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## JOURNEY'S END



A Tamil woman fleeing communal fighting in Sri Lanka cries on arrival at Rameswaram in southern India after an all-night trip. Hundreds of Tamils from the embattled Jaffna peninsula have sought refuge there in the past few weeks said *'The Independent'* (30 June).



# TAMIL TIMES

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# What Next After Jaffna?

THE "LAST OFFENSIVE" resulted in India's intervention and air lift of a mercy cargo of urgently needed supplies for Jaffna. Jayawardene and his henchmen thus obtained exactly the opposite effect of what they had planned. They hoped to capture the Peninsula, keep the Tamils there in permanent subjugation and complete the conversion of the island into the U.S.'s "unsinkable aircraft carrier". Jayawardene's deceit has now been uncovered for all the Indian public to view. There has been a political consensus in India on Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's action. Important Indian newspapers have now called for direct Indian involvement. Some even suggest a Cyprus-style solution.

Whatever result contemporary Sinhala racism secures over the Tamil Resistance, we must be aware of two facts. A temporary advantage, as we stated previously, won from military might does not signal the end of the Tamil struggle. On the contrary, resistance will become consolidated and the war for our freedom will escalate to higher levels and become diversified. The Sinhala racists themselves know this. They intentionally are deceiving the Sinhala masses and are using the war against the Tamil people as an excuse for depriving the electorate of its franchise. The Jayawardene government clings to power in order to escape the judgement of its own electors. An important reason is that, steeped as the entire UNP is in Marcos-style corruption, there is the fear that democratic change will expose the gigantic frauds perpetrated by the UNP's political entrepreneurs. Not only will the Jayawardene government stand exposed before its Sinhala public in its depraved nudity but also the government will become the subject of investigation by the taxpayers of the Western world.

So the war must go on and there will be deceptions practised about a peaceful resolution. President Jayawardene himself stated that now that he had got "to the top of the greasy pole" (a phrase used by Benjamin D'Israeli when he became Prime Minister of Britain), it is for him to decide when he will climb down. He has chosen to flagrantly violate the rules of parliamentary government and does not care a damn for the Constitution he himself assisted so much in framing.

But let us and the world not be distracted by the politics of the **United National Party** to strip Sri Lanka of even a modicum of democratic government. There is a more serious cancer that affects the Sinhala Buddhist polity. It is **the cancer of unadulterated, vengeful and violent racism** against the Tamils; a racism which is now embedded in the Sinhala consciousness. Paul Sieghart in **Sri Lanka: A Tragedy of Mounting Errors** (London, Justice: International Commission of Jurists, 1984) diagnosed this ailment. He wrote that the Sinhala people's view of themselves as a superior Aryan race exists nowhere else in the contemporary world other than in the Nazi imagination. That statement conveys the truth and meaning of the current Hitler-type hysteria actively encouraged and promoted by Sinhala leaders of both the United National Party and the Sri Lankan Freedom Party. In this respect the major Sinhala political parties have no difference. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and J. R. Jayawardene and their respective party faithfuls are mirror mates in the soulless game of Tamil-baiting.

We must emphasise that "the drivel and drool" of the Sinhalese being endangered by the existence of more than 50 million Tamils across the waters is a vacuous excuse to deprive the Tamils of their just dues. The monopoly of power has, the Sinhala think, given them the divine right to rule and grab state-power and all the spin-offs that go with the monopoly of power jobs, contracts, housing, colonisation of the Tamil homelands on the score that **lebensraum** (living space, one of the words used in Hitler's dictionary) is needed for the Sinhalese. This juggernaut of Sinhala imperialism had to be halted.

We insist however that the various pretexts for seizing all the benefits accruing from the monopoly of state-power was with the intention of making the Sinhalese "**herrenvolk**" (the accepted people) if not "**staatsvolk**" (the State folk). Outside the pale are the Tamils and the Muslims – the latter will soon wake up from their apathy. Secondly, what is more serious to all peoples the world over as well as to us Tamils is the re-enacting of the **holocaust** against an ancient civilisation and a proud Tamil people who are heirs to that civilisation. The Tamils have lived in Sri Lanka as long as the Sinhalese, for 2500 years, if not longer. Even Sinhalese historians such as Paul E. Peris and G. C. Mendis acknowledge this fact.

Contemporary Sinhalese state-sponsored terrorism therefore calls for a thorough investigation by an impartial international commission of inquiry. President Jayawardene's and Minister Gamini Dissanayake's statements baffle the human intelligence. Jayawardene has referred to the carpet bombing of Dresden, Hamburg and Berlin as justification of his bombing of Jaffna. More dreadful is Dissanayake's reference to the repetition, in scale, of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Are we not near the threshold of a contemporary Nuremberg Trial of War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity?

A state which bombs its own territory and kills its own citizens has broken the social contract with those of its citizens against whom it has chosen to practise the savageries of brutal warfare. When the contract is broken, as the philosopher Thomas Hobbes stated, in an earlier era, the state ceases to exist for the citizenry. The citizenry (Tamil) revert to the pre-state condition and are then free to choose a new state and a new ruler. The Western world, Jayawardene's benefactors, who condemn President Waldheim of Austria, who have brought to trial Adolf Eichmanns and Klaus Barbies, have it in their conscience that the vile deeds of Jayawardene's government must one day be judicially assessed.

We must conclude with a last cautionary note. In this issue, there is an illuminating piece written by Praful Bidwai on the dangers to India of the US-Israeli-Pakistani presence in Sri Lanka. We pose the question to India: is Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi prepared to stand aside and let Sri Lanka become a link in the chain that will surround India and actively encourage internal dissension? India will have to pay a heavy price for non-involvement. Now is the hour.

# "I AM DEEPLY PESSIMISTIC"

says Dr. Manor in an interview with *Tamil Times*

**JAMES MANOR** is a Professorial Fellow of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. He has taught at Harvard, Yale, London and Leicester Universities, and since 1980 has edited the **Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**. He has also written a biography of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike which will soon be published and has edited **Sri Lanka in Change and Crisis** (London, Croom Helm, 1984).

**What is your view of the current state of political institutions in Sri Lanka?**

Sri Lanka has a whole array of liberal institutions and laws, which have been de-emphasised or abandoned, at least for the time being. They have been swallowed up by the intensity of the conflict between the two linguistic communities, and by the ruling party's determination to remain in power by illiberal means. This latter point was most clearly illustrated in the illegalities and thuggery that attended the referendum of 1982, which make it impossible to take the result of the referendum seriously.

The understanding and appreciation of the island's liberal tradition runs deep on both sides of the linguistic divide, so that there is some hope that it may be revived. But given all of the coercion, ghastly violence and polarisation of recent years, this seems rather unlikely.

**Who in your view was the most constructive leader in Sri Lanka since the island gained independence in 1948 and why?**

It is difficult to find many very prominent people whose records are predominantly constructive, since leading politicians have tended to have very ambiguous or downright negative impacts, especially on the relationship between Tamils and Sinhalese. Many of them (and this includes Tamils, although the Sinhalese loom larger in this respect) have frequently stirred up suspicion of the other linguistic group in order to generate political resources for themselves.

**At what stage in Sri Lanka do you think the island began to appear to slide down in the area of Sinhalese-Tamil relations? Any short reasons for the decline?**

People usually date this decline from 1956 or the riots of 1958. I think that it began earlier. In the late 1930s, we see competition between D. S. Senanayake's colonisation schemes which were partly intended to create Sinhalese majorities in certain sections of the island, and Mrs. Bandaranaike's plan to revive the city of Anuradhapura which had clear anti-Tamil purpose. The cynical duels in the State Council in the late 1930s between Bandaranaike and G. G. Ponnambalam, which were meant to polarise relations between Sinhalese and Tamils and to increase the influence of both men, were very unfortunate. The disenfranchisement of estate Tamils just after independence

was another occasion. And Sir John Kotelawala must bear a heavy responsibility for his characteristically insensitive mishandling of the Sinhalese Buddhist revival in 1955, which inflamed revivalist opinion and left Bandaranaike after 1956 with a movement that was very difficult to manage in a moderate way, as Bandaranaike wished to do.

**Do you think the Opposition to the United National Party, the main component of which is Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lankan Freedom Party, has any viable solution to the Sinhalese-Tamil question?**

It is difficult to see any solution to the problem, given the recent history of violence and polarisation. The SLFP has tended to be at least as chauvinistic in its policy towards Tamils as the UNP. But since there is virtually no chance that the present government can forge an accommodation with the Tamils, perhaps a new government under Mrs. Bandaranaike would have a slightly better prospect of a solution agreeable to both sides. We must face the possibility that no solution is possible any longer, however, no matter who the national leader is.

**Will there, arising from the last question, be free and fair elections which can test the Opposition's strength among the electors?**

Given the events of 1982, when Parliament's illiberal decisions to prolong its own life was followed by a referendum campaign that consisted of intimidation of the opposition and many illegalities, it seems unlikely that there will be an early return to fair elections. UNP leaders know that they would probably lose a fair parliamentary election quite badly, so they will probably seek to avoid one. A more likely prospect would be a presidential election, but the fear of losing might also cause that to be "managed" in the way that the referendum was.

**Do you discern a shift in Sri Lanka's foreign policy? What effect will this shift, if any, have on India, the perceived major power in the South Asian region?**

Under the present government, foreign policy has been much more pro-Western. But it has gained Sri Lanka little. They failed to gain acceptance to ASEAN. They failed to persuade the Americans to back them solidly, or even to pay much attention to them. If they had succeeded in drawing

the Americans into Trincomalee, for example, then India might have become alarmed. But since this has not happened, and is unlikely to happen, India has little cause for concern on that front. The Americans see that India is the predominant power in South Asia and in their dealings with Sri Lanka (but not Pakistan), the Americans pay considerable heed to Indian sensibilities.

India's main concern is the possibility of large numbers of Tamils being killed in Jaffna if the army moves in and conducts the kind of massacres that they have often perpetrated in the past. But India is reluctant to intervene, partly because the Tamils in question are not Indian citizens, and partly because they know that intervention might ignite riots against Tamils in the Sinhalese majority areas which could produce still more killings.

**To come to the immediate events, what is your view of the psychological effect of the civil war on Sinhalese-Tamil relations?**

The recent advances of the army in the Northern Province will convince many Sinhalese that a hard line is best and that a military solution is possible. After such advances, there is very little hope of genuine magnanimity from the government towards the minority. So have recent events in Sinhalese areas hardened Sinhalese attitudes.

On the other side, attitudes appear to have hardened too, as readers of this paper well know. The mass round-ups of young Tamils, the long detentions, tortures and killings in the camps and the repeated massacres of Tamil non-combatants by the army and other government forces – all of these things make accommodation appear to this outsider to be quite impossible.

**Is President Jayawardene's government in a position to inspire confidence in the Tamil leadership (civil and military) to accept a negotiated settlement?**

For the reasons that I outlined in the answer to the previous question, no.

**Lastly, will you venture, to project a scenario of the relationship between the two linguistic groups?**

The outlook is extremely grim. Both sides will probably remain deeply alienated from each other. Even if the army were to take Jaffna, Tamil militants would almost certainly continue campaigns of bombing and ambushes of security forces. That will mean that the security forces will continue sweeps and detentions of suspected Tamils and the alienation will continue. After a conventional victory in the north, the government will be less likely to make concessions. Amid the polarisation, moderates on both sides will continue to find it difficult to make headway. I am deeply pessimistic. Let us hope that I am wrong. It would not be the first time.



# Genesis and History of the Indo-Soviet Mutual Defence Pact of August 1981

*It is worthy of note that roughly a year before India won independence, Jawaharlal Nehru said on the occasion of the formation of a new government: "To that other great nation of the modern world, the Soviet Union, which also carries a vast responsibility for shaping world events, we send our greetings. It is our neighbour in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other."*

In July 1947, then First Secretary of the just set up Indian diplomatic service Triloki Nath Kaul, now India's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, arrived in Moscow to make arrangements for opening one of independent India's first embassies abroad. About a month later, the Soviet capital welcomed the first Ambassador of that country to the Soviet Union. The fact that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru decided to name to that high post his sister Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, widely-known and respected in India as a politician and public figure, was indicative of the great importance which the Indian leadership attached to developing relations with the Soviet Union.

The year 1955 was largely a turning point in Indo-Soviet relations. On June 7 of that year, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi arrived in Moscow on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet government. The visit was unquestionably a memorable event in the history of Soviet-Indian relations. It lasted 17 days. The Joint Statement signed at the close of the visit expressed the two countries' desire to continue developing their mutual relations on the principles of peaceful co-existence. It stressed that "relations between the Soviet Union and India happily rest on the firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding."

In November 1955, Soviet leaders paid a return visit to India. Ever since that exchange of top-level visits, vigorous efforts have been made to strengthen Indo-Soviet relations on virtually all lines. Trade and economic relations have expanded as have scientific and cultural contacts. Constructive co-operation

between the two countries on the international scene has deepened.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Soviet Union made a series of important foreign policy moves to help India stand up to pressure from the Western powers. In February 1957, the USSR voted at the UN Security Council against a Western proposal for sending a UN interim force into Kashmir with the alleged aim of preparing for an "impartial plebiscite" in that Indian State. Soviet diplomacy assisted the Indian leadership more and more actively in its efforts to defend the territorial integrity of the state and settle the Kashmir question on a fair basis, by negotiation without foreign interference. In December 1961, following the liberation by Indian troops of the Portuguese colonies of Goa, Diu and Daman situated on Indian territory, the Soviet Union firmly rejected at the UN Security Council a draft resolution of the United States, Britain, France and Turkey demanding an immediate end to military operations and the withdrawal of the Indian force. In 1966, an armed conflict between India and Pakistan was brought to an end and peace on the South Asian sub-continent restored largely due to Soviet mediation in Tashkent.

While the year 1955 witnessed a major advance in Soviet-Indian relations, 1971 may with every reason be described as the year when co-operation between the two countries rose to a new level that was higher in every respect. The fact is that in August 1971 the Soviet Union and India signed in New Delhi a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation. The Treaty laid solid legal foundations for still more extensive co-operation between the two countries in every field.

Let us recall the international situation existing prior to the conclusion of the Treaty. The struggle of the people of East Bengal for self-determination is mounting, vast sections of Indian society following it with approval. The military-political situation around India had taken a sharp turn for the worse. Pakistan's militarists, backed by imperialist forces, threatened to "teach India a lesson" for its just support of the struggle in East Bengal. The U.S. and its allies sided with Pakistan.

Under these circumstances the conclusion of the Indo-Soviet Treaty was interpreted by many observers as a warning that should the situation become critical, the Soviet Union would render India full support in its resistance to any outside enemy. Article IX of the Treaty reads as follows: **In the event of either Party, being subjected to an attack or the threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate and effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries."**

While the 1971 Treaty was a vivid indication of the solidarity of a socialist state with a non-aligned country threatened with aggression from without, it would be wrong to link its signing to the situation which shaped up in South Asia at the time. The conclusion of the Treaty was primarily a result of the previous record of Soviet-Indian relations and was based on the experience of more than 20 years of co-operation and the level of mutual confidence attained by the two countries.

