

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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Velupillai Prabaharan, the living symbol of the Tamil National Struggle for whose capture (dead or alive) the Sri Lankan government has offered a reward of Rupees 1,000,000 and for whose ostensible protection the Indian Army was "invited" to Sri Lanka which has now for eight months unrelentingly fought the very people it came to protect.

The IPKF has deployed over the past fortnight 15,000 of its troops, heavy artillery and helicopter gunships in the jungles of Mullaitivu District to wipe out Prabaharan and the fearless fighters for freedom and fair play.



YOUR VOICE

TAMIL CONFERENCE

Emil Kumar, Surrey, UK

Please accept my congratulations for the excellent organisation and resounding success of the Tamil Conference. As a Tamil, I feel proud at the unity and unanimity shown by all delegates towards our objectives. Assuring you of my prayers and assistance at all times.

UNITE THE TAMILS

R. Shanmuganathan, NSW, Australia.

The long overdue launching of a magazine of this nature will be welcomed by Tamils all over the world. We must thank you for this effort. Your service as a Voice of the struggling people of Tamil Eelam and as a source of accurate reporting on events in Tamil Eelam and plantation Tamil areas is commendable.

Highlighting the more important paragraphs in lengthy reports is useful. However, I feel that in the issue number 7, the apt description of Rajiv Gandhi by Shri Sahabdin could have been highlighted. I would also like to recommend the following for future issues: (A) More news items on events in Tamil Nadu that will directly or indirectly affect events in Tamil Eelam. (B) Forums and news reports which will lead to uniting Tamils living in different parts of the world into one cohesive society in order to heighten the feeling of solidarity with one another.

I hope in time to come TVI will play an important role in this direction.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE

By Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, India.

I was a participant, on invitation, in the London Conference organised by the World Federation of Tamils to discuss the issues of Tamils in Sri Lanka now. Myself, Shri A.P. Venkateswaran, former Foreign Secretary, Thiru Aladi Aruna and Thiru Gopalswamy, both Members of Parliament, were the main participants from India. The gathering was impressive in the sense that delegates from 21 countries and several organisations across the continents took part. Not merely Tamils but also a few non-Tamils spoke and actively involved themselves in the deliberations.

I must compliment the Organis-

ation, based in London, which designed the Meet, oriented itself on the fundamental purpose of human and ethnic justice to the Tamils of Sri Lanka, with special reference to their right to a Homeland and Home Rule. The focus was on Tamil destiny, with Eelam as a historical necessity. From an organisational angle, Thiru Seevaratnam, the President, deserves praise. His team worked arduously and with single-mindedness. The trauma and travails, the injustices and privations of Sri Lankan Tamils in the aggravated context of the IPKF inhumanities, were the highlights. A member of the Central Committee of the LTTE, Thiru Thilakar, spoke with responsibility and sobriety, presenting cogently the point of view of the Tamil Tigers with clarity. I am



sure the conference reflected an affirmation of the world community of the rights of the Sri Lankan Tamils in a situation of escalating suppression.

The only caution which I would administer, with emphasis, after having observed the proceedings, is this. What is important is the Tamil cause, not so much an obsession with the exclusive representative character of the LTTE and its supremo Prabhakaran. There are complaints about the methodology of the LTTE and its avoidable violence, especially against the rival groups. What is important is the formation of a United Front, of which undoubtedly the LTTE will be the chief component. The speeches and papers at the Conference clearly brought out that, more than any other group of militants, the LTTE defended the honour and the right to survive of the Tamil community in the

North and the East of Sri Lanka, their home of yore and now. I have, therefore no doubt that the Conference rightly focused on the primary responsibility of the LTTE to secure the right to meaningful home rule. Nevertheless, a spirit of democracy, of tolerance, and of united action is an important strategy. Exclusivism and mutual rivalry, with macabre violence, will push back the advance, especially when the enemy is wily and militarist. Similarly, the Human Rights issue of the group and of the individuals composing the Tamils of Sri Lanka require considerable attention in the struggle. From this angle, **the inflictions and the barbarities alleged against the IPKF call for grave notice by progressive people in India, Sri Lanka and elsewhere.**

On the whole, the conference served an important purpose. **But what is equally necessary is effective follow-up in India and in Sri Lanka and among other peoples of the earth. Cease-fire is obligatory, not surrender of weapons. But while Peace is thus generated there should be no sacrifice of**

the twin goals of the Tamils, namely comprehensive and effective devolution of political power and joinder of the North and East as a historic home without the precarious condition of a referendum.

I conclude on the note that the conference has taken care to bring to the notice of the public things which have not been sufficiently appreciated. At the same time, there is much that the LTTE and its redoubtable leader Prabhakaran must learn from experience in the Island and elsewhere and from history in a world where imperialist vultures fly around for a footing. The final teacher in this struggle is a dialectical study and action based on such study. Let me thank Thiru Seevaratnam and his team on the successful Convention.

A HARD CHOICE FOR MR. GANDHI

The leading British conservative journal *The Economist*, in its issue of 7-13 May 1988, commenting on events in Sri Lanka, asks the question, *whether the Indians can get them (the Liberation Tigers) to turn to peaceful politics remains to be seen.* It adds, *the present sticking-point in the talks, a familiar one, is over how many arms the guerrillas should surrender, and when.* Coming as it does in the immediate wake of the International Tamil Conference of 30 April - 1 May which endorsed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as the only leaders of the Tamil Freedom Movement, **we urge Mr.Gandhi to negotiate** and we will explain why.

It should be clear by now to Mr.Gandhi that President Jayewardene has reneged on the terms of the Accord of July 1987. In an interview with 'India Today' (December 31, 1987), President Jayewardene stated that the "Foreign trainers won't go even now.... We never said that they will go. We only promised that we will consider it." In answering another question, President Jayewardene responded "if India wants anything to do with our harbour, broadcasting corporations and training facilities, I also want the same thing from them." The burden of President Jayewardene's argument was that "we have started discussions (with India) and are preparing a draft treaty." In our view all this talk is the favourite method of stalling, stonewalling and filibustering anything concrete being done.

The same applies to Provincial Councils and the pledge to make Tamil an Official Language. All Tamil political groupings have rejected the Provincial Councils as inadequate. President Jayewardene had pledged, at the time of the signing of the Accord, that he would negotiate on 'residual matters' relating to these councils. There is a credibility gap here. The use of the Tamil language as an official language is a declaration of intent. No steps have been taken to spell these out.

President Jayewardene demands that Mr.Gandhi keep to his side of the Accord. To accomplish this, Mr.Gandhi has battled with the very group who are mindful of Indian interests, the Liberation Tigers. The LTTE has not sought to achieve anything from Mr.Gandhi by deceit, stealth or sleight of hand. The LTTE seeks to protect the interests of the Tamil-speaking people.

What are these interests? Primarily these relate to the protection of the Tamil homelands, the prevention of attempts to change their demographic composition and an acceleration of their rehabilitation. India and the LTTE are caught in a bind here. President Jayewardene wants Mr.Gandhi to disarm the militants and have his troops (the IPKF) to quit. The unprotected Tamil people will then again be exposed to the cruel violence of the Sinhalese army.

Mr.Gandhi and the Indian government will also find to their cost that President Jayewardene will continue his relationship with the United States, Pakistan and Israel. All these powers seek to destabilise India's leadership of the non-aligned world. We would also caution Mr.Gandhi against any attempt at an Islamabad-Colombo-Dacca-Beijing Axis directed at undermining India from the position of regional super-power.

Has Mr.Gandhi an option? We certainly think he has. Mr.Gandhi can still safeguard India's pre-eminence while also ensuring the safety of the Tamil homelands. To achieve this goal, negotiation with the recognised Tamil leadership, the LTTE, is essential. 'The Economist' refers to the "the sticking-point" on the question of "how many arms" should be surrendered and "when?." "The Economist" understands the stark plight of the Tamil people. That is why it raises the questions of numbers of arms and the timing of their transfer to the IPKF. We are confident that, with the benefit of hindsight, Mr.Gandhi can reach an amicable and lasting settlement with the Tamil people and their leaders, the LTTE. We urge Mr.Gandhi to desist from putting his faith in President Jayewardene. The President's track record has been too inconsistent for any reasonable assumption to be made that he will keep to his undertakings.

TAMIL VOICE International

எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள் மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

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THE SRI LANKA ACCORD

By Justice V.R.Krishna Iyer

This is the fourth and final instalment of the distinguished jurist's post mortem of the Gandhi - Jayewardene pact of July 29, 1987.

There are five fundamentals in the accord: The formation of a single administrative unit telescoping the north and the east and setting up of the apparatus of a ministry in that behalf during the *interim period* between the elections to the provincial council and the referendum for determination of the will of the people of the eastern province to separate or live united with the north (Clause (1)(2) - *not implemented*). The election to the provincial council is agreed to be held *within the next three months* (i.e. before the end of October) and *in any event before December 31, 1987* (*not implemented*).

No free and fair election can be held if the Emergency is not lifted, and so there is a condition to *lift the Emergency* in the eastern and northern provinces by *August 15, 1987* (*not implemented*). A prelude to peace is the cessation of hostilities and that condition is to come into effect all over the island *within 48 hours of signing the agreement*. The surrender of arms and the confinement of the Sri Lankan security personnel also have a time-bound provision: *the process is to be completed within 72 hours of the cessation of hostilities* coming into effect. All but the LTTE have surrendered and now repent the step as Pathmanabhan of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) has stated.

It is too obvious to need argument that unless there is a general amnesty the hostiles cannot come into the open nor can normalcy be restored. Rightly, therefore, clause 10 of the agreement provides that the President of Sri Lanka will grant a general amnesty to political and other prisoners now held in custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other Emergency laws, and to combatants as well as those persons accused, charged and/or convicted under these laws (*not implemented*, except as a first instalment gimmick). Many Sinhalese progressives who support the accord languish in jail still. Many LTTE extremists rot in prison or carry huge sums on their heads.

These clauses form a package and stand or fall together. You cannot ask for surrender of arms, inflicting lethal disablement on the resistance movement which has gathered momentum, but do nothing to enforce the imperative undertakings of Sri Lanka's President. The Indian prime minister, obsessed with his (illusory) authority over the Tamil militants, talks all the time of surrender of arms as the essence of the accord. **The soul of the agreement is to hold elections, to lift the Emergency, to grant amnesty and to begin the formation of a joint province. A priority item is the quantum and quality of devolution of powers, so that the reality of autonomy may be brought home constitutionally to the minority consciousness.**

There is a pledge in Clause 14 that these matters will be resolved between India and Sri Lanka *within a period of six weeks of signing the agreement, that is, before the middle of September 1987*. This has certainly not been carried out. Clearly, there is an implication that all these matters of legislation and constitutional amendment bearing on political normalisation, provincial election and power devolution *will be discussed with India* and also with the concerned parties, that is, the political organisations, militant or other, in the island. This has not been done.

A monitoring body to review the progress of the implementation is provided for, so that failures on both sides may be exposed and complaints in that behalf heard. *No such functional watch-dog has yet been created.*

There is a provision in the new treaty for repatriation of Indian citizens from Sri Lanka, concurrently with the repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees from Tamil Nadu (Article 2-16(d)).

Here again there is victimisation of these unfortunates lingering in Sri Lanka in large numbers. There is no realism in the exchange of populations.

While it is difficult to quantify the cost of the military operations in Sri Lanka, the finance ministry, it is said, estimates it to be around Rs.300 crores and over Rs.5 crores a day. Other estimates placed the amount much higher, which means that the Indian taxpayer is being burdened

beyond his ability. Besides, our soldiers are being killed or injured in foreign fields.

