

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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INDO-SRI LANKA TALKS



"India must not expect devolution for Tamils on lines of the Sarkaria Commission recommendations. We are a small nation. We will break up if we do so." - Sri Lankan view

TN LEADERS MEET IN MADURAI



DEMANDS IMMEDIATE IPKF PULL-OUT

YOUR VOICE

YOU WERE BIASED

K I Mohan, Zambia

Some time back when I read your periodical, I thought that you were a bit biased towards one of the militant groups, compared with another Tamil periodical from London; but after my two visits to Jaffna i.e. in March '88 and Feb '89, I feel the sentiments expressed by you are those of 99% of the population of Jaffna and indeed mine too after witnessing so many gruesome incidents. Kindly keep up the good work.

UNWANTED DILEMMA

M Punitha Pandiyan - Tamil Nadu

Here in India, the Doordarshan, India's puppet EPRLF and some of the press cry in fear, that there will be panic and commotion in Tamil Eelam if the Indian troops are withdrawn. They also add that there will be no security for the Tamil groups that supported the Accord and for the Tamil people if the troops are withdrawn, and reiterated their old demand, for the continued presence of the Indian troops until security measures are taken and the devolution package is fulfilled.

What was India doing regarding devolution for the past two years, until President Premadasa wanted the IPKF to leave? It is clear that it is impossible for India to fulfil the aspirations of the Tamil people even after ten years.

Any true citizen of Tamil Eelam will know that it is the LTTE who are the vanguard of the people right from 1983 at the peak of genocide and at the time when the "peace-killers" started their brutal activities on the innocent civilians from 1987 till now. It is the only organisation which even published books with pictures to educate the people as to how to safe-guard themselves from aerial bombardments. It is the Tigers who dug trenches to protect the people from shelling by both Sri Lankan and Indian military forces. Even now it is the LTTE which protect the Tamil girls from being raped by the "devious protectors".

Certainly there is no question of lack of security if the Indian troops are withdrawn. It is their first and foremost duty to protect the people from genocide and oppression. A true Tamil will not worry about the withdrawal of troops. It is the betrayers who fear that they would be punished by the LTTE for their betrayals. From past history it is obvious that the Tigers punished not the civilians but only the oppressors and traitors.

One more baseless charge against the LTTE is that it is abducting school boys. One should be clear that the Tigers are not abducting the boys for any illegal purposes like smuggling. They recruit the boys to protect Tamil Eelam and to free the nation from the imperialistic forces. Boys and girls are volunteering in their thousands to join the LTTE and they have no reason to force any one, leave aside abducting.

CONGRATULATIONS TVI

Sarah Ricca - Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign

We would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your coverage of Viraj's fight, and to congratulate you on your excellent coverage of the Tamil people's struggle for national liberation, which has been of great use to us in our propaganda and agitation. We wish all at the TVI the best for the future.

MAKING OMLETTE

N A Navaneethan, Madras

While we deeply regret the unfortunate end of a great statesman of Sri Lanka, Mr Amirthalingam, we have to approach the matter also from the LTTE's point of view. LTTE is the single, totally committed, dedicated, very well organised, ably led organisation determined to achieve a separate state for the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

"If he is alone and the enemies are two, a wise king will make the weaker enemy his friend" is the saying of our Thirukkural. The LTTE supremo is adopting nothing but the same policy.



**AIYOO!! I WANTED A TEN
EGG OMLETTE....!!**

Forty centuries ago, the great Tamil king Ra-

vana was defeated by his enemies assisted by Ravana's own brother. Then was created the greatest bluff in history, the "Ramayan". On the same island another Ramayan is being written. In this Ramayan we, the Tamils all over the world, who know the real history and our heritage, will see to it that Ravana triumphs at all cost. The mistake of Ravana was not to have killed traitors like Vibhisan.

Amirthalingam, if not a traitor, was at least a weak link in the creation of Tamil Eelam. After all, who can make an omelette without breaking eggs?

WE SHOULD SUPPORT INDIA BUT NOT THE IPKF STAY

V Nagendran, Colombo

We should be glad that India is now insisting on genuine devolution and cessation of Sinhala colonisation in the Northeastern province. Though this demand may be late and made for obvious other reasons, the Tamils should support it without reservations. At the same time, we should insist on the withdrawal of the IPKF because they are not allowing us to even live on our soil. I hope LTTE is playing its cards well.

EDITORIAL

INDIA'S WAR CRIMES

How long will the world watch with folded arms and permit India to brazenly commit the most horrible of crimes against humanity? The My Lai massacre pales into insignificance in the context of India's operations against innocent civilians in Tamil Eelam. Not only do Indian Peace Keepers loot, plunder, rape and kill but they have begun to raze Tamil towns to the ground. Chris Nuttall, *The Guardian's* correspondent in Colombo, recently reported that Indian peacekeepers "had gone on the rampage and massacred 51 Tamil civilians in the worst atrocity of the two year occupation of the north and east of Sri Lanka". The Indians, according to Chris Nuttall, had attempted "to cover up the incident". Indian troops had tried to raze the town of Valvettiturai, "reporters were not allowed past roadblocks and even doctors were barred from the area". Victims, the reporter stated, including "women, children and the elderly, were either burned to death in their homes, lined up against walls and shot, or made to lie face down on the ground where they were shot in the back."

The world has, to our amazement, remained stonily silent while these cruel and inhuman deeds have been perpetrated against the most innocent of people, women, children and the elderly. Is it not time that the world woke up to the fact that in the Indian war machine there is evidence, increasingly growing evidence, of a Nazi-type operation? This savage and barbaric war machine will soon make its presence felt against the peoples of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, not to mention the peoples within India itself who are fighting for their human rights. We caution the world that if steps are not taken to halt the Indian juggernaut now, the states of South Asia and even beyond will pay the price that the states of Europe paid as a result of permitting Hitler, Himmler, Goering and their kind, of whom there are a plenty among India's warmongers and army officers, to continue their villainy until it was too late.

Today the commander of the so-called IPKF, General Kalkat, faces the tribunal of world opinion for war crimes as dreadful as those of General Yahya Khan in Bangladesh, the General of the Nazi war machine, the General of the Tianmen massacre and of General Dwyer when he ordered the massacre at the Jallianwalla Bag in Amritsar. We are truly shocked that the independent profession of journalists in India has still not raised its voice against these most heinous and calculated of atrocities. Why such Goebbelsian cynicism in the face of evil that will in the end strike the Indian peoples themselves? The same General Kalkat will kill, plunder and raze Indian towns and peoples to carry out the behest of today's modern day equivalent of the Nazis in New Delhi.

To muddy the waters further, India interferes with impunity in the affairs of its neighbours. Nepal-bashing has become the favourite pastime of the South Block wallahs. And they are equally competent as castrators of Sri Lanka's sovereignty. President Premadasa's government's wishes are ignored, wishes that frantically seek to restore normalcy even in certain parts of the war-torn island. Instead, Indian army instructors are busy training Tamil boys of 11 and above conscripted to serve as unwilling soldiers of India's puppet-installed EPRLF government. President Premadasa is deprived of any jurisdiction over the Indian-occupied parts of the island. The hapless President as a consequence is unable to requite either his JVP enemies or satisfy the LTTE negotiators. TVI feels that the time has arrived for India's role as a disturber of the peace, as the blatant violator of human rights and the offender in war crimes, and above all the systematic distorter of the truth, to be investigated and reported upon by an impartial body of international investigators. Delay will be fatal. It is now or never.

TAMIL VOICE

International

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மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு,

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WAS SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE A CRIMINAL?

Brama Puthiran, Batticaloa

We can observe several coincidences from the histories of liberation struggles, between Liberation Tigers, who are engaged in armed struggle simultaneously to restore their traditional homeland and against the foreign aggressor, and Nethaji's Indian National Army (INA) who were also engaged in a war against British imperialism and occupation.

The great Nethaji was the chief architect of the Indian National Army, who guided it in chasing British imperialists from the Indian sub-continent. Nethaji thought on military lines, formed a combat unit, which was called the Indian National Army, and functioned as its supreme commander. There were several thousands of soldiers under the leadership of Subash, including female militants who enthusiastically participated in the freedom struggle and created a golden chapter in the history of Indian liberation.

We are trying to compare some similarities between the liberation struggle directed then by Nethaji and now by our great leader Prabaharan and the nature of the treatment meted out to arrested patriots by the Indian imperialists. This will expose India, which is pretending to the world to be a follower of Lord Buddha. It will help to identify the true face of the Indian imperialist who is concealing the 'agni' in the shade of the olive branch which she carries always to deceive the world.

Jai Hind!, Chalho Delhi!, Nethaji Jindabad!, these were the slogans which echoed from all corners. Indeed, in the dawn of 18th March 1944 the INA under the direction of Nethaji entered India, echoing the very same slogans. They captured border villages like Khohirma, Moray and hoisted the tricolour Indian National Flag in place of the British Union Jack. Four hundred million Indian hearts blessed the rebels and they also felt that flowers were poured on them from heaven by Akbar, Asoka, Jansirani, Bhahadur Shak, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Gokhale, Thilakar, Sidambarapillai and Bharathi. But, this happiness did not last long. Chalho Delhi! According to their plan their quick run to Delhi could not be completed on the first attempt. Due to unfavourable climatic

conditions, lack of supplies and inadequate aerial assistance, INA had to withdraw from the front. But the awareness and courage that they inspired in the hearts of Indians have never died. Instead of declining, their courage increased immensely. They became stronger and stronger.

'Tamil Eelam - the thirst of the Tamils' - Then this was the slogan that was aired in nooks and corners of North and East of Sri Lanka. Even today it is invariably mixed with every breath of the Tamils. Of course, by echoing the very same slogan, Liberation Tigers attacked the Sinhala imperialists on 5th March 1985 and took control of the Northern peninsula. (Here, even the mode of struggle differed from INA; we will only consider the areas of martyrdom of militants, their courage and their rigid uniform structure.)

In 1985, Tigers tore up and threw away the Sinhala imperialist lion flag and hoisted the reddish Tiger flag everywhere in the Jaffna peninsula. They were not only blessed by 2.5 million Tamils in this small island, but also from heaven by late leader Chelva, Sivakumaran and numerous martyrs who gave their lives in the freedom struggle. They were nearly in sight of victory. But due to the Indian military intervention they couldn't achieve it. The Indo-Lanka Accord was signed on 29th July, 1987. Then there were confrontations and conflicts between the Indian Army and LTTE. Finally, it burst into a prolonged war on October 10, 1987 and the territory of North and East Sri Lanka became a land occupied by a foreign army.

It will be appropriate to remember what was said by Capt. Mohan Singh, who was one of the founder members of the INA, to the Japanese government which supplied all means to INA, in a similar situation. "If Japan tries to use us for her own interest, we will turn these same guns against them, which are presently in use against the British".

It is an appropriate example of the attitude of the liberation fighter. He will never allow any element, whether friend or foe, to interfere with his struggle for freedom. He will fight unto death with all means at

his command.

Here too, when India tried to use the Tigers for her own interests, war erupted between the Tigers and the Indian Army. The freedom struggle took a new turn as the struggle against foreign occupation. As the Tigers had to take on the mighty Indian army - the fourth biggest army in the world - for strategical reasons they withdrew from urban areas, which was under their control, to deep jungles. But the awareness and courage they had injected into the hearts of the 2.5 million Tamils was not withdrawn. It is growing more and more. It will in future too.

Nethaji could not win that struggle. So his martyrdom was considered a crime against the British Crown. The British who won the second world war with the help of Russia and America, assumed the role of judge. In the process of liberating India, the Indian expatriates in exile, formed an Interim Independent Government outside India, got recognition from many countries, bought arms and ammunition from their own money and proclaimed war against the British rulers and fought even without adequate air cover or supplies, were brought before the court of law at Red Fort of Delhi. What was brought to the dock in Red fort was Indian Nationalism, the aspirations of 400 million Indians, truth, democracy, justice and dharma.

Similarly, when war broke out on October 10, 1987 between the IPKF and LTTE, the latter, after demonstrating Tamil aspirations to the Indian army and to the world by fighting bravely, had withdrawn from urban areas. In this process hundreds of Tamil youths, who are the saviours of Tamil Eelam Nation, were captured and were kept in prisons and detention camps by aggressors without any reason. The only mistake they made was fighting for freedom and justice.

Here too, what were brought into the dock or kept in prisons and detention camps were Tamil Eelam Nationalism, the aspiration of 2.5 million Tamils, truth, democracy, justice and dharma. Nobody knows the legal status of detainees, whether they

continued on page 8

MONTHLY MUSINGS

The truth is finally out. At last the international community seems willing to believe what the Tamil community has known for so long - that the IPKF have committed, and continue to commit, untold atrocities against the Tamil people. It took the lives of at least 70 civilians in Valvettiturai, including six women and seven children, to bring home the terrible truth about the Indian occupation of Tamil Eelam. Several badly wounded people needed to have their limbs amputated. Insofar as property was concerned, 123 houses, 43 shops, four cinemas, a library, 69 vehicles, 12 fishing boats and 129 fishing nets were set on fire.

