

HOT SPRING

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LTTE - Now A Conventional Army!

Major - General Hamilton Wanasinghe, the Sri Lankan Army Commander who personally visited the battle scene in the North, is reported to have said that the LTTE has now turned to face to face conventional combat methods. He has further said that a fierce battle is raging between the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE at Elephant Pass and that more troops have been despatched to relieve the Sri Lankan Army at Elephant Pass.

War on for Two Weeks

SL Army Commander Visits Scene

The battle for supremacy at Elephant Pass is going on for the second week now with the battle being escalated to other areas as well.

The Government in an effort to relieve its Army besieged at Elephant Pass Camp, landed troops at Kaddaikadu and Vetrilaike-rni areas in Vadamardchy East from Naval ships anchored off the seas at these two places. However, the troops that landed at these two areas have been surrounded by the LTTE and a fighting is going on in these two areas as well, with the Sri Lankan Army not being able to move towards the Elephant Pass Camp, its stated military objective.

In the meantime the siege of the Elephant Pass Sri Lankan Army Camp continues with LTTE cadres having already entrenched themselves at points within the camp area which is understood to cover about 35 acres. Because of this siege from close range, no relief supplies could be sent to the besieged Sri Lankan army. Even wounded soldiers cannot be removed for treatment as helicopters cannot land in the camp area because of the attack from the LTTE.

So far, while the efforts of the Sri Lankan Army have not even helped to air-lift the wounded soldiers at Elephant Pass, they have only succeeded in escalating the war to other areas. Heavy fighting in Vetrilaike-rni and Kaddaikadu seem to have caused lot of damage to the Sri Lankan Government forces so much so that the Commander of the Army, Maj. Gen. Hamilton Wanasinghe had personally visited the war scene.

In the meantime Sri Lankan Government's Defence Ministry Secretary, Gen Cyril Ranatunge, is reported to have said in Colombo that the Government does not

plan to evacuate the Elephant Pass Camp but may put up more camps. General Cyril Ranatunge is also reported to have said that the Army operations would continue to wipe out the Tigers.

Reports from the Vadamardchy East battle front say that a Sri Lankan bomber and helicopter were damaged by fire from the LTTE cadres on Thursday, July 18. The Air Force and Infantry are being supported by cannon fire from Sri Lankan ships off Vadamardchy East but no progress seem to have been made by the combined efforts of the forces in Vadamardchy East.

The LTTE announced the death of 62 of its cadres at Elephant Pass and eight at Vadamardchy East. As regards the death on

the Sri Lankan Army side is concerned, no authentic figures are known. However, many Sri Lankan soldiers including officers have died in battle.

Meanwhile reports from Colombo state that relatives of soldiers at Elephant Pass have appealed to the Government to get the besieged soldiers relieved and handed over to their families by means of talks with the LTTE. It is stated that this appeal has been

made to President Premadasa and to the Defence Ministry. But other reports indicate that the war may escalate further.

Already reports have been received of fighting between the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE in Mullaitivu, Mannar and Vavuniya, when Sri Lankan Army troops tried to march out of their camps.

The curfew imposed in the North is now in force for 12 continuous days.

Starvation of People

A Modus Operandi of War by Government

An indefinite curfew was imposed on July 10, 1991, all over Jaffna, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi Districts and also in areas to the North of Vavuniya town where Tamils reside. The curfew is still in force.

As a result of the curfew, a food crisis is developing. Already two ships laden

Reports from Chavakachcheri state that 8 other persons were injured at various places in the Chavakachcheri Division the same night and some cattle also died. A number of houses and other buildings were damaged. It is estimated that about 40 shells hit Chavakachcheri on the night of July 14th alone.

with foodstuffs for Jaffna which arrived in the Point Pedro harbour had left harbour and returned without unloading the consignment on the pretext that a curfew was in force.

The Government Agent of Jaffna has said that the Joint Operations Command of the Government of Sri Lanka had refused to permit the transportation of food stuffs because of the curfew in force.

In the meantime a government official in Jaffna has said that unless food is sent by ships into Jaffna immediately, distribution of food stuffs by the Kachcheri may be impeded next month.

University Lecturer Killed by Shell Attack

K. Ranjakumar (27) a lecturer attached to the University of Jaffna died on the spot on Sunday July 14, 1991, when a shell launched from the Palaly Army Camp, hit his house at Chavakachcheri,

a distance of about 22 miles from Palaly.

Mr. Ranjakumar was sleeping at his house, when the fatal shell exploded at his house.

Another person named Karthigesu Sivasithamparam (40) also died the same night when another shell hit the house where he was staying at Chankathanai about two miles away from Chavakachcheri.

J. Elaikarasi (10) female, R. Kalapan (8) male, J. David (10) male, J. Ranjan (10) male, J. Kausika (10) female, J. Eugenie (5) female, J. Puviraj (8) male, G. Christie Ranjan (5) male, R. Kamalanathan (10) male, David Christie (4) male.

Also a middle aged couple, T. Gnanaprasadam (37) and his wife Gracinicia (33) were injured.

So small children have become military objectives in a war claimed by the Government to be solely directed against LTTE 'terrorists.'

Children become military objectives for Sri Lanka Air Force

The Sri Lankan government makes vociferous claims that it attacks only LTTE targets and its war is against the LTTE and not against the Tamil People.

On Tuesday July 16, 1991 a Sri Lankan helicopter belonging to the Sri Lankan Air Force threw grenades at a group of small children who were playing and caused the instantaneous death of a female child, Amalajini, only four years old. Ten other children were injured. They are:

Foreign Aid for Tamils held in Colombo

Jaffna Citizens' Committee Complains

"It is most disconcerting that foreign aids received for specific purposes to relieve the sufferings of the Tamil speaking people are held up in Colombo". Says the Jaffna Citizens' Committee in a letter addressed to President Premadasa.

The letter further states that the intensification of

the war in the Karaingar area has cut off all connections and supplies of food medicines money and all other essential commodities to that area.

