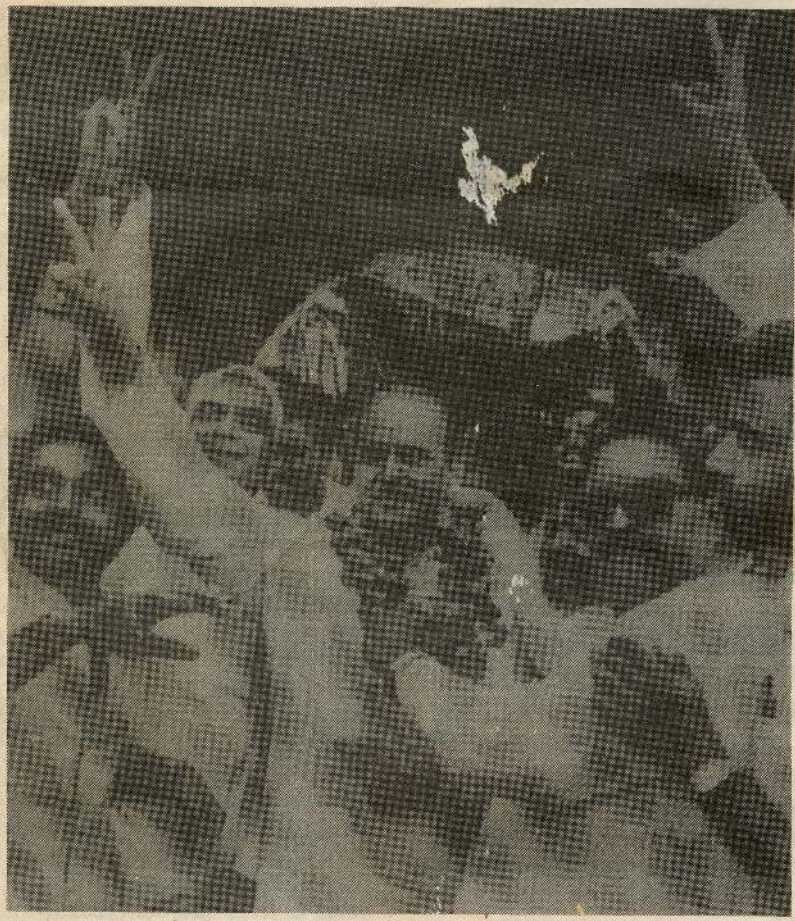


# TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

# TVI

Vol. 1 No. 12  
1st July, 1988

## V.P.SINGH TRIUMPHS



V. P. Singh has been demanding the withdrawal of the IPKF, and a comprehensive inquiry into the circumstances leading to the signing of the Peace Agreement by Rajiv Gandhi “especially without the written consent of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam chief, Velupillai Prabaharan, agreeing to all the terms of the agreement.”

V.P. Singh raises his hand to acknowledge cheers from his supporters at Allahabad. *By courtesy 'Times of India' June 19, 1988.*

Indian soldiers waving and smiling on arrival in Madras after “ACCOMPLISHING” their assignments in Sri Lanka



**IPKF SOLDIERS BACK! EXIT - TRINCO; RE-ENTRY - PALALY**

## YOUR VOICE

### WILL VIRAJ MENDIS BE SAFE IN SRI LANKA ?

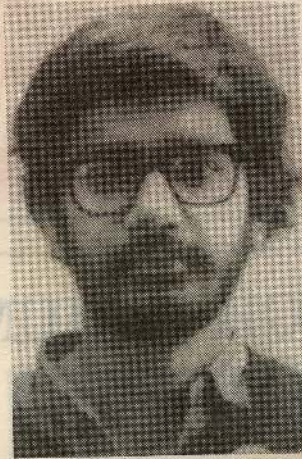
By K.Mani, London.

I hope the majority of the British public will be duly perturbed by the decision of the High Court in refusing the stay of deportation order issued to Mr.Mendis by the Home Office. The British Government seems to feel that things are quite normal in Sri Lanka. But it is well-known to the people and the government of the U.K that there are still mass killings, kidnappings, torture and instant justice committed by the Sri Lankan government. Amnesty International has time and time again accused the Sri Lankan government of many excesses committed by them. Even as recently as 20.6.88 Amnesty International, in its report on Sri Lanka, says that "torture, political murders and disappearances are still continuing in Sri Lanka." Under these circumstances, it is quite shocking that the Lord Judge accepted in good faith the letter received from the Sri Lankan High Commissioner as being relevant in deciding the case for deportation of Mr.Mendis. If the British Government were likewise to accept the formal statements of the Sri Lankan government about the alleged 'normalcy' existing there, it would be the beginning, I am afraid, of a shameless compromise on the part of the British Government to acquiesce in the machinations of the Sri Lankan government at the expense of thousands of Sri Lankans seeking political asylum and are resident in the U.K.

I wonder how the Sri Lankan government would guarantee the safe return of Mr.Mendis when, as it has been aptly pointed out, it could not even guarantee the safety of its own Cabinet Ministers. Apart from the Sri Lankan government wreaking vengeance on any one, (including Mr.Mendis I would expect), supporting the just cause of the Eelam Tamils (thousands of Tamil and Sinhalese youths have disappeared), the extremist Sinhalese organisation, the JVP, would not hesitate, as it has done in the past, to liquidate any moderate Sinhalese expressing solidarity with the Tamils. Thus, it would seem that Mr.Mendis will be a potential target not only for the government but also for the JVP.

I am sure the British Government is aware of the scores of Sinhalese youth tortured and killed by the Sri Lankan government just because they happened to oppose its unjust policies towards the Eelam Tamils. **What then could prevent the Sri Lankan government from meting out 'instant justice' to Mr.Mendis on his**

deportation to Sri Lanka? Will he be safe?



**I am therefore appealing through your columns to the people and the government of the U.K to help defer the deportation of Mr.Mendis to Sri Lanka until such time as the situation returns to normal and to afford him freedom of movement, and choice of residence as is normally given to anyone lawfully resident in the U.K. Just because Mr.Mendis happens to be identified with the leftist movement in Britain, it should not in any way prompt the British Government to single him out for deportation to Sri Lanka under the pretext of unlawful extension of stay in Britain.**

\*\*\*\*

### PRABAHARAN HELD IN AWE AND ADMIRATION EVEN BY THE SINHALESE

I.Kumar, Manor Park, London

I wish to quote from a weekly column "Men and Matters" written by a Sinhalese journalist, *Kautilya* for *The Island* (8.5.88), in which he refers to Mr.Velupillai Prabaharan, leader of the LTTE:-

*On the run, his LTTE's military capability greatly reduced, Mr.Prabaharan remains nonetheless the central figure in a Sri Lankan conflict which even the most cussed Sri Lankan militarist was finally forced to accept as a politico-military struggle, with an important external aspect...*

*"... he is a born guerrilla, this man. Dislodged from his main base, the peninsula, and unaccustomed as he is to this new scrub-and-jungle terrain, he is prowling and probing the most sensitive 'border' areas (Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim), grasping instinctively the 'politics' of the current situation, and his own enhanced capacity for deadly mayhem and de-stabilisation.*

*"He is a strategist too. Militarily the*

*LTTE is perhaps at its weakest since the early 80s..... Yet, he knows weakness and strength are both relative to that of the opponent's, in this case, and right now, both the Indian and Sri Lankan governments....."*

As a Tamil, I am proud to read that appreciation coming from the pen of a Sinhalese journalist, who certainly has no love for Prabaharan. Kautilya would no doubt like to see Prabaharan captured, dead or alive, as would a few of our ex-battle-'scarred' (sorry, battle-'scared' would be more appropriate!) militant groups.

I am sure that the awe and admiration with which Kautilya sees Prabaharan in his column is indicative of an unconscious yearning in his mind about the need to have a similar great leader for the Sinhalese people. May be it is true. Prabaharan is doing a far better job for the Tamils, being a fierce guardian of their rights even at the cost of his life, than what J.R is doing, or what Mrs.B could do, for the Sinhalese, or what Rajiv Gandhi himself is doing for India.

**I am not, and I have never been, biassed towards Prabaharan, but my respect for him and his judgment in political matters has gone sky-high since the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord.** Whereas, some other militant groups had rushed in to register themselves as political parties with the Elections Commissioner of Sri Lanka, and then gone on to join the United Socialist Alliance, Prabaharan and the LTTE have proved that it is not political power for themselves that they are seeking, but the genuine rights of the Tamils and Muslims of Eelam towards which they are prepared to continue sacrificing their lives. I am sure that very soon every Tamil, whichever part of the world he lives in, would realise this and throw his full weight behind Prabaharan and the LTTE. The International Tamil Conference organised by the *World Federation of Tamils* was a watershed in the history of the Tamils and has certainly helped to accelerate this process. The scope and content of the conference, the widely representative nature of the participants, the quality of the debate and discussion and the resolutions arrived at mark out this conference as the most successful international Tamil conference ever held. The timing of the launch of the TVI could not have been more appropriate. You have filled a long-felt void in taking a very positive line of thought and showing the way ahead for the Tamils.

\*\*\*\*

## IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY !!

**A sixty per cent democracy in Sinhala Sri Lanka?** In terms of political arithmetic, if the Tamil electors of the North and the East are taken out, how does the percentage work out? That is how Provincial Councils elections went.

**And what of the Lalith Accord and its implications?** There are some obvious inferences that are necessary to be spelled out. The Jayewardene government has lifted the ban on the JVP. Even its leader, Rohana Wijeweera, is free to appear on public platforms. And this after Wijeweera has openly denied that the JVP was party to the Lalith Accord. **A member of the privileged majority Sinhalese Wijeweera and his party (the JVP) which has committed numerous acts of individual terrorism are free to act; and the proscription placed on the party and its members has been lifted.**

**This is different in the case of Sri Lanka's Tamil minority. The acknowledged and acclaimed leader, Velupillai Prabaharan, has a one million rupee reward placed on his capture, dead or alive. One hundred and thirty thousand Indian 'Peace-Keepers' are still involved in a search for this national leader. The LTTE is banned, and harassed by the 'Peace-Keepers'. The JVP is free to do as it wishes. Is this democracy?**

**What ever has happened to the Gandhi-Jayewardene Accord?** Lalith states that it was dead even before it was signed. The Indian government promised that certain *residuary matters* would be negotiated upon to meet the apprehensions expressed by the LTTE and Tamil political groupings. These have still to be settled. Meanwhile, democracy has been put in cold storage in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

In the midst of all this confusion in an embattled state, **the JR government seeks to amend the Constitution in an anti-democratic manner, in certain matters relating to the election of the President.** This however is a matter for the Sinhalese people.

As for the so-called autonomy *awarded* to the Provincial Councils, we prefer to reserve our judgment until the *residuary matters* have been negotiated upon. At the present time, a cursory glance of the Provincial Council List and the Concurrent List, indicates that what the JR government has given with one hand (the Provincial Council List), it has taken away with the other hand (the Concurrent List). An examination of the Governor's executive powers makes us wonder why there should be a Chief Minister and a Board of Ministers. These Ministers, in colonial Ceylon, would be somewhat similar to the Governor's Executive Council. This is not the language of reconciliation which is expected after a grave civil war and the intervention by the major regional power. Let not the world be deceived that the Tamils have been *pacified* by the *Peace-Keepers*, and their problems resolved by Provincial Councils.

**A great responsibility is therefore cast upon Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. As the Prime Minister of the major regional power and as the mediator who took on himself the task of solving the Tamil problem, he must ensure that President JR respects the confidence that he (Mr. Gandhi) has placed on him. Mr. Gandhi will have to monitor the progress of the implementation of the negotiated settlement. Little purpose will be served if the *Peace-Keepers* are asked to withdraw and President JR or his successors revert to the same game of persecuting the Tamil people.**

# TAMIL VOICE International

எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள் மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

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## VAGARIES OF LTTE!

### Saying one thing, doing another



The purpose of K.C.Pant's visit to Colombo was to witness the signing of an accord between the IPKF, the LTTE and perhaps the Lankan government, bringing to an end the fighting in Jaffna. But LTTE did not agree with the draft.

The stage was all set for a big show. Defence Minister K.C.Pant was to fly to Colombo on May 20. Accompanying him would be his two ministers of state and senior army officers including the GOC-in-C, southern command, Lt. Gen. Chatterjee, who is the overall commander of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. The army chief, Gen. Vishwanath Sharma, would also have been there but for his trip to Rawalpindi with the defence secretary and others.

The purpose of the Pant team's Colombo trip was to witness the signing of an accord between the IPKF, the LTTE and perhaps the Sri Lanka government, bringing to an end the fighting in Jaffna and paving the way for a political settlement. Reports indicated that Jayewardene had invited Mathia, a top leader of LTTE, to talks. But at the last minute the LTTE drew back. It did not agree with the draft of the accord.

That threw cold water on the Congress (I)'s electoral plans in Tamil Nadu. If the LTTE put its signature to any accord, the Congress (I) regime could sell it to the Tamil Nadu voters that all its efforts all the time were to protect the interests of the Tamils. Rajiv Gandhi would appear as the saviour of the Tamils rather

than the tormentor, as some opposition parties are portraying him.

But what was the hitch that developed at the last moment? Nothing is clear as yet, but *The Week* could gather a little information from Dinesh (not his real name), a senior member of LTTE's political committee. The tall bespectacled man was in Delhi recently on a secret visit.

