Indian invasion of Sri Lanka

Tholar Balan
Translated by
Dr. M. S. Thambirajah

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INDIAN INVASION OF SRI LANKA

By Tholar Balan

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Tholar Publishers

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Dedicated
To
The all those who lost their lives in the struggle against the Indian invasion
Of
Sri Lanka

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Forward:

When in March 1990 the Indian army lowered its flag in Jaffna, grieved its dead and boarded its ships and left Sri Lanka defeated and demoralized, both Sinhalese and Tamils rejoiced at the departure of Indian troops from Sri Lankan soil. But now, quarter of century later, India is back in Sri Lanka with vengeance, this time in the form of infiltration of the political establishment and economic penetration of Sri Lanka's vital resources and services. In this short book the author has meticulously documented this massive political and economic intrusion and interference. Judging from the period from the end of the Eezham War 4 to the present, there are good reasons for believing this is nothing but an invasion albeit in a different form.

This is not a scholarly book, nor is the author an academic. This is a political pamphlet that alerts the public to a clear and present danger. Those familiar with the author's blog will know that he is not an apologist for the LTTE or a supporter of China's state capitalism.

It is now common knowledge that the war could not have been won by the Sri Lankan government had it not been for the direct help provided by India. Sri Lankan ministers and army generals are on record affirming this and have extended their gratitude to India. What is not in the public domain is the form, shape and the details of the role India played in war against the LTTE and the beleaguered Tamil people. The Indian intelligence service, RAW played a crucial role in first training, funding and directing Tamil militancy that was the product of decades of discrimination and marginalization of the Tamils by successive majoritarian Sri Lankan governments.

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To ensure that one militant groups did not gain overwhelming power and challenge India's strategic interests it shrewdly nourished more than half a dozen Tamil militants groups. Often it set one against the another. The author records how RAW deliberately set one group against and used members of one group to annihilate those whom it considered a threat to India's interests. Later Sri Lankan army and intelligence services were to use the same technique when enacting "disappearances" especially in Colombo during the period of the Rajapaksa regime. The only group that RAW could not infiltrate was the LTTE.

It comes as a revelation that internecine fighting that was so characteristic of the Tamil militant groups was, in part, a deliberate attempt by RAW to weaken all militant movements. Here, the author quotes from the experience of the Mujahideen militant groups in Bangla Desh (then East Pakistan) that fought against Pakistan who were initially armed and trained by India and later annihilated by RAW once India's strategic aims had been achieved.

India's "hidden hand"

Apart from these manipulations and the well known arms supplies and military training it provides to Sri Lankan forces, during the later stages of the war India was directly involved in intelligence gathering and aerial surveillances so much so that the LTTE mounted a Black Tiger suicide attack on the Vavuniya base where the Indian intelligence technicians were based. India's military role in the last stages of the war is yet to be written. However, a few intriguing anecdotes are available.

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Indian Navy's was involved in locating and destroying at least 10 'floating warehouses' owned by the LTTE that were used by the Tigers to store arms, ammunition and even armoured personnel carriers. India is also now known to have 'quietly gifted' Mi-17 choppers that played a major role in several missions launched by the Sri Lankan Air Force to rescue the army's deep penetration units and injured soldiers from deep inside LTTE-held territory, says Nitin Gokhal, a journalist in a recent book entitled '*Sri Lanka, From War to Peace*'. The technical expertise for the unmanned air vehicles (UAV), commonly known as drones, that were so effectively employed by the Sri Lankan forces during the war, came from India in one way or other.

Political maneuvering

Of the early political maneuverings of India the best known is its role it played in buying over Karuna who was effectively the second-in-command of the LTTE and the head of its Eastern Province forces. His defection has been claimed to be one of the major turning points that led to defeat of the LTTE. The journalist Taraki has revealed how money changed hands in order to secure Karuna's defection. In one of the most notorious non-judicial executions Taraki paid with his life for this and other of his revelations.

More to the preset, India has been the prime mover in the formation of a Ranil - Sirisena coalition in opposition to Mahinda Rajapakasa and their installation in power.

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The behind the scene maneuverings by RAW and the Indian diplomats in Sri Lanka achieved what Sri Lankan politicians had been unable to achieve since independence: coalition of the UNP and its arch opponent SLFP (or most of it). And this is how India has managed to realize its goal of complete domination over Sri Lanka. To invert Clausewitz's proposition, "politics is the extension of war by other means!". What India could not achieve by military intervention in 1987- 1990, it has achieved through political maneuvering. In the process the Tamils have become expendable. Why bother with the minority when the government of the country can be made to prostrate itself at it's feet?

Sadly, the Tamil leadership continues to delude itself that India will help the Tamils in achieving their rights. The author is damning about the present Tamil leadership and rightly so. Instead of relying on the people the Tamil leaders seemed to have pinned all their hopes on India to help them achieve the reasonable demands of the Tamils.The author pointedly quotes from the former Chief Minister of the Eastern Province, Varatharaja Perumal, who was "India's man" during the time of the Indian occupation and later given refuge and protection in India, who now admits that India was least interested in pushing for a federal solution in Sri Lanka. Yet, the Tamil leaders deceive themselves that India will solve the problem for them. But the fact remains that, leave alone the national problem, India has not lifted a finger to address even a relatively minor problem such as the intrusion of Indian trawlers into Sri Lankan waters which is endangering the livelihood of Tamil fisherman of the North and East.

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Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement (ETCA)

The most recent example of India's penetration into and domination over Sri Lankan economy and market is the Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement (ETCA) with India. The book delves into the pernicious effect the agreement is bound to have on Sri Lankan society. Here the author quite rightly compares the social economy of India and Sri Lanka and shows that, in spite of the much flaunted GDP figures of India, Sri Lanka is miles ahead of India in all aspects of Human Development Indices. HDI values are used to assess long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development—a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living. It measures development rather a country's economy as indexed by the GDP. The Human Development Report 2015 by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is a study involving a total of 188 countries and territories. In it Sri Lanka has been placed at the 73rd rank while India is at 130th rank. Amartya Sen, the Nobel prize-winning economist, drives this point home when he says that in spite of the high GDP figures that India has achieved recently, half the population of India has no lavatories and, in some Indian states, the HDI level is equivalent to those seen in sub-Saharan countries.

In Sri Lanka essential services such as education and health have been largely state funded and the role of the private sector has at best been marginal. The opposite is true of the health and education services of India where the private sector occupies an domineering place. Generations of Sri Lankan have enjoyed free education and this has been instrumental in ensuring social mobility of the down trodden classes. In India a large proportion of the universities are run by private institutions.

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This is true of health services too. According to the 71st survey round of the Indian National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), between January and June 2014, only 243 people out of 1,000 sought medical treatment within the public healthcare system of India, whereas 756 people out of 1,000 opted to visit a private doctor or private hospital. This is not because people were rich enough to pay for out-of-pocket expenses (OOP) which is the money individuals pay on their own rather than being covered by insurance or health benefits, but because of severe lack of publicly funded health care.

This is in stark contrast to health services in Sri Lanka which have historically largely, if not exclusively, been funded by the state since independence. The success of Sri Lanka's health sector is largely due to its effective public delivery system, which provides both preventive and curative care at low cost. Government-provided healthcare is free for all citizens and accounts for almost all preventive care and most in-patient treatment. At the time of writing we have had the announcement from the WHO that Sri Lanka has eliminated malaria. This remarkable success was achieved rapidly and in spite of the protracted civil war. As recently as the year 2000, Sri Lanka had over 100,000 cases of malaria. Sri Lanka is the second country in the WHO South-East Asia Region to eliminate malaria, after Maldives.

Now we hear that an ambulance service is to be funded by the Indian government with a Rs. 1 billion grant and is to be offered free for a year. What would happen after the first year is obvious. No doubt the Sri Lankan government will have to pay the bill to the private company that runs it. This creeping privatisation has been hailed by the Sri Lankan government! No wonder that the Government Medical Officers' Association is up in arms against the government.

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It has been warning the government of inflow of 'poorly qualified' doctors to private hospitals in Sri Lanka. GMOA President Dr Anuruddha Padeniya has warned that the signing of the Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement with India will be inimical to Sri Lanka's interests and gone as far as saying, "The agreement is clearly a political one and the architects of it are not patriots. If they are patriots they will not even imagine signing such an agreement." This comes from doctors who are known for their conservatism!

Loss of sovereignty

These examples apart, there is widespread anxiety even among conservative circles that ETCA will result in Sri Lanka coming under increasing Indian dominance. India is undoubtedly a rising global power. It is a member of the G20. This means that the Indo–Lanka power relationship will become even more asymmetric in the future. Although our exports to India has increased from $55 million in 2000 to $ $624.65 million in 2014, at the same time, imports from India have increased from $600 million in 2000 to $4023 million in 2014. As a result, Sri Lanka's trade deficit with India has grown from $ 544 million in 2000 to $3353 in 2014. The asymmetry of the two economies means that the ETCA would inevitably be detrimental to Sri Lanka's interests resulting in a loss of output and employment.

The situation is more ominous when one considers the sectors into which India has made inroads in Sri Lanka. India has captured vital sectors such as power (Sampoor), port (Trincomalee, KKS), electricity (India – Sri Lanka HVDC Grid Interconnection), oil exploration (Mannar) and distribution and airport (Palali), to name a few.

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This puts Sri Lanka's security is at risk. Faced with intrusion of other countries into sensitive sectors like power, these countries have taken action to safeguard themselves, but not Sri Lanka. An outstanding example is Australia. Australia decided to block Chinese bidders from taking a controlling stake in Ausgrid, the country's largest network, over national security concerns. China's State Grid Corp was attempting to buy a 50.4% controlling stake in Ausgrid in a deal reportedly worth some $7.5bn Similarly, in the UK the China General Nuclear, the state nuclear-energy company, has been attempting to buy one-third the nuclear power station at Hinkley Point in Somerset and has come under fire and is likely to be scrapped. But Sri Lanka has no such qualms. Thus, India's strangle hold on Sri Lanka is tightening by the day endangering the sovereignty of the country. It is difficult to refute the author's argument that this is tantamount to an invasion, albeit in a differenr form.