In contrast, the Sri Lankan economy now looks relaxed and its budget for 1988 shows a great reduction in defence expenditure, of course, at India's expense. This is made further clear by the Sri Lankan President's disclosure that because of the accord Sri Lanka has saved much of its war expenditure and raised the salaries of its employees with such savings. PTI reports (Dec.12, 1987) Jayewardene as saying, **"If not for the IPKF we would have to fight this war. We have to spend more than what we are spending for the salary increase."**

Our cost is not merely in war expenditure but in war casualties. The Sri Lankan President claimed that while Sri Lankan soldiers died in large numbers *before* the IPKF took over, *after the latter's arrival not a single Sri Lankan soldier had died*. Our men died instead.

Both the Sri Lankan President and his Parliament must give to India this authority, agreeing that *pro tanto* Sri Lanka would have parted with sovereignty or final control *vis-a-vis* the Indian forces and their operations. A very clear statement on this point is needed now, if the Tamil people are to feel assured that the Indian army will not desert them but will stand by them until north and east come under one administrative umbrella, and devolution of powers on a par with that enjoyed by an Indian State becomes an accomplished fact. Of course, IPKF excesses, if continued, may make them a hated horde and their withdrawal may well be the demand, first simmering, then boiling and finally bursting. Today Tamil blood tells a gory story. This is a serious caveat.

Limitation on sovereignty for specific purposes and under covenants is nothing new in this integrated world of ours. The European community, with the European Court, European economic policies etc. may be construed as an infraction of the sovereignty of Britain or other member nations. All international covenants involve erosion of some part of sovereignty. **In the present case, our men have laid down their lives, our scarce resources have**

been showered for the benefit of Sri Lanka's citizens and the two republics have taken various measures on the faith of each other's representations. In this view the Indian forces, it must be made unmistakably clear, are there in Sri Lanka in an independent capacity and conditioned by the fulfilment of a task. If this is not acceptable, we should withdraw the army, leaving the Sri Lankans to themselves.

The military misfortune of the 30,000 Indian troops rushed to Jaffna but unprepared for the novel urban guerilla operations, and without sufficient military intelligence about the adversary, was the result of a prime minister's hubris - not a crime but a bad blunder. He has let down the army and, unwittingly, lowered its international reputation. The insensitivity to escalating criticism of this adolescent delinquency can lead to more deafness and egregiousness. But more casualties, more cries from Jaffna and Batticaloa, may trigger a pathological process of hostility at home. And the reckless LTTE, like a bear at bay, may seek and secure military hardware from unscrupulous agents keen to embarrass India such as Pakistan and Israel and the satanic CIA.

The question then is, are we the friends of the beleaguered Tamils or the rescue auxiliaries of a reeling President guilty of near-genocide? Let the Sri Lankans share the casualties. We, Indians, as our sons die in vain in Sri Lanka, are actually the victims of JRJ's newpeak with which the July agreement abounds. Either we command the militants into a cease-fire and *pari passu* pressurize Janadhipathi Mandiraya into the fusion-devolution pledge or leave both parties to shape their own destinies. Why play the macabre military *mukhtiar* of Sinhalese Jayewardene and yet boast that the accord, as a whole, would be executed?

Two make-believe bills were introduced and passed in Parliament with a small amendment caused by the Supreme Court decision requiring a referendum. Without going into the details of the legislative exercise at this stage, one may confidently assert that they fall far short of the aspirations of the Tamils. Indeed, **there is no legislative sanction yet for bringing the north and east**

under one umbrella. This is relegated to a later presidential direction. It is all a game of hide-and-seek. **Why is it that a straightforward legislation by constitutional provision is avoided in bunching together the two provinces making up the homeland of the Tamils? Premadasa, the prime minister, clearly stated that he was against it. The President is too. Do we not have sufficient omens to suggest that the legislative process in Sri Lanka will defeat this foremost objective of the Sri Lankan Tamils?**

The second imperative is about the devolution of powers. What is given is a husk, not the kernel. No effective powers regarding land and other important items covered by the State List in India are distributed under the Sri Lankan bill. **More fraudulent is the dubious negation of autonomy. Powers are given to the governor to be exercised at his discretion and the hand which pulls the strings is that of the President.**

Thus, instead of State autonomy, what is granted is an illusory triarchy. More than all this, the President and Parliament retain their plenary powers which can effectively nullify State legislation and action. A close scrutiny of the devolution scheme brings out the ugly fact that what is created is a talking shop with formal authority precariously dependent on the governor, the President and Parliament. Hanging over it is the Damocles sword of the Emergency which can extinguish even what little autonomy there is. **Can one find fault with the militants for refusing to be cheated? In fact, the TULF leaders had informed Rajiv Gandhi that the two bills were unacceptable and it was impossible for them to sell the scheme to the Sri Lankan Tamils.**

The referendum, what with Sinhalese colonisation subtly engineered by Colombo, the terror the brutal LTTE has generated and the alienation of the Muslims fomented by the politics of religious *minorityism*, may well be a clever ploy to dismantle the united province. The myth is that the militants alone resist the agreement; the truth is that Sri Lanka's President and Parliament have already mutilated its anatomy.

The Indian prime minister, with no answer for these accusations, now uses a 'cover-up' of 'firm assurances' by the President to reconsider the

bills after they are passed. It needs credulity beyond breaking point to believe a President who by-passed India before the bills were formulated, asserted before the Sri Lankan Parliament through his prime minister that the common province would never come, and diluted constitutional autonomy to a shadow.

And the major Opposition - the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), 34 other political organisations, the Buddhist clergy and that murderously extremist Sinhalese group the Janata Vimukti Peramuna are opposed to the Tamil minimum. Only the left, a sensible but negligible political factor, supports effective decentralisation of power and minority authority for Tamil-dominant Jaffna and the eastern sector. Even they do not expose the spinal weaknesses of the accord.

Another pathetic feature about Jayewardene, the United National Party and their tardy and ambivalent manoeuvres about the accord is the anxiety to preserve the Sinhalese status quo because Parliament's term expires in 1989 and the President's in 1988 itself. The strategy is, to drag on till then without radical Tamil justice and use the Indian army to kill the truculent LTTE, boasting that not a single Sinhalese soldier has been killed!

Against this background, the Indian establishment's obsessive military dream of killing off the LTTE desperadoes as the only issue is cowardly folly. When more and more Indians die in Sri Lanka - and no defence of the motherland is involved - more and more Indians will demand why? How far will this go? What will be the gains, what the cost and how will it be justified? The ink of history is a string of interrogatories. **Our prime minister's attitude vis-a-vis the Tamils of Sri Lanka, is a blend of oversized ego, under-estimation of others' intelligence plus a wish to achieve instantly high objectives without hard thinking or ideological moorings.**

My purpose is to promote a stable solution to the vexed problem of ethnic justice in Sri Lanka and friendly relations between India and Sri Lanka. Whatever the shortcomings in the processes and performance, I must appreciate the creative foreign policy factor implicit in the consummation of an accord between our two countries.

We must adopt dynamic thought to

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THIRUKKURAL

By S.Sriskandarajah

கொலையிற் கொடியாளர் வேந்தொறுத்தல் பைங்கூழ்
களைகட் டதொடு நேர்.

"Kolaiyil Kodayaarai Venthoruththal, Paingkoozh
Kalaikad-dathanodu Ner." (Transliteration)

"The king punishing the wicked with death is like the tiller rooting out the weeds to help the crops." (Translation)

Killing is bad; killing of human beings is worse; it is bad, however strong the reason therefor may be. Many will agree that in our large library of lofty literature, Thirukkural is the first to condemn killing outright. The 33rd chapter of Thirukkural is on 'Non-killing' ("Kollaamai"). Thiruvalluvar abhors killing to such an extent that he declares, "Let no one do that which would destroy the life of another although he should lose his own life."

As for Thiruvalluvar, non-killing is the creed and the rule. He accepts the fact that it is a rule and therefore impliedly concedes that every rule has its exception. Whereas he declares non-killing as the rule in the "Virtue" section of the Thirukkural, he has shown the exception to this rule in the "Wealth" section of the Thirukkural. It is this exception which forms the basis for the Kural which is under consideration.

If Thiruvalluvar, the protestant of Hinduism and proponent of Ahimsa and non-violence, himself permits an exception to the rule against killing, then there must be a cogent reason for it.

Let us now focus our attention on the Kural which reads, "Kolaiyil Kodayaarai Venthoruththal Paingkoozh Kalaikad-dathanodu Ner."

It is paramount for a farmer to look after his crops. He will do all within his power to ensure that the crops grow luxuriantly. To ensure the safety and well-being of his crops he removes all the weeds in his farm that are harmful to the growth of the crops. His main purpose is not the extermination of the weeds. The well-being of the crops is his main care. But, to achieve his chief objective he makes it a point to remove anything that hinders, or is likely to hinder, the growth of the crops.

Just as the farmer tends his crops, a king looks after the welfare and interest of his subjects. The well-being of his subjects is of paramount importance to a leader. When the king finds that the well-being of his subjects is held back by social human weeds, then he uses the state machinery of justice to keep them away from the field of human crops by incarcerating these elements. When such attempts

prove useless and he finds that the existence of such human weeds shows signs of stifling the progress and well-being of the human crops, he exterminates them altogether. This is our daily experience and we observe this phenomenon in all civilised countries.

The government of any civilised country uses its laws and law enforcement agencies to discipline the anti-social elements by imposing punishment on those that are proved to be guilty of one offence or another. If the crime is such that the perpetrator of that crime is going to threaten the very existence of members of society, then such perpetrator is executed. This act of extermination of anti-social and chronic criminals was viewed by some libertarians as barbaric and inhuman, and they have managed to abolish the death penalty in some western countries. These very countries which abolished the death penalty sometime ago, are now beginning to wonder whether it is not necessary to re-introduce it.

Whatever be the view of modern thinkers and sociologists, Thiruvalluvar was of the opinion that anti-social elements should be mercilessly removed if they are proved to be inimical to the well-being of society as a whole.

Having said all that, we must still pause for a while and ask the question, "Can a human being kill another, even if law and circumstances demand it?"

FROM THE EDITORIALS (Excerpts) CONTROVERSIAL CHIEF

When General K.Sundarji retired as Chief of Army Staff on April 30 he must have ended his term of office as one of the most controversial army chiefs the country has ever had. Sundarji, who has been described as India's first soldier-intellectual, fell out of favour with the Prime Minister and officials in the Defence Ministry following three mismanaged operations -Operation Brasstacks, the 'forward policy' on the Indo-China border and the Indian peace-keeping action in Sri Lanka. The last men

tioned offensive against the Tamil Tigers has been roundly criticised and Sundarji's detractors point out that the Indian Peace Keeping Force's (IPKF's) action in Lanka has had a demoralising effect on the entire Indian army.....

But can Sundarji be castigated for the so-called lapses on his part? And is he alone to be blamed for the debacle in Sri Lanka?.... It is quite likely that the disastrous result of the lack of co-ordination between the Defence



General K. Sundarji

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INDIA'S INFLUENCE AS A MAJOR REGIONAL POWER AND THE REASON FOR THE INDO SRI -LANKA ACCORD

By Dr A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, D.Sc(Lond), Professor of Political Science, University of New Brunswick

In the first place, I would refer to India as the major super power in South Asia, not as a major regional power. Dismembered Pakistan, heavily militarised by U.S. weaponry is also a major regional power. But India has command over larger resources and has the world's fourth largest standing army. India as a major super power is in a category of one, there being no such regional super power in the globe, neither China, nor South Africa nor Israel, nor any one of the West European states or of South America. One reason is India's overwhelming dominance among powers that are less strong. Another is that India's policy makers have deliberately sought to create such a position for the Indian subcontinent.