Dinesh was accompanied by Guhan (not real name), who is resident in London where the Sri Lankan Tamils in Europe recently held a conference. (Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer was among the delegates from India). Dinesh who is not very articulate in English was assisted by Guhan.

**"Jayewardene would never allow any transfer of power to the Tamils",** said Dinesh. **"The 13th Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution passed by parliament in Colombo has wiped out any remaining hope of real power being conferred on the provincial councils. The councils have been given no worthwhile powers. They were supposed to get the powers to decolonise the Tamil areas of the Sinhalese settled there by Colombo. Instead, new programmes of colonisation are being carried out and the councils will have no say in the matter. They will also have no control over the police and will not have the financial wherewithal to implement plans for the economic development of their areas. For that the councils will depend on Colombo. In fact, the councils will be no better than municipalities."**

In LTTE's view, said Dinesh, Rajiv Gandhi is a victim of Jayewardene's wiliness. The incidents preceding the October 10 offensive by the IPKF were all cleverly manipulated by Jayewardene to make Rajiv Gandhi think that LTTE was itching for a fight, he said.

The IPKF and the Research and

Analysis Wing (RAW) have earned a bad name for themselves, according to Dinesh. The force is often referred to by LTTE and others as the **'innocent people killing force'**. By destroying LTTE, Dinesh said, India was destroying the Tamils' only shield against the Sinhalese army, the Pakistani forces deployed by Colombo before the July accord, the Mossad and the British and South African mercenaries. **"If we could fight them and survive, it was because we were a committed and disciplined force and we had the support of the people of the northern and eastern provinces. We still have that support, and the IPKF does not have any sympathy or support among the Tamils over whom it now rules."**

Dinesh complained that the RAW was trying to build up the discredited TELO, EROS and other militant groups and make them fight the LTTE. Individual RAW officers were sometimes acting on their own. According to an LTTE publication, one of the RAW officers associated with the LTTE and other Tamil organisations, probably before the July 1987 accord, was actually a CIA agent. He was found out and put behind bars without trial.

Dinesh is aware of the Congress(I)'s electoral compulsions in Tamil Nadu. But LTTE, he said, would not put its signature to any accord with the IPKF which would compromise its position. He denied Indian media reports that LTTE was a spent force and that the Tamil people were happy with the IPKF and looked upon it as a saviour.

Asked about reports that LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran had gone to some other country from where he would carry on the fight, Guhan replied, "Our leader is very much in Sri Lanka and he would always be by the side of the people for whom he is fighting." (S.C. Bhatt reporting for *'The Week'* of June 5-11, 1988)

## TIGERS SET 3 CONDITIONS ON ARMS

**"The Sri Lanka government as well as the government of India are now going back on all major points."**

The talks between the government of India and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have reached a crucial stage, with the Tigers laying down three conditions for handing over their arms.

**The three conditions are:**

First, the Sri Lankan government and the government of India should provide **adequate financial compensation** to the Tamil people in Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka for the property destroyed as well as the loss of life suffered during the action by the Sri Lankan and Indian armies.

Second, there must be **substantial devolution of power** to the proposed provincial council and **'not as envisaged in the recent 13th Amendment to the Sri Lanka Constitution'**. (The LTTE as well as all the opposition parties in Sri Lanka have rejected the 13th Amendment as *mere eyewash*)

Third, the proposed **interim government should be formed** along the lines agreed on Sept.28 between the Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, J.N.Dixit, and the LTTE.

(That agreement envisages a dominant position for the Tigers in the proposed provincial government with the exclusion of all other Tamil militant groups).

A Political Affairs committee member and LTTE spokesman in Madras, S.Subramaniam, told *India Abroad* that **"lasting peace in Sri Lanka is possible only if these three basic conditions are met to our satisfaction."**

**"The LTTE has always been willing to hand over arms", he said. "Handing over of arms has never been an issue with us as it is made out by New Delhi. But what must be clearly understood is that we will lay down arms only if the three basic conditions are met in full."**

**Subramaniam was highly critical of the 13th Amendment**, saying, "The proposed provincial councils will have the same powers as a municipal corporation. This is what the 13th Amendment has done. We will not accept it under any circumstance.

**"The Sri Lanka government as well as the government of India are now going back on all major points which were mutually**

**agreed upon during negotiations on the eve of the accord last year. We sometimes feel we have been betrayed by both governments."**

He was categorical in asserting that the LTTE **"will not lay down arms unless the conditions set by us are met."** While the LTTE wants peace to prevail, **"We will not compromise"**, he said. **"If our demands are not met we will continue our struggle.** On our part, we are prepared for prolonged guerrilla warfare with both the Sri Lankan and the Indian armies."

**Talks not progressing**

Subramaniam said that while the talks between the LTTE and New Delhi are continuing, "I would not say they are progressing rapidly. We have made our proposals clear to the government of India. Now it is for them to act on it", he said.

Meanwhile, the former Jaffna commander of the Tigers, Kittu, continues to be under house arrest in Madras. Armed policemen stand guard outside his house in Indira Nagar, and no one is allowed to see him. He is even denied access to a telephone. (By courtesy - *India Abroad* - May 27, 1988)

## THE STORY OF AN ILL-TREATED GRANDMA

By Prof.Kopan Mahadeva, Birmingham.

My children dear, come near to hear  
A story novel and true,  
Of how a band of youth like you  
Conquered injustice and fear.

A Grand Old Dame of sweetness rare -  
Tamil's her name, world-wide her fame,  
Lay gagged and bound in the Pearly Isle  
For forty years, through politics vile.

Her sons tried, and vied hard to free  
By peaceful means and wit and tact,  
Their dearest Mom, their G.O.D.,  
But succeeded not - even with pacts.

Then grew up her grandsons, daughters, dared  
And swore to do their rightful share:  
"With dignity and will, our main arms,  
We'll win, or die with minimum harm."

With Tamil in chains, their lives lacked hope;  
Death, to them, gave far less to grope.  
They'd nil to lose but new worlds to steer,  
So, fought like wounded tigers - transcending fear.

The rulers could only understand  
That dreadful language of bloodshed!  
They let go the captive Lady Grand -  
The clouds in their minds having fled.

Then, Pearly Island regained its fame  
Under a much reformed and mature King  
Who brought things to a happy ending  
Enthroning as queen, that Grand Old Dame.

This story backs our ancestors' goal  
That human conflicts must be resolved  
Through Peace, Counsel, Compromise or Force -  
With Force as the very last resort.

## THIRUKKURAL

கேட்டிலும் உண்டோர் உறுதி கினைஞரை  
நீட்டி ஆளப்படுதோர் கோல்.

**Kerddinum oondu oar Uruthi Kilainarai Needdi Alappathor Koal**  
(Transliteration).

**"Even in misfortune there is good for misfortune is the yardstick  
wherewith one can fully measure the loyalty of friends. (Translation).**

We say that we have friends and we do say too that so and so is our best-friend. Thus we have friends of different degrees and varying qualities. But selom do we pause to ask the question "What is friendship"? Let us today ask this question. What is friendship? Friendship is that which prevents ways leading to ruin, persuades entry into ways that are right and shares the suffering in the time of adversity. In otherwords friendship may be said to be the readiness, willingness and solicitude of a person to help his acquaintance even as how the hand of a person spontaneously rushes when his garment slips away from his waist. It may be, as we have seen, easy to define friendship, but how can one test whether one is a real friend or not? What this test is contained in the 796th Kural of the Thirukkural and that test is the subject matter of this article on Thirukkural.

Whether a person is a friend or not can be tested only in one's adversity. There will be thousands of friends surrounding you like honey bees when you are doing fine: You must see how many of them stand by you when you are in difficulty, powerless and penniless. If there is one who is by your side even when you have hugged poverty and misery then he is a true friend, a friend indeed.

**"When the pond is full and the fishes are abundant-many are the birds that throng the bank of the pond as if the pond is a bosom friend of theirs. But when the pond becomes dry and the fishes are**

finished none of the birds that swarmed the pond bank could be seen there. They all go away like the fleas and the mites that desert a dead ox. It is only the water plants like "Oddi" and "Aampal" that share the misfortune of the pond and perish. It is only the people of the quality of "Oddi" and "Aampal" who can be called true friends" says the great Avvaiyar.

Adversity is unbearable and unwelcome. It is bad. But if one is discreet, one will find that there is something good about that also. What is it? Adversity gives one the opportunity to test his friends; that adversity serves as the real touchstone to see whether a person who masquerades as a friend is a real friend or an opportunist. Thiruvalluvar attempts to hammer into our head the hard fact that there is no situation that is absolutely bad, and that everything has something good about it and that we must make the best out of the worst. In otherwords positive thinking and optimistic orientation are essential for one's success in life.

Let us try to understand the Kural under consideration with the help of a story we know. Kumbhakarna is a well known character in the Ramayana. He was the younger brother of Raavana, but was elder to Vibhishana. Like Maareesa his uncle and his younger brother Vibhishana he also did not approve of the kidnapping of Sita and her confinement in Ashok Vana. He advised Raavana to release Sita and befriend Rama. But

Raavana's amorous and immoral passion for Sita and his over confidence in his superiority made him deaf to logic and blind to arithmetic. Kumbhakarna knew that defeat and disaster were imminent. He continued to advise his brother Raavana even in the face of courting the murderous wrath of Raavana. But Raavana would not listen. When Raavana's intransigence grew adamant and he ordered Kumbhakarna to get out of the place if he was not prepared to do as he (Raavana) commanded, Kumbhakarna, begged of his mighty brother to excuse him for all his lapses of the past, entreated him to return Sita in the event of his death in the battle field and rushed to the battle field like a hurricane.

When Raavana decided to go his own way, Vibhishana for right or wrong reasons, decided to desert him and to join the foe however great, just and divine that foe might be, and having gone to the foe even agreed to be crowned as the would be king of Lanka. But Kumbhakarna decided to perish with his kith and kin rather than join with the enemy to aid and abet the killing of his dear and near. At the battle field when Vibhishana tried to win Kumbhakarna over to the side of Rama by offering the Kingdom of Lanka (upon the sure death of Raavana) he told that he had gone to the battle field to fight Rama and not to receive crumbs and that he will not get back home without laying down his life for his dear brother Raavana who fed him bred him and gave his all to him to make him worth his salt

It is persons of Kumbhakarna's calibre and quality who stand by their kith and kin and the dear and near during times of adversity, down fall and suffering who could be called friends; others are hypocrites and time servers. They are found out during times of adversity and crisis.

### WRITTEN PACT

A move initiated by the Indian government earlier this month to end the conflict in Sri Lanka has suffered a setback, with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam insisting that the 'understanding' reached earlier be formalised in writing.

Sources close to the LTTE here say the militants told the centre it should ask Sri Lankan President J.R.Jayewardene to give written assurance that he would 'implement in full' the pact signed between J.N.Dixit, Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, and the

LTTE chief, Velupillai Prabaharan, last Sept.28.

This agreement envisages the merger of northern and eastern Sri Lanka and the creation of an interim provincial council, in which the LTTE will have a big share.

LTTE sources in Madras say that the militants would be willing to give up arms if Jayewardene agreed to implement the Sept.28 pact without preconditions. The Centre should secure written assurance from Jayewardene on this score, the sources say, because the militants believe that with the election to the provincial councils due next

month, "he is certain to go back on the Sept.28 agreement to placate the Sinhalese voters."

Another well placed LTTE source adds, "we have made the position very clear to the government of India, and it is now for New Delhi to act in the matter."

Meanwhile, Prabaharan has sent a message to the Organisation of African Unity urging it to prevail on the Indian government to 'abandon its militaristic approach and initiate negotiations with the LTTE to find a peaceful, negotiated settlement to the Tamil issue.'

# FUTILE EFFORT TO SETTLE THE SRI LANKAN PROBLEM BY MILITARY MIGHT

*A letter addressed to Shri Rajiv Gandhi by Dr. Brian Senewiratne, M.A.(Cantab), M.B.B.Chir.(Cantab), M.D.(Lond), F.R.C.P.(Lond), F.R.A.C.P. of Brisbane, Australia, is reproduced. Dr Brian Senewiratne is one of the very few Sinhalese who continue to express their candid opinion on the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. From time to time he has been espousing the Tamil cause. It is hoped that this would enlighten the South Block.*

## OPPOSED TO VIOLENCE

I am writing to express my concern at your handling of the Sri Lankan situation. I am a Sinhalese and a doctor of medicine uninvolved in politics. I am a strong supporter of Amnesty International and as such am opposed to violence, be it the violence of armed groups or of governments.

Over the years I have closely monitored the escalating conflict in Sri Lanka and the tragic fate of the Tamil minority. **I hoped that India would put some pressure on the repressive regime in Colombo to see that the Tamil minority were allowed to live with equality and without discrimination.**

## A WEAK ACCORD

I was surprised and dismayed at the terms that you thought fit to sign in your Agreement with President Jayewardene. This was such a weak document that even those of us uninvolved in politics could not see how it could bring either peace or normalcy which you stated were your objectives. I have set out the weaknesses of the Accord in the enclosed review which I wrote a few weeks after you signed it. If you disagree with this analysis, I will be glad to take up any specific points.