The tile factory at Oddisuddan is in danger of closing down as 64 members of its staff are under transfer orders to Kurunagala and Amparai.

The closure of the Jaipur foot organization in Jaffna and the ban on the transport to Jaffna and other adjoining districts of parts and raw materials for the functioning of the foot factory have affected hundreds of civilians who have lost their legs due to air

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Regional Security Plus Heart of Tamil

— Paramasamy Logan —

"While to other countries the Indian Ocean is only one of the important Oceanic areas, to India it is vital sea... Her future is dependant on the freedom of the vast water surface. No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for her, unless the Indian Ocean is free and her own shores fully protected. The Indian ocean must, therefore, remain truly Indian", wrote Mr. K. M. Pannikar the noted Indian foreign policy scholar in 1945.

That is a fully opposite statement to what Sri Lankan Government is saying now. Last week Government sources said that a radio broadcasting station of the Voice of America (VOA) is to be

established in the Western part of Sri Lanka and that the Government would sign a new pact with the United States before the end of this year. This new pact between the two countries will replace a lease agreement signed on January, 15th, 1985 by the then U. S. envoy John H. Reed and Sri Lankan Chairman of S. L. B. C. (Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation), Mr. Livy Wijemanne.

Indian foreign secretary, Mr. Muckund Dubey arrived in Colombo on the 29th of last month on his way to Male. He met Sri Lankan External Affairs Minister Harold Herat and said that the Sri Lankan Government was disturbing the Agreement of 29th July, 1987 by signing a pact with U. S. A. and

this broadcasting station can be used to pass information to America.

But Sri Lankan officials have pledged that the new U. S. facilities would be used precisely for the original purpose of broadcasting radio programmes for which the agreement would be signed. "India has nothing to fear" But India knows that this is not good for its regional security. The new Government in India is trying to sign a new agreement with Sri Lanka.

The agreement of 1987 which was signed by the late Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and former Sri Lankan President, J.R. Jayewardene, did not satisfy anyone including the people of Tamil Eelam. About

6,000 were killed and over 50,000 of them were affected severely after this accord had been signed. While Indian officials think about India's security, they must also keep in their minds the concerns of the Eelam Tamils. They must come to understand the Tamil feelings.

In 1962 when Soviet Union tried to place short range missiles in Cuba, America protested against it and the then U. S. President Kennedy warned the Soviet Union to remove the missiles within 24 hours. He succeeded in his attempt.

Now India has to fight against the possible attack on her by nuclear weapons with Pakistan and against Pakistan interfering in Indian affairs over Kashmir crisis. India has slightly succeeded in these affairs.

India also succeeded in the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal on Sino-Nepalese arms deal. Therefore India can stop the establishment of V.O.A. in Sri Lanka now. At the same time India must keep in mind the necessity of winning the hearts of Eelam Tamils.

Appreciation

DR. J. P. C. PHILIPS

The dismal news of the sudden exit of one as Dr. J. P. C. Philips in Madras was a stunning blow to his numerous friends and admirers which included thousands, both rich and poor to whom he was verily a 'Ministering Angel' at his nursing home at Main Street, Jaffna. He held away with his healing touch and relieved them of their physical as well as mental agony so much so, 'Dr. Philips, the Physician, Par Excellence' became a

household word in the peninsula.

Dr. Philips fostering care and concern extended beyond his roaring medical practice; he was in every sense a 'guiding star' a live-wire of several progressive activities in spheres social, religious, educational, sporting and cultural. He was in every sense a true steel; a sheet-anchor so much so he was much sought after and found himself in the thick of every

activity. A distinguished alumnus of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, its Non-Formal Educational wing, 'The Patrician Technical Institute' remains a testimony to his labour of love which today is a boon to the youth of Jaffna. A faithful churchman, he contributed his mite most lovingly and devotedly to the Catholic Church most lavishly as President of the Jaffna Football league (JFA) and the Jaffna District Football Association (JDFA) he rendered signals service to keep the ball rolling and rolling about. A catalogue of his many merits would be too long to enumerate; suffice it to say that he has a rare find: a visionary with a zeal and a mission that would astound even his severest critics, if he had any!

It is indeed a calamity that the community had to lose such a true and noble servant as he ever before he could round up the proverbial Biblical span.. Let us find consolation in the other biblical prophecy 'those whom the Gods love die young' and console ourselves over this irreparable loss. Frail and weaker vessels as we are, let us join his widow and children in giving him a distinct place in our memory and in praying for the repose of his soul in the Kingdom of His Maker.

V. T. Sivalingam -
President,

Jaffna Amateur Athletic
Association.

The Tigers' War for Eelam

The world doth wonder at their heroic acts,

History doesn't bear such equal facts;

Proud are we of their flawless acts,

Let us salute them by downing hats.

The war will rage till Eelam dawns;

No give up shall there be; no change of tones.

Be it known that a Tamil never fawns,

Let our hands join to break the enemy's bones.

Many a decade did see many a riot of race;

*In murder, plunder, rape and arson they kept
great pace;*

By this they smeared themselves black their face,

*And Amnesty International rated them, - a very
bad case.*

What atrocious crimes do they on us foist;

Despite our cries and wails they do persist;

Some evil rulers elsewhere do assist,

Just in return for a State - Visit!

But our valient Tigers wonderfully resist;

And, in securing Eelam, all of us do insist!

Stunning thrusts give the war much colour;

Such glamour give rise to rising valour;

Eelam shall be won; it shall glitter with splendour,

The dirty enemy, with downcast eyes, shall ponder.

