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REPEATING IN THE SOUTH MISTAKES MADE IN THE NORTH

Peace should not be the peace of the graveyard!

A Rangoon-type political situation appears to be fast developing in Sri Lanka, with students in the vanguard.

Student unrest, fanned by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front), which has the tacit support of ex-Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, is something which cannot be ignored.

Why are the students in the universities and schools behaving in the fashion that they have done in the past year or so?

President Jayewardene's United National Party Government has done wonders in certain spheres. But it has committed blunders in certain other spheres.

The problem, as we see it, is that the ruling elite feel they have the sole prerogative to decide the country's fate, the lives of the 16 million people who inhabit this small island.

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The people, the ordinary people—that is, the majority of the people—have other ideas.

The Government has lost touch with the people. Cosmetic shows on TV cannot hide the realities.

No one in the Government I have known was aware of the Northern situation—*till it was too late*.

In the four years I spent in Jaffna, as a journalist, I saw the developing situation: how young, docile students became inveterate militants.

All due to the wrong approach of the authorities concerned in tackling basic human problems.

The military might of the Sri Lanka Army was no match for the militancy of the youth, who were determined to create a new future for themselves.

The Government's military approach to the situation only served to strengthen the determination of the youth to fight on.

The end result was that we had to import a foreign army—the Indians—to restore peace.

What peace? The peace of the graveyard!

The Sri Lankan and Indian Governments claim that the situation in the North is now "normal". Just how normal when one cannot still get a telephone call from Colombo to Jaffna?

THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH HAS BECOME A REPETITION OF THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH. AGAIN THE MILITARY APPROACH. AGAIN THE SAME RESULTS.

Repression has its limits. Even the worm turns. One day.

The militancy in the South cannot be curbed by military means.

If those in power drop their high-horse attitude, half the problem is solved. They should address their minds to the *reasons* for public unrest and disaffection.

Most politicians are concerned only about their perks. And in that

sphere, a good many of our politicians have done quite well, thank you.

But a day of reckoning comes. One has to eventually answer to the PEOPLE.

The situation in the North has a direct bearing on the situation in the South. For the ethnic problem affects the lives of all Sri Lankans. It is deep-rooted in history. It cannot be solved in a hurry.

But understanding of a sort can be achieved, a compromise under which we can live and work together.

The policies of our Government on the ethnic problem has led to a virtual invasion of Sri Lanka by India. Fifty-thousand Indian troops on our soil! The Pandavas and Cholas could not command as much!

What Sri Lanka needs sorely at this critical stage is consensus politics, not manipulative politics. *Who are the politicians who can rise to meet this challenge?*

Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, the nominee of the President to succeed him, if the people so decide. Or Mrs. Bandaranaike, if the people change their minds.

The key is in the pocket of the younger generation, provided they do not misplace it and allow alien forces to dominate our lives.

The youth of the country should spend more time in reading history. After all, the French Revolution finally ended in throwing up an Emperor!

Thileepan—Died for a Cause he should have lived for

Young Rasiah Thileepan, of Urelu, Jaffna, need not have died. He died for a cause, the Tamil cause, all right. But he could have been a more potent force, alive.

At 25, he was the leader of the political wing of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

Too young for a person to hold such a position, I felt. After all, what had he seen of life? But he had unusual talents.

In several interviews with him, I was impressed by his grasp of the situation confronting his community and the possible way out. He listened to me patiently when I explained the Sinhalese state of mind and the dangers of seeking Indian assistance.

I was sad when I saw him limping one day after a shoot-out with the Sri Lanka security forces at Thondamannar in late 1986. He was injured in the stomach as well and had to be operated twice.

The doctors at the Jaffna Hospital said that his days were

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'Sud-Asien' Magazines

Among the many publications received by us are "Sud-Asien" Bureau magazines Nos. 3-4 and 5.

This West German Agency which specialises in explaining to the West the problems in the South Asian region in its publications, has often given prominence to the situation in Sri Lanka.

Issue 3-4 features Vijaya Kumaranatunga's photograph on its front cover with a story inside of circumstances that led to his murder.

It also contains a special 'situation report' on Sri Lanka, written by the Editor, Walter Keller, after a visit lasting from 5th March to 17th April this year.

Readers interested in having copies of the magazine (contents mostly in German) may contact Mr. Walter Keller at Sudasien Bureau, Kieferustr. 45, 5600 Wuppertal 2, West Germany.

Martin Ennals addresses UN Commission

Human Rights in Lanka's North & South

The following statement was made on August 17, 1988, to the Fortieth Session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, by Mr. Martin Ennals on behalf of the 'Minority Rights Group' and of 'International Alert'.

The UN Commission on Human Rights, its Sub-Commission and other international human rights organisations have been deeply concerned about the human rights situation in Sri Lanka in the context of the ethnic conflict that has been plaguing the island for the past several years.

Among other issues, arbitrary arrests, detention without trial for prolonged periods, torture of detainees, deaths in custody, extrajudicial killings and the operation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and Emergency Regulations promulgated under the country's internal security laws have been the subject of several reports by reputed international human rights organisations and the Human Rights Commission's Working Groups on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, on Torture and Arbitrary Killings.

The concern with which the Commission on Human Rights viewed the situation in Sri Lanka was reflected when the Commission at its 43rd Sessions unanimously adopted a resolution on Sri Lanka.

INDO-SRI LANKA AGREEMENT

The signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement in July 1987 by Sri Lanka's President J.R.Jayewardene and the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi raised much hope about a negotiated peaceful resolution of the ethnic conflict, a return to harmonious relationship between the island's Sinhala and Tamil communities and an end to abuse of human rights.

The Agreement, inter alia, provided for a degree of devolution of executive and legislative powers through the establishment of Provincial Councils as a means of meeting the demand for autonomy by the Tamil community, the surrender of weapons by Tamil militant groups, a general amnesty for Tamil political prisoners and for the discussion on 'residual matters' in dispute. Following an invitation by President Jayewardene, The Indian Peace Keeping Force arrived in the island in the wake of the signing of the Agreement.

One year after the Agreement, it is evident that the hopes and expectations raised a year earlier have not been fulfilled.

To begin with, extremist elements within the Sinhala community

represented by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the JVP (People's Liberation Front) opposed the Agreement and the latter initiated a campaign of violence which continues to this day unabated. Government party members and supporters, state officials and security service personnel, and even those belonging to the opposition United Socialist Alliance which support the Agreement have become victims of this campaign of terror and murder.

