India Abroad - May 13, 1988).

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### CARBON COPY OF UNP CHAIRMAN'S MURDER

The Sinhalese extremist group, the

JVP, is believed to be responsible for the assassination (on May 20) of the secretary-general of the ruling United National Party, Mr. Nandalal Fernando. The murder came ten days after President Jayewardene lifted the ban on the JVP (People's Liberation Front) as part of a peace agreement between it and the Government which proved to be a fake. But the President, who had long been looking for a way of lifting the ban without losing face, did not reimpose the ban.

Hopes that the JVP would respond favourably have been fading over the past ten days, with the death of at least a dozen UNP activists and candidates for the forthcoming second round of provincial council elections. Yesterday's assassination of Mr. Fernando in the streets of Colombo finally ended those hopes. It was a carbon copy of the murder five months ago of the late chairman of the UNP, Mr. Harsha Abeywardene. Like Mr. Abeywardene, the secretary-general was gunned down by men with T-56 automatic rifles, who escaped on a motor-cycle, as he was driving away from his house.

Although nobody has claimed responsibility for the assassination, there can be no doubt that it was the work of the JVP. Its aim is to prevent the provincial council elections being held on 9 June, at least in the Southern Province. That is its main stronghold, and if it cannot control events there, it will be seen as a paper tiger. The JVP objects to the provincial councils mainly because they were set up under last year's peace agreement with India.

But, despite the renewed outbreak of violence, the Government will not reimpose the ban on the JVP. "We have no intention of doing so", said Mr. Athulathmudali. "They will be dealt with as common criminals." The Government is determined to go ahead with the elections, whatever the cost. The Indian defence minister, Mr. K.C. Pant, is expected to announce the first withdrawal of Indian troops. The hope is that this will defuse Sinhalese patriotism and resentment at the Indian presence, which have been the main source of the JVP's support. (The Guardian of May 21, 1988)

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### THE CHALLENGES IN SRI LANKA

Given the chronic distrust among the Sri Lankan Tamilians, it would be a miracle before the LTTE willingly lays down arms and hopes to get a good deal at the negotiating table

Judging from reports coming from Sri Lanka - and Madras - there are positive indications that the gap between the positions of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Government of India on how to arrange a cease-fire that nearly everybody wants in the North and the East of Sri Lanka has narrowed. The LTTE and the Government of India are maintaining direct contacts, avoiding the use of intermediaries. Unfortunately, one of the two LTTE leaders who had been air-lifted to Vavuniya to get in touch with V. Prabaharan got killed in an encounter allegedly on his way back to IPKF headquarters, bringing Prabaharan's reply with him. But no doubt there will be other methods of maintaining links with Prabaharan who seems to have softened. The LTTE has advanced publicly the proposition of 'unconditional talks' following a cease-fire and has dropped the unacceptable precondition that the IPKF must pull back to the pre-October 10 position before the Tigers could consider handing over their weapons. Nobody is sure whether this is merely a tactical move on the part of Prabaharan to gain time to consolidate his crumbling position or whether it reflects a change of heart. **Since Prabaharan is under pressure. The IPKF has been relentlessly advancing towards his jungle hide-out, using every means of detection from informers on the ground to helicopters in the air to flush him out. Prabaharan is a wanted man, dead or alive, but preferably alive, if only because he is a key figure, and no understanding with the LTTE is possible without his presence. Besides, it is feared that if once Prabaharan is dead, the Government of Sri Lanka might feel free to ask the IPKF to withdraw and begin to harass the Tamils all over again.**

These fears are not unjustified. After all, it was under Sri Lankan government auspices that many Sinhalese started going back to Trin-

comalee, forcing the militants to kill some of them. Until an Accord, acceptable to all sides, is hammered out, it is clearly unwise to seek to populate Tamil-majority areas with Sinhalese people.

That Prabakaran feels that his time is drawing to a close is reflected in the outburst of the AIADMK faction leader Jayalalitha who has said that if the IPKF kills the LTTE leader, it may have to face a blood-bath in Tamil Nadu. It is not clear whether she was moved to make that threat at the prodding of LTTE or whether this is a ploy on her part to pre-empt her rival Janaki MGR from seeking popularity by taking up the LTTE cause in Tamil Nadu. It is possible, of course, that Prabakaran is beginning to feel that he may soon be captured. The Government of India could not possibly want to see him killed since his signature to any Accord of a lasting nature is a must.

