

# TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

## TVI

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### Thileepan, martyr for the cause of Tamil Liberation



## YOUR VOICE

### "ROME WAS NOT BUILT IN A DAY"

By M.S.Arjunan, London

I am really happy that you are, in the face of great odds, able to sustain the publication of *Tamil Voice International*. While I am appreciative of the high standard maintained by your fortnightly, as a well-wisher of your paper and the cause it espouses, I must tell you that you should resist the temptation of appearing to be pedantic and scholarly and research-oriented. Your paper should be a vehicle to educate the 'ordinaries' from all walks of life. What is important is the dissemination of the facts of life in Tamil Eelam while sparing no efforts to refute the calculatedly mischievous and untruthful reports disseminated through the powerful media of India and its treacherous partners.

While it is true that the Tamils cannot any more afford to remain complacent, you must continue to instil hope and confidence in the Tamil populace that there is no need whatsoever to despair about the future of our homeland. Let us not give into pessimistic forebodings. Let us also not lose faith in our Tamil brethren who appear to be wayward and apathetic. The wiles and frustrations that are plaguing our Tamil nation today are a passing phase and they will be things of the past soon.

If I may say so, in spite of the gloomy pictures that we see here, **the ongoing and never-dying Tamil struggle in Eelam goes to show that there are at present more people than at any time in Tamil history who are doing unselfish and courageous work. This is an indication that we will have a great future. To those that may feel diffident, I will say, "Rome was not built in a day."**

I am a strong believer in the goodness of human beings. God has made everybody pure. The majority of the Tamil people are good and there is no cause for anxiety, alarm or despondency. Faith is the balm for all the ills of the world. Let us have faith and the day will dawn bright in spite of the frightening darkness which surrounds us.

### GANDHI TO RECKON WITH A THIRD FORCE

Ratnam, Wembley, UK

Tamil Nadu, according to the British journal 'The Economist', "loathes" the war that Gandhi is so ruthlessly and callously waging against their Tamil brothers and sisters in neighbouring Sri Lanka. V.P.Singh, Gandhi's principal adversary who is making his bid for the Indian Prime Ministership at the Indian general election scheduled to be held before November 1989, has made the withdrawal of the IPKF an important item in his campaign agenda. Gandhi probably is gambling against time in his Sri Lankan adventure.

Gandhi has failed to take into account the third force in Sri Lanka Tamil public opinion. He thinks he will win in Sri Lanka if he succeeds in defeating the LTTE. He will also countenance the bogus election that will be held for the Provincial Council/Councils in the North-East. **The third force that comprises the Eelam Tamil expatriate community will agitate in all the capitals of the world against the IPKF cruelties being perpetrated on the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Gandhi has to reckon with this third force even if his IPKF carries out the task that President Jayewardene has assigned to him.**

### WHAT IS SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE IS NOT SAUCE FOR THE GANDER !

(Spokesman for LTTE in Madras)

Since the signing of the Rajiv-J.R. Accord, the Indian position has been that the LTTE should lay down arms and accept the Accord. But this Accord was signed without taking into consideration the aspirations of the Tamil people.

Following the Accord, the Indian army of aggression entered Tamil Eelam under the guise of a Peace Keeping Force. Yet the problems of the Tamils have not been resolved.

**Sinhala colonisation continued in Tamil Eelam. The other militant groups were trained, armed and brought to Tamil Eelam with the sole objective of wiping out the Liberation Tigers.** The Indian Government kept quiet when Sri Lanka arrested our leaders and attempted to take them to Colombo

by force. The Indian Peace Keeping Force, said to have been sent to Tamil Eelam to protect the Tamils, functioned under Jayewardena who was committing genocide of the Tamils.

**Our position is that the Rajiv-J.R. Accord was not intended to safeguard the interests of the Tamils.** But we pledged to co-operate with the implementation of the Accord if it protects the interests of our people.

The Indian Government and its Prime Minister have unleashed a malicious propaganda campaign in the world arena against the LTTE claiming that our organisation was frightened to face the people in the elections and, therefore, refuse to lay down arms. They allege that the LTTE has no concern for the interests of the Tamil people and claimed that the people of Tamil Eelam support the Rajiv-J.R. Accord. Though it claims itself as the largest democracy in the world, **the Government of India is refusing to hold elections in Tamil Nadu saying that conditions are not suitable. Yet the Government of India insists that there should be elections in Tamil Eelam.**

**The problems of the Tamil people are not going to be resolved if the LTTE accepts the Accord, lays down arms and participates in the elections. It is because of this fact we have been pleading that the Government of India should effect an unconditional ceasefire and resume negotiations to discuss the problems facing our people. We wish to call upon the Government of India to hold a referendum to determine the following issues:**

1. The people of Tamil Eelam do not accept the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord;
2. The Indian army of aggression should be withdrawn from Tamil Eelam. An International Peace Keeping Force should be sent to Tamil areas;
3. The Liberation Tigers are the representatives of the people of Tamil Eelam.

**The LTTE is prepared to accept the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord if they are defeated in the referendum. Our call for a referendum will definitely indicate to the world that the LTTE is prepared to face the people at any time.**



## INDIA AMBUSHES LTTE NEGOTIATORS

It happened to Terry Waite who was taken hostage while seeking the release of hostages from the bondage of various groups in Lebanon. Something similar has happened to the LTTE's representatives in Tamil Nadu. **The police in Madras has arrested all LTTE men under the National Security Act and imprisoned them for one year without trial. Some of them were actually involved in peace talks with the agents of the Indian Government.** Their only sin is that Rajiv Gandhi has announced that he is tired of talking to the LTTE.

**Mr. Gandhi and his emissaries must realise that they are not negotiating with rebels and insurgents in their own country. The LTTE is, for purposes of international law, recognised as combatants in a major domestic civil war which the government of Sri Lanka failed to quell.** The international community appears to recognise India's presence in Sri Lanka as necessary for the restoration of equilibrium and normalcy in the war that erupted between two nations, the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

**India's role in this dispute has been far from being an impartial arbiter or an uncommitted keeper of the peace. India has sullied its credit-worthiness by being the unashamed policeman of President Jayewardene.** India has joined hands with the latter and his government in suppressing the Tamils of Eelam and perpetrating near genocide on the Tamil people. For, otherwise, what explains the IPKF's actions in their 'search-and-destroy' missions where young men are rounded up on mere suspicion and questionable hearsay evidence, subjected to torture and inevitable death? Or else, **why are not foreign journalists, international human rights organisations and the Red Cross and other mercy missions allowed access to the Tamil areas of Ceylon?** For several months the world has watched this tragedy enacted by the IPKF as if its soldiers were working like butchers in an open abattoir. And the Tamils have been left to suffer and die under the pretext of 'peace-keeping'.

**Tamil Voice International appeals to the states of the world to take note of the human zone of Indian killing in the north and east of Sri Lanka. Indian terror stalks the land. There is documented evidence that Indian 'peace-keepers' have robbed and raped our women and pillaged our villages.** Our people have, as recorded by local newspapers, sought the help of the courts of justice to retrieve the young men taken prisoner and kept incommunicado by the IPKF. **The Indian High Commissioner, Jyotindra Dixit, has sought to lock the doors of the temples of justice in Sri Lanka by issuing highly prejudicial statements that his IPKF men are not answerable to the courts of law. Dixit's inflammatory statements need to be investigated. His role in Sri Lanka has been one of intriguer and participant in the murky politics of a neighbouring sovereign state. He has acted with impunity.**

**The world community must intervene in this shameful role that India has chosen to play. Rajiv Gandhi flies in the face of democratic opinion both in India and Sri Lanka.** In Sri Lanka, neither Sinhalese nor Tamils want India. What is significant is that the Sri Lankan army, relieved of duties in the Tamil areas, is engaged in putting down an insurrection which has some support among the Sinhalese people. President Jayewardene plans to manipulate the Constitution to overstay his term of office. India's presence enables President Jayewardene to act against the democratic processes. The electors are likely to be denied their right to choose their rulers.

**Tamil Voice International appeals to the conscience of the world and the voices of humanitarianism the world over to express their concern about Gandhi's IPKF's gross violations of human rights and international law, the latter best exemplified by the arrest and imprisonment of the LTTE's negotiators.**

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Material sent for publication may be abridged and edited if found necessary.



# AMIRTHALINGAM THILEEPAN

By Augustine Saverimuttu

The Tamils of Sri Lanka and the generations of Tamils yet unborn will at all times pay their homage and respect to the memory of the gallant youth Amirthalingam Thileepan who made a sacrifice of his life with a death fast for the noble cause of delivering the Tamil people from their virtual bondage.

This youth sacrificed his precious life not merely because India failed to implement the provisions in the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, but also to expose to the world the oppression, the tyranny and repression which had progressively been inflicted on the Tamils by successive Sinhalese governments that ruled Sri Lanka since Independence in 1948.

Only a few men in the world had laid down their lives in the manner of this noble youth. This promising youth

was only 23 years old, in the prime of his life, when he decided to make this supreme sacrifice. Thileepan's death should make the world realise the iniquity inflicted on a helpless Tamil people by Sinhalese governments in Sri Lanka who are devoid of human feeling, sense of justice and reason.

His memory will remain enshrined in the hearts of the Tamil people for whom he sacrificed his life. Generations of Tamils, yet unborn, will pay saintly reverence to him for whatever liberation his sacrifice would eventually bring them.

For the death of this noble youth it is the Indian Prime Minister Gandhi and Sri Lanka's patriarchal President Jayewardene who stand indicted, convicted and condemned. They will stand condemned before the bar of world opinion. Their crime will

sooner or later rebound on them.

The sacrifice of this youth will only urge the Tamils to continue their struggle with added determination till final victory is won. The struggle will never result in the annihilation of the Tamil race in Sri Lanka.

The inimitable sacrifice of Thileepan has only shown the world that the Tamils in Sri Lanka will no more be subservient to the Sinhalese. They will shed their last drop of blood in their fight for freedom from servility. They will eventually get their separate State where they will enjoy self-rule and be able to live with honour and dignity.

While paying our grateful homage to this precious gem of Tamil Eelam, let us resolve today to pursue the path of freedom doggedly until the goal is reached. Long live the memory of Thileepan!