- The Provincial Council Law enacted by the Government in pursuance to the Agreement has been described as inadequate to meet with 'aspirations' of the Tamil people. The Agreement also provided for further negotiations on outstanding matters but such negotiations have not taken place.
- There was renewed violence in the north and east of the country in consequence of internecine armed fighting between and among Tamil militant groups and following attacks upon Sinhala settlers in the Eastern Province.
- There was only a partial surrender of weapons by Tamil militant groups.
- Dispute in regard to the composition of an interim administration for the north and east remained unresolved.
- On the alleged ground that the Tamil militant groups had not observed the Agreement in regard to the surrender of weapons, the Government suspended the release of Tamil political prisoners which it had begun immediately after the Agreement.
- The dominant Tamil militant group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) accused the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) of assisting the other Tamil militant groups to launch attacks upon the LTTE, whereas other Tamil militant groups accused the LTTE of trying to physically eliminate them. The LTTE has been asserting its claim to "sole representation" on behalf of the Tamils but the other Tamil militant groups have contested this claim.
- Eventually the IPKF launched an offensive in October 1987 against the LTTE and its bases claiming that the offensive was aimed at enforcing the provisions of the Agreement in regard to the surrender of weapons. The resulting confrontation between the IPKF and LTTE has been fierce and is continuing to this day. Besides the casualties on both sides to this confrontation, over 1,000 Tamil civilians are estimated to have died in the offensive mounted by the IPKF in the northern city. Many buildings and homes have been destroyed. There are many independent reliable reports of

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'Finlandisation' by India the theme

The "Finlandisation" of Sri Lanka by India is a theme which figures prominently in Prof. A.Jeyaratnam Wilson's latest book, *The Break-up of Sri Lanka*, which was reviewed briefly in our last issue.

The book inevitably had to be written in the context of India's stake in the island's affairs both as the major power in South Asia and because of the Tamil Nadu connection with the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

By 'Finlandised', we mean having limited manoeuvrability in foreign policy, in the same way that Finland cannot act contrary to Soviet interests," he asserts.

He uses the name 'Ceylon' for the island almost throughout. "I have used 'Ceylon' advisedly because that is how the country was called for well over 150 years before *Sri Lanka* was unilaterally introduced into the vocabulary of international usage in 1972 (through the Constitution introduced that year by Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's Government); this was done without the consent of the principal minority, the Tamils, the community to which I belong..."

To do justice to the Professor and his book, it is necessary to quote extensively from his work.

"Political Buddhism is a recent phenomenon and, in the case of Ceylon, probably a Western invention. It is likely that the British wished to keep Ceylon independent of India, so that regardless of what happened in India, they would be able to keep naval and air bases in Ceylon, and thus dominate the vast expanse of ocean between Madagascar and Singapore. The Defence Agreement of 1947, which preceded the grant of independence in 1948, was therefore a *sine qua non* for Britain.

HAD IT BOTH WAYS

"Our view is that Don Stephen Senanayake, Britain's favourite conservative leader to whom power was transferred, was made to understand that the offer of a defence agreement would facilitate and speed up the grant of independence. However, a likely obstacle to such an agreement was the Sinhalese Buddhist-oriented S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Oliver Goonetileke, the wily emissary of Don Stephen Senanayake, was requested to reassure Bandaranaike on this score. In the event, Goonetileke did the obvious thing, telling Bandaranaike that once independence had been granted, a sovereign Ceylon could do as it pleased with the defence agreement — in effect, tear it up. But Bandaranaike was not told the other side of the equation: that if he proved recalcitrant in the cabinet of a sovereign Ceylon, he could be dismissed by its prime minister. So in a sense Senanayake and Goonetileke had it both ways.

"If Ceylon has been associated with India in the struggle for independence, it would automatically have fallen within the Indian sphere of influence, and India would have insisted on a 'Finlandised' Ceylon. In fact Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam in 1918 had suggested, as a strategy to facilitate Ceylon's goal of independence, a federation with India. But Arunachalam's proposal did not meet with the approval of the Sinhalese 'constitutional' leaders, which was still another reason why Whitehall had to ensure that Ceylon did not lag behind India in its progress toward further constitutional reform..."

"The T.U.L.F. leaders expected Mrs. Gandhi to intervene militarily in Ceylon, emulating the Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus in 1974 — Amirthalingam was positive that there would be such an intervention despite Mrs. Gandhi's official disclaimers — but in a statement to the Lok Sabha in August 1983 she unequivocally disappointed such expectations:

India stands for the *independence, unity and integrity of Sri Lanka*. India does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. However, because of the historical, cultural and such other close ties between the peoples of the two countries, particularly between the Tamil community of Sri Lanka and us, India cannot remain unaffected by such events there.

"Mrs. Gandhi thus sought to convey the view that she was compelled

to take note of political opinion in Tamil Nad and that in the circumstances India was prepared to offer 'its good offices in whatever manner' they were needed.

"Amirthalingam and the T.U.L.F. leadership had fervently hoped for an Indian military intervention. I met both Amirthalingam and G. Parthasarathy (separately) in New York in October-November 1983. I indicated to Amirthalingam that Indian intervention was more or less impossible, and that I had obtained confirmation of this in the course of discussions with Parthasarathy. Amirthalingam did not accept my views, and said that Mrs. Gandhi had assured him that the Indian army was poised for an assault if any further anti-Tamil pogrom took place. She had accorded him several interviews and treated him as if he were the head of state of a neighbouring country. My view was that Mrs. Gandhi, aided by her special envoy Parthasarathy, would do everything possible to compel President Jayewardene to deal fairly with the Tamils, but beyond such pressure India would not want to intervene militarily unless something happened that left it no choice. India had an image to preserve, especially in the non-aligned movement.

ALL EGGS IN INDIAN BASKET

"However, the Indian role was unclear. At various times, to my knowledge, Indian policy-makers had contemplated intervention, and plans had been drawn up to that end. This had given hope to the T.U.L.F. and the leaders of the Tamil militant groups. Whether this was done deliberately in order to mislead the Tamil leaders can only be conjectured, but the result of such aid being offered was that the Tamil leaders placed all their eggs in one basket — the Indian one. Had India not been so forthcoming, the Tamil Resistance would have become internationalised and the other resistance organisations and anti-Western states would have offered support to the Tamil movement. But by offering hopes of India's possible military involvement, the Indian Government contained the Tamil movement within the frontiers of India, and pre-empted its becoming involved with other international terrorist organisations. The Research and Analysis Wing of the Indian government (known as R.A.W., the counterpart of the CIA and KGB) was active in promoting this view, and its agents infiltrated the Tamil groups. Apart from obtaining valuable and confidential information, these agents set Tamil groups against one another so as to create a balance and thus prevent any one group from obtaining dominance over the others. R.A.W. succeeded at first, but finally failed to prevent the L.T.T.E. from gaining the upper hand.