That historic document is valid at the present time. The Treaty, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi says, "remains a source of strength for our respective countries. Its importance has increased in the context of current world situation and recent events in our part of the world."

Indo-Soviet co-operation, to which the 1971 Treaty gave a new impetus, did not come down to only the Soviet Union rendering India political, moral and other support in crisis periods of its development. The two countries' co-operation at international level is not a one-way street. In recent decades Indian diplomacy, for its part, has been giving a good deal of support to Soviet efforts to bring about disarmament and lasting peace. Virtually every major foreign policy move of the USSR towards lessening international tensions and improving the political situation in the world has evoked a positive response on the part of the Indian leadership. What is more, ever since the early 1970s, India has shown increasing activity in taking initiatives and advancing proposals intended to help normalise the situation on the globe, achieve disarmament and reduce the nuclear danger.



The Soviet Leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, at a ceremony to unveil the statue of the late Indira Gandhi in Moscow.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

## THE NEXT President of India?

PRIME MINISTER RAJIV GANDHI's governing Congress (I) Party on Sunday named Ramaswami Venkataraman, India's vice-president, as its candidate in next month's presidential election. The July 13 election will determine a successor to President Zail Singh, whose term is expiring.

The party's parliamentary board announced its choice, who is almost certain to become India's ninth president, shortly after a meeting with Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Venkataraman, 77, appears certain to win the election. A majority of the voters are Congress members, and the party holds power in 14 of 25 states.

## How Dictators have crashed

THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS have witnessed a remarkable worldwide swing towards democracy. The table below shows the countries which have moved from authoritarian rule to some form of democracy in this time.

In Asia, democracy is on the rampage. Korea is following the Philippines in becoming a more genuine democracy and Taiwan announced recently that 38 years of military rule would end.

Now the pressure may turn on General Zia in Pakistan. Will President Jayawardene's "5-Star democracy go the other way?"

### DEMOCRATIC SINCE 1972

Greece	1973	Nicaragua	1984
Portugal	1974	Uruguay	1985
Spain	1977	Brazil	1985
Bolivia	1979	Guatemala	1985
Peru	1980	Honduras	1985
El Salvador	1982	Philippines	1986
Argentina	1983	Haiti*	1986
Turkey	1983	Korea*	1987
Grenada	1983		

\*Elections promised soon

## Uduvil Girls' College, Namasivaya Vidyalayam Bombed and Sacred Temples Destroyed

Taking advantage of what was thought as Prime Minister Gandhi's discomfiture in the Haryana elections, the racist Sinhala Government began further bombing of innocent civilian targets in the Jaffna peninsula. Houses, shops and schools were destroyed in and around Jaffna city. Uduvil Girls' College suffered severe damage. Namasivaya

Vidyalayam was completely destroyed.

The ancient Temple "Vannai Vaideswarar" at Vannarponnai Jaffna and the revered Nallur Kandaswami Temple, said to have been worshipped even by the Sinhala King Buvanekha Bahu did not escape the bombardment. The Hindu community can never forgive the aggressors for this vandalism.

## Western donors call for end to Sri Lankan violence

WESTERN GOVERNMENTS recently called on both the Sri Lankan Government and the state's minority Tamil community to end the violence in the country by seeking a negotiated settlement to the ethnic conflict.

The appeal was made at the annual meeting of the Sri Lankan aid consortium held in Paris under World Bank auspices. Mr. Ronnie de Mel, Sri Lanka's Minister of Finance, claimed afterwards that donor countries had agreed in real terms to a small increase in aid commitments from \$560m last year (excluding contributions to certain large hydro projects) to \$585m this year.

But figures provided by the World Bank suggest a small decrease in nominal terms from \$630m in 1986 to \$625m this year.

In a statement issued after the meeting, donor nations and multi-lateral institutions expressed their unease at the way military

expenditures were cutting into the Government's development budget. Outside the World Bank building in Paris a small group of Tamil demonstrators protested at continuing Western aid to the Sri Lankan Government.

Western nations noted that as a result of both the war and a slump in prices for the country's key commodity, exports growth had slowed, inflation accelerated and the country was facing a difficult balance of payments situation. Real gross domestic products expanded last year by 4 p.c. compared to 5 p.c. in 1985, while inflation worsened to 8 p.c. from 1.5 p.c.

According to Finance Ministry figures, defence spending has risen 20-fold in the last decade and now amounts to SLRs 15bn (£322m) out of a Government budget of about SLRs 70bn.

## President Zail Appeals

Indian President Zail Singh has appealed to the Sri Lankan government to stop the killings of innocent people and initiate steps to settle the island's ethnic issue across the table. "We know they are a small nation compared to us. But we never threatened them or boasted about our strength," the President said in the fort city of Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh.

India, he said, decided to air-drop relief supplies for Tamils in Jaffna only after all other avenues were exhausted. Zail Singh said the continued sufferings of Sri Lankan Tamils could not be ignored. He urged Colombo to settle the issue through negotiations and stressed that no problem could be solved through violence.

## BBC's Plans for Sinhala Service

THE FOREIGN OFFICE is blocking the BBC External Services plan to broadcast in Korean and Sinhala. Bush House Executives cite the present political problems of Korea and Sri Lanka as demonstrating the value of Britain broadcasting to the two areas. The BBC has pointed out what it considers the anomaly of having a Tamil service but not one in Sinhala. The Tamil services go out not only to South India and Sri Lanka but also to several other countries where Tamil is widely spoken, as in Singapore and Malaysia.

## Sinhalese and Tamil groups oppose polls

THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT'S announcement of parliamentary elections in the north and east of Sri Lanka, and local polls in the south, has been promptly rebuffed by both Tamil and Sinhalese opposition parties.

The elections commissioner has fixed July 15 for nominations to 16 vacant seats in the Tamil north and the ethnically mixed Eastern province, including Trincomalee.

The seats fell vacant in late 1983 after the Government rushed a constitutional amendment following the anti-Tamil riots, requiring MPs to take an oath renouncing separatism. The Tamil United Liberation Front which had won all these seats in 1977 withdrew from parliament.

Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam, the TUF secretary-general, denounced the announcement as a "political ploy" to "deceive the world".

## Recent headlines in London papers

Colombo police swoop on Sinhalese rebels

Guardian, June 25.

Jaffna Tamils give Indian aid workers a hero's welcome

Guardian, June 27.

Gandhi warns Sri Lanka as tension rises over relief aid

Guardian, July 2.

Village fetes hide Colombo tension

Guardian, July 4.

Tamils kill 20 troops in night ambush

The Daily Telegraph, July 7.



# CAPITULATION TO U.S.-ISRAELI DESIGNS

## Bhandari Line On Sri Lanka

By PRAFUL BIDWAI

JUST AS New Delhi begins a critical round of consultations on the rapidly degenerating situation in Sri Lanka, reports have filtered in of U.S. involvement in last week's coup d'etat in distant Fiji. This is of course no more than a pure coincidence. But what is arresting about these reports is the story that Gen. Vernon Walters, currently the U.S. ambassador to the U.N., visited tiny Fiji shortly before the coup. Gen. Walters is no ordinary U.S. official, just as he is no common career diplomat.

Gen. Vernon Walters has long been regarded as possibly the most dangerous man in the state department. For over two decades, his visits to different parts of the globe have brought in the wake coups, spells of blood violence, recrudescence of ethnic strife and general political mayhem. Gen. Walters is not just a high-ranking covert action specialist. Before his appointment at the U.N. he was President Reagan's ambassador at large.

He has for years made crucial decisions about whether, how and how soon a pro-western dictatorship or a U.S. puppet regime should replace a radical, nationalist or democratically elected third world government. Since the Brazilian coup of 1965 Gen. Walters' career can be traced in Asian, African and Latin American blood. His role is directly linked to some of the numerous discreet actions that make up Washington's plan to impose a new *Pax Americana* upon the world, to reshape it after its own image — with violence if necessary.

So how is Gen. Walters relevant to Sri Lanka or to the Indian policy on that country's ethnic crisis? And why should anyone, in particular South Block officials, recall his well-publicised visit to Sri Lanka in December 1984? The short answer is that it is impossible to make any analysis of India's Sri Lanka policy without understanding U.S. interests in, perceptions of and plans for the South Asian region as a whole. Gen. Walters' role is inseparable from these. More of this later.

### Too Plain

To start from the Indian end first, it is only too plain that South Block's Sri Lanka policy has run into a deep crisis. New Delhi, faced with the prospect of an all-out invasion of Jaffna and a gory bloodbath, is floundering from one formula to another; it continues to vacillate between supporting the Tamils and endorsing Colombo's half-hearted proposals for a solution. It has no grip over the situation, and little leverage over any of the actors in Sri Lanka. Right now it seems desperate to want to back the moderate TULF, at the cost of the militant groups who are the sole force of

resistance to Colombo's depredations in northern Sri Lanka.

New Delhi's policy has gone through many phases, orientations and shifts over the past four years. But broadly, it can be divided into two periods: from the ethnic violence of July 1983 to the end of 1984, and from early 1985 till now. If the first period was dominated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her principal policy adviser on foreign affairs, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, the second has been shaped, under Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, principally by Mr. Romesh Bhandari, foreign secretary between February 1985 and March 1986, and shortly thereafter chairman of the AICC cell on external affairs.

On a surface view, Indian policy during the first period appears to represent a "tough" line, while the orientation during the second seems to be "soft". Our principal proposition here is that this, in particular the latter statement, is a gross distortion of the reality and that the Bhandari line infact represents a hard-nosed, well-articulated and aggressively prompted approach that can only weaken and compromise India's interests vis-a-vis those of the U.S. in the region.

There are several components to the Bhandari line. First, it has involved leaning on the Tamil militant groups so as to push them towards a "moderate" stand, and hence into unviable compromises with Colombo. Secondly, it has meant selectively playing some of them off against the others, and at times all of them off against the moderate elements of the TULF. Thirdly, it has involved lending balancing support to the Sri Lanka government at critical junctures, while playing a supposedly neutral mediatory role. Fourthly, it has been directed at politically disarming the Tamil resistance. And finally, it has consisted in tolerating and passively watching the steady growth of western influence in Sri Lanka. This includes overt U.S. military influence and active involvement of the Israeli secret service, Mossad, as well as western mercenaries in the training of Sri Lankan troops and the supply of arms to them.

It is not difficult to list several indices of these: the Indian sponsorship of the Thimpu talks in 1985; the arm-twisting of the Tamil militant groups into attending them; the deportation (subsequently rescinded) of Mr. A. S. Balasingham, of the LTTE, and Mr. S. C. Chandrasenan, of the Organisation for the Protection of Tamils of Eelam from Genocide in August 1985; the selective support first to PLOT, then to TELO, later still to the LTTE and more recently to the EPRLF; the quiet burial of Annexure C proposals; the attempt to coax the militant groups into dropping their insistence on some



Romesh Bhandari

definition of a homeland; the backing lent to the vaguest of proposals for provincial autonomy; the seizure last year of the LTTE's "unauthorised" telecommunication equipment in Madras and its subsequent return to the militants, accompanied by arrests that can only be described as political. All these add up to the most effective way of weakening and politically delegitimising Tamil militancy and thus decimating the guerillas' bargaining power vis-a-vis President Jayawardene's forces in a life-and-death situation.

Logically, India's Sri Lanka policy must have two components: first protecting the Tamils' legitimate interests within the framework of Sri Lanka; and secondly, preventing the entry and expansion of superpowers, in particular, U.S. influence in that country. All that has been described above is eloquent testimony to the failure of the Bhandari line on the first count. Its failure on the second is even more grave.

Consider the following. Since 1984, scores of Mossad men (one estimate says 100 or more) have trained thousands of Sri Lankan troops, including the elite **Special Task Force headed by President Jayawardene's own son**. Over the last four years, at least 140 western mercenaries have been drafted in to train, probably under Mossad's overall control, special units of the armed forces in sabotage and counter-insurgency operations. Over the last four years, the size of the Sri Lankan army has grown at least five times to 50,000: most of this expansion has taken place over the last two and a half years.

At the same time the Sri Lankan forces have become helplessly dependent upon western, Israeli and Pakistani sources for the supply of arms and ammunition. The shells with which Jaffna has been pounded over the past three months, originate in Pakistan, which has also been involved in training on its own soil more than 150 Sri Lankan special troops. Sri Lanka has entered into a formal agreement to fuel U.S. warships at Trincomalee. And finally, the Tamil militants allege that

**Pakistani pilots are now flying Sri Lankan planes in murderous sorties over Jaffna.**

Given Sri Lanka's size, this military involvement is by no means insignificant or small. It gives the West, through the agency of Mossad, considerable influence of a direct nature, on the Sri Lankan forces. Personal contacts with the armed forces, right from the early stages and at the highest level, can prove crucial not only in altering the relationship between the military and the political structure, but also in directing the former to accomplish specific tasks. Military influence of this kind has a "sticky", semi-permanent character, it is difficult to dispel it under less strained circumstances. To put it simply, Mossad or, more generally, the West as a whole, has virtually raised today's Sri Lankan army. It can safely be expected that they will not want to lose that influence, war or no war in Jaffna.

India has stood by and watched all this happen. Under the Bhandari line, this country has refused even to counter the all-too-obvious shift that has taken place over the past two years in the political rationalisation proffered by President Jayawardene for his military action. Earlier, Colombo used to castigate the Tamil militants as "secessionists", "separatists" and "armed guerillas out to disrupt the unity of Sri Lanka". Over the past two years they have been consistently characterised as "terrorists". This is neither innocent nor without consequence.

"Terrorism" is part of the current Western ideological armoury, the use of which can justify any retaliatory measures, including the bombing of refugee camps, hospitals and schools, or torture, deportation and preventive detection – in other words, actions that are expressly forbidden by the Geneva conventions. "Terrorism" can be effectively used to turn ordinary people into sub-human beasts against whom any manner of attack is automatically justifiable because no human or civilised norms apply. Witness Israel's barbaric treatment of Palestinian refugees on the pretext of "terrorism".

It is entirely characteristic of the Bhandari line – itself marked by its affinity with the ideological armamentarium of the West – that it has passively accepted such characterisations and hence helped depoliticise the Tamil struggle for autonomy.

It is tempting to argue that an important, if not the definitive, feature of India's Sri Lanka policy over the past two and a half years has been its apparently ad hoc, irresolute, inconsistent and incoherent character. Frequent and sudden shifts in South Block's stance vis-a-vis Colombo and the Sri Lanka Tamils, mutually contradictory statements showing up awkward efforts at reconciliation, the drafting in of all manner of people as negotiators (the latest addition being Mr. Dinesh Singh), and the "see-saw" phenomenon so often in evidence in the handling of Tamil

militant and moderate groups all tend to support this view.

The inconsistencies and the incoherence are real, just as they are visible. Underlying them, however, is a deep continuity which is reflected in the results that the Bhandari line has yielded. It is best understood as composed of four elements. The first is a long-term undercurrent or a subtle tilt in favour of Colombo vis-a-vis the Tamils and the acceptance of the terrain of conflict and its resolution, as defined by the former. Thus, the government of Sri Lanka has been allowed to seize the initiative and is now increasingly calling the shots.

