

# TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

## TVI

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### PATHETIC PLIGHT OF ESTATE TAMILS



'here is but a row  
of tin roofed lines

.....  
to eat and sleep  
to incubate and breed  
to meet the master's greed'

*From 'In Ceylon's Tea Garden' by C. V. Velupillai*



These are some of the Tamils with whom • Jawaharlal Nehru.... played politics, whom Shastri used to stay in power, Mrs Gandhi used to help Mrs Bandaranaike and to keep J. R. Jayewardene out of power, and now Rajiv Gandhi is using in his desperate effort to stay in power'.  
*Dr. Benjamin Raj in his Open Letter to Hon. S. Thondaman (See page 12)*



## YOUR VOICE

### NATIONAL HERO

By Ranjit, Lewisham

Time has come for the Sinhalese to accept Velupillai Prabhakaran as a National hero and back him to the hilt to put the Indian forces out. Though a Sinhalese, I salute him.

Indians are playing a double-game. They are said to have trained the Tamil militants, and are now trying to destroy a patriotic force in the North so that they could proceed with their plan to move to the South with the help of the quisling groups of the North.

**The Sinhalese, without losing time, should support Prabhakaran and settle the ethnic conflict with a full-fledged five-state federal set-up as suggested by Dr. Brian Senewiratne. This is the one and only solution if Sri Lanka is to survive as a sovereign state. Else, both the Sinhalese and the Tamils will lose their independence. In fact, the majority on both sides have already lost theirs!**

I hope the Tamils will forgive and forget the past and agree to build a Democratic, Socialist, Federal Republic in the interests of all Sri Lankans. Indians are Indians and Sri Lankans are Sri Lankans! Let there be an initiative from both sides!.

\*\*\*\*

### RAJIV'S INDIA SHUT UP FOR GOOD

Siva Muttulingasamy, Shirley, Croydon

During the press briefing, just before the International Tamil Conference, Karen Parker, a human rights activist from the USA said that she had no doubts in her mind that the US government had dragged India into Sri Lanka with the intention of shutting her up for good. India which enjoyed the status of the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the Third World was always a thorn on the side of the US and its notorious ally South Africa. Now with the well known atrocities committed by Rajiv's troops, India has been reduced to a cipher.

This fact is very evident after the shooting down of an Iranian airliner by a US destroyer which killed almost

300 civilians. In times gone by India would have come out with guns blazing to attack the US but on this occasion not even a whimper from the largest democracy in the world. **This phrase "largest democracy in the world" will soon be rephrased "largest dummy in the world." Even Pakistan, a long term stooge of the US, has said something that was worth printing.**

\*\*\*\*

### A TIME FOR PEACE; A TIME FOR A TRUCE

Jayarathnam, Canada

**Must New Delhi have the dead body of the leader of the Tamil Resistance, Velupillai Prabhakaran? Must all the Tamil-speaking young people of the Northern and Eastern provinces be subject to search and destroy saturation operation by India's Peace Keepers? Is there not going to be an end to the humiliation of the Tamil people?**

**We urge New Delhi to re-think its strategy. We do not seek alliances with Islamabad, Dacca or Beijing. We do not deceive or dissimulate. Why should not New Delhi therefore be engaged in a constructive discussion with Eelam? Why not call an end to the process of national humiliation? An idea cannot be killed. Nor can a National Resistance be forever suppressed. Now is the hour for reconciliation. We can in this way avoid the possibilities of a future West Bank uprising.**

\*\*\*\*

### WORLD OPINION MUST CONCERN ITSELF WITH THE CAUSE OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE

Political Committee of the LTTE.

In July 1987, the Indian Peace Keeping Force arrived in Sri Lanka ostensibly to protect the people of Tamil Eelam and to implement the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord. In reality, however, the IPKF has violated the most important provisions of the peace accord. It has failed to prevent recurrent atrocities against the Tamil

people by the Sri Lankan armed forces. It has taken no measures whatever to disarm the racist Sinhala homeguards and other Tamil traitor groups. In fact, it has given no protection to the Tamil people.

Instead, it has sought to disarm the LTTE to the core despite the fact that the LTTE had already surrendered large quantities of arms and ammunition to the IPKF. To cover up its atrocities against the Tamil people, the IPKF has destroyed the sole means of communication between the LTTE and the civilian population in the North and East by blowing up the printing presses producing the newspapers 'Murasoli' and 'Eelamurasu', as well as the TV station 'Nidharshanam'. **Having silenced the voice of Tamil resistance the IPKF has cynically substituted it with its own Goebbelsian propaganda machine with the aim of deceiving world opinion and justifying its criminally repressive policies.**

The Tamil people state, sincerely and unambiguously, that they desire peace. They want the cessation of all Indian military activities and they urge the Indian government to begin serious peace negotiations with the LTTE.