"As the prospect of Indian intervention began to recede, the T.U.L.F. hoped that India would force President Jayewardene to make the necessary adjustments to enable a federal or confederal structure to be created in Ceylon. The President succeeded in playing a waiting game. Then, in 1984, Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated. This was a severe blow to the Tamil Resistance leaders, who had to start all over again with her son Rajiv...

INDIA THE MAJOR REGIONAL POWER

"Our brief examination of India's attitude towards Ceylon must make it plain that Ceylon cannot afford to adopt a course that will adversely affect India. India has endeavoured to establish itself as the major power in the South Asian region and is backed in this by the Soviet Union. The Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1971, further confirmed by the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to New Delhi in January 1987, means that the Soviet Union will render all possible support to India in any war against friends of the United States in the region — such as Pakistan and the People's Republic of China. In 1961, when Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike was busy crushing the Tamil movement, the late Bishop of Kurunegala (an Anglican diocese in Ceylon), Lakshman Wickremasinghe, mentioned to me that he had cautioned her closest minister and relative, Felix Dias Bandaranaike, of the possibility of Indian intervention if the repression of the Tamils escalated. The latter had responded that Ceylon would in that event seek aid from the People's Republic of China, a

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PEACE IN LANKA

The extent to which President Jayewardene's announcement of the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces and the IPKF's unilateral five-day cease-fire (now extended by another five days) were motivated by a desire to gain the maximum political mileage for Mr. R. Premadasa's candidacy in the next year's presidential election is naturally the subject of intense speculation. But there can be no doubt that having achieved a partial military victory against the LTTE, New Delhi is attempting to garner the political returns of its year-long campaign of pacification of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Objectively speaking, there should be reason for cautious optimism. The merger announcement, coupled with explicit assurances to make Tamil an official language of the island and to improve the devolution package, has, in effect, undercut the political rationale behind the LTTE's continuing armed struggle in the jungles of the East. Moreover, the publicized release of many hundreds of Tamil prisoners, and President Jayewardene's offer of "unconditional" amnesty to militants who eschew violence, may be calculated to exert public pressure on the LTTE to convince it of the futility of persisting with a civil war in which no total victory for either side is really possible.

It was evident from the LTTE's recent demand that the five-day cease-fire be made permanent that this message has had some impact, although admittedly, there are doubts as to whether Mr. V. Pirabhakaran will take advantage of the respite to return to the mainstream. But while it is certain that no meaningful electoral exercise in the Tamil-dominated regions is possible without the co-operation of a LTTE that has now been politically reinvigorated with the halo of struggle and martyrdom, the prospects in the Sinhalese-dominated south appear far more encouraging. While it is true that the JVP has been able to capture the popular imagination of the Sinhalese youth and middle classes — witness the total success of its general strike against the merger — part of that momentum may have disappeared with the announcement of Mr. Premadasa's candidacy. In a sense this was a master stroke, because the popular fall-out of far-reaching concessions to the Tamil minority may be offset by the firm conviction that, in the final analysis, Mr. Premadasa will best safeguard Sinhalese Buddhist interests. Moreover, unlike President Jayewardene who was tarred with the stigma of having compromised his country's sovereignty, Mr. Premadasa's known views on the accord will probably defuse the JVP's ultra-chauvinist rhetoric. Indeed, it is possible that the UNP will try to make capital of Mrs. Bandaranaike's closeness to India, especially since the present ruling party's electoral survival now depends on its ability to appropriate the rhetoric of its opponents. And since India is hardly the favourite of the Tamil leadership, it is possible that Mr. Premadasa's woolly prayer that "those suffering be relieved of their suffering" will be the signal to the LTTE to renew direct negotiations with Colombo. None of which is encouraging for India but significant for the return of peace in the troubled island.



REMEMBERING THILEEPAN

The young Thileepan seen doing what he did best; he had a way with words that kept listeners spell-bound.

Prof. Wilson on 'Future of Ceylon'

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possibility which receded when China chose not to intervene in 1972 when Mrs. Gandhi attacked Pakistan to help transform East Pakistan into the independent state of Bangladesh.

"At the end of 1986 the leader of the Opposition, Sirimavo Bandaranaike's son Anura, stated that if the Chinese army were to have its leave cancelled for a weekend, the ethnic strife in Ceylon would be ended whatever India's role in it might be. We cannot be certain whether there has been a change of circumstances which would make Chinese intervention possible. Such entanglements would also create an international crisis of major proportions in the region. The Chinese President remarked to President Jayewardene in 1986 that he had made a mistake in accepting India's mediatory role, which had resulted in India interfering in Ceylon's internal affairs. The Chinese President's view was that the Ceylon Government should have treated the Tamil question as an internal problem and Indian intervention, especially from Tamil Nad, as an international issue..."

In a chapter headed *The Future of Ceylon*, Prof. Wilson says:

"What of the Tamils, the T.U.L.F. and the militant groups? One group of militants has come out on top by eliminating its rivals. The Liberation Tigers, under Velupillai Prabhakaran's skilled military leadership, have decimated the second-most powerful group, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (T.E.L.O.), led by Sri Sabaratnam, which had been engaging and harassing the Sinhalese army. Rivalries resulted in internecine warfare between these two groups. A third, equally strong group, the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (P.L.O.T. or P.L.O.T.E.) under the leadership of Uma Maheswaran, has at the time of writing temporarily suspended its activities in the Tamil areas. Maheswaran had earlier been a surveyor in the Vavuniya district, and is very familiar with the terrain of the Northern Province. A fourth organisation, the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (E.R.O.S.), was established in 1975 by Rajanayagam in London and V. Balakumar who operates from Madras; it claims to include the largest number of intellectuals and specialises in economic warfare. In an interview with the pro-Tamil journal *Saturday Review* of 17th January 1987, Balakumar spoke perhaps for most Tamils:

The time has come: India should clearly indicate to the world its definite political stand on the ethnic strife, instead of playing a mediatory role alone. In the absence of a definite Indian stand on the ethnic strife there is a strong possibility that negotiations will drag on forever. We cannot forget history. If such a situation tends to develop we cannot but act in our own way.

He added that any solution must take into account the plantation Tamils (of recent Indian origin), and that in addition India would have to underwrite any settlement...."