## A WAR THE LTTE DESPISES

By our political analyst

The *Lanka Guardian*, Ceylon's liberal journal, in its issue of July 1, 1988, had in the list of contents in its front cover page: "Velupillai Prabakaran: Why we wage a war we despise." The *Lanka Guardian* was reporting the text of Mr. Prabakaran's message to the World Federation of Tamils which met in London in April of this year to indicate to the international community that the expatriate Tamil community endorsed the LTTE as the only Tamil group committed to achieve the objectives of the Thimpu Declaration, and that LTTE had the backing of a third force, the Tamil community the world over, organised under the leadership of the World Federation of Tamils. Now the British-based conservative weekly, *The Economist*, in its issue of 16-22 July 1988, comes out with the revelation that "many of Tamil Nadu's 55 million Tamils loathe India's war on Tamil militants in Sri Lanka" (page 31). If these independent journals are correct, then whose war is this and for whose benefit is it being waged?

Time and again the LTTE has maintained that it is prepared to accept a ceasefire and negotiate the terms on which a return to normalcy can be restored. But who are the persons and which are the historic forces standing in the way of a peaceful settlement? The finger points to two, Presi-

dent JR and New Delhi. Both want "to teach Prabakaran a lesson." The two leaders are willing to let their soldiers die, more New Delhi than President JR. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, for all his protestations in Madras, shortly after the Accord, said that he had won for the Eelam Tamils much more than they had hoped for, finds himself deceived and taken for a ride. He will not even hold a general election in Tamil Nadu for he knows what the consequences could be. President JR waits in the wings, hoping that Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Dixit will deliver him the LTTE corpse. But like Mr. Gandhi, President JR has so far been unable to hold, in his own inimitable style, even a dud election in the Tamil provinces. This we bet he will do. And we bet his UNP will cheat. Election frauds do not solve anything. President JR, by his government's manipulation of the referendum of December 1982 to postpone the parliamentary general election, found to his cost that he had sowed dragon's teeth. He has now for ever to deal with the JVP uprising.

In many capitals of the world, particularly Ottawa, the expectation is that the unstable situation in the northern and eastern provinces will be resolved by a tripartite understanding between New Delhi, Colombo and the LTTE. We can vouch for this statement. The LTTE's in-

terim demands were conceded by President JR when the Peace Accord was signed in July 1987. Basically these revolve around the merger which is a *sine qua non* and the composition of the interim Board of Ministers for the merged provinces. That could be the starting point for a negotiated settlement which can be minimally acceptable to the Tamil people. India can thus ensure that the peace process is back on its rails. What is happening now in the north and east of Sri Lanka is a state of anarchy and nihilism. RAW has been exposed in its attempts at vicious intrigue. The holding of Tamil Nadu's general election is held up. President JR is beleaguered. Whom does all this help? Is it an old man in a hurry who is desperately clinging to power or a young man who is in much need of a boost to help his flagging electoral fortunes? But why subject the people of Tamil Eelam to the horrors of the Indian army of occupation and the butchery of the Sri Lankan army and security personnel?

We urge that the peace talks be resumed. And we appeal to the world community to intervene, just as was done in the Iran-Iraq war, and bring back sanity to a whole subcontinent which is on the verge of chaos and to which the theatre of war will most probably shift.



## POST-TRUCE LANKA SITUATION NEEDS RESOLVING : LTTE

Talks between India and the LTTE have broken down over key issues in civil administration and the law and order set-up for Tamils after the ceasefire.

**The Indian claim that "LTTE intransigence" over formation of rehabilitation committee is the latest cause, is a distortion of facts, LTTE sources claimed on Saturday.** They told this reporter that the LTTE had sought details of how law and order would be managed after the ceasefire.

The question has not found an answer since **India is caught between the Tamils' demand and Sri Lankan President J.R.Jayewardene's assertion that he would revive civil rule in the North and East under a freshly appointed Governor.** The LTTE is opposed to this, seeing it as a negation of the progress achieved so far. A spokesman said relations between the IPKF and civilians, and the Sri Lanka force and civilians which were nebulous even now, would be even more uncertain

after a ceasefire, and Colombo controlled civil rule.

India had tried to allay fears of Colombo-domination by asking the LTTE to "take its word." This would have to be in written form to be acceptable, the spokesman added.

**The Tigers say the tangle over the overall rehabilitation committee has other ramifications.** To hand over the agreed sum of Rs.50 crore to the LTTE, a committee, with an Indian official on it, has been agreed upon. The Sri Lankan government has pressured India to put its nominee on it, since the issue concerns it. The LTTE is opposed to this since it does not want it "to go down in history that the Tamils were rehabilitated by the Lankan regime" under whom they "languished for four decades."

**The second question is on the channelisation of international aid for the Tamil provinces.** The LTTE prefers this to be routed through a provincial Tamil government, whereas, it is being suggested

that the aid should be handed over to Colombo for disbursement to the Tamils. The LTTE is agreeable to drawing funds through Sri Lanka so long as the island government has no say in the spending of the money.

**On arms surrender, the 'interim' period of laying down weapons in two lots is still not resolved. An 'informal ceasefire' is being offered by Delhi, between the two stages but this is inadequate, the LTTE has said.**

**The scrapping of the interim administration idea after it ran into troubles has created another hurdle since the group is still keen to consolidate its position by reviving the idea.**

Asked how the present stalemate including silencing of the LTTE information set-up in Madras is to be resolved, the spokesman appealed for a **'non-aggressive' approach by India, including a ceasefire.** (Courtesy: Indian Express)

## GANESH SITTA PROVES IT AGAIN

### Top Maths grade for nine-year-old wonder pupil

Nine-year-old maths genius Ganesh Sittampalam celebrated his A-level results a week ago with an ice lolly and a comic.

**He has been awarded top A-grades in maths and further maths, plus commendations in special papers (scholarship level) in both subjects, by the Cambridge Examining Board.**

Ganesh was hailed last night as the most outstanding pupil since girl wonder Ruth Lawrence, who went to Oxford when she was 12. He had already beaten her record by getting an O'Level in maths when he was eight - a year younger than Ruth - and eight years earlier than most pupils.

**And Ganesh, who is now nine-and-a-half has surpassed John Adams, who was nine years seven months when he gained a grade C pass in A-Level maths.**

Ganesh's head teacher at fee-paying Surbiton High Prep.School in Surrey, Mrs.Rosemary Thynne, said "Genius is not a word to use lightly, but in this case it completely fits the bill."

### Dilemma

Little Ganesh is certainly not a swot. He is pleasantly mischievous and enjoys cricket and football and a



GANESH SITTA

rough and tumble with the other boys. "He is very popular at school", added Mrs.Thynne.

Despite his whizzkid ability, Ganesh will not be following in Ruth Lawrence's footsteps by embarking on a university career before he is into his teens. His mother, Neela, 41, said yesterday at the family home in Sur-

Biton, "His father and I both think it is important he should stay with children of his own age. Childhood is very precious. We do not want him to miss out on it."

His father, Arjuna, 42, an Investment Director with the Swiss Bank Corporation, said, "We have a dilemma now. Clearly he will want to study university level maths, but psychologically and emotionally he is not ready for university life. He is a very normal boy who can't sit still for more than ten minutes."

Ganesh Sittampalam will rejoin his classmates when the new term begins in September, but not for maths.

His remarkable grasp of the subject began to show when he was only five. Yet, Ganesh had, says his mother, been very lazy as a baby and was slow to learn how to talk and walk. But when two years old, the lazy baby suddenly began to blossom and was sent to play school, which he quickly outgrew. By three-and-a-half he was in primary school, matching five-year-olds.

His parents now hope a university will agree to teach Ganesh on a part-time basis when the new university term begins in October. Courtesy: Daily Express



# THIRUKKURAL

By S.Sriskandarajah

காலத்தி னுல்செய்த நன்றி சிறிதெனினும்  
ஞாலத்தின் மாணப் பெரிது.

"Kaalaththinaal Cheitha Nantri Chiritheninum

Gnaalaththin Maanap-p-Perithu (Transliteration)

Timely help, even small, transcends the world. (Translation)

"You who are born to do good should at least refrain from doing evil even if you can't do virtuous deeds", said *Swami Vivekananda*. Thus *Swami* has made us understand that it is a human duty to help others. All the religions and every ethical code of the world insist that we should help the needy. Rendering help is good for the doer and good for the recipient. It gives satisfaction and contentment to the giver and comforts the anguished and anxious heart of the receiver. The doer of good deeds receives a plus point through his act. But the doer should not do such acts in the hope that he would receive something in return. Any help that is done with the expectation of a reward is not a help at all. It is true that many of us, or rather most of us who are lesser mortals, help others in the hope that we will receive something greater in return from the recipient. This attitude, *Valluvar* says, is improper. We must help even as the sky helps us with rain. **"Benevolence seeks not return. What does the world give**

**back to the clouds?"** declares *Valluvar*.

But rare are people who benefit others without expecting any reward. It is hard to find people who help others because others are in distress. As our forebears were aware of the nature of human beings they have at every turn extolled the virtues of benevolence and exhorted us to be kind to our fellow beings. Thus, the great *Avvaiyar* says, "If you have benefited anyone, do not be longing for the day when that person will return that benevolence to you. It will come to you somehow. Take the case of the coconut palm. You pour water and sprinkle fertiliser at the ground level. If you expect the palm to return your good act at the ground level you will be disappointed. The return comes not from the exact point of help but from elsewhere. The help comes from the crown of the palm in the form of sweet and beautiful coconuts."

Every act has a reaction which is

equal and opposite. Good acts will have good reactions and evil acts will have unpleasant reactions. It is this rule of the physical sciences that the words of *Avvaiyar* expound.

It is customary to give the *ocean*, *mountain* or *earth* as examples of the biggest things in the world, though there are things bigger than these. *Thiruvalluvar* also chooses to give ocean, earth and mountain as examples of things that are great. First two of these examples are used by *Thiruvalluvar* in the context of **gratitude**.