### **Precise Effect**

A second element of the continuity is the depoliticisation and, to a certain degree, delegitimisation of the Tamil struggle for autonomy within Sri Lanka. The treatment of some militant groups as no more than a nuisance and the simultaneous appeasement of some others have had that precise effect. The tacit acquiescence in Colombo's characterisation of them as "terrorists" has only reinforced this.

A third element is the basic incapacity of the Bhandari line to prevent the pursuit of, or frequent resort to a military solution to the conflict. This is not to suggest that President Jayawardene's government has finally opted for a purely military solution, but to argue that the Bhandari policy cannot effectively counter a strategy which has a haemorrhaging effect on Sri Lanka, or involves any number of military expeditions against Tamil civilians.

And the final – and geopolitically the most crucial – element is the capitulation or yielding of ground to Western and Israeli influence in Sri Lanka. New Delhi has consistently failed to make moves that could have helped prevent a dangerous slide in Colombo's foreign policy towards the West. The kind of pro-Western orientation that Sri Lanka showed during the Falklands war – and it was the only significant country in the non-aligned movement to support the British – has only got reinforced over the past five years. Thus, when tenders were floated for the construction of a oil storage depot in Trincomalee where the U.S. fleet would be refuelled, New Delhi's response was not, as might have been expected, to protest against the move, but to make a bid (as it turned out, an unsuccessful one) for the contract.

Again, when the Israeli president, Mr. Chaim Herzog, visited Colombo last November – and there were at least four major exchanges between Israeli and Sri Lankan officials or ministers earlier, in the latter country as well as abroad – the Indian response was so meek and low-key as not to matter. Amazing as it might seem, New Delhi chose not to take up the visit or the setting up of a special Israeli interest section in the U.S. Embassy (which has since moved to a separate commercial building in Colombo) with the Arab states, although it was widely

expected that it would do so. Similarly, South Block missed several other opportunities, such as those presented by the Islamic summit in January this year, to lobby the more anti-Israeli Arab states against the Colombo-Tel Aviv link and to provide a counterpoint to Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's open championship of the Sri Lankan government's cause in a variety of fora.

New Delhi's passivity, if it can be called that, has endured in spite of some more recent events such as the bomb blasts on the Trincomalee highway and in Colombo last month, which point to well-trained saboteurs. **The charge made by the pro-Sinhala Sri Lankan Freedom Party as well as the Sri Lankan left that it was Mossad and not Tamil extremists who was behind the "inside job" is hard to refute, although no hard evidence is available to prove it.**

The two blasts fit perfectly into a pattern that is now only too familiar in covert action and destabilisation programmes undertaken by the American CIA and Mossad in country after third world country. One only has to read Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman's *The Washington Connection & Third World Fascism*, Philip Agee's *Inside The Company* and Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks' *The CIA And The Cult of Intelligence* to see what these patterns are. What is of special concern to us is the likely consequences of Western and Israeli manoeuvres in Sri Lanka and changes in Colombo's foreign policy orientation for the South Asian region.

**Our principal proposition here is that the policy changes, political shifts and military or covert manoeuvres in Sri Lanka – to the emergence and development of which the Bhandari line has contributed so much, albeit indirectly – are such as would dovetail neatly into the American strategy plan for this region.**

To put it simply, that plan is based as much on weakening and limiting India's position in South Asia as on drawing other countries, principally Pakistan and Sri Lanka, into the U.S. fold or "strategic consensus". The prominent position accorded to Pakistan in the U.S. CENTCOM (Central Command) structure extending all the way from the Persian Gulf to Thailand, as well as the latest U.S. economic and military aid package constitute a major plank of the policy. Its other major planks are *one*, to ensure that India's role in the region is confined to its borders and to keep New Delhi under constant pressure, both regional and domestic; and *two*, to reshape Sri Lanka's political role and foreign policy so as to bring them into alignment with the Western bloc and with U.S. strategic interests in particular.

The long-term strategic interest of the U.S. in Sri Lanka is considerable. It is best exemplified by Trincomalee, an exceptionally well-endowed harbour, with a natural mountain protective cover that is the naval strategist's dream. The very location of Trincomalee, which poten-

*continued on page 8*



# Rep. Dymally Lauds Jaffna Air Drop



**WASHINGTON** – Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.) this week praised India's supply drop to Sri Lanka as a humanitarian effort and condemned Sri Lankan Army actions on the Jaffna peninsula.

Dymally also called for a congressional delegation to the north of the island to determine the extent of civilian deaths in the absence of U.S. media reports on the conflict.

"I feel that the humanitarian effort by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi deserves a great deal of commendation," Dymally told India-West in a telephone interview June 8. "In my judgement the Sri Lankan government left him with no other alternative."

Congressman Dymally, the second ranking Democratic member of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcom-

mittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said India's action was within the bounds of international law.

"Crises that demand human resolve cannot be viewed in any way as violations of international law," he told India-West. He called the airlift a "very positive step" which will help "to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population."

Dymally gave a speech June 3 in Congress on the situation in Sri Lanka and issued a press release stating that he is planning an urgent official visit to India and Sri Lanka to convey the concerns of the U.S. Congress to both governments.

"In India, I will urge Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to continue his mediation efforts despite this major setback for peace in the region," said Dymally.

"In Sri Lanka, I will impress on the government the need to use peaceful means to resolve the ethnic conflict, because there is no such thing as a successful military solution. This latest offensive only confirms the Tamil conviction that their chance of equality within Sri Lankan society is minimal. It merely strengthens the case for separation."

While in Sri Lanka, Dymally says that he intends to witness, first hand, the impact of the civil war on the civilian

population and to determine the fate of families of American Tamil constituents.

European and Indian news sources estimate that the Sri Lankan Army, which is dominated by the Sinhalese majority, has killed between 200 and 500 civilian men, women and children of the Tamil minority since launching a military offensive late last month.

**"The Sri Lankan government prohibits access not just to reporters but also to such humanitarian organisations as the Red Cross and Amnesty International," Dymally noted. "The government maintains this closed door policy despite international pleas to at least allow humanitarian groups to have access. That secrecy is a major reason we can only estimate the civilian casualties."**

Dymally observed that while the government of President Junius Jayawardene has been emphasising a negotiated settlement in its public statements, it has apparently been intent on pursuing the military option all along.

"This is a grave miscalculation," said Dymally. "It will not lead to a settlement; rather it will only serve to undermine the moderates and polarise the Tamil majority, destroying any hope of a lasting settlement."

## Sequence leading to Indian mission over Jaffna

**THE FOLLOWING is a brief sequence of events leading to the air-drop over Jaffna.**

**Jan 2:** India conveys concern to Sri Lanka over the "serious and grim situation" following blockade.

**Jan 6:** Fuel ban chokes life in Jaffna. Lankan Internal Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali says, "it is a non-military option" Tamil LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran reported to have returned to Jaffna.

**Jan 7:** Vital drugs, oxygen cylinders seized by Lankan forces, vegetable and fuelwood prices soar, bus services cut, people move on bullock-carts.

**Jan 8:** Lankan airforce helicopters strafe Jaffna, killing four. Jaffna shelled for third day – army occupies area outside Jaffna fort.

**Jan 9:** Heavy fighting in Jaffna.

**Jan 12:** Fuel embargo immobilises 6,600 cars, 6,000 motor-cycles, 1,000 power-tillers, 664 lorries, says Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

**Jan 13:** Tamils face starvation – says LTTE.

**Jan 14:** Tamil new year festival *Pongal* marked by despair in Jaffna – kerosene sells at Rs. 25 per litre, petrol at Rs. 100 per litre.

**Jan 15:** Government workers picket-offices; protest embargo.

**Jan 16:** Students protest fuel blockade.

**Jan 18:** 6 militants killed, 19 die in Lanka fighting.

**Jan 30:** 200 civilians killed, says LTTE. General Strike in Jaffna.

**Feb 3:** Troops moved to Jaffna.

**Feb 18:** Bomb blast kills 61 near village in Jaffna.

**Feb 8:** 39 die in Lanka offensive in Jaffna.

**April 17:** 107 Sinhalese shot dead near Trincomalee.

**May 13:** Helicopters strafe Jaffna, 3 killed.

**May 16:** Indian Envoy conveys concern to Lanka over plans for final offensive.

**May 17:** 50 Tamils die in air raids, Jaffna cut off.

**May 26:** 100 killed as final offensive begins.

**May 30:** Hundreds of Tamils killed in Vadamarachi. Jaffna Tamils face starvation.

**June 1:** India to ship relief to Jaffna – Lanka objects, sends Minister to China – exodus from Jaffna.

**June 2:** Lanka says it will defend its waters. Lankan PM says aid decision will lead to violence.

**June 3:** India decides to send relief flotilla from Rameswaram in Indian Tamil Nadu carrying humanitarian relief supplies of food and medicines, to Jaffna. Lanka protests decision and prepares for naval blockade, warns India of consequences.

**June 4:** India goes ahead, air-drops supplies, mission ends. Lanka lifts fuel embargo.

## Bhandari Line on Sri Lanka

*continued from page 7*

tially gives it command over a vast area from West Asia through South Asia and the Indian Ocean to Southeast Asia, makes it more valuable than many Subic Bays and Guams put together. It follows that the U.S. would flinch from few actions that are essential to the promotion of its strategic interests in the region, even if they have a slow haemorrhaging effect on Sri Lanka and produce thousands of civilian casualties.

It is apparent that the U.S. drafted in Mossad to do at least a part of its job in Sri Lanka. That is probably when Gen. Walters and the Israeli contacts come in.

From the foregoing conclusion it is inescapable that the Bhandari policy complements and fits in tightly with the overall U.S. strategy for Sri Lanka and South Asia. It is irrelevant whether it was designed and crafted as such. It does not also matter what the intention and motives of its author were or are. The point is that never before has a major South Block policy on the South Asian region had the degree of convergence with U.S. strategic interests that marks the Bhandari line.

**India's Sri Lanka policy has not merely been a failure and an embarrassment. It has without doubt been a major disaster when seen in the context of India's interests in contraposition to U.S. strategic plans.** *By courtesy of "Times Of India", May 19 & 20, 1987.*



# Jayawardene's Peace 'impossible'

**INDIA IS NOT WILLING to resume its mediatory role in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka because it considers the latest Colombo response to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's message to President Jayawardene as wholly unsatisfactory.**

Its sense of dismay at Sri Lankan procrastination is reflected in India's refusal to respond to Mr. Jayawardene's message. Not only is no reply being sent immediately, any move for a ministerial-level dialogue, even if made, is also unwelcome.

This is being made clear to Sri Lanka through diplomatic channels, but the possibility of a formal communication being sent until the Sri Lanka Army halts its anti-Tamil operations in the Eastern province and Jaffna is ruled out.

Not being a direct party to the dispute, but as one who made its good offices available to end the conflict, India considers the proposition that it "underwrite the implementation of any agreement" as totally unacceptable. It is made clear that India had offered to mediate to pull the Sri Lankan Government out of a difficult situation but has no direct interest in the conflict. By seeking peace on its own terms and by imposing a military solution, Colombo has made it impossible for India to resume mediation.

India's position remains the same, as stated in its communication to Mr. Jayawardene on February 9, that if the Sri Lankan Government continues the economic blockade and military operations against Tamils, prospects of violence will increase. India's assessment is that the conflict will be prolonged and will escalate.

It has been noted here with concern that since January 28 over 500 Tamils have been killed by the Sri Lankan forces, of them about 200 in Batticaloa alone. A massacre of such proportion of civilian population was having its repercussions on the Tamils in Tamil Nadu and the Sri Lankan refugees in that State. It had also put the Government of India in an awkward position and convinced it that Colombo was trying to consolidate its position militarily regardless of the suffering of Tamils.

Attention is also drawn to President Jayawardene's address to the Sri Lankan Parliament which ruled out chances of India resuming its mediatory role. Not only did Mr. Jayawardene reject the conditions set forth by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, he also proposed a set of his own conditions which rule out, in practical terms, any Indian mediation except on Colombo's terms. Mr. Gandhi wanted the military offensive to end and economic blockade to be lifted. It also urged Mr. Jayawardene to stand by his December 19 proposals.

But his response was not as was expected, confirming the impression that the hardliners in the Government were spoiling for a military solution. Mr.

Jayawardene's response has grown more involved and an embarrassment for New Delhi.

Mr. Jayawardene's six point response handed to Mr. J. N. Dixit, Indian High Commissioner was:

1. If the armed separatists (LTTE) agree to cease armed violent operations and related military preparations and desist from any activity aimed at setting up, or interfering with, the legal administration of the area, and this is announced by them, the Government of Sri Lanka would ensure that the armed forces will not carry out any further military operations in the area during this period.

2. When hostilities cease, in terms of para 1 above, the embargo (on the movement of certain commodities), now in force in the Jaffna peninsula will be lifted.

2.(a) If the LTTE is prepared to attend talks with the representatives of the Government of Sri Lanka towards a peaceful solution of the ethnic problem, appropriate talks may be held in New Delhi with the assistance of the representatives of the Indian Government. The

Government of Sri Lanka expects the Government of India to underwrite the implementation of any agreement so reached.

3. Upon the armed separatists giving up their arms – a vital step in strengthening the civil administration – a general amnesty will be given to them by the President of Sri Lanka.

4. When talks towards a peaceful solution of the ethnic problem commence, the Government of Sri Lanka will release those persons now held in custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act who have no charges against them.

5. In all these proceedings the mediatory role and the good offices of the Government of India are relevant. The Government of Sri Lanka reaffirms that the results of the discussions held so far, including the proposals of December 1986, will be the basis for evolving a durable solution.

6. The Government of Sri Lanka is agreeable to an early date being fixed for the negotiations.

The LTTE, with whom the Sri Lankan Government wants to negotiate, has rejected the proposals.

Mr. Jayawardene's December 19 proposals on which India wants the Sri Lankan President to stand firm are:

"The present territory comprising the Eastern province minus the Amparai Electorate (electoral district) may constitute the new Eastern Province. A Provincial Council will be established for the new Eastern Province.

**Caroline Moorehead comments in "THE TIMES" (22 June) on**

## Amnesty Reports of hundreds of Tamils Tortured

**STORIES OF THE persistent harassment, torture and death of Tamil detainees, held on suspicion of involvement with armed groups, are continuing to come out of Sri Lanka.**

The cases of more than 500 Tamils who have "disappeared" after arrests during the past 2½ years are being publicised today in a new report by Amnesty International.

The human rights group is concerned about the growing number of reports of torture during interrogation, apparently as a means of extracting confessions, and of arbitrary killings of those detained by the security forces.

More than 3,000 Tamils are being held prisoner by the Sri Lankan authorities, some 2,500 of them at Boosa army camp near Galle on the south coast. They are reported to arrive showing signs of injuries inflicted during torture, and once inside the camp they face ill-treatment and humiliation.