Perhaps the IPKF may even be going slow in its efforts to capture him to give him sufficient time to negotiate an Accord as a free man. There are many things that we do not know and can only guess at.

Mr. Prabakaran reportedly has expressed readiness for 'Unconditional Talks' and for an immediate cease-fire to initiate negotiations. But he has shown himself to be a wily character. What if, following a cease-fire, he makes an effort to break-out of the IPKF net surrounding him, to continue the fight from some other friendly base? The IPKF has reason to be wary. It has paid a heavy price, and cannot be in any mood to let Prabakaran slip out of its fingers.

At the same time it is necessary to note that Mr. Prabakaran in two recent public communications has held out the assurance that the LTTE will co-operate in implementing the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement if it safeguards the interests and aspirations of Sri Lankan Tamils. He has also stated, in his letter to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi dated 9 March, that "morally and spiritually we are opposed to this war." This could be an example of belated wisdom and should be taken for what it is worth.

In the first place, the LTTE must be

willing to lay down its arms in substantial measure. The IPKF by now has a pretty good idea of the deadly stock of weapons that the Tigers have in their possession. This time the IPKF has no illusions on this score. And, should a cease-fire be ultimately arranged, the IPKF would surely want to see that it is not cheated this time around on the number and quality of arms to be surrendered.

The surrender offer made by the LTTE should have credibility. The farce enacted last time should not be repeated if the ultimate goal is to establish peace in the island.

Thus far matters are reasonably clear. President Jayewardene has promised to extend amnesty to the militants and no doubt he is sincere. But can he speak for all the Sinhalese? Given the record of the JVP, the LTTE will be on good grounds to feel apprehensive. The Sri Lankan Tamils would need to get cast iron guarantees that not only would the India-Sri Lanka Accord be scrupulously observed but that the life and property of Tamils would be safe once the IPKF leaves Sri Lankan shores.

Which should come first: surrender of arms and then negotiations or negotiations first and then surrender of arms? Given the chronic distrust among the Sri Lankan Tamilians, it would be a miracle if the LTTE willingly lays down arms and hopes to get a good deal at the negotiating table. Indeed a joint memorandum submitted to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi last December by over a dozen Sri Lanka Tamil Groups had made the point that surrender of arms should follow resolution of all other matters and should not be a pre-condition for talks. This will have to be sorted out.

But one thing is clear. The LTTE is on its last legs. It has been surrounded and it is a matter of days before it decides that discretion is the better part of valour. It has lost some of its leaders. The noose is being tightened round its neck. In the end Mr. Prabakaran will have to surrender. It is possible that there will be one last spurt of violence and that is only to be expected. But in the end, negotiations in the true spirit of give-and-

take will have to replace violence and mindless killing.

This is where all people and parties of goodwill will have to co-operate. Sri Lanka - and India - have been sufficiently bled to wish for a continuation of meaningless fighting. **Already there is a growing feeling in India that that the IPKF has become a needless adventure in taking other nations' chestnuts from the fire they themselves had lit. The IPKF has cost money. Even more importantly, it has cost lives.** The IPKF has been fighting with one hand tied behind, and that can be a frustrating experience. The earlier a negotiated settlement of lasting value is reached, the better for all concerned. Tamils and Sinhalese have to learn to live in amity and peace. (*Organiser (Delhi) - April 10, 1988*)

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### SRI LANKA PRESIDENT INTERFERING WITH PRESS

The decision to appoint a former presidential press adviser on the board of the Upali newspaper group is seen as a move to put pressure on the independent press here.



The Upali group has over 10 publications, including the largest circulated daily 'Davaina' and the popular English daily, 'The Island'.

Mr. Sarath Amunugama, the controversial press adviser to the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J.R. Jayewardene, was recently appointed government nominee on the board of directors of the group, a move that has caused resentment in journalistic circles.

The government has also stopped advertisements to this newspaper group. In a circular issued on April 22 by Mr. Manikdiwela, secretary to the President, all ministries and dep-

artments have been directed to stop giving advertisements to 'The Island', 'Davaina' and other publications of the Upali group. The circular directs that all pending advertisement contracts should be terminated with immediate effect.

Upali sources said that the only reason for appointing Mr. Amunugama as director was to influence the editorial policy of the newspaper. According to a senior journalist of the Upali group, the appointment would seriously jeopardise the paper's independent editorial policy.