Apologists for India's actions have put forward two arguments to support India's intrusion and penetration of Sri Lanka. Some see this as a part of globalisation and economic neo-liberalism, the economic philisophy characterised by the rule of the market, cutting public expenditure on social services, deregulation, privatisation and eliminating the concept of "public good" or "community". They argue that the economic benefits that follow would trickle down to the underclass making everyone prosperous, eventually. But the fact is the so called gains are siphoned off by the mega rich through globalisation of corruption, off shore tax havens and massive fraud so that it results in trickle up resulting in huge economic and social inequality. The neo-liberal economy practiced by the current rulers of Sri Lanka has opened the doors so wide to India that there is a current and present danger of take over of Sri Lanka by India and turning it into a colony of India.

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One way to take over a country make it economically dependent and this is precisely the policy India has adopted with regard to Sri Lanka.

A second view advocated by some is that the geopolitics of the region is such that in order to neutralize China's influence in the South Pacific and to ensure its security India is compelled to establish its power over its neighbours including Sri Lanka. This is no consolation for the victim, i.e. Sri Lanka. From Sri Lanka's point of view, if we are to conform to India's 'security needs', this is tantamount to surrender. No Sri Lankan with an iota of self respect would want to become a pawn in the power game of the big powers. This brings us to the crux of the issue: Who is the prime mover behind India's foray into Sri Lanka?

India is not a non-aligned nation any more. India's slide towards the US began some time during the premiership of Vajpaee when India signed the General Security of Military Information Agreement in 2002. Later, during the time of Manmohan Singh's premiership India signed a nuclear deal with the US that has had far-reaching implications for India's geopolitical position in the region. This was a turning point in India's foreign policy. More recently a Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMO) has been signed that would make it easier for both militaries to share each other's facilities. LEMO, signed on the 29th August 2016, gives military of both countries access to each other's designated facilities for supplies, refuelling and repairs. A number of other military agreements are in the pipe line. Thus India has become an American outpost in the region. The US is content to outsource its policing of the region to India.

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Remember that the US nor EU objected to India's invasion of Sri Lanka in 1987. Hence, it is obvious that the long arm of the US is behind all the political, economic and military maneuverings of India.

The recent revelation in the WikiLeaks database that Major General Prasad Samarasinghe the former Military Spokesman and Director, Directorate of Media in the Army had provided valuable information to the US and contradicted government's official versions, according to a cable sent by the US Embassy Colombo speaks volumes for the role of US in the Sri Lankan conflict. It is worth noting that Major General Samarasinghe was also the Chief Signal Officer (CSO) of the Army and Chief Controller, Centre for Research and Development at Ministry of Defence. He has also been the Commander for three separate Brigades in Jaffna, Wanni and Trincomalee. We can safely assume that the entire political and military establishment has been infiltrated by the US and Indian intelligence.

It is in this political context that India's recent aggressive political and military actions, so graphically outlined in this book, need to be viewed. The various India's meddling in Sri Lankan affairs compromises Sri Lanka's sovereignty, surrenders its autonomy and allows India to dictate policies. Taken together, it is no exaggeration to call this an all out invasion. The whole is more than the sum of the parts!

It is clear that the Sri Lankan leaders, both Sinhala and Tamil, have capitulated. The servile attitude and capitulation amounts to treason. The only dissenting voice in this saga has been the JVP who had taken up the issue and exposed India's motives as well as the treachery of the leaders of the ruling parties.

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While this is a welcome move, JVP's long standing animosity towards the Tamil minority stands on the way of forging a united common front against the common enemy – India and its Sri Lankan lackeys.

Today, Sri Lanka is not a secular state. Majoritarianism, decisively exercised by the two major Sinhalese ethnic parties, the UNP and the SLFP, is the order of the day. Since Independence, speaking up for the rights of the minorities has been seen as alienating Sinhalese votes. Hence, few Sinhala leaders have dared to take up the issue of minorities. This is bound to be so as long as the leftist parties are wedded to the parliamentary path. Rejection of the parliamentary path is a precondition for winning the rights of the all people, Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim. In the past, leftist leaders who took to the parliamentary route claimed that they were using it as platform for furthering the cause of the working class. But, what starts as a tactic soon becomes the strategy. Revolutionary change through parliament is a farce. For the masses, rejection of the parliament route to power and adoption of united revolutionary path is a precondition if one hopes to bring about fundamental social change including resistance to foreign powers whether it be India, the US or China.

The author of this book implies that only a united struggle by Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim people is the only way to resist the Indian invasion. From Puran Appu to Pirabaharan, Sri Lanka has a long history of resisting invaders and outside forces.

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Sri Lanka has been able to expel invaders when the Sinhalese and Tamils have stood together, the best illustration of this was when the LTTE fought against the IPKF and President Premadasa threw out the Indian forces.

The people of Sri Lanka have always fought against oppression. The two JVP uprisings that waged war against a unjust and inequitable state shook the very foundations of the Sri Lankan ruling class (It should be mentioned in passing that some of the politicians that ran torture chambers against JVP members are today in parliament). Armed struggle by the Tamils met with bloody suppression as never seen before. It must be admitted that both these struggles were politically flawed. However, the point here is that Sri Lankan people have a history of armed resistance to oppression. Sri Lanka has witnessed three armed struggles within a space of 40 years. And the next struggle is bound to come sooner than later and Indian invasion has the potential to unite all Sri Lankan people is a common revolutionary struggle.

This book is a clarion call for such action.

Dr. M. S. Thambirajah

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Forward:

Sri Lanka, a colony of India?

Amongst the big businesses and corporate houses that run India, Sri Lanka is considered a vassal of India. In their psyche, given the geopolitics of the region, Sri Lanka is not separate from India and should not be seen as separate from India. In this they make no distinction between Tamils and Sinhalese. Even before Sri Lanka freed itself from colonial rule, Indian big businesses had made their incursion into it.

After India gained independence from British rule, Indian big business began asserting their power among its neighbouring countries and Sri Lanka was one of them.

In 1954 India, China, Burma, Indonesia and Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) came to an agreement based on *Panchsheela*, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. The cornerstone of the agreement was non-aggression, non- interference, and peaceful co-existence with one another. But India abandoned these principles as soon as it was signed.

In the quest for establishing itself as a regional power and dominating the countries in the region, Jawaharlal Nehru, said to be the father of Panchaseela principles, pretended to be a democrat and socialist but craftily annexed countries like Bhutan and Sikkim with India.

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Efforts were made to take over Nepal on the pretext of it being a Hindu state. This continues to date. But China was getting in the way of taking possession of Nepal and the stalemate continues.

At that time India was content to exert its power in Sri Lanka but no direct efforts were made to annex it. But, of late, India's investment in Sri Lanka has grown exponentially and is growing faster than ever. This book correctly points out that although other countries too have penetrated the Sri Lankan market, India's monopoly over Sri Lanka has now developed into a economic and political stranglehold.

Tea has been the most important source of foreign exchange for Sri Lanka. But, how many Tamils in India know that underneath each tea bush lies buried Tamil's life and blood of Indian Tamils.

Some daft leaders of Tamil Nadu argue that China is a danger to India's security and therefore India should help the Tamils of Sri Lanka. They contend that the people of Tamil Eezham will ensure India's security. These very leaders of Tamil Nadu use Sri Lankan Tamils as coolies in their personal life. It would be foolhardy to depend on them to help in the Sri Lankan Tamils to secure just solution to their problem.

It is not only the Sri Lankan Tamils who have been has murdered and slaughtered by the Indian state. India has murdered and continues to kill its own people in Kashmir, Punjab, Manipuri, Nagaland, Assam and Tamil Nadu.

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This list is very long indeed. This book rightly points out that for the brutal hands of India there is no distinction between Tamils and Sinhalese. The Indian state has never hesitated to destroy anyone or any movement in order to safeguard its investments. In 1971 the Indian army was instrumental in killing six thousand JVP youth.

In this book the author records how, in 1983, India armed and trained Tamil militants and got them to murder innocent Sinhala civilians as a tactical move to undermine the government in Colombo. He also documents the murder of thousands of innocent Tamils and the rape of Tamil women by the Indian Peace Keeping Force in 1987.

The author has laid bare the extent of Indian "investment" in Sri Lanka through projects such as the extension of Pallali airport, Sampoor power plant, KKS cement factory, Indian private hospitals, railway lines, Mannar off shore oil, petrol stations and private universities. The ominous ETCA is the latest in the series of manipulations to promote such investments designed to capture the entire Sri Lankan market and make it dependant on India. India was unable to gain a foothold in Sri Lanka as long as the Tamil tigers were in control of the North and East. The book also delves into post war period when after the defeat of the Tigers the values and morals upheld by the Tamil people has been trampled upon and as a group they feel subjugated and suppressed. Their pain and grief is beyond words.

Tholar Balan has his own criticisms of the LTTE. But he grants them credit for having fought for the rights of the Tamils.

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In this book he says, "There are simpletons among us who believe that India supported the Tamil cause but it was the murder of Rajiv Gandhi by the LTTE that compelled India to help Sri Lankan government". The truth is that even if Rajiv Gandhi has not been killed by the Tigers, India would have annihilated them. This is because as long as the Tigers were strong they did not permit India or any other foreign power to exploit the mineral and other resources of the Tamil provinces. But, once they had been defeated, natural resources in the Tamil areas were handed over to India. This shows that India's main motivation for helping the government to destroy the Tigers was to take over Sri Lanka in its entirety.

In this book the author exposes India's designs to exert its power on Sri Lanka economically, politically and by other means. He highlights the threats that Sri Lanka faces from Indian expansion into Sri Lanka. He puts forward a solution based on Marxist analysis that envisages a united struggle by all the people of Sri Lanka in fighting the neo-liberalist agenda of the Sri Lankan government and India's designs to expand into Sri Lanka.

Let us listen to what he says and hold hands in the struggle to free Sri Lanka from its internal and external enemies!

Thank you!

Comrade Thamizhneyan
General Secretary
Thamizh Theseya Makkal Katchi

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PREFACE

This main objective of this booklet is to illustrate through a few examples that India's involvement in Sri Lankan affairs is not to help it but to occupy and exploit it politically and economically. This book exposes the fact that it is India that has gained most from the recent war in Sri Lanka.