**Sanitary conditions are atrocious** and detainees suffer from dysentery, diarrhoea, chicken pox, mumps and measles. Ninety per cent of them are said to have scabies. **Worms, centipedes, maggots and weevils have been found in the food.**

Since families often spend many months trying to trace missing relations, **Amnesty**

**insists that its list of 519 "disappeared" Tamils is probably far from complete. The organisation is appealing to President Jayawardene to act swiftly to set up an impartial and independent inquiry and to consider keeping a central register of arrested people and where they are being held.**

Last September, Amnesty published a report on 271 Tamil men and one woman who were reported to have "disappeared". Since then the whereabouts of only four have been revealed – two are being held in a prison camp, one is said to have been released, and one is dead, shot by the security forces. **There is no news of the other 268.**

Meanwhile, Amnesty has learnt of 247 other Tamils – most of them young men, but also a few elderly men, four women, and 10 children between the ages of 3 and 15 – who have gone missing after being seized in the Eastern Province by members of the Special Task Force commando unit. **Almost all of the 247 cases listed include a sworn statement, often by an eye-witness, of their arrest.**

There is also strong evidence of systematic torture, sometimes leading to death. Detainees are said to be hung by their thumbs and beaten with iron rods.

## ***India's Aid To The Beleaguered Tamils of Sri Lanka***

# **Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev informed of Travails and Oppression of Eelam Tamils**

***"OPERATION POOMALAI" (Garland of Flowers) as the Indian Air Force mercy mission over Jaffna was called, took ten hours to plan and just over an hour to execute with the transport aircraft daring it out by flying over large areas in the Jaffna peninsula, controlled by the Sri Lankan army.***

"Though we had very short notice, you have seen the results — the dropping was accurate and successful," the Vice-Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal S. Raghavendran, told reporters here.

He said the mercy mission had its moments of suspense and anxiety as contact was lost with the fliers for over 20 minutes while over Sri Lankan territory. The Air Marshal clarified that seven transport aircraft and four Mirage 2000 jet aircraft took part in the mission. Five AN-328 dropped the supplies and two other transport aircraft were used for communication relay with the operation control.

The consignment of supplies consisted of 25 tons of rice, wheat, pulses, sugar, tea and medicines.

An official spokesman said that the Sri Lankan High Commissioner, Bernard Tilakratene was summoned to the Ministry of External Affairs and told India was sending the supplies by air following Sri Lanka's refusal to allow the Indian flotilla to reach Jaffna.

The spokesman also said "the relief supplies being sent to Jaffna by air have been inspected by a number of Indian and foreign journalists, some of whom are to fly in the transport aircraft."

Asked why India had taken this step, officials said in Bangalore "we feel there is an urgent need to reach food and other essentials to the suffering and beleaguered population of Jaffna."

The morning after the air-dropping of medicines on June 5, the mood in official circles here was not one of euphoria or jubilation but of how to put the India-Lanka relations back on an even keel.

Informed sources said New Delhi would take Sri Lanka on its word on the issue of discussing modalities of providing relief to Tamils in Jaffna.

The Opposition parties and Rajiv Gandhi's Congress-I lauded the Premier's decision to air-drop the goods in Sri Lanka.

**Russel Rollason, Executive Director, Australian Overseas for Overseas Aid, has praised India's action to provide humanitarian assistance to the victims of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, particularly the Tamils.**

In a telex message to Prime Minister Rajiv

**Gandhi, Rollason said "we hope that you will continue to act to ensure that the much needed assistance reaches the victims." He added that the reports emanating from Sri Lanka were a matter of grave concern to many Australian and several non-government overseas aid groups.**

The Congress (I) party said that the government's decision to air-drop humanitarian aid to Sri Lanka's beleaguered Jaffna peninsula was a "timely and positive humanitarian action."

The General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee (I), A. K. Antony, said: "We cannot be a silent spectator to the genocide that is taking place in Jaffna and its surroundings."



**GORBACHEV**

**The leader of the Telugu Desma Party, the largest opposition party in Parliament, said the international community, particularly India, could not remain passive spectators of human rights violations in Sri Lanka.**

India should keep its options open in helping the people of Jaffna, where the Sri Lankan government has launched a military offensive in which hundreds of civilians are reported to have been killed, he said.

"This was guided by humanitarian considerations alone," he told the Soviet leader.

Tiwari drew Gorbachev's attention to the steady increase in the number of Sri Lankan Tamils seeking refuge in India.

Tiwari and Gorbachev also discussed Pakistan's efforts to acquire Early Warning, Air-borne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft.

Tiwari briefed the Soviet leader on India's efforts to normalise relations with China.

**The Opposition Janata Party, in a statement issued here, reiterated its appeal to the Indian Government to take effective steps to end the Sri Lankan government's blockade of the Jaffna peninsula and bring the concerned parties in the island nation's ethnic conflict to the negotiating table.**

**The leader of the Lok Dal (Ajit Faction) Party, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, told a rally protesting near the Sri Lanka High Commission here against the "genocide" in the island state that as many as 1300 Tamils had been killed last week by the rampaging Lankan army.**

Welcoming the Indian government's move to rush aid to the beleaguered Jaffna town, Dr. Swamy said the shipments should continue on a regular basis. In the event of the Sri Lankan navy interfering, the Government should send armed escorts, he added.

Dr. Swamy said the demand for a Tamil Eelam (Homeland) was fully justified as the Sri Lankans were refusing to share power with Tamils who he said were the original inhabitants of the island. Indian media, too, lauded New Delhi's decision to air-drop relief supplies to Jaffna, describing it as a new found resolve to act in the face of Colombo's military operations.

"It is futile for anyone in Colombo and elsewhere to believe that a government in power in Delhi can remain indifferent to the sufferings of the Tamils in Sri Lanka."

\* \* \*

### **Gorbachev Apprised Of The Situation**

Indian External Affairs Minister N. D. Tiwari who is now on a visit to Moscow said that **Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev had "displayed a perfect understanding of our analysis of the Sri Lankan situation."**

The Indian airlift of emergency food and medical supplies to the civilian population of Jaffna was discussed at a 90-minute meeting here.

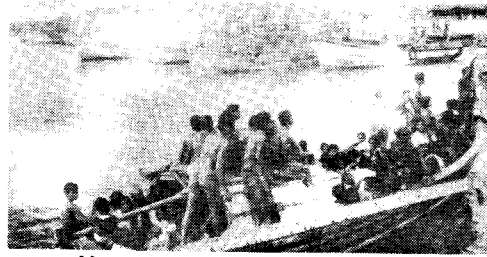
Briefing Gorbachev on the situation in Sri Lanka, Tiwari said: "Our effort at humanitarian aid was rejected by Sri Lanka and we had to transport relief supplies by air in an entirely peaceful manner."



# 'Operation Liberation' liberates them all



## UNENDING STREAM OF REFUGEES POUR INTO RAMESWARAM



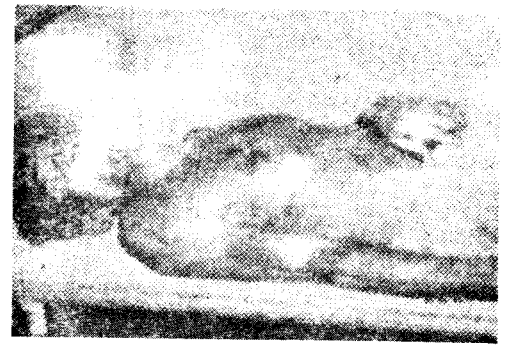
Young and old flee using every available boat.



Injured by shelling in Valvettithurai.



Yet another 'war' widow, one of thousands in the Tamil homelands. She was, however, fortunate to flee with her children from the invaders.



## Children suffer horrific burns

A child at Puloly Hospital, burned in an air force incendiary attack.



***Some of the victims of the three-pronged military assault on the Jaffna peninsula***



# A DECADE OF DEATH AND DESTRUCTION

## 1977 – 1987

### **Freedom and Justice**

"We therefore set ourselves a new goal – the creation of a New Society, based on human and moral values". Thus proclaimed the UNP Manifesto before the general elections of 1977. President Jayawardene in Parliament in September 1977 announced his "dream of creating a just and free society". Within a decade he has wiped out 'freedom' and 'justice' from the face of Sri Lanka and in his 'new society' human values have crumbled.

The Constitution of 1978 effectively enthroned President Jayawardene as dictator of Sri Lanka. His actions since then leave no doubt that he manipulated the political process in order to install himself on the highest pedestal equipped with enormous power.

### **Violence Unleashed**

The Tamils who were left battered by the Bandaranaike government were given the 'Jayawardene treatment' immediately after the 1977 general elections.

Violence by mobs aided by the security forces was directed against the Tamils, and over 300 Tamils were killed. While the Tamils were being murdered, President Jayawardene made a statement in Parliament challenging the Tamils: **"If you want to fight, let there be a fight, if you want peace let there be peace"**. This statement encouraged the hoodlums to continue the atrocities with greater enthusiasm. Then President Jayawardene elevated himself by the 1978 constitution as the Head of State, Head of the Executive and Government and Commander in Chief of the armed forces.

### **Torture Sanctioned**

President Jayawardene gave official sanction to torture in 1979 directing Brigadier Weeratunga **"to eliminate terrorism in all its forms from the island and more so specially from the Jaffna district"**. This directive was a mandate for genocide of the Tamils. Emergency was declared and the army went berserk in the streets of Jaffna assaulting, arresting and torturing the youths and killing some of them.

The power of the security forces over life and death of ordinary citizens was strengthened by the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1979. This Act, described as a 'blot on the statute book

of any civilised country' by ICJ has been used to arrest thousands of Tamil youths. Evidence of torture has been submitted by Amnesty International and scores of Tamil youths have been butchered in custody.

### **North Attacked**

On 31 May, 1981, the army attacked and looted Jaffna. Several Tamils were killed and property damaged extensively. **The Jaffna library was burnt with its 90,000 volumes. No action was taken by President Jayawardene in this regard, confirming the allegation that the whole operation was government planned.** The violence also spread to other parts of the country leaving many Tamils dead. In an interview immediately after the violence, to a question whether he would ban or banish the people who talk about Eelam, President Jayawardene answered: **"I have not thought about it. I want to develop their consciousness. It has just started."** (*India Today*, 15 September 1981).

BY MAYAN VIJE

In November 1981, President Jayawardene directed his attention to the plantation Tamil refugees in the Vavuniya district. During this month around 1,000 soldiers descended upon refugee settlements and the offices of the social service organisation Gandhiyam. The settlements were destroyed, youths arrested and tortured and women harassed.

### **Democracy Dethroned**

While infusing terror into the hearts of the Tamils, President Jayawardene also set out to undermine the traditional democratic institutions. In 1978 certain local government employees were deprived of their civic rights and in October 1980 **Opposition Leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike's civic rights were removed for a period of seven years.** Election laws were amended to prevent these persons from participating in elections. **The Constitution was amended so that in Parliament a person could cross over from the Opposition to the Government but the reverse was not possible.**

In October 1982, President Jayawardene obtained signed, undated letters of resignation from all 141 members of the UNP in Parliament, in

order to stifle any dissension within the party.

Amendments were also enacted to Parliament (Powers and Privileges) Act empowering Parliament to punish anyone who in the opinion of Parliament breaches its privileges. Editors of newspapers were punished under this Act. **Rigorous censorship was imposed** and certain newspapers were banned.

### **Crackdown on Trade Unions and Judges**

In July 1980, when trade unions resorted to industrial action, President Jayawardene declared emergency and dismissed 40,000 workers, dealing a severe blow to the trade union movement.

Now it was time for President Jayawardene to interfere with the judiciary. When thugs surrounded the homes and abused the judges who had delivered judgements against police officers for breach of fundamental rights, President Jayawardene declared: **"When judiciary fails, people's representatives take action"** (*Island*, 30.3.84). He later ordered the promotion of police officers found guilty of breach of fundamental rights (*Paul Sieghart*).

### **Referendum**

A referendum was conducted in December 1982 to extend the life of Parliament by another 6 years. During the referendum thugs were installed at every polling booth to prevent opposition supporters from voting and key opposition organisers were arrested and held in custody during the campaign.

In addition to the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act, **Emergency Regulation 15A was brought into force which empowered security forces to dispose of dead bodies in secret.** After worldwide condemnation this was replaced by regulations 55B-55F which actually made the position worse.

### **Genocidal Massacre**

In July 1983, President Jayawardene announced: **"I am not worried about the opinion of the Jaffna people. Now we cannot think of them, not about their lives or their opinion"** (*Daily Telegraph*, 11.7.83).

After this announcement, the Tamils



were subject to the worst genocidal massacre in the history of Sri Lanka. **More than 2,000 Tamils were killed and vast amount of property were destroyed. 52 Tamil political prisoners were clubbed to death in jail. The security forces joined in arson, murder, rape and looting. There was evidence that the pogrom had been master-minded by elements within the government.** President Jayawardene allowed violence to continue for four days and on the 5th day appeared on television declaring that he was giving in to the "clamour and natural request of the Sinhala people" and detailed his planned legislation for banning separatist movements without offering even a word of sympathy to the Tamils. In consequence renewed violence was directed against the Tamils the next day with greater ferocity.

While violence raged in the country President Jayawardene ensured that the **6th Amendment to the Constitution was enacted, requiring all to take an oath disavowing separatism.**

The TULF which had received a mandate for the formation of a separate state refused to subscribe and its members lost their seats in Parliament. Thus the last opportunity for the Tamils to participate in the democratic process was removed and President Jayawardene's scheme to rid the Tamils succeeded. In an interview to the New Internationalist he said, "I know they say I am a strategist and a schemer. But you cannot be a leader unless you scheme – not in politics, or in war, or in any human affair" (*The Week*, 14-20 August, 1983).

In 1984, the army continued its spree of killing Tamils and destruction of property. During the year nearly 2,000 Tamils were killed by the security forces and the Sinhalese civilians armed by the government and 10,500 arrests were made. To make easier the task of murder and mayhem by the security force, **the government established Prohibited Zones in the Tamil areas**, where fishing was banned affecting 200,000 Tamil fishermen.

### Militarisation

Contrary to his promise of creating a free society, President Jayawardene began expanding the armed forces in a clear attempt to establish a military state to consolidate and continue his position as dictator. **Perpetual emergency in force for the last four years has assisted President Jayawardene in this task and to resort to illegal and criminal means under its cover.**

An Israeli Interests Section was opened in the American Embassy and the Israeli Shin Bet agents and British SAS soldiers became directly involved in the war against the Tamils. **The economy was sustained on foreign aid while enormous amounts were**

allocated for defence (the defence expenditure increased from 560 million rupees in 1978 to 12,421 million rupees in 1986 which is equivalent to 92% of all foreign financing). Arms were purchased from other countries and military vehicles were acquired. Sri Lanka which had criticised the policy of apartheid in South Africa began receiving military equipment from that same country. A Special Task Force was established and the Home Guard units were trained in Pakistan.