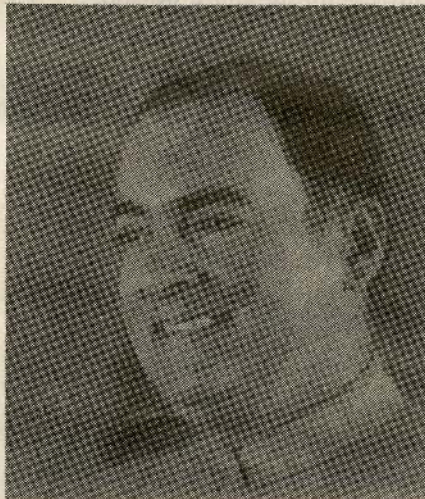
## INDIAN OFFENSIVE

In October 1987, I was appalled by the Indian military offensive which cost hundreds of civilian lives in Jaffna. Whatever the justification was for such an offensive, I think any reasonable person would conclude that **it was conducted in a manner that violated every norm of responsible behaviour. There is no circumstance that permits such an offensive to be carried out, with International Red Cross, Human Rights Groups and independent observers excluded from the area of conflict. It contravenes the Geneva Convention and all the laws that govern armed conflict. My observations**

were published in the enclosed paper.

## POLITICALLY IMMATURE

**Your government has persisted in a futile effort to settle the Sri Lankan problem by military might. You have not succeeded and you will not.**



**I am not a supporter of the LTTE or any other militant group but I think it is naive and politically immature to believe that one can successfully disarm thousands of armed men who are prepared to die for a cause, by military force. Armed men can only be disarmed if the cause which prompted them to take up arms is properly addressed and corrected. State violence or the violence of a so-called Peace Keeping Force is not an option.**

## NOT LEARNT FROM HISTORY

It amazes me that your government has not benefited from the history of armed conflict in Sri Lanka. Mrs. Bandaranaike tried just this in 1971 when she attempted to put down an armed revolt by militant Sinhalese youths by the exhibition of State violence - an attempt, I am sad to say, supported by India. What has been the result? 15 years later the same youths are back, armed even better than they were in 1971, and are now on a killing spree in

Sri Lanka's south.

It surprises me that, with this glaring example in Sri Lanka that state force is not a way to disarm armed men and your spectacular failure to do so in the Punjab, your government persists in its efforts to disarm Tamil militants in Sri Lanka. Your attempt will be no more successful than was Mrs. Bandaranaike's with the JVP in 1971 or Mr. Jayewardene's with the Tamil militants from 1977 to the time you started fighting this battle.

Sir, you have the necessary military strength to kill Mr. Prabaharan and even to crush the LTTE. However strong your military muscle may be, of one thing I am certain, you will not crush the legitimate and justifiable quest of the Tamil people to free themselves from Sinhalese domination. **If Prabaharan is killed, another, perhaps even more difficult to handle than Prabaharan will rise and replace him.** Such is the reality of liberation struggles and armed conflict. If the LTTE are crushed, as was the JVP in 1971, they will reform and rise up again, perhaps next year, the year after, or in five years' time. What you will achieve by your misguided military adventure in Sri Lanka is to damage the good name of India and to compound the already serious situation in Sri Lanka. By killing individuals, you will not eliminate the problem since others will take their place. You will only create martyrs. You already have created scores of Tamil martyrs, including women and children. You are bent on creating more.

## Sons and Daughters of Tamils

In your pursuit of a particular militant group, it is worthwhile remembering that these boys whom you are now in the process of 'liquidating' are the sons and daughters of the people of the North and East. Do you think that the civilians in the North and East

*continued on page 23*

# POLITICS AND PREJUDICE IN SRI LANKA

Edward Benedict, M.A., New York

Any objective analysis of the current conflict between the Sinhalese and the Tamils of Sri Lanka must take into account the extent of discriminative, political and economic actions taken against the Tamils on the basis of ethnic prejudice. This acrimonious political structural framework based on prejudice and myths has had inexorable consequences on the body politic of Sri Lanka. Also any discussion of value in regard to this ethnic conflict must take into account the erroneous zones of exclusiveness created by a programmed political effort to undermine and eventually exclude the Tamils from the mainstream of Sri Lankan polity. This exclusion of the Tamils conferred on the majority community the benefit of preferential treatment in the political and economic order. These boundaries of exclusiveness based on ethnic prejudice have rendered the Tamils powerless. This sense of powerlessness was engineered through a process of political actions rendering them the most delegitimised group in the Island's polity. Consequently, in the eyes of the Sinhala masses the Tamils appeared irrelevant and valueless.

Gordon Allport, a psychologist at Harvard University observes that, **'Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group. Prejudice is thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant'**.

In Sri Lanka, the nature of prejudice is not skin deep but it is soul deep. Prejudice against the Tamils among the Sinhalese masses is part and parcel of their psychic consciousness. It is pathological.

Attitudinally, prejudice in the existential order stems from many forms of anxieties, insecurities and fears whether they be real or imagined. **While perpetuating the Aryan myth which is an anthropological absurdity**, the Sinhalese power holders exercised control over the lives of the Tamils through the arithmetic of the ballot box and also established the Sinhalese superiority highlighting the Duttugemunu-Elara episode.

Under these very tragic circumstances, the application of political decisions taken against the Tamils, carries with them an indelible character of biological finality. **Prejudice in Sri Lanka is rooted in the false perception that the Tamils entered Sri Lanka in the role of invaders, intruders and therefore characterised as aliens to Sri Lanka.** These characterisations develop attitudes, and the attitudes in turn become institutionalised and inseparable from life processes. Therefore prejudice in Sri Lanka has longitudinal and cross-sectional dimensions. It is longitudinal because it cuts across life-history factors. It is cross-sectional because it puts socio-economic political forces at play. Further, in Sri Lanka, history, religion, cultural differences and language have all failed to provide solidarity functions, and thus polarisation ensued. Further, the concept of a nation-state as a political ideology was and still is inconceivable due to the fact that the peoples who live in Sri Lanka are not homogeneous. The concept of a nation-state is essentially European in character, and given the fundamental differences, this principle of nation-state cannot be applied in Sri Lanka. **Ceylon has always been one country but two nations. The so-called 'unity' is a colonial**

**invention.**

The fragile unity which existed in the post-independence era was shattered by Sinhala Buddhist revivalism. It was essentially differentiating and divisive. In essence and in effect it stressed the primordial loyalties. Sinhala nationalistic ideology was particularistic and not all-embracing. Their thinking centred around the Sinhalese people and their future. Fundamentally it was a Sinhalese nationalism. Sinhalese nationalism absorbed the colours of Ceylonese nationalism. In other words "Sinhalese" and "Ceylonese" were used interchangeably.

Prejudice is irrational, and by and large it fulfils irrational functions for the bearer. It is self-gratifying and self-fulfilling. The perpetrator of prejudice is also its victim. Feelings of prejudice based on hatred and envy are not glints of poisonous evil, but clearly an avalanche of disaster to the entire nation.

*Deep rooted in the Sinhala consciousness is a historical grievance against South India, nurtured by scholars and the Buddhist clergy, and kept alive by politicians*, observes K.M.de Silva, a Sinhala historian. **The Sinhalese must stop settling scores with history and proceed to take concrete measures to share political power with the Tamils on the basis of equality.** Failure to find a political model which can incorporate the highest political aspirations of the Tamils, will inevitably result in the ultimate decimation of the country.

History of man is a history of struggle. It is our contention that these rights to be a free people do not come from the generosity of the state but arise from the very ground of our being. To us Tamils, the Thimpu declaration is fundamental. Any resolution must include the principle of equality. Sharing of political power is what we seek; not administrative devolution from the centre. Until then we will not rest.



## INDIANS CHARGED WITH BRUTALITY BY AMNESTY

The Amnesty International, in its reports published in London in June 1988, charges the Indian Peace Keeping Forces in Sri Lanka of killing and raping unarmed civilians and 'other acts of brutality'. In some cases, Indian soldiers have been court-martialled.

Amnesty says that a version of its report was submitted to President Jayewardene on March 1, 1988, as discussion document for a proposed Amnesty mission to Sri Lanka. The government's reply had been that an Amnesty delegation could not be received "at this stage."

The Amnesty International recommends that independent commissions should be established to investigate impartially all cases of torture and 'disappearances' which should be allowed to look into all complaints of reprisal killings, whether by the Indian or Sri Lankan security forces.

### HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY THE INDIAN PEACE KEEPING FORCES (IPKF)

After its troops entered Sri Lanka, the IPKF faced increasing charges of human rights violations, notably after it started its military offensive to disarm the LTTE. Many of these allegations were made by the LTTE itself and most could not be substantiated, being hard to have them corroborated by independent observers. Nevertheless, several first hand and independent reports of such violations later became available. In particular, members of the IPKF were accused of raping Tamil women and of deliberately killing dozens of unarmed Tamil civilians, among them elderly people, women and children. Even though Indian Government spokesmen said that those killed were members of the LTTE or civilians who had been killed in 'crossfire', evidence mounted that in several cases the victims were non-combatant civilians apparently shot without provocation or in reprisal for the killing of IPKF men by the LTTE. No such complaints were made against the IPKF, however, during their most recent

military operation in February when they conducted a major operation for hunting down LTTE members in Batticaloa.

For example, on the night of 12/13 October, 1987, Indian commandos descended by helicopter to capture the LTTE base near the Jaffna university campus at Kokkuvil, two miles from Jaffna, in the course of a major Indian military operation launched to obtain control of the Jaffna peninsula from the LTTE.



29 Indian commandos were reported shot dead by the LTTE, but several others fled and allegedly killed an estimated 40 non-combatant Tamil civilians living in the area. Relatives of the victims said that several IPKF



soldiers took refuge in nearby houses and shot the inmates at point blank range, including women and children. An elderly couple was shot on October 13 in their house at Pirampady Lane, Kokkuvil.

Allegations that Indian forces deliberately killed non-combatant civilians were also made in the Indian

press. On 27 October, for example, Indian forces launched their first aerial attack on the LTTE stronghold in Chavakachcheri. An Indian journalist present in the area reported that the IPKF had deliberately struck at civilian targets. At least 20 civilians were reported killed and witnesses were reported as saying that many of the victims were non-combatant civilians shot at the local market.

In eastern Sri Lanka, Tamils as well as Muslims were alleged to be victims of such indiscriminate or reprisal killings. In many cases, there were conflicting reports about the nature of these killings and as to who carried them out. Specific allegations were difficult to confirm because of denial of access to outsiders. For example, the local citizens' committee was denied access to the village of Kaluwanchikudy, 16 miles south of Batticaloa, to investigate allegations that 14 civilians had been killed in reprisal by the IPKF after four IPKF soldiers had been killed on 23 October in a landmine explosion. An Indian government spokesman claimed that only three people were killed, and that too in fighting, not as a measure of reprisal. But, an independent observer present in the village said that Indian soldiers had got out of control, and civilians had been killed as a result.

The Indian government assumed responsibility for one of these alleged extrajudicial killings. On 22 November it court-martialled a soldier who had the previous day killed two Muslims and wounded five others when he fired on a crowd near the Trincomalee clock-tower. The Sri Lankan government has been investigating conflicting reports of another incident in which at least 25 Muslim civilians were shot dead in the eastern village of Ottamavadi on 2 December. The IPKF maintained the victims were killed in crossfire, but residents said villagers were indiscriminately killed after nine Indian soldiers had been killed in an LTTE ambush. To Amnesty International's knowledge, this is the only instance of

*Continued on page 23*

# TAMIL EELAM NEWS

## 7 IPKF SOLDIERS KILLED

The LTTE, in a statement issued to Reuters on June 11, claimed that they had killed seven Indian soldiers and destroyed their jeep by one of their landmines in Panichankerni in the eastern province of Batticaloa. No one from the Indian High Commission was forthcoming to comment on this report.

\*\*\*\*

## EPRLF IN FR. CHANDRA'S MURDER ?

Reports reaching from Batticaloa indicate that the Eelam Peoples' Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) was behind the killing of the outspoken voice of Eastern Province, Fr. Chandra Fernando. They considered Fr. Chandra to be a supporter of the LTTE. Since the IPKF operation in Batticaloa, the EPRLF and other anti-social elements have taken the upper hand with the backing of the Indian forces. Killing of Fr. Chandra is an indication of the extent of support the EPRLF is getting from the IPKF.

\*\*\*\*

## MULLAITIVU UNDER AIR ATTACK

Reports reaching us from Mullaitivu District in Sri Lanka confirm that the Indian security forces are bombing and strafing the jungles and residential areas since 22nd June under the code name *Operation Virat*.

*Naayaaru, Semmalai and Kumula Munai came under heavy air attack. Indian Air Force helicopter gunships and bombers are being used in the operation. The attack is said to be continuous and 'Napalm' bombs have been used. Schools, houses and government buildings are being destroyed in these attacks. People are unable to escape the area as the Indian army has encircled the jungle. Unconfirmed reports state that the civilian casualties in the area will run into many hundreds. Jungles are on fire and scores of animals have been killed.*

\*\*\*\*

## INDIAN FORCES ATTACK CIVILIANS

Immediately after the death of two IPKF men in the hands of the Tigers in Pt. Pedro, the Indian soldiers took revenge on the civilian population mercilessly. They cordoned off the three-mile area surrounding the incident, attacked everyone irrespective of age

and sex. Young boys were asked to lie down on the road and soldiers walked over them. They beat them with iron rods and belts and many sustained severe injuries. The headmaster of Katakovalam Junior School, Mr. Ammiahpillai Karunanithy, was admitted to the hospital with injuries in his left hand. Before they attacked Mr. Karunanithy they asked him, "Thumare naam kiyahai." When he said Karunanithy they beat him severely. Another person by the name of Arunachalam Sivalingam (48) succumbed to his injuries in the Manthikai Hospital. About 3,000 people were arrested in the Pt. Pedro area and were left on the beach, under guard, several hours without any food or drink by the IPKF after the killing of the two soldiers.