INDIAN HEGEMONY

Two factors must be taken into account in what I would call Indian hegemony over the subcontinent. One is the cultural imperative. Therefore India regards her immediate neighbours, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Pakistan, as the cultural expressions of Indian unity. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself in one of his prison musings described India as a cultural unity. In unstable domestic situations when foreign adventure may provide some distraction to India's politicised class which sustains India's political structures, and in unstable international conditions where the Indian ruling class is uncertain of foreign policy objectives of neighbours sensitive to foreign penetration, the idea that the subcontinent is one cultural entity could provide the rationale for aggressive assertions of India's dominance over the region.

Together with this cultural impetus for action, post-independent India is very much influenced by the imperative of one of the sternest of British Viceroys that India had, Lord Curzon, who always held to the opinion that the Indian subcontinent is one strategic unity.

Britain's heirs, India, being the dominant successor, the men of the Indian



National Congress and their bureaucratic functionaries took into consideration the cultural and strategic imperatives in the pursuit of foreign policy. In March-April 1947, Nehru complaining at the Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi stated that "the neighbouring countries, even culturally, look towards Europe and not to their own friends and neighbours (Nehru meant India) from whom they had derived so much in the past." Within a short time, the Indian Prime Minister for all his neutralism and non-alignment, brought India's weakest neighbours under Indian suzerainty. In August 1949, **India signed a Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship with Bhutan.** India guaranteed non-interference in the internal affairs of Bhutan. Bhutan in turn pledged to be guided by India's advice in external relations.

Sikkim suffered a worse fate. On 5th December 1950, **India signed a Treaty of Perpetuity with Sikkim which made Sikkim an Indian protectorate.** I would say that the cultural, and more importantly, Lord Curzon's strategic imperative, had determined India's interventionary role.

Under Mrs Indira Gandhi, India took several steps beyond what her father, Mr Nehru, had accomplished. These were deliberately intended to establish India's hegemonistic, not

merely dominant role, in the subcontinent. Mrs Gandhi set the stage for implementing her policies when, while in opposition during 1977-79, she accused Morarji Desai's Janata government (1977-79) of appeasing India's neighbours "so much, that even tiny countries like Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh are showing eyes at us." Earlier in 1972, not so much in pursuit of cultural or Lord Curzon's strategic imperative, **Mrs Gandhi freed Bangladesh from Pakistan President Yahya Khan's tyranny.** In this case she had no alternative since 10 million refugees from Bangladesh crossed into India. A year before, in August 1971, **Mrs Gandhi signed her Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union** in which the high contracting parties agreed to come to each other's assistance if the other is attacked. The agreement, however, was at that point of time not a step towards the cultural-strategic nexus.

MONROE DOCTRINE

When Mrs Gandhi was firmly ensconced in office (1972-77) after winning a victory in the aftermath of the Bangladesh war and after defeating the Janata Party government (when she again became Prime Minister, 1979-84) the firm outlines of the hegemonistic role of a regional superpower were drawn. Firstly, she indicated her version of a Monroe Doctrine for South Asia. There were three aspects, two of which Mr Rajiv Gandhi applied to the Sri Lanka situation:

1. The doctrine held that South Asia was a troubled region emphasising that in the context "Indian interests must be protected."
2. If law and order breaks down in a neighbouring state, India's assistance should be sought to arrest the destabilizing process; help could be solicited from within the region but not to the exclusion of India.
3. Mrs Gandhi stated that a national consensus had been obtained between her Congress(I) party and other political parties. India, the contention

was, could not be excluded in regional developments which involved regional security. Indian concerns relating to U.S. military assistance to Pakistan were thus spelled out.

To provide meaning to this new doctrine, **Mrs Gandhi shifted India from the non-aligned state of Mr Nehru to a national security state.** The chief features of the national security state were:

- (a) high defence spending at the expense of developmental needs;
- (b) high mobilisation of national energies against an external threat, often imaginary;
- (c) an atmosphere of beleagueredness, and therefore an expansionist foreign policy, supposedly to break out from the encirclement.

The three pillars of India's hegemonistic stature as a regional superpower therefore stand on

- (1) **the cultural and strategic imperative,**
- (2) **Mrs Gandhi's Monroe doctrine and**
- (3) **Mrs Gandhi's inauguration of the national security state.** Thus the ghost of Lord Curzon walks the corridors of the South Block in New Delhi!

OBSTACLES

It is now an Indian supposition that Mr Gandhi's policies relating to Sri Lanka are a continuation of Mrs Gandhi's policies. But even with Mrs Gandhi there were obstacles from the major powers in the region (especially Pakistan and China) and at least one of the superpowers, the USA; these powers did not concede India this status. India's Sri Lanka exercise cannot therefore be taken as absolute proof that Washington, Moscow or for that matter Beijing and the rest of the Western world had accepted New Delhi as the major regional power, leave alone superpower. At best these states expected India to settle the Sri Lankan dispute amicably.

ACCORD

I have secondly been asked to explain to you the reasons for the Accord of July 1987. I can, in the absence of evidence other than the document itself, only draw inferences. In the first place, President Jayewardene

has in his interview with S. Venkat Narayan (*Island International*, 23rd December 1987) stated that **the letters of exchange between the Indian Prime Minister and him are only intentions.** These, he stated, need to be translated into a treaty. The President said that he wanted to sign a treaty of peace and friendship with India and that the treaty was in connection with the annexures (that is, the letters) attached to the Accord of July 1987. And he added rather ominously: "if India wants us to do certain things, we also want India to reciprocate by doing something for us."

What are these things and what things will the President not do? He said that the question of Trincomalee is a *quid pro quo* and will depend on the terms of the treaty. He added that foreign trainers in his country (the Israelis, Keeny Meeny Services and the Pakistanis) will remain until a treaty is concluded. The same applies to the Voice of America broadcasts. The negotiation of such a treaty cannot be accomplished before the President's term ends in November this year and officially on 4th February 1989. Two of his possible successors, the Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa and the Minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, are opposed to the treaty.

NOT THE RIGHT ADVICE

Then what were the reasons for Mr Gandhi over committing his prestige on this Sri Lanka operation? My first answer is that the Indian Prime Minister did not receive the right advice from those who counselled him. In a military venture of this kind, Mr Gandhi should have obtained bipartisan agreement between the main parties in his own country. On the other hand, Indian opinion is divided on the wisdom of continuing the war. The major parties of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and V P Singh's organisation, question the wisdom of the military adventure. War some times it is said is a reflection or extension of domestic policy. But elections in distant Haryana state were not intended to give Mr Gandhi leverage on what went on in Tamil Ceylon. The forthcoming elections in Tamil Nadu might bring the role of the IPKF to

the fore; it certainly will be one of the issues. But Mr Gandhi is not likely to obtain much credit. The reasons are that **Mr Gandhi and the IPKF have committed three errors:**

1. Mr Gandhi over committed his enormous reputation as a leader of the world's largest democracy in undertaking an open-ended military operation which has cost the Indian Army severely. It has given him little return.

2. The IPKF did not use, what in nuclear warfare is called the ladder of escalation to warn the militant groups and the Ceylon Tamil civilian population of the dangers that lay ahead at the stages when the Indian Army would step on to the next phase of its campaign. Instead, the Indian Army went for all-out victory. In this connection, I have a serious accusation against the Indian army which I feel must be thoroughly investigated by a body of international military experts. **My information is that the Indian Army tested some of its new weapons on the innocent Tamil people of Jaffna and that they continue to do so now in the Eastern Province.** This is, if true, a terrible indictment against a Government and an Army which claimed to be entering the Tamil areas to provide the Tamil people protection. I repeat this charge. My information is reasonably authentic. An international body of military experts can give us the facts or reject the views that have come to me.

3. Before a politicised military operation is set in motion, the parties to the dispute must be consulted. The Indian Government has acted hastily and thoughtlessly. There is no evidence that the Sinhalese Opposition parties were asked for their views nor was any attempt made to negotiate with their leaders. Thus the Sinhalese people are generally hostile to the Indian presence. In an operation of this kind, at the least, one friend might be helpful. The only people, the Tamils, who first welcomed the Indian Army are now not with them. This leaves Mr Gandhi with only President Jayewardene. Can President Jayewardene run a viable political system even if he wins a third term? Mr Gandhi might find

continued on page 19

WORLD FEDERATION OF TAMILS ADDRESSES RAJIV GANDHI

We publish below a letter from the Secretary General of the World Federation of Tamils to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, giving cover to the five resolutions passed unanimously at the recent International Tamil Conference. The first three resolutions appeared in TVI Vol.1 No.9. Resolutions 4 and 5 are found elsewhere in this issue. Ed.

We, the Eelam Tamils, scattered for the most part unwillingly all over the world, are pleased to forward the enclosed resolutions which we unanimously passed at the end of a two day Conference held in London on the 30th April and 1st May 1988.

We do trust that Your Excellency, in the midst of your heavy round of activities, will find some time to read through these resolutions which echo the unshakeable conviction of the 260 delegates who participated in the Conference as representatives of the Tamils living in all five continents of the world.

There is no doubt in our minds that things that have taken place in Tamil Eelam between July 1987 and today would have made you change your original opinion about Tamil Nationalism and the Tamil Movement in Sri Lanka. There was certainly a time when Your Excellency thought that the "Tigers" were a bunch of miscreants without a sense of direction and acting

*on impulse. The reports which you have received of late from your generals and commandants masterminding the fierce and often inhuman operations in Sri Lanka would have shown in no uncertain terms that the **Tamil Tigers are a people of some consequence and that they are a dedicated lot, unparalleled in recent liberation struggles.***

It may, perhaps, be that Your Excellency was not properly advised at the start about the vibrant and undying will of the Tamil Tigers by some of your trusted advisers. Your Excellency, whether any one likes it or not, approves of it or not, Velupillai Prabaharan has today become the living symbol of the Tamil National Struggle in Tamil Eelam and the Conference has in total unity demonstrated that he should, without question, be accepted as such and given all support within the power of the Tamils to carry forward their aims and aspirations to the finish which, as you are aware, is the liberation and freedom of Eelam Tamils from the clutches of the chauvinistic and blood-thirsty Sinhalese.

We shall, therefore, urge Your Excellency to recognise the stark fact that Velupillai Prabaharan is the only acceptable leader of the Eelam Tamils and the LTTE the only organisation to lead them. May it also please Your Excellency to note that the

Tamils of Eelam from the time of Dutugemunu of the pre-Christian era had strained every sinew to live peacefully and in harmony with the Sinhalese and that the Sinhalese had at every turn despised and spurned our plea to live as equals. Even the recent political history of Sri Lanka from the time of its independence in 1948 has shown that successive Sinhala governments that ruled Sri Lanka have consistently and persistently tried to reduce the Tamils to the status of second class citizens which status has now turned into slavery. This process which has recently been accelerated and accentuated by your siding with our oppressors, if allowed to continue, would sooner or later lead to the annihilation of the Tamil race in Sri Lanka. We, therefore, urge Your Excellency to view this situation without prejudice or predilection and do all you can to desist from aiding and abetting the Sri Lanka government which is bent on exterminating the Tamil community.