- Ram -

OUR READERS SAY

Day of the Minorities

Dear Editor,

When we look around, we see a new wind of change blowing across the world. The long enslaved ethnic minorities have woken from their slumber to fight for their rights. President Gorbachev is responsible for this radical change in majority-minority relations, unthinkable a few years ago. It is, therefore, no surprise that the first revolt should arise within the Soviet Union itself. That evil empire built by Hitler and Stalin, has since been dismantled and the former colonies are on the threshold of freedom and democracy. The first shot was fired in the pin-head republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which were free and independent till that fateful year 1940. This period reached the highest water-mark of Nazism and Communism in Europe. Hitler and Stalin agreed that these republics should get behind the Iron-curtain, whilst in return Hitler could annex half of Poland to Nazi Germany, After half a century of slavery, these republics have risen to challenge the might of Moscow for their freedom and liberty.

Also in the U.S.S.R. tiny minority republics like Georgia, Armenia etc. have passed laws upholding their independence. The crafty Czars had amassed the Asian lands of Siberia, Mongolia etc by signing unequal treaties with the sleepy, drug-addicted Emperors and Khans of an earlier era. These areas are demanding their rights today because they are Moslems or Mongols. [President Gorbachev's reforms have been so great that the majority of citizens of

Leningrad have voted freely to restore the old name of St. Petersburg in memory of Peter the Great who built it out of the marshes and lagoons of the area. There is even a proposal to change the name of the U.S.S.R. and Stalingrad has already taken the former name of Volgograd. Soviet Govt. I hear, is toying with the idea of removing the embalmed body of Lenin out of the Mausoleum in Moscow, just as they had done to Stalin's body earlier. The personality cult is over.

The stateless wandering Jewish minorities of Europe were slaughtered by the millions. Today they are living in their own power-packed state in their ancient homeland of Palestine. The Arabs considered the Kurdish minorities as their traditional enemies. But after the Iraqi debacle, the UN stepped in to carve out a home for the Kurds. The ethnic minorities were kept down in Yugo-slavia by the power and personality of President Tito. Now we see them fighting for their right to self-determination. How can one expect the Tamils hailing from strong ethnic background to forget their rights. Stalin occupied Japan's Islands of Kurile, as Japan collapsed and surrendered and has refused to part with them. Gorbachev in his own interest should settle this problem also early.

These events have not failed to cast their shadows on our little Island. In fact, we were one step in front, when the youths joined battle for freedom from our Sinhalese masters. Only

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Now that the last batch of IPKF has returned from Sri Lanka it is time that an in-depth stock is taken of its 32 month adventure there. Never before had the country experienced such differences in conception, view point and reaction that came to the fore in the expressions of the people of different states, different political hues and different social milieus. Never before had the country's armed forces been subjected to such differing assessment, varying between accusation as known as killers of Tamils and encomium as selfless soldiers who did their duty under difficult conditions. Never before had the country exclusively used its peace keeping armed forces militarily as its sole instrument in a foreign country to achieve political objectives.

On its expense account are more than 1150 soldiers dead and double that number maimed and wounded, a total bill of millions of rupees spent to sustain the military adventure for 32 months, a good deal of poison injected into our own Tamil society and Indian polity, loss of credibility in the eyes of not only many other countries in the region but also among large sections of our own countrymen, and last but not the least, doubt in everybody's mind, specially in the armed forces regarding, what they set out to do and what they finally did.

On the credit side is the country's demonstration that it is prepared to go to the military length it did in order to safeguard what it perceives as its security interest, followed by the display of its intent of not persisting mulishly in coercing its neighbour beyond a point, whatever the nature of that point and however brought about. All other so-called 'achievements' of IPKF, as mouthed by many politicians, intellectuals, analysts and professionals are only consequences.

Achievements are designed, planned and pursued single mindedly. Consequences are mere fallouts, incidentals which are neither visualized nor planned for.

Therefore a number of questions arise in examining this exercise.

● Was a military adventure-use of military force against the Tamil darlings, the LTTE, unavoidable? Was India's security so much threatened in Sri Lanka by the Tamil—Sinhala confrontation that it became our 'vital National Interest'? (One definition of nation's vital interest is that it is an interest over which nations are prepared to go to war).

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● If it was so, was it visualized and accordingly planned?

● What were IPKF's military aim and military tasks in Sri Lanka? What political aim were they designed to support? Did both adequately match?

● Was the military instrument given the necessary other - than - military wherewithal to achieve its task in support of the political aim in a foreign country?

● Was a thorough reappraisal carried out from time to time as military operations continued and political developments did not always keep pace, as was evident after certain landmark developments easily identified by the conduct of three elections

Lankan Tamils, struggle to find a place in the sun by resorting to violence and seeking shelter in Tamil Nadu, were well established and justified. That the disturbed conditions in Sri Lanka offered good scope to other countries to interfere and establish focii of influence to the detriment of India's and regional security is unexceptionable.

That India's security interests as reflected in Sri Lanka's territorial integrity (i. e. Sri Lankan Tamils' non-

device and India as a coercive instrument in favour of Tamils. Yet this pro-Tamil instrument fantasizing its role turned against the Tamils—the LTTE—in embarrassed pique! Can fantasy and pique become factors in deciding a nation's vital security interests that dictate going to war? If confrontation with LTTE it was to be, did it have to be 50,000 troops treading on foreign soil, when it was probably far more easy and less costly in every aspect (except perhaps prestige and image at home) to strangle

weigh the factors and the advice! One suspects that the Government and the MEA ran out of ideas and the military showed itself rearing to go projecting outside!

Organization Evolved to Control the War

Little is known about the type of organization the Government of India evolved to study, visualize, plan and direct the difficult venture in Sri Lanka. Many newspapers have highlighted the cross-purposes at which the various agencies involved—IPKF, RAW, MEA, MOD, IB, MOH—were working, leave aside not working in consultation, to an agreed plan. One influential section, as articulated by the then Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, justified military turn-about on the grounds that Sri Lankan Tamil realization of Eelam could set off sympathetic secessionist, non-secular, linguistic, theocratic and ethnic tendencies in Tamil Nadu to the detriment of India's integrity and unity, an idea as preposterous as fantasy can make it? Some papers have alluded to the personalized handling of the entire affair at the highest governmental level.