\*\*\*\*

## YOUTH DIES UNDER IPKF CUSTODY

IPKF based in Navatkuli recently arrested a youth from the same area for interrogation. His body was later handed over to the Jaffna Hospital with severe wounds. The name of the victim is Rajkumar (16).

\*\*\*\*

## FISHERMEN DEMONSTRATE IN VADAMARADCHI

Fishermen's Association of Vadamaradchi in Jaffna peninsula organised a demonstration on 24th June demanding the withdrawal of the embargo on fishing and an immediate ceasefire between Indian army and LTTE. About 5000 people participated in the demonstration. The procession which started at Valvettithurai went through Polikandy and ended at Nediyaakaadu with a mass meeting. A two-point petition was handed over at the IPKF camp at Polikandy. The IPKF did not allow any photographers throughout the procession and the meeting.

\*\*\*\*

**TAMIL WOMEN STRIPPED**  
*The IPKF took all the male population into custody in the Puthukudiyiruppu, Muthaiyan Kaddu, LV.Colony, Malthalan, Iranai-palai, Ananthapuram and Pokkanai areas in the Mullaitivu District. Several women were paraded naked along the streets to the nearby army camp and various parts of their bodies singed with cigarettes when they attempted to*

*cover their nudity. The incident took place on 22nd June.*

\*\*\*\*

## IPKF SEARCH AND DESTROY IN JAFFNA

The Indian soldiers have stepped up their search-and-destroy operations in the Jaffna peninsula. A number of hit-and-run attacks on the IPKF posts by the LTTE is a major worry for the IPKF. The Tamil Tigers detonated a landmine under a lorry killing an Indian soldier and seriously injuring another in Kilinochchi. One Sri Lankan Army officer was injured in the Trincomalee sector when LTTE attacked a Sri Lankan logistics column using small arms. Heavy fighting is reported to have taken place in Vavuniya at the police post near Vavuniya G.A.'s residence.

\*\*\*\*

## TELO OFFICE BOMBED

The office of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) in Vavuniya was destroyed in a blast by about midnight on Friday, 17th June. According to the security sources, the blast is believed to have been caused by a bomb set off by members of the rival group PLOTE. The office was on the top floor of a two-storeyed building in the Main Street of Vavuniya town. On the following day the body of a TELO supporter was found close to the Poonthoddam tank. It is suspected that he had been shot by the man who had set off the bomb.

\*\*\*\*

## PLOTE WANTS IPKF WITHDRAWN

"It will be good if the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) goes back at the earliest", said the leader of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), Mr. Uma Maheswaran. He asserted in an interview that his group never accepted the July 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. There was immediate reaction from the Indian High Commission to Uma Maheswaran's statement. They alleged that the PLOTE had reached an understanding with the LTTE. Uma Maheswaran said that the peace accord should have been signed between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. "As long as foreign powers are here, misunderstandings between Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims will only increase. It will never come down. If they go, there will be some sort of understanding."

# SRI LANKAN NEWS

## TWO UNP MEMBERS KILLED BY POLICE

Two UNP members were shot dead during the third round of the Provincial Council elections. It happened when a generator in Akuressa electorate went off with a bang. The area was plunged in darkness and the police, thinking they were under attack, opened fire. When the lights came on they found they had killed the UNP branch president and another member.

\*\*\*\*

## GANG HOLDS UP YARL-DEVI

Men armed with pistol and kris knives held up the Colombo bound Yarl-devi train at Ganewatte in Kurunegala. They robbed passengers of cash, jewellery and other valuables. Passengers had been threatened and ordered to hand over all their valuables. It is believed it was a preplanned raid by Sinhalese hooligans.

\*\*\*\*

## INDIA'S TERRITORIAL AMBITION EXTENDS ?

To extend its influence in the Pacific region, India attempted to smuggle arms and ammunitions to the troubled island of Fiji. An Australian source was quoted as saying that a shipment of Soviet-made arms destined for Fiji, including those seized in Sydney, had been loaded in Sri Lanka by Indian soldiers. The documents showed that the container, which held 16 tons of arms including AK-47 rifles, sub-machine guns, mortars, hand and rocket-propelled grenades, anti-tank mines and ammunitions, was loaded in a port in North Yemen. The papers were falsified, the Australian source said. It said the container was in fact loaded at a port in Sri Lanka by the Indian soldiers. The ship belongs to the state-owned Ceylon Shipping Corporation.

\*\*\*\*

## VOTING PATTERN IN THE SOUTHERN ELECTIONS

A total of 349,436 persons voted in the provincial elections in the Southern Province, held on June 9, 1988.

	No.voted	Percentage	U.N.P.	U.S.A.	Rejected
Galle District:	236,440	42.17	119,309	81,423	22,561
Percentage			21.28%	14.52%	9.54%
Matara District:	90,280	20.34	56,357	22,319	11,604
Percentage			12.70%	5.00%	12.85%
Hambantota District:	22,716	7.97%	17,366	1,420	2,114
Percentage			6.18%	.49%	9.30%

If this trend is continued, the political pundits believe that the number of votes in the North and East will not

be more than about 130,000 (estimated IPKF men) out of the total registered voters!

## WHITE FLAGS IN JAFFNA

A white flag campaign was mounted in Jaffna recently calling for an immediate ceasefire and negotiations between India and the LTTE to end the ongoing conflict.

According to reports reaching here from Jaffna, houses, shops and vehicles carried white flags and people wore badges calling for a ceasefire. The campaign is reported to have been organised by the former Municipal Commissioner of Jaffna, Mr.C.V.K. Sivagnanam.

The campaign comes in the wake of speculation that talks between the LTTE in Madras and officials in New Delhi have intensified in the last few days and a ceasefire could be expected in the next couple of days. The Indian High Commission sources in Colombo, however, 'are not aware of any date for a ceasefire'.

## TAMIL NADU GOVERNMENT ORDER ON LANKA REFUGEES

The Tamil Nadu government has ordered its district authorities to register Sri Lanka repatriates in their respective districts and issue them a certificate, enabling them to go back to their land. The government is anxious to see that all the refugees who came to India after the outbreak of ethnic violence in July 1983, go back to the island, according to the chief secretary, Mr.M.M.Rajendran.

At present, there are only 5,000 destitutes in the three camps at Ramanaapuram, Trichy and Chithambaram, and steps are being taken to send them back to the island. Apart from destitutes, there are 94,135 other Sri Lankans scattered all over the State and efforts by the district authorities are on to locate them.

Already 7,314 certificates, covering 12,775 people, have been issued to the families so far. They will be entitled for a free sea passage, cash allowance and transfer of movable property.

Of the total of 1.34 lakh people who had

come to India, 39,980 persons were admitted to the camps as destitutes. Of them, 17,595 had either voluntarily left India or the camps. The remaining 17,670 refugees were repatriated to Sri Lanka in 33 batches by Indian Naval and Government ships during the period Dec.24, 1987 to June 8, 1988. (By courtesy - Indian Express - June 14, 1988)

## STATISTICS !

IPKF personnel in Tamil Eelam:

Troops ..... 130,000

Ratio to civilians ..... 1 : 22

Numbers killed in Tamil Eelam after Oct.10, 1987:

I P K F ..... 2,000

L T T E ..... 500

Civilians ..... 3,000

UNP politicians & supporters killed by JVP - 280.

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

**TAMIL  
REHABILITATION  
ORGANISATION**

**Contact:**

**Secretary,**

**7 Sitwell Walk**

**Stoney Gate,**

**Leicester LE5 5TZ**

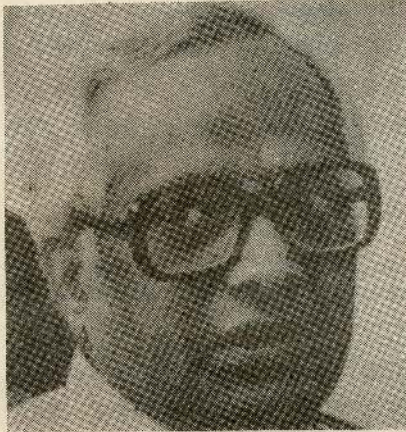
**U.K.**

**Phone:**

**(0533) 736363**

## AN AGREEMENT WITH A DISHONOURABLE INTENT

Supposedly secret, nevertheless much publicised, agreement between the Indian Government and the LTTE was entered into on 28th September 1987 in Jaffna.



The Indian Government delegation led by India's High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. J.N. Dixit, met the LTTE delegation led by its leader Mr. V. Prabaharan in Palali, Jaffna.

The two delegations had long discussions on 23rd, 26th and 28th September and concluded an agreement to set up an Interim Administrative Council for the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka.

The Interim Administrative Council was to be headed by a Chief Administrator/Administrator in Council, who was to be appointed from three nominees submitted by the LTTE.

The LTTE, a party to this agreement, has always demanded its implementation fully and fairly. Why does India refuse to honour its

own written agreement and pressurise the LTTE to surrender their arms on verbal and lazy assurances, that too given by the Indian Intelligence Agency - RAW??

When the assurances given by His Excellency the Prime Minister of India to Mr. Prabaharan, the Tamil leader, was not honoured; and subsequently a written agreement entered into by His Excellency the High Commissioner of India and Mr. Prabaharan was not honoured; the peace emissary Lt. Col. Johnny of the LTTE taken by the IPKF from Madras to Jaffna to meet Mr. Prabaharan was shamelessly murdered by the same IPKF, what credibility will the (verbal) assurances given by the Indian Intelligence Agency have?

Having been let down by the Prime Minister, his High Commissioner, and their army commanders, how does India expect the Tamils to trust the verbal assurances of the RAW ?

The composition of the I.A. Council of twelve members was:- LTTE -5; TULF - 2; Muslims - 2 (to include one nominee of LTTE); Sinhalese - 2; and the Chief Administrator (LTTE nominee).

The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord came into force in July 1987. Mr. Prabaharan did not accept that the Accord would resolve the Tamil demands and aspirations. As India was intent in signing the Accord, Mr. Prabaharan agreed to co-operate on receiving certain assurances from Prime Minister

Rajiv Gandhi. Until September of 1987, none of these assurances was complied with, and the LTTE successfully launched a mass civil disobedience campaign. One of the young political leaders Thileepan fasted till death seeking fair implementation of the Accord and the five demands put forward by the LTTE. He achieved martyrdom on September 26th.



The fasting Thileepan and crowd

India, as a result of this, hastened to arrive at an agreement with the LTTE to meet its justifiable demands, which were supported by all Tamils. However, the events that unfolded since signing this agreement makes one wonder whether India or Sri Lanka really intended to honour this, or was this a deception to deceive the LTTE and the Tamils?

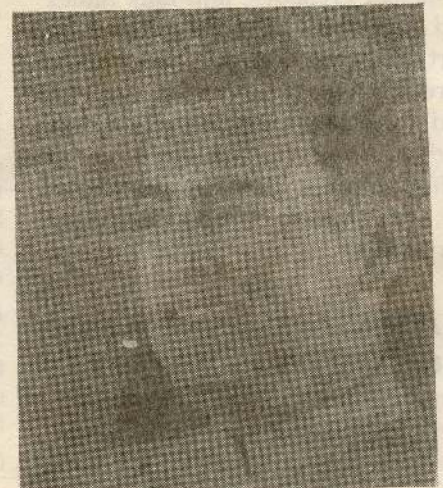
The only way India could extricate itself from this dilemma is by honouring this agreement and implementing its obligations and assurances to the Tamils.

## WHOM ARE THEY FOOLING ?

The Government of India claims to have had negotiations with the LTTE and tries to fool the Tamil Nadu, or perhaps the international community, or else whom? What understanding/accord has been reached several times with the LTTE? The LTTE denies having had any serious negotiations. TVI reliably understands that neither Mr. Rajiv nor Mr. Pant is prepared for negotiations of any sort until the LTTE surrenders their arms. LTTE is willing to surrender the arms gradually and not all at the same time in view of the distrust created by the Govern-

ment of India. They quote a number of incidents to prove their fear - e.g. Mr. Rajiv's OK for the removal of the 17 members of the LTTE to Colombo in Sept. 1987 being the first betrayal and the murder of Lt. Col. Johnny the last. Mr. Rajiv is not only intransigent, but untrustworthy too! We pity him, the grandson of the great Nehru, and, above all, the white hope of the great nation India. The Amnesty International exposes India's actions in its report issued on June 20.

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## MEDIA REPORT

### V.P.SINGH TRIUMPHS IN ALLAHABAD

The Jan Morcha leader, Mr. V.P. Singh, stormed the Congress (I) bastion of Allahabad defeating Mr. Sunil Shastri by 110,946 votes and thus crowning a series of Opposition triumphs in Thursday's (June 23) by-elections to seven Lok Sabha and eleven Assembly constituencies.

Mr. V.P. Singh polled 203,167 votes against Mr. Shastri's 92,221, the Electoral Officer, Mr. P.C. Chaturvedi

announced. Mr. Kanshi Ram of the Bahujan Samaj Party polled 68,836 votes while 65 other Independents lost their security deposits.

Describing his victory as a 'people's verdict against corruption', he told newsmen, "I had launched a Jihad (holy war) against corruption, and here is the verdict of the people. My victory will qualitatively change the face of Indian

politics."