In conclusion, we wish to state that in spite of our bitter experiences and humiliations at the hands of the Indian Peace Keeping Force we still have not lost faith in India and hope that you will realise that justice is on the side of the Eelam Tamils and hence you will pursue a path that will lead the civilised world to proclaim you as a man of principles.



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INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE - RESOLUTIONS

The first three resolutions unanimously adopted at the Conference appeared in TVI Vol.1 No.9

RESOLUTION 4

Paying homage to the heroism of Velupillai Prabaharan, the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, for his uncompromising struggle to defend the basic and fundamental rights of the Tamil people as crystallised in the Thimpu Declaration; and

Condemning the action of the Government of Sri Lanka in offering a reward of one million rupees for the capture of Velupillai Prabaharan, dead or alive, and deploring the support given by the Government of India to such action

This International Conference of Delegates from more than one hundred Tamil Associations from Africa, Australia, Brunei, Canada, Europe, India, Malaysia, Middle East, Papua New Guinea, Phillipnes, Sri Lanka, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, in expressing the considered will of the International Tamil community on this 1st day of May 1988 -

Calls upon the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka to recognise that Velupillai Prabaharan has today become the living symbol of the Tamil National Struggle and to further recognise that living symbols will not die;

Calls upon the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka to recognise that peace will not come to the Indian Region without justice;

And therefore urges the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka to ensure and secure the physical safety of Velupillai Prabaharan, the true leader of the Tamil national struggle.

RESOLUTION 5

Considering that the elected President of Sri Lanka declared publicly in July 1983 that he was no longer concerned with the lives or opinion of the Tamil people; and

Considering that the Tamils have suffered increasingly widespread per-

secution in Sri Lanka during the past decade, and that such persecution included extra-judicial killings, torture, state-sponsored arson and looting of Tamil homes and businesses, and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment under the Prevention of Terrorism Act; and

Considering that the International Commission of Jurists in a statement to members of the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in 1983, urged that **the Government of Sri Lanka "should demonstrate its commitment to the Rule of Law through repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act which violates Sri Lanka's international obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which it is a party" and considering that the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act were described by the Chairman of British Justice in 1984 as "a blot on the statute book of any civilised country"; and**

Considering that the United Kingdom Parliamentary Human Rights Group concluded in 1985 that the **"Tamil minority (in Sri Lanka) is under threat"** and considering that the Working Group at the second consultation of the Standing International Forum on Ethnic Conflict, Development and Human Rights declared in the Netherlands in 1985 that there was a **"general consensus that within Sri Lanka the Tamils do not have the protection of law"; and**

Considering that Amnesty International in 1984, 1985, 1986 and 1987, repeatedly expressed its grave concern to the Government of Sri Lanka at the continued extra-judicial killings, torture and disappearances of Tamils in Sri Lanka; and

Considering that the International Human Rights Law Group in Washington concluded in 1985 that the failure to punish security force personnel implicated in violence seriously compromises Sri Lanka's international obligations and its domestic law; and

Considering that despite repeated appeals from International Human Rights bodies such as Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and from regional organisations concerned with the protection of human rights such as Lawasia, the Government of Sri Lanka failed to order independent investigations into reports of torture, extra-judicial killings and disappearances of Tamils in Sri Lanka, and considering that such failure added to Tamil fears of persecution in Sri Lanka; and

Considering that the 6th Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution in 1983 rendered it illegal for any Tamil to directly or indirectly, peacefully or otherwise, engage in any activity connected with the establishment of a separate state and thereby sought to persecute the Tamils of Sri Lanka for expressing their political beliefs, and considering that the International Commission of Jurists declared in 1984 that the said 6th Amendment was a violation of Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and a violation by Sri Lanka of its obligations under the said Covenant; and

Considering that the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987 failed to secure the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the 6th Amendment to the Constitution, and considering that such failure added to Tamil fears of continued persecution in Sri Lanka; and

Considering that despite the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987, Amnesty International concluded in September 1987 that there was **"considerable uncertainty about the safety of Tamils in Sri Lanka"; and**

Considering that on the 10th October 1987, a widespread and indiscriminate attack was launched by the so-called Indian Peace Keeping Force on the Tamils in the North and East of Sri Lanka and on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who had been recognised by the Indo Sri Lanka Accord as 'Combatants' and considering that the purpose of such war was to secure the unconditional acceptance by the Tamil people of

the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987; and

Considering that in the course of such war the so-called Indian Peace Keeping Force acted in breach of the rules of international law governing the conduct of war and killed, tortured and raped Tamil civilians, destroyed Tamil civilian homes and hospitals and killed Tamil combatants instead of taking them prisoners of war and considering that the Tamil people and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have steadfastly refused to signify their unconditional acceptance of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987 and considering that the so-called Indian Peace Keeping Force continues to wage war in the Tamil homelands to the present day and that such war has rendered it impossible for Tamils to live freely in their homelands without fear of persecution; and

Considering that during the past five years more than 125,000 Tamils from Sri Lanka have sought refuge in India, around 50,000 have sought refuge in Europe and thousands more in Australia, Canada, United States and in many other lands; and recognising that such Tamils fear that if they return to Sri Lanka they will be persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or membership of a particular social group or political opinion and in addition will become

civilian victims in the war waged by the so-called Indian Peace Keeping Force; and recognising that their fear includes fear of arbitrary arrest and detention under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, fear of capture, torture and extra-judicial killing both by the so-called Indian Peace Keeping Force and by the Sri Lankan State Security forces, and fear of arrest and deprivation of property under the provisions of the 6th Amendment to the Constitution and recognising that by any and every test their fear is well-founded:

This International Conference of Delegates from more than one hundred Tamil Associations from Africa, Australia, Brunei, Canada, Europe, India, Malaysia, Middle East, Papua New Guinea, Phillipines, Sri Lanka, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, in expressing the considered will of the International Tamil community, on the 1st day of May 1988 -

Calls upon the member states of the United Nations, including the Governments of the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Norway, Australia, Canada, the United States of America, and India as well as non-governmental agencies with consultative status to recognise that every Tamil from

Sri Lanka who has sought asylum as a refugee has a prima facie right to refugee status and to the protection of International Humanitarian law as such refugee;

Calls upon the member states of the United Nations, including the Governments of the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Norway, Australia, Canada, the United States of America, and India to grant to every claimant for refugee status the right to an impartial and fair determination of his or her claim subject to a right of appeal against a negative decision to an independent review body;

Requests that, pending the final determination of a claim for refugee status, in accordance with the principles of natural justice, the member states of the United Nations, including the Governments of the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Norway, Australia, Canada, the United States of America, and India refrain from returning any Tamil who has sought refugee status to Sri Lanka against his or her will.

FROM THE EDITORIALS (Excerpts)

Continued from page 6

Ministry and the External Affairs Ministry was palmed off on to the former army chief.

Another reason why the Centre may not have been very happy with Sundarji was the fact that the General was known to be vocal in expressing his disagreement with any government strategy involving the army which he found unfeasible. **Thus the former army chief was the first to criticise, and future events have proved him right, the hurriedly drawn up Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. Indeed the General even questioned the wisdom of deploying Indian troops on the island and expressed his displeasure at the extensive combing operations to flush out the Tamil Tigers. Sun-**

darji's reservations on the Lanka operations reportedly did not go down well with the Prime Minister and differences between Rajiv Gandhi and his army chief became evident. (*The Indian Post (Bombay) May 3, 1988*)

SLFP AND JVP

The time has now come to ask the Sri Lanka Freedom Party where it stands in relation to Rohana Wijeweera's killer organisation, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, now sporting the colours of a 'Deshapremi' or so-called patriotic organisation.....

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party is a democratic party. It is a democratic alternative to the present government. But the recurring question peo-

ple who cherish and value the democratic system of government are asking is whether there are any links between the SLFP and the JVP, a proscribed organisation... Is the SLFP playing opportunistic politics with the JVP to wrest power or is it playing the role of a genuinely democratic party using or exploiting weaknesses of the government to come to power?.....

We are constrained to ask the question whether the stage has come for a democratic party like the SLFP to canvass the support of a terrorist organisation like the JVP to come to power. The main point is for the SLFP which is apparently for some reason or other boycotting the Provincial Council elections to lay its cards on the table. (*The Sunday Observer (Colombo) April 24, 1988*)

ATROCIOUS PEACE KEEPERS

(An eye-witness account by a medical doctor of the atrocities at the General Hospital, Jaffna of 21 October 1987)

21st Oct. 1987 was our **Black Deepavali Day**. Since morning there had been extensive shelling, gun fire and on and off bombing and landmines. In our minds we had the feeling that something dreadful was going to happen. Because, we had been experiencing this indiscriminate shelling and firing from helicopters by the Sri Lankan army for the last four and half years, and there was a little relief after 29th July, but now, since 10th Oct., it started again.

Hospital Shelled

Suddenly, one shell fell and burst on the roof of Ward 8 which is one of the Female Surgical Wards of Dr.V.Krishnarajah FRCS and the professional surgical unit of the General Hospital, Jaffna. The roof was brought down and, at that time, more than 45 female patients and their relatives were there. Three patients were killed instantly, eight were critically injured and the rest had minor injuries. **Scared but with courage, doctors, nurses and minor staff evacuated all the patients from the debris and concentrated on the emergency life-saving measures.**

Within a few hours another shell burst, but this time only a fragment of the shell shattered the operating theatre window. Now, the sterilisation of the theatre had gone. Our Operating Theatre had no concrete roof. As such, the surgeon, anaesthetist, nurses, doctors, labourers and patients had no protection from shelling. Soon the theatre work was also brought to a stand-still.

Most of the doctors, nurses, patients and visitors were gathered in the Administration Block which had a concrete roof to protect them from shelling. Our quarters are on the top of the building but we could not go there even for a cup of tea because of continuous shelling. All were shivering in fear and agony.

Random Firing inside hospital

At about 4 p.m., there was heard bursts of gun fire, noise of running boots and people were screaming, shouting, crying and fleeing. We saw

men in uniform rushing into the hospital with their machine guns. People in the front of the corridors were mowed down instantly. Our Matron, Mrs. Vadivelu (57), in her official blue uniform and white cap, saw men in uniform firing at random at people, and had pulled aside one of the nurses who was with her, shouting "Get lost into a room...the fellows are just shooting." Thoroughly excited, the nurse got into a room and crept under a mattress. The Matron got into another room and within minutes a number of gun shots were heard in that room. The following morning the Matron was found dead in her uniform, inside the room, behind the door. Gun shot injuries were found on her head and in the back.

When the soldiers entered the section of the building which houses the X-Ray department and the Tea Room of the hospital, where lot of people were crowded, they started firing from the entrance, killing everybody. The time was around 4-10 p.m., as evident from the fact that the Tamil Service of the SLBC commences at 4 p.m. Dr.M.Ganesharatnam, who was with us at that time in the Radiology room, was tuning the radio to listen to the broadcast from Colombo and Madras regarding the situation in Jaffna. As he was tuning we heard gunfire followed by people crying and screaming and crouching. We were shocked. We told him that somebody was shooting inside the hospital, and people were shouting, but he was not convinced. He said, **"I have been here since 1979. I have personally experienced the atrocities done by both the armies, but nobody so far fired inside this hospital. It just cannot be possible." But before he could finish the men had moved closer to us, firing. When he quickly opened the door, he must have seen the men in uniform with pointed guns, because he shouted "Army is shooting. All of you please go down...." Those were his last words.**

Dr.Ganesharatnam (30), from Chundikuli, a student of St.John's College, Jaffna, entered the Medical Faculty

of the Jaffna University in the first batch, and graduated in 1984. He obtained a second class in his final MBBS and for his internship and first appointment, although some of his relatives and friends insisted that he should go out of Jaffna, he was determined to work in the Jaffna hospital, among his people. Whenever there was shelling or fighting between the army and the militants, he managed to come to the hospital to attend to the emergency needs of the casualties, whether it was his *casualty* day or not.