India bears a heavy burden of responsibility for all the destruction and devastation that resulted form the war. Yet, some, especially the Tamil politicians, continue to propagate the view that India would help us in achieving the rights of the Tamil people. This book seeks to demonstrate this is nothing but betrayal of the Tamil people.

The Sinhala people have started rallying together to fight the ETCA, a pact that spells doom for the people of the island. Cognizant of the possibility of the Tamils joining such a struggle and the risk it would pose to India's designs on Sri Lanka, India is making vigorous attempts to enlist the support of the Tamils for ETCA through their lackeys. One objective of this book is to warn the Tamils not to fall a prey to this conspiracy.

I wish that this book will pave the way for serious discussion of the role of India in Sri Lanka. We need many more publications on this issue. I hope that other like minded will people take up the issue.

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Some time ago I had published a book called, "*Comrade Tamillarasan: A Eezham fighter's point of view*". One of the chapter in the book was entitled "Indian invasion and Comrade Tamillarasan's foresight". This chapter was republished in a monthly journal called "*Liberation Ethics*", the official organ of by Thamizh Theseya Makkal Katchi.

Some of the readers wanted to know more about it and requested me to elaborate on the subject and publish it the form of a book. This is how the book took shape.

At present, there is a dire need to highlight the risk posed by India to Sri Lanka's sovereignty and its people.

I am grateful to all those who encouraged and helped me bring out this book.

Tholar Balan

01.05.2016
London

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INDIAN INVASION OF SRI LANKA

Currently, Sri Lanka is facing a severe economic crisis. The rulers of the country have been telling the people that once the war was over there would be prosperity. It was the war, they said, that was holding back economic progress and once the war ended, the country will be on the road to prosperity and economic recovery. But the sad fact is that although the war ended seven years ago the common people have not seen any appreciable change in their livlihoods or their standard of living.

The total external debt of Sri Lanka currently stands at Rs. 8,500,000 million. Never before have the people of Sri Lanka had to bear such a large debt. In order to reduce the level of debt the government had increased Value Added Tax (VAT) on goods from 11% to 15%. This is bound to have a snowball effect on other services such as transport and communication.

Successive governments that ruled the country since 1977 have subscribed to the policy of "economic liberalisation". But this has not benefitted the people of Sri Lanka. Rather the opposite. It has been an unmitigated disaster for the people. Nevertheless, the imperialist countries have seized upon the foreign debt situation in Sri Lanka to promote implementation of their neo-liberal economic model vigorously and pervasively. Sri Lanka seems to be going down the precarious road that Greece had been forced to adopt following the economic crisis in that country.

Although trade agreements with India have been a part of Sri Lankan government's policy of trade liberalisation, it is India that has been benefitting them rather than Sri Lanka.

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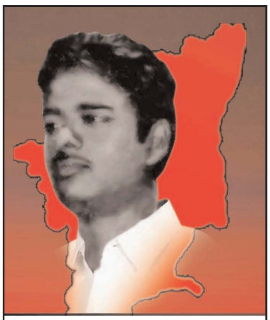
US and China do have similar agreements with Sri Lanka. But, it is India that is using this as an opportunity to impose itself economically, militarily and politically. It is this that qualifies India's incursion into Sri Lanka to be called an invasion.

In 1983 the Indian government trained and armed the various Eezham militant groups. It financed them and housed them in Tamil Nadu. This made many of these groups hope that India would help them achieve Tamizh Eezham. There was a precedent here. India had helped the creation of Bangla Desh by disembodying Pakistan in 1971 by training militants and through direct military intervention. The trust that Sri Lankan separatists groups had on India's was such that one of the groups, TELO (Tamil Elam Liberation Organisation), declared that Tamil Eezham would be achieved with India's help by Thai Pongal Day (14th January) 1984! The Tamil leaders of Sri Lanka too sowed seeds of hope in the minds of the Tamil people.

But there were sane and wise voices that warned the people that India would never ever support the Tamils, leave alone help the creation of Tamil Eezham. Comrade Tamilarasan prophetically observed, "India will never help the formation of Tamil Eezham. India's aim in helping and supporting Tamil militants is to establish its hegemony on the whole of Sri Lanka". "Remember", he said, "India created the Bangla Desh militants, but once India's objective had been achieved, it annihilated them. It will do the same to Lankan militants" Comrade Tamilarasan belonged to the Indian Naxal movement. He founded The Tamil Nadu Communist Party in 1984.



Comrade Tamilarasan

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He adopted Marxism, Leninism and Mao' s Thought as his guiding principles, rejected the parliamentary path and led the revolutionary armed struggle for the liberation of the Tamil people. He was surreptitiously murdered by the Tamil Nadu secret service (Q branch) on 1st September 1987). The Tamil militant groups did not agree with what he said and, in fact, avoided any contact with him and his organisation out of fear of offending the Indian state.

Comrade Sanmugathasan shaking hands with Comrade Mao

We now know how true his words were! Had the Tamil militant groups paid attention to his visionary words, it is certain that the 1987 Indian military invasion of Sri Lanka could have been averted and it is highly likely that the Mullivaikal blood bath that was mercilessly executed with the help of India could also have been avoided.

In Sri Lanka, Comrade Sanmugathasan called upon the militant groups not to trust India. He warned that the objective of India's interference in Sri Lankan affairs is not to promote the interests of Sri Lankan Tamils but for its own selfish aims. (Comrade Sanmugathasan was the leader of The Ceylon Communist Party. He was instrumental in introducing Mao's thoughts to the Srilankan people.

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He rejected the parliamentary path and advocated Peoples' Revolutionary War). History has shown that Comrade Tamilarasan and Comrade Sanmugathasan were correct on this matter.

In addition, some other revolutionary groups too warned the people of the danger of Indian invasion. Prominent among them was Tamil Makkal Pathukaapu Peraivai (TMPP). It pointed out that India was not the saviour of the Tamils and on the contrary was an enemy. Comrade Napoleon who made great efforts to unite TMPP with the revolutionaries in India was murdered by the Indian intelligence services in 1986. He was assassinated while he was in the Hill Country by their stooge EROS at the behest of Indian secret service, RAW.

Comrade Manoharan alias Napolean

The Tamils have lost a great deal during and after the war. Even the Sri Lankan government has not gained much. The main benefactor of the war has been India. It has taken strategic advantage of the contradictions between the Sinhala and Tamil people and invaded the entirety of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka has become the undeclared 30th state of India. At present, Sri Lanka is under India's total economic domination so much so that the Sri Lanka's sovereignty is threatened. On one hand it is hell-bent on plundering our natural resources and on the other hand it dumps its products on Sri Lanka by capturing the markets.

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For this, it flexes not only economic muscle but also its military might. With this objective in mind India seeks to install puppet regimes in the neighbouring countries including Sri Lanka. And if that is not forthcoming, it uses any pretext to de-stabilise those regimes that are not subservient to Indian interests. RAW (India's secret service) agents prowl the entire island. These highly secretive operatives interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka at all levels.

In order to hang on to their power the rulers of Sri Lanka have prostrated themselves at the feet of India endangering the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. Many people in the country are not aware of the manipulations going on behind the back. The government keeps the people in the dark about the details of the agreements being signed. The press either colludes with the state or is ill informed. Even members of parliament have been unable to get hold of details of the agreement. Hence, many people in the country have been made to believe that talk of Indian expansion into Sri Lanka is a made up story. The Tamil Nadu politicians and their kin are keen to invest in Sri Lanka and many have been actively expanding their commercial interests in Sri Lanka. For this reason, there has been hardly any protesting voices from the otherwise vociferous Tamil Nadu politicians. Given this dire state of affairs, there is an urgent need for the Sinhala and Tamil people to understand India's ominous designs and begin an organised campaign against India's expansionist ambitions vis a vis Sri Lanka.

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INDIA'S POLITICAL INTERFERENCE IN SRI LANKA

India's threats to its neighbours and attempts of domination began as soon as it gained freedom from the British. As early as March 1947 speaking at a meeting of Asian countries, Nehru stated, "It has become customary for our neighbours to look to West for all their needs. They have forgotten about their neighbour (India) which had done so much for them". This big brother attitude has continued to dominate the thinking of Indian leaders over several generations.

After independence, in 1954 India zealously sought to enter into economic and political agreement with leaders of South East Asia. At the Bandung conference (This was the first large-scale Asian - African Conference of Asian and African states, most of which were newly independent, that took place on April 18-24, 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia) the leaders of the South Asian countries who had played a key role in the struggle for freedom such as India's Nehru, Burma's U Nu, Indonesia's Sukarno and China's Chou En Lai were the main participants in the conference. Given the varying social and cultural contexts prevailing in Asian and African countries and the different priorities for development, there was a need at the time to agree on certain fundamental principles of co- existence and corporation. Chou En Lai, the prime minister of China put forth the a proposal for working together in the region. Called the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence or *Panchasheela* principles, it was accepted by the conference unanimously.

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Briefly, it included the following: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and cooperation for mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

The then prime minister of Sri Lanka, Sir John Kotelawala represented Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) in the conference. After delivering his speech to the conference and as took his seat, Nehru who sat next to him, asked Kotelawala, "Why didn't you show the speech to me?". Thus, India violated the much flaunted *Panchasheela* principles even before it was passed!

U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, Nehru, Prime Minister of India, Mohammed Ali, Prime Minster of Pakistan and John Kottelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon

There was once a country called Sikkim neighbouring India. In 1947, when India became independent, a popular vote rejected Sikkim's joining the Indian Union. In 1950 Nehru imposed a treaty that made Sikkim a protectorate of India. In spite of opposition from even the Indian liberals, Sikkim came under the suzerainty of India. In 1975 it was annexed with India after the Indian army took over its capital, on the pretext of getting rid of the monarchy. Though the exact nature of RAW's involvement in this is contested, it is generally accepted it was one of driving forces in the amalgamation of Sikkim. In 1949 Nehru imposed a treaty on Bhutan that gave power to India over its foreign relations.