Thanking workers of the Opposition parties as well as the people, Mr. Singh said the verdict "has proved beyond doubt that the Congress (I) Government led by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi at the Centre has no right to rule the country now as it was corrupt." *Courtesy - 'The Hindu' of June 25, 1988*

## FROM THE EDITORIALS

### ALLAHABAD AND BEYOND

The outcome of the Parliamentary and Assembly by-elections shows that there has been a substantial erosion of support for the Congress (I) since it strode to power some three years ago, even if it can be argued that there is no wave against it. There is a tendency to dismiss a setback in by-elections as something only to be expected for a party in power. But the results are fairly widespread - over seven Parliamentary constituencies and 11 Assembly segments in seven States - and this does point to which way the wind has started blowing. The most crucial battle was, of course, the one that was fought in Allahabad, and **the verdict has boosted the morale of the Opposition to no end.** Indeed, had Mr. Amitah Bachchan, who resigned in the wake of the controversy over his brother, contested again, the poll would have assumed even greater significance. With Mr. Sunil Shastri, who had little going for him beyond the memory of his father, defending the fortress, it was clearly an unequal fight. And yet, the Congress (I) in its campaign had made Mr. V.P. Singh the issue and thus turned the election into a virtual referendum over the course he has taken ever since he quit the Government following the controversies over economic offences and arms deals. In the event, the Allahabad verdict provided the massive endorsement Mr. Singh has been waiting for - and 'prove' to the world outside that what he has been saying about the leaders of the party in power was no empty rhetoric. The

Government's handling of the scandals that cropped up in the recent period, particularly the Bofors and the HDW deals, had for sure not enhanced its credibility. By seeking diversions, by dismissing serious allegations with counter charges of conspiracy, by going after those making disclosures rather than the offenders and by not bestirring itself enough to locate the recipients of pay-offs, it had created the feeling that there was something to hide. That feeling now would be more difficult to shake off. There has been a sense of complacency in the air, supported by an element of propaganda, that issues such as Bofors are the preoccupation of those living in the ivory towers of metropolitan India and that the concern of the rest of the population does not extend very much beyond mundane bread and butter issues, and certainly not relate to debates on democratic propriety and corruption. Allahabad has called all that glib assumption into question and going into the recent elections deeply, the Congress (I) will find that it will have to come up with a radical change of thinking and action if it is to regain the kind of credibility that it was able to muster on occasion under the leadership of Indira Gandhi.

How does the picture look in its entirety? In Haryana, the Lok Dal (B) of Mr. Devi Lal would seem to have retained its support, and for the Congress (I), any hopes of retrieving lost ground in the near future should have receded. There is, however, some

cheer for the ruling party; it has held its base together in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh where Mr. Arjun Singh has won comfortably. It even sprang a surprise by winning the Barabani Assembly seat in West Bengal from the CPI (M) - an outcome that should make the ruling Left Front sit up. But in Uttar Pradesh, where the core of its strength lies, its showing has been poor even looking outside of Allahabad. And if it has been quite disappointing in Gujarat, the loss of Udhampur in Jammu and Kashmir to the Panthers leader, Mr. Bhim Singh, should prompt the National Conference-Congress (I) alliance to ask itself what has gone wrong and where. In the Opposition, Mr. V.P. Singh has emerged taller than the rest, but it remains to be seen whether his shooting up so decisively would go down well with the other leaders who have not exactly shown themselves to be beyond personal rivalry and bickering. This is a crucial question, for the by-elections have confirmed the view that a united group of parties can pose a very serious challenge to the Congress (I) in the Hindi belt too. It is equally important to ask whether such getting together will endure if the purpose of forging the unity is solely to unseat the Congress (I) and nothing positive beyond that. It will certainly not, judging by the experience of the Janata rule and the governments in several States in the Sixties. *Editorial The Hindu (International Edition) - June 25, 1988*

# “PRABAHARAN THOUGHT OF SUICIDE BEFORE THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORD”

V. Gopalsamy M.P.

*Prabaharan was virtually held incommunicado at Room No.518, Ashoka Hotel, Delhi, surrounded by Indian black-head commandoes, while Rajiv tried to twist his arm and make him accept the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord that he was due to sign in Colombo.*

*It is now revealed that during those critical hours, Prabaharan's hands nearly reached out for the cyanide capsule hanging from his neck; that he declared that he had been stabbed in the back by Rajiv Gandhi; that he deplored that Rajiv had betrayed him and the Tamil cause.*

*Gopalsamy, MP (DMK), gave a blow-by-blow account of Rajiv's sordid cloak and dagger diplomacy, while speaking at the International Tamil Conference held in London recently. Gopalsamy, a fiery orator in English and Tamil, is fast becoming Rajiv's bete noire in the Rajya Sabha on the Tamil question.*

*We publish below a condensed version of Gopalsamy's speech at the International Tamil Conference: (Editor)*

I would like to bow my head in homage to the memory of those valiant sons and daughters of Tamil mothers who have laid down their lives, for the liberation of Tamil Eelam, in the battlefield. They are not dead. They live, up in the heavens, as stars of cherished dreams and serve as beacon lights to the posterity of the Tamils. They live, in their immortal sacrifice.

On behalf of Dr Kalaignar Karunanidhi, the President of DMK, and on my own behalf, I express my solidarity and support for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

It is the darkest hour in the history of the Tamils of Sri Lanka; a history of persecution and humiliation, a history of sorrow and suffering, a history of struggle and sacrifice, a history of agony and anguish, a history of pain and pathos, a history of facing sorrows and betrayals and a history written with tears and blood.

The tragedy of the Tamils is a heart-bleeding tragedy because there are sanctuaries in Sri Lanka even for wild

animals but there is no sanctuary for Tamils to live with dignity and decorum. For 30 long years, they have suffered persecution and plunder; murder and massacre. Their cultural trusses were destroyed. Even their places of worship were not spared. Our sisters and mothers were subjected to horrendous and indescribable indignities. No race in the world since the second World War has faced the onslaught of genocide as did the Tamil race.



## ACCORD BETWEEN A CRIMINAL AND A BETRAYER !

Jayawardene declared, "Within 90 days we will liquidate the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam." He had launched all the three forces in the years 1985, 1986 and the first part of 1987 but he had failed. **The armoured cars he had specially purchased from South Africa at a heavy cost -they were called Buffaloes - were blown to pieces, thanks to the mining technology of the LTTE.** The battle of Vadamadachi was a new heroic chapter in the annals of the war history of the world. The Tigers stopped the enemy forces re-enacting the *battle of the Spartans (428 BC)*. **Our heart goes out to Velupillai Prabaharan who has become a legend in his own lifetime, the guiding spirit and the founder leader of the greatest liberation movement in the world.**

It was then that Jayawardene

accepted the hard reality that he could not win the war against the LTTE. He could never liquidate them and he could never wipe out that motivated force. He is a very matured tactician, a diplomat, and a cunning jackal. He decided to have an accord with India - an accord between a criminal and a betrayer! This accord is a deliberate fraud committed by two Governments against the interests of the Tamils. This is not an accord between the warring parties; not between the oppressor and the victim. It is between a criminal and a betrayer.

## RAJIV'S CLOAK & DAGGER DIPLOMACY

The LTTE did not give their consent before Mr Rajiv Gandhi put his signature to the Accord in Colombo. Mr Prabaharan was tripped and trapped, brought to Delhi, and confined to room number 518 at Ashoka Hotel. On 29th July, on the very day the Accord was being signed in Colombo, I went to Ashoka Hotel. I managed to go near the door of room number 518. I was stopped by the blackhead commandoes. I was not permitted to enter and was asked to withdraw from the place immediately.

## “Stabbed in the back by Rajiv” Prabaharan said.

By 1 o'clock in the afternoon, Prabaharan talked to me over the telephone. His words are still fresh in my memory. To the day of my death they will remain fresh. He stated, "We have been betrayed by the Government of India, by Mr Rajiv Gandhi. I have been stabbed in the back." Then he said, in Tamil, "Brother, I am also wearing a cyanide capsule around my neck. I have thought of committing suicide but I cannot. There are thousands of my colleagues in Eelam. My brothers

**and sisters are there. I cannot take that decision."** I agreed with him that the accord was a big fraud perpetrated on the Tamils.

This accord is an empty shell. Let us look at sub-clause 3 of Clause 2. It goes on to say:- 'That there will be a referendum on or before 31st December 1988 to enable the people of the Eastern Province to decide whether the Eastern Province should remain linked with the Northern Province as one administrative unit and continue to be governed together with the Northern Province'. Sub-clause 6 of clause 2 states:- 'A simple majority will be sufficient to determine the result of the referendum.'

What this simply means is that the **Tamils of Eelam have been denied their homeland. They were not accepted as a nation. The accord is a fraud.** Has the Government of India, or anybody else on earth, got the audacity to tell the Palestinians "You have no homeland"? Have they got the audacity to tell the Blacks of South Africa that they have no homeland? But they tell the Tamils that they have no right to claim their homeland.

### **BLATANT VIOLATIONS OF THE ACCORD BY SRI LANKA**

Where is the Accord? It is dead and gone, in letter and spirit! Mr. Jayewardene, on the very next day after signing it, stated publicly amongst the Sinhala masses, "There is no need to fear about the merger of the two provinces, about the referendum. I myself will go and campaign against the merger." The accord has been thrown to the dustbin when the Sri Lankan Government claimed that they would get logistic military support from many countries of the world including Pakistan, Israel, China, USA and UK.

The accord had been relegated to the gutters when more than 10,000 Sinhalese were brought by the Sri Lankan government to colonise traditional Tamil homelands. It was to protest against this state-aided colonisation that Thileepan started his fast unto death. He died, without even taking a drop of water for 12 days. The Government of India ridiculed the fast undertaken by Thileepan. The Accord has been

buried a thousand fathoms deep when Thileepan died. The accord had been burnt to ashes and the ashes dissolved in the blue waters of the Bay of Bengal when 17 LTTE commanders, including Pulendran and Kumarappa, had to take cyanide capsule due to the betrayal, treacherous betrayal, by Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

The accord had made it very clear that the Sri Lankan troops were to be confined to their barracks as from 25th May 1987. **They had no business, they had absolutely no right to arrest the 17 LTTE men. When they were arrested and detained at Palali camp, the Indian commanders had rushed to the spot and they did throw a cordon around the Palali camp and warned the Sri Lankan forces: "These 17 LTTE men should not be moved out from this place." Prabakaran sent an urgent message to Mr. Dixit that the lives of the 17 LTTE men were precious. If they were permitted to be moved to Colombo they would be tortured. They would commit suicide if such an attempt was made and it would precipitate disastrous consequences. This message reached the desk of the Hon. Prime Minister of India on 4th October. They had been arrested on 3rd October. Rajiv Gandhi wanted to blackmail Prabakaran; he wanted to bully him, in pursuance of which he took an unpardonable and heinous decision. An urgent message was sent to the Indian commanders that the Indian cordon around Palali should be withdrawn, so that the 17 LTTE men could be thrown before the wolves.** As predicted by Prabakaran they decided to take cyanide capsules and die, which created spontaneous attacks of reprisal. More than 150 Sinhalese were killed. And we heard shouts of protest against these killings from the Indian Government as well as from many parts of the world. But these protestors never cared when more than ten thousand Tamil people were butchered in Sri Lanka.

### **ANOTHER NUREMBERG TO DEAL WITH WAR CRIMES OF IPKF**

**I asked Mr Rajiv Gandhi on the floor of the Indian Parliament,**

**whether the killing of 150 Sinhalese is a justification for waging war against the LTTE. Nearly ten thousand Sikhs were butchered and shot dead in cold blood, were burnt alive in the aftermath of the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi. Mr Rajiv Gandhi replied before the pressmen that when a big tree falls the earth is bound to shake!! I dip my head in shame, as a citizen of India, for the cruel, savage and dastardly killings of doctors, nurses, and innocent patients at the Jaffna Hospital by the IPKF. I dip my head in shame for the dynamiting of the Press offices in Jaffna by the IPKF.**

Here is an affidavit signed by Mr. Krishnapillai Srisantha Raja, 50 years old, a labourer in Valvettithurai. It is a very tragic story about his son. They were even hung by their feet, upside down, and beaten. The son, Paramanathan, succumbed to the injuries he sustained, in his father's immediate presence. Later on, on 18th November 1987, some of the IPKF personnel took the father and the other remaining five detainees to the open space at Vallai, along with the corpse of Paramanathan, where they buried him. Then they got the captives to dig six graves, asked one of them, Baburaj, to lie down in one of the graves and proceeded to shoot and kill him in the presence of all the other detainees. **One day or other, these dastardly crimes committed by the IPKF would be exposed to the world, in the same way as the crimes of the Nazi army personnel were dealt with at Nuremberg!**

When Mr Murasoli Maaran, leader of the DMK Parliamentary Group, condemned the genocide of the Tamils committed by the Indian Army, the Honourable Prime Minister lost his balance and dared to threaten, with dire consequences, anybody who dared to criticise the role of the Indian Army in Eelam.

Then I confronted Rajiv, on 11th November 1987 - this is from the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha of the Indian Parliament. I quote my speech: "If we tried to expose the crimes and atrocities committed against our kith and kin by the IPKF,

*continued on page 16*

you can call it even treason. If it is a guilty act to expose the highest crimes committed by the Government of India; if it is a guilty act to expose the crimes committed by the IPKF; if it is a guilty act to plead for justice for our people, then I am ready to say that I am guilty." Our Honourable Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said that dire consequences would follow, when Mr. Maaran uttered the word 'genocide' against India. We have faced many such consequences during the emergency rule in India. I suffered detention for more than an year during the emergency. There can be only one ultimate consequence on earth, that is the consequence of the gallows and I am prepared to face even the gallows for the sake of my brothers and sisters of Tamil Eelam. Then one member from the House shouted at me, "Are you for India or for LTTE?"