Three features typify the gross in-adequacy of whatever organization was evolved for handling it. Firstly, the clearly visible confusion in identifying vital national security interests and military response to them as reflected in asking the peace-keeping force to start fighting, and fighting the very Tamils and their heroes, the LTTE, whom they went to help and the abominable lack of military preparation to start that war. Secondly, the painful lack of ideas and effort to exploit opportunities brought about by military operations and consequent political changes in the situation, as borne out by the inexplicable absence of political initiative after each of the three elections and ending in the coup de grace dealt by Sri Lankan Government—LTTE talks to Indian adventure. Thirdly, the ducks—and-drakes that started being played by the Government's apparent bankruptcy of ideas and policy, as epitomized in the dangerous jerkiness of halting/

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Four years ago on the 29th July, 1987 the late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as Prime Minister of India and Mr. J. R. Jayewardene as President of Sri Lanka entered into an Accord.

It was stated that the main aim of the Accord was to end the 'ethnic conflict' in Sri Lanka. It is another matter that the Eelam Tamils who were the parties to the dispute were not consulted in the matter but the Indian government told her people—especially the people of Tamil Nadu—that Indian troops were going into Eelam territory to protect the Tamils in Sri Lanka. And so Indian troops came into Eelam territory under the nomenclature of Indian Peace Keeping Force. Ultimately the Indian troops ended their mission by killing large numbers of Tamils themselves.

The Indian military intervention was a dark period in the history of Tamil Eelam. The former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in India refused to participate at a welcome back home reception to the Indian troops because the Indian troops had killed many Eelam Tamils. Needless to say their departure was a rejoicing event in Tamil Eelam.

Lt. Gen Sandesh Pande was General Officer Commanding the Indian troops in Jaffna. We publish an article written by him in the Indian Defence Review.

and the Sri Lankan Government—LTTE collusion in June 1989? What type of organization was evolved at politic, bureaucratic military level to study, visualize, plan and guide the IPKF involvement in Sri Lanka and how effective did it prove?

● How effective was the IPKF in its operations in Sri Lanka? Did it measure up to the expectations of the Government and people and professionalism?

● Where does the effort of projection of national power stand in the scale of success?

Was Application of Military Force Unavoidable?

Here one must go the genesis of the problem. That the Government of India and Tamil Nadu were exercised over the raw deal dispensed by the Sri Lankan Government to its Tamils, and Sri

realization of Eelam) and yet safeguarding Tamils' interests (i. e. Sri Lankan Government's acceptance of sharing power with the Tamils) were contradictory and hence extremely difficult undeniable. Equally clear as daylight were the facts that the LTTE, the dominant Tamil militant faction and the most favoured one in Tamil Nadu and by the Government of India, was even so most intransigent, obstreperous and violently fascist in its ethos, approach and conduct, and that even so it was the most popular party with the Sri Lankan Tamils to whom Eelam had become an idea and LTTE a sentiment.

In this scenario, therefore, had the Government of India run out of all other avenues of effort to resolve the Sri Lankan Tamil issue? Indo-Sri Lanka Accord (ISLA) was an expedient agreed to by Sri Lanka as a life-saving

the LTTE in Tamil Nadu and achieve the same goal? Couldn't the confrontation be managed through Sri Lanka forces and LTTE, by helping, and restraining, both so that both would learn the futility of seeking a military solution, though the realization would take long (probably in the same time frame that the IPKF too took ultimately)?

The impression one gathers is that the Government's decision to involve IPKF in a military response was hasty avoidable, inadequately analysed, unstatesmanlike and weighed in favour of failure. Despite the availability of all the impediments of recent knowledge and experience of such interventions and possibilities of counter-insurgency the world over, one wonders what professional advice did the military give to the Government and how forcefully, and to what extent did the Government itself

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slowing/ Politicizing/ recommending deinduction of IPKF's continued presence in Sri Lanka as a pressure point, without realizing that the continued presence of IPKF without any further operational aim and military defined tasks amounted to a mere physical pressure of the weight of so many thousand soldiers, progressively unwanted and hated by one and all in Sri Lanka.

That this would be the beginning of self inflicted conscious destruction of the IPKF on foreign soil does not seem to have occurred to anyone, and is indeed the very limit of bankruptcy and hobbing with disaster. Part of this rush into folly was, as so many reporters have observed, the panicky step of arming and training bunches of unreliable riffraff of the EPRLF combine, which rightly, predictedly and surely turned into a pathetic comic, whose brunt had to be borne, as reported in the Press, once again by the hapless IPKF which was only doing its duty as ordered.

Inured to its own peculiar brand of democracy, elections, political activities etc, the Government of India and its Sri Lanka policy makers obviously failed to take the 'people' in the North-eastern Province in Sri Lanka into consideration, leave aside confidence. Alas, if they had gone to the people and made an effort to assess what they wanted they would have told that they wanted a type of democracy and election, if that was necessary, where the LTTE had a major role and participation, even if that democracy and election amounted to one party (read LTTE) rule.

Having lived in that milieu and suffered for so long they know what they wanted, and had little faith in or enthusiasm for the type of democracy and elections the Indian Government prescribed for them. If that is what the people wanted then who were the Indians and the IPKF to thrust something different down their throat?

The big sin was that nobody went to the people. Even the former Indian High Commissioner was out of his depth when he once, and only once, spoke to the Jaffna citizens in late 1988 just prior to elections. Even Indian Press failed to find out from the people as it fell prey to the hypnotism that the LTTE had always spread for it and to the valiantly frantic efforts made

by the Indian Government (and the IPKF), in self-arrogated righteousness, towards its wrongly enthusiastic intent of bringing in its own brand of democracy among its assumed [protégés in Sri Lanka.