**The people of Tamil Eelam, the international Tamil community and Indian public opinion are demanding an end to the Indian Government's military action; and yet the Indian government continues ruthlessly to pursue its military offensive in Tamil Eelam.** Far from abandoning its military activities, the IPKF has intensified its operations and slammed the door shut to a negotiated peace. Worse still, they are co-ordinating their military activities with the murderous Sri Lankan army and are converting the Tamil homeland into a veritable killing-field for the armies of India and Sri Lanka. After ten months of uninterrupted war and repression against the Tamil people by the Indian army we demand that the Indian army cease all military operations and enter into peace talks with the LTTE without any preconditions.



# THE DRAFT INDO-LANKA DEFENCE TREATY

The *Lanka Guardian* of June 1, 1988, published in a coveted scoop, "the authentic draft" of an "Indo-Lanka Defence Treaty." The steps that led to the draft say a great deal about the small neighbour (Sri Lanka) that must negotiate from a position of weakness. The draft was, the *Lanka Guardian* states, prepared by Lanka's Foreign Ministry and the government's legal advisers within and outside the administration. Apparently there was some discussion of the Treaty when President Jayewardene visited New Delhi as Chief Guest at the Indian Republic Day celebrations (January 26, 1988). The last piece of evidence is that K.C.Pant, the Indian Defence Minister, recently returned to New Delhi from his visit to Colombo carrying with him the draft "agreement to consolidate and extend the friendly relations and co-operation between Sri Lanka and India." The *Lanka Guardian*'s comment that precedes the text of the agreement is ominous, namely, that it "remains to be signed, if at all." We have conflicting information that India will, of course, wish to revise the terms or alternatively India has no intention of entering into any such agreement. We cannot with certainty any longer predict the vagaries of Indian diplomacy.

Some of the terms are interesting and relevant for their bearing on Eelam Tamil nationalism. Before we enumerate these in short order **Delhi might be reminded that when President Jayewardene visited Pakistan, he went to the Pak-Afghan border and shouted the slogan "Free Afghanistan Zindabad" against the very Najibullah regime which Mr. Rajiv Gandhi seeks to befriend. On the same occasion, President JR extended support to Pakistan's claims on divided Kashmir. The draft treaty does a quick turnabout.** Its preamble refers to the "friendship between the two states stretching over two millennia or more." Another section of the preamble boasts that the two states have "successfully upheld and promoted the democratic political order", when in fact **all the world knows of Sri Lanka's slide towards authoritarianism and a militarised state.** A minor concession is made to the bipolarised ethnic situation in Sri Lanka in the sentence "... multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious societies." .. etc. etc. Do we take it that the concept of the Sinhala Buddhist state which Sinhala Buddhists looked upon as *staatsvolk* (the people of the state) or *bhumiputra* (sons of the soil) has been modified or abandoned? Or, is all this merely political window-dressing? We are concerned about deceit. And we would not like India or the world to be misled.

Then follow the articles of the draft treaty. Article I seeks to put an end to any Indian interference when it states that the Contracting Parties will "refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other." The reference is to India. But, is Sri Lanka stating that in return Sri Lanka will not interfere in the internal affairs of India? **We see a hidden threat here. What is being conveyed is that Sri Lanka can, with another power, (Islamabad?) undermine the integrity of India.** Article II(ii) provides for deportation of any national of either state "who, within the territory of the other, engages in terrorist activities or advocates separatism or secessionism with respect to the other country." There are two separate questions here. Firstly, we speculate how the Supreme Court of India would interpret "separatism or secessionism" when it is peacefully advocated. Is this an infringement on the Indian Constitution's freedom of expression? Secondly, **we again discern a hidden threat. Sri Lanka will also, in return, guarantee that its territory will not be utilised, presumably, by the Khalistani movement.** Article III and its various sections pledge that the Contracting Parties will **review, not end,** the employment of "foreign military and intelligence personnel", "any agreement with foreign broadcasting organisations", etc. We thought that the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987 provided for the termination not the reviewing of all this foreign adventurism in the soft underbelly of India, the island of Sri Lanka.

Article IV is perplexing. While Article I enjoins avoidance of interference in the internal affairs of either state, Article IV declares a "commitment and adherence to solving all bilateral problems through discussion and negotiation." These bilateral problems obviously refer to Eelam. In terms of Article I, such difficulties are an internal question, not a matter for negotiation between the Contracting Parties. We see in this an enigma within an enigma. The experienced diplomats of the South Block could doubtless solve the riddle.