Then I stated, "Yes, I am for the LTTE first. I am a Tamilian first, then only an Indian. Therefore I am for LTTE."

But what sins have the LTTE committed? They are being hunted. What sins have they committed against the Government of India? Did Prabaharan shake hands with the assassins of Mrs Indira Gandhi? How many times have we pleaded for negotiations? How many letters have we written? This is the latest letter dated 9th March 1988. This is the letter from Prabaharan to Rajiv Gandhi. I quote the letter: "You will appreciate that our organisation has been appealing to you for peace, for cessation of hostilities, for negotiations, to put an end to this unfortunate conflict and to alleviate the suffering of our people. Morally and spiritually we are opposed to this war. We are always pleased to put an end to this painful tragedy which was not a choice of ours. In this context we regret to note that the Government of India has persistently rejected our urgent and sincere plea for peace. In so far as the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord is concerned, the LTTE is glad to cooperate with its implementation. We still insist that the implementation of the Accord should safeguard the interests and aspirations of our people. Our concern for the interest of the people is built on our legitimate fear of the chauvinistic attitude of the Sri Lankan regime which has already

faulted the Accord by failing to fulfil their commitments. I sincerely inform you of our readiness for unconditional talks to resolve all the matters between the Government of India and the LTTE."

**How many of our sisters have been brutally raped by the barbarian, uncivilised army of India?** Someone was offering an excuse in Delhi that the victims of rape are not prepared to come and discuss it. How could they? Our Tamil sisters, cherish chastity as dearer than their lives. Many of them have committed suicide.

#### IPKF : CAME TO TEACH! STAYING TO LEARN!!

**Godsey murdered Gandhi in 1948. This is 1988. Rajiv Gandhi has murdered the principles of Gandhiji.** Rajiv Gandhi bragged that they would take care of those 'boys', the LTTE. Within 48 hours the LTTE would be taught a lesson. But up to date it is the LTTE which is teaching a few lessons to the IPKF and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Nearly six months have passed. The IPKF has deployed more than 100 thousand troops in Sri Lanka, more than 200 tanks, helicopter gunships and naval warships. The fourth largest army of the world, is engaged in a war for the past six months and they have called it 'Operation Vairaa'. Our valiant brothers and sisters of the LTTE, have shown unbreakable resistance. They cannot be wiped out. They have bled their lives for the cause of Eelam. They have made a tryst with death, at the altar of the Goddess of Liberty. They are fighting this battle without food rations, without uniforms, without boots, without medicine. And, if anything had happened to Prabaharan, I shudder to think about that, the very name 'India' will become the object of curse in the minds of Tamils living all over the world.

It is the darkest hour. We are at a critical stage; at a fateful hour. Miscreants from all directions want to attack and kill the living spirit of Eelam. But, darkness always precedes dawn. We all long and crave to see the glimpse of dawn. **Prabaharan is a great war hero born amongst the Tamils, after many many centuries.**

**Oh, my Tamil Mother! Oh, Pro-**

**vidence! Let Providence bestow His blessings for a long long healthy life for my brother Prabaharan. Let the remaining years of the lives of people like me be given to the ablest commander of the Tamils. Let us all merge our forces together. Let us all unite ourselves. Let us all pool our resources together to strengthen the hands of the LTTE. Let the candle of freedom of Eelam be lit in every heart, in every hut, in every home, in every hamlet, in every village, in every town of Tamil Eelam. Let us all stand shoulder to shoulder and speak with one voice and with one heart that our motto is, as Tennyson said through Ulyssus, "To strike, to seek, to fight and not to yield." We shall never surrender. What moral right has India got to dictate terms to decide the political destiny of the Tamils? Therefore, it is high time for us, Tamils from all over the world, to unite. And our slogan hereafter should be - "Do not mourn. Do not shed tears. In fact, we have no more tears to shed. Rise. Mobilise public opinion internationally. Mobilise opinion to pressurise the Indian Government to stop this blasphemous betrayal of our brothers and sisters; to halt this barbaric war against the Tamil race; to order cessation of hostilities and initiate talks." That should be our aim of this Conference.**

Let us take a vow to dedicate ourselves to the noble cause of Tamil Eelam one day or another, the sooner the better. The majestic flag of independent, sovereign Tamil Eelam should flutter in the sky at the United Nations building in New York.

#### CHOPRA ADMITS

The following piece of secret information (*case file No:5301/1/G dated 14.11.87*) although received here late, confirms the atrocities committed by the IPKF during *operation Pawan* in Jaffna:

"On taking over area Urumpirai, Bus Stand area and Thirunelvely East, it is observed that there has been systematic destruction, plundering of each and every house and shop - as for your information, please - Capt. S.S.Chopra."



## “WE WOULD LIKE TO GIVE PEACE A CHANCE” - LTTE

By successfully stage-managing last fortnight's Provincial Council elections, Jayewardene has pulled off a major political coup and given new impetus to the Accord.

The pressure on India to reach an understanding with the LTTE has dramatically increased in the wake of the PC elections. Perhaps realising this, there has been a sudden flurry of parleys with the LTTE in Delhi and Madras for a cease-fire. Indian High Commissioner J.N.Dixit flew to New Delhi on May 6 to hasten the momentum from the Indian end.

As yet, however, **the ground reality in the north and east does not suggest that the time is right yet for the holding of elections.** Said Minister of Mobilisation, Ranil Wickremasinghe: “There is a marked reduction in violence but it has not ended. In the north, normalcy to enable civilian activity has been established. In the east, the IPKF does not claim even that.”

Athulathmudali who reflects popular Sinhala opinion says that Colombo has fulfilled its obligations under the accord. It is now up to New Delhi to follow suit. However, he went on to say, **“There is a military factor in tackling guerrilla warfare. But there is no military solution. The only final solution is to get the LTTE to join the political mainstream.”** Both India and LTTE are fully aware of this, and both are playing their cards accordingly.

Even as military operations to disarm the LTTE continue, India opened up political avenues with it by initiating ‘informal talks’ as early as on February 4. The LTTE is now in a conciliatory mood. Said a senior LTTE source: “We have reached a stage where we have two options - continue to fight India as an enemy, or see it as a friendly force. We've opted for the latter.” The LTTE has now agreed in principle to four hitherto intractable issues - lay down arms, support the accord, prepare for talks and join the political process.

The first goal of the current talks hinges on a convincing surrender of arms. Said an LTTE source: **“Policy-wise, we have taken a decision to hand over weapons. It's just a question of numbers.”** While the LTTE dismisses the importance of numbers, it is believed to have 3,000 pieces of

**weaponry, including rifles, artillery and rocket launchers. India insists on the surrender of 1,500 rifles. The LTTE claims it has only 500. “The gap is being bridged”, said the source.**

Asked whether the new conciliatory mood stemmed from a position of weakness in that they are clearly on the run, with a large number of their bases smashed, cadres killed, arrested or surrendered, and ammunition and funds running low, the source replied: **“It's true we've lost men and material but that is part of a guerrilla struggle. We derive satisfaction from the fact that we have demonstrated to the world that we are capable of resisting a super-power. Our conciliatory attitude is not from weakness. We have proved our point that we can't be fooled around with. Now we'd like to give peace a chance.”**

*India Today* of (May 31, 1988) learns that the LTTE has conveyed to India two conditions for it to join the political process and contest the PC elections - **setting up of an interim administrative council for six months while refugees and other Tamil political groups return to the north and east. The Tigers also want controlling interest as was offered to them soon after the accord.**

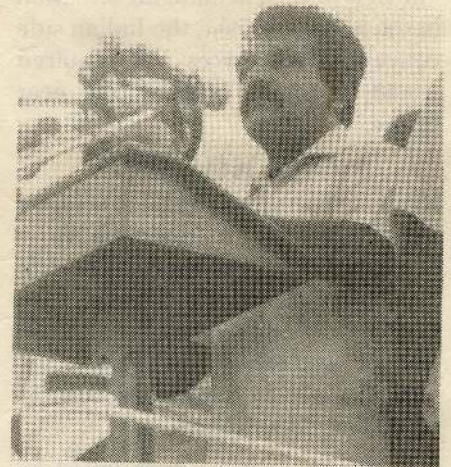
In the wake of the new developments, New Delhi is running out of time. **The IPKF has to put enough pressure on the LTTE to force them into a cease-fire. Audacious as this may seem, they still have some bargaining clout. First, they still have mass support. Second, unlike in the southern province, there is absolutely no political activity in Tamil areas and without LTTE co-operation it is virtually impossible to make a start in this direction.** Despite IPKF saturation in Jaffna, the Tigers have assassinated 40 informers in the peninsula in the last six months. Third, the Tigers are beaten but not crippled. They remain a guerrilla force with 3,000 members; and 1,000 fighters can tie down the IPKF in Sri Lanka for a prolonged time, even if ammunition is low and supplies remain cut off. The Tigers are primarily ‘explosives artistes’. Said an LTTE source: “While we are prepared for peace, we are simultaneously preparing also for a Vietnam-type situation, as a back-up

measure if we fail to come to an agreement with India.”

**But an agreement on an interim council is ruled out. It is learnt that both Jayewardene and Rajiv, at the Delhi meeting in January, came out strongly against the proposal because of their personal resentment of the LTTE. The militants' second demand - that powers devolved to the PCs be re-negotiated - has provoked India to say that it should be re-negotiated by the Tamils after they win the PC elections.**

Both Rajiv and Jayewardene would ideally like elections in the north and east by July. By next week, Jayewardene would have started the procedural formalities that would have his country ready for the parliamentary elections in July. And Jayewardene cannot face the Sinhalese electorate unless the IPKF begins at least a token withdrawal - which can happen only after the PCs are set up.

**India has to come to an agreement with the Tigers, not out of favour or recognition but out of sheer expediency; their exclusion from the political process would make it a meaningless exercise. Smarter by experience, the IPKF is launching another major round of military operations in the north and east to reduce LTTE's bargaining clout and to make one last attempt to marginalise the militants.**



**It is also understood that the IPKF is making an all-out effort to dredge out LTTE supremo V.Prabaharan - alive if possible, or dead if inevitable. They are convinced that no other leader among the Tigers can command the fierce loyalty of the cadres. In his absence, the force would**

*Continued on page 18*

flounder, which would solve all of India's problems at this juncture. Significantly, when asked whether the IPKF was instructed not to shoot Prabaharan if sighted, General Officer Commanding, Lt. General A.S. Kalkat, remarked, "No instructions have been issued either way."

The fact remains that the primary intent of IPKF's 'Operation Viraat' and 'Trishul' in the northern province was to get Prabaharan. So far, the LTTE chief has been able to elude the IPKF because he has been moving constantly in a variety of disguises. Now, with the Sri Lankan Government's successful

staging of the PC elections, India has no choice but to put enough military pressure on the LTTE to accept a ceasefire and negotiate a political agreement before the unofficial July deadline for elections in the north and east. - Anita Pratap writing for 'India Today'.

## Excerpts from Media

### MR. PANT IN SRI LANKA

Indian Defence Minister Mr.K.C. Pant, who went to Sri Lanka on a three-day official visit, reaffirmed India's commitment to fulfil every aspect of the India-Sri Lanka Accord in the fairest manner, the spirit in which it was signed, and with the defined aim that the Tamils get a just response within the island's unity and integrity.

During his meeting with Athulathmudali, the latter raised the issue of repatriation of plantation workers of Indian origin. While agreeing that India was ready for the repatriation, Pant asserted that it had to be voluntary. Nobody could be forced under the terms of the accord, he said.

While Mr.K.C.Pant told reporters at the end of his 3-day visit that India would soon withdraw surplus troops from Sri Lanka, a joint statement issued by the two governments said, "In view of the encouraging situation in the north and east, the Indian side conveyed that forces not required would return to India in the near future."

### MORE KILLINGS

Reuter reports that 18 Indian soldiers were killed by a landmine in a northern Sri Lankan jungle. The official Indian casualty toll in the two-week-old Alampil battle is 11 dead and 26 wounded. The Tamil separatist guerrilla casualties are 35 killed and 45 wounded.

Two Indian soldiers were killed by Tigers in Point Pedro in the Jaffna peninsula and two more died when an Indian ambulance rushing to Point Pedro overturned near a bunker in Mantikai.

UNI adds: Two leaders of the LTTE committed suicide by swallowing

cyanide capsules and three were taken into custody during the IPKF operations in Sri Lanka's eastern Batticaloa town on or about June 4. They said, "Subash", an LTTE leader swallowed a cyanide capsule and died when he was about to be apprehended by an IPKF patrol in the town, while "Kilikumar", another leader, committed suicide in a similar manner on being shot at and wounded by the IPKF.

Meanwhile, in northern Vavuniya town a local magistrate, Mr.R.Vilavarajah, was shot dead by unidentified men at his house on June 4.

Lt.Gen.Chatterjee, who commands the IPKF in Sri Lanka said the militants' hold in the eastern province was "much less compared to the northern", where the IPKF had been able to restore normal life after the arms capture. Listing the IPKF achievements, he said, it had been able to separate two warring groups on the island and restore normalcy to some extent by giving civic facilities. Jaffna peninsula was "comparatively quiet" and "we are waiting for the onset of the monsoon to undertake major economic activities, including sowing operations", he said.