Prof. Wilson's book should be read by all Sri Lankan politicians. It is so revealing in so many respects. Even I who, as a journalist, have been following political trends in the country for so long, have learnt a few things which I had not known before.

The challenge to the Sinhalese, especially the chauvinist type, is to try to write a book in refutation of what Prof. Wilson has said.

G.N.

(Published by C. Hurst & Co. Ltd., 38, King Street, London WC2E-8JT. £17.50).

Prof. Wilson is also the author of *Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-73* (1974, 2nd revised edition 1979), *Electoral Politics in an Emergent State* (1975), *The Gaullist System in Asia* (1980), co-editor of *The States of South Asia* (1982) and *From Independence to Statehood* (1984).

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS...

Continued from Page 2

arbitrary killings and rape of women in many instances attributed to the IPKF.

□ The IPKF is presently engaged in cordon and search operations in the north and east of the country. Hundreds of Tamil youth whom the IPKF alleges as members of the LTTE have been rounded up and detained in the course of these operations. Instances of torture and deaths in custody have been established by reliable testimony. □ The glimmer of hope raised by 'informal negotiations' between Indian officials and LTTE leaders in Madras in South India disappeared when negotiations broke down in early July this year. Since then, the operations by the IPKF have been intensified and the LTTE has expressed its determination to engage in a protracted guerilla struggle.

IN THE SOUTH

□ The JVP continues with its campaign of killing all those who support the grant of limited autonomy through the establishment of Provincial Councils and those who support the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. An estimated 325 persons have been killed in the course of this campaign.

□ The Government has responded to this JVP campaign by resorting to use of arbitrary arrests and detention of persons alleged to be members of the JVP. Many cases of torture and 'disappearances' also have been reported. To meet the threat of individual assassinations,

• THILEEPAN

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Unfortunately, some preferred martyrdom by proxy

numbered — two years the most. When he began his death-fast on 15th September at the Nallur Kandasamy Kovil premises, I appealed to him to make a token protest and then give up. I made a second appeal two days later, but he was adamant. On behalf of the LTTE he made five demands:

- * the immediate constitution of the promised interim administration under the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord;
- * the withholding of the re-opening of police stations in the North and East till the creation of the promised provincial police service;
- * the closure of all army camps in schools, temples and state buildings in order to make those institutions functional, and the disarming of home-guards;
- * a stop to Sinhala colonisation of Tamil areas under the guise of rehabilitation; and
- * the release of all Tamil political prisoners held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The Indian Government was not quite sensitive to the explosive situation that was developing because of Thileepan's fast, probably due to misinformation by the Indian High Commission in Colombo.

However, to the credit of the IPKF, it must be said that a medical unit was standing by at Jaffna Fort to airlift Thileepan to a hospitable haven. I appealed to the officers, but they felt it would be too much of a risk to land at Nallur by helicopter because there were too many people around — some of them apparently willing to see Thileepan die, on their behalf!

I spoke to the LTTE leaders who were there at the time, but they insisted that the fast should continue.

Thileepan died a martyr's death on 26th September. A nice boy, with a big future, was gone.

Gamini Navaratne

the Government has promoted the creation of armed private 'vigilantes' and distributed weapons to Ministers, MPs and other senior state officials besides security service personnel. There is also increased use of the Special Task Force and other para-military forces. The Government has also enacted a law granting immunity to security service personnel who might break the law in the course of performing their functions.

□ For the first time, human rights activists and independent social relief workers have become targets of non-state armed entities.

□ Organisations like the Civil Rights Movement, Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners, Centre for Society and Religion, Marga Institute, etc., which have been active in the past in raising issues concerning the violation of human and democratic rights, and which have advocated a negotiated political solution to the ethnic conflict by the grant of the legitimate rights of the Tamil people, and which supported the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement as a means to settle the conflict have received death threats from the Patriotic Armed Unit, which is believed to be the armed wing of the JVP. It is this organisation which assassinated the leader of the United Socialist Alliance, Mr. Vijaya Kumaratunga.

□ In the north and east of the island, independent human rights activists, members of local Citizens Committees and Relief and Social Service organisations have not only come under pressure to fall in line with the demands of armed groups, but have also been killed, kidnapped or 'disappeared'. Members of Citizens Committees who have an independent approach are forced to resign and in their place those who are likely to fall in line are substituted. A Catholic priest, Father Chandra Fernando, who was the Secretary of the Batticaloa Citizens Committee in the Eastern Province, was murdered in his own church in June this year allegedly by an armed Tamil group. A dedicated and committed human rights activist and who concentrated his efforts to provide relief and rehabilitation in Tamil areas, Mr. K. Kanthasamy, was kidnapped by an armed Tamil group in northern Jaffna on June 19 and has not been seen since. Eye-witnesses to the kidnapping have alleged that a known Tamil militant was responsible for his kidnapping and 'disappearance'.

□ Such targeting, threats, kidnappings and killings pose a grave danger to independent and impartial human rights, social and relief workers.

□ The Commission on Human Rights and its Sub-Commission and Non-Governmental Organisations concerned with the situation in Sri Lanka have at all times advocated the non-use of violence and called upon all parties to arrive at a negotiated solution to the ethnic conflict and other associated problems facing the people of Sri Lanka. They have also called for an end to human rights violations and impartial investigations into such violations.

V.P.Singh says Indian jawans dying for 'no national purpose'