Officials in New Delhi insist that no massacre took place and that "only" 24 civilians were killed in the cross fire between the IPKF and the LTTE. However as David Housego of the *Financial Times* observed: "After four and half hours of walking around the town and questioning many people, it becomes clear that angered soldiers deliberately shot dead unarmed civilians, burnt a large number of houses, and brutally beat many of the boys and men they caught." Headed: "What is also certain is that the official Indian explanation for the deaths - that civilians were caught in crossfire in the wake of the ambush - has no credibility."

The massacre at Valvettiturai is not an isolated event but an every day reality in villages across the north-east of Sri Lanka. In the cause of protecting and guaranteeing the security of Tamil people the IPKF has, according to the LTTE, killed 6000 civilians during its 22 month stay, and taken over 3000 as prisoners.

BACK FROM THE BRINK - JUST

For a while it seemed that a confrontation between India and Sri Lanka was inevitable. But a joint communique issued simultaneously in Colombo and New Delhi after three days of hectic negotiations diffused the situation. The Indian government had been prepared for any eventuality. Its naval flagship, INS *Viraat*, was a perilous 17 miles away from Colombo, and its airforce reportedly transferred a detachment of photo-reconnaissance aircraft to Palaly. Meanwhile an infantry division and two independent brigades were moved down to South India

along with four strike squadrons. As a final touch, the army flew in over 200 commandos to guard Indian diplomatic establishments in Colombo. The ostensible reason for all this was the protection of Indian interests on the island.

The real reason was President Premadasa's "ultimatum". The President indicated the possibility of abrogating the accord, and of taking the matter to the UN. In an attempt to confront India with a broad national consensus calling for the immediate withdrawal of the IPKF, he offered to have a dialogue with all political parties. He then announced at a party meeting that the decision to request Indian troops to leave was not just his but had been mandated by 95 per cent of people. And, the President wrote some six letters to Prime Minister Gandhi in the course of seven weeks.

However, as *India Today* commented: "Premadasa revealed that beneath the sabre-rattling facade, there could be a rattled government." So it seemed. Three broadcasters were killed as part of the JVP's campaign against what it regards as biased reporting by the official news media. The murder of the chief censor resulted in the President having personally to intervene to lift state censorship of the media. Regardless, there has been a wave of resignations by journalists, some of whom have been forced back to work by the security forces.

THE OLD FOX SPEAKS

The President has got some unexpected support from an unlikely quarter - none other than his predecessor. JR recently admitted that his government would have collapsed if not for the Accord. He added, however, that the IPKF should withdraw. Significantly he rejected India's contention that the IPKF's withdrawal was linked to its commitment to safeguard the security and interests of the Tamil people. He said: "The accord is clear on that. The withdrawal is not linked to the devolution." This flies in the face of New Delhi's attempt to link troop withdrawal with devolution of power in the north-east.

ECONOMIC STAR GAZING

The Sri Lankan government's prob-

lems are as much economic as they are political. It is finding it difficult to finance much needed imports such as fuel and sugar without an agreement with the IMF on a long-delayed US\$57 million drawing from the Fund's structural adjustment facility. The foreign exchange reserves are almost depleted and foreign banks are proving reluctant to provide guarantees. Any IMF assistance is likely to be dependent on food and fuel price increases to curtail budget subsidies - a move that would further strengthen the JVP's hand.

It is true that President Premadasa inherited the island's economic and political woes. His seven months in office, however, has been an exercise in bad management. The three-pronged "consultation, compromise and consensus" approach has proved to be a chimera. To quote the *Financial Times*: "He has ruled according to his own instincts, consulted his ministerial colleagues minimally, and relied dangerously on astrologers." Not surprisingly he finds himself increasingly isolated.

MALDIVIAN COUP VERDICT

The trial of 73 persons, 68 of them Sri Lankan Tamils, involved in an attempted coup in the Maldives in November last year, ended with 17 of them condemned to death. Twelve of the condemned are Tamils, and it is understood that the defendants had little or no legal representation. The Maldives has not carried out capital punishment for over 30 years, but that is little reason for comfort. However despicable the actions of the condemned, and whatever the brutality of the method, the lives of 12 Tamils hang in balance. A committee has been formed in London to plead clemency on humanitarian grounds and to consider the legal and human rights aspects of the case.





THIRUKKURAL

S. Sriskandarajah

இதனை இதனால் இவன் முடிக்கும் என்றாய்ந்து
அதனை அவன்கண் விடல்

"Ithanai Ithanaal Ivan Mudikkum Enru Aaynthu
Athana Avankan Vidal" (Transliteration)

Consider how the choice of means would accomplish such work and upon being satisfied that he could accomplish it entrust that work to him. [Translation]

This is a golden kural on public administration. The doctrines expounded by Thiruvalluvar on Public Administration are quite relevant even to this day. The management philosophy of Thiruvalluvar on Public Administration is contained in about five hundred and sixty couplets and each one illustrates an aspect of it. The kural taken up for elucidation is one of the doctrine of delegation as propounded by Thiruvalluvar in chapter 52 of the Thirukkural which is headed Therinthu Vinaiyaadal.

In our day to day life it is common to allow our emotions and feelings to cloud our thinking. Because of this we don't think objectively. And the result is that we fail to achieve what we really want to accomplish.

As long as we allow our emotions and sentiments to get the better of us our course of action cannot flow freely. A detached mind and a dispassionate view are essential if we are to progress successfully. Thiruvalluvar says that the delegation of power cannot be properly effected unless one has a detached frame of mind.

We should not entrust a task to a person just because he happens to be the relation of such and such a person. You should analyse and see whether he is properly qualified to discharge it, whether he is endowed with all the qualities that are necessary to successfully finish the task. It is when a selection is made after due consideration of all these traits that the task will be free of hitches. A particular person may pass the test in regard to his good conduct or physical prowess or mental make up, but when the question of accomplishing a task arises he may be a miserable failure. In other words an individual may pass every manner of test but

may still fail when the responsibility of accomplishing a particular task is entrusted to him. Hence the advice by Thiruvalluvar - Investigate carefully and declare "This man, because of these reasons will do this assignment" And leave it to him to complete.

If one muses for a while and ponders over the recent past history of Sri Lanka one will not fail to note that the Sinhalese as well as the Tamils have cared not a rap for this gem of a kural. We all voted to power absolute misfits who made vain and self-inflicting promises to provide free rice. The Sri Lankans who never fought to earn adult franchise nominally exercised that right without the least consideration for the Kural under review. We paused not for a moment to consider whether Senanayake or Bandaranaike was equipped to steer properly the wheel of public administration. We always allowed ourselves to be carried by emotions and the result is that we are today in this predicament. The Tamil leaders were no better. Politics was sports for the contestants and the electors treated the polling season as a period of fun and frolic. If the Tamil population had



been critical and detached we would have produced leaders of consequence who would have made life for the Tamils more peaceful and purposeful.

The reason for examining this kural is not to rue the day but to make our people sit back and consider whether we freely delegated our powers and with due consideration to the proper people to decide our fate and whether we sincerely believe that those behind whom we have thrown our weight are capable of delivering the goods.

It would be fine if this discourse would kindle the thoughts of the people who think constructively and make them bridge any short coming that may be apparent in those valiant few who have up to date defended Tamil rights against heavy odds.

At a time when all and sundry under one pretext or another claim to be the leaders of the Tamils, it is incumbent on the Tamil people of Eelam to exercise their power in the manner enunciated by Thiruvalluvar through this kural.

CUT OUR LOSSES AND WITHDRAW THE IPKF

A P Venkateswaran

In Sri Lanka, we seem to have the modern-day version of the mythological story of Gajendra Moksham, where an elephant supremely confident of its strength makes the mistake of entering a river and finds that it cannot release itself from the jaws of a crocodile which holds sway in water. Eventually, of course, the gods take pity on the elephant and answer its prayers. Alas, such divine intervention cannot be expected to solve our problems. The only sensible course for India, therefore, would be to cut our losses and withdraw the IPKF, thereby preserving whatever credibility remains of our peaceful policies in regard to our neighbours, and at the same time prevent the break-up of SAARC which is otherwise inevitable.

Historian Barbara Truchman, in her book *The March of Folly*, remarks: "A phenomenon noticeable throughout history, regardless of place or period, is the pursuit by governments of policies contrary to their own interests. Mankind, it seems, makes a poorer performance of government than of almost any other human activity."

The situation that has emerged in the region involving India, in particular, bears testimony to the truth of this statement.

INDIA'S BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENT IN SRI LANKA!

N Thillai Rajah - Jaffna

In June 1987, when the Sri Lankan government imposed an economic blockade on its own Tamil citizens of Jaffna region, Mr Rajiv Gandhi addressed a communication to several Heads of Governments outlining the various atrocities committed by Sri Lankan armed forces on the Tamils including the carpet bombing. Such was the Good Samaritan, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, prior to the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987, to help Tamils of Eelam. Now let us enumerate his achievements after the so-called 'Accord'.

He has staged Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark or Ramayana without Rama. The civilised world knows that the main actor in the Sri Lankan drama is the LTTE. But Mr Gandhi has tried to liquidate it militarily and politically for the last two years, and ended in dismal failure, thanks to the brutalities of the fourth largest army in the world. He seemed to have acted on the advice of RAW by stipulating in the Accord that the disarming operations against the Tamil militants should be over not in terms of years, months, weeks or days but in terms of hours - 72 hours. Those who are familiar with the ground reality in Tamil Eelam will realise that the military operation of India against LTTE will last decades. Here lies one of the achievements of Mr Gandhi and his advisors in assessing the capability of LTTE. What a pity that South Block has not done enough home work on this subject!

The Indian Navy's Eastern Command boasted in October 1987 that it had scored a brilliant naval victory against LTTE's fibre glass fishing boats by destroying sixty of them. Indeed this naval victory should be a world record and should find a place in the Guinness Book! Presumably, the commander will get a PADMA BHUSHAN award for this heroic deed. Destroying unarmed fibre glass boats does not display chivalry by any acceptable norms.

Mr Gandhi told the Lok Sabha that there were only two thousand members belonging to LTTE, and therefore it was not a problem to disarm them. But in the

process of disarming them during the last two years, his armed forces have killed more than 6000 Tamil civilians, destroyed several villages, schools, hospitals and even places of worship. The economic activities of the entire Tamil population have been dislocated. Permanent imposition of curfews in the nights, and large scale violation of human rights are the order of the day. The Indian army's image has been tarnished for ever.

The world is aware of the MY LAI massacre in Vietnam. But the Indian army's massacre of Tamil civilians including women and children at Valvettiturai on August 2, 1989 was a horrendous crime against humanity and has shaken the conscience of the civilised international community. However, Mr Gandhi justified the massacre by his army by alleging that the civilians were supporters of LTTE. What a piece of logic? It is a pity that he does not know that LTTE draws its strength from the entire Tamil Eelam population. Consequently, Mr Gandhi will be held personally responsible for the "permanent alienation" of Eelam Tamils from India with which they had cultural, religious and ethnic bonds for several thousands of years. This is the greatest achievement of India in Sri Lanka under Mr Gandhi's leadership. However, it must be said to the credit of Mr Gandhi that the treachery he perpetrated on the Tamils has no historic parallel in any part of the world. The Tamils were praying for his help, and were ultimately disillusioned by tasting his bullets and bombs; and lost all their hard earned belongings which were looted by the IPKF, and the dignity of Tamil women.

Mr Gandhi apparently does not see Pakistan or China as a potential threat to India's security nor does he view the foreign policy of the Sri Lankan government in the same light. **But he feels that the LTTE is the major threat to India, and therefore wants to annihilate it by any means, despite the fact that the sovereign government of Sri Lanka has a working relationship with LTTE in resolving the ethnic crisis.** His electronic media is geared to this task and even put Dr Goebells in the shade as far

as disinformation against LTTE is concerned.

Mr Gandhi has descended to the lowest level by spreading disinformation through his electronic media that Prabaharan was killed. What a brilliant achievement of his media! Does he not realise that this type of poisonous disinformation can boomerang on his own credibility? It is high time that he realises that a dead Prabaharan will be more powerful than a living Prabaharan.

The recent confidential assessment by a statistician of international repute reveals that the combined popularity of LTTE and EROS exceeds 98.75% among the Tamil population of North and East. This statistician had been employed by the UN as a Consultant on several occasions, and had the unique privilege to represent even India and other Asian countries at an Export Group meeting convened by the Secretary General of UN. Therefore, the credibility of his assessment may not be questioned. In the light of this assessment, any attempt on the part of the Indian government to undermine the popularity of LTTE either militarily or by Goebellsian tactics is bound to fail and be counterproductive.

It is high time that Mr Gandhi realises that sooner or later "Prabaharanism" will have a profound influence on the minds of Tamil Nadu Youth, and the effect of such an influence will be a volcanic eruption which cannot be neutralised either by Karunanithy or by Jayalalitha.

Let the international Tamil community rest assured that on the ashes of Valvettiturai, there will arise not only several Prabaharans but also Bhaghat Sing who will relentlessly pursue and punish the Indian Dyers even if they hide themselves in Italy or Spain. At present, the LTTE may consist of leopards and cheetahs, but within three to five years Bengal Tigers will be in the forefront in Tamil Eelam to meet the Indian onslaught. This will be the greatest contribution of Mr Gandhi in Sri Lanka.