Reacting to press reports about Pakistan's involvement in the Sri Lankan crisis, he said, "The IPKF has not come across any conclusive evidence in this regard though we found some grenades with Pakistani markings."

According to LTTE sources, the Indian force has lost several of their men in the recent battle.

### DO NOT WITHDRAW IPKF

The Janata Party leader, Dr.Subramania Swamy, MP, urged the Centre not to withdraw the Indian peace-keeping force or reduce its strength as Sinhala chauvinism had

gained ground in Sri Lanka. He said the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden had "threatened" to cut off aid to India at the Aid India Consortium, scheduled to meet in Paris shortly, if India did not pull out the IPKF from Sri Lanka, and urged the Centre not to be cowed down by such threats.

### BICKERINGS MARK DMK FUNCTION

Mr.M.Karunanidhi, the DMK leader, turned 65 yesterday, but he said his age should be taken as 50 years, as his public life began 50 years ago when he was 14. To mark the occasion, he donated Rs.50,000 to an orphanage run by Sivananda Saraswathi Sevashramam at Kattan Kulathur in Chengalpat district.

He spent his birthday meeting party workers and collecting funds from them for the elections. The amount is said to have touched Rs.2 crores already. Party leaders, workers and leaders in different walks of life wished him many happy returns of the day at Kalaivanar Arangam.

Yesterday was the last of the three-day celebrations here to mark DMK president's 65th birthday and golden jubilee in public life, organised by the DMK literary front. Cultural events were also held in celebration.

The golden jubilee is being celebrated amid reports of bickerings in the party following the reported move by Mr.Karunanidhi to make his son, Mr.M.K.Stalin, his successor. Supporters of Mr.K.Anbazhagan, party's general secretary and second man, are said to be sore over this. Mr.Stalin heads the youth wing.

There is, however, no groupism in the DMK and Mr.Karunanidhi continues to be the undisputed leader. That is hardly the case with the other parties like the AIADMK and the Congress.

It is a plus point for the DMK, as it goes to the polls with the objective of recapturing power in the state which it lost to the AIADMK led by Mr.M G Ramachandran, a decade ago.

The golden jubilee also provided an occasion to his well-wishers and followers to pay a handsome tribute to Karunanidhi, the litterateur.

The DMK president has been constantly touring the state and meeting people in a bid to lead his party to power in Tamil Nadu. If his party wins in the elections and he becomes the chief minister for the third term, it would be a crowning glory of his 50 years in public life.

The DMK, which has its base intact, is hoping to be back in power without serious challenge. The AIADMK is split and the Congress has lost Sivaji Manram (fan club) members who were its grassroot workers.

Mr.Karunidhi's refrain has been that the Dravidian rule in the state should be continued to preserve Tamil culture and heritage. He has been touring Tamil Nadu for over four months and the butt of his criticism has been the Congress.

Miss Jayalalitha has declared that the DMK is her party's chief rival. She has not spared Mr. Karunanidhi when it came to criticising political rivals, but the

latter has ignored her. But the others in the DMK have not spared Miss Jayalalitha, some even referring to her personal life as of an 'unsavoury past'.

Miss Jayalalitha (AIADMK) has also come under verbal attack from Mr.R.M.Veerappan, the AIADMK (Janaki faction leader) and others. Mr.Karunanidhi will be the dominant factor in the ensuing assembly elections. The Jayalalitha group is working for an alliance with the Congress party because it wants to defeat the DMK.

Mr.Veerappan has also said his party would have to truck with the DMK because Mr.Karunanidhi was MGR's political rival, though admittedly the Janaki group could give a better fight to the AIADMK (Jayalalitha)-Congress alliance if it joined hands with the DMK.

Political observers, however, do not rule out an arrangement between the Janaki group and the DMK to 'defeat the common enemies' - the Jayalalitha group and the Congress. The Janaki group has not pardoned the Congress party for bringing down the Mrs.Ramachandran's government. However, any arrangement would have to await the announcement of the poll schedule by the election commission.

## POLL ALLY

The DMK may have a poll ally in Sivaji Ganeshan's Tamizhaka Munnetra Munnani (Tamil Nadu Progressive Front), as the new party's aim is also to defeat the Congress at the hustings. A grievance nursed by Ganeshan is that he and his followers were shown scant respect when they were in the Congress.

The Congress party has set its mind on recapturing power in the state after being in the wilderness for two decades. Opinion among Congressmen is divided on whether or not to have an alliance with the Jayalalitha group. The view being projected is that it wants to go it alone, but a few leaders told TOINS that the party would have to forge an alliance with the Jayalalitha group if it hoped to keep the DMK from capturing power. They are, however, firm on sharing power and not being the junior partner to the AIADMK.

The DMK, on the other hand, is not keen on any electoral alliances, except seat-sharing arrangements with its allies, the two communist parties, the Indian Union Muslim League and the Forward Bloc.

It is the last chance for Mr.Karunanidhi to come back to power and he would not like to miss it. He and his followers are working towards that end. Whether the elections come next month or six months later. And, if the party is able to get the support of the rural voters, it will reach Fort St.George. (By courtesy - *The Times of India* - June 5, 1988)



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## THE ROOTS OF SOUTHERN REVOLT

The JVP's answer to the bogus UNP-JVP 'accord' announced at the National Security Minister's press conference was a furious burst of T-56 gunfire. Mr. Athulathmudali himself called it a 'killing spree' - the victims, predominantly UNP stalwarts and candidates at the forthcoming P.C. polls. The climax of course was the assassination of the UNP General Secretary Nandalal Fernando, a quasi-commando operation as spectacular as the gunning down of party chairman Harsha Abeywardena, also in broad daylight on a busy street in Colombo.

It really shook the UNP establishment, and stunned the metropolitan middle-class suddenly awakened to the fact that the city was by no means immune, and 'terror' was at its doorstep. The citizens of the Third World nation's capital have peculiar psychology. Even when their country is in the throes of civil war or revolution, they are protected by the comforting illusions of a special immunity. This, in turn breeds a smug complacency.

It is when the 'terror' and the armed conflict advances and closes in on the capital that this smugness of Third World regimes and metropolitan elite is shattered, only to be replaced by a siege mentality. We had a fleeting glimpse of it, when Colombo was gripped by a sense of helplessness and fear, totally exaggerated as it proved to be, in the first week of JVP insurrection of April 1971.

For the first time, President JR invited the JVP leader Mr. Rohana Wijeweera for round table talks. Also for the first time, there was a flicker of real hope when Mrs. Bandaranaike responded to the President's offer of all-party talks and said the SLFP would participate. But very quickly, President JR returned to his more characteristic posture of defiance, and challenged Wijeweera to single combat on Galle Face Green.

### NEW PHASE

The JVP, meanwhile, moved into a new phase of the armed struggle, with individual targets for assassination and the disruption of the PC polls (June 2 and June 9) remaining however its main tactical objectives. To broaden the popular support base of

the struggle and draw in more social forces and groups into it, the JVP extended the campaign on the campuses to the schools, and identified itself sympathetically with the sporadic anti-government outbursts of other middle groups, notably the nurses and hospital workers, and the government doctors. **Not only politically but geographically too, the JVP has expanded the struggle. From its southern stronghold, its main base, it is encroaching systematically on the Uva province. Some 30,000 students have participated in walk-outs and sit in demos in Badulla, Bandarawela etc. In many ways, parallels the LTTE's advance from its stronghold in the Jaffna peninsula. Once again, students led the advancing columns.**

In any case, the university is both recruiting ground and battle-field. By his standing as a university student - a position acquired through sacrifice and fierce competition - **the university student, and young teacher are the natural spokesman-cum-opinion leaders of the new generation, Sinhalese or Tamil. He represents not only the expectations and ambitions of his generation but its sense of frustration and anger. Hopes have been raised but remain unfulfilled.**

**It would be foolish to regard this young rebel or potential 'subversive' as an individualistic loner, and concentrate on his 'mind set' as many western political sociologists as well as counter-terrorism pundits do. He is not 'alienated', not society's drop-out or eccentric maverick. That again is the western model.**

### REVOLUTION BETRAYED

The 'rebel' has roots in family, class and place. By and large, semi-urban or rural lower-middle class. He has roots also in history, recent history. Their parents or elder brothers were perhaps in the vanguard of the 1956 'Cultural Revolution' which held out such great promise for the rural lower-middle class and particularly its intelligentsia. A promise hardly fulfilled; 'Revolution' betrayed!

Besides the socio-economic impulses  
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and demands - a fairer sharing of the material rewards of 'development' with a narrow-based, entrenched Anglicised elite - there was the even more powerful driving force of Sinhala-Buddhist resurgence. The consequences of the new post-1987 growth model and the ugly distortions of this 'development' was accompanied by a new heightening of Sinhala consciousness, the direct outcome of the aggressive challenge of Tamil separatism. The typically Third Worldist distortions of 'development' in a decade of global economic crisis, were paralleled by the authoritarian re-shaping of Sri Lanka's democratic system and the attendant deformities. To put it crudely, no Sri Lankan of 30 years and under (a large segment of the population) has had the chance to vote in a parliamentary election in a country which was known for the perverse persistence with which the electorate threw out the ruling rascal.

Stressing the truism that 'growth' does not mean 'development', no less a person than the **Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, told a seminar in May last year "certainly poverty has increased since 1983, certainly unemployment has increased... some people think that 3.6 million Sri Lankans (nearly a quarter of the population) live below the poverty line."**

### SINHALA MILITANCY

The intensification of the ethnic conflict and the brutal reach of Tamil separatism (massacres in Anuradhapura, bombs in Colombo) together with the re-appearance of the old spectre of the Dravidian horde, the invader from the North (Jaffna, Tamil Nadu, India) created the climate for the dramatic rise of Sinhala militancy. The student and youth are its shock-troops, the monk and teacher are its ideologues, the deep South, Dutugemunu country, the historic matching reply to the historic enemy is the main base, and the Ruhuna University, where the Vice Chancellor has fled, is its obvious symbol.

A new factor whose importance is rarely recognised is the economic consequence of soaring defence

spending after 1983, and the social impact of the militarisation process. In his address, Ronnie de Mel traced the rising curve of the defence vote. Placing the issue in a wider budgetary context, he noted, **"The combined effects of a rapid increase in population, and a steady decline in the terms of trade, and the increase in defence expenditure rendered the welfare package unsustainable."** Sri Lankan welfarism, romanticised as 'socialism', was possible with a population of 6 to 8 million when surpluses from the plantation sector were adequate to maintain the social welfare votes.

Militarisation did not merely lead to the diversion of funds from development projects or welfare and the rapid expansion of the armed services. It has produced the phenomenon of deserters, some 2000 to

3000 with weapons-training and combat experience. A fraction of this number may have been absorbed by the 'underworld' and the new 'mafias' that have been spawned by the 'open economy'. But other groups, which served in the north and saw their comrades blown to bits by landmines, may have been psychologically disturbed (the Rambo mind-set) and also politicised the politics of nationalistic counter-attack, of Sinhala resistance. It is not well-knit nor directed by disillusioned senior officers like the anti-de Gaulle O.A.S. after the 'betrayal' or 'amputation' of Algeria. Yet it may have a strong political character, anti-JR, anti-government and nationalistic.

**The acclimatisation to violence, access to and militarisation with sophisticated weaponry, the brutalisation of society and a less**

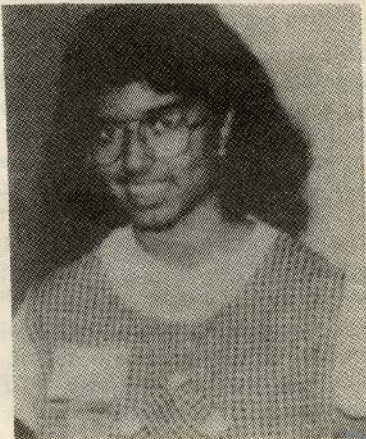
**traditional respect for the sanctity of life are all part of the pattern of social, psychological change. And these changes mark the stormy passage from the '56 to the T-56 Revolution.**

As in the North, the government's response has been a tough military STF crackdown. Again, the students, usually the more radical groups, have been the first casualties. The CRM notes: "University students are a group particularly disaffected. There has been a pattern of large scale arrests accompanied by prolonged detention, not merely without charge or trial, but at times even without prompt basic investigation to see whether there is any justification for arrest." *By courtesy of 'Lanka Guardian' - June 1, 1988.*

### INDIAN GIRL BAGS AWARD IN SPELLING CONTEST

Rageshree Ramachandran, a teenage girl of Indian Tamil origin, has won the 61st annual Scripps Howard National Spelling Bee contest out-spelling 199 contestants in the final test held here. 'The Washington Post' daily commented that Rageshree Ramachandran (13) had a name "as complex as the word that won her" the trophy. The word which stumped other contestants was 'elegiacal'. Words which the contestants had to spell had earlier included lipoprotein, anaphylaxis, systole and telencephalon.

Ragashree gets \$1,500 (Rs.18,000) in cash, the trophy, a complete set of Encyclopaedia Britannica, a plaque for her school and a 62.5 cm TV set.



### IPKF MAN KILLED IN LANDMINE BLAST

One Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) jawan was killed and another jawan and two civilians were seriously wounded when a civilian truck in which they were travelling ran into a landmine, planted by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), near Murukandy in Sri Lanka's northern Kilinochchi district yesterday (June 17), security sources said.

They said the two civilians injured were the Sri Lankan driver and the helper of the truck.