No thought seems to have been given by the policy planners to India's vulnerabilities born out of limitations of its policy, latterly aided by its growing military muscle encouraging political ventures abroad in the region. India's desire and compulsion to maintain Sri Lankan territorial integrity thought to be so necessary for Indian and South Asian security is well understood by Colombo, which seems to be convinced that India can only go so far and no further in backing the Tamils against it.

The Sri Lankan Tamils know that they are the only agency through which India can retain its influence in Sri Lanka, and that other socio-cultural-religious-linguistic ties with Tamil Nadu can be fully banked upon for India's support in their just struggle for a place in Sri Lankan sun. Thus India wants both but cannot have them on its own terms. These vulnerabilities are fully exploited by both. The Sinhalese have cared a tuppence for India's pressure beyond a point, the Sri Lankan Tamils and the LTTE have cocked their nose in 'ungratefulness' and disdain at India and the ugly Indians. One must discern their disillusionment under the skin of 'ungratefulness'. In sum, since going to war with one party while grimacing at their opponent in Sri Lanka was apparently justified, unavoidable and the only solution as events have shown, was the policy-making and directing organization evolved by the government adequate, mature and responsible enough to advise the government to take realistic, wholesome and statesmanlike policy decisions?

How Effective Was the IPKF?

What were IPKF's aims and tasks and what resources it was given to achieve the same. While in any armed confrontation there is the political factor and the military factor, both of which have to go hand in glove, in a foreign intervention and counter-insurgency conflict politico-military combine assumes far greater relevance. Military operations have to be very carefully discerned and military tasks equally carefully framed by the Government. Both have to be

constantly kept under scrutiny and control, and carefully orchestrated. In Sri Lanka one wonders what military aims and tasks were assigned to the IPKF!

The ambiguity and confusions are reflected in the contradictory, varying and absolute questions that have been asked of IPKF's operations and achievements. Why did it not succeed in disarming the LTTE? Why couldn't it fully marginalize LTTE? Why did it indulge in excesses? What kind of security environment does it boast of as having been brought about by it? How has it ensured Tamil security as it deinducted? Why did it arm and train the TNA and whom did that help? What did it achieve any way after its war for two and a half years and suffering so many casualties? These questions would have not arisen, or far fewer would have, if clear-cut military tasks, derived from the government's political goals, been assigned. In any case when military force is used it means only one thing — killing and destruction have to take place.

War is not playing marbles, it is traumatic, it hurts badly, and hurts everybody including the innocent and the uninvolved. Barring GOC IPKF no one else has said that IPKF's as a politico-military task: a military formation being also given a political task. No clarification, if it was wrong, has come forth. No contradiction has been voiced — not even by the congnoscenti, the analyst and the Press. Is it not a mute witness to the ambiguity in the mandate given to the IPKF?

If politico-military mandate it was, was the IPKF then given the necessary other-than-military organizational and advisory wherewithal to handle such complex functions in the nation's power projection abroad? The answer is an emphatic no, because what was so clearly visible and has been reported accordingly as that all agencies were working not only uncoordinated but, worse, at cross purposes. It is unfair enough to give a politico-military responsibility to the military, but a bigger sin to deny to it the necessary wherewithal and coordinated backing of the other-than-military sphere. This has led to military officers foraying into politics of the whole adventure (despite Gen Kalkat's valiant efforts not to be seen as a political general), politician

diplomats playing the soldier (as the former Indian High Commissioner was prone to). But the biggest bane is that very substantially the people have not noticed the nuance, the Government has failed to resolve the ambiguity in tasking the military and the military has failed to ask for it from the Government forcefully enough, predictably this affected IPKF's overall performance.

But that may not be the factor in the IPKF's performance in the purely professional field. Newspaper analysts have already exposed its being too conventional, its inability to adjust to the surroundings and type of guerrilla war, its handicap due to unsuitable weapons and language problem, and making the cardinal mistake of antagonizing the Public. Most of the criticism is true. It is indeed strange, if not painful, to see Indian soldiery floundering in this manner despite its long acquaintance with counter-insurgency and jungle warfare for over three decades in north-east India.

There is also a Counter-insurgency and Jungle Warfare School for imparting training. Should the finger rise at its weakness in fundamental training, motivation and cybernetics? Or at the large-scale eye-catching manoeuvres like Brass Tacks and Chequer Board which perforce impinge on unseen, mundane but vital fundamental training at unit level? Or at the absence of 'cause' and clear military aim and well defined military tasks?

A word about morale, which is a major factor in the soldier's performance. It is indeed true, as Gen Kalkat says, that there was no drunkenness, drugging, fragging, murder etc, in the IPKF, which is an indication of its high morale. That is fine. Soldiers have two levels at which their morale operates. Internally, from within the unit, and as a professional, the IPKF soldier seems to have done splendidly. He has discernible capacity to take punishment stoically, and give it back in ample measure. This ability does not seem to have diminished. Externally, he has had a very disturbing experience. Dispensations from eminent and responsible leaders like Karunanidhi, Gopalaswamy, Nedumaran, Krishna Iyer, Venkateshwaran et al; lionization of LTTE leaders in Tamil Nadu by way of open display of their posters even during local elections; public accusation of IPKF as killers of Tamils

in Sri Lanka; people throwing stones at armoured vehicles in Madras as they were proceeding to the harbour; LTTE's threatening letters addressed to IPKF Tamil officers that their families would be exterminated in Tamil Nadu; sheltering of LTTE militants in Tamil Nadu, who would kill IPKF soldiers in Sri Lanka after getting medical threatment and collecting warlike material in their known camps strung along in Trichi, Madurai and Ramnad districts; and the general sullen and unsympathetic attitude discernible in the Tamil Nadu Government have made deep impressions on the soldier's mind. These, albeit, are democracy's fallouts.

The soldier has taken them in his stride. But how much of it he will put up with and how long he will remain unaffected require to be attended to shoving it under the carpet or dismissing it summarily as of lesser consequence will cost dearly in later ventures, of which he may not fight shy but will certainly be wary and withhold his best.