SRI LANKA'S BIGOTED BUDDHIST BHIKKU

A S Ratnam, Jaffna

The monastic order that the Buddha founded, was celibate, homeless and vowed to poverty, the begging bowl the symbol of their renunciation; their only interest, study, meditation and preaching. The word, Bhikku, comes from the Sanskrit for 'beg'.

The Buddhist clergy of the Theravada school, the Sri Lankan variety, do not beg; nor are they homeless, nor all poor. Food is brought to them to their monasteries; or they are invited in a group to a home as honoured guests. Some of them are rich; so rich that one of them, the priest of the Kelaniya Temple financed Prime Minister Bandaranaike's election campaign: later, the priest got his premier assassinated for declining to advance the political ambitions of his paramour. He was hanged.

According to a study of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, published in 1970, there were about 6,000 monasteries, 16,598 professed monks and 14,078 novices in robes. Today the numbers must have swelled. The Bhikku contributes nothing to the island's economy, hardly the kind of parasitic baggage a third world nation with a big burden of over-population, unemployment and debt, can support.

But they have abundantly contributed to the build-up of the violence and hate that has plagued the land. Even Anagarika Dharmapala, the most famous Bhikku of them all, was not above sneering at the minorities as "infidels of degraded race." Rabid racism! On another occasion he thundered, "Tamils, Cochins and Hambankarayas (Muslims) are employed in large numbers to the prejudice of the people of this island." Apparently, to this great Buddhist reformer, the people of this island are the Sinhalese only. If he were alive today with his racist rhetoric, he could have made it, Khomeini like, to a fundamentalist throne in Sri Lanka. And their saintly eminences enthroned in Kandy, the Buddhist Sangha, have they ever, even once, raised their voice to protest the anti-Tamil pogroms frequently initiated by successive governments?

The Buddhist priesthood has been coddled by every government since inde-

pendence, as if their fossilized fanaticism could add anything to the island's development. Neither their bana-preaching nor pirith-chanting ever earned a dime of foreign exchange. Their Pali scholarship, like the classics, has no market value in the modern world. Yet every P.M has gone out of his way to pamper them for their electoral favour. The great DSSenanayake himself turned showman to win their good will: stripped to his waist and clad in a white dhoti, he carried the Rangoon relics on his head, his naked torso glistening wet under the glaring lights while a thrilled Sinhalese mob shouted "Sathu! Sathu!" - the old politician's homage to Bhikku power.

Another premier, Bandaranaike, saw the Bhikku brigade parading opposite his home to protest a pact he had signed with the Tamils - the Banda-Chelva pact. The premier panicked and tore up what he had agreed to only days before. There is a permanent yellow lobby powerful enough to wreck any move to make peace with the Tamils.

With universal suffrage this ignorant priesthood has come to control every election and every prime minister. Even the godless left were moved to offer flowers to the Mahanayake Thero, the Buddhist Pope in Kandy. Ironically, that public hypocrisy proved to be the beginning of their undoing as a viable party.

Theravada Buddhism has a strong religio-ethnic bias. Over the centuries the Sinhalese people's religion and their national feeling have fused. Neither their faith in the Buddha, nor their pride in their Sinhalese nationhood is reprehensible or shameful. But when these sentiments get twisted in a chauvinistic cult that violently denies basic human rights and freedoms to any other people of the island, it stinks. If ethnic and religious peace is to return to this benighted island, this crude anachronism called the 'Bhikku' must go. Anyone who hopes that their bigotry will ever go away, may as well wait for the leopard to change its spots.

There appears to be no way out of this separatist situation as long as this priestly

multitude holds sway over the Sinhalese mind. Neither the masses nor their yellow-robed mentors can ever understand a multi-racial, multi-lingual federal nationhood as in Switzerland or Canada. Nor has the country produced a single Sinhalese leader who is statesman (or woman) enough to face up to this yellow menace. The country is crumbling before our eyes and her best sons and daughters are leaving the country, not the Tamils only, even the Sinhalese.

Subash Chandra Bose

continued from page 4

are subject to the laws of Colombo or the laws of Delhi. They were kept in camps or prisons. But who should have been brought into the dock will be revealed shortly by forthcoming history.

Today we witness a sad thing, a stain in the history of liberation, the hunting of the liberation fighters who fought for and are still fighting for justice and freedom by successors of well known freedom fighters like Nethaji. What are they being hunted for? Is it for loving their own nation?

If Tamil militants, who are fighting for the restoration of their homeland, have been branded as terrorists by the Indian army, cannot Nethaji and his followers, who were fighting for their freedom too, be branded as terrorists? We pose this question to the people, who are the inheritors of Bagavat Singh and Sugadev!

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END RISING TIDE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Amnesty International appeals to Sri Lanka & India

Amnesty International publicly appealed to the Sri Lanka Government to take urgent action to halt the rising tide of killings, "disappearances", torture and arbitrary detentions by government forces since the reimposition of the state of emergency in June.

The world-wide human rights organisation says hundreds of deliberate killings of unarmed civilians by government forces have been reported in Sri Lanka's southern districts in the past two months.

"Although it has been difficult in many cases to establish the precise circumstances of killings, particularly during the imposition of strict censorship between 6 and 24 July, Amnesty International says it has documented dozens of cases of extrajudicial executions of suspected members of the JVP, People's Liberation Front.

Army personnel have been seen raiding houses and taking youths away at random - their bodies or limbs were later found by the roadside, on pyres of burning tyres or floating in rivers.

Government-backed para military groups operating in civilian clothes and unmarked cars are also responsible for extra-judicial executions, "disappearances" and torture.

Under Emergency Regulation 55FF, bodies can be disposed of without post mortem or inquest. Amnesty International is concerned that this may encourage deliberate killings by government forces by making it easier to conceal victims of extrajudicial executions. It says that by eliminating requirements for police officers to account for the use of lethal force and deliberate killings, the regulation contributes to a situation in which security personnel "increasingly act with impunity before the law."

The JVP has been responsible for hundreds of killings of civilians and military personnel. Amnesty International has told the government it appreciates that the authorities need to take special measures in circumstances involving armed opposition. However, these measures must al-

ways be in accordance with international human rights treaties," Amnesty International says.

INDIAN FORCES IN THE NORTH AND EAST

The organisation says that since mid-June it has also received reports from the north and east of the country of the forcible detention of hundreds of civilians, mostly young men, by the EPRLF and the ENDLF, which dominate the recently established Provincial Council.

The men (and some women) are reported to be forced to participate in the Citizen's Volunteer Force, a special security force that works closely with the IPKF. Although there is no basis in law for these detentions, an estimated 4,000 "recruits" have been seized and are being given obligatory training. A few have been released; others who escaped were subsequently killed or had relatives killed in apparent reprisals.

Amnesty International has received reports that the father of an escaper was beheaded by the ENDLF in Batticaloa in the east - another escaper was re-arrested and executed in public by the EPRLF.

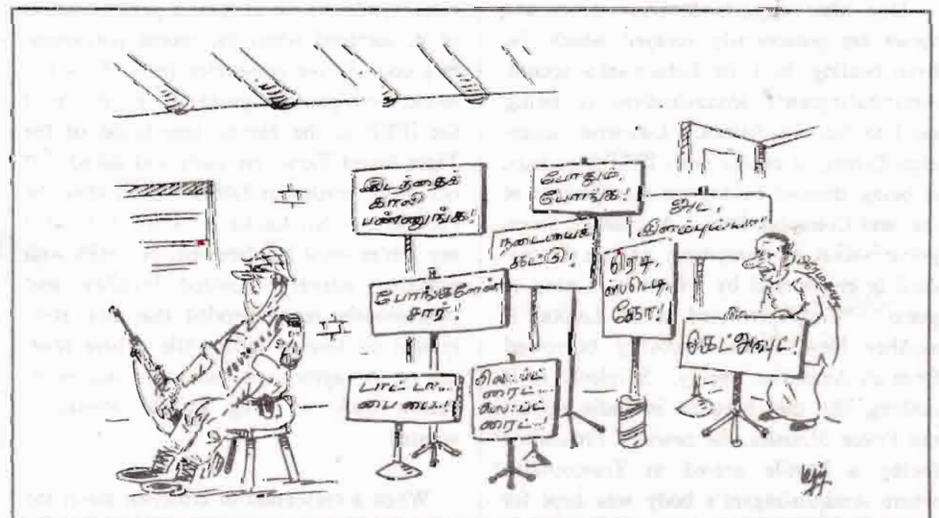
Amnesty International has also called for full investigations into the killings of unarmed civilians by members of the IPKF in northern Sri Lanka early this month (August).

On 2 August at least 51 people - including six women and seven children - were reported killed in a reprisal attack by the IPKF at Valvettiturai after the LTTE had ambushed an IPKF patrol in the town, killing six Indian soldiers.

Many victims were reportedly pulled from their houses and shot in the back; others were lined up against walls and shot. Over a hundred houses were burnt along with dozens of shops, vehicles and fishing boats.

The Indian authorities have said that 24 people died in cross-fire when the guerilla group attacked, but this has been denied by witnesses and independent sources in the town.

The Sri Lankan Foreign Minister is reported to have announced that the Indian authorities will investigate the killings. Amnesty International says any such measure must be independent and impartial, with the results made public. In a telex message to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sent this week, it says it appreciates the strains imposed on the IPKF when its members are attacked by armed opposition groups and acknowledges that on previous occasions the force has reacted to such attacks "with restraint". However it stresses that such killings "do not absolve governments of their responsibility to respect and protect fundamental human rights."



AGGRESSION IN A HUFF OF HEGEMONY

Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer



IPKF'S STATUS NOW

Amirthalingam, a principled patriot was assassinated by the treacherous guns of a triple gang alleged in India to belong to the LTTE. I am shocked at the dastardly tragedy which has robbed us of a Tamil leader now more needed in the island than ever before. But the greater tragedy is the political exploitation of the murder by the pro-IPKF propagandists who argue with perfect unreason that because Amirthalingam has been gunned down in Colombo, the Indian army must remain in Jaffna.

More rational and satisfying to the militarist appetite of the IPKF lobbies would be to demand that the Indian army should march into Colombo to protect the lives of Tamils there. In short, they are asking for a war between India and Sri Lanka on the alibi of Amirthalingam's assassination. The plea that the IPKF should remain in Jaffna may have merits or may be monstrous, but it has nothing to do with the Colombo killing. Nor is it relevant that because three alleged Tigers did the dastardly act, all Tigers wherever, inside Sri Lanka or even outside, must be shot down by the IPKF.

This means that Delhi must send an IPKF squad to locate the Tigers in Europe or India itself and, without waiting for tedious judicial processes, shoot them down. Of course, this specious propaganda is confined to India and carried on by those who understand the absurdity of the plea, but wish to whip up passion, silence reason, and seek to mobilise the outrageous claim that the IPKF must remain in Jaffna to prop up a stooge regime which will disappear like vanishing cream if not protected by jawans across the Palk Strait.

Day after day, tendentious news and views are poisonously sprayed which, far from healing, hurt the India-Lanka accord. Amirthalingam's assassination is being used to fan the flames. Likewise, sovereign Eelam, of course with IPKF blessings, is being shouted by known megaphones of the anti-Colombo line. A planned over-publicisation of everything against Premadasa is engineered by whom it is easy to guess. "Coup predicted in Sri Lanka" is another New Delhi discovery borrowed from an American weekly. Similarly, as if nothing like that happens in India against our Prime Minister, the news of Premadasa facing a hostile crowd in Trincomalee where Amirthalingam's body was kept for public viewing, is a big banner headline.

Everything that will vitiate the entente and exaggerate the discord is put out to hide the illegal and illogical IPKF squat in Jaffna which, going by the text of the agreement, is illegitimacy writ large. War mongering by a blind demand for our army to operate on foreign soil, when the host republic has asked our force to quit, does harm during this delicate spell. Does all this jingoism comport with Rajiv Gandhi's lovely thought expressed in Madras early August 1987: "each one of us must do whatever is in our ability to see that nothing disturbs this peace". The rapidly deteriorating India-Sri Lanka relations make each day more confrontational than the one gone by.

Can we retrace our steps, introspect and look at the mirror and, giving up ego and obduracy, view the issues with statesmanly objectivity? A tall order when the Palk Strait is polluted by militarist potential and the opium of misinformation.

When hubristic and information hysteric moods, inflamed by manipulated, grip politics, even capable critics turn myopic in their vision, psychic in their perceptions and pathologic in their responses. This curious syndrome, or at least a pathetic streak of it, surfaced when the recent parliamentary consultative committee met. They extolled, with patriotic gusto, the great role of the IPKF in the human liquidation of the Tiger brand Tamil militants and asked that our army remain in Jaffna. Even after the President of Sri Lanka informed India that our forces must bid farewell, our MPs with amazing naivety ignored legality and unanimously recommended that our army remain on foreign land while a bare reading of the agreement authorised our occupation only so long as the President wanted.