By courtesy of "The Hindu",  
(International Edition), June 6, 1987

The military expenditure has caused considerable strain on the economy, the external debt outstanding in 1985-1986 rising to rupees 113,307 million and the development of the whole country has been affected not only by the stupendous increase in defence expenditure but also by the continued destruction of Tamil property.

### Massacre Continues

In 1985, the security forces killed more than 3,500 Tamils and made 14,900 arrests. Amnesty International and other human rights organisations continued to appeal to President Jayawardene regarding human rights violations, but these appeals fell on deaf ears.

Ignoring these requests **President Jayawardene embarked on a peace mission to appease the aid donor countries.** A conference was arranged at Thimpu. The proposals of the Tamils at this conference were rejected and genocidal attacks were mounted on the Tamils while the conference was proceeding. After the receipt of aid the tone of President Jayawardene became menacing. In December 1985 he declared, **"The Tamil problem is a military problem and any military problem has to be tackled militarily"** and further went on to add, "It is not difficult to handle Jaffna. We can cut off food and supplies to the Peninsula and flush out the terrorists".

He took an openly anti-Indian stance

and announced a terrifying fate for the Tamils: "If the government of India wants to invade they can take over Sri Lanka in less than 24 hours and arrest me. **But if that happens then all the Tamils living among the Sinhalese will be finished.**" (*India Today*, 15.12.85).

In January 1986, President Jayawardene declared that he was opting for a military solution (*The Island*, 26.1.86). Throughout the year he continued to cry about a military solution while the troops massacred more than 3,500 Tamils and made more than 10,000 arrests. **Aerial bombing of the Tamil areas was intensified killing scores of people, including women and children, and damaging houses, temples and hospitals.** Meanwhile Amnesty International was concerned about disappearances of Tamils and reported 272 cases in its September 1986 Report on Disappearances (in a recent report another 216 have been reported).

In May 1986, President Jayawardene sounded a warning, "If the Delhi proposals are rejected, I will unleash the troops. I can and will wipe out this trouble in a month." (*The Guardian*, 12.5.86). He talked often about democracy being at peril in the island from other elements, **while he himself was the prime cause for smashing the very foundations of democratic institutions.** At a religious gathering in May 1986 he said: "Terrorism is no longer ethnic but an attempt to install a communist dictatorship by force and destroy Sri Lanka's democratic form of government." (*Daily Telegraph*, 19.5.86).

As announced earlier President Jayawardene unleashed the troops on the people of Jaffna when an opportunity arose in 1987. 8,000 troops moved into the Jaffna peninsula with air cover killing more than 600 civilians. **The air force bombed temples and other buildings where civilians were advised to take shelter and the troops raped women and plundered property. 4,000 youths were arrested** and taken to the deep south where already several have been slaughtered in custody. Due to the timely intervention of India greater disaster was prevented.

### Death and Destruction

President Jayawardene promised a new society where justice and freedom would prevail but within a decade of his reign he has sown misery, death and destruction to the Tamils and Sinhalese alike. Sri Lanka has seen more suffering than in any period of its recent history and to that extent **President Jayawardene should be regarded as the man who created the greatest suffering in the shortest time. He threatens to continue and extend the life of Parliament by yet another referendum.**

**God help Sri Lanka!**

# WHAT THE WORLD THOUGHT

**The Army Chief of Staff, General Cyril Ranatunga, said** he had ordered the suspension of the operation. Hinting that the military campaign might be resumed. General Athulathmudali said: "We don't have enough troops to do everything at once." The army has just nine trained infantry battalions. About 3,500 troops have been committed to the peninsula campaign not counting the garrisons holding strong-points before it started. Others are tied down in the eastern provinces around Trincomalee and Batticaloa, where the rebels are also active.

There are 850,000 Tamils in the Jaffna area alone. Even after the arrest of up to 10,000 men of military age, the Tigers have ample reserves of sympathisers. The army is believed to be vulnerable to guerrilla infiltration of recently recaptured areas. The Tigers are said to have about 4,000 active members, of whom perhaps a quarter are well-armed and trained.

Colombo has strong diplomatic motives for calling off the army, with just seven days to go to a meeting of foreign ministers of the South Asia Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC). The Government hopes to use the meeting in New Delhi to launch a diplomatic counter-offensive against India, which last week dropped relief supplies by parachute on the Jaffna peninsula.

(The Guardian, 11 June)

**In the war wearied peninsula, home of the 850,000 Tamils, there was evident relief.** If what some reporters saw in the town of Puloli is representative of the whole region there is much work to be done to rebuild the physical, social and economic fabric.

(The Daily Telegraph, 11 June)

**India fears that widespread bombing and Tamil civilian deaths in Jaffna, or an unsatisfactory forced settlement of the basic Tamil ethnic issue, could lead to disturbances in Tamil Nadu** which itself once had its own separatist movement. On a domestic level, Mr Gandhi also needs the political support of the state government of Tamil Nadu, particularly in India's presidential election next month. Faced with what many of its leaders and diplomats believe are foreign attempts to destabilise it and to slow down its economic and political development into a global power, India emerges as a proud loner.

"The world has never stood on our side when we have been in trouble - look at what happened over Kashmir with Pakistan or the war with China. If we always waited for clearance certificates from the world, we would never protect our interests," says senior Delhi diplomat. (Financial Times, 11 June)

**The going had not been easy for the military** - under strict orders to ensure that civilian casualties were kept to the minimum. The rebels, who avoided direct confrontation with the troops except at heavily fortified positions, had intensively mined and booby trapped the whole area, causing 90% of casualties among the government troops.

(Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 June)

**Feelings in India's southern Tamil Nadu state have been running high, and the state recently collected public donations of Rs. 30 million (US\$ 2.3 million) for civilian relief to the beleaguered Tamils in the Jaffna peninsula.**

(Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 June)

**The president of the Tamil Welfare and Human Rights Committee, Dr. Benjamin Raj, in a cable to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi today said, "On behalf of the Tamils in the U.S., the committee expresses its deepest appreciation of the positive action authorised by you to carry out humanitarian relief operations to save the Tamils in Sri Lanka".** Mr. Sri Thillaiampalam, president of the Eelam Tamil Association, issued a statement expressing gratitude to Mr. Gandhi for air-dropping food and medical supplies.

(The Hindu (International Edition), 13 June)

**The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Central Government must be congratulated for taking this bold and imaginative, and yet sober, policy course** - the wider implications of which must not be underestimated - and it is heartening that there is a total Opposition consensus backing the content and spirit of the action.

(The Hindu, editorial, 13 June)

**According to Indian press reports, since 1984 about 100 agents of the Israeli secret service Mossad have been training Sri Lankan special service troops led by the President's son in methods of fighting "terrorists."** The bombs now falling on Jaffna and the surrounding areas were made in Pakistan, while the planes, according to certain sources, have Pakistani pilots.

(New Times, A Soviet Weekly of World Affairs, 15 June)

**Having caught the Tiger by the tail, Jayawardene is unlikely to let go.** But the greater danger is that New Delhi may decide to intervene if the killing of innocent Tamils continues. The cabinet and the service chiefs have already discussed the option.

(India Today, 15 June)

**Two hours after the air drop, Premadasa, long the harshest critic of the Indian factor in Colombo's battle against the separatists, demanded that the SAARC convene an emergency meeting to discuss the Indian action.** He followed this up with several public speeches saying that the air drops were probably a rehearsal for an invasion.

(Far Eastern Economic Review, 18 June)

**Any attempt by Sri Lanka or Pakistan to raise air-dropping of relief supplies over Jaffna at the forthcoming Ministerial meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) will be strongly opposed by India.**

(The Hindustan Times, 20 June)

**New Delhi's attempts to high-profile its aid efforts sank in the seas off the Jaffna coast as Sri Lankan naval vessels refused to allow the flotilla to enter the island's territorial waters.** In Colombo, the reaction was characteristically highly-strung. "Lanka stands firm. Flotilla goes home" screamed a banner headline in the Sun, a pro-government newspaper. Crackers were burst as Sri Lankans celebrated their 'victory' against what one commentator derisively des-cribed as India's "bumboat diplomacy".

That India had bumbled, and bumbled badly, was all too evident in the gloom that

descended on South Block and in Tamil Nadu. For New Delhi the loss of face and prestige was far too serious to be dismissed lightly. Even in Colombo, the chauvinistic high was tinged with uncertainty and concern about what India's next move would be. Key people in the Sri Lankan Government tried frantically to get in touch with the three men they consider friends of Colombo - Romesh Bhandari, Dinesh Singh and N. K. P. Salve - but without success.

(India Today, 30 June)

**Though the truth about the latest Sri Lankan army offensive - codenamed Operation Liberation - lies somewhere in between Colombo's claims and the propaganda of the Tigers, Colombo must clearly shoulder the blame for the situation having reached the present pass.** In January, the Government decided to impose an economic blockade, including that of fuel, on the Jaffna peninsula. Colombo's reaction to New Delhi's requests to lift the blockade has been typical. On at least six occasions, Colombo announced that it was lifting the blockade, but in reality what this meant was asking Jaffna inhabitants to lift petrol and kerosene from the army camps - akin to inviting the Tamils into the lion's den.

(India Today, 30 June)

**After the air drop, the distinction between Tamil Nadu and New Delhi has evaporated.** Rajiv Gandhi is seen in New Delhi as going out of his way to please MGR. In the larger context, the direct result has been to convert what was a Sri Lankan ethnic problem into an Indo-Sri Lankan problem.

(India Today, 30 June)

**Predictably, the reaction in Tamil Nadu to India's air drop ranged from relief to rabid jingoism.** While MGR himself pledged his government's support to the Centre for continuing help to the Sri Lankan Tamils, his DMK foe, M. Karunanidhi urged New Delhi to adopt a "Cyprus-type solution"

(India Today, 30 June)

**What caused considerable concern in New Delhi and Tamil Nadu, however, was the fate of 6,000-odd young Tamils who have been detained and taken away to army camps for interrogation.** Most were students who had returned home for holidays. Athulathmudali says that they will be released after the screening process, which largely means identification by hooded informers. Last week, the first batch of detainees was released indicating that Colombo has realised that their continued detention will lay them open to further charges of discrimination and terrorising of the Tamil population. The Indian High Commission had forwarded to New Delhi a long list of complaints by prominent Tamils in the north whose sons had been taken away. In Sri Lanka's surcharged atmosphere of suspicion and hostility, the fear that they might never be seen again is omnipresent.

(India Today, 30 June)

**The offensive escalated on May 26, when curfew was declared in the area and leaflets were dropped from helicopters warning civilians to move to 18 designated buildings, mainly churches and temples.** Whether by accident or design, bombs have been dropped on temples and churches in which a large number of civilians have obviously died.

(India Today, 30 June)



## Letters to the Editor

WILL BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION remain silent if Mrs. Thatcher bombed Ulster because the IRA has its strongholds there? Should the Scottish Nationalist Party organise an armed uprising of SCOTS, will the world stand aside if Mrs. Thatcher terrorised the people of Scotland by aerial bombardment. I wonder.

ED: Note:

East is East and West is West ...

A. R. Smith

Peckham

\* \* \* \* \*

A RECENT ISSUE OF *The Observer* stated that the Sinhalese armed forces are trying to help us, "Minority Tamils". The move is vicious. We do not regard ourselves as "Minority Tamils". We are all equal especially in our suffering, imposed on us by the Sinhala Terror state. Why does not the Sinhala goigama government attend to its own problems of caste and regions where many underclass Sinhalese suffer social humiliation and flagrant discrimination? We can look after our own affairs.

Vijay Paul  
Hayes

\* \* \* \* \*

"THE PETTAH BOMB BLAST" is being blamed by some newspapers in the United States and Britain on the Tamil Resistance. There has not been a shred of evidence so far that any Tamil was involved. Mrs. Bandaranaike has alleged that the deed was "an inside job". When Sinhalese security forces are hunting Tamils as if they are appropriate wild life, why must these sectors of the media accuse the Tamil freedom fighters? Does not the deed resemble so much what has been happening in the West Bank?

V. R. Lingam  
Lusaka, Zambia

\* \* \* \* \*

## EVEN THE GREAT HOMER NODS!

### ITV's second mistake in four weeks

I WOULD LIKE TO EXPLODE the myth, once and for all, that Tamils are recent immigrants to Sri Lanka. This mistake is made repeatedly, the last time on Channel 4 News. Tamils have been on the Island for over 2,500 years – as long as, perhaps longer, than the Sinhalese. This fact was mixed up in the report with the arrival of the Tamil labour force, brought by the British from India in the 19th century.

What the Tamils want is not a new homeland, but to reclaim what was theirs before the coming of the British. The report blamed the Tamils for an incident in which Sinhalese had been killed, whereas there is considerable doubt as to whether Tamils were responsible. Even the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike has said that the Colombo bomb explosion appears to have been an inside job.

The pictures used in this and most other reports are supplied by the Sri Lankan Government, so what the British viewer is presented with is a distortion of the true situation in Sri Lanka.

Fr. Bernard Iruthayam  
on Channel 4 "Right to Reply"

Saturday, June 6th, 1987



## Malaysian Ceylonese Congress HEADQUARTERS

11, Jalan Emas, off Jalan Sungei Besi,  
57100 Kuala Lumpur

### Statement by Tan Sri Datuk Sri V. Jeyaratnam, President, Malaysian Ceylonese Congress

*The recent outrageous military activities initiated by the Sri Lankan Government against the minority Tamils in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, is nothing short of genocide. Numerous reports have been published of the wanton killing of thousands of innocent Tamils and the destruction of their properties.*

*Many of those affected are pensioners who have served the Malaysian Government and who are still on the pensions list. A good number of them are blood relatives of Malaysians of Sri Lankan origin. Many Tamil highland workers from the South, who had escaped to Jaffna, have also been included in these indiscriminate killings.*

*We, as Malaysians, do not want to interfere with the internal politics of an independent nation. However, we cannot avoid voicing our outrage in the face of this inhuman action taken by the most indisciplined military in the world.*

*The ethnic problem is something that the Sri Lankan Government will have to bring to a suitable conclusion, acceptable to all groups concerned. But certainly the killing of innocent men, women and children is definitely not the course of action to be taken.*

*We are, in voicing our feelings, not interfering in the internal affairs of an independent country. THIS IS NO MORE JUST AN INTERNAL PROBLEM. It is an outrage on humanity at large. On humanitarian grounds, all right thinking people of the world must share the same opinion.*

*We urge all legitimate Governments and agencies in the world, and in particular India and Malaysia, to take whatever action necessary to bring this war on innocent people to an instant halt.*

4th June, 1987

## PEACE MARCH OUTSIDE WHITE HOUSE

**Friends of Sri Lankan Tamils staged a Peace March and Demonstration  
outside White House on June 20, 1987**

The Peace Marchers call on the U.S. Government to send a fact finding Committee of the U.S. Congress to the North and East of Sri Lanka, and to prevail on the Government to:



- Suspend U.S. aid to Sri Lanka until the Government stops all forms of human rights abuses;
- Remove forthwith the blockade of food, fuel, medical supplies and other essentials in the Tamil province;
- Allow International Red Cross into the North and East of the country to minister to the refugees, the wounded and the starving;
- Allow the International Authorities to observe the Government's treatment of political prisoners held without trial for years;
- Release immediately the 9,500 youths taken as hostages;
- Allow International Press and Media Access to the war ravaged North and East, the homeland of the Tamils.