Winning the hearts and minds of people (Americans call it WHAM) is an important aspect in any counter-insurgency war. In Sri Lanka the people could not be won over by giving doles of medicines and rations, or repairing a few schools and places of religion. As highly educated, politicised and hardened sufferers as the cheated and betrayed but proud people of Sri Lanka in search of their Tamil identity and legitimate right, their expectations were high and clearly beyond what IPKF could do for them.

This was clear to even a novice. IPKF was waging a war over them, over their pride and sentiment and heroes. Which agency that kicks can win over the kicked without compensating them? It is obvious that no resources of commensurate compensation were placed at the disposal of the IPKF by the government. Large scale visible reconstruction of the Tamil's prostrate economy and rehabilitation of thousands of uprooted families was the one and only compensatory activity that could have helped it win the people over. This never obviously happened; another cardinal blunder by the Government in not undertaking this economic reconstruction, and the military in not insisting on it!

(Continued on Page 5)

TAMILS KEPT UNDER SUBJUGATION BY VIOLENCE

This is the second annexure to the letter sent by the citizens of Jaffna to the British Prime Minister. The first annexure appeared in our last issue.

Demand for a Separate State

The demand of the Tamils to have a separate state of their own was clearly formulated by the late Mr. C. Suntharalingam M.P. in 1955. Later Mr. V. Navaratnam, MP wanted a separate state for the Tamils. Finally in 1977 the entire Tamil people gave a mandate to the TULF to work for the creation of a sovereign state of Tamil Eelam. There was only one solitary exception in Mr. Devanayagam who was elected in 1977 elections by a very thin majority from a constituency which had a large number of Sinhalese and Muslim voters in addition to the majority Tamils. A single sparrow does not make a summer. It is also important to remember that even most of the defeated candidates in the 1977 elections were contesting on the basis that they would work for the establishment of Tamil Eelam though they had other differences with the TULF.

1956-General Elections and right of self determination demand.

It would also not be out of place here to mention that though the demand for a sovereign Tamil state was formulated by the late Mr. C. Suntharalingam, the demand for a separate nationhood had started very much earlier. The Federal Party under that late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam demanded the formation of a Tamil state which would come under a federal union with the Sinhalese state. His party was formed in 1949. In the 1956 general elections this party sought and obtained the Tamil voters' mandate to enable it to work for the creation of a Tamil State united to the Sinhala state in Federal Union. The party based its right to create the Tamil state on the basis of the right of self determination of the Tamils. From 1956 onwards this party was returned by the Tamil voters of Northeast as their representatives. This party also contested all the general elections between 1956 and 1972 on the same manifesto mentioned above and in the 1977 general elections opted to seek the Tamil people's mandate to work for the creation of a Tamil state which would be sovereign in every respect and which would not be joined to a Sinhala state even in a loose confederation.

The Tamil demand for the creation of their own state was not advanced in any violent method. It was only speeches either in parliament or outside it. If today the Tamils have been compelled to resort to force, we respectfully submit, that the force which the Tamils resort to is defensive. To understand the position of the Tamils it would be necessary for Her Majesty's Government to know the history of violence in this island.

The 1956 and 1958 riots

The first outbreak of violence occurred in 1956. The late Mr. Bandaranayake brought in the Sinhala only official language Act in 1956. It was opposed by every one of the representatives of the Northern and Eastern provinces. It was bound to be passed in spite of the unanimous opposition of the Tamils. So as a mark of protest against the imposition of Sinhala only the Federal Party leaders under the leadership of late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam performed a peaceful satyagraha opposite parliament. They were just seated-not even shouting slogans. But the Sinhala heroes exhibited their prowess by attacking the peaceful Satyagrahis. A then Junior Minister of the Government was seen among the crowd. Not satisfied with having attacked the Satyagrahis

Sinhala attention turned to pedestrians, shopkeepers and office workers and they were set upon. Premier Bandaranayake's speech was a great encouragement to the Sinhala mob. And so the hoodlums settled in Amparai started attacking the Tamils there which finally led to a number of deaths and even the Chairman of the Gal Oya Development Board at that time who happened to be a Tamil had to take refuge for his own safety. The Sinhalese hoodlums settled in Tamil areas now wanted to march into the ancient Tamil villages in a marauding mission but they were effectively stopped by some Tamils of Thurainilavanai who sent back the marauding Sinhalese by opening fire. The Sinhala hoodlums of Amparai learnt such good lessons at the hands of the Tamils in 1956 that two years later when there was ethnic violence in 1958 on a larger and severe scale the Amparai hoodlums behaved very well when the Sinhalese in all other areas attacked the Tamils in their areas. We are also conscious of the fact that some leading members of the then Cabinet had a hand in the attacks on the Tamils in 1958. The Tamils had to be evacuated to Jaffna by ships from the Refugee Camps to which they were compelled to go during the 1958 violence.

Did the Tamils start the violence in 1956 or 1958? The Sinhalese thought that the Tamils could be threatened by attack made on their persons and property. The armed forces of the Government in most cases preferred to support indirectly the attack on the Tamils and the Sinhala politicians tried to defend the hoodlums.

Emergency rule in 1961

The 1958 holocaust was followed in 1961 by the imposition of emergency to suppress a non-violent picketing campaign by the Federal Party. The unwarranted attack on Tamils carried out in the Sinhala areas hitherto was now being carried into the Tamil area itself. Under the emergency rule Tamil Eelam territory was terrorised by the Sinhala Army.

International Tamil Conference, 1974

Then in 1974 a purely cultural programme, the International Tamil Conference was held in Jaffna, and the Jaffna Police wantonly entered the meeting and created disturbance and finally fired shots which resulted in the deaths of ten persons.