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Following in the foot steps of her father, Indira Gandhi sent Indian troops to East Pakistan to dismember Pakistan and create a new state called Bangla Desh. Thus, waging wars against its neighbours and threatening them has been a constant feature of the Indian ruling class. Lord Mountbatten had rightly identified Ceylon as country that was strategically important for the entire South Asian region. It comes as no surprise then that Nehru and his successors have shown an unhealthy preoccupation with Sri Lanka. After Rajiv Gandhi came to power, the scheme for occupation of Sri Lanka became more immediate and was put into operation with great haste. Tamil militants were armed, trained and financed by India. President Jayawardane was browbeaten and bullied into accepting the 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan Accord that mandated India's military intervention. India's foreign secret service, RAW, incited internecine war between the various militant groups. It waged war on the militants and Tamil people who refused to accept India's hegemony. These are but parts of the jigsaw of planned invasion of Sri Lanka.

Some attempt to portray Mahinda Rajapaksa as the one who was pro-Chinese and anti - Indian. This is especially true of those who want to justify Indian intervention in Sri Lanka. But the fact is that Indian interference and intervention was at a new peak in Sri Lanka during his time as president. He went out of his way to curry favour with India. According to diplomatic protocol, the ambassador to a country meets with the Head of State. But as soon as Mahinda Rajapaksa became the president he undertook the unusual act of meeting with the Indian ambassador of the time, Nirupama Rao, at her residence! This was the first time a prime minister or President of Sri Lanka had met with an ambassador of a foreign country at his or her residence on assuming office. Throughout his tenure as president Rajapaksa was a stooge of India and encouraged the smooth the progression of expansion of India into Sri Lanka.

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INDIA'S ECONOMIC DOMINATION OF SRI LANKA

India is one of the most powerful states in the South Asian region. Indian capitalists and the government that represents their class interests wish India to be a powerful economic and political force in the region. India's comprador big bourgeoisie together with their henchmen, promote Indian expansionism in order to capture the markets and sources of raw materials of the whole region. They dream of an India that is a superpower of the region. India's expansionist polices with its South Asian neighbours is clear: seek to establish puppet regimes in the neighbouring countries, or else use threats and coercion to make them bow to the dictates of the Indian rulers. For the present, it has been able to brow-beat the present regimes of Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangla Desh, Bhutan and Maldive Islands to accede to India's expansionist policies, utilizing their desperation for economic aid.

Previous Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh and Current Prime Minister Modi with Mahinda Rajapaksa

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In South East Asia today India behaves like local thug to establish its supremacy in the region. With the large Indian market in mind, international thugs such as the United states, United Kingdom and France have given tactical approval for India's expansionist role in the region.

Palali airport expansion

India has always had its eye on the Palali airport, the only airport in Northern Sri Lanka. When the idea of expansion of the airport was mooted many thought that India was helping the Tamil people. Some even hoped that it would one day become an International airport. But, details of India's design for the expansion of the airport are becoming clear only now. Austin Fernanado who was the Secretary of Defence, has written a book called *My Belly is White: Reminiscences of a Peacetime Secretary of Defence*. In this book he provides a detailed account of the various preconditions that India stipulated for rebuilding the Palali airport. One of the conditions that India laid down, he states, was that planes from other countries should not be permitted to land in the airport. The second was that it should be handed over to India whenever India needed it. Thus, it is clear that the airport project was not planned with the interest of the Tamil people in the North in mind, rather to promote India's strategic aims. It also dashed peoples' hope that Palali airport would some day become an international airport.

At present, confiscation of peoples' land around the airport is being pursued with full vigour. In 1984 a total of 665 acres were forcibly acquired, displacing over 1,500 families.

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The families that have been displaced from North Valikamam have been living in refugee camps and with relatives for over 25 years. At present Palali airport covers an area of 996 acres. Now, hundreds of acres of land are being confiscated from the people for further expansion. We are told that action is being taken to acquire extensive areas of land in Myletti North, Palali West, Palali North West gramasevaka divisions. It is noteworthy that 1, 500 families who had been displaced during the war are also awaiting resettlement in this area.

It has been argued that the 665 acres of land already in possession of airport authorities is sufficient for the local airport and that any further development could be carried out within this area. In comparison with other local airports in Sri Lanka, Palali airport has the second longest run way measuring 2,303 metres. (The Trincomalee airport with a run way of 2,397 metres is the longest runway). Even the local airport in Ratmalana has a runway measuring mere 2, 000 metres. The inevitable question that arises is: what is the need for extending the runway? And that too at the expense of occupying peoples' land? The Katunayake international airport which receives more that 70 daily flights from countries all over the world has a runway that is 3,500 metres long. Extension of the runway in Palali airport can be achieved within the current its confines. It should be clear from these figures that the aim of extension of the airport under the guise of development is to serve the expansionist agenda of India.

On a recent visit to Jaffna, Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe addressing the people, raised the question "Development or Resettlement?".

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People of Valikamam protest against extension of Pallai Airport

People who had been displaced from Valikaamam North unequivocally demanded resettlement as their priority. To reiterate this they have gone on hunger strike and other forms of protest and agitation. There is severe unrest among people, but in spite of it the occupation of their land is goes on unabated.

Land offered to India

Soon after the Eastern province was regained from the Tigers, 675 square kilometres of land was handed over to India by Mahinda Rajapakse. This is said to be a Special Economic Zone (SEZ). But, not even Member of Parliament can enter the SEZ. It is impossible to find out how many Indians are working within the SEZ or what they are up to. It remains a mystery why land belonging to the Tamil peoples has been handed over to a foreign country.

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This area was handed over to India in September 2006. India claims that it has plans to set up an establishment for repairing ships and industries for manufacture of fishing vessels. This SEZ is around the strategically important Trincomalee harbour. (The world famous Trincomalee natural deep water harbour is ranked as the second best natural harbour in the world. It is renowned for its large size (7.5 sq. km) and security and is the only harbour in the Indian Ocean that can be accessible to all types of craft in all weathers. It is about 10 times larger than the Port of Colombo). This land has been robbed from the Tamil and Muslim people to whom it belonged. They have been evicted and now live in refugee camps. The sad fact is that not a single Tamil 'leader' has raised his voice against this land grab. This injustice has happened in the constituency of Sampanthan, the leader of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) and the leader of the opposition. Yet, he has not raised a finger against this land acquisition, perhaps out of his loyalty to India. He lives in comfortably in Kerala with his family and his personal expenses are met by the Indian government. He underwent heart surgery in a private hospital in New Delhi with the help of the Indian government. Is it surprising then that he has remained silent about the land grab by India ?

Sampoor thermal power plant

India is building a coal fired power plant in Sampoor, Eastern Sri Lanka. Production of power was supposed to have started by 2012. But, it has not started functioning so far. Yet, India has already constructed a jetty at Sampoor. It claims that the purpose of the site is to unload coal.

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India has also constructed a super highway between Pulmoddai and Trincomalee and has even named it Gandhi street. This highway has not been built for the convenience of the people, but to transport ilmenite and other valuable minerals found in Pulmoodai. The unique Pulmoddai mineral sands deposit is estimated to contain six million tonnes of heavy sands with an average composition of 70-72 percent ilmenite, a source of Titanium.

Countries all over the world are gradually closing down coal power stations and switching to more environmental friendly sources of energy such as solar power and wind energy. Burning coal causes smog, soot, acid rain, global warming, and toxic air emissions. It also generates ash, sludge, toxic chemicals, and waste heat creating more environmental problems. Countries such as America, China and Germany have been closing down coal power stations because of environmental concerns. India too has launched projects to move to eco-friendly sources of energy. It obtained a loan of 500 million dollars from the US to invest in solar panel electricity system. It has also acquired a loan of another 500 million dollars to build solar parks to generate green, clean energy. But, India has been pressurising Sri Lanka to commence work on the Sampoor 500 megawatt coal fired power plant. New Delhi sees it as a critical part of its strategic interest in having a say in the Lankan energy sector. Does this not reek of double standards?

From the very onset, the proposal for the Sampoor coal fired power plant has been a controversial one for several reasons.

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In addition to concerns about the environment and the cost, one has to bear in mind the context in which the project is being launched. In 2006, the Battle of Sampur between the LTTE and Government forces resulted in the displacement of nearly 1,250 families who fled the front-lines. Now the people are returning to their land Sampoor Maha Vidyalam has been reopened. Yet, the people have not been consulted about their views on the existence of a coal fired power plant in their midst. So far, no assessment of the environmental and social impact of the plant has been undertaken. Yet, these internally displaced people returning to their land will soon see a coal power plant in full operation on their doorstep.

The impact of transportation of coal from the sea shore through these highly populated areas is also bound to cause problems for the people of the area. The months between October to March is the paddy harvesting season in Sampoor and Muthur areas. During this time of the year the wind blows from the sea towards the land.

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The wind carrying coal dust emissions and particles would settle on the thousands of acres of paddy fields in Sampoor, Senaiyoor, Kaddaipadrichaan, Thoppoor, Pallikkudiyidruppu, Muthur and Killivetti, thereby polluting vast paddy growing areas.

Spillage of coal from ships into Koddiyar Bay is bound to endanger the fishing industry resulting in pauperisation of the Tamil and Muslim fisherman in this area. Initial surveys report that hot water effusion from the plant will empty into Shell Bay situated at the mouth of the Tricomalee harbour. This part of the sea is rich in shell fish such as crabs, squids and prawns. When environmentalists pointed this out the Minister of Power and Renewable Energy, Ranjith Siyambalapitiya, stated that the hot water effusion would be delivered into the sea through pipes along the Koddiyar area. This area of the sea is rich in coral reefs that are vulnerable to changes in sea temperature. It is mystery how this area was chosen for emptying the hot water effusion from plant without any assessment of the environmental damage to sea life.

A 500 megawatt coal fired power plant typically puts out 3.7 million tons of Carbon dioxide, 10, 200 tons of Nitrogen oxide, 10, 000 tons of Sulphur dioxide, 720 tons of Carbon monoxide and 500 tons of ash. In addition, it discharges toxic substances such as arsenic, mercury, chromium, lead and nickel. People living close the plants have been shown to suffer excessively from respiratory illnesses, heart diseases and diseases of the nervous system, resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths per year.

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Peoples' protests against the coal fired thermal power plant

The construction of the coal fired thermal power plant in Sampoor has met with severe protests by the people of the area. Mylvaganam Kirushnapillai, the leader of the Sampoor fishermen's association says that, following displacement during the war, the people of the area are just being to be resettled here and now they have been forced into a situation where they have to fight against the thermal power plant.