"Hospital used by LTTE" - Lalith

Once, just before the *Vadamaradchi Operation* in March, the Sri Lankan army shelled wards 19 and 20 of the hospital from about 6-20 am to 6-30 am. The shelling took the lives of 9 patients and injured the rest of the patients, about 40. Everybody was afraid to enter the ward to remove the injured patients, because, as people who were in Jaffna at that time would know, the army used to repeat shelling the same spot where the first shell burst so that the people who rushed to help the victims at that spot, most of the time LTTE cadres, would get the subsequent shell blasts. In fact, Mr.Rahim was injured like that in his right thigh. Thus, at that time most of us knew that it was a matter of life and death for those injured. Dr.Ganesharatnam without hesitation ran into the ward and carried an injured man in his hands and shouted, "Please go and help the others." The rest followed his directions.

On another occasion, Mr.Lalith Athulathmudali's message was brought from the Fort Army Camp to the Director of the Hospital, saying, "Close the General (Teaching) Hospital, Jaffna, with immediate effect, for security reasons. You will be given only 72 hours to evacuate the patients to the various peripheral hospitals like Moolai Base Hospital, Tellipalai Base Hospital and Point Pedro District Hospital. We shall not be held responsible for any injuries or deaths of patients after the expiry of the 72 hours given from now." It was signed by the Secretary of the Minis

try of Teaching Hospitals on the directions of the Ministry of National Security. Later Lalith was heard to make remarks like, "The General Hospital Jaffna is being used by the LTTE members and all the Doctors and Nurses are helping them, which service is not available for the Sri Lankan army personnel. So we are not prepared to run a General Hospital for terrorists."

Tribute to Dr. Ganesharatnam

At that time Dr. Ganesharatnam was the Secretary of the Jaffna Branch of the Government Medical Officers' Association. He effectively mobilised the top ranking people like the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. Panchalingam, the Hospital Director Dr. Nachchinarkiniyar, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jaffna, Prof. S. Vithiyanthan, Dr. S. Sivakumaran, Consultant Physician, Jaffna Hospital; the President of the Jaffna Branch of the G.M.O.A., Dr. Sivarajah and the Consultant Neuro-Physician, Dr. Jega Pasupathy, to go to Colombo immediately and explain to Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali that it was just impossible to close down the 700-bed hospital which is the only general hospital with surgical and medical facilities available for the entire Tamil community from Vavuniya and Trincomalee to Kankesanthurai. The team sent by Dr. Ganesharatnam to Colombo was successful in their mission; and we were able to continue the functions of the hospital for our people.

Seven Doctors saved

This lover of humanity and dedicated physician too was gunned down. Because of his last warning words, seven doctors were able to escape narrowly from death, in that room, by hiding behind the cupboard.

The soldiers were firing constantly at the people at close range and finally threw grenades. Once they took control of that area, they seemed to be satisfied. They went into the Doctors' quarters, firing, throwing grenades and smashing doors and windows. They rushed into each of the rooms searching everything therein, within a matter of minutes. Then they placed a sentry in each of the rooms.

For some time there was silence; no noise of gun fire; only voices shouting in *Hindi* and the noise of boots. Outside the hospital premises, the fight was going on extensively, with exchange of gun fire, shelling, bombing, and on and off shooting flares into the air for search operations. There was a 2-year old child trapped among us with her mother who was a patient at that time. The child started crying out of fear, and she was thirsty asking for water. Then suddenly the guns turned to the direction from where human voices came and shots were fired. The child instantly stopped crying, due to fear and shock.

"I love my mother Indira" - the voice was stilled

We were all in darkness because of total power cut from 10th October. Everybody was praying to God, the only hope. At about 11 o'clock in the night the nephew of Mr. Yogendra Duraisamy, former G.A. of Jaffna, started crying because of chest pain. He was a heart patient, 70 years old, and was asking for help. As he was pleading with the army, "Please help me; I am a heart patient. I am innocent. I am not a terrorist. I love India. I love my mother Indira. Please help me" they kept firing towards the direction from which the voice came, and it was stilled.

From the way these soldiers behaved and conducted themselves, it appeared to us as if they were under instructions from their superiors to *kill everybody in that building*. It must have been so, because **none of the army officers or even Indian Red Cross members came to help the injured, even after the army captured the hospital quarters.**

Throughout the night we were in fear as it was totally dark except for off and on flashes from the torch light looking for any survivors.

"Oh Muruga..." - he was no more

In the morning, Dr. A. Sivapathasundaram, M.R.C.P.(UK), D.C.A.(Sri Lanka), came from home through the mortuary gate of the hospital to the Intensive Care Unit to see one of his paediatric patients. The Nurses in the I.C.U. informed him that since the

previous evening none of the doctors turned up for duty and that they heard shooting at their quarters. Then he said, **"How can that be? How can they shoot inside the hospital? Probably they would have arrested them and are keeping them as hostages. Come, we will go, and speak to them and get them released."**

First the Nurses refused to join him and advised him also not to go because the soldiers would shoot him too. But when he insisted, saying, *"They all came to save us"*, then they agreed to go with him. On approaching the Doctors' quarters building they saw one soldier seated on the staircase, with a gun. Then these three put their hands up, and Dr. Sivapathasundaram said, "I am Dr. Sivapathasundaram. These are Nurses. Please understand. We are not against you. You are like our big brother....." But, before he could finish, the soldier levelled his gun. The Doctor realised that he was going to shoot and instantly pushed the two Nurses on to the dead bodies lying there. At that moment the soldier fired, and the Doctor received the bullets on his chest and thigh. He fell instantly crying, "Oh Muruga, Water, water" The next moment he was no more.

We lost all our hopes of survival, because the soldiers appeared determined not to leave anybody alive; and by that time they must have presumed that there were no more persons alive in that building.

We were all crying in silence and waiting for our turn for the death sentence! - (To be continued)
(TVI salutes all the dedicated medical staff who lost their lives while rendering their unstinted service to humanity. Ed.)

J.R. FOR THIRD TERM

A committee of the ruling United National Party, backed by legal advice has decided that the President J.R. Jayewardene could run for a third term in office, provided the constitution is amended. The next presidential elections must be held before January 4 next year, to be followed by Parliamentary Elections, latest by May 1989.

LTTE AND MULF AGREE

This is the English version of a joint statement issued by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Muslim United Liberation Front on April 21, 1988.

In the discussions held between the delegation of the Muslim United Liberation Front headed by Dr. Al Haj Baddudin Mahmud and representatives of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Madras on 15th, 16th and 19th April 1988, **common ground was found by both parties on the following matters:-**

1. Although the Muslim people living in Sri Lanka speak the Tamil language, we consider them as a distinct ethnic group falling within the totality of Tamil nationality; and we affirm that the area composed of the **Northern and Eastern provinces which constitutes the traditional homeland of the Tamil-speaking people is also the traditional homeland of the Muslim people.**

2. We affirm that the Tamil people and the Muslim people who inhabit the contiguous homeland composed of the Northern and Eastern Provinces should live in unity and peace; at the same time, it is felt, and indeed accepted as an article of faith, that since the Muslim people are a minority in the area, and because it is of paramount importance that they should be assured of a life free from fear, mistrust and insecurity, immediate steps be taken to create conditions whereby the Muslim people will be guaranteed security, equality and freedom; and that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam will extend their total co-operation towards this process. **It is also accepted that all provisions that ensure the security of the Muslim people be guaranteed by law.**

3. It was declared and accepted that the interests of the Muslim people could be secured only in their homeland; that only through a greater unity with the rest of the Tamil-speaking people, that the Muslim people could win their rights in their homeland, and safeguard their land and their cultural existence. **It was assured on behalf of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam that they would continue to work towards the well-being of the Muslim people, and this was accepted.**

4. Without prejudice to the aspi-

rations of the Muslim people and the rest of the Tamil-speaking people, both LTTE and MULF will extend their co-operation for the full implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

5. It was agreed that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution in respect of Provincial Councils was unacceptable, for the following reasons: * That it does not meet the basic political aspirations of the Muslim people and the rest of the Tamil-speaking people; * That it has been passed in contravention of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement; * That certain clauses of the Amendment are in contradiction with the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement;

6. It will be ensured that all steps taken towards safeguarding the interests of the Muslim people and arriving at a reasonable power-sharing agreement will be done in such a way that they will not seriously undermine the territorial integrity of the homeland of the Tamil-speaking people.

7. Flowing from the above, all the Muslim people who have made the area comprising the Northern and Eastern Provinces as their homeland, have the right to enjoy the same ethnic rights, concessions, opportunities and freedom as enjoyed by the rest of the Tamil-speaking people.

8. While the Muslim people constitute 33% of the population in the Eastern Province and will comprise 18% in the combined Northern and Eastern Provinces, it is agreed that in order to ensure maximum safeguards to the Muslim people and enable them to enjoy equitable power-sharing, they will be entitled to not less than 30% of the representation in the Provincial Council and the Cabinet. It is also agreed that both sides would make all efforts to facilitate the constitutional process to secure such proportional entitlement.

9. It is agreed that in all future land distribution, the Muslim people will

be entitled to not less than 35% in the Eastern Province, not less than 30% in the Mannar district and not less than 5% in other areas.

10. The Muslim people will be entitled to job opportunities in the public sector in proportion to their population in each district.

11. In the field of education, special consideration will be given to backward areas until such time as equal opportunities are achieved by all sections of the population. Private educational facilities will be organised for the benefit of the Muslim people, up to the pre-University stage. An Islamic University will be established.

12. No legislation that affects the rights of the Muslim people or involves their identity and interests will be passed by the Provincial Council unless three-fourths of the Muslim representatives in the Council vote for such legislation.

13. Unless a Muslim has been already appointed Chief Minister of the Northern- Eastern Provincial Council, legal provision should be made to ensure that a Muslim is appointed as the Deputy Chief Minister of the said Council.

14. Appropriate political, administrative and developmental units should be created in areas in the Northern and Eastern Provinces where there is a predominant Muslim population to enable the Muslim people to enjoy their rightful share in the spheres of political, administrative and developmental affairs. The LTTE expressed its views in this regard. On the question of delineating traditional boundaries and the earmarking of natural resources that will go into these units, both parties will engage in further analysis and make a final decision.

15. A de-colonisation policy should be evolved in order to redress the adverse effects caused by planned Government colonisation which was aimed at the destruction of the economic, political and administrative power base of the Tamil-speaking people; at the changing of the demographic pattern of their homeland; and at the

eventual annexation of their homeland.

16. The forthcoming election for the Provincial Council of the Tamil-speaking Province should be based on a voters' list compiled in a manner that would be fair and justifiable. It was discussed in detail as to which year should be considered as a basis for the compilation of such a list.

17. It was agreed that in order to alleviate the sufferings of the vast

mass of innocent civilians who are the ones who are truly affected by the military actions, and to enable them to return to normal, peaceful life, there should be an immediate cessation of hostilities.

18. Once hostilities cease, it is imperative that there should be an interim administrative government until such time as the people return to normal life and proper elections are held for the Provincial Council. The

composition of the Interim government should be in accordance with the earlier decision arrived at in this connection.