When a crescendo of criticism about the IPKF presence and performance is rising in

the occupied country, the common quisling phenomenon is used to urge the alibi that the Perumal ministry and its Tamil proteges need the stationing of the Indian army to defend their survival. Who has the substantial section of Tamils with them - Perumal's party with the IPKF as caretaker or the LTTE with its large popularity and battle tactics and random brutality? Political analysts and parliamentary leaders must think objectively and not join the chorus struck up by South Block to mask its mistakes. President Premadasa also must ponder to discover the policy errors and political pressures and inquire whether he has been derailed somewhere. A *modus vivendi* is the imperative of the hour.

We must appreciate the hurdles in the way of a rational grasp of the forces at play within each country. We must also reckon, as an important input in decision-making, with international reaction in case quasi-aggression is indulged in by India in a huff of hegemony. It is easy for Sri Lanka, a small country suffering for a long time from many complexes vis-a-vis India, to slip into the grave suspicion that every move by the big neighbour is a gambit for disintegration of its sovereignty.

SHOWDOWN NOT NEEDED

A dialectical analysis of the forces on both sides is the only hope for wisdom, a scarce commodity when bullying megalomania and abrasive nationalism dope the decision-making process. At this critical juncture a showdown is a disaster and our task is to defuse the tension not by might-is-right intransigence but by norms of international morality, principles of peaceful co-existence among neighbours and non-military diplomacy.

The hallowed Nehru centenary is being celebrated by the nation and it behoves us all to insist, as a homage to that noble soul, that the halo of this twelve-month span is not defiled by violation of panchasheel, the finest contribution of Jawaharlal to international relations. The essence of the five principles of peaceful co-existence is scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of other nations and abjuration of armed violence on independent countries, even if there be sharp disagreement. Is it anathema to examine how far Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's stance on the withdrawal of Indian forces from the island republic mars Bharat's Nehru image and smacks of quasi

aggressive postures?

Certain fundamental facts must first be appreciated so that tendentious versions and propagandist misinformation may be dissipated. The India-Sri Lanka Accord (ISLA, for short) expresses as a paramount constant the preservation of the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. Therefore, India can never torpedo this politically supreme value, even if piqued by the quit notice to the IPKF. Otherwise, we may be charged with shattering the fundamentals of the accord by treachery.

Our army went in only on condition that it would be there only on invitation by the President and agreeing to leave on request by him. And yet, Indian soil is freely used for inspired meetings where resolutions are passed to the effect that the Perumal clique in Jaffna would and should declare a sovereign Tamil state and the IPKF should defend that fledgeling sovereign state. And inside Jaffna, obviously with the barricaded blessings of the Indian army, the EPRLF threatens future action "including unilateral declaration of independence of Tamil Eelam".

Recently, a famous Rajivist and IPKF lobbyist demanded that because Amirthalingam had been assassinated by Tigers, which he assumed as proved, the Indian army should remain in occupation, even against Sri Lankan sovereignty. "Transcendental logic". If similar noises by the Khalistani terrorist rump or by Kashmir leaders with anti-Indian slant had been made in Pakistan would any Indian have suffered the arrogant provocation in silence? Is this Delhi tactic promotive of India-Sri Lanka cordiality? India has a deep interest in Sri Lanka's unity, integrity and stability. Rajiv Gandhi told Parliament on July 31, 1987. To turn an invited force, refusing to quit when demanded, is a blatant breach.

Sinhala have had misguided misgivings over the decades about Indian military manipulation of a break-up of Sri Lanka. Now they point to the irremovable foreign forces rejecting Colombo's orders as actualisation of a conquest and assault on sovereignty. The Indian press hardly reflects the Sinhala psyche and spreads the illusion that a Tamil fragment, with puppet power and Doordarshan veracity, fully represents that ethnic entity and that the militant Tigers are a small hated sector disowned by the Tamil masses.

Nothing is farther from the truth provided you refuse to be drugged by sarkari satyam as the sole informational medium. Meet Tamils in London or New York or anywhere in Europe and you know the facts. Amirthalingam had told me in those days when he was in the government guest house in Madras that, however savage the Tigers might be, **the ethnic issue could not be solved without involving them, having regard to their large hold on the people. They valiantly fought back Sinhala savages in those deadly days of genocide.**

NO PRESSURE OF JRJ

Here, I may mention two more matters relevant to India's role in Jaffna. Amirthalingam was unhappy that President Jayewardene was fooling India and the world about devolution of powers to the Tamil province. He was bitter that Delhi did not put pressure on Colombo to transfer the reality and substance of legislative power. Since July 1987 down to the date when Jayewardene laid down office, Rajiv hardly ever insisted on a no-nonsense transfer of power or home rule to the Tamils. This very Perumal, and earlier his party secretary Padmanabha, had complained about the non-fulfilment by President Jayewardene but it fell on deaf years in Delhi which suffered from an only obsession that was the head-hunting mission of the IPKF through Operation Pawan as a military means of forcing the Tigers from the jungles to surrender to the Delhi mogul. In the bargain, numberless Tamils died and more jawans perished than has been disclosed. Truth about casualties has been a casualty in this undeclared Jaffna war.

The Vietnam war came to a halt because the media in America sensitively investigated, intrepidly exposed and informatively educated the common American about the ghastly bombings and GI casualties and the terrible guilt and colossal cost of that imperialist aggression. India would have long ago withdrawn the IPKF had our print media shown the same missionary daring and the electronic media enjoyed a fraction of the scenario. The result is, we have only information doctored by Delhi about Sri Lanka. Popular protest is a product of informed opinion, and small wonder the IPKF was low in the media agenda until recently. The average Indian has no access to the happenings and thinking in the island republic and even our parliamentarians are fed on official disclosures only. That elder statesman, Amirthalingam, con-

firmed what I had gathered in London, viz that Indian soldiers had raped and robbed and shot and forced themselves into Tamil houses, that Chief Justice Sarvanandam's brother-in-law (a Tamil in Jaffna) was gunned down, that a whole hospital with patients was wiped out. He even mentioned that the Lankans nick-named the former Indian High Commissioner the Viceroy of India. In the presence of Sri Subramaniam Swamy (and me), a Tamil conference in New York demanded that a commission do inquire into the alleged brutality of the Indian army men. I was given eye-witness accounts and affidavits at a London conference last year in proof of this occupation army syndrome. We have a right to know and not merely swallow high commission bulletins.

A year ago I met in New Jersey a Christian priest who was headmaster of a Jaffna high school, who addressed a gathering describing the terror and horror of the torture the IPKF inflicted recklessly on Tamil civilians. May be they were chasing Tigers and in that operation shot everyone they suspected. The other day in Delhi I met a Christian priest coming from the deep south of Sri Lanka - that area has nothing to do with Tamil conflict - and he told me that while intra-Tamil killings existed and the Tigers were violent, all were agreed that the return of the IPKF would be good riddance. Do you know that the IPKF is a law unto itself? They keep persons in custody as long as they like, manhandle them and do not produce them before a magistrate, behaving as if they are above the civil administration. To my shock, the other day a Colombo barrister telephoned me and, in the course of the conversation, mentioned that when the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka issued notice to the IPKF in habeas corpus petitions, there was no response. Is the Sri Lanka Supreme Court's writ a mere paper Tiger for the IPKF? Our army, which should be our diplomats in khaki, are allegedly lawless. May be, this picture is a distortion based on wrong information. The answer then is a public inquiry by a team of former chief justices from India into the accusations against our jawans and officers.

Surely, many of our battalions are gallant and gentle and operate under hard conditions. To pay a tribute to them is deserved, but that is not to disprove the barbarity of some and the irresponsibility of the South Block echelons who misdirect the army into purposes beyond the Accord. This is a divagation from my thesis that Ceylon's sovereignty, like our own, is non-negotiable.

EELAM thoughts

Kurushetran

It was a wise French writer of the 19th century, Victor Hugo, who said:

"There is one thing stronger than all the armies of the world; and that is an idea whose time has come".

The demonstrable proof that Tamil Eelam is an idea whose time has come lies in the failure - otherwise inexplicable - of not one but two armies, the Sri Lankan and the Indian, against a small guerilla force over a period of five years. Neither the Sri Lanka government under ex-President Jayewardene, nor the policy-makers in New Delhi, nor even the increasingly articulate Indian opinion that is now demanding the withdrawal of the "IPKF" is not merely up against a Prabaharan and the LTTE, but they are waging war **against a people, against an idea.**

History teaches us one basic truth that those in the seats of power often ignore: military options can succeed, and do succeed, when they are employed to carry forward the will of a people; they fail when the objective becomes one of thwarting the popular will. Bangladesh provides a classic example. General Yahya Khan sent his army into East Pakistan to crush the Bengali resistance, and in the process unleashed a reign of terror in March 1971 against a people who were traditionally docile. He only succeeded in worsening the situation for his own government. The Indian military intervention on the other hand was intended to carry the popular resistance through, to its logical conclusion of "Joi Bangla" and liberation. In fact, without the spontaneous support of the people, the Indian troops and the Mukti Bahini could not have advanced as rapidly towards Dacca as they did.

The second truth that does not seem to have seeped into the Indian consciousness is the purpose and nature of guerilla warfare, as carried on by the Liberation Tigers. According to Mao Ze Dong, whose credentials should be beyond question in Indian eyes, a guerilla movement must have a political goal which should "coin-

THE INEVITABILITY OF TAMIL EELAM - 9

cide with the aspirations of the people" without which their "sympathy, co-operation, and assistance cannot be gained". What then is the political goal of the Liberation Tigers, and where do they derive their sympathy and strength from? A retired Indian Army officer who has specialised in the area of Insurgency and Counter Insurgency says: **"A guerilla has been defined as a social reformer; a crusader for people's freedom, who after exhausting peaceful means resorts to armed rebellion"**. He fights "little wars" and directly aims at destroying an "unjust social order" indirectly, he aims at replacing it with something new. Therefore, guerilla warfare is a social phenomenon (*Capt. S K Garg (Retd): Freedom Fighters of Bangladesh, Allied Publishers Private Limited, 1984*). That being the purpose of guerilla warfare, and the Liberation Tigers having been accepted as guerilla fighters, it is strange that there are yet pockets of Indian media opinion (admittedly a minority) which display total ignorance of the nature of the struggle that the "Tigers" are engaged in, and the political objective that inspired them. For example, a man by the name of S H Venkatramani writing in the *Times of India* (July 17), says: "...Today the LTTE is merely a group of gun-toting power-mongers with immense faith in the dictum that power flows from the barrel of a gun. Having savoured that power completely and ruthlessly for a few years in their fiefdoms in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, they are not prepared to lay down their weapons. They are just not equipped with the mental maturity and preparedness to even try to make the difficult transition from militancy to politics..." If this writer expects a guerilla group to transform themselves into politicians, there is obviously something wonky in his line of thinking. After all, guerillas are the net-products of blunders made by politicians!

For the benefit of ignoramuses like the above writer, let me quote from another Indian author Girish Bihari, IPS; Dr Bihari who has been Examiner, Military Studies, Meerut University has portrayed the organisation, tactics, motivation of the guerilla who fought in Spain, the Boer War, the Arab revolt, Greece, Yugoslavia, Malaysia, Indo-China, Algeria, Latin

America and most importantly in the Communist revolution in China. Dr Bihari quotes Sri Sukdeva, one of the greatest sages of epic India as telling Parikshit, the son of Abhimanyu and the grandson of Arjuna: "Rulers of this period would be mean and cruel, they will be so greedy that there would be no difference between them and robbers. These are the type of governments which throw the people into the embrace of guerilla warfare". (*Civil Insurgency and Intelligence Operations, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi, 1982*). The author quotes the Rig Veda, the Mahabharata, Manu, Kautilya, apart from ancient Muslims, Christian and Chinese sources to prove that "guerilla war was known to mankind since the earliest stages of civilisation, ... and it might be argued that the earliest form of war was guerilla war, and that regular war was only a later development".

Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora (Retd.) who accepted the surrender of Dacca, in writing the Introduction to Dr Girish Bijari's book, says: **"Guerilla type of fighting is no longer the Cinderella of regular warfare. Captains of war now look at it not with contempt but with awe, for it is the most effective weapon in the hands of a weaker and less developed nation to defeat or at least break the will to fight of a superior, technologically advanced and powerful adversary"**. Lt. Gen. Aurora goes on to say: "Thermo-nuclear weapons have greatly reduced the chance of a global conflict. This does not, however, stop nations from taking to arms to resolve political differences. In the context of these limited conflicts Guerilla Warfare has assumed new dimensions. It has become a highly competent and effective instrument in the hands of suitably motivated and indoctrinated societies and nations to impose their will and systems on others. **It is interesting to see a great power with its abundant resources of sophisticated weapons and equipment vainly trying to subdue or subjugate a comparatively smaller and weaker nation.** Guerilla Warfare once again convincingly proves that, "if the man is properly trained, led and motivated, remains the most formidable instrument of war". Lt. Gen. Aurora wrote this in the year

1974. How little could he have realised that 13 years later, this could have come as sane advice to an Army of which he was a distinguished General!