The couplet under consideration in this article is the second in the Chapter on *Gratitude* (Chapter 11). A favour that is rendered at the appropriate time of need is much larger than the world even if that favour be small in value. It is not the value of the benefit that is material. In considering the worth of the benefit it is the context in which such benefit was conferred that should be taken into consideration. **Giving a palm-full of live-saving water to a wounded soldier in the battlefield by a thirsty old man who is almost at the point of death for lack of water is a far greater help than any big wealth to that soldier which the king may bestow on him when he returns from the battlefield.** The comparison is not between water and wealth. The consideration should be the contextual nature of the help.

## SIRIMAVO FOR DIRECT TALKS WITH TAMIL GROUPS

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party would hold direct talks with the LTTE and other Tamil groups to end the ethnic problem, if returned to power, the SLFP President, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has said.

Addressing a party rally in Colombo recently, the former Prime Minister said the SLFP would also talk directly to the Janatha Peramuna (JVP) to find a solution to the unrest in the southern parts.

India has "nothing to fear from an SLFP government as it would adopt a genuine non-aligned policy", she

said, asserting that her party valued India's friendship. However, it would be compelled to oppose Indian policy, if it was against the national interest of Sri Lanka, and would ask for the withdrawal of the IPKF. By courtesy - The Hindu (International Edition) - August 13, 1988.

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## HEAD TIGER'S FEAR DERIDED

The External Affairs Ministry has dismissed the assertion by the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Velupillai Prabhakaran, that he had to leave India for Sri Lanka in January 1987 because he feared for his life as a prime figment

of his imagination". The spokesman was reacting to Prabhakaran's remarks quoted in a biography of his written by Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress leader, P. Nedumaran.

But the author of the 104-page book, published in Tamil, Nedumaran, a close associate of Prabhakaran, said he had been shown documentary proof pertaining to attempts on his life. "The danger will continue as long as I am here", Prabhakaran is quoted as saying in the book, "Our struggle will intensify further if I return to Eelam. So I am returning there", Prabhakaran reportedly told Nedumaran before leaving Tamil Nadu in the first week of January.

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# INDIAN PRESENCE IN LANKA CONDEMNED

A Tamil Nadu political activist, an American human rights attorney and a Tamil judge from Belize last week, joined a number of Sri Lankan Tamil expatriates in condemning the presence of Indian troops in Sri Lanka. They accused the soldiers of perpetrating a range of atrocities against Tamils in the island's Northern and Eastern Provinces.

At a press conference here organized by the World Tamil Coordinating Committee to coincide with the first anniversary of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, the speakers called for an immediate ceasefire between the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and urged negotiations to resolve the conflict.

## ACCUSES DELHI

K.Veeramani, the head of the Dravida Kazhagam (Organisation of Dravidians) in Tamil Nadu, accused the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), the intelligence arm of the Indian government, of trapping the leadership of the LTTE and killing them under the guise of encouraging negotiations between New Delhi and the LTTE.



K. VEERAMANI

He said, "The militants really are willing for a political solution but it is not being heeded by India." Veeramani said that the LTTE was the legitimate representative of the Tamil people and had to be a part of any negotiation. He asserted that Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene himself had acknowledged in a recent interview that the people in the North and East were sympathetic toward the LTTE.

## INDIAN ATTACKS CHARGED

Karen Parker, an international human rights lawyer and a specialist in armed conflict, said that

despite more than six appeals by the LTTE to the United Nations and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi agreeing "to an unconditional ceasefire", the Indian forces kept attacking them. She said that this was a violation of the fundamental principles of the Geneva Convention on armed conflict.

Parker called for an immediate ceasefire and negotiations to alleviate "the defect in the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, like constitutionalisation of regional councils", which she said, "do not provide sufficient power for the Tamil people."

## INDIAN ROLE OPPOSED

She said that although "initially the ceasefire talks should be between India and the LTTE, it has to also include the Sri Lankan government, at which point India's involvement in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka should cease."

Parker said that unless the LTTE had "incredible population support", there was no way it could have held out for so long against the massive, well-armed and well-equipped Indian forces.

## POLITICAL DIMENSIONS

Satchi Ponnambalam, a Sri Lankan Tamil who is now a judge in Belize, said that the establishment of a separate state of Tamil Eelam was the "only viable option left for the Tamils in Sri Lanka." He said, "it was not that the Tamils wanted a separate state, but they were driven to find a separate home for bare survival."

Ponnambalam declared that there was a political dimension to the struggle of the Tamil people manifested by the LTTE and, added, "any settlement that does not come anywhere near their political aspirations is no settlement. That settlement must be hammered out by the representative of the Tamil people and nobody else." Ponnambalam, like all the other speakers, said the LTTE was the legitimate representative of the Tamil populace in Sri Lanka.

## REGIONAL HEGEMONY

J.Rajaratnam, vice-president of the Ilangai Tamil Sangam, who presided over the briefing, said the Indian government, which had initially "come to help the Tamils, got confused and lost its way."

He alleged that "they saw an opportunity to establish regional hegemony, to get certain con-

cessions from the Sri Lanka government."

Rajaratnam described the IPKF as "an accord-enforcing force and not a peace keeping force." He described as "total deceit" Gandhi's statement that under the Indo-Sri Lanka accord "the Tamils of Sri Lanka had got more than they wanted." He asserted, "What the Tamils wanted was a separate state, but they were prepared to accept something less than that." He said the lack of negotiations was because "the RAW has one attitude on the problem, the (Indian) army has another attitude, and the foreign ministry has a third attitude."

## ATTITUDES OPPOSED

"These attitudes are quite different and many times opposed. One wants to negotiate, the other wants to kill the LTTE. One wants to stay in Sri Lanka for ever, the other wants to withdraw", he said.

Rajaratnam said that Gandhi, (if you want to credit him with some good sense) is confused totally by the various advisers and the advice they give him. He seems to be taking the view of the last person who spoke to him."

## WHITE HOUSE PROTEST

Meanwhile, about 30 Sri Lankan Tamils demonstrated peacefully opposite the White House. They held aloft banners and placards that castigated India for alleged atrocities against the Tamils in Sri Lanka by the IPKF. One huge banner said "Shame on Rajiv Gandhi, who is killing Eelam Tamils for his political survival." Another accused him of being an "Aryan supremacist who kills and rapes." Ironically another banner urged New Delhi and Colombo to stop their jointly "sponsored genocide of Tamils." However, perhaps, the most poignant placard was one that read, "Sri Lanka, Paradise Lost: India, Prestige Lost."

Ananda Rajan, one of the organisers of the demonstration, said that it had been put together by a coalition of Tamil groups in the United States under the umbrella of the New York based World Tamil Coordinating Committee. He claimed that the consensus of opinion among expatriate Tamils in the U.S. was that the LTTE "reflected the aspirations of the Tamils in Sri Lanka." Rajan said, "They are behind the LTTE, and we feel a separate state of Tamil Eelam is the only course left for the Tamils in Sri Lanka."

(Courtesy -India Abroad - August 5, 1988)



# INDIA'S FIRST YEAR IN LANKA

Mohan Ram writing in 'India Abroad' of July 29, 1988

India's military involvement in Sri Lanka is a year old. Though aimed at securing implementation of the July 29, 1987 agreement to solve the island republic's conflict, it has produced mixed results. The conflict remains. The sharpest criticism of India's role came on the eve of the first anniversary of the agreement, described by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi as *the accord of the century*. It came from Gamini Dissanayake, a Sri Lankan minister who, unlike some of his cabinet colleagues, was known to be its supporter. Dissanayake said in Colombo on the eve of the anniversary that the Indian Peace Keeping Force (in Tamil areas of Sri Lanka for a year to demilitarise the conflict) had failed in its role. He also declared that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the most powerful of the secessionist groups, should be made either to accept the accord or be eliminated as a military factor. That perhaps sums up India's problem.

**The biggest weakness of the accord, as the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) member of Parliament, Anil Moonasinghe, said, was that the majority of the Sinhalese and Tamil people did not agree with it.**

## Not Demilitarised

At the end of the first year, the balance sheet of the agreement is as follows: The conflict has not been demilitarised. The Indian Peace Keeping Force was sent to secure a disengagement between the Sinhalese forces and the Tamil secessionist guerrillas in the Tamil majority Northern and Eastern provinces. The Sinhalese forces were to be confined to their barracks. This was achieved. The next step was to get the Tamil guerrillas to lay down their arms. This was not done because the surrender of arms by the LTTE in early August 1987 was a token affair. It became a conflict between the IPKF and the LTTE beginning Oct.10, climaxed by the fall of Jaffna later that month. It is a continuing operation, laying India open to the Sinhalese charge that either it is incapable of liquidating the LTTE militarily or it is prolonging its operation deliberately to justify an

indefinite stay of the IPKF. The IPKF could neither break nor bend the LTTE, which is holding out despite its heavy loss of manpower and arms and the Indian claim to have annihilated it militarily. **Politically, the provisions of the agreement, which provides for a measure of autonomy to the Tamil provinces through a devolution package, have not been realised.**



J.R. JAYEWARDENE

President Junius Jayewardene says he has delivered his part of the bargain having legislated for implementation of the devolution package. **Ironically the provincial councils, through which the devolution is to be effected, were constituted through elections in stages between April and June in the seven Sinhalese majority provinces that really did not want autonomy. The two Tamil provinces for which the devolution package was designed have not been able to hold elections.**

India has promised to create physical conditions for holding elections in the Tamil provinces by the end of July (that is, by the end of the first year of the agreement) but not the political participation.

**The devolution package is inadequate even to the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), which welcomed the July 1987 agreement.** India has been unable to revive the political processes in the Tamil provinces which in effect means getting the LTTE to participate in the political process, for without its participation no election would be legitimate. This leaves unrealised the essential component of the 1987 agreement, autonomy for the Tamil areas short of giving them a

sovereign homeland. Strategically, India might have realised its objective of pre-empting the direct involvement of outside powers or a foreign naval base at Trincomalee.

## Few Tamil Gains

While it might be a welcome respite for the Tamil provinces from the depredations of the Sinhalese forces, the Tamils have gained little since the political processes have not been revived in their areas.