The Upali group was started by the business tycoon, Mr. Upali Wijewardene who was a close relative of President Jayewardene. Mr. Wijewardene, who was married to the niece of the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, suddenly disappeared after his Lear Jet vanished off the Indonesian coast. The wreckage of the plane was never found. The Upali business empire passed into the hands of his wife and Mrs. Bandaranaike's brother, Dr. Seevali Ratwatte. (Sugeeswara Senadhira in 'The Telegraph' (New Delhi) May 11)

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### DUPLICITY OF

#### RAJIV ADMINISTRATION

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam leadership in Madras has been told that no interim administration in Lanka could be given under its control, and the group would have to rely on India's assurances on devolution of power.

A top leader told this reporter on Sunday (29th) that during one of the contact sessions with Government personnel recently, it was intimated to him that the interim administration idea agreed upon in September 1987 was off.

There had been some level of progress until the information was conveyed to LTTE, and a couple of days later an operation was launched by IPKF in the Vanni area of Northern Lanka apparently to get at the top leader V. Prabhakaran.

If the Indian army gets close to Prabhakaran, he will be found dead - either fighting or otherwise, the leader said, adding that this would have "unimaginable" consequences. He declined to elaborate on what form these would assume.

Pressure tactics on the LTTE on the eve of Defence Minister K.C. Pant's scheduled Colombo visit would not work, since this would amount to giving up the entire liberation struggle,



**K. Veeramani**

according to the City-based leader.

The Tigers claim that India is using helicopter gunships and infantry vehicles in large numbers to cow down the Tigers in the Vanni area spread over Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi districts. This is akin to 'military solutions' sought by the Lankan regime before, and would not work.

**Power devolution: On the question of power devolution, the Tigers have been told that they would have to rely on India's assurances. The problems have arisen in view of the Presidential elections in Sri Lanka this year where the credibility of the UNP would depend on how little they can give the Tamils, in return for getting India to crush the armed Tamil resistance, it is assumed.**

In any event, the Tigers now have the 'assurances' from New Delhi that they would get Colombo to further amend the 13th amendment to the island's constitution for a equitable sharing of legislative subjects. This has not been acceptable to LTTE, which says that India should do more to fulfil this aspect of the Indo-Lanka accord with the same vigour as it is displaying in disarming the rebels, under its provisions.

The Tigers had been treating the Indian assurances in the perspective of 500 guerillas killed, according to the leader, and this was the reason to hold on to continued armed resistance against India.

**In Mullaitivu, the tables are turned against IPKF, as the guerillas claim. On Sunday, the leader reported some 15 Indian soldiers killed, and nine bodies dragged away by the guerillas. The offensive was massive, but in the event of Prabhakaran's death, "there would be no more negotiations."**

AIADMK leader Janaki Ramachandran, in a statement, appealed to Prime

Minister Rajiv Gandhi to save Prabhakaran's life which was endangered in the offensive at Mullaitivu. The reports of an impending peace settlement were rudely upset by the offensive.



**P. Nedumaran**

**DK leader K. Veeramani and TNKC President P. Nedumaran** in a joint statement condemned the 'duplicity' of the Rajiv administration in holding a dialogue with LTTE on one hand and crushing it with an iron fist on the other. *Indian Express of 31.5.88*

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### SIRIMAVO ON THE STOMP



A few days before the UNP Working Committee was told by an 'experts' group that President JR could contest the next elections and serve a third term, Mrs. Bandaranaike opened her campaign at Katugampola. Earlier she had welcomed the UNP leader as a rival. Prime Minister Premadasa or National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali "would be harder to beat" she added.

Her main campaign arguments are (a) the unparalleled chaos and violence in the country after a decade of UNP rule; (b) the presence of foreign (Indian) troops in the North and East; and (c) the economic burdens cast on the people, and the misery of the poor of all communities.

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## PRABA IN PROFILE

*Continued from page 11*

refused to accept the agreement, reportedly telling Gandhi, *In serious politics, it won't do to concentrate on talking. You must go through actions and then you talk. He insisted on a merger of the north and the east, and, piqued by Gandhi's pressure, abruptly packed his bags and his .357 Magnum and returned to Jaffna in early January of 1987. Just before he left, an old friend of his father's who lives in Madras expressed concern about his going back. Don't fret, Uncle, Prabakaran told him, I have an uncanny hunch about impending military attacks and attempts to capture me. He laughed. Besides that, the gods and the stars are looking after me.*

## NO EFFECTIVE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

In Jaffna, Prabakaran resumed his underground life, moving from town to town and village to village, often staying in one place for only a night. He lived surrounded by books on small-arms tactics and guerilla warfare and by

his Clint Eastwood video-cassettes. He kept a pet leopard cub, named Sita, after the heroine of the Ramayana.