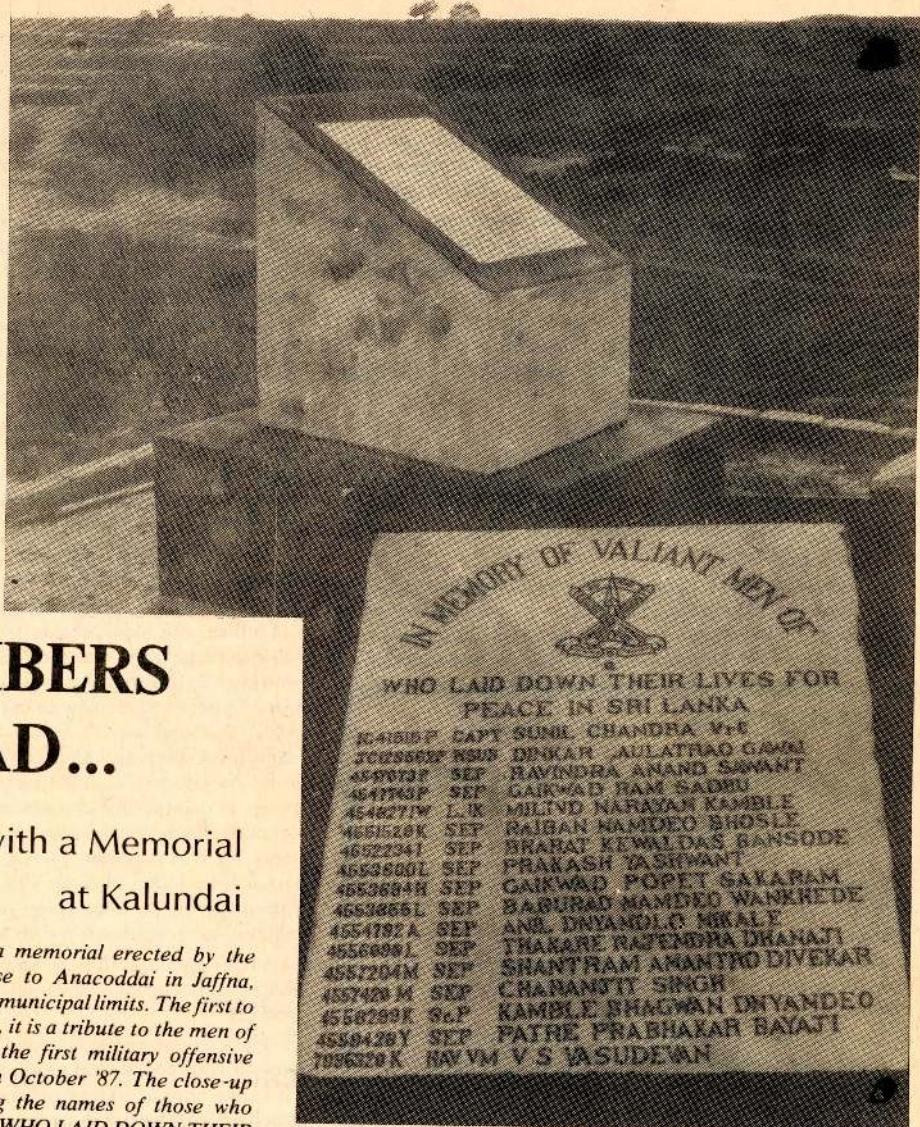
The following comments relating to the Sri Lanka situation were made by Mr. V.P. Singh, convenor of the seven-party National Front of India, at its launching in Madras on 16th September, according to a report in *The Times of India* the following day:

'On Sri Lanka, Mr. Singh said, the presidium reiterated the call for ceasefire in real and genuine terms. The current five-day ceasefire would not lead to a solution. The resolution said the government had rendered the provision of ceasefire into 'a cheap gimmick' and the present ceasefire was 'a clear attempt to conceal the realities of the situation and a further attempt to impose a solution according to the needs of President Jayewardene's designs on the Tamils of Sri Lanka'. Calling for a negotiated settlement involving the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and other groups with the Sri Lanka government, Mr. Singh said the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, should not 'stand on false prestige'. He added that the policy adopted by the government amounted to 'betrayal' of the Sri Lanka Tamils. Besides, the lives of Indian jawans were being sacrificed 'for no particular national purpose'.

THE I.P.K.F. REMEMBERS ITS DEAD...

... with a Memorial
at Kalundai

The photograph is of a memorial erected by the IPKF at Kalundai, close to Anacoddai in Jaffna, hardly a mile outside the municipal limits. The first to be put up by the Indians, it is a tribute to the men of the IPKF who died in the first military offensive launched by the IPKF in October '87. The close-up shows the plaque listing the names of those who died... "VALIANT MEN... WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES FOR PEACE IN SRI LANKA". Inscribed are 17 names, including that of an officer. A similar memorial has been erected by the IPKF to remember its dead in action in Vavuniya as well. Reliable estimates put the number of Tamil civilian



deaths since the IPKF's October '87 military offensive at 2,200. The internationally-criticised Vadamarachchi Operation by the Sri Lankan security forces which preceded the IPKF's arrival, resulted in the deaths of 756 Tamil civilians.

Tamil & Hinduism's role in Sinhala culture blacked out, says Prof.

The Tamils were in Ceylon before the Sinhalese, declared Prof. K. Sivathambu, Head of the Dept. of Fine Arts, University of Jaffna, at the ceremonial release of *Vishnu Puthirar Vediaraasan* at Vaitheeswara Vidyalayam Hall, Jaffna, on 27th August. Pandithar K. Satchithanandam presided.

Prof. Sivathambu went on to say; "At this juncture when the concept of the Tamils as a distinct nation has been put forward, the publication of a historical work like this is a historical and sociological necessity; its publication is very praiseworthy. Today we see history being distorted and prominence being given to the Sinhalese."

"But," he said, "We must be very clear about one thing. We were here before the Sinhalese. Next, in the formation of Sinhala ethnicity, the Tamil language, and the Tamils played a substantial role. Thirdly, Tamils and Hinduism played an important role in Sinhala culture; but the Sinhalese have blacked this out."

Historiography, he continued, should not confine itself to individuals' lives: past historical writings dealt with and gave prominence to Mudaliyars and certain families, instead of illuminating Jaffna's social history.

History, he said, should be a guide; it should not make us captives of the past. A comprehensive social history of the Tamil people is badly needed. At this point, the question rises whether it's correct to write about the history of castes today. In a non-industrialised country like this, the history of castes cannot be wiped out. Castes are a reality; so is consciousness of caste. Instead of trying to pretend these realities don't exist, it's better to speak of them openly so that we can free ourselves from the secret pressures of these social phenomena.

(Based on a *Murasoli* report of 1st September, headlined "Jaffna's Social History Has Yet To Be Written.")

...AND WE REMEMBER OURS...

...with a 'Family Photograph'
from Anacoddai

This is not what you would normally expect to see in a "family photograph". The whole family is there, of course, but everyone of them is dead.

What you see is one of the IPKF's early victories, soon after it had launched its October '87 military offensive.

This family lived in Anacoddai, Jaffna. Like most families in the North had done, this one too had made a "bunker" in the garden, originally to protect itself from the shells fired indiscriminately by the Sri Lankan security forces, and then, after India stepped in to ensure the safety of the Tamils, from the shells fired indiscriminately by the IPKF.

But, as readers will note, this family did not die from shell-fire. They were shot in cold blood, while they were still in the protective confines of their 'bunker'. At right, in foreground, lies the mother, shot through her genitals.