An interesting report published in *The Telegraph*, Calcutta of August 20, written by "A Special Correspondent" (*The Telegraph* is largely a pro-Government paper) provides an insight into what Lt Gen Aurora meant by breaking the will of a superior adversary, as well as to indicate the fact that the final phase of the guerilla war of resistance to achieve Tamil Eelam is about to be reached. The three phases of the "War of Resistance" as defined by Mao Ze Dong are: 1. Guerilla Defensive; 2. Attrition and Strategic stalemate; 3. Strategic Counter-offensive to seek a military decision. That the Liberation Tigers are now poised to move on to the third and final phase appear to have dawned on the IPKF commanders themselves. *The Telegraph* report says:

"Incensed by the LTTE's recent attacks on the IPKF, especially in Mannar on August 17 which left 24 jawans dead, the IPKF commanders are putting pressure on New Delhi to permit them to go after the LTTE leaders who are hiding in the Vavuniya forests. There is a clamour in the IPKF top hierarchy that our troops should search and capture or kill LTTE leaders Prabaharan and "Mahathiya" The officer acknowledged that the IPKF had fallen into the trap set by the Tigers at Valvettiturai on August 2, in which more than 50 civilians had been killed in IPKF

reprisals. "When a similar attempt was made at Mannar on August 17, restraint was the watchword (!) to ensure that none of the civilian patients at the Mannar hospital were killed. In the bargain, we lost 24 of our men. Mannar is the breaking point", he observed.

Mannar is certainly the breaking point. In fact, while the IPKF commanders having lost their cool and patience after a 2-year war of attrition, are demanding an all-out bombardment of the Vavuniya jungle, the New Delhi government on the other hand is about to adopt the safer option of a total pull-out, if necessary by December-end, in order to avoid greater embarrassment in an election year. Having boasted until two weeks ago that the Tigers have been bottled up in the Vavuniya jungle, and having given room to the wishful thought of the puppet administration of Perumal that Prabaharan is "safely dead", the sudden counter-offensive in such far distant places as Valvettiturai and Mannar, both far removed from the Vavuniya jungles, have certainly come as a staggering dent in the IPKF morale. *The Telegraph* report goes on to say:

".... The Indian government was till now satisfied with the bottling up of the LTTE leadership inside the forests without an effective communication network to direct operations.... The scene has changed now. The Tigers appear to have established an effective communication network in the past few months. Their deputy leader, Mahathiya, is reported to be touring the

Vavuniya-Mannar-Point Pedro-Mullaitivu sector frequently planning anti-IPKF operations. They have become more organised and emboldened ever since they started negotiations with Colombo in May this year. The military intelligence wing of the IPKF has surmised that the recent attacks on the IPKF at Mannar in July, in Valvettiturai in early August and again on Thursday in Mannar had been preceded by visits to these areas by Mahathiya...."

While the military position of the Indian government is thus clouded in uncertainty, there is reason to believe that the Sri Lanka government under President Premadasa is considering a dramatic, bold option that could give far greater autonomy to the North-East region than what has been envisaged under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. Since this could involve amending the constitution which in the absence of a two-thirds majority of the governing party becomes impossible without the Opposition support, even a dissolution of Parliament at the end of one year may not be ruled out. That President Premadasa is capable of bold initiatives is something that neither the Indian government nor even the Sinhala elite in Colombo has yet to comprehend; should he arrive at the conviction that only a very high degree of autonomy as in the Quebec model in Canada could prevent the break-up of the island, that should not be a matter for surprise. That could be the authentic Tamil homeland that all Tamils would devoutly wish.

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DIVINE JUSTICE

Jothi - Colombo

The mills of God grind slowly,
But they grind exceeding fine;
That's what the "Sri Lanka story"
Always brings to my mind.
When we break the Lord's commandments
We bring down His wrath on our heads;
Though we may escape the world's judgment,
"VENGEANCE IS MINE" the Lord has said.

We were once a happy nation
of Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim and Burgher;
We worked hand in hand for our freedom;
We thought ourselves - sisters and brothers.
Till Satan sowed discord among us;
The Sinhalese wanted to rule and suppress
They started a series of discriminations
Which caused all other races distress.

The first to fall victim was the Burgher,
Who left the island without a murmur
He went down to Australia to settle,
Where now he is doing very well.
While those who drove him are going downhill,
Well on their way to hell.
Since the 1983 carnage they now seem to find
Their old way of life has gone with the wind.

They then turned their attention to the Tamils,
The Indians they deprived of their vote;
Now, forty years after Independence
The Indians are holding them by their throat.
To cut down the Ceylon Tamils' power
They decreed the official language - Sinhala,
To deny Tamils higher education,
They introduced their notorious standardisation.

They kept our boys out of universities,
Hence most left the island for higher studies
Though scattered world over - like the Jews
They brought credit to the countries they did choose.
Those who stayed behind had no choice
But to see that the world heard their voice
Their lives they've sacrificed in the fight
To keep their honour and regain their right.

The universities they reserved for their boys
Have turned into hotbeds of violence and vice.
The youth stand out and hopefully gaze;
But the 'Varsity doors are slammed on their face.
Even the young ones are denied education
But forced to take part in political demonstration,
Their little lives are also in danger:
It's the work of the dogs in the manger.

They sent their troops North with bombs and guns
Given licence to kill and burn - house and barn
Killing and burning they did their job well
But the brave Tamil spirit they just couldn't quell.
Now see what a mess they have made of the South
Their sons perfecting what they practised up North.
The very guns used against the Tamil unrest
Are now turned against them - pointing at their breast.

Oh God! How many more "plagues" have you to send?
Before they open their eyes and begin to mend;
There are still some in our country who are just playing ball
Who can't even see the writing on the wall,
Who will tell them of your promise that still stands

"IF MY PEOPLE SHALL HUMBLE THEMSELVES AND SEEK MY FACE -
I WILL HEAL THEIR LAND." (2 Chronicles ch:7 verse 14)

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People and Events

THUNDERBALL MILLER

Human sacrifice is not a strange phenomenon in the continued struggle for liberation among the Tamil Tigers. They always carry cyanide capsules in readiness for use without hesitation, in order to prevent themselves from being captured alive by the enemy.

BLACK TIGERS is the suicide squad of the Tamil Tigers. Members of this sect knowingly sacrifice their lives in order to succeed in their missions. Miller is the first martyr who sacrificed his life in the operation carried out by the Tamil Tigers which changed the course of the history of Tamil Eelam.

When Vadamaradchi was attacked by the Sri Lankan forces, Miller joined his colleague Praba and staged a counter attack on the Sri Lankan forces which lasted several days. After heavy casualties the Sri Lankan

forces captured the Vadamaradchi area. Miller was determined to recapture it. He himself was born in Thumpalai, where his father was holding a high position in the Bank of Ceylon. Miller's determination doubled when another son of the soil Kamal, joined the operation to recapture Vadamaradchi. Kamal who contributed immensely to the movement when he served in the Batticaloa District was the son of a TULF Member for Parliament.

Miller together with Kamal and Praba sought permission from their leader, Prabaharan, to attack the Nellyadi Military Camp by leading a vehicle loaded with explosives. They were successful in obtaining permission as well as explosives.

Preparation for this operation was intensified by the sheer hard work and determination of Miller. He brought the vehicle with

explosives with the greatest difficulty. Although he knew he was going to die the very next day during the Operation, he did not show the slightest trace of fear, sorrow

this sudden change of events by walkie-talkie. Miller received the message and Praba too listened to this warning. Miller stated without hesitation that he was prepared to proceed with the

operation, as his truck was guarded by bullet proof iron sheets in front.

Knowing Miller, Praba didn't want to stand in the way, but requested him to drive the vehicle into the camp and jump out and escape before it exploded. Miller merely smiled and said, "On one previous occasion in Jaffna our truck failed to explode, therefore this time, I will take the truck as close as possible to the target", namely into the Army Camp. By this time Kamal instructed one of his companions to launch the RPG rocket launcher to demolish the bunker. The target was hit successfully and Mahathaya gave orders to Miller to play his part in the operation. Miller's last journey started.



or reluctance. In fact, he loaded the explosives and connected the necessary fuse, by which he prepared his own coffin.

At dusk, he started his vehicle and proceeded to the Nellyadi Army Camp. His colleague Kamal's responsibility was to clear the obstacles that were laid on the way to the camp. When the orders came from Mahathaya, the respective groups started firing at the Army Camp. Although Miller had started and raised the engine of the truck, he waited patiently for the orders. Even at the crucial moment he cracked a joke with Praba. Kamal did his job by placing the explosives under huge wooden logs. In seconds the path was cleared by the brave act of Kamal, but firing of the machine guns from the camp was directed at the path in which Miller was expected to take his truck load of explosives. Kamal immediately reported

Praba watched the truck speeding towards the target and cried, "Miller! Some how or other come back". Miller waved at Kamal when his truck passed Kamal's position and went inside the Army Camp. Within a few minutes the truck hit the target and exploded like a thunder. The devastation took not only the huge building but also the lives of many Sri Lankan soldiers. In the continued attack Kamal lost his life and his colleagues were able to recover his body. But Miller did not return nor was his body recovered.

The "Thunderball" himself had exploded to signal to the Sri Lankan authorities to concede that they no longer can hold on to Vadamaradchi. The helplessness led to Jayewardene's surrender of the Sri Lankan soil to the Indian Forces and the current impasse. **We salute these great martyrs - Miller and Kamal.**

EXCERPTS FROM MEDIA

THE IPKF: AN IMPOSSIBLE MISSION

The IPKF's casualties are of staggering proportions. According to official estimates nearly 1,000 officers and men have lost their lives in about two years of a bush war with the LTTE. Twice that number at least have been wounded. Actually figures are doubtless considerably higher. But even the official toll, according to defence experts, is unacceptably high for a military operation against guerillas.

The IPKF has also taken quite a toll of Sri Lankan Tamil civilians, not to speak of Tamil guerillas. Human Rights organisations including Amnesty International have even chronicled torture of Sri Lankan Tamils by the IPKF. Much of the blame for this should be laid squarely at the door of the leadership of the country, which foisted a political role on the force, and also on the RAW whose assessment misled the foreign policy and defence mandarins.

Under the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka pact, India was to play the role of a military peace keeper in the Island's Tamil region between Colombo and the LTTE, under the supreme leadership of Mr Velupillai Prabhakaran, which controlled a sizeable pocket of the island's Tamil territory and was dedicated to the creation of a separate and sovereign state of "Tamil Eelam".

It was in this no-win situation that the IPKF set foot on Sri Lankan soil. Mr Prabhakaran immediately saw the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement as a ploy by New Delhi to rob the LTTE of all its hard won gains and to arrest any further ascendancy by the guerillas in the future. In fact, on September 7, 1987, Mr Prabhakaran told this correspondent in Jaffna that he would not hesitate to take on the might of the IPKF in a guerilla war, should the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement be implemented in a manner prejudicial to his own as well as the Tamils' political interests.

Indian intelligence on Mr Prabhakaran's sources of arms and ammunition and his stamina as a political guerilla leader consistently proved to be the weak link in India's policy-making apparatus.[P S Suriyanarayana in *Indian Express*, July 30, 1989]

WAR WITHOUT HONOUR

Though war is always a savage business, it is distressing to learn that IPKF soldiers reportedly went on the rampage in the Sri Lankan coastal town of Valvettiturai, and killed a large number of civilians... Versions, including those of the Red Cross and the UNHCR, indicate that the death toll may have been as high as 70. Visiting Indian journalists have also confirmed that the IPKF shelled the town with great ferocity and, in general, left a trail of devastation between August 2 and 4. In addition there are unconfirmed reports that the IPKF killed 18 people in Point Pedro on July 27. Nor are these isolated examples of wartime excesses.

On October 31, last year, the IPKF with the assistance of EPRLF cordoned off Valvettiturai and arrested a large number of young people suspected of being LTTE militants. On January 19, after an IPKF foot patrol was ambushed, Indian soldiers assaulted civilians and destroyed extensive property, some 112 civilians, including a number of elderly people, having to be treated for injuries at the local government hospital. What is worse, there were allegations that motivated by the desire for revenge, senior IPKF officers led the counter-violence... Indiscriminate retaliation is neither tactically wise nor ethically justifiable.

Numerous Amnesty International reports have sullied this country's image. But the blame lies not with our hapless jawans who have been sent to fight an unwinnable war in the most trying circumstances, but with the politicians, Sri Lankan as well as Indian, who created this thankless situation in the first place. After nearly 2,000 deaths in a foreign land, the IPKF might be entitled to expect a measure of national gratitude. Unfortunately, the rationale of intervention in Sri Lanka and the absence of a domestic consensus on the issue have made that virtually impossible. [*The Statesman* - Editorial, August 18, 1989]

ENDLESS CONFRONTATION

"In a small island like this (Sri Lanka) where whichever way we fly it is just 200 miles, we are dragged into an endless confrontation. Well, the political leadership knows best." - A senior Indian Army officer

"If it (withdrawal of the IPKF) were made too early it may have adverse effects on the situation. On the other hand an inordinate delay may have a telling effect on the morale of the Indian Jawans, who after all is not fighting a battle for his country. The situation could well turn out to be like the one that the Russians faced in Afghanistan or the Americans in Vietnam." - Some senior Indian defence personnel. (*Indian Express*, July 19, 1989)

GRAMMAR OF GEOPOLITICS

"The IPKF activities in Sri Lanka have not furthered India's national interests of winning friends and influencing people in the island. Further, India has betrayed an urge for furthering some "geo-political interests" in Sri Lanka. Geo-political concerns have been completely eclipsed by the IPKF - LTTE war. Informed observers who question the legitimacy of such interests point out that India has not learnt the grammar of geopolitics." - [P S Suriyanarayana in *Indian Express* - 26.7.89.]