1977 and thereafter

In 1977 Mr. J. R. Jayawardene became Prime Minister and immediately let loose communal violence. The Tamils were subjected to murder and mayhem and their properties were looted and burnt. Tamil refugees had to be evacuated from Sinhala areas to the North by ships. In 1981 the Sri Lanka policemen burnt down the Public Library of Jaffna and also burnt and damaged a number of houses and business premises including the house of the then M.P. for Jaffna, the late Mr. V. Yogeswaran. Did the Sinhalese people expect the Tamils to receive the beating always and run? Do they not know that even an animal brought to bay attacks to save itself? This was followed in 1983 by mass-scale killing and burning hitherto unknown. So we ask, Sir, who started the violence? Wasn't it the Sinhalese Government? Does the world expect the Tamils to keep their arms bound and allow the Sinhala Governments and their hoodlums to commit genocide? The current struggle is to save the Tamil homeland and not to grab Sinhalese territory.

Sinhala Violence brought into Tamil homeland

The Sinhala forces have been sent to our homeland to subjugate us and keep us under Sinhala stranglehold. We cannot permit that. No self-respecting community anywhere in the world will permit that.

None of the Governments that ever ruled the Island had the support of the Tamils and as Sinhala hegemony spread its tentacles even in the Tamil homeland and the opposition to Sinhala Governments became more active but not violent. But to silence all opposition all Governments resorted to violence either directly or through proxy. The result was inevitable. The Tamils have to defend themselves and the LTTE arm is the only defence available to the Tamils. So we say that the "Tamil Separatists" are not pursuing their objectives by resort to violence. The combined effort of the Tamils to obtain their freedom by peaceful means was suppressed by the Government through armed repression. On the other hand the Sinhala Government seeks to spread and retain its alien authority over our people by armed strength and the Tamils are left with no alternative but to take such defensive steps as are necessary for their own safety. Thus it is the Sri Lankan Government that is pursuing its objective of keeping the Tamils in subjugation through violence. If the full extent of indiscriminate state violence is known the counter violence of the LTTE will pale into insignificance and any objective assessment will reveal the true state of affairs.

India's Sri Lanka...

(Continuation of Page 4)

How Does the Adventure Measure in the Scale of Success?

Neither did the Government think through the adventure and assign carefully evolved military aim and tasks, nor did the military apparently insist on it. The Government was wanting instant solutions, the military seemed raring to go. Neither did the Government provide commensurate wherewithal to the military, nor did the military demand it forcefully enough. The government and the IPKF set out to do something but could find only incidental fallouts, consequences, which are now being brandished as achievements. If only this was to be achieved, one wonders whether there was a need to go to war, and kill and wound so many soldiers, militants and innocent civilians. Our people, Press and intellectuals have apparently

made little effort to realize that the military is not a machine but an organismic, living organization and its utilization as a national (ultimate) instrument needs much deeper deliberation than has been displayed in these years of Sri Lankan adventure.

There has been a great deal of bungling, wooden headedness and what is American usage has come to be known as operating the levers of powers when ideas run out. The adventure has all along right from the beginning, advanced under the shadow of failure in its perpetuation of folly. People like K. Subrahmanyam, tongue in cheek are pontificating with an air of robustness that there is no need for the military to be bitter about the misadventure. He quotes India's peace-keeping in the Congo etc, which is totally non-contextual and misleading. Such efforts from intellectuals and their

illuminating blindness drive the simple soldier into the amnesia of praise and make him a fattened unthinking sacrificial goat.

The British gave 'grog' to their soldiers and opium to the Nagas to keep them as efficient sacrificial warriors. The danger is that such innovations may drive the military into what Israeli historians call 'amoral familist'. It won't fight as well next time!

One hopes that the entire adventure including the IPKF's performance is debated and discussed in various fora and lessons drawn and correctives implemented so that we commit less mistakes and stop strengthening machines creating widows and posthumous heroes, and manufacturing military history

(Courtesy Indian Defence Review)

HOT SPRING

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Is this not genocide?

War broke out between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government forces at Elephant Pass in the early hours of the morning of the tenth of this month.

For about two weeks before the war broke out, aerial bombardment was carried out by the Sri Lankan Air Force almost daily in and around Elephant Pass.

The war that started on the 10th has escalated to Vadamarachy East, away from Elephant Pass, where the troops were landed by naval boats in an attempt to relieve the Sinhala Army besieged at Elephant Pass. According to reports the Army that landed in Vadamarachy East has not been able to move to the aid of the besieged soldiers at Elephant Pass.

The Air Force of the Sri Lankan government is carrying on massive attacks with apparently no success still to achieve the military objective of relieving the besieged soldiers.

This, however, is besides the point for the purposes of this editorial.

While the Army at Elephant Pass and the Army landed in Vadamarachy East are battling out with the LTTE with supportive air attacks for the Sri Lankan Army provided by the Sri Lankan Air Force, the Sinhala forces stationed in other parts of Jaffna have started firing long range artillery shells from the security of their camps at Palaly and Karainagar.

Long range artillery shells travelling distances of about 30 miles are fired at odd hours from the Palaly Camp. Reports indicate that the Theomarachy Division has so far been very badly affected. When people are sound asleep, shells explode and take their lives, limbs and property. The Artillery Shell attack, to say the least, is the most cowardly and dastardly attack indulged in by the Sri Lankan Government troops, where people die or suffer from other forms of injury, when just a second earlier, they would not entertain even wild imagination of any impending danger to themselves. Can anyone dare say that the artillery shell attacks are directed against specified targets?

The only intent and purpose of the artillery shell attacks is to kill people at random where the forces are not able to face the belligerents. This is the worst form of war.

To add to the bargain the Sri Lankan Air Force joins in this war of destruction by bombing here, there and everywhere. The helicopters of the Sri Lankan Air Force seem to relish this type of indiscriminate attacks which always take civilian life.

The Sri Lankan government cannot continue to fool the world saying that their fight is not against the Tamil people but only against the LTTE. The whole course of the war during the whole of the last year would indicate to all that the government is bent on genocide of the Tamils.