Sgd...Sathasivam Krishnakumar
Member of the Central Committee
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
Sgd...M.I.M.Mohideen
Secretary General
Muslim United Liberation Front

NEWS IN BRIEF

INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE FOR VIRAJ MENDIS

An independent Committee of Inquiry was set up at the House of Commons to take evidence about whether the life of Mr. Viraj Mendis, a Sri Lankan migrant, who has taken sanctuary in the Church of the Ascension in South Manchester for more than sixteen months, would be in danger if he were deported. Mr. Mendis, aged 32, who supports the Tamil separatist cause although he is from the Sinhalese community, says that if he is deported he would face "persecution and probable death."

TAMIL NADU ELECTIONS

It is widely believed that the Tamil Nadu State Government elections will not be held until the end of this year. The poor showing of the All India Congress conference held in Madras in April prompted the Congress leadership to postpone it until the situation is conducive to them. The Congress Party Conference was poorly attended. It is reported that the party officials and police outnumbered the public present.

TAMIL ATTEMPTS TO TAKE HIS LIFE

A supporter of the Thamizhaka Munnetra Munnani attempted to sacrifice his life by pouring kerosene over his body and setting fire at Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu, in support of the Eelam struggle and the with-

drawal of IPKF from Sri Lanka. He was rescued by the villagers. Thamizhaka Munnetra Munnani was formed recently by Sivaji Ganeshan who is campaigning against the Congress Party and its policy towards Tamils in Sri Lanka. Earlier two supporters of DMK died on this issue by self-immolation.

IPKF MAJOR CAUGHT WITH GOLD!

A Major of the IPKF in Sri Lanka arriving on leave at Chandigarh airport in Punjab was nabbed by police. He was found to be carrying 100 sovereigns of gold in broken pieces of jewellery. His explanation was that he bought the jewellery. Police believe he snatched it from Sri Lankan Tamils. The Major had earlier flown from Lanka via Madras.

KARUNANITHY APPEALS TO ALL INDIAN LEADERS

The leader of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhaham (DMK), Mr. M. Karunanithi, has appealed to all political leaders to come forward to save the Eelam Tamils and their leader Prabakaran. This appeal was made on the 29th May at the Thelungu Thesam Party Conference held in Vaada, in Andrapradesh. In his address he further stated that "the Indian intervention was supported by DMK to save the Tamils in the island. At the moment there are about twenty thousand Indian soldiers trying to surround Prabakaran, and any time he may be arrested or killed. I appeal to all the leaders present here to come forward to save the Tamils and their leader Prabakaran."

'RAJIV - UNTRUSTWORTHY' SAY VEERAMANI & NEDUMARAN

"Rajiv has sent the army to kill Prabakaran. Tamil Nadu will erupt like a volcano if Prabakaran is killed. The Indian army has encircled Mullaivadu with the intention of killing Prabakaran. In their operation they have killed a number of innocent people, burnt and destroyed villages and jungles. Thousands of people have become refugees. While saying that he is negotiating with the Tigers, Rajiv is engaged in a full-scale offensive to bring the Tigers to their knees. Prabakaran is not an individual. He is the national leader of the Eelam Tamils. Eelam Tamils' aspirations cannot be suppressed by the mighty Indian army" states the report jointly released by the Dravada Kazhaham (DK) leader C. Veeramani, and Kamraj Congress (KC) leader, P. Nedumaran.

TAMIL NADU WARNS OF BLOODSHED

Leaders in Tamil Nadu have warned of bloodshed if the LTTE leader Prabakaran is harmed. All leaders, including Kalaingar M. Karunanidhi, Mr. P. Nedumaran, Mr. K. Veeramani, Mrs. Janaki Ramachandran and Miss Jayalalitha have cautioned Mr. Rajiv Gandhi of serious and grave consequences if Velupillai Prabakaran's life is endangered. (*Intransigency on the part of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is likely to create a second 'Punjab' in Tamil Nadu. Ed.*)

NEWS FROM EELAM

AYYA SHOT DEAD

Abducted founder leader of Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), Ayya, was shot dead by the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) on April 7, EPRLF Secretary General K.Pathmanabha said in Madras. As negotiations with the PLOTE leaders in Vavuniya, Colombo, and London for Ayya's release failed, he was murdered. The body was found on Mannar road just outside Vavuniya town, Mr.Pathmanabha said.

Ayya was instrumental in nurturing the Lankan Tamil movement during the days when the PLOTE leader Uma Maheswaran (then with the LTTE) and Tigers leader V.Prabaharan were conducting their guerrilla war from Vavuniya jungles. Later when the LTTE banned PLOTE from the Tamil areas, EPRLF provided armed protection at the cost of its own members' lives, he recalled.

A member of the EPRLF central committee, Ayya was jailed twice by the Lanka regime before the peace accord was signed. He was abducted on March 29.

PLOTE, EPRLF OFFICES SEALED

The IPKF sealed the offices of PLOTE (People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam) and EPRLF (Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front) in Vavuniya on April 7 and arrested a number of cadres following growing tension between the two groups. According to local reports, 14 PLOTE and 8 EPRLF men were arrested. The EPRLF members were released the following day.

Eight EPRLF men were killed by PLOTE on April 4 and there were fears that large-scale clashes would break out between the two groups. Both PLOTE and EPRLF support the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. But, according to sources close to PLOTE, the clashes should be seen in the context of a change in

PLOTE's attitude to the tactics to be adopted in implementing the accord. According to these sources the PLOTE leadership had decided that the immediate task is to restore democratic processes in the North and East and cease military operations by the IPKF. 'The Hindu' (International Edition) - April 16, 1988.

LTTE ACCUSES SRI LANKAN ARMY OF VIOLATING' ACCORD

The LTTE has accused the Sri Lankan Army of 'violating' the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement when it came out of its barracks and attacked an LTTE camp in Trincomalee district on April 10.

In a press release, the LTTE said that the Sri Lankan Government, "to shield this violation of the Agreement from the view of the world", had said that the attack on the LTTE camp at Anuradhapura was in retaliation against the earlier killing of the Sinhalese civilians at Anuradhapura.

The LTTE denied that it had any connection with the killing of the Sinhalese civilians at Anuradhapura. 'The Hindu' (International Edition) - 23 April 1988

INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN ILAVALAI

It is reported from Jaffna that two IPKF soldiers were killed in a land mine explosion at Ilavala. Several other soldiers were injured.

SIX INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN TRINCO

The members of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam exploded a powerful land mine under an Indian army truck killing six soldiers instantly. The incident took place on 14th May in Trincomalee.

IPKF IN HINDU TEMPLE

The Batticaloa Citizens' Committee has urged the IPKF in Batticaloa to remove immediately the sentry from the Sithira Velayutha Swami Temple in Puliyanthivu. The President of the Citizens' Committee, Fr.Chandra Fernando, in a memorandum handed over to the General Officer Commanding IPKF in Batticaloa, listed seven demands. The memorandum states that stationing a sentry in the Kovil and its premises is not justifiable.

INDIAN ARMY TRUCK BLOWN UP

Reliable sources in the Eastern Province report that Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka blew up an Indian army vehicle with a landmine on 12th May 1988 near Trincomalee, killing six Indian soldiers.

THONDAMAN ACCUSED

According to confirmed reports, thirty-one of the fifty up-country Tamils languishing in the New Magazine Prison have sent an open letter to Mr.S.Thondaman accusing him of deliberately sabotaging all attempts, made by other concerned parties, to obtain their release. This letter accuses Mr.S.Thondaman and Mr.S.Sellasamy, the CWC General Secretary, of not using their position to get information from the Attorney-General's Department.

1466 SINHALESE REPORTED MISSING

According to a leading newspaper in Sri Lanka, 1,466 persons have been reported missing around the country in the past four months. The most number of missing persons have been reported in Nugegoda, Mount Lavinia, Kelaniya, Kegalle, Galle, Matara, Tangalle and Colombo.

INDIA'S DEFENCE AGAINST CHINA WEAKENED

According to recent press reports in Sri Lanka, there would be a symbolic troop withdrawal by some sections of the IPKF by the last week of

June. It is also said that deployment in Sri Lanka of artillery troops and certain other units outside the Southern Command has seriously weakened India's defences against China.

PROTEST MARCH IN VADAMARADCHI

Recent press reports from Sri Lanka state that the people of Valvettiturai, including school children, took out a massive procession on Sunday, May 15, 1988, protesting against what they claimed the cruelty of the IPKF against the general public of Vadamaradchi East. The reports further state that the IPKF's search operations had been intensified in the Vadamaradchi area during recent weeks.

GAMINI DISSANAYAKE DISOWNS AGREEMENT

Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister for Lands and Land Development, has stated categorically that the agreement alleged to have been entered into between the Sri Lankan government and the JVP cannot be, and should not be, accepted or recognised as an Agreement. However, according to confirmed sources, he is said to have stated that the proscription that

was in force against the JVP had been lifted and that he was expecting the JVP to surrender their arms unconditionally.

IPKF SOLDIERS KILLED

According to a news item appearing in the Sunday Observer (Colombo) of 15.5.88, two soldiers of the IPKF were killed and another wounded at Welioya in Trincomalee in a blast caused by an LTTE explosive device.

DILEEPAN'S FATHER MURDERED

It has now been confirmed that hunger-striker Dileepan's father was brutally murdered by the IPKF in Urumpirai. The IPKF went in search of Dileepan's family to avenge the LTTE's 'crimes' and the father was the soft target for them. They hacked him to death with crude weapons. Dileepan's father is only guilty of giving birth to a son who adopted non-violence as a means to win rights for the Tamil people and died after 14 days of fasting. Rajiv Gandhi will have to answer the International Community!

FIVE IPKF MEN KILLED IN JAFFNA

In a land mine explosion at Eluthumadduval in Chavakachcheri area

on 23rd May, five IPKF men including a senior officer were killed. The following day the Indian army ambushed three LTTE members at the same place and killed two of them and captured one. While Nagulan (captain) and Niros died on the spot, Thavam with leg injuries was taken away by the IPKF.

TEACHERS KIDNAPPED BY IPKF

Two teachers belonging to St. John's College were kidnapped by the IPKF on 17th May. The IPKF entered the college and forcibly removed the teachers Kamalanathan and Alphonsus and it is believed that they were taken to the Kankesanturai IPKF camp. Kamalanathan was later admitted to the Jaffna Hospital with severe injuries where his condition is said to be critical. The plight of Alphonsus is still not known.

DAMAGE TO JAFFNA UNIVERSITY QUANTIFIED

The damage to the University of Jaffna since the IPKF offensive has been estimated at Rs.52 million, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Prof. S. Vithyanathan, confirmed in a media interview.

DAZZLING DANCE PERFORMANCE BY MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

Mrs. Vijayambigai Indra Kumar, one of the leading lights in the contemporary Indian classical dance circuit, gave a brilliant performance of *Bharatha Natyam* and *Kuchipudi* at the variety entertainment presented by the **Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation** at the Merton Civic Hall, Wimbledon, in UK, recently.

Vijayambigai, who has danced into the hearts of people in the USA, USSR, UK, Canada, Denmark, India and Sri Lanka, commenced with an invocatory Saraswathy Kavuthuvam, which was delightfully replete with nimble footwork and movements, mime and expression, and even hand gestures and the demonstration of the nine basic emotions (nava-rasas). Vijayambigai's elegant dance composition and graceful dancing brought out the A to Z of Indian classical dancing in the opening item itself.

Seven year old Venothini Indra Kumar, who was associated with her mother and Guru in the above item stole the hearts of the audience with her precise footwork and rapidly

changing facial expressions. Her sheer self-confidence was evident in a solo Patham that she danced later to English lyrics set to Carnatic classical music. She evinced the hall-mark of a child prodigy.