Recently, a delegation from the Mutur East social activists had visited the thermal power plant at Norocholai in the Putttlam district (also called the Lakvijaya Power Station) in order to understand the impact of the plant. On return, they reported that they are convinced of the damaging and detrimental effect it would have on the lives of the people and the has had living there as well as the environment.

Whilst the people's protest movement against the Sampoor power plant has been ongoing, Muslim people living in Mutur have also taken up the issue and staged a protest rally under the auspices of the Mutur Green Committee in which thousands of people had taken part. In this meeting, people had been carrying placards written in all three languages saying " Stop the construction of the Sampoor power plant". J.M. Laheer, member of the Eastern Provincial Council, who took part in the protest meeting stated that the construction of the thermal power plant in Sampoor would expose the people living in the Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Polonnaruwa districts to numerous health risks and lead to devastation of fauna and flora of the area.

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He told the media that he would to take up the issue with the authorities concerned.

In addition to the Tamils and Muslims of the area, Vedda people of the district too have taken up the issue. Recently, they staged a peaceful protest march organised by the Trincomalee Green Movement and The Organisation of the Tribal people of Sri Lanka to highlight the issue. These ancient tribal people of Sri Lanka who are the descendants of Nagas, Yaksha and other indigenous tribes are concerned about the damage to the forests and rangelands that the thermal power plant would bring about. If there was one project that all races in Sri Lanka opposed to it would be the Sampoor thermal power plant constructed by India!

It is abundantly clear that all people of Sri Lanka irrespective of race are in opposition to the Sampoor thermal power plant. Yet, the Minister of Power and Renewable Energy has vowed that the joint venture with India on the Sampoor power plant would go ahead in spite of all the opposition it faces. Not only the Minister, but Mr. Sampanthan, the so called leader of the Tamil people, too insists that the project for thermal plant should go ahead. From the very beginning he has supported the construction of the plant. He probably thinks that the Indian ash that emanates from the plant is better than Chinese ash!

Speaking at the ceremony to hand back the Sampoor Maha Vidylayam, Mr. Sampanthan said, " The very people who opposed and fought against the Norocholai coal power plant are today working there now and leading happy lives".

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This is a blatant lie. There is irrefutable evidence that only two people from the area are working in the plant now, that too as drivers of vehicles. There is irrefutable information too to show that the lives of the people of the area have been severely disrupted and damaged.

The fact is that from the very onset the people of the area had vehemently opposed the construction of the coal power plant at Norocholai. One person was shot dead during a protest rally. At the time of construction of the plant, people were promised employment, free electricity, buildings for schools and new roads. They were also assured that the project will be executed in such a way as not to disrupt the fishing industry. But, the people of the area say that none of these promises have been fulfilled.

The report on the environmental impact of the Norocholai power plant stipulates that in order to prevent the spread and deposition of ash that trees be planted in the surrounding the area. But several years have passed and no trees have been planted in the area. Ash and coal dust blown on to land by see breeze has resulted in various diseases and health problems for the people and also adverse effect on their livelihood. The environmental impact report at the time of construction of the plant stated the ash produced during burning of coal will be sold to cement factories. But, cement plants have refused to buy the ash because they say that the ash is unsuitable for the production of cement. The ash has now been heaped around the power plant.

The above report also stipulated that to monitor the levels of atmospheric sulphur, nitrogen and dust one station be set up at Katpity and two around Puttlam. But no such monitoring stations have been constructed until now.

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People, including the Vedda people, protesting against the Sampoor coal power plant

It is clear that none of the recommendations on the environmental impact report have been implemented in the case of Norocholai power plant. This being the case, Mr. Sampanthan claims, with tongue in cheek, that people in Norocholai are leading happy lives. He seems to be more concerned with India's interest than of the interests of Tamil people! Another Tamil leader, Maavai Seynathiraja, has said in a TV interview that because Sri Lankan Tamils need India's support for the achievement of a political settlement to the national question, they (the TNA) cannot oppose the joint Sampoor project.

At no time has India stated that it will help the Tamils to attain a federal state nor help in the integration of Northern and Eastern provinces.

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India has not even committed itself in achieving the land and police powers offered under The Thirteenth Amendment (13A) to the Constitution of Sri Lanka based on the Indo - Sri Lanka Accord that was signed between the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan President H.R. Jayewardene, that incorporates the devolution of powers to provinces aims at creating Provincial Councils in Sri Lanka. In a revealing interview even Varadaraja Perumal, former Chief minister of the North Eastern Province, recently stated that India had never ever supported a federal solution to the Sri Lankan ethnic problem. He should know better because he has been so close to India (some call him an Indian puppet) that he chose to leave Sri Lanka with the Indian Army when it left SriLanka and has been living in exile in North India. Thus it is clear that India has never helped to achieve a reasonable solution to the ethnic problems that Tamils face. And now Mavai Senathiraja is hanging the carrot of Indian support for a future resolution to the ethno-national problems. Until now Mr. Sampanthar and Mavai Senathiraja have not even taken the trouble to discuss the issue of the Sampoor power plant with the people of the area, civil organisations or experts in the field. This raises the question: Are they really concerned about the people?

Sampanthar and Mavai Senathiraja, leaders of the Tamil National Front

To their credit, the LTTE did not allow the exploitation of the mineral resources by foreign powers in the East as long as they were in control of the area.

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They are reputed to have bombed a Japanese ship that came to mine ilmenite (an ore of Titanium) in the area. But, no sooner was the LTTE was defeated in the East the Rajapaksa regime gave away the area to India.

Godawaya

Godawaya is a small fishing hamlet located at the mouth of the Walawe river situated in Mahinda Rajapaksa's home town in Hambantota. It is known for rich mineral deposits including gold. During his period as president an agreement was drawn up with India for the extraction of minerals in Walawe basin. Now it should be clear Mahinda Rajepakasa had designs not only to write off Tamil land to India but also hand over land that belonging to the Sinhalese people.

Kirinde

Kirinde, town in the South coast of Sri Lanka, is reputed for its rich mineral deposits. Mahinda Rajapaksa had made an agreement with Indian company registered in the US to undertake mining here. Thus, India now has control of not only Pulmoodai in Tamil areas but also most of the mineral deposits spread across Sri Lanka.

Rights to explore mineral deposits

Sri Lanka is rich in mineral deposits. The rights for exploration of the mineral deposits in Sri Lanka has been handed over an Indian company called Kalyani Steels Limited with head quarters in Pune. In addition, the company has been granted the right to mine any deposits that may be discovered. Worse still, the company stipulates that that most of the minerals so mined be sold to India. Mahinda Rajapaksa's regime had assented to such treacherous preconditions!

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Offshore oil in the Mannar basin

When approving contracts, it is normal practice to put them out for tender to choose the most favourable bidder. But, in the case of offshore oil in the Mannar basin the tender has been handed over to the Cairn Energy (India), an oil and gas exploration and production company, headquartered in Gurgaon, India. According the agreement between the Sri Lankan government and the company, only 10% of the oil will be offered to Sri Lanka and the rest 90% is to be siphoned off to India. In addition, it will grant only 10% of the profits to Sri Lanka. This treacherous agreement too was signed at the time of Mahinda Rajepaksa's presidency. The so called leaders of the Tamil National Alliance have not raised a finger against this deal that robs the Tamil people of their rightful wealth. The Member of Parliament for Mannar and the leader of TELO, Selvam Adaikalanathan lives with his family in India and has property and assets in India that are worth lakhs of rupees. Is it a wonder, then, he had not opposed the of plunder of Mannar oil wealth?

Power purchasing agreement with India

In addition to the above, an agreement has been made with India to purchase electricity. A proposal has been made to lay underground cable from Chennai via Thanuskoodi in Tamil Nadu and 200 km of submarine cables to Mannar. In this way, the plan is to supply electricity to Anuradhapura and Vavunia and their surrounds. The estimated cost of the project is 450 million US dollars and it is said to provide 1000 MW of electricity to Sri Lanka. It is curious that India wants to supply electricity to Sri Lanka from Tamil Nadu which has been a power deficit state that witnessed severe power shortage for many years.

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The net effect of the agreement would be that Sri Lanka would be dependant on India for 40% of its electricity.

We are told that the Sampoor thermal power plant will produce 500 Mega Watts of electricity. All rights to the distribution, pricing and charges have been handed over to the Indian company. According to law, only the Sri Lanka Electricity Board is entitled to distribute electricity. But, the Rajapaksa regime tried its best to change the law to enable India too to be a distributor of electricity.

Now we are told that the production of electricity at the Sampoor plant can be increased from 500 MW to 1000 MW and that the surplus electricity exported to India. It is ludicrous, if not laughable, on one hand we are supposed to import electricity via undersea cable and on the other export it? Herein lies India's shrewd plan to make Sri Lanka dependant on India for its electricity as a part of its expansionist scheme.

Please note that these deals were signed by Mahinda Rajapaksa who was said to be a supporter of China. Maithripala Sirisena, the current president, has now entered into a civilian nuclear pact with India supposedly to "help the island nation meet its energy goals". One could see the noose tightening around Sri Lanka's neck!

Distribution of petrol and diesel

It is not only in drilling for oil that India has taken over by India but it has also made inroads into the distribution of petrol and oil in Sri Lanka. At present there are 207 oil distribution centres in Sri Lanka.

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Of these 100 stations have been bought over by Indian Oil, one of the largest oil companies in India. Called Lanka IOC, it is Indian Oil's subsidiary in Sri Lanka and is the only private oil company other than the state-owned Ceylon Petroleum Corporation (CPC) that operates retail petrol / diesel stations in Sri Lanka.

The initial agreement was that these petrol and diesel stations should buy their fuel from Sri Lanka's State Petroleum Corporation. But, now that arrangement has been annulled and direct import of oil from India has been permitted. IOC is also acquired the China Bay Tank farm in Tricomalee for refining oil. When it is in fully operational, it is said that the state owned Sri Lankan refinery will be closed. If this is the case, the entire petrol distribution sector in Sri Lanka would be in the hands of an Indian company. All in all, India is gradually building up a strangle hold on Sri Lankan energy sector. Again it is noteworthy that this agreement was signed during the reign of Mahinda Rajapaksa.