But the 1987 agreement has helped polarise Sinhalese opinion on concessions to the Tamils and sharpened the opposition to Jayewardene and his United National Party (UNP) in the form of a nexus between Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the Sinhalese chauvinist militant youth organisation called the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP). These two groups called for a boycott of the provincial council elections while the JVP tried to enforce it through terror tactics.

## No Endorsement

**Though the UNP could win all the provincial councils, the voting outcome is by no means an endorsement of the India-Sri Lanka agreement because the other contender, the United Socialist Alliance (USA), comprising the leftist parties, was not opposed to the accord either.** The drop in voting in a country with a tradition of universal adult franchise, dating back to 1931 and known for a 70 per cent turnout at the polls, witnessed a sharp drop in voter participation at the council elections.

The 1987 agreement was between two governments, and the Tamils, who are its central concern, were not a party to it. Secondly, the Sri Lankan government that signed it lacked legitimacy because the 1977 parliament had prolonged itself through constitutional gerrymandering and the country had not had a national election since 1977. Jayewardene has placed the onus of securing the implementation of the agreement - that is, getting the LTTE to accept it - on India, which is seen in a number of roles - a party to the agreement, its guarantor and its enforcer.



# IMPACT OF LTTE IN TAMIL NADU POLITICS

By Dr.G.Palanithurai, Annamalai University, India

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and its leader Velupillai Prabhakaran have become important factors to reckon with in Indian and Sri Lankan politics. In Tamil Nadu LTTE is deemed as a model for the Tamil ethnic movement, and Velupillai Prabhakaran is recognised as a symbol of the movement just as E.V.Ramasamy Periyar in Madras politics became a symbol of the 'Self-Respect Movement'. The people who were disappointed with the conduct of the political parties and leaders in the Presidency started searching for a new leader to guide the Tamil people. After 1983, the Tamils spontaneously expressed their support for the Eelam movement and it could be said that the political parties decided to support the Eelam cause only because of the overwhelming support coming from the Tamil people. Later the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord to some extent silenced the voices of the Tamil people through the efforts of the Indian official media and some of the major political parties in Tamil Nadu. However, LTTE has its own undeniable impact on Tamil Nadu politics.

**How is the LTTE able to leave its impact on Tamil Nadu politics? Before analysing the reasons let us ask the question: In what way has the LTTE become a model in Tamil Nadu?** In Tamil Nadu hundreds of organisations were formed with the name of *Viduthalai-p-Puligal Thozhamai-k-Kazhagam* (Friendly Associations of LTTE). These Associations have been organised by staunch followers of Dravidian parties, and especially its youth. The organisations performed two functions, namely, to spread news of the activities of the LTTE and to popularise its aims and values among the youth. While performing these two functions they point out the insincere efforts of the existing major political parties and their activities in Tamil Nadu. Apart from this, a large number of organisations were formed individually in different places under different names with the aim of liberating the Tamils in India. Even the major political parties who generally thrive on ethnic issues were afraid to talk about issues of separatism, but these small groups organised by the educated youth reiterated the old objective of the

ethnic political parties, i.e. attaining a separate state for the Tamils. This courage and conviction was instilled into their minds, as a result of the influence of the LTTE and its veteran leader Prabhakaran.



PRABAHARAN

**Another pointer to the growing popularity of the LTTE is the portrait of Prabhakaran which can be seen in the houses of LTTE supporters even in remote villages. Prabhakaran is as popular as any other Tamil leader. The youth are proud of having Prabhakaran's portrait in their homes. The increasing sales of Prabhakaran's photos indicate the recognition of the Tiger leader by the Tamil people.** In Tamil Nadu, in the past thirty years, people were interested in forming *Manrams* (Associations) in the name of actors. The 'Cine' cult was developed to the maximum extent and people were mad after their matinee idols. But thanks to the growing fame of the LTTE, this cult has been reduced and Associations have been started in the names of political leaders. In some of the places *Manrams* have been organised in the name of Prabhakaran.

Another notable development is that Tamil magazines have increased their circulation by publishing articles about the LTTE and its leader. **All the magazines which carry articles on the LTTE and its leaders have increased their circulation impressively.** This indicates the interest and concern of the people towards the organisation. Now invariably almost all magazines publish articles on the LTTE. Thus, from these pointers, one could say that the LTTE and its leader Prabhakaran have become significant factors in Tamil Nadu politics.

Let us now analyse the reasons for the growing popularity of the LTTE and its leader Velupillai Prabhakaran. Tamils supported with great expectation the ethnic political parties. These parties came to power and ruled the state for more than two decades in Tamil Nadu. But the people have begun to feel that these political parties have not solved their own basic problems. The problems, like imposition of Hindi, centralisation of powers, low resource allocation to Tamil Nadu from the Centre, have not been solved and the ethnic political parties in Tamil Nadu are fearful of the centre; and they are not in a position to raise all those issues vociferously in public. The people, especially the youth, are in an agitating mood but their energies have not been properly harnessed. The emergence of the LTTE and its leader Prabhakaran have provided much-needed hope to them and they feel that their aspirations could be realised soon by achieving Tamil Eelam which will serve as the model for the Tamils in Tamil Nadu.

The major ethnic political parties today realise the potential danger for their political existence and they try to divert the attention of the people towards non-issues. In recent years a few political leaders have started supporting the LTTE and working for the integration of the organisations, groups and associations which cherish the aim of protecting the rights of Tamils. **Some day, soon, the LTTE and its supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran will change the destiny of the Tamils of Tamil Nadu by their achievements in Eelam.** Having realised this truth, some political parties have joined hands with the forces of the centre to keep the masses in silence. Despite all odds, the LTTE brings the message to the educated through their publications. If this message reaches the people the party leaders in Tamil Nadu will be compelled to take a firm stand. **Once Tamil Nadu was deemed as a model for the ethnic movement, now the LTTE has become the model for the Tamils in Tamil Nadu. The Tamils in the world are eagerly watching the progress of the LTTE. It is widely held that the aspirations of the Tamils will be accomplished by the achievements of the LTTE. The day is not far off.**







## EELAM NEWS

### JAFFNA EXPERIENCES SEARCH OPERATIONS

Following an attack on the Indian Police by the LTTE cadres at Kachcheri-Nallur Road in Jaffna, when a few Indian policemen fell prey to the hand grenades that were hurled at a jeep that was patrolling the road, the Indian police have started to shoot at all and sundry whom their eyes met. It is reported that 3 civilians have been killed during police operations on 20th August, 1988. According to reports published in Indian dailies, Indian police have launched a combing operation in the areas surrounding the Kachcheri fearing that the assailants may be around and may attack again.

### SHELLING IN MULLAITIVU

According to reports reaching London, the jungles of Vaddakachchy, Iranaimadu, and Ramanathapuram have been subjected to severe shelling by the IPKF. It is reported that contemporaneously helicopters have bombarded the jungle areas in a bid to preventing the escape of LTTE cadres.

### FASTING IN THE BOOSA CAMP

The political prisoners, mostly youths, languishing in the Boosa Camp in South Sri Lanka, have started a 'fast' demanding that they be released. The 'fasting' which commenced on the 14th August is intended to continue till the authorities take steps to commence judicial proceedings against them.

### SEARCH OPERATIONS IN VADAMARADCHY EAST

The Indian Peace Keeping Force stepped up search operations in the Vadamaradchy East area on the 16th August. The Indian forces cordoned off the villages of Thaalaiyadi, Maruthankerni, Aaliyavalai, Vettilaikkerni, and Uduthurai and embarked on a house-to-house search operation. It is reported that the Indian officials clamped down an unofficial curfew in the aforesaid areas for the purpose of conducting their search operations. During the search operations, young men of those areas were paraded on the streets and ordered to march a distance of 8 miles with a view to enabling some masked people planted along the road to identify men who are supporters of the LTTE. The men who were identified as people having connections with the LTTE were singled out and taken to camps for "questioning."

### SEARCH FOR INDIAN PERSONNEL

According to a news item published in the Sunday Times of 21/8/1988 the Indian Peace Keeping Force has launched a massive search for the 8 Indian soldiers who are reported missing while in action. These 8 soldiers disappeared after the IPKF raided an LTTE camp at Nettukanikulam in Vavunya.

### PLOTE TAMED

The People Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam is reportedly preparing to apply for recognition as a political party. A new amendment to the Elections Act of 1981 is said to have prompted the PLOTE to agree to be tamed into the political main stream.

### EXCLUSIVE ZONE FOR SINHALESE?

A top Sri Lankan army officer has told that an exclusive security zone for the Sinhalese has been declared in the Trincomalee area with immediate effect. It is stated that this has been done with a view to preventing attacks by Tamil terrorists.

### LT. COLONEL S.S. RAMAN DIES

It is reported that Lt Colonel S.S. Raman who led the "Capture operation group" of the IPKF in Jaffna was shot at and killed by the LTTE cadres during a direct confrontation that ensued between the capture group and the LTTE. Sources close to the LTTE in Jaffna disclosed that the IPKF managed to retrieve the body of the colonel and that it has been flown to Trivandrum for cremation.

### INDIAN SOLDIER DESERTS IPKF

According to reports reaching London five LTTE cadres who were kept captives in one of the Indian Camps in Jaffna under the charge of an Indian Soldier who has a soft-corner for the Tamil Tigers have escaped from the Camp together with the soft hearted Indian soldier. The chagrined IPKF is said to have launched an intensive combing operation to capture the Indian soldier. The IPKF is reported to have expressed suspicions that there could be many such

Indian sympathisers within the rank and file of the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

### CHECKMATE - PHASE 3

The Indian army has further intensified its operation in the Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Killinochi districts in an all out attempt to destroy the LTTE. Operation "Checkmate" is now in its "phase 3".

### 9 CIVILIANS KILLED

About 600 - 700 civilians from Nedunkerni, Semamadu, Paddikkudiyruppu, Anandapuzhiyangkulam, Katkulam were taken into custody on August 20th and were taken to Nedunkerni army camp. They were beaten and tortured. On the 24th all except 60 were released. The 60 were taken to Nainamadu army camp. The IPKF pursued and killed 9 civilians who had fled into the adjoining jungles; the army claims that the "civilians" killed were LTTE cadres.