LIES THE GOVT (Indian) TELLS US

It is simply amazing the lengths of the Rajiv Gandhi government is ready to go in its disinformation policy even on such critical issues as the impasse in Sri Lanka.

The most blatant example of this deliberate distortion of truth by officialdom came last week during the course of a press briefing by the official spokesman of the foreign office on the Parliamentary Consultative Committee meeting of the External Affairs Ministry.

Reading out a prepared text, the spokesman said that both ruling party and Opposition members of the committee in a rare show of unanimity opposed any unilateral withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka as demanded by President Premadasa.

Opposition members including Janata Dal leaders S Gurupadaswamy and G G Swell, CPI - M member Saifuddin Chowdhury, and Chitta Basu of the Forward Bloc, clearly stated that they had strongly criticised the government's Sri Lanka policy and demanded the withdrawal of the IPKF as demanded by President Premadasa. [Ajoy Bose in *The Indian Post*, July 16, 1989]

THE VALVETTITURAI MASSACRE

By David Housego

On Tuesday I was the first western reporter to visit Valvettiturai, a small coastal town near Jaffna, where Indian troops carried out reprisals on August 2 after the Tamil Tigers, the Tamil guerrilla movement ambushed one of their patrols close to the main square killing six Indian soldiers and wounding several others. After 4-1/2 hours of walking around the town and questioning many people, it becomes clear that angered soldiers deliberately shot dead unarmed civilians, burnt a large number of houses, and brutally beat many of the boys and men they caught. The local Citizens Committee had identified 52 bodies and says that over 120 houses were burnt - making it by far the worst atrocity alleged against Indian troops in the two years they have been in Sri Lanka.

Most of the killings took place in the hours after the ambush, but the burning and ransacking continued for another two days while Valvettiturai was under curfew and surrounded by Indian troops.

What is also certain is that the official Indian explanation for the deaths - that civilians were caught in crossfire in the wake of the ambush - has no credibility. Mr S Selvendra, the president of the Citizens Committee and a chartered accountant, is calling for a public inquiry.

Almost a fortnight after the event, a smell of charred remains hangs over Valvettiturai. Of the 15,000 people perhaps half have left in fear or despair. Many who remain are distraught over the loss of relatives or belongings, and uncertain how to begin again or where. What seems to have happened on August 2 is that two patrols of Indian Peace Keeping Force troops - about 30 men in all - approached the centre of the town on foot in parallel columns at about 11.15 in the morning. This was market time, when the streets were most crowded. They were ambushed by firing from the roof and the street. Six soldiers were killed and 13 injured, including an officer.

What follow are abbreviated eyewitness accounts of four particular incidents that occurred after the ambush.

* Mr N Senthilvadivel, 50, was in his photographer's shop overlooking the

square when the firing began. He threw himself to the ground. Later he was taken out and made to sit cross-legged with about 25 people on the square. From there he saw soldiers set fire to some of the shops and throw kerosene to add to the flames.

At about 2 p.m a soldier came along and said in broken English that he was going to shoot them. Two jeeps arrived and firing began. The soldier then turned round to those seated and fired on them. Two people, Mrs K Sivapackiyam, a washerwoman, and Mr K Thangarajah were killed and 10 more injured.

* Mrs S Rajeswary, 52, is the wife of the head of the divisional land survey office. After the firing about 50 people sought shelter in her house - well over 200 yards from the square - because it has a concrete roof and thus offers protection against shelling. About 1.30 pm, four soldiers broke into the house. She came out of the kitchen into the hall with her husband; they were holding their hands up. She pleaded with her husband not to step forward but he advanced to speak to the soldiers. They shot him. They then called for the other men and shot four of them.

After that they sprayed bullets killing four more people and injuring nine. Apart from her husband, Mrs Rajeswary also lost her eldest son, 28, who was trapped in his shop which had been set on fire.

* Mr A R Sivaguru, 68 is a retired postmaster. With some 70 other people he took shelter in the house of Mr Sivaganesh which also has a concrete roof. About 4pm, some six soldiers climbed over the back wall of the house and entered the courtyard. Women fell at their feet crying and pleading with them not to shoot but were kicked aside. A sergeant then separated off the young men - ages ranging from 18-35 - and told them to sit in front of the cowshed next to the house. The soldiers then fired on them, killing four. When one woman screamed at her husband's death she was told to be silent otherwise she would be killed.

* Mr Nadarajah Anantharaj, principal of a local school and secretary of the Citi-

zens Committee, still bears the mark on his face of wounds he received. This account of his treatment at the Udupidy IPKF camp nearby is taken from his sworn affidavit. "There (at the camp) I saw many people who came along with me bleeding and crying. Four Sikh soldiers then started beating me with heavy wooden rods and with their fists.

"One soldier dashed my head against the wall. One soldier pressed a wooden rod on my throat and was standing on the rod which was preventing my breathing. At that time I heard a voice shouting "Kill him, kill him." I was almost losing consciousness when I managed to push the rod on my throat away, toppling the person who was standing on it....

"The next day, the Commanding Officer of Vadamaradchi, Brigadier Shankar Prasad, the deputy Commander, Col Aujla, and the Udupidy Commanding Officer, Colonel Sharma, met me and expressed their apologies...The Brigadier told me I had been ill-treated by mistake..."

Were the killing and the brutality the result of soldiers running amok or did they have the approval of their officers? With substantial reinforcements brought into Valvettiturai in the wake of the ambush, officers were certainly present in the town during the shootings and the burning of homes. Some inhabitants believe that senior officers gave their tacit approval to the reprisals, if not more.

One of my informants claimed that he had heard a senior officer say in anger not long before "I will burn Point Pedro" (a neighbouring town where there has also been trouble). "I will kill everybody." These may have been ill-chosen words of intimidation, not meant literally. But other Jaffna residents believe that the IPKF sees fear as an important weapon in the control of terror.

Its officers are against a public inquiry because they do not believe they would get a fair hearing. But it is difficult to see how, without some judicial inquiry, the record can be set straight. [Excerpts - *Financial Times* (London), 18 August 1989]

VADAMARADCHI, A BATTLE-FIELD

Indian troops killed at least 70 Tamil civilians in Valvettiturai on August 2. The incident occurred when members of the LTTE attacked an Indian patrol near the Sivan Temple killing 6 members of the IPKF. The Indian troops, with their reinforcements, went berserk. They had shelled populated areas and then went into homes, where civilians were cowering in fear. The residents have been rendered homeless and have sought shelter in refugee camps. Many houses have been reduced to ground level. The entire place looks like a battlefield with burned houses and buildings destroyed. One of those shot is a retired Superintendent of Surveys who was killed with five others of his family. Most of the bodies which were burnt by the IPKF are unrecognisable. More than two-thirds of the town's population fled the town and took refuge in temples.

Similar attacks by the IPKF and the IPKF backed groups are being made in other parts of Vadammaradchi. There was one in Point Pedro in July:

POINT PEDRO MASSACRE IN JULY

The Following were killed on 27.07.1989:

Nageswaran (20 years), S Subramaniam (50), Ambalawanar (36) Vairamuthu (65), Kulasingham, R Sri Pathmanathan, Paramaguru Skandakumar (19), Ganeshanathan (25), Packianathan (40), Sivalingam (45), S Appan and an elderly woman.

On the same day a 20 year old woman was raped and murdered by the IPKF. Mother and the grandmother of the above victim, who went to stop the incident, were also shot by the IPKF. Four men who tried to take the bodies to the nearby hospitals - Sinnaiah, Chandrakumar, Subramaniam and Thiagarajah - too were shot by the IPKF and set ablaze with their car.

Those severely injured and admitted to the hospital:

Sribaskaran (16), S Sellathurai (56), T Thayalan (36), P Ratnasingham (62), Miss Panchacharam (9), Jesunayagam (35), S Moorthy (19).

Shops that were burnt

Rathy Stores, Murugan Cool Drinks, Mohan Cafe, Velan Stores, New Subash, Ambal Stores, Nathan Stores, Kumaran Chemist and house, Annai Illam Laundry, Rani Stores Warehouse, House Opposite Rani Stores, Solicitor Muthukumar's house, Radha Jewellery - set on fire after the jewellery were removed.

TAMILS TO STAY LONGER

Eelam Tamils living in West Berlin whose visas have expired and were due to have left Germany by the end of July have now been given an extension of visa up to 1990. About thousand Tamils are reported to be living in W Berlin for the past 5 years. While some are allowed to work, others are living on social benefit money.

ENDLDF KILLS SLMC MEMBER

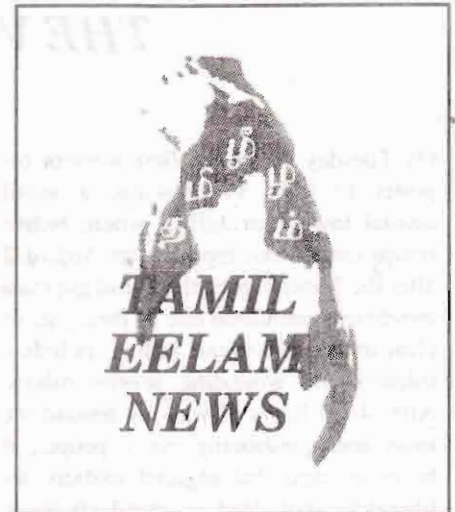
The ENDLDF activists ran amok killing a SLMC member of the NE Provincial Council Mr M I Ali Uthuman and two other Muslim residents in Akkaripattu on August 2. At least 15 others, including two women, sustained gun injuries and 15 houses belonging to Muslims were badly damaged in the rampage. An unofficial curfew was imposed as tension mounted following the incident.

AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FOR EPRLF

Mr Ranjan Wijeratne has announced that the government was prepared to issue automatic weapons to EPRLF if they felt that their lives were in jeopardy. Automatic weapons were given to EROS, according to the minister, because they said that they lost 44 of their members.

ARMS SOUGHT

Mr Thivyanathan a Member of Parliament (TELO) has appealed to President Premadasa to provide him with weapons for his and his family's security. He faced threat to his life from armed Tamil militant groups. He had said that TELO would not provide him with protection and he would not "beg" for protection from the IPKF. TELO has announced that it is considering disciplinary action against Mr Thivya-



nathan for violating party discipline.

12 TAMILS SENTENCED TO DEATH

12 Tamils and 5 Maldivians including coup leader Abdullah Luthufee were sentenced to death by the High Court of the Maldives for their role in the attempted coup in November last year. Of the 68 Sri Lankans, 56 were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 17 to 38 years. The Maldivians had conspired with the Tamil guerrilla group PLOTE whose members participated in the coup attempt. Efforts are being made in London jointly by various Tamil groups and associations to seek clemency on humanitarian grounds for those who were sentenced to death. It is generally felt that these members were misled by their late leader Uma Maheswaran.

LTTE WIPES OUT INDIAN ARMY CAMP

23 Indian soldiers were killed and several wounded when an LTTE commando unit over-ran an Indian army camp in Mannar. In a sudden and meticulous operation, heavily armed Tiger guerrillas attacked one of the mini-camps situated in the Mannar town around mid-night, August 16. After the rest of the soldiers fled the camp, the LTTE guerrillas demolished the building with explosives. Several pieces of weaponry were captured by the LTTE and there were no casualties on the LTTE side.

FORCED CONSCRIPTION BY EPRLF, ENDLDF & TELO

The EPRLF, ENDLDF and TELO are

competing with one another in increasing their individual strength by conscription of young boys. Jaffna parents are trying to beat the conscription by sending their male children to Colombo by plane. Even so, 70 of these children were picked up by the EPRLF when the children were being taken to the Jaffna air port by their parents. While the people of Jaffna are fully aware of the situation, All India Radio broadcasts and the Indian TV beamed to Jaffna say that these boys are being kidnapped by the LTTE and taken to Lankan army camps in Colombo for training.

OTHER KNOWN INCIDENTS

18.07.1989 Four women were raped and murdered by the IPKF at Alambil, Thundavil in the Mullaitivu district.

19.7.1989 A 26 year old Muslim woman who went to draw water was raped and murdered by Capt Sarma, at Kinnya in Trincomalee.

22.07.1989 Rasaratnam (52) a farmer from Vaddukodai, was murdered by TELO.

23.07.1989 Sivanesan (22) of Pan-datharippu, was killed by the EPRLF.

22.07.1989 S Tharmarajah a father of 5, was shot and killed by the ENDLF and his body was burnt inside his shop in Kilinochchi. They also robbed Rs 25,000 from the house of Kathiresu Karthigesu and set fire to the house. A student named Gowrinathan Jeyapragas was shot dead by the ENDLF and another student, Shanmugam Villvam, was shot and injured by ENDLF.