After the anti-Tamil carnage of July 1983, the government required all Tamil members of parliament to take a loyalty oath, swearing that they opposed even peaceful efforts toward separatism in the north. The sixteen members from the Tamil United Liberation Front refused and were expelled from the parliament. Neelan Thiruchelvam was one of the few expelled TULF members of parliament who were still in Colombo (Appapillai Amirthalingam, the TULF leader, had fled to Madras) and, aided by his wife, Sithie - also a lawyer - was now the chief spokesman for the Tamil moderates in Sri Lanka. I met with Mr. Thiruchelvam in Colombo in June. His eyes were lively and, despite the pressures of the war, still conveyed a smile. *By driving us out of the political arena, the government made the people feel they had no effective democratic alternative, he told me.*

## THE TRAUMA AND AGONY

*Continued from page 13*

fate of some of them is still unknown. The girls who were held in custody were raped and later killed, and their bodies were thrown in the streets. When IPKF failed to have the desired arrests of LTTE cadres they committed wanton damage to property and wounded people.

The newspapers of the North could not publish any reports as their presses were bombed out of existence at the beginning of the war to capture Jaffna. Journalists were refused entry to the peninsula. The Indian Government propaganda machine was in full steam and the world was told stories which

unfortunately were believed.

As I write these notes, in December 1987, the IPKF continues its operations and the chosen target of attack is the Kokkuvil, Urumpiray and Urelu areas where spirits are still defiant both among women and men. The intimidating tactics used by the Indian soldiers for intelligence gathering, posed a serious threat particularly to the women and girls of Jaffna who live in a protected environment.

The Indian Government, in its effort to break the back of the LTTE, had destroyed the Jaffna society and its villages and towns. People are rendered refugees in the land of their birth.

## CHIEF MINISTER OF JAFFNA

**It was a bad blunder.** Not only did it force the Tamil movement underground, thereby handing it over to the militants, but when the government wanted to reopen negotiations there was no one to negotiate with. Prabakaran, despite nudges from India from time to time, had simply refused to come to the table unless an ever-growing list of preconditions was met. Only a very brave or a very foolish Sinhalese politician could agree to such largesse. **"It is now time to negotiate", Rajiv Gandhi is said to have told Prabakaran in November 1986. "You can do it from a position of strength. Go to the table and we'll make you chief minister of Jaffna."** "I'm already chief minister of Jaffna", Prabakaran replied.

In April of 1987, after the Sri Lankan Air Force pounded suspected guerilla camps, Gandhi is reported to have said to Prabakaran *Perhaps it's time to talk*, Prabakaran answered, *I can't, I'm too weak.*

*(To be continued)*

Clashes with the guerillas still continue, and normalcy is a far cry.

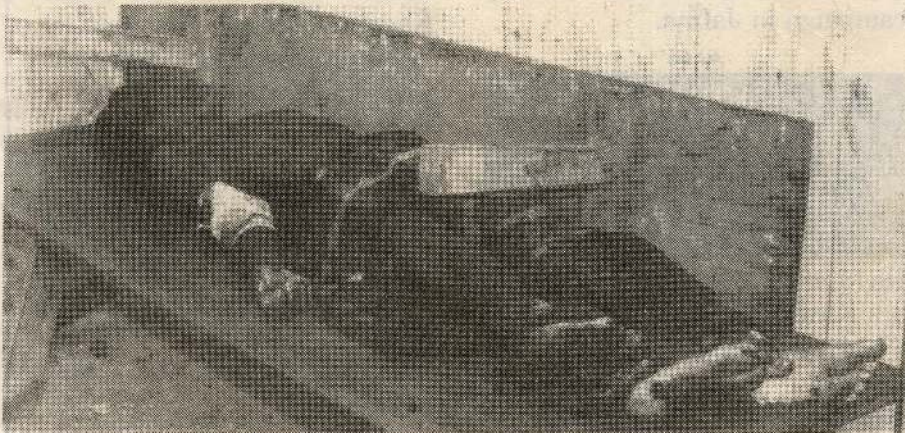
**Jaffna is another area where Indian foreign policy has failed. The natural barrier provided by the 'Eelam' part of Sri Lanka has been bruised and this could only be a canker, as the years roll by.**

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## PROVINCIAL POWERS

**How much power does a Provincial Council need?** It all depends on how honestly a Central government wishes the exercise in devolution and decentralisation to work.