### INDIAN ARMY PERSONNEL KILLED

On August 22nd in Killinochi district, 5 Indian army personnel were killed when the LTTE ambushed a jeep travelling from the army camp at Vanerikulam school to the camp at the irrigation department. The IPKF, while pursuing the members of the LTTE, ran into the booby trap and three more of the Indian soldiers died as a result.

### 2 HELICOPTERS BURNT DOWN

On the 24th of August the LTTE attacked with RPG, LAW and Machine guns, two helicopters that were on the ground at Nithikaikulam Indian army camp in Mullaitivu. Both the helicopters were completely destroyed. LTTE claims that their cadres returned without any casualties on their part.

### TAMIL WOMEN BRUTALLY RAPED

Three women from Sasthrikoolangkulam were brutally raped by the Indian forces and they have been admitted to Sasthrikoolangkulam hospital in critical condition.



## Sri Lankan News

### HAMEED TO RESUME TALKS ON VARSITY OPENING

While university authorities have made plans to open the universities at any time, the Foreign Minister, Shahul Hameed, is hoping to meet student representatives to decide on a date to start work. Attorney-General Siva Pasupathy has decided on the students to be indicted and those to be released, from the number of undergraduates still held in custody.

The Government has met all the main demands of the students including increased Mahapola scholarships and bursaries, release of students against whom there are no charges and the North Colombo Medical College issue.

The Colombo University Council has decided to de-affiliate the NCMC legally and to increase Mahapola scholarships and bursaries by Rs.150, which will cost Rs.23 million more.

### UNP CHAIRMAN RECOMMENDS HANSARD TO SIRIMA

Mr.Ranjan Wijeratne, Chairman of the United National Party has advised Mrs.Bandaranaike to be wary about taking Mr.Ronnie de Mel into her fold, according to a report published in the Sunday Times of 14.8.88. Ranjan is said to have advised Sirima and her son Anura to the following effect: "Please read over and over again the Hansards lest you forget all that Mr.de Mel has said about you, your son and your family during the past ten years."

### MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIRECTS THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

According to well-informed sources, while two or three students are taken into police custody every week, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. A.C.S.Hameed, is reported to have directed the Attorney General and the Police to take immediate action to indict the detainees or to release them. The direction of the Minister, it is gathered, follows complaints that the law enforcement agents are shilly-shallying.

### TRAIN SERVICE TO JAFFNA SUSPENDED

Reports reaching London have confirmed that the Tamil militants who are gaining ground in the Northern Pro-

vince have blasted a section of the railway line between Puliyankulam and Mankulam.

The reports further said that the explosion took place on the 13th August when a track clearing party was on a routine pedestrian patrol along the Vavuniya-Jaffna railway line. The blast has brought the train service beyond Puliyankulam to a grinding halt. As a result of this blast, Jaffna-bound passenger trains and goods trains have been suspended until further notice.

### IF J.R. STANDS DOWN, PREMADASA WILL STAND UP !

According to the political pundits of Sri Lanka, in the event of J.R.Jayewardene deciding to step down, Mr.Premadasa, the Prime Minister, will be the most likely candidate for Sri Lankan Presidency. In view of the unpredictable character of the octogenarian, many members within the UNP have been busy preparing themselves covertly to be in readiness for candidacy. It is reported that Prime Minister Premadasa has gained support within the UNP for his candidature and that he would be in a position to outvote the rest of the other possible candidates who have been very eloquent through their condensed and guarded expressions all these months.

### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ON 2nd JANUARY, 1989?

The Elections Commissioner, Mr. Chandrananda Silva, has said that preparations for the eagerly awaited Presidential election have begun in earnest and that the election could be held any time between 4th December 1988 and 2nd January 1989. Numerologists and astrologers close to the President have prophesied that it is very likely that the election would be scheduled for 2nd January, 1989.

### CHANGES IN THE ARMY

Major changes have been effected in the Sri Lankan Army, according to confirmed reports. Brigadier C.H.Fernando has been appointed as the Head of the Northern Division of the Army.

### ANURA SAYS THAT SIRIMA WILL MEET RAJIV SOON

In a recent interview given to a correspondent for Madras Hindu, Mr.Anura Bandaranaike, leader of the Opposition, has said that Mrs.Bandaranaike

would soon meet Rajiv Gandhi to thrash out the sticking points in the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. He has categorically stated that the SLFP would never agree to the merger of the North and East of Sri Lanka and that they will not take time to settle the ethnic conflict.

### J.R MOURNS THE DEATH OF ZIA



GEN. ZIA UL-HAQ

In a condolatory message sent to the mourning family of the late President of Pakistan, the President of Sri Lanka has stated that he was shocked and dismayed by the untimely and tragic death of Zia. He has further stated that he has really lost a true and sincere friend who was always ready to help him and his country.

### SUPPRESSION OF TERRORISM CONVENTION

The SAARC Convention on Suppression of Terrorism has now been ratified and has entered into force on the 22nd of August 1988. The Sri Lankan Foreign Minister has said that the signing of the Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism by the state members of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation is a landmark in the Region's collective effort to combat terrorism affecting the Region.

### PRINCE EDWARD INVITED TO BOOST SRI LANKAN TOURISM

According to a news item published in the Ceylon Sunday Observer of 14.8.88 the youngest son of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Edward is scheduled to visit Sri Lanka at the invitation of the Sri Lankan Tourist Board. The paper says that though the invitation had been extended a few weeks ago, the Tourist Board has not so far heard from Buckingham Palace.



## TRINCOMALEE TRIALS

The Sri Lankan district of Trincomalee, with its ethnic mix and strategic location, typifies the problems faced in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

Here the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) finds itself in the middle of what could be a long drawn out counter-insurgency war, searching for an elusive enemy who has substantial support among the local Tamil population. In the 10 months since it arrived in the district in the Eastern Province, the IPKF has been able to ensure that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) can no longer operate openly in the towns and villages. Many LTTE men have been killed or arrested, while others have been forced to flee into the jungles. **But the LTTE's main source of strength remains in the villages, to which they return frequently for a respite from the rigours of guerrilla life.**

**"Our main weakness is lack of information", said an IPKF officer, "We don't know who the LTTE cadres are. After all, an LTTE man dressed in a lungi like everyone else looks an ordinary villager."**

The IPKF's main tactics against the LTTE have been intensive patrolling to prevent the Tigers' free movement, and cordoning and search operations during which all the men in an area are searched and questioned. But, here again, LTTE men often bluff their way out, while innocent people may be interrogated.

The IPKF depends on informers, often members of other militant groups such as the Eelam People's Revolutionary Front (EPRLF) and, occasionally, disgruntled former LTTE members. The IPKF's aim has been to drive the LTTE out of its areas of support in the towns and villages into the jungles, and it has been largely successful in this.

But the departing LTTE men have left behind an extensive network of informers and sympathisers in the villages. **"Whenever I take my patrol out, the LTTE has information. It has people all around",** an IPKF officer said.

The IPKF has also learned from experience, and it is now better able to control the LTTE than when it arrived last year. There is greater familiarity with the local terrain, the



### LTTE FIGHTERS

roads and paths to and from villages, and the local people. A stranger is more likely to be noticed by the IPKF men.

The local population is the key factor in this contest between the LTTE and the IPKF. Without the support of the villagers, the LTTE will not be able to carry on the fighting. This support comes from a mixture of fear, gratitude and sympathy. **There are villages where almost every family has a son or a brother in the LTTE,** and support runs high in other villages where it gets support through coercion. People suspected of being sympathetic to the IPKF are dealt with ruthlessly. For example, a woman from Sampaltivu village, whom the LTTE suspected of passing on information to the IPKF, was dragged out of her home and shot dead in broad daylight in full view of the village. None did anything to stop the killing.

**There is also gratitude for the LTTE among many Tamils, who feel that the Tigers were the only force that stood up for them against the Sri Lankan army once.** The Tamil population's feeling towards the IPKF is resentment but combined with the perception that the Indian troops are the only force that can save it from the excesses of the Sri Lankan armed forces. **The experience of living under what amounts to army rule under the IPKF has not been pleasant; and the curfews, searches and sometimes arrest of innocent people have all caused resentment.**

**"When the IPKF came, the Tamil people had a very romanticised vision of it. They felt the IPKF men were the saviours of the Tamil people. It was a shock when the IPKF began searching and arresting people",** explained

**Fr. Phillip, a Roman Catholic priest based at Kumirippiddy village, north of Trincomalee.**

IPKF officers will of course never confirm that suspects are beaten, but they say that in such situations the only way to extract information is to get tough. "If the local people came to us and gave us information, we would not have this problem", one officer said. But fear of the LTTE is so great that few people can risk giving the IPKF information. Even being seen going too often to an IPKF camp or giving water to IPKF soldiers is to risk harassment and possible death from the LTTE.

But it is to the credit of the IPKF that local citizens have no hesitation in going to the officers with their complaints. "We have no problems with the officers. We can go and talk to them, and they listen to us. It is not like the Sri Lankan army", said a Citizens' Committee member. There is a feeling among the IPKF officers that the prominent members of the local Tamil population should take upon themselves a greater role in persuading the LTTE to lay down arms. "They come to us with their complaints all the time, and we listen to them. If only they had the courage to go to the LTTE and ask them to lay down their arms", said an officer.

The Tamils are not clear on what they want from the IPKF. On the one hand they do not want it to leave, as they fear violence from the Sinhalese. They do not want the IPKF to carry on with its operations either, but they are not willing or able to restrain the LTTE. **The consensus is that there should be a ceasefire and that the Government of India should talk to the LTTE, and presumably give the Tigers what they want.**

*Continued on page 18*



# TAMIL GREATS

## SIR PON.RAMANATHAN, STATESMAN & PATRIOT (1851 - 1930)

By Manu Coomaraswamy (Sr.)

In 1929, Sir Graeme Thompson, the Governor of Ceylon, paying a tribute to the services rendered by Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan summed up his speech as follows:-*"Above all, he had the essential quality of patriotism, he was not only a good Tamil, he was one of the best Tamils; he was one of the best citizens of the Empire..... During the long and active period of over fifty years there was no occasion on which he did not assist his people in their long struggle towards self-government at every stage of which he fought in the van."*

Sir Pon.Ramanathan was a member of the Legislative Council and a great national champion of the people of Ceylon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century.