## OTHER OPINION

## The penultimate warning

MR. JAYAWARDENE'S SAVAGE OFFENSIVE has already had two consequences. It has knocked all legitimacy from under the Tamil groups that had been urging moderation, negotiation: the offensive must have convinced every Sri Lankan Tamil that he cannot expect justice at the hands of Mr. Jayawardene's government, that all his talk about a negotiated settlement, about one formula for autonomy or another was just sham, that it was just a way of buying time till his army and air force were ready to kill the Tamils into submission. Second, the offensive has all but foreclosed India's options. It isn't just that the offensive will result in refugees pouring into India – that it will. It isn't just that such wholesale killing of innocent, unarmed Tamil civilians by bombing and all else will ignite substantial political repercussions within India, especially in Tamil Nadu – that it certainly will. The basic point is that placed as it is, having tried as it has to bring about a peaceful settlement to the problem, India cannot just stand by now that Sri Lanka has embarked on open, wholesale killing – of its own citizens, true, but of human beings none the less.

This is the import of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's statement. And Mr. Jayawardene should remain in no doubt on the matter. "If India aids insurrection by the Tamils in Sri Lanka,

will it not thereby provide a justification for Pakistan to aid the terrorists in Punjab? Will it not justify the decision of someone else to aid the ENLF?" These are good questions in normal times. They are the sort of questions that many in India have been asking each other and the Government. But there is a limit to everything. Wholesale killings of unarmed civilians will make these questions seem academic, even civilians will make these questions seem academic, even rhetorical. The point will not be what the action might justify in the future but what must be prevented now. On this too Mr. Jayawardene must shed all doubt.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's statement indicates as clearly as any statement can that in the assessment of the Indian Government that threshold has been almost reached. "By mercilessly bombing a defenceless people and spreading misery on the basis of ethnic differences." It says, **"Sri Lanka is itself putting its unity and integrity in jeopardy. It points to the 'gross violation of every tenet of human rights', to systematic 'carpet bombing' of civilians in Jaffna, to the 'calculated, cold-blooded slaughter of thousands of Sri Lanka citizens by their own government'".** To the fact that "the time to desist from a military occupation of Jaffna is now. Later may be too late." It is

As neither side will listen to the counsel for peace, and as events will not let India just stand by, more and more will urge the Indian Government to step up the aid to the rebel groups so that they may protect the Tamils; many will eventually conclude that howsoever undesirable, that whatever the long-term costs India has no option but to attempt a Cyprus-type "solution" – a

sealing of the north from the rest of the island till better sense prevails in Colombo. There will be a host of problems to contend with – Tamils in the rest of Sri Lanka who will inevitably be set upon and will therefore rush to the north as refugees; there will be the grave and enormous costs of committing a substantial force. And much else. But if the present scale of killings continues most in India will conclude that the country is left with no option but to bear with the cost.

Before that moment arrives and these arguments become irresistible, the Indian Government should explore one avenue. The Prime Minister has called upon the international community to restrain the Sri Lankan government. This appeal should be given an institutional form. India should ask for an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council and do its best to see that the countries assembled there persuade Mr. Jayawardene to draw back from the ruinous course that his government has chosen, a course that entails massacre of the innocent and that has all the potential of disrupting the peace of the region.

It will be argued that taking the matter to the Security Council will give the superpowers and others the *locus standi* to meddle in the affairs of the region. But they are meddling in any case, with or without *locus standi*. And should it be possible to secure a UN presence in the Jaffna peninsula, the benefits will be immense: Sri Lanka will be restrained from the wholesale killings without India having to undertake any extreme step. A penultimate warning must be followed by a penultimate step.

Editorial, INDIAN EXPRESS, 20 May, 1987

A MESSAGE TO SRI LANKA  
A NEW POLICY COURSE

INDIA'S OPERATION AIR RELIEF for the Jaffna peninsula – carried out perfectly by the Air Force on the wings of five AN-32 transport aircraft escorted by four Mirage 200 fighters – is a fine example of a meshing of humanitarian and political objectives in a graduated and still developing response which has won the enthusiastic backing of the people of this country, the Tamil population in Sri Lanka and people of sensitivity and goodwill round the world.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Central Government must be congratulated for taking this bold and imaginative, and yet sober, policy course – the wider implications of which must not be underestimated – and it is heartening that there is a total Opposition consensus backing the content and spirit of the action. Dropping some 25 tonnes of relief goods to people living through an unprecedented time of troubles in the face of a genocidal military attack launched by its own Government might seem symbolic rather than substantive relief (perhaps even a high-flying "gimmick" to jaundiced Western critics). But let there be no ambiguity about the purpose behind, and the content of this IAF mission – which (as THE HINDU's Special Correspondent who flew on the mission as an observer along with other media persons, Indian and foreign, noted) "became inevitable" in the face of a much softer option floundering on account of "the hotheads prevailing" in Colombo.

Mr. Jayawardene and his associates must understand that this is a message from the Government and people of India who are firmly united on the issues of justice and politics behind this question (even if differences abound on various other issues) and are determined to follow

this up, if the need arises. India is the frontline state vis-a-vis the genocidal crisis in Sri Lanka and no amount of self-congratulation, abuse and mock-heroic, tragi-comic bluster by the Premadasas and the Athulathmudalis can make any material difference to this rather large reality. Every child in the South Asian region must be expected to know that the physical, political, military and logistical capabilities to counter the Sri Lankan ruling clique's brutal course against innocent Tamil civilians are very much in the possession of India – that's not the problem at all.

A review of the performance of Indian official policy from 1985 does suggest that New Delhi has been taken for a ride by Colombo – as a recent policy statement by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi virtually acknowledged. The weakening of solidarity with the Tamils, the absence of a firm baseline and a coherent strategic direction, and the superficial and uncoordinated approach characteristic of post-1985 policy have been repeatedly criticised by THE HINDU and other newspapers.

The IAF's mission over the Jaffna peninsula could be taken as a dramatic demonstration that this costly phase of self-imposed weakness is over and a new policy based on firm solidarity values (vis-a-vis the reasonable aspirations on the Tamil side) and a progressive articulation of the national interest has been inaugurated. The initiative is now in India's hands – and a long while – and the gains from sending the timely message of humanitarian-political solidarity with the battered Tamils must be built upon intelligently, boldly and concertedly.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that what has brought about this unprecedented crisis in Sri Lanka, and this pass in Indo-Sri Lankan relations, is

the Jayawardene regime's pursuit of a disastrous military solution to the "ethnic crisis" through the "two track" route. (A third track, perhaps, is represented by the induction of an assortment of external elements hostile to India.) The euphoria surrounding the IAF relief mission, which came incidentally, in the wake of a soft option sea voyage which seemed to turn into a "damp squib", inviting quick-to-the-draw ridicule and condescension from sections of the Western media, including "liberal" publications such as The Guardian of England must not allow anyone to forget this fact.

The Sri Lankan Government's military offensive which is concentrated in the Jaffna peninsula remains a grave danger to hundreds of thousands of innocent Tamil civilians, and has already taken an appalling toll of lives, livelihood and spirit. If the offensive continues, or is not swiftly called off, the task of breaking the back of this ruthless anti-human offensive – through a combination of some kind of direct action and major solidarity assistance to the armed militant Tamil resistance, chiefly the LTTE in co-operation with EROS – remains ahead of the Government and people of India.

This country's policy objectives remain very much in place. The motivation and interest behind the policy still favour creating just and realistic conditions on the ground which alone, experience now clearly shows, would permit meaningful talks on a political settlement. This means a clear and genuine rollback of the results inflicted by the post-December 19 military offensive, because there can be no question of resuming any kind of equitable peace process or political initiative on the basis of an unjust freeze on the ground, which would leave the Tamil side in a visible position of weakness in a negotiating situation.

If the correct steps and methodology are pursued, it is by no means too late for the affairs of state in Sri Lanka to return to a path of sanity and political wisdom. Hindu (International Edition), June 13, 1987



## COLOMBO'S BLUNDER

NEW DELHI HAS NEVER thought of directly intervening in the Sri Lankan crisis. Nor has it ever supported the idea of Eelam. But by stepping up its military offensive in the Jaffna peninsula, Colombo has put New Delhi in a tight spot. It is more in sorrow than anger that Foreign Minister N. D. Tiwari has cautioned Colombo of the consequences of the current onslaught on the innocent Tamils. If the Sri Lankan Government ignores the appeal for a negotiated settlement of the ethnic problem and goes on wiping out the Tamils, New Delhi will be compelled to review its Sri Lankan policy. An influx of refugees on an unprecedented scale is inevitable if the killing of the Tamils continues. Nor can the reaction of the people of Tamil Nadu be brushed aside. In such a situation New Delhi may be compelled to take measures not palatable to Colombo. It is for the Jayawardene Government to avert such a situation and it can do so.

President Jayawardene is sadly mistaken if he is confident of a military solution to the ethnic problem. Even if thousands perish in Colombo's military offensive in Jaffna, an abject surrender by the Tamils is most unlikely. It may be for the benefit of the Sinhala hawks that he has declared the Government's resolve to fight to the finish. What is going on in Jaffna is almost a war and the casualties include both the security forces and the militants, apart from a large number of civilians. If the conflict drags on indefinitely, the militants are bound to achieve the goal of Eelam. Even if the Government forces succeed in quickly suppressing the militants, it is not necessary that the integrity of the island republic will remain intact. If the LTTE is crushed, another militant organisation is likely to emerge so long as the legitimate demands of the Tamils are not met.

India however, should not over-react to the developments in Sri Lanka. 'MGR' and other Tamil Nadu leaders should not try to exploit the Sri Lankan crisis for political

gains. It is not fair to blame the Jayawardene Government alone for the disastrous turn which the Sri Lankan situation has taken. The militants also should be blamed for their intransigence. The LTTE has never been inclined to negotiate and it has only weakened its cause by indulging in terrorism. But by abruptly blocking all avenues of negotiations and going all out for a military solution, the Jayawardene Government has deepened the crisis.

As Mr. Tiwari has indicated, it may be acting under the "increasing influence of external elements inimical to security, stability and peace in our region". But Colombo should realise that it cannot go far on the assurance and support of foreign powers. Ultimately it has to bear the brunt of the conflict and the more it antagonises the Tamils, the less secure it will be. The military offensive will only lead the country to disaster.

Editorial, The Overseas Hindustan Times,  
13 June 1987

## A POLICY AT LAST

After plenty of dithering New Delhi's Sri Lankan policy is taking shape. The decision to send 19-odd relief boats to Jaffna was apparently not an isolated one. The mission was humanitarian in nature but none, including President Jayawardene could miss its political overtones. The return of the boats to Rameswaram, however, was not the end of the story; more was bound to follow. India's decision to deploy its transport aircraft to drop essential supplies for the beleaguered people of Jaffna cannot, therefore, cause surprise. Tamils on both sides of the Palk Straits will feel excited about New Delhi's new-found resolve to act in the face of Sri Lanka's military operations. Those who have been attacking New Delhi for not having a coherent policy may draw satisfaction from South Block's realisation that it has had enough from President Jayawardene and his men who came to believe that a military solution was the only one available to them to resolve Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict.

It is futile for anyone in Colombo and elsewhere in the world to believe that a Government in power in Delhi can remain indifferent to the sufferings of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. What happens in Sri Lanka is bound to have repercussions in Tamil Nadu and as such cannot be ignored by the people and the Government of India. Foreign policy of a country cannot be made by the prevailing passions in one State but at the same time nations cannot afford to easily overlook domestic compulsions in fashioning out their policies on issues that cannot be confined to borders. Tamil sentiments apart, there can be other reasons for India's new Sri Lankan policy.

New Delhi cannot be faulted for its growing

impatience at the involvement of Israel and Pakistan in Sri Lanka. There are Israelis who are giving advice to Sri Lanka in its anti-Tamil operations and other sensitive areas and Pakistanis are giving training to the Sri Lankan army. India does not need to act as Big Brother but this factor cannot be deemed as a licence for smaller powers in the region of showing the thumb to New Delhi and ignoring its legitimate regional sensibilities.

There can be other reasons for New Delhi's decision to adopt an activist approach towards Sri Lanka. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi can no longer afford to project the image of a wavering leader unable to act decisively. He had to follow up his rice-boat diplomacy by another move such as dropping supplies by aircraft. Here come the risks - mainly for Sri Lanka which can stop Indian boats but cannot prevent Indian planes from dropping supplies in Jaffna. Interfering with Indian aircraft can be hazardous for Colombo just as not doing anything under the situation can cost President Jayawardene politically at home. The Sinhala hawks can pounce upon him and it is not known what his options will be.

What is also not yet clear is how far New Delhi is prepared to go. Its desire to get a fair deal for the Tamils and seeing that Sri Lanka does not become a base for outside powers are understandable but it can be assumed that so far a Cyprus-kind of a solution or in other words a separatist Tamil State is not the aim of Indian policy.

Editorial, The Overseas Hindustan Times,  
13 June 1987

## INDIA SHOWS FILM OF JAFFNA RAIDS

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT has produced a videotape shot in the beleaguered city of Jaffna to support its claim that the Sri Lankan Air Force is "indiscriminately bombing its own people."

The tape showed air raids on the town on May 27 and 28. It is shot by amateurs, but clearly shows Marchetti aircraft diving to attack with bombs and rockets.

Heavy damage is shown to the main bazaar, with shops and other buildings reduced to heaps of smouldering rubble. The bazaar has not been used for several months. It is close to the Jaffna fort, where a garrison of troops regularly exchanges mortar fire with Tamil Tiger rebels.

The video includes scenes in a Jaffna hospital near the fort. A commentator explains that the hospital, which used to have 1200 beds, was attacked for the ninth time on May 27th. Severe damage is shown, with the camera lingering over close-ups of mangled bodies and burn wounds which the commentator claims were caused by napalm.

Other scenes include devastation in one of the main Hindu temples, where seven people are said to have died after seeking shelter from air raids.

The origin of the tape is unclear. The Indians say it did not come from the Tamil Tigers. They also doubt the claim that napalm has been used, but say that the Sri Lankan air force has dropped incendiary bombs.

Otherwise, the tape is taken in New Delhi as firm evidence to support India's claim that the military drive to recover the Jaffna peninsula has been conducted with ruthless disregard for civilian casualties.

"The damage is there for you to see," a foreign ministry spokesman said yesterday. "Apart from the immense suffering being caused by the Government's bombing, there is deep concern over the fact that in areas now being taken over by the army, young men aged from 15 to 45 - one full generation - are being taken into what are euphemistically called interrogation centres.

## JVP ACTIVE IN THE SOUTH

### Premadasa bargains for JVP Co-operation Against Tamil Resistance

Compounding the problem of Colombo which had been created by the Indian action, a group of subversives - not connected with the Tamil rebels - carried out two daring raids on 7 June: one on the Sri Lankan Air Force's main base at Katunayake 32km north of the capital and the other at the National Defence Academy in Colombo's southern suburbs. Colombo believes that the raiders belong to the outlawed Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP).