Many other families, elderly people, young boys and girls and little children have all paid with the lives since October '87. The irony is that they died at the hands of the IPKF after having happily, but mistakenly, believed that the IPKF had come to save them from death at the hands of the Sri Lankan forces.

In a manner of speaking, the IPKF did save them from death at the



hands of the Sri Lankan forces. But they died all the same, alas. This "family photograph" is published on the eve of the IPKF's October '87 military offensive against the militant 'Tigers' in memory of all the civilians in the North and East who proved to be easier targets than were the 'Tigers' and who lost their lives without realising they were dying to help India save the Tamils.

University Science Teachers' Association (Jaffna) condemns IPKF's 'indiscriminate attacks' on civilians

The Jaffna University Science Teachers' Association (USTA, Jaffna) released the following statement to the press on 30th August, 1988:

The USTA condemns and strongly protests against the seemingly calculated and indiscriminate attacks on the civilian population by members of the IPKF in the aftermath of incidents for which ordinary civilians can in no way be responsible. These beatings and sometimes shootings have followed a pattern:—

Pt. Pedro :	1st June
Chulipuram :	19th July
Jaffna :	17th & 18th August
Karainagar :	20th August
Inuvil :	22nd August

Those beaten include women, university employees, students, and others maintaining essential services at the IPKF's invitation and on the basis of the protection promised by them. Three persons totally unconnected with any violent activity were shot dead on 18th August by the CRPF, apparently in reprisal for an incident that took place elsewhere an hour earlier. In one incident, a bridegroom was made to get down from his car at Uduvil junction and was virtually stripped publicly while his bride looked on in agony. People have been beaten without warning by soldiers making forced entry into premises. Several of those admitted to hospitals have suffered hearing impairments from blows received on the head with heavy gadgets.

The USTA expresses grave concern at statements made by very high ranking IPKF officials which are threatening in character and

appear to justify the present pattern of activity.

The USTA also expresses grave concern over the IPKF Town Commandant's statement to a university delegation (Uthayan : 30th August) to the effect that : "Assaults on civilians cannot be avoided when IPKF personnel are subject to attack."

When innocent Sikh civilians were attacked and killed in the wake of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi himself condemned such indiscriminate collective punishment as madness. What when acts of a similar nature are done by a 'disciplined' army?

There are periodic reports of army officers being attacked by mutinous troopers. Is it a viable basis to run an army to have other troops launch a general assault on troops belonging to the same ethnic minority as the mutinous trooper(s)?

Answers to these questions will throw considerable light on the IPKF's role in this country.

The USTA points out that far from restoring democracy and normalcy, the IPKF's present conduct will only lead to anarchy, increasing casualties and will render almost hopeless the present climate of assassination and senseless internecine violence, with incalculable consequences for India itself.

The USTA calls upon all responsible Indians to make an urgent reassessment of the role of India's forces in this country. We demand that the IPKF immediately cease its present mode of conduct and make its position clear and consistent.

Mullaithivu gets a dawn-to-dusk roasting

Reports trickling in from Mullaithivu indicate that there has been a dawn-to-dusk curfew imposed by the IPKF in the whole of the Mullaithivu District since the 21st of August this year, and that this curfew continues to date, although little or nothing of this has been publicised in the national press.

The people of the Mullaithivu District must be thankful that the IPKF in its wisdom considered it sufficiently reasonable to permit a relaxation of the curfew between 10 a.m. and 12 noon everyday — since the first week of September at least. In rural areas such as the Mullaithivu District, which still do not boast of supermarkets that stay open into the night, little can be done by way of marketing or shopping between dusk and dawn.

Not surprising, then, that for many, many days the district was completely cut off, communication-wise and in every other way, from the closest town or village outside the district boundary, let alone the rest of the country.

It was only in the first week of September that transport services — both CTB as well as private coaches — were permitted to resume, but only up to Puthukkudiruppu via Paranthan.

The latest report we have is that people are now travelling to Jaffna via Puthukkudiruppu.

On the 31st of August — 10 days into the dusk-to-dawn curfew — by which time the food situation was understandably bad, officers of the Mullaithivu Kachcheri managed to arrange for 10 lorries of rice and flour to be brought in from the nearest government store at Mankulam.

With hardly any talk about this novel way in which the IPKF is looking after the interests of the Tamil people, the chances are that the people of the Mullaithivu District will have to learn to live with the dusk-to-dawn curfew (with a two-hour break) for as long as the IPKF thinks its good for them. As of now, the IPKF has also decided that it is not good for the people of the Mullaithivu District to have transport services via Mankulam-Oddichuddan and via Vavuniya-Nedunkerny. It is the sick people of the Mullaithivu District who feel the severity of the curfew most. In the villages, the sick have no one to go to, for the Registered Medical Practitioners (RMPs) have all deserted their posts through fear. And with no transport, for them even Mullaithivu Hospital does not exist.

The very latest we have on the problems faced by the people of the Mullaithivu District is that the IPKF has, again in its wisdom, allowed the use of tractors, but for only TWO HOURS every day. This directive, mind you, covers the use of tractors, whether to ply on the road (for transporting goods and people) as well as to plough in the fields!

To those not familiar with the area, it must be explained that the Mullaithivu District is an essentially agricultural and fishing area. Being rural, tractors invariably double-up as the most commonly used means of transport as well. With the Maha season in full swing, its now-or-never for the farmers, and even the two-hour use of tractors a day requires permission every time. As for fishing, there's little or no fishing since the curfew.

Perhaps the IPKF in its wisdom has decided that some harvest is better than none — in this case, two-hours' worth of Maha.

Who are the farmers of the Mullaithivu District to disagree?

By Gazette notification dated 15th April 1988 the Government Agent, Mullaithivu, was relieved by the Lands Ministry of all authority pertaining to land in the Mahaweli 'L' Area, which from that date came under the purview of the Mahaweli Authority.

The Gazette notification means that the G.A. ceased, with effect from 15th April 1988, to have authority in land matters over an area which now makes up all of 90 per cent of Mahaweli 'L'!

Since 1984, when the Tamils in the areas adjacent to Veli Oya were evacuated, this has been a prohibited zone accessible only to the Army and officials of the Mahaweli Authority. The Colonisation Plan

was put into effect, without let or hindrance, as they say.

All of this, no doubt, is strictly in the spirit and to the letter of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. For we have everyone's word, from Dixit up to his boss Rajiv Gandhi, that the main objective of the Accord was to safeguard the rightful and legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people. Perhaps the Accord provides, in a lesser known 'exchange of letters', that what India finds politically inconvenient to record as seen, does not constitute a contravention of the Accord?