In the year 1886, Sir Pon. Ramanathan left for Europe on a lecture tour cum holiday and it was on this occasion that an address of appreciation was presented to him for his services to the Buddhist religion by the great Buddhist prelate the Venerable Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, the then principal of the Vidyodaya Privena and High Priest of Sri Pada (Adam's Peak) and other Buddhist leaders including Colonel Olcott, the renowned Buddhist revivalist.

Sir Ramanathan was Solicitor General from 1892 to 1906 and during this period was also acting Attorney General on three occasions. He was a great educationist and worked untiringly for the cause of higher education and along with his brother Sir Pon. Arunachalam spearheaded the University Movement advocating the establishment of the University of Ceylon. He was a member of the Riddell University Commission. Prof.R.Marrs, the Principal of the University College, had this to say of Sir Ramanathan as an educationist: *"His service to education was among the most enduring gifts to the people of Ceylon. He belonged to the noble band of educational founders who were the greatest benefactors of the countries in any part of the world. What would England be without its Wykams? What would Ceylon be without its similar array of educational missionaries and benefactors."*

*Sir Ramanathan's memory will always live in the hearts of the Tamil people for the establishment of the twin educational institutions in Jaffna, one for Saivite girls, the Ramanathan College, and the Parameshvara College at Thirunelvely for boys, which today is the Jaffna cam-*

*pus of the University.*

*Sir Ramanathan was learned in Hindu scriptures and was a pious Saivite. He was untiring in his efforts to build a Hindu temple in Colombo on the style of the great Sivan Temple at Rameshwaram in South India. The great edifice of stone was completed with the help of traditional sculptors and stone-masons whom he brought from Tamil Nadu. Today, this Sivan Temple at Kochchikade in Colombo North, affectionately called the 'Ramanathan Kovil' stands as living monument to Sri Ramanathan's dedication, zeal, religious fervour and indefatigability.*



**It was Sir Ramanathan who founded, in 1911, the Ceylonese, an English journal which was later bought by the late Mr.D.R.Wijewardene, and was published as the Ceylon Daily News, the leading newspaper in Ceylon.**

*In 1910, the McCallum Reforms brought a few political changes and Britain conceded an Educated Ceylonese seat in the Legislative Council, thanks to the effort of Sir P.Ramanathan who was leader of the National Reforms Association. Much against his will, Sir Ponnambalam was pressed by his countrymen to come out of his retirement and stand for election which he did; and defeated Dr.E.Marcus Fernando, a Sinhalese, by a thousand votes. He remained in office from 1911 to 1921.*

*A study of Sir P.Ramanathan's book entitled, "Riots and Martial Law in Ceylon in 1915" - published by St.Martin's Press, 15 Crown Street, Strand, London, will give readers a glimpse of his eloquent speeches delivered in championing the rights of the Sinhalese. He was not content with delivering speeches in the Council of State. He sailed to England, notwithstanding the German submarines that roamed the seas in World War I, to submit his findings about the riots and the Martial Law, personally to the Colonial Office in London. A young Sinhalese advocate, Mr.F.W.Perera who accompanied him, and who later became a*

**great patriot and politician himself, paying homage to the greatness of the Tamil leader, said, "It was Sir Ponnambalam who manfully and strenuously, although not of his (speaker's) blood yet feeling as a child of his country for the motherland, did all he possibly could as the one Ceylonese member to vindicate the Sinhalese and help them in their great agony and in their great travail."**

**Mr.C.W.W.Kannangara, hailed as the father of Free Education in the country, had this to say of Sir Pon.Ramanathan, "Our undying gratitude is due to him for the bold and courageous manner in which he vindicated the honour and the good name of the Sinhalese people in the dark days of 1915 and I hope, Sir, that ere long will be erected in his honour a worthy memorial to the noble and glorious part played by Sir P.Ramanathan in the deliverance of our people."** The worthy memorial envisaged by Mr.Kannangara took the form of a statue erected by public subscription to stand guard in the precincts of the State Council in Colombo. The statue stands to this day as the first of its kind, to be seen in the premises of the Council (the Old Parliament), which is a living monument to this great statesman.

**Mr.E.W.Jayewardene, Judge of the Supreme Court and the father of the present Sri Lankan President Mr.J.R.Jayewardene, paying homage to Sir P.Ramanathan on his arrival from England, said, "As a statesman and as a politician I think, if we searched the records of the last hundred years under British rule, we cannot find a better person who has played a large part in politics than Sir P. Ramanathan."**

**The leader of the Kandyan Sinhalese, the Hon.T.B.Panabokke, in 1892, said of Sir Ponnambalam, "In matters of religion our interests are united and in most manners and customs there are many things in common between the Tamils and the Kandyan community and therefore whenever a question of this sort which was interesting to the Kandyan community was coming up I had an opportunity of discussing it with my honourable friend (Sir P.Ramanathan) who was a tower of strength to me...."**

**This, in brief, is the vignette of the great statesman and a many-sided genius whose likeness we may never see again. Great men are born not for themselves but for their country. (We invite our readers to send us for publication similar short biographical sketches of Tamils who have distinguished themselves in all walks of life - administration, business, law, literature, medicine, music, politics, science, sports, etc. Ed)**



## AN APPRECIATION - LATE SABARATNAM

**John Moothathamby Sabaratnam** was the youngest of eight children of revered Christian parents. Today there are left just one sister Lily Jesudason and one brother Samuel Kanagaratnam of this illustrious family. Saba, as he was popularly known, has been snatched away from his wife, his four daughters and grandchildren, not to speak of a host of grieving friends and relations just four months short of his 75th birthday. Into these years he has indeed packed both notable achievement and noble endeavour totally unrivalled in the annals of our beloved Jaffna. He was an outstanding public servant, a committed community worker, and above all a devout and practising Christian.

He had his school education at St. John's College, Jaffna from where he passed the Cambridge Senior Examination in December 1930 with high distinction. From St. John's he went to Jaffna College to read for his London Intermediate in Arts and then to the Ceylon University College from where he passed his B.A. Examination in 1935. During his University College days he held the coveted post of Editor of the College magazine. After teaching for two years in Colombo he competed in the first open recruitment for Divisional Revenue Officers and was one of four Tamils selected. His first posting was in the District of Mannar and from there he moved to other DRO divisions until his appointment as Assistant Government Agent of the Northern Province. He retired from government service in December 1970 while holding the post of additional government agent of the Jaffna District.

While his public service career spanning 32 years was truly outstanding, he will be most remembered for the unique contribution he made to the life of Jaffna through various church, educational, community, commercial, relief and rehabilitation organisations in the 18 years of a

very active and productive period of retirement. One has only to list some of the bodies on which he served to realise his deep involvement in the welfare of his people. Let me just enumerate a few of the offices he held, many of them right up to the time of his death - President, Jaffna Y M C A; Chairman, Jaffna College Board of Directors; Member of the Executive Committee of the Church of South India; Warden of St. John's Baptist Church;



**J.M.SABARATNAM**  
(10.12.1913 - 10.08.1988)

Manager of three schools in the Northern Province - Chundikuli Girls', St John's and Jaffna College; Treasurer, Refugee and Rehabilitation Fund (1983); General Manager of the Jaffna Branch of Mercantile Credit; Member, Governing Board for Anglican Schools in Sri Lanka,

and Charter President of the Lions Club.

It is simply inconceivable how he could have compressed so much activity into this strife-ridden period of our history. At a time when many of the educated, experienced and talented Tamils not only from the disturbed areas of the North and East but also from Colombo were giving up the battle and seeking their fortunes in more secure and settled surroundings, Sabaratnam chose to stay at his post and do the work of perhaps half a dozen people. He was, like Moses, called to lead but he had sadly only a glimpse of the Promised Land.

A biographical study of Martin Luther ends with the judgement "Luther's picture has the remarkable quality of growing large and more lovable the closer it is approached." It is my misfortune that I could not get close enough to this great son of Jaffna. We can only echo the words of Milton: "Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought." Saba could have truly said in the memorable words of Paul to Timothy: "I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course. I have kept the faith." (*From the tribute paid by Mr C.J.T.Thamotheram at the funeral service of the late Mr Sabaratnam at Christ Church, Stourbridge, West Midlands*)

### OBITUARY

It is with regret that *Tamil Voice International* informs its readers of the death on 3rd August of **Mrs. EMILY GRACE GNANAPOORANAM (Rathinam) CHELVANAYAKAM (85), wife of the late S.J.V. Chelvanayakam.** Mrs. Chelvanayakam leaves behind a daughter, Mrs. Susili Wilson, and four sons, A.C. Manoharan, C. Vaseekaran, J.C. Ravindran and S.C. Chandrasanan.

Mrs. Chelvanayakam was a daughter of the late Maniyagar, R.R. Barr Kumarakulasinge, of Tellippalai. She had her education at Uduvil Girls' School where she also taught for some time.

Mrs. Chelvanayakam's outstanding contribution to the cause of Tamil

freedom was the unstinting cooperation and unquestioning loyalty she gave S.J.V. Chelvanayakam from the time he entered politics to the day of his death. In this respect she takes her place in the ranks of the wives of great men such as Madam Lenin and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Her support for S.J.V. Chelvanayakam went beyond canvassing the electors for every general election from 1947 to 1970. She was, in the later stages, a director of the Ceylon Newspapers Ltd. and bore the major responsibility for the technical aspects of the production of its newspaper, *Suthanthiran*, the spokesperson of the Tamil Freedom Movement. A self-effacing lady, she gave her all to the cause that S.J.V. Chelvanayakam espoused.



## POST-ACCORD VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SRI LANKA

*(This is a portion of an appeal made by The World Federation of Tamils to 40th session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and Human Rights. It provides excerpts from Sworn Statements on extra-judicial killings by IPKF, Damage to Property, disappearances etc.)*

The Indo - Sri Lanka Accord of 29th July 1987, was proclaimed by the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, as a panacea for all the ills of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. But the euphoria was short-lived when, in October, 1987, the so-called Indian Peace Keeping Force, turned their guns on the very souls whom they claimed they had gone to protect in Sri Lanka under the Accord. **The Indian Forces turned out to be ruthless killers, rapists, torturers, looters and destroyers of the Tamils and their property in the North and East. The methods used by them have been acknowledged all round as worse and more brutal than those of the Sri Lankan forces.**

Given below are some excerpts from sworn statements made by victims and witnesses of the atrocities perpetrated by the IPKF on innocent Tamils of the North & East. The names of the deponents are being withheld for obvious reasons of confidentiality.