Kankesanthurai port and the KKS cement factory

The KKS cement factory in Jaffna peninsula and the nearby lime stone deposits have been handed over to India's Ultratech Cement, an Aditya Birla group company. The strategically-located Kankesanthurai (KKS) port in the Jaffna peninsula is being revived by India to enable the transport of limestone. Mavai Senathiraja and Sumantiran, the stooges of India, claim that the re construction of the port will help provide employment for Tamil youth. But the fact is that India's aim in rehabilitation of the port is to get away with the cement and lime stones from KKS and export them to India.

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At one time the then Tamil United Front protested against quarrying the limestone around the cement factory because it would lead to coastal erosion and endanger the whole of Jaffna. For the same reason some of the militant movements attacked the cement plant and made it non-functional and it was closed down. But, the very same Tamil leaders who disapproved of it at one time seem to be silent now when it is being handed over to India. This is tantamount to betrayal of the people.

Thikkam Distilleries

Recently, news has started leaking about secret negotiations that Mavai Senathirajah, an MP of the TNA, has been secretly conducting with the Minister of Finance about selling the Thikkam distilleries in Vadamaratchy to a private Indian company. If the distillery is sold to India the toddy tappers are bound to be hit hard because India would prefer to import cheap synthetic material for the production of arrack rather than depend on the local produce. This is bound to pauperise the already poor toddy tapers. Mavai Senathirajah's interests seem with India rather than Tamil toddy tappers. Under these circumstances, it is essential that people rally together to stop this treacherous act.

Construction of railway lines

The construction of the 265-km long Northern railway line was a project that was given over to IRCON International Ltd., a Government of India owned company. The last segment of the 63-km railway track between Madhu Road and Talaimannar Pier, which is the closest point to India, was inaugurated by Prime Minister Modi during his visit to Sri Lanka in 2015.

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It is not only the Northern railway, but also the construction of the railway line between Galle to Matara has been handed over to India. The project was not put out to tender.

Agricultural land given to India and long-term lease

An area of agricultural of land in Trincomalee covering 675 square meters has been handed over to India in the name of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) for Indian engineering, auto components and pharmaceutical industries in the eastern port town of Trincomalee. In parallel with this, thousands of acres of agricultural land in Anuradhapura, Madawarchi and Vavuniya have en given to Indian big business on long term lease.

Imports from India

The commercial and retail sectors of Sri Lanka too are dominated by India. Most motor cycles, autos, buses and lorries are Indian imports. India has penetrated the pharmaceutical sector too and most medicines are now imported from India.

Indian private hospitals

Large Indian hospitals such as The Apollo Hospital have started establishing private hospitals in Sri Lanka. The cost of health care in the hospital is very high compared with other private hospitals. Recently, it was exposed that the hospital had been involved in a kidney transplant racket in which eight Indians were arrested and later charged. The eight arrested men were detained in the Mirigama detention centre for foreign nationals. But it has been reported that the main accused has escaped.

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Private Universities

Until now education in SriLanka has been state funded and offered free of charge at all levels, including the university level. The government has recently opened its doors to Indian (and other) private universities. Thus free education in Sri Lanka has is in danger of being undermined by Indian private educational establishments (higher education in India is largely provided by privately funded universities).

Problems Fishermen

The fisheries sector plays a key role in Sri Lanka's social and economic life. It provides employment to a vast number of people and generates many more jobs in secondary and tertiary sectors. It is an important foreign exchange earner for the country. About 7 lakhs of people depend on it, a significant proportion of them are Tamils from the North and East. In 2014 the total catch amounted to 3,04.380 metric tonnes. 2,67,680 tonnes of these came from the sea and the rest from fresh water fishing.

Vijitha Herath, the JVP parliamentarian, labelled by the TNA as a communalist, has spoken up for the Tamil fishermen in the parliament. He has drawn attention to poaching by Indian fishermen in Sri Lankan waters. He pointed out that 1,500 Indian bottom trawling roller boats enter Sri Lankan waters a day and this results in a loss of fish worth Rs. 8440 million. This, he said, was a major setback fishermen in the North.

The president of the Northern fishermen's association has met with Mr. Sampanthar, the leader of TNA and complained about these incursions.

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But, Sampanthar, the current leader of the opposition in the parliament, has not spoken up for the fishermen in the North. Nor has the Minister of fisheries, B. Deniswaran (who happens to be a Tamil), taken up the issue. Instead we see him rail against ISIS terrorists.

The issue of fishing in the Palk strait and the surrounding sea has been a problem for Indian fishermen as well. Thus far over 600 Tamil fishermen from India have been shot and killed by the Sri Lankan Navy. But the governments of India and Sri Lanka have not made a concerted attempt to solve the problem. At one stage Sri Lankan fishermen suggested that they meet with their Indian counterparts. But the Indian government refused their request. The main reason for this is that the Indian businessmen who own these trawlers feel that resolution of the problem will adversely affect their business. Big businessmen like T.R. Baalu are influential figures in Indian political circles (He was cabinet minister for Shipping, Road Transport & Highways between 2004-2009).

Incursion of Indian trawlers into inshore waters of Sri Lanka has lead to death or arrest of hundreds of poor Indian fisher folk who depend on the sea for a living. It is worth noting that until now no owner of trawlers has been shot or arrested. It is the poor Indian fishermen who have been killed.

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Indo-Sri Lanka Economic and Technology Cooperative Agreement (ETCA)

Already there exist a number of agreements between India and Sri Lanka. Many of these have been kept secret and information about these are not available to the people of Sri Lanka. It is in this context one has to view the proposed ETCA which has the potential to turn Sri Lanka into the 30th state of India.

During the time of Rajapaksa attempts were made by India to get Sri Lanka to sign up to an agreement called Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA). It faced severe opposition from all classes the people and was therefore dropped. Ranil Wickremesinghe, who was the leader of the opposition at that time, is on record saying that the agreement was not in the interest of Sri Lanka and would never be signed. But, now in power, he has become a serious advocate of a new agreement called ETCA which, from the point of view of Sri Lanka's interest is, in fact, worse than CEPA.

In 1998 India and Sri Lanka entered into a trade agreement called the Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISFTA). It has been in force over the last 16 years. It was argued at that time that India's daily market turnover is worth a massive US $ 300 million while that of Sri Lanka was a mere $ 3 million and that Sri Lanka stood to gain by having access to Indian market.

During the year 2000 Indo Sri Lanka trade amounted to US $ 650 million. After the ISFTA came into force this increased dramatically. During the year 2014, Sri Lanka was one of the largest trading partners of India in South Asia.

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According to Sri Lankan Customs trade data the bilateral trade amounted to US$ 4.6 billion in 2014. Sri Lanka's imports from India amounted US$ 3,977.18 million and exports to India amounted US$ 624.67 million. The agreement was said to benefit Sri Lanka. But, the balance of payments are in favour of India which seems to be reaping the benefits of it rather than Sri Lanka.

Although India has offered some tax concessions Sri Lanka is unable to utilise them because of the different taxing procedures within India. According to the Indian constitution State governments have the right to impose taxes. For example, the state government of Tamil Nadu levies an import tax of 21% on imported goods. Thus. Although the Indian central government has offered certain tax concessions, Sri Lankan goods imported into Tamil Nadu would be subject to the tax levied by the state. Similarly, Sri Lanka finds itself in a position that does cannot export tea, its most important export commodity, to the Indian market. This is because only some ports in India such as Kochin and Culcutta are allowed to import tea. In these states there is considerable opposition for import of tea because they are tea producing states. Thus, Sri Lanka is unable to sell its tea in the Indian market. For these reasons, Si Lanka has not benefitted from these trade agreements. On the contrary, India has been able to penetrate and dominate the Sri Lankan market with its goods.

Sri Lanka has no trade agreements with far away countries like America and the United Kingdom. Yet, Sri Lanka exports 25% of goods to America and 10% to the UK. Compare this with the 6% exported to its nearest neighbour, India.

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It goes without saying that the existing trade arrangements with India do not work in Sri Lanka's favour. The proposed agreement, ETCA goes even further by including the service sector within its remit.

In an ominous move, attempts are being made to include the service sector too within the ETCA. This poses severe threats to Sri Lanka. India's working population is around 500 million and that of Sri Lanka's is about 8 million. According to data provided by Ministry of Labour and Employment the overall unemployment rate in India's stood at 7.97% (rural unemployment rate 7.15% and the urban rate stood at 9.62%). What this means in real terms is that in India 37 million people are unemployed. This is twice *the population* of Sri Lanka! India produces 3 million graduates each year. This is more than the number of graduates produced by Sri Lankan universities since 1940! The question is what would happen if the Sri Lankan job market is opened to graduates from India.

According to a recent report in an Indian paper, an advertisement for 365 peons produced 2.3 million applicants. Of these 1,16 000 were graduates and 29, 000 had higher qualifications and 250 had doctorates. The qualifications required for the post were basic reading and writing skills and the ability to cycle. This is an illustration of the level of unemployment in India.

Admittedly, India's has a large Information technology (IT) sector. Indians work in large numbers and occupy important positions in the IT companies in the US, UK and Australia.

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It is, therefore, not unreasonable to expect India develop the IT sector in Sri Lanka. But the fact is that even if Sri Lanka enters into an IT pack with India, this section of employees are unlikely to come to Sri Lanka. This group of employees expect some provisions and conveniences in their host country. This includes high salaries, facilities for education of their children, proper health services and prestige. In this respect countries like the US and other Western countries are more attractive to them than Sri Lanka. Hence, those with high skills and qualifications in IT would seek employment in more developed countries rather than look for employment in Sri Lanka. Those who would want to come to Sri Lanka are bound to be the mediocre group with low skills and they would be prepared to work for low wages thus creating competition for jobs in Sri Lanka. It is likely then that IT workers from Sri Lanka will seek employment abroad. Thus ETCA is bound to lead to brain drain.

In sum, this agreement paves the way for further penetration of Indian capital into Sri Lanka and would lead to impoverishment of the people of Sri Lanka. It makes the country open to political manipulation by India for its own interests and imperils Sri Lanka's sovereignty.