Shops damaged by the IPKF and ENDLF in Kilinochchi

Tailor shop of Thamotherampillai, Cycle shop of Sivapathasunderam, Laundry, Barber Saloon of Sivapatham, Tobacco shop of Krishnasamy, Tea boutique of Selvam, Pushparatnam, Kamaleswaran, Radio shop of Kulendran, Mini Cinema of Rajaratnam, Maniam's shop, Fertilizer shop, and two houses of Ashok Kumar.

TAMIL CHILDREN SUFFER IN GERMANY

About 30-40 Tamil children arrive weekly at the Frankfurt air port in Germany, without any protection or escorts.

When interviewed, they have said that they have come there due to the political situation in Ceylon and their friends or relations will come to meet them at the airport. As no one comes to take them away the children are sent to Child Detention Centres in Germany.

7 IPKF PERSONNEL KILLED

According to the LTTE report, 7 IPKF soldiers were killed on 12.8.1989 at Palam Paththy in the Mullaitivu district during the confrontation between the two parties. Capt. Dinesh, who was the leader of the LTTE Political Wing in the Mullaitivu district, was also killed during this fight.

INDIAN SOLDIERS DIE IN BATTICALOA

Five Indian soldiers were killed and several wounded in a clash between LTTE and the IPKF in the Batticaloa district after the LTTE fighters ambushed an Indian army patrol at Maruthankulam on 18.8.89. In the gunfight Capt Karan of the LTTE attained martyrdom.

INDIAN TERROR TACTICS

Indian forces are using terror tactics to

silence Tamil people. Ten 250kg bombs have been dropped in one day alone in the Nedunkerni area in the Mullaitivu district by Indian MI-24 helicopters. Casualties are not yet known.

CIVILIANS KILLED IN LANDMINE

A landmine meant for LTTE cadres was detonated by Indian soldiers when a mini-bus full of civilians passed over the mine at Ananthapuliyanakulam in the Vavuniya district on 17.08.89. Eight innocent civilians were killed and four seriously injured in this incident.

LTTE ATTACKS

Two Indian sentry posts were attacked by the LTTE fighters on 14.08.89 at Thondamannar and Suppamadam in Point Pedro. On 15.8.89 at Pankulam in the Trincomalee district, 6 Indian soldiers were killed and several wounded in an ambush by the LTTE guerrillas. In another incident that took place at Valalai, Atchuveli, two members of the Indian backed EPRLF were attacked by the LTTE. One EPRLF member was killed.

INDO-SRI LANKAN TALKS : LTTE THE KEY FACTOR

After twelve weeks of tension, sense has prevailed on both sides of the Palk Strait and a collision between Sri Lanka and India was averted. Both countries have now understood the compulsions on each side much better. Though an agreement was not reached after days of talks in Delhi, both sides have come down towards meeting somewhere.

The outcome of the talks was placed before the Parliament and then before the cabinet as requested by President Premadasa. No decision was made, but President Premadasa undertook to take a decision considering all the views expressed. Subsequent developments have improved the situation. It is understood that an agreement has been reached between the two countries whereby (a) the IPKF shall stop operations against the LTTE, (b) Indian troops shall be withdrawn before the end of December, (c) a Peace Committee comprising Indians and Sri Lankans shall be set up to maintain peace and order, and (d) a speedier and more substantial devolution of power to the provincial councils.

It is said that a joint communique has not been issued as the agreement needs the blessing of the LTTE. LTTE's objection, it is understood, is in respect of the Peace Committee. LTTE has not been given a dominant role in the committee even though it has the overwhelming popular support of the Tamils. The LTTE has until now refused to talk to the other Tamil groups on the ground that they do not really represent Tamil opinion. India will not like to let down its quisling groups and see a dominant place for the LTTE. At the same time, President Premadasa is committed to LTTE and is aware that LTTE's participation is a vital element in any peace package.

At the time of going to the press, it is learnt that President Premadasa has made counter-proposals to the Government of India. It is being said that the intention is to appease the JVP which is opposed to devolution of power to Tamil areas. Is time required for both parties for the accrual of more sense?

TAMILS AND SINHALESE JOINTLY PROTEST

Tamils and Sinhalese in different parts of the world joined together to protest against the continuing presence of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. So far only 2000 troops have left Sri Lanka. There was wide spread support for President Premadasa's call for complete withdrawal of the troops by Sri Lankans living in Australia, UK, USA, Canada, Norway, Denmark, France, W Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland. Sri Lankan associations and societies everywhere carried out protest marches carrying banners which included demonstrations and speeches delivered in the streets on the 29th and 30th of July.

LANKAN VARSITIES ABROAD

The government is considering the possibility of sending students who qualify for university education to study in universities abroad. It is understood that there is a plan to seek admission to universities in Asian countries such as Malaysia so that students who qualify could follow their courses there. Students who gain admission to Sri Lankan universities will be sent in batches.

JVP KILLS STAFF OF RADIO, TV AND NEWS EDITOR

Despite curfew and the heavy patrolling by the police and army, six men went to the home of Mr Premakirthi de Alwis, a well-known radio announcer and television personality, and shot him dead. This incident happened a week after the Chairman

of the SLBC and censor chief Mr Thevis Guruge was killed by the JVP. The chief news editor of Sri Lanka's television corporation Mr Kulasiri Amaratunge, aged 63, was also shot by the JVP.

CINEMA'S GUNARATNAM KILLED

A prominent Tamil businessman, Mr K Gunaratnam, was killed in Colombo by JVP, who opened fire from a motorbike. Mr Gunaratnam owned a cinema chain and had interests in textiles and chemicals. He is believed to have been shot because he refused to submit to JVP threats to close one of his factories.

'JANASAVYA' POSTPONED

Sri Lankan foreign exchange reserves are reported to be as low as those of Ethiopia, one of the poorest countries in the world. The President's pet scheme "Janasavya" (Poverty Alleviation Scheme) which

SRI LANKAN NEWS

failed to get off the ground in April has now been postponed to January, 1990.

SCHOOLS CLOSED

During the current year, schools had functioned for about 50 days. Schools are closed at present. Before the dawn of 1st August, the tentative date for re-opening, a further postponement was made.

RANJAN TO VISIT VVT

Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, the Minister of State for Defence is visiting Valvettiturai to see for himself the areas affected by the recent incidents. The minister will submit a report on his observations to the President on his return.

NO RAIL SERVICES

The railway service came to a grinding halt on the 19th of August and not a single train left Colombo Fort Railway station. This was in protest against the arrest by the security forces of six Railway employees from the Ratmalana yard in the course of a search operation.

HOSPITAL CLOSE DOWN

On Friday August 11 the hospitals closed their doors to the sick and infirm. Patients have died, but there is nobody to record these deaths. Putrefying bodies lying in the beds in wards had finally to be removed by weeping relatives appalled at the inhumanity of mankind. The reason for the sudden work stoppage was the arrest of two minor employees of the Colombo General Hospital who were alleged to have been found putting up anti-government posters in the vicinity of the hospital. The strike spread to De Soysa Maternity Hospital, Lady Ridgeway Children's Hospital, Colombo South (Kalubowila) General Hospital, Castle Street Hospital, Eye Hospital and the hospitals in the district of Panadura, Gampaha and Kalutara.

LTTE CONDEMNS EROS LEADERSHIP

The Political Committee of the LTTE in a statement issued from its Headquarters severely condemned EROS's stand on the Indian troop withdrawal and accused the leadership of opportunism, political inconsistency and betrayal of Tamil interest.

"To voice against the troop withdrawal at this critical juncture when the Tamils are subjected to genocide by the Indian occupation army, when all sections of people in the island are unanimously calling for

Indian withdrawal, is tantamount to a grave betrayal of the Tamil cause," the statement declared. "The arguments advanced by EROS to legitimise Indian military presence are similar to Indian position and therefore EROS is articulating the voice of Indian. Articulating the Indian position entails the justification of all the brutal crimes committed by the Indian army against our people. It is a tragedy that EROS has transformed itself into one of the quisling groups of the Indian government betraying the interests and aspi-

rations of the Tamils and Muslims," the statement said.

The LTTE has also criticised the EROS for issuing condolence messages when the Tamils are killed by the IPKF without pointing the accusing finger at the culprits of the crimes. "This double-standard of trying to placate both the Tamils and the Indian government and the opportunism that underlie this wretched policy has deeply disillusioned our people" said the LTTE statement.

FOLK TALES AND HISTORICAL STORIES

By Thaatha

THE PASSING OF ELEPHANTS

At one time the export of Elephants was one of the trades of Ceylon. The elephants were collected by holding elephant-kraals. Kraaling consists of driving all the elephants-frequenting a small area-into a strongly fenced stockade. The wild elephants are then tethered to trees; tame elephants are then persuaded to fraternise with them and tame them. After a time the wild animals become docile and amenable to commands by the mahouts.

Elephant herds were so collected in the hinterland of the Vanni Forests. They were then marched along to the Sea Port of Kayts, for export. On the route there was a check point; this was at the narrow neck separating the Jaffna Peninsula from the mainland. Here a tithe had to be paid for licence to export. It came to be said that the "Elephants were passed" at this place. In due course the place itself became known as "Elephant Pass". So it continues to be known, even today.

THE POOLING OF ELEPHANTS

When an "Elephant Kraal" is held it is usual to trap the animals in herds. They may therefore consist of animals of different ages; there would also be males and females. They would be of assorted heights.

All these animals were tamed and "passed" at Elephant Pass, as stated above. After this, so tradition tells us, they were stabled temporarily at a central location. Here the catch from other kraals was also brought. They were all pooled here. The location was named the "Elephant Pool", or "Aanai Panthi". So it continues to be called even today. This "Anai Panthi" can be visited today; it is an important place at a junction close to Jaffna.

After pooling, the animals were kept in a stronghold or fort or "Koddai" ready for export. This "Elephant Fort" or "Anai Cottai" carries its name even today and is about five miles from Jaffna.

HOW A GOAT GOT A PIG'S HEAD

Once there lived a local lad at Madduvil, a humble village off Chavakachcheri, in the Jaffna Peninsula.

One day the lad stole a goat belonging to a well-to-do neighbour, for slaughter. On being told of the owner's wrath, he became scared. He was afraid he would be arrested and punished; he might also be put in prison. He was at a loss what to do.

So, he ran to the village temple and prostrated himself before the deity; he prayed that he should be saved. He begged that the head of the goat be transformed to that of a wild boar (the slaughter of which was no crime). The Devi seemed to give him solace and consolation; so he went home. When the authorities came for inspection there, Lo!, there it was, a wild boar head to all appearances. The lad was declared innocent.

All the village came to know the actual story; they said it was a miracle. They decided to name their deity as "Panri-thalaichi-Amman", the Goddess who saved with a Pig's head. That is how it is known even today.

SAVED FROM SHIPWRECK

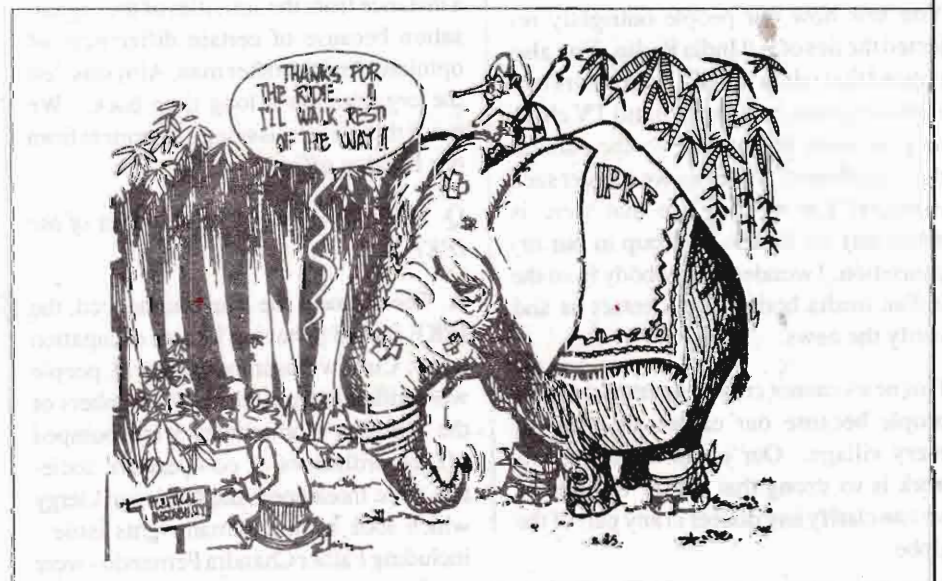
In the olden days sailing vessels plied for

trade from the Indian coast to Malaya and the Far-East. There was no compass then. They navigated by keeping the land in sight.

There are several islands off the Northern coast of the Jaffna Peninsula. Ships that pass by keep these in sight for guidance. The seas North of the Peninsula can sometimes be stormy and treacherous; fierce monsoonal blowing can be dangerous. Waters off Palk Strait and the Indian ocean induce strong currents.

One day a rich Chetty merchant was travelling in a ship sailing past these islands. A fierce storm arose and the ship was completely wrecked. The Chettiyar clung on to some planks. While drifting aimlessly in the water, he made a vow. He would do a great charitable deed, should he be saved. Miraculously the winds drifted his plank to safety on an island called Nagadipa, then.