### **Excerpts from Sworn Statements** (numbers within brackets are our references)

1. "(10) That on January 26, 1988 we were taken away for questioning one after the other. In the course of the inquiry the investigating officer gave us electric shock treatment on four occasions ... comparatively the electric shock treatment administered to some other detainees on that day was graver."

2. "(5) That, on that day (i.e. 24.11.1987) the IPKF made a house to house search in our area. At about 12.00 mid-noon five of them entered our house. One of them shouted at us to come out of the house ..... My husband was having a sound sleep inside..... on the floor.

One of the IPKF men placed his gun on a triangular stand, aimed at us and warned us not to open our mouths. Other three officers entered the house accompanying my brother-in-law. .... My eldest son, ... (5 years), also went with the army officers and put his father up. **While he was getting up one of them who is presumably a Gurkha**

**soldier, fired a shot into my husband's mouth from a very close range and killed him then and there";**

3. "(5) That, on 16th November, 1987 around 1 p.m., some officers of the IPKF came to our hamlet - Kambarmalai (Jaffna) and made an announcement over the loud-speaker to the effect that they were going to issue free rice, wheat flour, dry fish, etc., then and there ....

"(6) That, to our surprise, all of a sudden all the people there were rounded up by the IPKF. Later they suddenly arrested six youths by the names of .....

"(7) Then some of the IPKF personnel came to our house ... and took our above said son ... into custody on mere suspicion while he was giving tuition to his younger sisters. My wife and daughters started screaming out of fear and excitement ....

"(9) That after obtaining a pass from the Indian Civil Administrator attached to the Kachcheri, Jaffna, I proceeded to the said IPKF camp at Kankesanthurai. I was asked to come after 5 days. I was given the first opportunity of meeting my son on or around the 25th December, 1987.

"(10) .... During my 1st visit I noticed partially healed wounds in both his wrists and ankles. I asked him as to how he sustained those injuries. He kept mum. Subsequently, I was told by him that those were the marks of torture. He further intimated that Mr. P.... and himself were kept in confinement together at ..... Valvettithurai and were mercilessly manhandled by the IPKF soon after their arrest. They were even hung with the head down and beaten. Mr. P. .... succumbed to the injuries he sustained in his immediate presence. Later, on 18.11.1987 some of the IPKF personnel took him and the other remaining five detainees to Vallai open space along with the corpse of P. .... and buried the same there. Then they got them to dig six graves, asked Mr B to lie down in one of the graves and shot and killed him in the presence of all the other detainees. Thereafter they all were threatened to be killed.....

**Here is a first-hand account of the above acts of torture, by a victim:-**

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p.m., I paid a visit to my friends Messrs .....

"(4) That when I was with them at Kambarmalai, around 1 p.m. the members of the IPKF came to Kambarmalai junction and made an announcement by loud-speaker to the effect that they were going to issue free rice... then and there....

"(5) That to our surprise, all of a sudden all the people there were rounded up by IPKF. Later they selectively arrested seven youths including the aforesaid friends and myself. Other detainees are by the names of .....

"(6) That, I was kept behind bars at a temporary camp functioning at the house named "Easwari Vasa", Valvettithurai, along with .... and .....

We were not provided with any meals for two days. Exceptionally on one occasion one member of the IPKF personnel guarding us had shown magnanimity towards us by giving us some morsel of meal around midnight and warned us not to leak the incident of the supply of meal as he was under strict orders not to provide any meal to us. But we underwent intermittent torture of various forms. We were manhandled with hands, legs, clubs and especially with wooden straps....

"(9) That we had been brought to Vallai Veli (a vast open space...) in the same vehicle .....

"(10) That, the mini-van in which we were taken was parked by the side of the main road. Later some of the soldiers dug a grave and took the corpse of P. .... and buried the same there.

"(12) That, then B (one of the remaining six) was ordered to lie down in one of the graves with the hands and legs straight and face upwards. Then the Commander ordered a particular Officer to shoot him... B was shot at thrice and killed whilst in the grave.

"(13) That, thereafter we were all ordered to stand near each one of the graves dug by us. Then we were interrogated by the IPKF personnel at gunpoint. Pressure and even physical torture were exerted on and applied to us to make us admit that we had contacts with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). As repeated attempts were made to shoot us we started screaming fearing imminent death.

"(14) That, then the officer in command



informed us that he was kind enough to extend our life-span for twenty four hours and that if we failed to come out with the relevant facts within our knowledge before the ultimatum, we would be brought to the very same spot, killed and buried.

"(15) That, then we were brought back to Valvettithurai again and kept together in confinement .... We learned the following facts from Mr.....

"(A) He was previously detained at ...along with Mr.P ..... the deceased.

"(B) The torture meted out to them was very severe. They were even hung with the head down and mercilessly handled.

"(C) The said P. .. succumbed to the injuries he sustained in front of his eyes.

"(D) One young Tamil IPKF personnel named Anilkumar played a very vital role in torturing both of them. He went to the extent of burning the genital organ with a piece of detonator.

"(18) That as a result of the various steps taken by my father I was enlarged on parole on 12.12.87....

"(20) That I am constrained to divulge the impact of the torture and horror perpetrated on me and others in my presence, still keeps me in an unbalanced mental disposition and psychological fear. In addition I still have physical pain."

### Extra-judicial killings by IPKF

A) "4. On 26.10.1987 when we were at Kokkuvil Hindu Primary School, Jaffna, the army started firing from Kokkuvil junction and my sister K was injured on her neck and died at the spot; 3 other refugees were also killed in this incident.... 5. We left the dead body of our sister and took refuge in Kokkuvil Hindu College. 6. Already 30 persons were killed at Kokkuvil Hindu College and the dead bodies were cremated on 1.11.87 by the army personnel....

B) "4. On 16.10.87, I and the rest of our family members had to leave our house due to heavy shell fire in that area. 5. We moved on to Mootha Vinayagar Temple at Anaicoddai and took refuge there along with several other refugees. 6. On 18.10.87, my husband Mr.L, age 53, left



### DAMAGED BUILDINGS

the temple to spend the night at home in order to see that the house was secure from thieves. 7. Early in the morning on Monday 19.10.87, while I and my children were in the temple we heard the sound of continuous gunfire around the temple. 8. Shortly after firing ceased the temple door was opened and some of the refugees went out and saw some civilians from the neighbourhood lying dead around the temple and the IPKF personnel were about the place. 10. On Tuesday, 10.10.87 morning, the refugees in the temple were able to go out as the IPKF had withdrawn. 11. That morning only I discovered that my husband was dead and that his body was lying about 15 yards away from the temple. 12. I was informed by Mr.T of Anaicoddai that my husband was shot dead by IPKF on Monday 19.10.87 morning near where his body was lying. 13. That a mother and son were also shot dead about the

same time..."

### Damage to Property by IPKF

"That I am the head of my family of six members.... That my family and I were residing in our own house near Punnalaikkadduvan North Junction on the Palaly road. That after the commencement of the military operation in the Jaffna peninsula by the IPKF, an army unit arrived and camped at the Punnalaikkadduvan North Junction. That as the said unit of IPKF started mortar shelling and firing, my family and I fled our house in a hurry abandoning all our belongings in the said house which was either damaged or looted since. That I assess the total of the damages caused to me at Rs.509,500....

(To be continued)

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## World News

### WHY INDIA ENTERED SRI LANKA

The Union Defence Minister, Mr. K.C.Pant, has told some presspersons in Kanpur that the IPKF will continue its operations in Sri Lanka until all the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord are fulfilled. He has told them that India's effort to secure the participation of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in the electoral process has failed. The Defence Minister has told the members of a Youth Congress, whom he addressed, that India accepted the invitation to send IPKF to Sri Lanka as the entry of any other power might have turned against the country's security interests. (Madras Hindu - 21.8.88)

### NELSON MANDELA MAY BE RELEASED

It is rumoured that the African National leader, Nelson Mandela,

who is now in hospital undergoing treatment for suspected cancer, may be released from jail. But sources close to the South African government have said that the chances of the ailing leader getting release will be slender unless Mandela agrees to renounce violence and insurrection.

### TAMIL TIGERS DETAINED FOR ONE YEAR!

Over 154 members of the LTTE, including severely injured and handicapped boys and girls, have been ordered by the Governor of Tamil Nadu, India, to be held in custody for one year under the Indian National Security Act.

In a move to clamp down the LTTE political activities in Tamil Nadu, the Tamil Nadu Police, under the instructions of the Central Government of India, arrested the LTTE activists in the state on 8th August and closed

down their political headquarters in Madras. The arrested LTTE members have been ordered, without trial, to be kept for one year by the Governor of Tamil Nadu state. Under the Indian National Security Act, any person can be arrested and kept in custody for an indefinite period without trial or bail.

### GANDHI KILLS PEACOCK, BUT KING CAN DO NO WRONG!

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi recently ran over and killed a peacock - India's national bird - as it gave a mating display to a female in the middle of the road. Anyone who kills a peacock is technically liable to prosecution, but Delhi police say no charge has been laid. The 'Statesman' newspaper said in a tongue-in-cheek report that police may charge the bird with suicide, and the peahen for aiding and abetting.

### TRINCOMALEE TRIALS

*Continued from page 13*

Within the IPKF itself there is sympathy for the Tamils because of the perception that the Tamils have had the rough end of the stick from the Sri Lankan army and the Sinhalese people. And there is a feeling that the IPKF has a role to play in protecting the Tamils. There is grudging admiration for the military skills, discipline and motivation of the LTTE cadres. **"They are good fighters, but what really gives them an edge is their motivation."** Motivation is a problem in the IPKF, especially among the jawans, who are not really sure what they are fighting for.