India's Prime Minister Modi and Sri Lanka's Prime Minister Ranil ickremesinghe

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INDIAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SRI LANKA

Historically, India has adopted a policy of domination over all the countries in the Indian Ocean region. It had been bidding its time to set its foot in Sri Lanka. In 1971 it intervened to quell the JVP rebellion by sending units from the Indian Army Southern Command airlifted from Bangalore and Madras. It sent 2, 000 Indian military personnel to help Sirimavo Bandaranayake's government. Helicopters from the Indian air force took part in bombing raids killing more than 6000 JVP members. The Sri Lankan army was ill prepared to face the insurrection and were in retreat when Indian military help arrived. It is widely believed that the JVP would have seized control of the country had India not intervened.

India made good use of the opportunity provided by 1983 ethnic riots to establish its hegemony in the region. Under the guise of helping the distressed Tamils, it spread its cruel arms into Sri Lanka. It provided military training to Tamil militant groups in various parts of India. Its secret service, RAW, armed the groups. At times, it ordered the militants to carry out attacks on Sinhalese civilians in return for providing the militants with arms. It then proceeded to create internecine fighting amongst the various groups. This was a well planned way of weakening the militants on hand and tarnishing the good name some of the militant groups among had Tamil and Sinhala people on the other.

In 1987, following the peace agreement between the two countries, 120, 000 Indian troops, misleadingly called the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), landed Sri Lanka presumably to help the Tamils.

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But, it ended up murdering thousands of Tamils and destroying their property. More than 600 women were raped. In Parliament the then president Premadasa stated even a 79 year old elderly woman was raped by the IPKF. The destruction and devastation was so great that within a short time people started saying that they were better under Sri Lankan army than the IPKF!

In the three and a half years from 1987 to 2000 when the Army was occupying the North and East more than 8, 000 innocent Tamil people were murdered, more than 800 militants were killed and the Indian Army lost more than 1, 200 soldiers. The Indian Army that came with the designation Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) but when they left it was felt that they were a Indian People Killing Force. India had spent more than Rupees 540 million on the war and its army left Sri Lanka discredited and demoralised. It was rumoured that it helped Rajev Gandhi to distract attention from charges of bribery and The Bofors scandal. Some said that his advisers misled him. Yet others said that the old fox President J. R. Jayawardane, a contemporary of Rajev Gandhi's grand father Nehru, out-maneuvered the Indian Prime Minister. But, these commentators missed the point. It was the was India's expansionist policy and the quest for hegemony in the region that led to the invasion.

India has waged wars with its neighbours many a times. The 1965 war with Pakistan lasted 22 days. Later, in 1971 its war in helping the dismemberment of Pakistan and the creation of Bangla Desh lasted 14 days. But the invasion of Sri Lanka in 1987 involving 120, 000 troops lasted more than two and a half years.

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This was because it was playing a political game attempting to establish itself as a regional superpower interfering in affairs of other countries under the guise of being a mediator.

At the time when the Indian military was occupying North and East of Sri Lanka, Indian foreign ministry claimed, "The presence of the Indian military in Sri Lanka carries considerable foreign policy advantages. Through this action India has firmly and resolutely transformed itself into a regional superpower. This is a turning point in the fulfilment of its regional and international aspirations". The Indian Army commander said, "We are living in hair raising times. We are engaged in action that changes the history of the region". Such was the euphoria among the rulers of India.

Within a few hours of signing the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord, America welcomed the move. American High Commissioner for India said, "By taking this action India has come of age. By taking this decisive step India has transformed itself into a regional power. America fully supports this bold action by India". Russia was somewhat hesitant at first, but soon declared its support. Even China did not oppose the accord or the Indian military intervention. Pakistan did not breathe a word. The Commonwealth countries and the European Economic Community supported Indian intervention.

Feeling threatened by invasion of Sri Lanka the government of Nepal criticised the accord and the intervention. "Don't to be partial", India warned it. At that time Nepal had purchased anti aircraft guns from China. India was quick to warn Nepal "We will not tolerate this anymore".

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India allocates 17% of its budget to military and spends hundreds of millions of Rupees on purchasing military hardware. Yet, it feels the need to threaten a small neighbouring country like Nepal. It also warned its all time enemy, Pakistan. " Do not try to be funny with us because we have sent 100, 000 troops to Sri Lanka, we are prepared to face any military threat in the Indo-Pakistan border", said the Indian Army commander. This forewarning meted out to its neighbours shows that the military intervention in Sri Lanka was planned well in advance.

The ruling classes in India whole heartedly welcomed Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, the military intervention and in general, Indian hegemony over Sri Lanka. The entire spectrum of the Indian political establishment from BJP on the right to the revisionist 'communist' parties on the left were in agreement. There were no dissenting voices. Not one official political party questioned India's right to intervene in Sri Lanka. Except for the lone voices of some of the revolutionary organisations, the rest of the political establishment actively supported India's invasion of Sri Lanka. It is worth reiterating that the comprador bourgeoisie have always given its unstinted support to India's policy of "internal suppression and foreign expansion"

Indian invading forces sent in by Rajev Gandhi gets kicked out by the Sri Lankan people

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This was because the of the political economic and military interests of India coincided with their own.

Political and military interests

a. The right to control Sri Lanka's foreign policy and relationships.
b. The right to control radio and television broadcasts
c. Control over Trincomalee port and restriction of its use
d. The tight to train Sri Lankan forces
e. Control over Sri Lankan armed forces including its relationship with armed forces of other countries.

Economic interests

a. Removal of restrictions on import of Indian goods
b. Renewal of Trincomalee oil refinery agreement, control over its activities and share in its profits
c. Allocation of approximately Rs. 40 million worth construction work to India.
d. Right of access to Sri Lanka's fishing industry, oil sector and employment market
e. Capability of influencing Sri Lankan economic planning through the training of bureaucrats and officers of Sri Lanka's dministrative Service
f. Export of train carriages and Ashok Leyland buses

Thus the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement was heavily weighted in favour of India. The LTTE called it a "charter for slavery" and the Indian Peace Keeping Force a "occupying force". They declared, "Our war will not be over until the last Indian soldier is expelled from the country".

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The Indian occupation of North and East imposed a cruel war on the Tamil people. India amassed it troop so much so that there was one Indian soldier for every 10 Tamils. Yet, the people were not beaten. When India began the invasion it proudly declared the whole thing will be done and over within two days, but the war went on for more than two years and resulted in the ignoble retreat of Indian forces. The Tamil peoples' struggle was proof for the universal truth that no nation can be beaten in its own soil by any superpower however strong that superpower be.

At the time of the invasion India was experiencing a severe drought. The production of grain had fallen by 27 million tons. The government needed additional Rs. 250 million to manage the situation. In the state of Orissa hundreds died of starvation. In the states of Andra Pradesh and Karnataka famer suicide became rampant. Price of goods rose by14%. Inflation had crossed the 10% mark. It was in this context one should view the massive amount of money that India poured into the Sri Lankan adventure. Its forces in Sri Lanka cost Rs. 60 million a day, or Rs. 1800 million a month. Altogether India spent Rs. 54 billion over the two and a half years of occupation! But, the government of India nor the opposition parties were concerned about the cost. They considered that is was worth the money as long as it could portray itself as a regional superpower in the region. This was achieved with the blessings of other imperialist countries, notably the US. But, the first casualty of this transformation was the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Secondly, it was the people of India who bore the brunt of it in the form of deaths from famine, scarcity of food and increase in price of consumer goods.

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Through the invasion of Sri Lanka, India has shown itself to act as the self appointed policeman of the region. It is prepared to spend billions of rupees and to kill as many people as is necessary for the sake of this prestige and political benefits accruing from the invasion. The US and other imperialist countries that plunder India are only too happy to sanction the actions of India. The beneficiaries of the rise of Indian hegemony in the region are the imperialistic powers that have shared the third world countries amongst them and the local comprador capitalists who have profitted from it. The people of the South Asia have become the main victims of the project.

Mullivaikal Bloodbath

The UN report says that in the last two days of the war alone 40 000 Tamil people died. Ananthi Sasitharan, a Provincial Council member, had pointedly accused India of playing an important part in the Mullivaikal genocide. India she says was directly involved in the final battle, but has kept silent about it. She goes on to say that Pranab Mukerjee, Shivasnkar Menon and Nambiar from the Indian central government put forward a plan for the surrender of LTTE cadres and that Karunanithi's daughter Kannimozhi telephoned on 16.05.2009 to convey this to the LTTE high command. She says she is the living witness to this plan put forward by the Indian government. Kannimozhi for her part has denied this, however, and says mockingly she does not who Ananthi is.

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These bickering apart, The Peoples' Tribunal of Sri Lanka, an international opinion tribunal, independent from any state authority that examines cases regarding violations of human rights and the rights of peoples has stated decisively that India directly participated in the genocide. They have insisted that India be included in the inquiry into the atrocities committed during the last phase of the war. The members of the experts group included the following people:

The Peoples' Tribunal of Sri Lanka that asserted that India had a part to play in the genocide in Sri Lanka

1. Daniel Feierstein (Co-Chair): Director of the Centre for Genocide Studies at the Universidad Nacional de Tresde Febrero, Professor in the Faculty of Genocide at the University of Buenos Aires.

2. Denis Halliday (Co-Chair): Former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations. He resigned from his 34 year old career in the UN in protest of the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq by the Security Council.

3. Sévane Garibian: An expert on Genocide and International Law. She is an Assistant Professor at the University of Geneva and Lecturer at the University of Neuchâtel, where she teaches Legal Philosophy and International Criminal Law.

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Her work focuses on issues related to law facing State crimes.

4. Haluk Gerger: A respected academic and a Middle East analyst who was imprisoned in Turkey for his political activism. He is known for his support for Kurdish people's right to self-determination.

5. Manfred O Hinz: Professor for Public Law, Political Sociology and Sociology of Law at the University of Bremen. He held the UNESCO chair for human rights and democracy of the University of Namibia whilst he was a professor there.

6. Helen Jarvis: She served as Chief of the Public Affairs Section from the inception of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), the special Cambodian court which receives international assistance through the United Nations Assistance to the Khmer Rouge Trials (UNAKRT). The court is commonly referred to by the more informal name the Khmer Rouge Tribunal or the Cambodia Tribunal.

7. José Elías Esteve Molto: An international lawyer and legal expert on Tibet. He is the main lawyer who researched and drafted both lawsuits for international crimes committed in Tibet and a recent one for crimes in Burma. He is a Professor in International Law at the University of Valencia.