Investigators have found that the raiders had used arms taken from an army camp in April. The JVP is reported to be collecting arms for another putsch. There is an awareness in Colombo that it would be difficult for the government to fight on two flanks - in the north and south - and Premadasa has offered an olive branch to the JVP saying that its proscription will be lifted if it would engage only in legitimate political activity.

# THE GROWING PAINS OF PREMADASA

## Prime Minister of Sri Lanka

**Readers of Tamil Times should also know some of the facts relating to Premadasa, heir presumptive as distinct from the heir aspirant, Lalith Athulathmudali, and the dark horse who will emerge from the J. R. Jayawardene clan.**

Premadasa started his political career as a member of A. E. Goonasingha's (who became a racist politician) Ceylon Labour Party. He then did the full circle and migrated from the racist politics of the Ceylon Labour Party to the Sinhala - oriented United National Party.

It must not be forgotten that along with party Comrades J. R. Jayawardene and Dr. M. V. P. Peiris ("honorary physician" to the Sinhala Marchers to Kandy protesting against the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact of July 1957), Premadasa was one of the leading activists against a settlement with the Tamils. He was manipulated by Dudley Senanayake (of whom Oliver Goonatilake, one-time Governor-General once remarked, "there are only two clever men in

Sri Lanka, the other is Dudley") to keep J. R. Jayawardene in control.

Premadasa and Dudley Senanayake held a huge protest rally against the B-C Pact on the grounds of the Kandy Market in 1957 shortly after the Pact was signed. Said he, "if S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike sees this crowd, tears will flow from his eyes". In a week or so afterwards, Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike held an equally attended or larger public rally in the same place in defence of the Pact. He had nothing but contempt for Premadasa and, to use Bandaranaike's own phrase, for "Dudley Hamu" ("hamu" is a Sinhalese honorific for lesser mortals who are just below the top Goigama caste, "hamuduruwo" or "Walaue hamu" being the more servile

terms used by menials when addressing their low-country Sinhalese masters of the top goigama). Said Prime Minister Bandaranaike (and we use the Prime Minister's own words) "Premadasa and Dudley Hamu should see this crowd; if Dudley Hamu were to see it, water will come from somewhere else". The Prime Minister laughed scornfully into the microphone.

During 1965-70, Premadasa made progress under Dudley's "national" government. He was made junior minister to M. Tiruchelvam, Q.C., Minister of the Local Government and the Tamil Federal Party's representative in the government. Tiruchelvam complained that Premadasa was placed in his ministry by the designing Prime Minister (Dudley Senanayake) "to keep an eye on him" (Tiruchelvam). When Tiruchelvam resigned in 1968 (because the Federal party was disillusioned with the Dudley government), Premadasa was appointed Tiruchelvam's successor as Minister of the Local Government. It is alleged that he was thereafter used (there is no evidence) by Dudley to curb J. R. Jayawardene's attempts to become Dudley's successor. Premadasa was supposed to be at the time Jayawardene's "rival". In the end Jayawardene succeeded Dudley and made Premadasa his Prime Minister (with little authority given to him) in 1978. Premadasa thinks that he is now President-in-waiting.

Jayawardene has kept Premadasa at a distance since he ascended the Executive Presidency. To the outside world, Premadasa is regarded as "the real Prime Minister". Premadasa's hope from the time he became Prime Minister is that he will be President, and is automatically, "Acting President" when Jayawardene goes on his foreign visits. Jayawardene has never formally appointed an "Acting President". The theory is that the British Queen never appoints an "Acting Queen" when she leaves on state visits.

Premadasa, at the beginning of his career, was in the camp of the doves on the Tamil question. Jayawardene ignored him except on rare occasions when he was absolutely needed. Then in 1986, Premadasa visited Boston to address a gathering of students at Harvard University (the students prevented him from speaking because of the arrest and detention of their fellow student, R. Manikkalingam). The American Professor Marshall Singer arranged a meeting between Sri Thillaiampalam, President of the Eelam Tamils Organisation of the United States and Premadasa in a hotel in Boston. Premadasa could not respond to Sri Thillaiampalam's question on how the Jayawardene government proposed to bring about a settlement.

Premadasa has, since, made unbecoming attacks on India. His recent outburst in Parliament that "Our (meaning presumably the Sinhalese) patience is wearing thin" is disgraceful for a Prime Minister. It is in line with President Jayawardene's and Minister Gamini Disanayake's threats to finish off the Tamils in South Sri Lanka should India make moves against Sri Lanka.

### POOR VIRAJ MENDIS:

**a Sinhalese who supports the Tamil Cause. Andrew Hislop wrote in The Times of 24 June:**

"IN BRASS TACK'S moving film (BBC 2) about his sanctuary from deportation by the Home Office in the vestry of a Manchester Anglican church, Viraj Mendis made it clear that he had no choice but to stay put. A Tamil-supporting communist, Mendis believes that if he is returned to Sri Lanka he will be killed. Unfortunately, he was nearly murdered in his refuge by some knife-wielding thugs who needed no Henry II-like bidding from the authorities to burst into the church seeking blood.

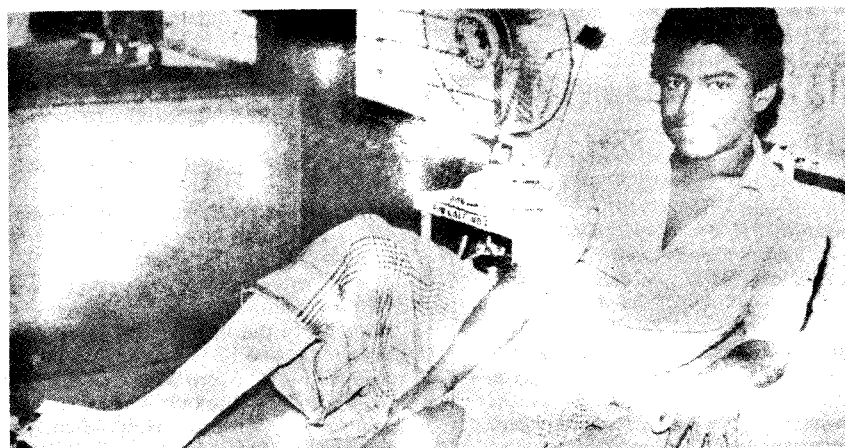
Mendis's jovial if equally stubborn protector, Fr. John Methuen, seems a priest more pleasantly corpulent than turbulent - "God, I look fat" - and Mendis himself comes across as a gentle and sincere, if very determined, political squatter. He has had a bad Press, not helped by the local council trying to

make him a churchbound race-relations officer, but alas our newspapers increasingly seem to write critical notices of political theatre regardless of individual performances.

What the film made clear was that, despite the larger issues of church versus state, the rule of law etc., it is in the interests of everyone if this embarrassing muddle is resolved quickly, and that there is more political danger in the Government sticking to its guns than quietly giving way. Once our governments were big enough to offer sanctuary to much more dangerous political animals than Mr. Mendis or Social Democrats."

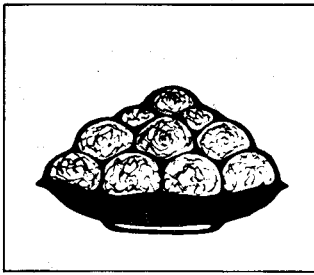
**Tailpiece:** it is not known whether the "thugs" were members of the British National Front or their Sinhalese counterparts.

### LOST A LEG - Still of Good Cheer



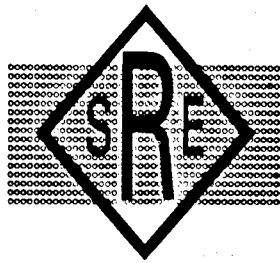
This young man, now in South India, lost a leg in the battle for Tamil Eelam.





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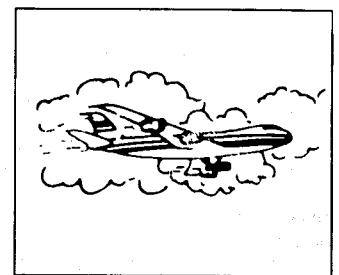
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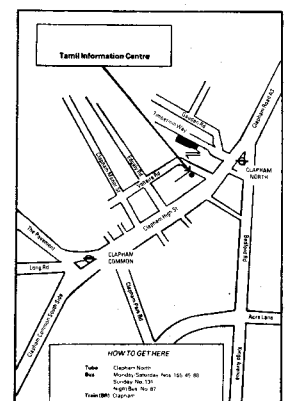
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# AND SO THE BOMBERS CAME

a first hand account of living and dying in Jaffna  
by **Ambalavanar Umashankar, (Attorney-at-Law)**

JAFFNA, the eye of the Sri Lankan political hurricane, witnessed in the month of March this year a baptism of fire unknown in its annals. What follows is a personal eye witness account of one of the aerial bombings in which members of my family and I, who are natives of Jaffna, almost died.

It was a Sunday when people take their daily chores lightly and even get up from a bed a little late. In the early hours of the morning, however, the droning of a plane and the clatter of some helicopters were heard. Residents of the area little thought that these were harbingers of the arrival of bombers for which they provide cover.

All of a sudden at about 6.40 a.m. five bombers belonging to the Sri Lankan Air Force swooped down through the clouds and began raining bombs on three targeted houses in the Nallur area in quick succession, two bombs being hurled at a time.

Two of the houses were vacant. The third was mine. In all forty four bombs fell. The attack continued for nearly 20 minutes, the bombers disappearing into the clouds for a time to allow the shells to burst and destroy the targets and then returning to complete the destruction of the remaining undestroyed bits.

The deafening noise and the resulting shock on members of my family can more easily be imagined than described. My wife and children had got into the trench earlier than I – when the first bomb fell in my garden I was fast asleep. As I got up fitfully, awakened by the blast, the second bomb fell on the vacant house next door. By this time all of us moved into the bathroom which was part of the house. The third bomb fell just ten yards away. The fourth and fifth fell again on the neighbouring houses but all the other bombs were targeted one after another at my house.

We saw our house lying entirely flattened with some parts of the building lurching at odd angles. Bullet marks from the helicopters appear on the walls that remain. There was no trace of the belongings of our home. Our car parked outside was a lump of metal. All that remained of our large house was the bathroom where we had sought shelter.

The impact of the bombing of my house with our little children watching every moment of the ordeal has left a



Unexploded bomb weighing 55kg targetted on Nallur, March 29.

psychological impact on them which can neither be measured nor erased. They are now totally scared of noise and blast and are obsessed with the fear of the "army" which destroyed all that was precious to them in life. The material loss which we have sustained is immense. We have now been left as refugees in our own land. I am unable to practise my profession, as the Courts are not functioning normally. More than the material loss is the damage done to our children, growing up in a climate of fear, destruction and helplessness.

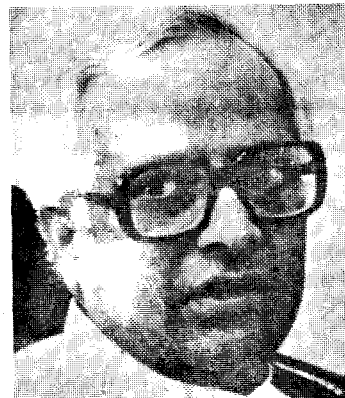
When Citizens' Committees make representations the stock reply is either "the army targets were terrorist hideouts" or "such an event never took place but investigations will be made." The matter always ends there for the army is all-powerful and rules with the sword. What has happened to me on March 29 is a scene that has been replayed in many parts of the North and East. In many instances, there has been loss of life, houses destroyed and several occupied illegally. People have been incinerated in their own huts and houses. The cry of an oppressed community is a cry that has to be heard.

*It cannot remain unanswered for ever.*

## PROFILE

### JYOTINDRA NATH DIXIT

India's High Commissioner in Sri Lanka



Mr. Dixit was, previous to his appointment in Colombo, posted to the strategic Afghan capital Kabul. He has a reputation for firmness and a "no-nonsense" attitude. *India Today*, 30 June, 1987, provides the following snapshot of the diplomat in the crisis-ridden Sri Lankan capital:

"Jyotindra Nath Dixit, popularly known as Mani Dixit, is an unflappable man who, in his two-year tenure as India's High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, has handled his increasingly prickly assignment with considerable tact and equanimity. But on June 4, Dixit was mangling the stem of his ever-present pipe as all confidential files and documents were removed to a safe place pending the all-important message from New Delhi. The message came just after noon, conveyed by Natwar Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs, India, he told Dixit, was planning to air-drop relief supplies over the Jaffna peninsula that evening."

Dixit has been very firm with President Jayawardene and asked him for explanations on various contradictory pronouncements of the President. His predecessor was Chatwal who is now High Commissioner in Ottawa. Previous to Chatwal was Thomas Abraham who was appointed India's Ambassador to Switzerland prior to retirement. Abraham has since joined the Movement for Peace in Sri Lanka.

## 10 YEARS OF JAYAWARDENE RULE COMMEMORATION ON 25TH JULY

"SRI LANKA: 10 years of Jayawardene Rule", by S. Sivanayagam, and Published by Tamil Information Centre will be available after 25th July. The Publication is Sponsored by:

The Australian Federation of Tamil Associations; Eelam Tamil Association of Quebec; Dansk-Tamilsk Venskabsforening, Denmark; Tamil Help and Information, Germany; Tamil-Dutch Solidarity Association, Netherlands; Wellington Tamil Society Inc., New Zealand; All Parties Supporting Group for Tamils, Norway; Human Rights Council (SCOT), U.K.; International Council for

Protection of Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees, U.K. and Federation of Tamil Associations of America.

The Publication Commemorates the Pogroms of July 1983 and is expected to be used in the Campaign on 25th July this year in many countries. It will be translated into Danish, French, German, Italian, Japanese and Norwegian. It is Proposed to be Translated into Hindi, Sinhalese and Tamil.

The Publication will be available from TIC or the Sponsors.

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## TAMILS DIE IN HOSTEL BLAZE

TWO TAMILS who were seeking asylum in West Germany died in a hostel fire for refugees in Detmold on June 30. The authorities believe they started the fire themselves. Four other men at the centre were treated in hospital for minor burns.

The fire highlights the tense atmosphere that still surrounds the issue of asylum-seekers in Germany who are kept in hostels and not allowed to work or leave their city or district boundaries until their request for asylum has been granted. One of the two men who died, had been in Detmold for 18 months. The conditions under which they are held have repeatedly been criticised by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees who said recently that Germany's policy towards the Refugees had "failed completely".





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**JAFFNA TAMIL HINDU** parents in U.K. are seeking marriage partners for their children, engineer son 30 years and daughter 24 years, both employed in London. Please send charts and full particulars to **Box M180** c/o Tamil Times.