There is also a feeling among the officers who have been in the middle of the fighting that subduing the Tigers completely is going to take a long time, perhaps years, that a political settlement is necessary and that the army is being used to solve what is essentially a political problem. One thing which becomes apparent is that the army was not given a proper idea of what its role was to be in Sri Lanka except for a hint that the LTTE was to be treated as a friend. In the first few months after the Agreement was signed, the IPKF used to fraternise with the LTTE, whose members visited IPKF camps and rode in IPKF

jeeps. When the break came, the army was unprepared to fight its former friends.

The IPKF's close identification with the LTTE and with the Tamils has caused problems with the Sinhalese in Trincomalee district, who regard the IPKF as a force that the Tamils have brought in. This feeling is especially acute among the Sinhalese refugees, of whom there are several thousand in Trincomalee town, victims of the riots which broke out in late September and early October last year. **They are adamant that they would not go back to their homes as long as the IPKF is in Trincomalee, and feel that relations between the Sinhalese and the Tamils were much more cordial before the IPKF moved in.**

There is a fear in Trincomalee that the Sinhalese sentiment against the presence of a foreign army will find expression once the IPKF leaves, in the form of renewed communal riots. In the town, always ethnically volatile, the IPKF has, through a mixture of patrolling, curfews and civic action programmes, managed to maintain a fragile peace, but the danger of communal violence is always present.

The town is an illustration of the  
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**weaknesses of the Agreement and the crucial role the IPKF has to play in its implementation.** The Agreement has not really created ethnic harmony; it has at best created a framework within which the aspirations of the different communities can be met. But, for this framework to be used as a durable solution, bridges of amity have to be built between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities in the Eastern Province alongside the military actions of the IPKF.

(By courtesy - Frontline - Aug.6-19, 1988)

**Please help rehabilitation and resettlement of Eelam Tamils through**

## TAMIL REHABILITATION ORGANISATION

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# INDIA : A REVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

*Amnesty International - August 1988*

*This paper summarises Amnesty International's main human rights concerns in India since January 1987. It also includes case histories of victims of human rights violations by the Indian Peace Keeping Force stationed in Sri Lanka since the July 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan Accord.*

In India, long-established national institutions, including the Supreme and High Courts, act to protect fundamental rights and grant redress to victims of human rights abuses. Yet many of these victims, in particular those belonging to underprivileged groups, are unable to get speedy and effective protection. This is especially true in places where the government has assumed wide powers under special laws designed to deal with violent opposition by armed groups, for example in the state of Punjab.

The review describes features of various special "anti-terrorist" and preventive detention laws which lack basic legal safeguards, several of them laid down in international human rights standards to which India is a party. These features include special courts to try political prisoners in camera without witnesses having to disclose their identity, provisions for confessions to the police to be admissible as evidence - otherwise excluded the burden of proof to be shifted onto the accused. The review criticizes not only these features of the special laws in themselves, but also their application. Several thousand political detainees have been held without charge or trial under these special laws. Of particular concern is the plight of 326 Sikhs detained in Jodhpur jail since June 1984, many of whom appear to be prisoners of conscience.

**Also considered is a recent amendment to the constitution which permits the government to proclaim an emergency in Punjab and suspend fundamen-**

**tal rights, including the right to life, on vaguely defined grounds.** It expresses concern that the amendment could be used to facilitate further large-scale arbitrary arrests and detentions of political prisoners, notably of prisoners of conscience, and further arbitrary killings of real or perceived political opponents.

The review also describes recent reports of torture. Victims say they have been beaten, subjected to electric shocks and otherwise abused. Such allegations have particularly been made in Punjab where dozens of such allegations have been confirmed by an official commission of inquiry. Torture has also been reported in many other parts of India, including the northeast. The alleged victims have included many members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

**Allegations of police rape of women belonging to these groups are frequent and, despite official inquiries having been instituted, action is rarely taken against those responsible. Each year dozens of people die in custody, allegedly as a result of torture.**

Equally serious are reports that political activists, those suspected of assisting them and, in one case, members of the Muslim community have been unlawfully killed by police and paramilitary forces. Allegations that dozens of Muslim men were taken away in May 1987 by members of the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) in Meerut and shot in secret have been denied by officials but the findings of the official inquiries have not been published more than a year after the incident; nor has action been taken against members of the PAC involved. Persistent allegations that political activists have been killed in staged "encounters" with the police, especially in Punjab, have not been officially investigated. They have gained credibility through circumstantial

evidence. **Special legislation gives the army powers to shoot to kill suspects in "disturbed areas", notably in northeast India, and gives the security forces immunity from prosecution.** Amnesty International is also concerned that a number from among the dozens sentenced to death each year are executed, but official statistics are not published.

The review urges the Indian Government to reconsider special powers legislation, restore important legal safeguards, take steps to prevent torture and deaths in custody and undertake impartial investigations into allegations of such abuses as torture and "encounter" killings.

**The appendix contains allegations that Tamil men taken in for questioning between November 1987 and February 1988 were tortured by members of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. Six cases of people who either "disappeared" or who died in custody, apparently after being severely tortured, are also included.**

The review was sent to the Prime Minister and other officials on 6 June. In his covering letter the Secretary General of Amnesty International said he hoped the review could form the basis of a dialogue between Amnesty International and the Indian Government. The allegations concerning the Indian Peace Keeping Force were sent separately to its Commander in Sri Lanka and to other Indian officials for their comments. No response from the Indian government had been received at the time of printing.

*"There is no easy walk to Freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountain top of our desires"-*

**Jawaharlal Nehru**



## UN HEARS TAMIL WOES

### INVESTIGATE INTO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Martin Ennals, Observer for Defence for Children International, focussed attention on the precarious human rights situation in Sri Lanka in the context of the ethnic conflict that had been plaguing the island for the past several years. Here is an extract.

"Families, individuals and particularly children suffered greatly as a result. It was important to use the machinery and equipment which the United Nations had available. In this regard, he hoped it would be possible for an appeal to go out for a very early ceasefire and that the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987 be seen as a starting point to bring about a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The Sub-Commission could very well ask the Working Party on Disappearances and the Special Rapporteurs on Torture and Arbitrary Killings to pursue their investigations into violations of human rights and humanitarian law in Sri Lanka."

### TRULY PARTICIPATE IN PEACE PROCESS

"In Sri Lanka, the hopes raised by the Accord between Sri Lankan and Indian authorities have been succeeded by a new turmoil of terror and destruction. In this regard, Pax Christi shares the views expressed yesterday by Mr. Martin Ennals on behalf of International Alert and the Minority Rights Group. It is urgent that the Sub-Commission launches an appeal to all parties to respect the norms of humanitarian law and truly participate in the peace process." (*An extract from a submission by PAX CHRISTI on 18.8.88*)

### IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE

"The armed conflict situation in Sri Lanka also requires immediate attention. In our statement to the Commission at its 1988 Sessions, we pointed out violations of the Geneva Conventions by the Indian Peace Keeping Force and other parties to the conflict that have had a serious impact on sick and disabled persons. We also reminded the Commission that the Governments of India and Sri Lanka had not yet complied with Commission resolution 1987/61, which requested

that the International Committee of the Red Cross be granted the right to carry out its usual activities in armed conflict situations.

"The Indian Peace Keeping Force has continued to engage in operations that violate the Geneva Conventions and the ICRC is still denied access. Additionally, other humanitarian organisations have had their activities barred or severely curtailed. Tamils and other Sri Lankans who fear for their lives continue to leave seeking refuge from the war. Many of these persons are permanently disabled.

"We urge the Sub-Commission to appeal to the parties to institute an immediate ceasefire and to establish mechanisms, including those anticipated in the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of July 1987, for reaching a peaceful settlement of the disputes that recognises and accommodates the aspirations of the Tamil people and allows for full enjoyment of human rights by all Sri Lankans. We also ask the Special Rapporteur for Human Rights and Disability to request information from the parties about war-caused disabilities, including plans for evacuation to other countries of those requiring specialised treatment. Finally, we ask the international community to respond appropriately to the pressing medical and rehabilitation needs of all Sri Lankans." (Statement of DISABLED PEOPLES' INTERNATIONAL)

### GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

"Human Rights Advocates join with other NGOs that have addressed the Sri Lanka situation in expressing our deep concern over continuing violations of human rights committed by all parties to the conflict there. The parties include the armies of the two governments involved - the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Sri Lankan army - and the two non-state militant forces, those of the Sinhalese including the People's Liberation Front or JVP, and those of the Tamils, including the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

"Human Rights Advocates are especially alarmed by attacks during the past year on human rights defenders, including Father Chandra Fernando

and Mr. Kanthasamy. Those two people, and other members of Citizens' Committees and relief and social service organisations, far from using or advocating violence, actively have been working for a restoration of peace and respect for human rights.

"Since the Commission, in resolution 1987/61, expressed its concern as to the situation, India and Sri Lanka, in July of 1987, entered into an Accord. Now, one year after the signing of that Accord, it is clear that expectations for a prompt and peaceful resolution of the conflict have not been fulfilled. To the contrary, human rights violations continue; and the Sri Lankan government has neither been able to maintain respect for human rights and humanitarian law nor co-operated sufficiently with the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, Human Rights Advocates respectfully urge the Sub-Commission, this session, to call the situation in Sri Lanka again to the attention of the Commission and, in particular:

- (1) To request the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances and the Special Rapporteurs on torture and on summary and arbitrary executions to vigorously pursue investigations of reliably attested charges of violations;
- (2) To call on the Government of Sri Lanka to permit the International Committee of the Red Cross to fulfil its functions, including the provision of assistance and protection to victims of all affected parties; and to institute impartial investigations into all allegations of extra-judicial killings, disappearances, acts of torture, and unlawful detentions;
- (3) To call for a ceasefire between the IPKF and the LTTE;
- (4) To call on all parties to recognise the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord as a basis for the settlement;
- (5) To condemn all extra-judicial killings, disappearances, acts of torture, and unlawful detentions;
- (6) To call on each party to end the commission of those violations for which it is responsible; and
- (7) To call on all parties to respect the right of human rights defenders to monitor, publicise, and protest violations, without intimidation or persecution." (*Statement by Human Rights advocates - Aug 15, 1988*).