8. Javier Giraldo Moreno: Colombian Theologian and human rights activist based in Bogota. Known for his depth of analysis in contextualising genocide affected communities. He is Vice-President of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal.

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9. Gabriele Della Morte: A Professor of International Law at the Università Cattolica di Milano and an associate professor in International system, institutions and rules, counsel for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

10. Øystein Tveter: A Norwegian scholar of International Law and a member of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal on extra-judicial killings and violations of human rights in the Philippines.

11. Maung Zarni: He is a Burmese democracy activist who founded the Free Burma Coalition in1995. He is one of the few Burmese intellectuals who have come forward to unconditionally oppose the increased discrimination and violence against the Rohingya Muslims and publicly criticised Aung San Suu Kyi on this issue.

This panel of respected human rights experts have drawn attention to India's active participation in the genocide. What have the Indian loyalists got to say about this?

Post-war situation

Today Indian High Commission has three posts in Sri Lanka in addition to its Embassy in Colombo: it has a Assistant High commission in Kandy, a Consulate in Hambantota and another Consulate in Jaffna. Of all the countries in the world only India is the only country with three embassies in our small island. One of the embassies is situated in Jaffna. The Consul General in the Jaffna is a Tamil. People were made to believe that the appointment of a Tamil as was for their benefit.

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But this Consul General in Jaffna has been silent on the issue of rape of Tamil women. For example, a female student was raped at the Karai Nagar Navy Camp and another at Nedungkeeni, Vavuniya. These happened before his very eyes . Neither has he condemned these nor the other atrocities of the Sri Lankan Army in Jaffna after the war. But his advice to the Tamil people was "All of you should learn Sinhala". Is this why a consulate has been created, to ask Tamils to learn Sinhala? There is a parallel here. The Modi government has been urging every nationality in India, including the Tamils, to learn Sanskrit.

At present, the Indian ambassador in Sri Lanka acts like a viceroy, like the governors who ruled out countries during colonial times. J. N. Dixit, who was High Commissioner in Sri Lanka (1985-89) writes that J.R. Jayawardane, then President complained that he (Dixit) was acting like a viceroy. As mentioned earlier in the book, Mahinda Rajapaksa broke all diplomatic protocol and went to the embassy meet with the Indian ambassador.

There are some simpletons who believe that India advocates the interest of the Tamils and it was the foolish murder of Rajev Gandhi by the LTTE that drove India to annihilate the Tigers. The fact is that even of Rajev Gandhi had not been assassinated by the LTTE India would have wiped out the Tigers. This is because as long as the Tigers ruled the Tamil areas they did not permit India or any other country to plunder or exploit the natural resources of the area under their control. Once the Tigers were destroyed the North and East fell a prey to India.

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Thus it is clear that the main objective of India's active involvement in the war against the Tigers was to appropriate Sri Lanka in its entirety to serve the Indian expansionist agenda.

The Tamils of Sri Lanka have lost to India crucial resources such as the Pallali airport, KKS cement factory and KKS port, the off shore oil gas in the Mannar basin, mineral deposits in Pulmoodai, Sampoor power plant, Sampoor jetty and the natural harbour at Trincomalee and its oil tank farm. It is worth recalling that India intervened in Sri Lanka on the pretext of helping the Tamils. But has now virtually occupied the whole of Sri Lanka before our very eyes.

Sri Lanka's struggle against foreign invasions

Although Sri Lanka is a small island, the people of Sri Lanka have a proud tradition of fighting against oppression and invasion. Peoples' history of Sri Lanka is replete with fierce resistance and heroic struggles. Although in more recent times they have been misled into fighting with each other, their valour and courage has not diminished.

It is well known that historically Sri Lanka has been subjected to repeated invasions form South India in ancient times but no Indian king had been able to conquer the whole island or enslave them for long. During the colonial period Portuguese could conquer only the maritime provinces and that too for less than 100 years. The Dutch too could conquer only the coastal provinces again for less 100 years.

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The British who managed to conquer the whole island too governed it only for 150 years. The British who annexed the far fetched Andaman and Lakshadweep islands with India could not annex Sri Lanka with India.

Following independence the so call Iron man of India, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, then Home Minister of India, who forcibly annexed Kashmir and Sikkim with India, could not conquer Sri Lanka and bring it within the territory of India, thanks to the fearless spirit and fiercely independent nature of the people of Sri Lanka.

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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST INDIAN INVASION

The examples given in the previous chapters should convince the reader of India's expansionist policies with regard to Sri Lanka and why I have called it Indian invasion of Sri Lanka. Despite ample evidence as to India's malicious intentions, there are many Tamils and Tamil politicians who continue to believe that India will help the Tamils in Sri Lanka and, worse still, depend on it to prevail on the Sinhala politicians to achieve our rights. Some among the Tamil intelligentsia seem to think that India will step in to help the Tamils in order to counter Chinese influence in the region.

Some other misguided souls go as far as saying that Modi's saffron clad BJP government would support the demand for a "Hindu Tamil Eezham" ! The fact is India has not helped the only proclaimed Hindu Kingdom, Nepal, a wee bit and on the contrary, is making every effort to colonise it. Witness India's customary trick of meddling in the country in recent times by fomenting trouble among the minority of Madhesis. The people of Nepal have seen through India's deception and mounted anti-India protests in the country. Only fools or simpletons could believe that India will help the Tamils, let alone establish "Tamil Eezham". The fact is that India will never support, leave alone help set up a Tamil Eezham or a Hindu Tamil Eezham. India vehemently opposes any change in the status quo. Neither will it support a liberation struggle by the Tamils or, for that matter, of the Sinhala people.

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On the contrary, if we are to learn from recent history, it will help suppress any struggle by the people of Sri Lanka for equality and social justice as it did during the JVP insurrection and the struggle of the Tamil people.

People in Kashmir are fighting against India; people in Nagaland are waging struggles against India; people in Assam and Tripura are fighting against India. The Adivasis have been waging heroic struggles under the leadership of Maoists. And the Indian government has been engaged in mercilessly crushing these movements militarily and through enacting draconian laws. Only fools would believe that a state that has been ruthlessly suppressing its own people will help the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The class nature of the Indian state is that of the comprador bourgeoisie, a class allied with the foreign investors, multi-national corporations, bankers, and military interests. It has therefore permitted its massive market to be exploited by American, Russian, British and other imperialist powers. These powers are content to let the small markets like that of Sri Lanka to be outsourced to India. This explains why the big powers permit India to play the big brother role, exploit and, if necessary, invade smaller countries like Sri Lanka. Therefore, it is futile to expect the US or UK to help Sri Lanka when it comes to Indian invasion.

It is not only Sri Lanka which India has spread its tentacles into. The same fate has befallen its smaller neighbours.

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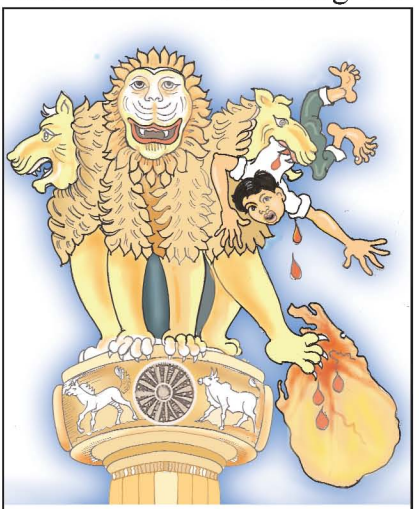
Nepal and Maldive islands are also under its control. It's power and hegemony have spread to almost all of its neighbours like Bangla Desh, Pakistan, Maldives and others. It seeks to dominate the Pacific region and establish itself as a superpower in the area. This is done with the full approval of US, the international bully. The basic tenet of imperialist countries is to carve up the world and share the exploits. There is an unwritten agreement among imperialist powers to allow India to keep Sri Lanka within its fold and do as it pleases.

It would be foolish to expect the rulers of Sri Lanka who earn their living by being lackeys to imperialists to resist, leave alone fight, Indian invasion. In order to cling on to power they will either prostrate themselves before the invader or offer token resistance to deceive the people. Hence, the only way of freeing the country from Indian invasion and liberating the people Sri Lanka from the clutch of imperialist powers is to build a powerful revolutionary movement that includes all nationalities.



Indian invasion of Sri Lanka

In the past militant movements had failed to take sufficient notice of the path shown by Comrades Sanmugathasan and Thamillarasan. People of Sri Lanka, including the Tamils are paying a heavy price for ignoring the wise words of these leaders.

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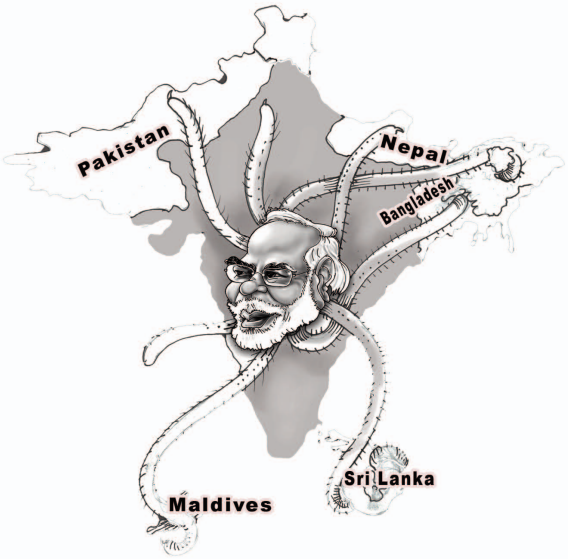
We need to unite not only the Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslims of Sri Lanka, but also join hands with revolutionary organisations in Tamil Nadu and rest of India to fight against dark forces of Indian invasion and their Sri Lankan stooges.

The communalist political leaders have all along deceived both the Tamil and Sinhala people and continue to do so. It is important for the Sinhala and Tamil people to understand that these leaders seek to stir up communalism, create division and antagonism between the groups and get them to fight each other in order to tighten their capitalist hold on them. Hence it is imperative that the people unite with one another and come forward to fight against the common enemy on all fronts. Until and unless we fight against not only Indian invasion but all imperialist interventions and intrusions the Sinhala and Tamil people can never be free or be truly liberated.



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