Vijayambigai went on to dance an elegant *Keerthanam* which she had composed with 32 out of the 108 Karanas (ancient dance units - 300 BC), revival of which is a theme close to her heart; and then *Aandaal Thiruppaavai* which emphasised her talent in mime and rhythm. She rounded off the recital with a super-speed *Thillana* of Dr. Balamurali Krishna and came off with flying colours keeping pace with the maestro's, at times fiery, rhythm. She had composed the dance herself in *Kuchipudi*.

Associated in the Variety Entertainment were the Rainbow (Tamil 'pop' group), Sapna (Punjab 'pop' group), Junior Jugnu and the Great Indian Dancers (Bhangra).

The proceeds were in aid of the **Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation**, founded by Dr. T. W. Jeyakularajah, whose



consistent and continuing sterling work in the field of not only providing relief but also rehabilitation to Tamil refugees over the last few years is only too well known. **Our Blessings and Wishes to young Venothini!**

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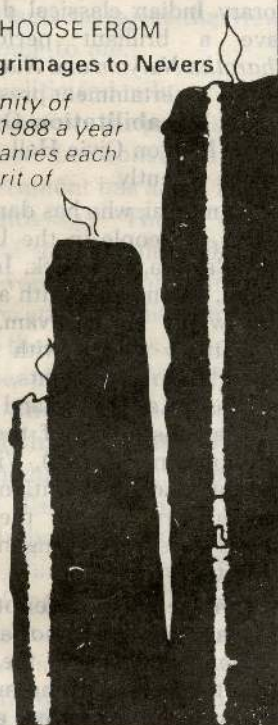
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THE SRI LANKA ACCORD

continued from page 5

salvage the purposes of the accord and seek methods by which we may strengthen Indo-Sri Lankan friendship and Tamil-Sinhalese relations.

Once we accept the imperative of democracy, that authority cannot be divorced from accountability, our prime minister must answer for the full-scale military operations, including naval and aerial patrols, the diminishing chances of peace and the escalating involvement in war, which has resulted in increasing Indian casualties and the fratricidal Tamil death toll.

The unkindest cut of all is the Sri Lankan ministers virtually dismantling the accord and demanding Pakistani military presence and elections in the current hysterical atmosphere, thereby dealing a death blow to the pact and laying a death trap for our

jawans. If by some freak of friction Pakistani forces enter the south and the Indian forces control the north, a conflict between the two may not be a recondite possibility.

The war continues; peace eludes us. The kismet of the accord becomes curiouser and curiouser. Its eventual Indian impact is sure to be a time bomb.

I plead with the prime minister to review the deteriorating situation and boldly speak to his counterparts in power in Sri Lanka to innovate a creative formula which will work without violence and will involve the militants, Tamil and Sinhalese, in the process.

A new confidence has to be created which can never happen so long as the Indian guns use their fire power and continue curfew

indefinitely as they do now. Nor is it the business of the Indian forces to make house-to-house searches, shoot anyone with a weapon, and incidentally commit those delinquencies which are associated with occupation armies. To keep the peace is a more innocuous operation than engaging on a man-hunt for the Tigers. A great effort must be made to win over the Tigers and the JVP into the main-stream of democracy on an ideological basis and to assure that the rights of every Sri Lankan citizen will be guaranteed.

If the India-Sri Lanka agreement is alive, a functional audit is badly needed so that changes may be wrought to make it fulfil its preamble. If the accord is all but dead, an autopsy must be done to understand why it never took off, except for massacres on both sides. *Courtesy: The Illustrated Weekly of India, April 10, 1988.*

INDIA'S INFLUENCE AS A MAJOR REGIONAL POWER

continued from page 8

himself in an unenviable situation. Already a coalition, comprising Sinhalese groups and two of the Tamil militant groups, the EPRLF AND PLOTE, have joined a United Socialist Alliance which was once headed by the assassinated Vijaya Kumaranatunge. Although the Alliance supported the Accord, a political coalition that needs further support to form a government, if at all, will have to seek the backing of other oppositional elements opposed to the Accord.

4. To add to the confused picture, members of President Jayewardene's government are reported to be in touch, if not negotiating, with some of the Tamil militant groups. Where does this multidiplomatic activity (Indians and the President's ministers) leave the Indian government? The Indian High Commissioner in Colombo has made known his displeasure.

GEO-NATIONAL INTERESTS

The principal objective of this agreement, from a reading of it, was to secure India's geo-national interests. This was apparent from the approaches of G Parthasarathi, Romesh Bhandari and P Chidambaram. But these geo-national interests have yet to be secured in a treaty where there is certain to be hard bargaining on the Sri Lanka side. My view is that **India**

probably panicked at the future prospect of Trincomalee, and the outlet for the Voice of America. **The Voice of America broadcasts will, according to Sri Lanka's Minister for Foreign Affairs, continue. The station, it has been agreed, will not be used for sending messages to U.S. submarines in the North Indian Ocean. But who is to know? Trincomalee is according to U.S. sources of no use to them. The logistics alone, a distance of 10,000 odd miles from the U.S.A., do not make it a viable proposition. India has therefore nothing to fear from a hostile power attacking her on her most vulnerable southern flanks from**

Trincomalee.

Provincial councils and the merger are dubious matters. The Indians are not tuned into the political culture of the Sinhalese political elites. The latter will not implement the bill in the proper spirit. The powers conceded do not resolve the most important question, the distribution of land. **The arrangements appear half done and ill conceived.** The only way is to start anew, further negotiations with the principal militant group and others concerned. The alternative is a continuing state of disequilibrium, a hopeless outlook for all the people of Sri Lanka.

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SRI LANKAN NEWS

UMA MAHESWARAN IN COLOMBO

Recently all Colombo newspapers were full of news of Uma Maheswaran. He is supposed to have met the President J.R.Jayewardene, the Mahanayake of Asgiriya, and news reporters, all officially. It is also reported that the application for the recognition of the PLOTE as a political party of Sri Lanka is still pending. It can be recalled that Uma Maheswaran's trial was held in absentia for very grave offences in the Kilinochchi People's Bank robbery and the High Court sentenced him and his followers to 15 years rigorous imprisonment only a few months ago. Nothing was mentioned about the amnesty given to him and his followers under the Indo Lanka Accord, by the media and the officials in Colombo.

ECONOMIC TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa - a 'pariah' to the rest of the world - was one of Sri Lanka's key trading partners in 1987. According to official statistics, that country - detested for its apartheid and racial segregation policies - was a big importer of Sri Lankan tea. South Africa bought 1.8 billion rupees worth of goods from Sri Lanka in 1987, up from 1.1 billion rupees in 1986. Trade sources said apart from recorded exports to South Africa, there was also some exports which went through a third country. "The country of destination might not necessarily be South Africa but the goods finally end there after going through another country", one source said.

ELECTION FRAUD PROBE

The CID is to take over investigations into the alleged election offences committed during the Provincial Council elections in the North Central Province. It is alleged that a leading politico in the area has used his influence to remove some of the ballot papers. The inquiry was sparked off after the M.P. for Baddegama, Mr.A.Dodangoda, produced three ballot papers in Parliament with counterfoils. Two other persons who have successfully contested the Provincial Council elections in the North Central Province have also been accused of indulging in thuggery.

DESPITE HOAX, LIFTING OF BAN STAYS

The Sri Lankan Government has decided not to reimpose the ban on the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) for the present, and give the organisation an opportunity to re-enter normal political life, though it is now certain that the JVP leadership did not sign any agreement with the Government.

A letter from Mr.Rohana Wijeweera, JVP chairman, delivered to newspaper offices on May 11, denied all knowledge of negotiations, and is believed to be authentic. JVP cadres have also spread the word that their party was not involved in any negotiations. This raises the question of who was behind the bizarre exercise, in which the Sri Lankan Government negotiated with Mr.K.C.Senayanayake, a 23-year old unemployed youth with no previous political experience, in the belief that they were negotiating with the JVP.

The National Security Minister, Mr.Lalith Athulathmudali, began talks with Mr.Senayanayake last month on the basis of a letter of authorisation signed by Mr.Upatissa Gamayanayake, JVP general secretary. The government was apparently satisfied with the authenticity of Mr.Gamayanayake's signature, but now it will have to be looked at afresh.

The proscription on JVP that continues to kill UNP supporters has been removed, but not the 'prize' offer for the LTTE leader's head!

PANT VISITS SRI LANKA

The Indian Defence Minister, Mr.K.C.Pant, visited Colombo for a detailed discussion on the finalisation of the time-table for elections in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, the phased withdrawal of IPKF forces, and the possibility of stepping up talks with LTTE.

AMIR PREPARES FOR P.C.ELECTIONS

Talks are under way between Tamil groups - both moderate and militant - to form a 'Broad-based Front' to contest the Provincial Council elections for the merged Northern and Eastern Provinces, declared Mr.A.Amirthalingam, Secretary-General of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). Speaking from Tamil Nadu state, Mr.Amirthalingam said, "We have met a number of groups and talked to them. They are the EPRLF, EROS, PLOTE, TELO and ENDLF. We have still not spoken to the LTTE directly. But there are contacts between certain individuals of the TULF and the LTTE. It is up to the LTTE now. We want more and more younger elements. They have made a big sacrifice, many of them with their lives. We want them to play a new role."

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COMMITTEE TO STUDY CITIZENSHIP TO TAMILS

The Sri Lankan Government has appointed a five member sub-committee to go into the question of how quickly citizenship could be granted to the Tamils in the plantation sector for their participation in the forthcoming elections there. The Committee would consist of Mr. S.Thondaman, the Rural Development Minister, Mr.Lalith Athulathmudali, the National Security Minister, Mr.Gamini Dissanayake, the Land and Land Development Minister, Mr.A.C.S.Hameed, the Minister for External Affairs, and Mr.Ranil Wickremanayake, the Education Minister.

IPKF BANS MOTOR- CYCLES IN JAFFNA

The IPKF has banned the use of motor-cycles over 70 cc in the Jaffna district. The order was backdated to March 28. The IPKF has also decreed that no vehicles will be allowed to ply in the Jaffna peninsula without a permit from them.

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V.O.A. STATION IN PUTTALAM

Replying to an adjournment question raised by MP for Attanagala, Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, the Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. ACS Hameed has stated that there would be no change in the original number or capacity of the transmitters to be installed at the Voice of America Broadcasting Station. He said that current agreement provides for the installation of two transmitters one with 250 kilowatts and the other 500 kilowatts. He added that 1800 acres will be leased out to VOA at Anamaduwa in the Puttalam district and VOA will annually pay the Sri Lankan Government \$80,000 as lease.

PREMADASA A BOMB TARGET

Two bombs went off on 28th May at a public meeting in Nuwara Eliya where the Prime Minister, Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, and two other ministers were present. They were unhurt. Police suspect the two men critically injured were responsible for carrying the bomb which went off prematurely.

23 INDIANS 'DIE IN BATTLE'

India admitted yesterday that it lost eight soldiers in a battle against LTTE but the LTTE said they killed 23 Indian soldiers. The battle is continuing in the jungles of Alamyil in Mullaitivu since 23rd May. It is believed at least 20 other soldiers were injured in this battle.

IPKF SOLDIERS KILLED IN NEDUNKERNI

In a pitched battle between IPKF and LTTE at the 6th mile post on the Mullaitivu Road in Nedunkerni, two IPKF soldiers were killed and many were injured. This incident took place on 23rd May.