Last week, 37 functions were passed on to the four P.Cs now going through the preliminary ceremonies of getting down to business. The powers include all irrigation works, other than inter-provincial tanks and canals, roads and ferries, except trunk routes, all cultivated land other than state plantations, all hospitals save Teaching Hospitals and special-purpose medical institutions. In the revenue-collecting areas, perhaps the most interesting is the transfer of the power to issue licenses for motor vehicles, taverns and toddy tapping.



## FROM THE BATTLE FRONT

Indian Armed Forces numbering over 130,000 have saturated the North and the East of Sri Lanka. Although the Indian Government has announced phased troop withdrawals, in reality the Indian army has intensified its war on the Tamils and has prepared itself for an extended occupation of Tamil Eelam.

The LTTE's guerilla attacks on the Indian occupation forces have significantly increased in recent times, to counter the escalating military operations of the latter in Tamil areas.

On June 7 at Panichankerni in the Batticaloa district, the LTTE mounted a lightning attack on an Indian army convoy by detonating a landmine. In that attack, an army jeep was destroyed and 7 Indian soldiers were killed. The LTTE guerillas returned safely to their base.

On June 6 in another incident at Paranthan in Kilinochchi district, an LTTE fighter Puvanes took cyanide and attained Martyrdom, when he was surrounded by the Quisling group, ENDLF. This group is collaborating with the Indian army in its war against the Tamil people.

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## WHITE FLAG CAMPAIGN IN JAFFNA

The Jaffna Municipal Council has announced the launching of a new campaign which begins on June 15 and is aimed at halting the war between Indian forces and LTTE.

The Municipal Council has drawn attention to the fact that the war has severely disrupted and destroyed the political,

economic and social life of the Tamil community and has called upon the people of Jaffna to embark upon the campaign to end the war, with two demands, namely:

1. To effect an immediate ceasefire, and
2. The Indian Government should commence negotiations with the Tigers.

The Council has requested the people to hoist white flags on houses, Government offices, schools, public places and vehicles.

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## INDIAN ARMY BANS ANOTHER PAPER FOR PUBLISHING THE TRUTH

Indian army has ordered the closure of yet another Tamil daily "Nam Nadu". It is relevant to note that this publication had been reporting the details of harassment and atrocities, the people of Jaffna were being subjected to at the hands of IPKF. This paper was published by the citizens of Jaffna, and the closure would serve the Indian Government to keep the outside world in complete ignorance of the excesses committed by its forces against the Tamils. It should be remembered that the IPKF completely demolished two popular dailies "Eelamurasu" and "Murasoli" at the beginning of their military campaign in Jaffna.

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## FATHER CHANDRA FERNANDO MURDERED

On Monday, June 6, Rev. F. Chandra Fernando, the Parish Priest of St. Mary's Church Batticaloa, was brutally murdered by armed Tamil youths belonging to

the "Three Star" group.

Rev. Fr. Chandra Fernando was also the President of the citizens committee of the Batticaloa and Amparai district. He was an immensely loved and respected priest and his killing alarmed the peace-loving people of Sri Lanka; it has caused great concern and sorrow among the religious communities in Sri Lanka.

The funeral of Rev. Fr. Chandra Fernando took place on Tuesday 7th June in the presence of a large gathering of about 10,000 people of all faiths and walks of life, including Sinhalese priests from various parts of the island. In response to the wishes of the people, his body was interred in the premises of St. Mary's Church where he was the parish priest. The Bishop of Batticaloa, the Rt. Rev. Kingsley Swampillai led the service, and in his address stated that at about 5.45 pm on Monday, 6th June three armed youths entered the church while Rev. Fr. Fernando was in his office and demanded money from him. When he refused, the youths ransacked the office and shot him dead.

This killing of Rev. Fr. Fernando is not an isolated incident. This group popularly known as "Three Star" has been involved in a number of killings in the recent past. It is strongly believed that the group has been fully armed and trained by the Indian Peace Keeping Force; it has been let loose with the IPKF playing the role of a "protecting power", to hunt down and kill LTTE supporters and human rights activists in the Tamil homeland of Sri Lanka. Fr. Chandra Fernando, like many others in the recent past is an unsuspecting victim of Indian military atrocities against the Tamil people.