Baudha - Sinhala imperialism wants this Island to be only Baudha and Sinhala. With this objective in mind the Sinhala politicians tried to eliminate the Tamil element by persuasive deceit. When that failed, they tried to achieve the same result by recourse to argument based on majority right - little realizing that a racial minority cannot be reduced to permanent political minority in any system of democracy. Yet when the Tamil people sought to redress their grievances by resort to strict peaceful campaigns, they let loose a reign of terror and ultimately extended the reign of terror to the Tamil country itself. Now the government's campaign in the Tamil country is not a mere reign of terror but actual genocide.

The Eelam Tamils have been complaining and agitating against this genocide and regrettably world states have not given serious consideration to the plight of the Tamils in Eelam and had tended to believe the hypocritical democracy to which the Sinhala Government pays lot of lip service.

We should like to entreat all citizens and governments of the world to assess for themselves whether the conduct of the war by the Baudha - Sinhala government does not betray it and lend credence to the Tamils' charge that the government is bent on genocide.

Jaffna Govt. Agent Pleads for Stopping Artillery Shell Attack

The Sri Lankan Government's Chief Executive Officer in the Jaffna District, the Government Agent of Jaffna has appealed to the Government's Ministry of Defence to stop the artillery shell attacks.

Artillery shell attacks from the Sinhala Army Camps at various places in Jaffna chiefly from the big Army Camp at Palaly are being launched daily from July, 11, 1991 after the imposition of the indefinite curfew which is still in force.

The current battle is taking place between the LTTE and the Sinhala Army at Elephant Pass and between the LTTE and the Sinhala Army landed by boats in Kaddaikadu and Vettalaikerni in the Vadamarachy East area - an area about five miles east of Elephant Pass.

The Palaly Army Camp is situated about 45 miles to the North of the Elephant Pass camp. Since war broke out between the LTTE and the Sinhala Army from the early hours of July 10, 1991, the Sinhala Army stationed at

Palaly, has started firing artillery shells which have been exploding at random places and causing death and destruction to civilians and their properties. While these artillery shell attacks launched from the Palaly Army camp do not constitute part of the war efforts or in any way contribute to military strategy to win the battle for the government at Elephant Pass they destroy civilian life and property. These attacks are really intended to achieve the purpose of destroying Tamils. Else there is

no reason at all for these attacks.

In these circumstances the civilian population in Jaffna is caught up in a frightful situation where a shell might hit anyone at any place without any warning whatsoever. The Government Agent, Jaffna who is the civilian administrative authority, has been compelled to address his Government's Defence Ministry calling upon the Ministry to order the stoppage forthwith of the artillery shell attacks which are taking toll of civilian life and property.

An Entire Family Wiped Out

An entire family consisting of father, mother and two children were instantaneously killed, when an artillery shell fell and exploded on their house on Sunday July 14, 1991 at Nellyyaddy. The artillery shell was fired from the Army Camp at Palaly.

It is learnt that the family was fast asleep, when the shell hit their house at about 11.45 p.m. on July, 14.

The father K. Perampalam (45) is a Government clerk attached to the Postal Department at Jaffna. Along with Mr. Perampalam his wife Umawathy (36) and two children Uma Shankar (15) and Sarmila (7) died on the spot. They were sleeping in a room, when the fatal shell hit them. It is to be noted that there is no battle between the LTTE and the Sinhala Army anywhere near Nellyyady area.

Pensioners' CLA - An Unfulfilled Promise Association to seek Trade Union Support

A Special general meeting of Government Pensioners' Association of Valikamam North was held on the 7th July, 1991 at the Mallakam Mahavidyalayam the Asst. Government Agent, Tellipalai and Mr. P. S. Tiruchelvam, Secretary of the Nallur Pensioners' Association attended the meeting as guest - invitees.

Mr. V. Ponniah, the President of the Vali North Pensioners' Association who presided, called upon the pensioners in Vali North Division to join hands and give them their co-operation to enable the pensioners to win their long awaited Cost of Living Allowance which is now being paid to all state officers from January, 1988.

Our Readers Say

(Continuation of Page 2)

an enlightened liberal policy on the Gorbachev model will do justice to the Tamils.

The tyranny of the majority is over and the day of the minorities has dawned.

R.L. Thevathasan.
Erlalai South, Jaffna.

The AGA Tellipalai and the President of the Tellipalai MPCS assured the Association of their support in matters relating to the pensioners' welfare.

Mr. P. S. Tiruchelvam, the Secretary of the Nallur Pensioners' Association said that a promise was made in 1987 in Parliament by the present President who was then Prime Minister that the pensioners would be paid the Cost of Living Allowance. The promise was repeated by Mr. Premadasa during his Presidential election campaign. To date the promise has not been fulfilled.

Fore...

(Continuation of Page 1)
raids and artillery shell attacks.

The non supply of food and other essential commodities and the hold up of even the very inadequate supplies of these at Vavunia by the army have brought Jaffna to virtual starvation.

In the midst of these disabilities it is most disconcerting that foreign aids received for specific purposes to relieve suffering of the Tamil-speaking people are held up in Colombo. It is reported that very recently Russia, and Thailand

Continuing Mr. Tiruchelvam said that the Director of Pensions has written to his Association early last month stating that the payment would be made to the pensioners as soon as authority is received. He did not know who has to give the authority and still less why such authority has not been given. The pensioners have also to seek support of trade unions in the matter of winning the Cost of Living allowance. Government pensioners have become 'Gentlemen baggers' with the high cost of living. Mr. Tiruchelvam concluded.

Mr. S. Ponnuthurai proposed the Vote of Thanks.

have sent material assistance for providing relief for the people of the north east province but nothing has been done to ensure that they reach the people for whom they were meant.

The most disturbing factor as that the massive financial aid granted by the World Bank and other countries for economic development are being utilised to prolong a destructive war.

The letter concludes by calling upon President Premadasa to discontinue the annihilatory war and resolve the long standing problem once and for all.

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