Meanwhile, the office of the Tamil

Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) in northern Vavuniya town was bombed by unidentified men last night, they said. The bomb attack which partially destroyed the office building was believed to be the work of a rival military group. The office was set up after TELO members were granted amnesty following surrender of their weapons under the Indo-Sri Lanka accord.

Earlier in the night, unidentified militants attacked a police guard point outside Vavuniya General Hospital with small arms, but the police repulsed the attack. There were no casualties.

## HELP OUR CAUSE

*Over 2,000 copies of each issue of TVI are sent free to non-Tamils with the object of letting the world know of:*

- 1. Human Rights Violations committed against the Tamils of Eelam and**
- 2. the rationale for the Tamil Liberation Struggle.**

*There is a need to send copies of our paper to several others who should know of what is going on in Tamil Eelam. Would you wish to pay for TVI to be sent to a particular person? In the alternative, please send us a donation towards this service. Every gift, whether big or small, will be gratefully acknowledged by us.*

*Thank you (Editor)*

# THE TAMIL NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE INDO-SRI LANKA PEACE ACCORD

(A message from Prof.C.Jeyaratnam Eliezer Ph.D.(Cantab), D.Sc.(London), President, Australian Federation of Tamil Associations and Patron, World Federation of Tamils)

I apologise for not attending the International Tamil Conference. I wish to make a few comments both on behalf of myself and of the Australian Federation of Tamil Associations. Had I been present, I would probably have drawn the attention of the conference to the following points:

I would have urged a collective tribute to the many Tamils who have given their lives in our liberation struggle.

I do not believe in the use of war and violence as a means of settling disputes - political or otherwise. But I do believe that civilised people have a duty to defend their families, homes and their folk, when they are victims of arson and murder.



Prof. C.J. ELIEZER

**I am specially moved by the memory of those who defended the Jaffna Peninsula and the Jaffna city, first from the Sinhalese army and their mercenary bombing pilots, and later from the so called peace keeping forces.**

In the nine months since the accord was signed, there is little to show of any rapprochement between the communities, which I regard as an essential prerequisite for any peace. I do not believe that the Tamil people will quickly forget their years of suffering and numerous pogroms and the cruelties they have endured under the Sri Lankan Government and its forces.

I understand that President Jayewardene is seeking re-election for a further term as President. I anticipate that in the next few months, he would woo Tamil votes with fanciful promises. People of Wellawatte would remember his past and all will remember his promises in 1977 when the UNP election manifesto spoke of Tamil grievances

and disabilities and programs for re-education. I believe that before the Tamils are taken in by any promises, they should ensure them underwritten by Indian Authorities.

The unexpected deterioration of our relationship with India is hopefully a passing phase. India as the great power of the region has the right and indeed the responsibility to ensure stability and security. I do not believe that this is in anyway incompatible with the hopes and aspirations of the Tamil people. A statement of these had been agreed on by various sections and has been called the Thimpu Declaration.

**By its actions, India has so put back the momentum of the Tamil movements that it should now take responsibility for the protection of the Tamil people and the implementation of the sentiments in the Thimpu Declaration. I believe the Tamil people certainly expect this of India. The judgement of the international community would also expect it - not to mention the judgement of history.**

For all these reasons, I urge the

**hastening of Indian reconciliation with the Tamil people including the LTTE.**

**Until such time as the conditions are suitable for the restoration of democratic procedures, and the elections to be held, I believe quite strongly that Mr Velupillai Prabhakaran should be a principal spokesman for the Tamil people.**

Before I conclude I would urge all concerned to take steps in the seemingly impossible task of bringing unity among the Tamil expatriate community. General De Gaulle once said "all Frenchmen hate each other, but they love France." In a similar vein one could say, all Tamils are wary of one another, but they love Tamil. By Tamil, I don't just mean the language but also its literature, its devotion, its land and its poetry. I mean all these. In our common love of all these, we ought at least to take united action on some urgent agreed objectives so that the expatriate Tamil voice may be heard and listened to at this moment of crisis and hope for the Tamil people.

## ASYLUM FACTS ORDER TO HOME OFFICE, UK

Home Office ministers have instructed officials 'urgently' to prepare monthly figures on the fate of people seeking political asylum to comply with the spirit of the Geneva Convention on refugees.

The Home Office announced the move following disclosures in the Guardian yesterday that weekly figures giving individuals' details are being widely circulated inside the ministry while MPs and the United Nations High Commission on refugees are told they do not exist. An official said yesterday: "The returns will be provided quarterly with a breakdown on a monthly basis. The first one should be provided this year and will be sent to the United Nations High Commission. We have not decided whether the figures will be released to the media."

The official said that the internal weekly returns had not been wholly accurate and provided only a partial picture - covering Heathrow, Gatwick and Dover only. This was one reason, he said, why there had been a delay in providing the information and implementing an agreement with the United Nations reached last year.

Earlier this month in the Commons

Mr.Timothy Renton, the Home Office minister responsible for immigration, told Mr.Stuart Randall, Labour's immigration spokesman, that no central record on the fate of asylum seekers existed. Mr.Randall is seeking advice from the Speaker following Mr.Renton's reply. He saw the denial of the existence of the information as a cover-up for Britain's record in handling people applying for asylum, a view shared by the UN commission which last night welcomed the Home Office response. A spokeswoman said: "This will go a long way to make our job easier to monitor British policy on refugees."

But the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants expressed concern about disclosures that people were being removed from Britain and sent either home or to countries which had signed the Geneva convention on refugees, such as Egypt. It said: "The disclosures in the internal returns strengthen the case for a proper independent right of appeal for people seeking asylum before they are removed."

British immigration laws delegate wide powers to officials to admit, detain, or remove applicants. (Courtesy - *The Guardian* -June 22, 1988)

## FUTILE EFFORT

*Continued from page 7*

will ever accept that India killed their sons and daughters to bring peace and normalcy?

## Abandon Insane Pursuit of Military Solution

I would urge you to abandon this insane pursuit of a military solution which is what one has come to expect of dictators such as Jayewardene and hold meaningful talks which will ensure the granting of a genuine devolution of power to the Tamil people from the distrusted and unreliable Sinhalese-dominated govern-

ment in Colombo. I might add that your mother who had a profound understanding of our so-called leaders in Sri Lanka, had the deepest possible distrust of, if not contempt for, Jayewardene. This she expressed freely at a private gathering in New York shortly before her most unfortunate death.

By what can only be described as a gross mismanagement of the Sri Lankan situation, India is rapidly throwing away its chances of making a genuine contribution to solving the complex Sri Lankan ethnic problem. **Your government is contributing to the creation of another**

**Lebanon and is making a potentially solvable problem unsolvable.** As a Sri Lankan, I urge you to stop assisting in the destruction of my country by attempting to prop up unpopular and corrupt regimes that have done so much damage to Sri Lanka within such a short time. **You are in a position to put the necessary pressure on this regime and the one to follow, to see that the Tamil minority can live with equality and without discrimination in the country of their birth. I would urge you to do so and not bring destruction to Sri Lanka and discredit to India.**

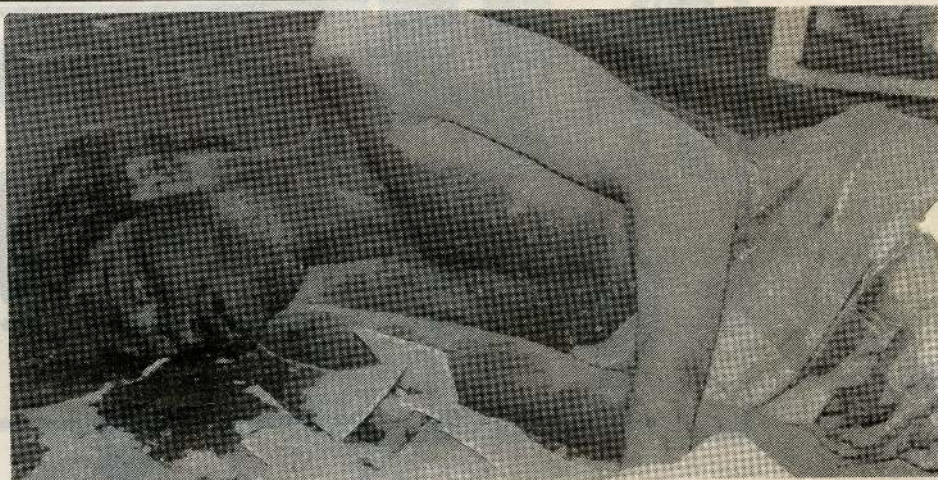
## INDIANS CHARGED

*Continued from page 9*

a Sri Lankan government investigation into IPKF activities. And in no instance, it seems, has an impartial body attempted to carry out investigations into these and other alleged IPKF killings.

**There has also been an increasing number of allegations that lower ranking IPKF personnel had raped Tamil women. Several dozens of Tamil women, some of whom needed hospital treatment, have testified on oath that they had been raped by IPKF personnel; for example, in Kondavil East in the north, and in Sathurukondan and Morakkaddan Chenai villages in eastern Sri Lanka. Several of these allegations have been investigated by the IPKF itself, although the Indian government continued to deny any such charges. But in December 1987, a local magistrate reportedly found the IPKF responsible for seven cases of rape. In January 1988, further four Indian soldiers were discharged and sentenced by an Indian court martial to one year's imprisonment for raping Tamil women.**

The report lists eight recommendations for the protection of human rights in Sri Lanka. The main ones are that the government should establish an independent commission to investigate impartially all cases of torture and 'disappearances' in Sri Lanka, and that such an independent commission should also be established to



investigate all complaints of reprisal killings, both by the Sri Lankan security forces and by the IPKF. Amnesty International also recommends that the government review the implementation of the JULY ACCORD so as to ensure that innocent persons detained are released forthwith, and to draw up public lists

of all those arrested and detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Emergency Regulations, as well as of the places where detainees are being held, and to abolish incommunicado detention, bringing all detainees in future before a magistrate within 24 hours of arrest.

## WORLD TAMILS TOGETHERNESS

*By Navamani, Jaffna*

It appears to me that the Eelam Tamils outside Sri Lanka have, at last, begun to realise that they have a duty by their Tamil homeland, where they and forebears had lived, where they have received their basic education, where they have played and participated in various activities, and from where they have spread out world-wide, and where they have to return at some time or other, perhaps when conditions become unfavourable to them in their present abode.

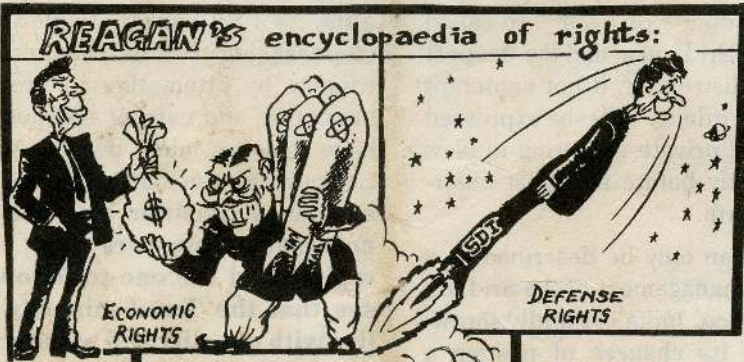
I am referring to the recent Tamil Conference in London, successfully organised by the World Federation of

Tamils, in collaboration with the *Tamil Voice International*. It seems a very good sign in that it has alerted the minds of the expatriate Tamils to the situation prevailing in their homeland. Let conferences of similar nature continue in other parts of the world too, to keep up the pressure and the interest as well.

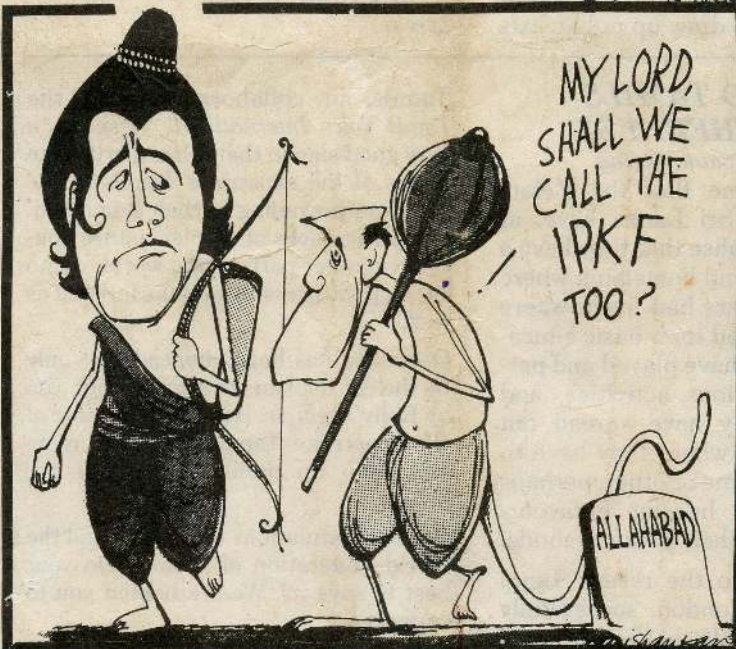
Our voice has been silenced, not only by the Sri Lankan government but also by Rajiv's regime. It is only the **voice** of the expatriate Tamils that can create and whip up public opinion in our favour.

Our congratulations to the TVI and the World Federation of Tamils. Do your best to save us. We are behind you to support.

By courtesy: The Hindu  
 (International Edition)  
 June 18, 1988



By courtesy: Indian Express (New Delhi)  
 June 14 1988



By courtesy: The Times of India  
 June 19, 1988