* * * * *

On 14th September 1988 a bomb exploded in front of the Church of Our Lady of Refuge, on Hospital Road, Jaffna. Two people, Mr. S. Baskaran (21) and Mr. Rajaratnam (51) were injured and were later taken to hospital by the IPKF. The people of the area seem to recall that, some minutes before the blast, Indians belonging to the ICRPF had passed by. Just coincidence, perhaps.

* * * * *

On the morning of 13th September a landmine exploded at Sanyasi Paranthan, on the Puliyanakulam-Nedunkerny Road, killing six IPKF personnel, including two officers. The area was immediately subject to a thorough cordon-and-search, but those responsible for the atrocity were not caught.

* * * * *

In August, Mr. Navaratnarajah, a teacher in Kaddaiparichan, in Muthur, was reported kidnapped. Acting on a tip-off, the IPKF later found his body. A group of young Muslim militants, calling itself Jihad, is suspected to be responsible for the murder.

The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) has issued the following statement on what it describes as *The Vali-Oya Outrage*: The North-East region, that part of Sri Lanka which has been the traditional homeland of the Tamil-speaking people, is in the process of being dismembered. Ingeniously contrived wedges of state colonisation schemes are being implemented to sever the geographical continuity of the region.

One of these is the notorious Maha-veli "L" (Vali-oya) scheme, where the implanting of the Sinhala-Buddhist community, at the expense of the Tamil-speaking community, gained urgent momentum immediately after the signing of the July 1987 Accord. This has been made possible only after driving away all Tamil-speaking people from their traditional homeland with impunity, without proper legal formalities, in indecent haste and against all moral and civilised norms.

Many who were arrested and incarcerated in the State's prisons continue to languish even after the lapse of a year (i.e., after the Accord came into force). To make matters worse, legal proceedings have now commenced against those so imprisoned. While the people have to contend with a terrifying and devastating war situation in the North-East, where their very lives are at stake, they have also to battle these additional inflictions.

In the meantime, it is quite apparent that the Sri Lankan Government's pretence, that the time is ripe for holding the Provincial Council elections in the North-East, is deceitful and against the rightful aspirations of the people. Such activities not only contribute to the dismembering of the North-East Tamil-speaking region, displacing traditional people with those of the Sinhala Community, but also deprive the former of their fundamental rights and militates against a fair electoral representation. This would be a travesty of justice; and we feel that democracy has to be defended more vigorously at this juncture.

EROS says copies of the above statement have been forwarded to the Prime Minister of India and the High Commissioner of India.

There was an annexure to the statement giving the number of Tamil families displaced by the Government from the Vavuniya and Mullaithivu districts.

Ronnie hopes to be the bridge over troubled water

The following is an interview given to Seema Guha of *The Times of India* by ex-Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel:

The former Sri Lankan Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie De Mel, says that a merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces should be brought about to assuage Tamil sentiments and find a permanent solution of the Tamil question.

Mr De Mel, who has resigned from the ruling United National Party to soon join the major opposition party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, told TOINS here that the only way to solve the Tamil question was by granting autonomy and by devolution of powers in a way acceptable to the Tamils.

He emphasised that he was willing to talk to the Tiger leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, if necessary, to bring back normalcy to the strife-torn North and East.

Mr. De Mel, who served the longest as Finance Minister of the country and was the most successful, is well known for his opposition to a military solution to the ethnic problem. He was the only member of President Jayewardene's cabinet to oppose the Vadamarachchi "operation liberation" conducted by the Sri Lankan Army last year. He was also one of the chief architects of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, insisting that Sri Lanka had necessarily to maintain friendly relations with India.

Though today Mr. De Mel criticises the accord and has taken the SLFP line that it needs to be renegotiated, he is the only Sinhalese politician who is publicly maintaining the position that devolution of powers and self-rule constitute the key to the ethnic conflict. Paradoxically, he is joining a party which since July last year has not only been vehemently opposed to the Indo-Sri Lanka accord but also to devolution of powers and the formation of provincial councils. However, at the moment, the SLFP needs Mr. De Mel just as much as he needs it. The SLFP leader, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, has been keen on having Mr. De Mel on his side.

His pragmatism is expected to dilute the vehement anti-accord stand of the party. A change has already been noticed in the SLFP stance towards India. Working within the party, Mr. De Mel can further soften its attitude towards merger and devolution. He is expected to strengthen the progressive forces within the SLFP. The majority anti-India and anti-accord elements will naturally be disgruntled. In fact, this group is opposing his entry into the SLFP. The former Minister has always had close links with the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna. It is uncertain whether the JVP can be made to change its stand on the merger of the two provinces and devolution. The JVP has been equating federalism with separatism and holds the unitary nature of the Sri Lankan constitution as sacred. It is opposed to devolution on the ground that it will lead to the fragmentation of the country.

Mr. De Mel is not certain how exactly the JVP can be brought to his way of thinking, even if he can persuade the SLFP leadership. However, he is optimistic that under a new government, which might come to power through free and fair elections, the situation in the country would be different. He feels that the SLFP can always command the trust and credibility of all sections of the people unlike the present rulers who, through their constantly shifting positions, have lost the respect of the masses.

Mr. De Mel blames the short-sighted policies of the ruling party for prolonging the ethnic conflict in the North and East by refusing to give concessions when they were due. The Tamil question, he says, could have been solved in 1977, when the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leaders, who had come into parliament with a massive majority, had been granted a measure of self-rule through the district development councils.

He said that the TULF was willing to accept this, but the Government soon went back on its word. This led to disenchantment of the TULF and the rise of the LTTE.

Since then the ethnic conflict has escalated, spurred by the repeated mistakes of the UNP and the hawks within the cabinet who opposed all concessions to the Tamils, he says.

Mr. De Mel hopes that if the SLFP comes to power in the next elections, "I will be able to bridge the gap between the government and militant groups, both in the North and the South. At the same time, I have always firmly maintained that friendship with India should be the corner-stone of our foreign policy."

He also pointed out that the SLFP had always followed a foreign policy which was not hostile to Indian interests in the region. He felt that once the accord was renegotiated, there was no reason why the traditional friendly relations between the SLFP and New Delhi could not be restored.

The former minister refused to spell out the details of how he would solve the JVP and the Tamil issues. He felt it was too early and, before joining the party, presumptuous on his part to do so. He said the IPKF would eventually have to leave, but added that it did not mean that as soon as a new government came to power it would be ordered to leave the island. A solution to which the majority of the Tamils would agree would first have to be worked out. Once peace was restored, the Indian Army could leave.