The island folk rescued him. He saw a simple shrine. He decided that his rescue was due to that and resolved that one day he would erect a magnificent temple there. He did it in due course. Shipwrecks had been known to be frequent in those areas; there is evidence today in a stone inscription; it bears the King's decree instructing the people what to do in the event of a shipwreck near Nagadipa or Nainativu.



PRABAHARAN IS ALIVE

NO SPLIT WITHIN THE LTTE

When All India Radio announced that LTTE supremo Prabaharan was killed by his deputy Mahatiya, *India Week* correspondent A S Panneerselvan was in Valvettiturai, the home-town of Prabaharan. No one in the region took the news seriously. LTTE cadres were everywhere in the coastal town, flaunting their walkie-talkies. Within a few minutes, Prabaharan himself came on the line and directed his cadres to escort Panneerselvan, whom he knew from Madras days, to his jungle hide-out. When after five days of continuous walking, an exhausted Panneerselvan could go no further, Prabaharan came on the wireless and said that in that case his deputy, Mahatiya, would meet him as the area in which Mahatiya was operating was relatively near. After another five-hour trek, LTTE deputy leader Mahatiya and LTTE's chief of the political wing, Dileep Yogi, met and spoke to Panneerselvan at length in chaste Jaffna Tamil. Excerpts from the interview with MAHATIYA:

Q How do you react to the news appearing in the media about factional bickerings within the LTTE? One news item says you have killed Prabaharan and proclaimed yourself the leader, and that you are responsible for the attack in which the former LTTE Jaffna commander, Kittu, lost his leg?

A You know pretty well that our leader Prabaharan is alive. You even spoke to him over our walkie-talkie set. You were there in Valvettiturai when this particular news was broadcast over the Indian radio. You saw how our people outrightly rejected the lies of All India Radio. You also noticed that while the BBC and others carried our denial, Indian radio and TV chose to give more importance to the rumour they had floated. How can we answer such rumours? Let me tell you that there is absolutely no faction or group in our organisation. I wonder why nobody from the Indian media bothered to contact us and verify the news.

This news cannot create any impact on our people because our cadres are there in every village. Our communication network is so strong that within 15 minutes we can clarify any doubts in any part of the globe.

You see, UNI and PTI have so far carried six news items claiming Yogi is dead. They claimed Gopalsamy (DMK MP) was arrested by the Sri Lankan security forces. These news items also confine themselves to Goebbles-like propaganda of the Indian dominant media. A section of the Indian press refers to us as fascists. The two fundamental tenets of fascism are genocide and propaganda. India is carrying out a pogrom of Tamils and it is indulging in propaganda. Who are the fascists?

Q What made you kill Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran even as talks with the government were continuing?

A The TULF's departure from the political scene signified its political death. There is no need for us to pronounce a "clinical death" on these spent forces. After all, we are an armed liberation group and we have never failed to openly claim responsibility for the execution of traitors and oppressors.

Q But the two gunmen have been identified as Visu and Aloysius of your group. The reports in the Indian press contend that they were part of the LTTE delegation to Colombo for the talks..

A Firstly, let me clarify that they were not part of our delegation to Colombo. The photographs of the delegation have already appeared in the press. Visu was a member of our group and was in Madras for a considerable period. He returned to Sri Lanka only this year and was keeping a distance from the activities of the organisation because of certain differences of opinion. And the other man, Aloysius, left the organisation a long time back. We made this clear by issuing a statement from our London office.

Q How do you view the activities of the IPKF?

A The moment the war commenced, the IPKF started behaving like an occupation army. Curfew was imposed at will, people were killed indiscriminately, members of the Citizens Committees were bumped off, co-ordinators of co-operative societies were threatened, the Christian clergy which took up the human rights issue - including Father Chandra Fernando - were

mercilessly killed. In short, the Indian army did everything to finish off the Tamil race. It was genocide.

There is no press freedom in the north and east as all papers are subject to the censorship of the IPKF and its quisling groups. If a newspaper from Colombo carried any news about IPKF excesses, it was burnt at the Vavuniya entry point. This is the work of your democratic country.

YOGI ANSWERS

Q Could you describe the present organisational structure of the LTTE?

A Our area is divided into eight divisions more or less along the lines of the eight districts. There is a Regional Commander for each district. In every district there is a person in charge of political activity, who either comes under the Regional Commander or else works closely with him. The Regional Commander holds the rank of Lt. Colonel. Under him there are small groups led by Captains, Lieutenants and 2nd Lieutenants. The Jaffna district for instance is divided into three areas, each headed by a Major. Other districts are also divided, depending on their size, population and our strength. The Regional Commanders are appointed by our leader, Prabaharan. Within a particular area it is the Regional Commander who gives ranks to the cadres after recommending them to our leader. The Regional Commander is given a lot of authority and autonomy. Only on major issues the Regional Commanders contact the leader. The area commanders under the Regional Commanders also have some authority. Mostly they are in touch with the Regional Commanders, but not for every move they make.

Q What is the involvement of 'Black Tigers' and women fighters in your struggle?

A The women Tigers get the same training as the men. Earlier they accompanied the men in the attacks. Now they are well trained and go alone - all female units. This started after the IPKF came and they have carried out a few attacks. I don't see any difference in the performance between the men and the women. You give them some responsibility; they will be able to act inde-

pendently. We found it to be very effective. They are very good at it.

The Black Tigers are people who are prepared for suicide missions. When a member joins the Black Tigers he knows he will be sent one day on a suicide mission. Most of the time all our members want to join. But we won't take everybody. It depends on the type of work you want done. You select a person according to his ability. The first Black Tiger operation was the attack on Nelliady. Since then there have been a few more. This doesn't necessarily mean that you will get killed. There is the possibility that you can come back alive.

Q How does the LTTE recruit its fighters? What are the initiation rites involved?

A Our political activists in a particular area will go and talk to the people and note those who are interested and dedicated. Initially we will give them some small jobs to find out the extent of their dedication and preparedness. Then they will be asked to do something harder. Then we ask them to do some risky work. In this way we keep a lot of people although they are not permanent members. When we start a training programme we select members from this pool. When we were controlling Jaffna a lot of people used to come to the sentries and stay with them. Sometimes they get involved in the fighting. So you watch whether they are capable of fighting and whether they are good fighters and then select them. Initially we don't give them weapons. They simply stay with us and do errands like bringing food. But in a few days they learn to operate arms. When you clean weapons you give it to them and explain how it is done.

Once cadres join the movement they have to take the oath of allegiance to the leader and also the oath of allegiance to the cyanide capsule. They must be prepared to die. Apart from that there is no ceremony. Sometimes at the end we have dramas, dances, sports, a kind of festival in which civilians sometimes take part. When we controlled Jaffna, whenever we finished training, we went in a procession through the villages, wearing uniforms and cyanide capsules.

Q How did the practice of wearing cyanide capsule originate?

A It was Prabaharan's idea. He explained that from his experience he found out that once cadres get caught they divulge all the

details. Therefore, it is better to take cyanide and die.

Q Have you seen anyone die after taking cyanide?

A Yes. It won't take much time. One or two minutes. I've seen it happen on some round-ups.

Q Isn't the practice a waste? If a member stays alive when captured he can always escape and return to the movement?

A When you balance it, I think it is better to take the cyanide and die. Supposing one knows a lot of supporters in an area and have a lot of information about the organisation - then once he gets caught and tortured he may tell everything. A lot of people may be caught and our organisation will be damaged.

Q Is the rule always followed? Are there Tigers who don't take cyanide when captured?

A That has happened in a few instances. But most of the time they take it.

Q What happens to a member who doesn't take it and later escapes?

A If the person comes back we try to find out whether it was a tactical move on the member's part or whether he did it out of fear. If it was fear and he didn't want to die - then we will not take him back. If it was tactical move we will accept it.

Q How would you describe the current phase of the struggle?

A Earlier we were controlling the Jaffna peninsula while in other parts we were engaged in guerilla war. Now we are fighting a guerilla war everywhere. We are not controlling any area now. Apart

from that it has not changed much.

Q What would you say is the secret of your success in evading the Indian Army?

A Dedication, discipline and the support of the people. We have 100 per cent support from our people. Otherwise you can't exist.

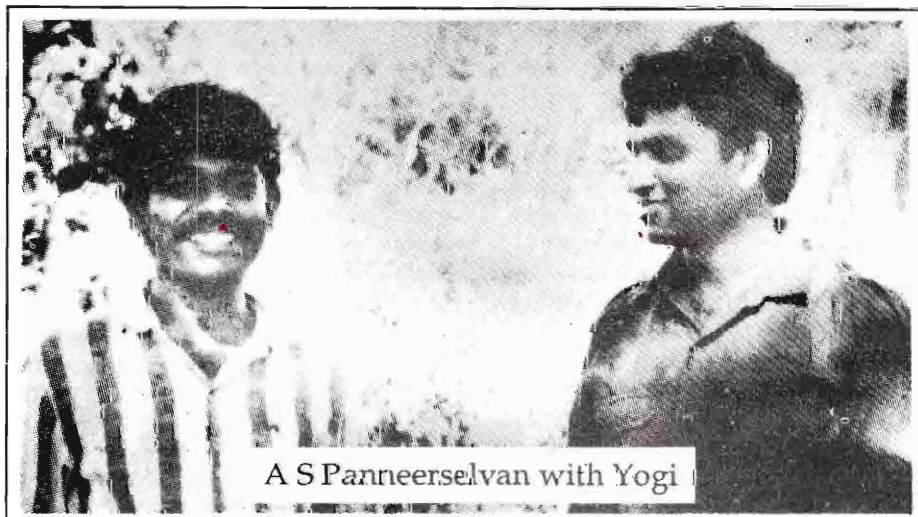
Q What is it like leading a guerilla life in the jungles?

The problem is that a lot of people think we have been chased into the jungles. But that's not true. We maintain our presence from Jaffna to Amparai. We are using the jungles. If you look at the Indian casualty figures, they are suffering more casualties in the Jaffna peninsula, although they don't admit it. In the villages we stay for days, like in the jungles. It doesn't matter where we stay.

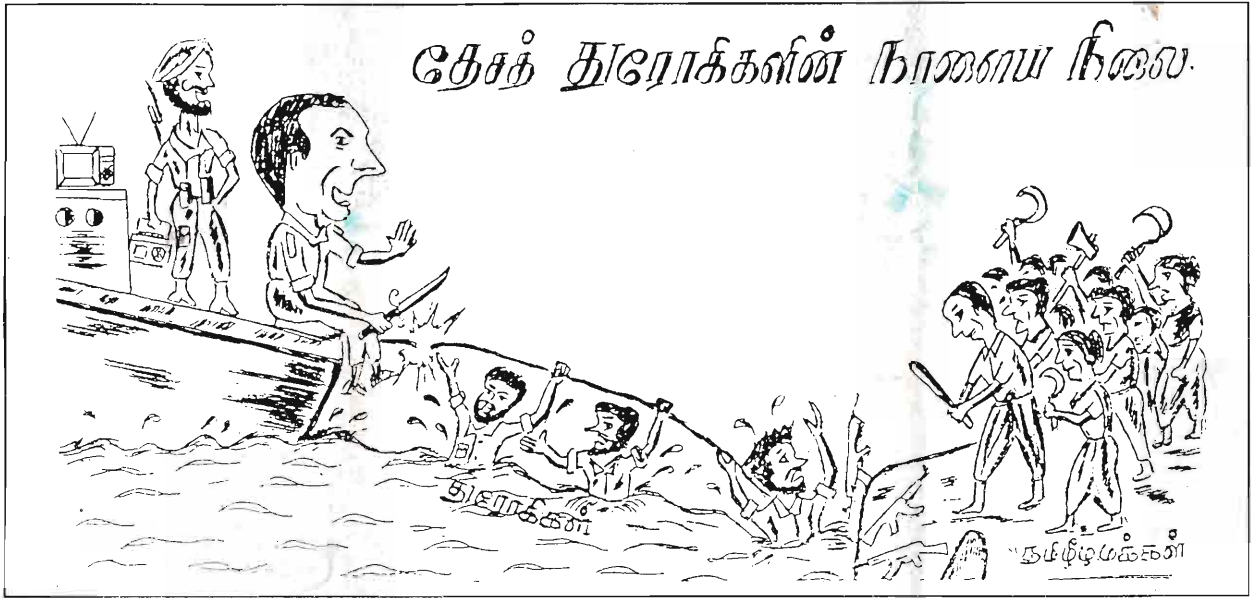
We face hardships. At times you have to walk long distances carrying lot of things. Sometimes you won't be able to get food. Sometimes water is a problem - there is not enough water to drink. Sometimes you can't have a bath for weeks. One day we may go through some hardship and the next day we'll find a place where we can have a good bath and eat well. It is a kind of experience that can be enjoyed. When you go through hardships and overcome them - you feel very happy and it gives you more and more confidence.

Q How long do you think you can go on fighting if there is no political settlement? Won't your cadres become demoralised?

A I don't think so. We'll fight as long as we have to fight. Because now there are so many atrocities committed by the Indian army, more and more cadres are joining us. So we are more powerful than before.



A S Pannierselvan with Yogi



July 29 Protest Demonstrations



London



New York