B.A. ADDITIONAL SERVICE TO MADRAS

British Airways will commence direct

services to Madras from 25th October on a twice weekly basis. It must be noted that British Airways has discontinued its service to Colombo from 22nd May this year.

SRI LANKA PURCHASES CHINESE AIRCRAFT

Two Chinese Y-8 Aircraft acquired by the Sri Lankan Air Force are to be operational shortly. The aircraft purchased in December last year are the Chinese version of the Soviet-built AN-12 and capable of carrying 98 Air force personnel or a freight load of 15 tons each. The Chinese crew who trained their local counterparts on the flying and maintenance of the Y-8s have now finished their tasks.

15 INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED

It is confirmed that 15 Indian soldiers were killed when a land mine exploded under the tractor they were travelling on 29th May, at about 11 p.m., at Puliampokkunai Road, Vadakachchi, in Kilinochchi. The Tigers took away 9 dead bodies.

TAMILS KIDNAPPED IN VAVUNIYA

The Sri Lankan army kidnapped a young Tamil couple on 25th May at Pavatkulam and subsequently both were shot and killed by them at

Pavatkulam Road. In a separate incident, 5 young women were kidnapped at Pavatkulam by the Sri Lankan army on 28th May. Their fate is not known yet.

HUGE BOMB EXPLOSION IN BATTICALOA

A huge time-bomb explosion in a building in the Batticaloa town left at least 15 people injured. The two-storeyed building which housed some department stores and textile stores and shops, collapsed completely. According to reports, the building, about 200 meters from the Batticaloa police station was located next to a IPKF sentry post. Soon after the incident which took place on the 20th May, the IPKF was going around Batticaloa town announcing, "We will retaliate against such attacks and we do not care about civilian casualties."

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SPREADS TO THE EAST

As a further step in the civil disobedience campaign now being observed in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka, the LTTE has appealed to the public in the Batticaloa and Amparai districts to boycott the banks for two days in a week. At present all banks in the Jaffna peninsula are closed on Mondays and Fridays.

PROSCRIPTION LIFTED (AFTER HOAX PACT)

BUT KILLINGS CONTINUE UNABATED

Marxist Sinhalese rebels in Sri Lanka have killed six people in the latest of a series of attacks aimed at disrupting provincial council elections this week.

Police said about 30 gunmen of the People's Liberation Front (JVP) stormed the house of a ruling United National Party (UNP) candidate at Homagama, near Colombo, on Saturday night, killing six people in a hail of automatic fire. Among the dead were the candidate's 10-year-old daughter, his father, brother-in-law, and three supporters. The candidate, K.W.

G. Dharmasena, his wife and two guards were wounded.

The JVP opposes the India-Sri Lankan pact signed last July aimed at ending a violent campaign by Tamil separatists. Also on Saturday, JVP gunmen shot dead a candidate of the opposition United Socialist Alliance (USA) and two supporters at Matale in the Central Province. Another Alliance candidate was stabbed to death on Friday in the Southern Province. - 'The Guardian', May 30, 1988.

ACCORD BOOMERANGS ON ATHULATHMUDALI

If it were not for the fact that there was a serious though slender chance for peace following the JVP-Sri Lankan agreement announced by the National Security Minister, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, on Tuesday, May 10, the whole episode could have been described as a side-splitting farce of epic proportions.

One of the main negotiators of the so-called agreement has bolted from the country and the JVP's leaders have dismissed it as a fraud. **The Harvard-educated Minister of National Security, who doubtless put up the whole show with an eye on the coming Presidential sweepstakes, is believed to be using his investigating agencies to find out how he got into such a mess.**

Though it is still far too difficult to differentiate fact from fiction, it is now known that Mr. K. C. Senanayake, the person who helped negotiate the bizarre agreement (Mr. Athulathmudali and the JVP leaders Mr. Rohana Wijeweera and Mr. Upatissa Gamanayake never met face to face) has never been a member of the JVP. Further, information available from sources in Colombo reveals that Mr. Senanayake was expelled from Colombo University for cheating and was also involved in a forgery case. Mr. Athulathmudali, it transpires, helped him find a job in April while entrusting him with the negotiations with the JVP leaders.

Another character used as an intermediary in the negotiations was Fr. Tissa Balasuriya, a Roman Catholic priest and an activist of the Centre for Society and Religion. The Centre is funded by groups in the US and the UK. The politically active priest had on earlier occasions, in his writings, denounced the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement as 'unequal' and had accused the IPKF of human rights violations in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. It is believed that because of his connections with western embassies, Fr. Balasuriya was used as a conduit for passing messages.

Negotiators flee: According to reports from Colombo today, as soon

as the JVP-Lalith Athulathmudali Agreement began to come apart in the face of strong denunciations by JVP leaders, Mr. Senanayake disappeared from the scene. And for good measure, Fr. Balasuriya fled to Ireland leaving their mentor Mr. Athulathmudali holding the agreement.

Delhi silent: New Delhi has kept a studied silence so far on the agreement, no doubt partly due to the seemingly incomprehensible happenings in Colombo. But sources have indicated that if there was even a small chance that the amnesty call of Mr. Jayewardene had chance of success, the Government of India would wholeheartedly support the



But commentators here (in New Delhi) say that before Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali's braggings were taken seriously, the National Security Minister himself would be busy picking up the pieces of his latest political disaster. He has brought the credibility of the Sri Lankan government to an all-time low; he has lost out to his rivals in the Government and outside; and he has added a new one-act farce to the political drama in Sri Lanka, which has aptly been called 'Lalith's Folly or How to Make Agreements and Have Egg on Your Face'.

As for Mr. Athulathmudali's reference to a similar deal with the LTTE, sources have indicated that the Government of India would be only too happy if the Indo-Sri Lanka

Agreement was implemented in its entirety. It mattered little whether the LTTE leader Mr. Prabaharan struck a deal with Mr. Athulathmudali or the IPKF as long as the LTTE surrendered all arms and agreed to implement the Agreement to fulfil Tamil aspirations.

Anura 'wanted to embarrass': Interestingly, the manner in which the agreement was discredited in Colombo yesterday introduced another personality to the farcical drama - Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, SLFP leader and prime contender as spokesman for Sinhala chauvinism. It is believed that persons claiming to speak on behalf of Mr. Wijeweera and Mr. Upatissa Gamanayake (the two JVP leaders who supposedly signed the agreement) rang up newspaper offices to say that their signatures were forged. These persons, it is said, were acting under instructions of Mr. Bandaranaike, who wanted to embarrass his rival Mr. Athulathmudali. It is well-known that Mr. Bandaranaike is in contact with Mr. Wijeweera who is underground.

Incredibly sloppy: The question remains: Why did Mr. Athulathmudali go in for this incredibly sloppy piece of political drama? Trying to be one-up on the Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa, in the race for the Presidency has already been mentioned; the other is the possibility of upstaging the United Socialist Alliance, which has recently come on the Sri Lankan scene with a bang. Either way he is the loser, unless the President, Mr. Jayewardene's straight-forward amnesty announcement following the agreement picks up real momentum and gives the National Security Minister something to talk about.

One thing Mr. Athulathmudali did during the announcement of the agreement which was in keeping with his character; he could not resist having a swipe at the Indian role in Sri Lanka. He said with obvious glee that he could pull off a similar feat with the LTTE, if only the powers that be allowed him.

By courtesy of 'The Hindu' (International Edition) of May 21, 1988

HARTLEY COLLEGE CELEBRATES ITS 150TH ANNIVERSARY

Dr.S.D. Vasikaran

One of Sri Lanka's renowned educational institutions - Hartley College - which has produced over the years eminent scholars and scientists of the calibre of **Professor C.J.Eliezer** and **Dr.S.Shanmugathan**, is celebrating its 150th anniversary this year. The celebrations are scheduled to take place in October 1988 at Point Pedro for three days with the active collaboration of the Past Pupils Association and its Branch in Colombo.

The school was founded in 1838 on the salubrious shores of the town by the highly respected educationist Rev.Dr.Peter Percival, who compiled the first English-Tamil dictionary and was once the Professor of Tamil at the University of Madras. The school owes its name to Rev.Marshall Hartley, the Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society for the East, who visited it during the principalship of the late **Mr.C.P. Thamotheram (1913-1943)** and laid the foundation for a science block. It was Mr.Thamotheram who raised the status of the school to an exalted level by finding more land, putting up several buildings including the Hostel, securing a play-ground and presenting pupils to the Cambridge

O.B.E. and Mr.A.S.Navaratnarajah, two distinguished civil servants, were his products among several others of high distinction.

The Principal from 1943 to 1967, Mr.K.Pooranampillai, was responsible for the excellent results the college produced consistently at the G.C.E.(Advanced Level) and University Entrance examinations. He also had the school and its play-ground extended, introduced several co-curricular activities, modernised the school, and made it shine at Cricket and Athletics at national level. Like his predecessor, most of the teachers he selected were past pupils of the college and they loyally stuck on long, and gave of their very best to their alma-mater.



Mr. K. Pooranampillai

During the time of Mr.W.N.S. Samuel, the Principal from 1975 to 1985, two new buildings came up - the Thamotheram Memorial Science Block with all modern equipment comprising the chemistry, physics, botany, zoology and general science departments, and the Pooranampillai Block where the old Principal's bungalow known as the 'Turret' stood. A survey, conducted two years back by the Ministry of Education, Colombo, of the results at the G.C.E.(A.L) examinations held during the previous ten years, revealed that Hartley College had got the second best place in the whole Island.

It was when the school was on its way to more and more glory that disruption took place. But even at the 1987 G.C.E.(Advanced Level) examination it came out fourth best, although working under very adverse conditions, in borrowed premises, two miles away from its own and without a library, laboratory or a play-ground. During the violent struggles of the last few years between the Sri Lankan army and 'the boys', the library containing several thousand books was burnt (on 1.9.84), the laboratory despoiled and most of the buildings heavily damaged. As the school came within the prohibited security zone, and the army occupied parts of it, it had to be shifted in May 1985 to the relatively trouble-free village of Puttalai, three miles away, where semi-permanent buildings were put up within the Puttalai Maha Vidyalayam compound, to accommodate the pupils who remained loyal to the school even after the tragic happenings. For nearly a year the school had functioned with only a half-wall separating it from the army camps set up along Beach Road.

Now that the Sri Lankan army has moved out of Point Pedro, steps have to be taken to shift the school back to its original premises, where a new Hartley is bound to rise up, phoenix-like, from its own ashes. Under the aegis of the present principal, Mr.S.P.Balasingam, all of whose four elder brothers were past pupils and had occupied very high administrative posts in the Sri Lankan Government service, the 150th anniversary celebrations will take place. But since what has really mattered is not so much the years that have gone into the work, as the work that has gone into the years, the challenge goes out from all the well-wishers of Hartley living in the five continents, to those associated at present with the running of the college, to spare no efforts to make its light continue to shine - as its motto goes - even in the 21st century, whatever the odds be, and it is certain that the challenge will be taken up in the true Hartleyite spirit.



Mr. C. P. Thamotheram

Senior and London Matriculation examinations at which his pupils did very well and won the envy of the then leading colleges of the Island. Ex-Minister Mr.K.B.Ratnayake and Messrs.K.Alvapillai,

LTTE hands over Indian soldier. Will IPKF reciprocate?



“Castro” and “Visu” of LTTE Madras and Dinesh of LTTE, Vavunia handing over of Indian captive Dhillip Ram to Colonel Khanna of the IPKF



Tamils the world over demonstrating against the monstrous move of the IPKF to capture Prabaharan “dead or alive”.