### Weddings

**McQUAID - ARULIAH.** The wedding of Sean McQuaid and Anasuya Aruliah took place at Keble College Chapel, Oxford, on July 4. The couple, both physicists, are graduates of Oxford University. Sean was a Rugby Blue and Anasuya was President of the University Scientific Society.

Anasuya is the only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Panchan Aruliah of Cheam, Surrey. Her grandparents were the late Mr. and Mrs. T. Packianathan Aruliah and the late Mr. and Mrs. Arasaratnam A. Cooke.

**KUMARAKULATUNGAM - KANDIAH.** The marriage was solemnised on June 27 of Ravindran, son of Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Kumarakulatungam and Shantha, second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. N. S. Kandiah of 48, Connaught Road, Sutton, Surrey.

**KATHIRKAMANATHAN - KANAGARATHNAM.** The marriage of Dharmendranathan, son of Mr. and Mrs. V. Kathirkamanathan of 90 Woodford Crescent, Pinner, Middlesex, and Inparathy, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. N. Kanagarathnam of 4 Torrington Gardens, Perivale, Middlesex, took place on July 11, at Sri Murugan Temple, London.

**THURASINGHAM - KANAGARAJAH.** The marriage of Rajan, son of Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Thuraisingham of 19 Covington Road, Batticaloa, and Praba, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. K. Kanagarajah of 16-25, Sivan Kovil Road, Thirunelvely South, Jaffna, took place at St. Augustin's Parish Church, London.

### OBITUARIES

**PARAMAPATHY, P. T.,** Retd. Government Surveyor. Died in the same incident. He was the eldest son of Mr. M. S. Thambithurai, teacher, St. John's College and the late Mrs. Thambithurai. His elder brother, P. T. Gunaseelan, retired recently as Principal, St. John's College. He leaves behind his wife Thayaladevi, two sons and two daughters.

**COOKE, P. T.,** husband of Rose Rasamany of Chundikuli and father of Thangaranee, Yogaranee, Thuraiarah, Yogarajah, Selvarajah and Kularajah.

**SIMIAMPILLAI, M.,** former Director of Education, Northern Region. Funeral Mt. Carmel Road, Jaffna, May 13.

**KULATHUNGAM, Elizabeth Dhiviaratnam** (née Wadsworth), wife of late Lyman Kulathungam. Funeral Vaddukodai, May 28.

**ABRAHAM, A. R.,** Retd. teacher Jaffna College, husband of Emmah Pushpamalar, father of Aputharanee, Anandarajah, Pusparanee, Selvaranee and Jeyaranee. Funeral May 26.

**VIRASINGHE, Arjuna Jair.** The death occurred on June 28 of Jair, eldest son of the late Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Virasinghe. The cremation was at Golders Green Crematorium, preceded by a large attended service in the Church of St. Johns, Hampstead. Jair was a keen sportsman and turned out regularly at cricket and hockey for the Mill Hill Club.

**SELVARATNAM, Rane.** Wife of the late Hoole Selvaratnam and daughter of the late J. T. and Mrs. Lily Hensman of Chavakachcheri. She leaves behind two daughters, Mrs. Arul Anantham of Mount Lavinia and Mrs. Victor Subirtharatnam, and her sister Mrs. Pushpam Niles.

**SENATHIRAJAH, Rajapoopathy,** wife of late A. C. Senathirajah of Arasanar Valavoo, Tellipalai. She leaves behind two daughters, Chandra Spencer and Vimala Dwight. Her son Andrew predeceased her five years ago in London.

**ELIYATHAMBY, Susan Packiam-Relict,** of the late S. V. Eliyathamby, mother of Thevanesam, Thevarajah. Dr. Thevasagayam, Thevaseervatham. Devi Sri Pathmanathan. Brig. Thevanayagam and Thevamalar Manoharan. Funeral at Kanatte Cemetery on 8 May. 67 St. Lawrence Road Wellawatte.

**SABARATNAM, Nallamma,** wife of A. T. Sabaratnam, mother of Lakshmanan (UKS) Prathusha (Lusaka) and Lakshmi (Tania and Tamara). Funeral at General Cemetery, Kanatte on 13 May. 43 Thimbrigasyaya Road, Colombo 5.

**VELAUTHAMPILLAI, S.,** husband of Navamani, father of Balasubramaniam, Mohan (Canada), Jayanthi (London) and Naveethan Babu (USA). Cremation at Galkissa Cemetery on 9 May, 30-36th Lane, Wellawatte.

**MANUEL PILLAI, George,** husband of Pearl, father of Ranjani, Pathman, Mahendran, Mangala and Selvi. Funeral in Australia. 43, 2/1 Gregory's Road, Colombo 7.

## MOOTHAPILLAI NAGAMUTHU

of Varuthalai Villan, Tellipalai

The death occurred at 14, Potpathy Road, Kokuvil, on 18th April, 1987 of Moothapillai, wife of late Nagamuthu (Malayan pensioner).

Mother of Mahalingam (Retd. O.A., Railways), Mahadeva (Engineer, Nigeria), late Maheswari, late Mahaledchumi (Retd. Teacher) and Mangalambihi (Teacher).

Grandmother of Sritharan (U.K.), late Malathi, Sivakumar (U.S.A.), Rajkumar (Nigeria), Rohini (U.S.A.), Rohan, Kumar (New Zealand), Ramesh and Sutharsini.

Great grandmother of Easwaran (U.S.A.).

### OBITUARIES

**DR. GUNARATNAM LUTHER,** died under tragic circumstances on May 27. He succumbed to injuries caused by a shell fired from the Jaffna Fort. At the time of his death he was attached to the Jaffna General Hospital which, itself, has come under shell-fire from the Fort and aerial bombing on several occasions. Earlier, he was the District Medical Officer of Point Pedro. He leaves behind his wife Ariamdevi (née Senathirajah), sons Uthayakumaran and Indrakumaran, brothers Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham, Thuraisingham and sisters Navamani Mills, Sironmany Rajaratnam and Malar Balakrishnan.

The death occurred of **BIMALA WATSON, (née Hensman),** daughter of the late Babu and Nallamma Hensman, wife of the late Oliver Watson, mother of Ranjit (Commonwealth Secretariat) and Renuka, sister of the late Indira Joseph (Australia), Aria (Australia), Nesa (U.K.) on June 17, 1987 in London. No.1, Erskine Mews, Erskine Road, Primrose Hill, London, NW3. The death occurred of **INDIRA JOSEPH (nee Hensman),** daughter of the late Babu and Nallamma Hensman, wife of Jayapalan, mother of Shalini and Saro, on May 23, 1987 in Melbourne. 790, Centre Road, East Bentleigh, Victoria 3165, Australia.



# Useful Addresses And Telephone Numbers

## News Papers

**Foreign Press Assn.**, 11 Carlton House Terr., London SW1 (01-930 0445)

**London Int. Press Centre**, 76 Shoe Lane, London EC4 (01-353 4757)

**Press Association**, 85 Fleet St., London EC4 (01-353 7440)

**Daily Express, The Daily Star, Sunday Express**, Fleet St., London EC4 (01-353 8000)

**Daily Mail**, Northcliffe House, Tudor St., EC4 (01-353 6000)

**Daily Mirror, Sunday Mirror**, Holborn Circus, London EC1 (01-353 0246)

**Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph**, 135 Fleet St., London EC4 (01-353 4242)

**Economist**, 25 St. James's St., London SW1 (01-839 7000)

**Financial Times**, Bracken House, Cannon St., London EC4 (01-248 8000)

**Guardian**, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1 (01-278 2332)

**The Times, Sunday Times, Sun**, 1 Pennington St., London E1 (01-481 4100)

**Jewish Chronicle**, 25 Fumival St., London EC4 (01-405 9252)

**News of the World**, 30 Bouverie St., London EC4 (01-353 3030)

**New Statesman**, 10 Gt. Turnstile, London WC1 (01-405 8471)

**Observer**, 8 St. Andrews Hill, London EC4 (01-236 0202)

**The Scotsman**, Greater London House, Hampstead Rd., London NW1 (01-387 2800)

**The Standard**, 118 Fleet St., London EC4 (01-353 5000)

**Sunday People**, 9 New Fetter Lane, London EC4 (01-353 0246)

## Radio and Television

**BBC Radio, Broadcasting House**, Portland Place, London W1 (01-580 4468)

**BBC Radio London**, 35a Marylebone High St., London W1 (01-486 7611)

**BBC TV, Television Centre**, Wood Lane, London W12 (01-743 8000)

**BBC External Services**, Bush House, Strand, London WC2 (01-240 3456)

**BBC Publications**, 35 Marylebone High St., London W1 (01-580 5577)

**Independent Broadcasting Authority**, 70 Brompton Rd., London SW3 (01-584 7011)

**Capital Radio**, Euston Tower, London NW1 (01-388 1288)  
'Phone-In' (01-484 5255)

**London Broadcasting Co.**, P.O. Box 261, Communications House, Gough St., London EC4 (01-353 1010) 'Phone-In' (01-353 8111)

**Breakfast Time TV**, Hawley Cres., London NW1 (01-267 4300)

**Channel 4**, 60 Charlotte St., London W1 (01-631 4444)

**Independent TV News**, ITN House, 48 Wells St., London W1 (01-637 2424)

**London Weekend TV**, Kent House, South Bank TV Centre, London SE1 (01-261 3434)

**Thames TV**, 306 Euston Road, London NW1 (01-387 9494)

**ITV Publications**, 247 Tottenham Court Rd., London W1 (01-636 1599)

## Jaffna Central College Old Pupils Association.

A reunion of the old boys and old girls of the  
School will take place

**on Saturday, 8th August, 1987**

at Merton Hall, Kingston Road,  
South Wimbledon

Commencing 6 p.m.

There will be entertainment followed by dinner.

Tickets priced at **£5.00** (children under 12 free)  
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# INDIA IS MEDIATOR NO MORE

ON THE 4TH JUNE, as the Indian planes crossed to drop relief supplies to the beleaguered Tamils in Sri Lanka, it had become amply clear that India had at last made up her mind. Her two years of vacillation were over. She had in fact chosen her side in the Sri Lankan conflict. It is naive to presume now that she could still continue to be a Mediator. She is not even an aggrieved onlooker now. In the eyes of the Sri Lankan Tamils and the 55 million in India at least, she is now an active party. She has identified herself with the Sri Lankan Tamils and is only left now to continue, not to merely espouse their cause, but effectively pursue a determined course to bring to a swift end this inglorious dispute which had been deliberately turned into **Genocide** of a race, its own citizens denied of elementary human rights and fundamental protection.

Polemics on the sanctity of sovereignty irrespective of human rights violations, denial of fundamental liberty even when atrocity turns into genocide, become meaningless to a people suffering for the last four years at least from July 1983. It is the pastime of some esconced in entrenched traditions of advanced democracies derisively oblivious to third world standards. Such are best ignored. Very few have the capacity or understanding of a problem at its own doorstep, in its own region and among its own people as India has here.

It is appropriate to remember here what Rajaji, the former Governor General of India said: "Most private wrongs are done within family walls and most public wrongs within the borders of states. If world opinion is to consider state frontiers sacrosanct, then there will be no chance for world progress as a whole; **Tyranny will have received a World Charter**".

The onslaught on Jaffna which commenced on the 26th May despite warnings and fears expressed by India had all the ingredients of a genocide of the Sri Lankan Tamils within the Peninsula. A State machinery of 26,000 troops, 6 bombers, 14 helicopters, together with reconnaissance and transport planes supported by an "unspecified number" of naval vessels including gun boats – in fact, almost the entire military hardware directed against a small section of the Tamil civilians herded in their own heartland, their traditional homeland, cannot be called anything but genocide.

"We want their military offensive to stop. They have a systematically escalating pogrom against the Tamils. My Prime Minister has said he cannot accept genocide", said the Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka who by the close of May had become so tired and sick of the meaningless attempts of

India to bring sanity into Sri Lankan thinking of the conflict. Exasperation turned into anger when the Prime Minister of India scowled: "The cold blooded slaughter of thousands of Sri Lankan citizens by their own government cannot promote a solution." And this was after the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran who had apparently conveyed the indignation of 55 million behind him who were naturally incensed at the news of "the bombing raids on residential areas, the naval bombardment of coastal towns and the air drop of hundreds of troops... (while) planes and helicopter gunships inflicted the worst damage on civilian life and property, setting fire to houses, temples, schools and shops with incendiary bombs".

While condemning the Sri Lankan military operation as "a massive assault against the entire population of Jaffna", Mr. Tiwari, India's Foreign Minister warned, "The Government of India urges the Sri Lankan Government to realise the dangers of the military option". Even as J. R. Jayawardene declared that the assault was a fight to the "finish", ("either they win or we win"), his Prime Minister Premadasa poured scorn on India and her "big brotherly attitude". In denying India's accusations of civilian deaths and hardship Colombo retorted and referred to only the "patronage of separatist terrorism by the State of Tamil Nadu". (F.T. of 2.6.87).

Said a very senior Indian Diplomat: "The unity and integrity of Sri Lanka is very important to us. But it is not nearly so important as the unity and integrity of India." (Guardian, 2.6.87). The allusion was clear and the signs in Tamil Nadu unmistakable. Pressure was building in India for immediate action and even the stoic and generally phlegmatic Times of India called for immediate military intervention. Madras Hindu, the unrelenting champion of Sri Lankan Tamil liberation castigated the vacillation and urged positive and decisive action to stop annihilation of an entire community. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu appealed for direct action to aid the million Tamils of Jaffna "and appease the 55 million Tamils in his own State", reported the Guardian of 2.6.87. Continued the Guardian "... when the Sri Lankan army finally launched its long awaited assault ... and insisted that its fight was against the "fascist" guerrillas, and not the local population ... and that the object was to restore democracy prior to talks on constitutional reform"...

"The Indians simply don't believe it". "They know that the war which has gone on for four years has cost at least 4,000 – some say 15,000 – lives."

The massacre of some 32 Buddhist priests, vehemently denied by the Militants yet made such a political capital of – to whip up mass hysteria and set in the context of Prime Minister Premadasa's statements: all seemed to indicate the very fears that had been entertained all along. He had warned that "there could be a risk of unrest in the South of the Island if people thought Indian troops had landed today in the North". (Financial Times of 3.6.87). It was once again reminiscent of earlier exhortations of rabid communalist politicians to their Sinhala public for orchestrated riots against the Tamils.

The sum total of India's reaction to all this duplicity and deceit coupled with a fiendish delight for inhuman barbarity was an initial perplexity now turned into revulsion and anger. India's efforts at acting the "honest broker" have been spurned. They knew that it was deceit that had protracted any solution to the problem while the Sri Lankan Tamils had been systematically rendered refugees, if not murdered, killed or maimed in their own homeland. Their vacillation had no doubt cost lives. A Genocide was in progress next door.

A decision has now been made. The Sri Lankan Tamils all over the world, both as victims and refugees and more importantly, their suffering brethren in Sri Lanka, can only entrust their fate in the hands of **Mother India**.

## VIJAYANARIHANALAYA

presented



### Krishanthy Stanislaus

disciple of Vijayambigai Indra Kumar  
at her Bharata Natya Arangetram  
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