This is in direct contrast to the stand of Mr. Anura Bandaranaike that the IPKF should leave within 24 hours of his party coming to power and that the provincial councils would be dissolved immediately. Commenting on the current situation in Sri Lanka, Mr. De Mel said, "A near revolutionary situation is fast engulfing the country, brought about by the political and economic mess in which the ruling party has plunged the island."

Note by Editor: We must not forget that it is the same Mr. De Mel who berated Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's 1970 - 77 Government in damning terms in his first Budget Speech on behalf of the UNP in 1977, mentioning the ex-Prime Minister by name no less than 53 times. Now times have changed, as also the tune!

KILLINGS IN SOUTH GO ON WITH FEARSOME REGULARITY

The situation in the mainly Sinhalese South continues to give cause for concern with the killings of United National Party members and supporters going on with fearsome regularity, the student unrest showing no signs of abatement, and daring robberies.

Mr. Lionel Jayatilleke, 64, Minister for Reconstruction & Rehabilitation and M.P. for Kuliapitiya, was the latest victim. He was shot dead in his electorate on 26th September. The radical Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna is held responsible by the Government for the entire situation.

The lifting of the JVP's five-year proscription in August has not made it give up its anti-Government crusade.

While opposition to the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord on the ethnic problem and high unemployment remain its main planks, the arrests and killings of youths suspected to be its members, especially in Galle, Matara and Hambantota districts, have served to fuel the movement.

Meanwhile, the death of Attorney-at-Law Wijedasa Liyanarachchi while in police custody has made matters worse for the Government. The Bar Association of Sri Lanka resolved that its members should not appear in the courts for any police personnel.

President Jayewardene's decision to step down on 3rd January, after his second term, appears to have defused the situation marginally. Prime Minister R. Premadasa, his nominee as the UNP's Presidential candidate in December, seems to be gearing up for a tough fight.

NO MORE CEASEFIRE ... AND NO MORE PEACE ...

TEVO

The latest ceasefire declared by the IPKF in the North on 14th September has also gone with the wind.

The expectation was that the LTTE would surrender its remaining arms and come forward for election to the combined North-East Provincial Council planned for November.

Originally called for five days, the ceasefire was extended by another five days at the request of the LTTE.

While it officially welcomed the unilateral ceasefire, the LTTE made no mention of India's hope that the period would be used by the militants to surrender arms and get into the mainstream of politics.

During the ceasefire there were hardly any incidents in the North, giving hope that peace would finally come to the troubled region. But at the end of the period the arms-surrender had not taken place and the IPKF resumed its operations, and more killings are taking place on both sides.

The Sri Lanka Government, for its part, maintains it has fulfilled all the major commitments in the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. President Jayewardene issued a proclamation on 8th September merging the Northern and Eastern Provinces and the release in batches of the remaining 600 Tamil detenus at the Boosa camp in the Galle district began on 13th September. Before the Accord was signed, there were nearly 5,000 detenus. Legislation to make Tamil also an official language will be implemented next month.

YES, KACHCHERIES IN NORTH-EAST CLOSED FOR NOMINATIONS

All Kachcheries (Government Secretariats) in the Northern and Eastern Provinces remain closed on the orders of the LTTE, according to reports reaching us at the time of going into production.

Even the payment of pensions, which was allowed earlier, could not be done, we learn.

The LTTE has announced that the closure order will remain valid until the period stipulated for the handing in of nominations for the proposed merged North-East Provincial Council.

RUHUNA RE-NAMED 'UNIVERSITY of SATHYAPALA WANNIGAMA' BY STUDENTS' COMMITTEE

The Students' Action Committee of the University of Ruhuna has "re-named" the institution as the "University of Sathyapala Wannigama" in memory of the lecturer who "disappeared" after his arrest in Matara on 13th November last year.

In a public appeal, the Committee states:

"It was this institution which brought into being a set of Vice-Chancellors who created new records by making it the one which is kept closed for the greater part of time of its 10-year existence.

"It was solely as a result of the lethargy of such functionaries who were at the helm of affairs of this institution that Mr. Wannigama, lecturer in logic, who was arrested on 13th November disappeared.

The election is to be held on the basis of both the 1982 and 1987 electoral rolls to enable those who were caught up in the 1983 ethnic violence to also participate. Nominations were to be received from 3rd to 7th October.

New state-aided colonisation of the Eastern Province by Sinhalese and Muslims has also been halted. However, all the progress made towards a settlement will be set at naught if the LTTE decides to hold out—as it seems to have done, judging from available reports.

LTTE welcomed ceasefire before it ceased...

The political committee of the LTTE had welcomed the ceasefire and asked for it to be made permanent and also urged the Indian government to invite the LTTE for an official dialogue.

The LTTE's statement, sent to newsmen from its London office and dated 18th September, said: *"We welcome the ceasefire because we know very well that the problems of the people of Tamil Eelam can be solved by peaceful means, and that military operations will lead to destruction of life and property and not create conditions conducive to peace and normalcy."*

"DAWALA BEESHANA" — A TOPICAL DRAMA ON TORTURE

Jean Paul Satre's play, *Mor Shan Sepulthar*, titled *Men Without Shadows* in its English translation, has now been re-translated into Sinhala as *Dawala Beeshana*. The play was staged at the Lionel Wendt on 27th and 28th September by well-known Director Dharmasiri Bandaranayake. The play goes on the boards at Lumbini from 10th October.

Dawala Beeshana is powerful drama, slow moving at the start but works its way to a grippingly tense finale. It is most appropriate, coming as it does at a time when torture and human rights violations on all sides seems to be the order of the day.

Considering the monotonous regularity with which atrocities are being committed, all allegedly for the sake and in the name of Country and Race, Mr. Dharmasiri Bandaranayake deserves high praise for a most timely production which should prod many a memory and prick many a conscience—if they see the play, that is.

K.M.

"Out of the thousands of like incidents which have taken place before and after this, we hold the arrest of Mr. Wannigama as one symbolising the gross violation of human rights by a fascist regime.

"In the light of the facts already revealed, we firmly believe that the charred body of a youth found at Tangalle-Vetiya, that was depicted in newspapers and some periodicals, is that of our missing teacher.

"By way of a mark of respect to our beloved teacher and outstanding humanist, the Ruhuna University has been renamed as University of Sathyapala Wannigama from 13th September 1988, which marks the completion of 10 months from the day of his arrest."