**We are not overly concerned as to which of the Contracting Parties deceives the other. We do not wish however to witness the re-enactment of another Munich Agreement (1938). We would urge New Delhi not to sign away territories which rightly belong to the Tamil-speaking people. The carving up of Czechoslovakia and the ceding of Sudetenland did not appease Hitler. In the same way handing away our lands to the Sinhala Buddhist state will not satiate the wielders of power in Colombo.**

## TAMIL VOICE International

எப்பொழுது யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பிலும் அப்பொழுது  
மெய்ப்பொழுது காண்ப தறிவு.

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# DISARMING LTTE IS HARMFUL TO OUR INTERESTS

*Aladi Aruna, M.P. at the International Tamil Conference held in London*

At the outset, I pay homage to our Tamil militants and others who have sacrificed their lives for the great cause of Tamil Eelam. The valiant people who have been killed by the Sri Lankan forces and the IPKF, have become martyrs in the history of our freedom movement. *I proudly salute our brother Prabakaran for leading this movement with unique courage and chivalry against the repressive forces of Sri Lanka and India.*

After independence, in 1948, the Sinhalese started to claim that Sri Lanka was a country of the Sinhalese and that Buddhism was the state religion of Sri Lanka. Sinhalese chauvinism and religious fanaticism have raised this cry, depriving the life and liberty of the Tamil minority.

Sir, the suppressed minority now has no other alternative than to fight against the majority. India and other neighbouring countries are aware of the peaceful movement under the leadership of Thanthai Chelva. The majority totally failed to understand and acknowledge the legitimate claims and rights of the Tamil minority. After the demise of Thanthai Chelva, that chauvinistic Sinhalese majority escalated repressive measures against our Tamils.

**The civil movement was given up, not because we prefer violence or militancy but because the Sinhalese rulers have forced us to resort to direct action to preserve, protect and save the rights of all Tamils. It is our birth right. No power on the earth has the right to take away our fundamental rights.**

The whole world has witnessed how the Sinhalese army ruthlessly massacred our people, looted our property and destroyed our houses. What was ruthlessly and mercilessly done by the Sri Lankan army has been shamelessly repeated by IPKF against our own people.

India took the role of mediator between the Tamils and the Government of Sri Lanka. *The mediator is expected to draw up a proposal or understanding on the conscience of both parties,*

*but in the case of India, the mediator himself put a precondition for negotiation. India imposed a precondition that the Tamils must accept a solution within the integrity of Sri Lanka.* What warranted India to put forward such a precondition? Has it not waged a war for the freedom of Bangladesh, has it not extended support to the freedom of Namibia, has it not recognised PLO? Then why should it put forward such a precondition for the settlement of the Sri Lankan Tamil issue?



**ALADI ARUNA, M.P.**

*The very basic policy of the movement, my friends, was changed, damaged and castrated, not because of our enemy but because of our so-called friend, India. President Jayewardene successfully brain-washed Mrs Gandhi and Mr Rajiv Gandhi into believing that the formation of the sovereign state of Tamil Eelam would lead to the secession of Tamil Nadu from India. This is baseless. There is no evidence or basis or justification for such a fear. But unfortunately, Jayewardene has succeeded in his manoeuvring; therefore the attitude of India is always adverse to the basic policy of our freedom movement.*

The stance of India is the creation of a Tamil province within the integrity of Sri Lanka with powers equivalent to those of the states of India. Sir, now three questions arise out of this stance. 1. Whether this stance will fulfil the aspirations of the Tamils? 2. Whether President Jayewardene has already asked for this stance? 3. Whether the Indian states are

autonomous?

**Sir, the rasping fact is that the states in India are not autonomous. If you study and examine the powers of the States in India, with those of the States in Canada, United States of America, Switzerland or Australia, we could easily see that the Indian states are almost glorified municipalities.** The very existence of the States eventually is at the mercy of the centre. The dagger of dissolution is always hanging above the head of State governments under Article 356. Therefore, creating a State in Sri Lanka equivalent to the Indian States can never solve the Tamil problem.

After 1983, all political parties except the Congress and Communist parties appealed to the Government of India to take direct action against the Government of Sri Lanka to protect the interest of the Tamils. Military intervention in the beginning was ruled out by the Government of India. It repeatedly assured us of only persuasion and negotiation, and persistently refused to take military action except dropping of food stuffs. But today the Government of India firmly and tenaciously wages war against our Tamil brethren. It has refused to declare cease-fire. It is reluctant to negotiate with the Tamils. It is adamant and belligerent. The point which I want to stress is that **the Government of India which had refused to take military action against Sri Lanka has now launched a military offensive against our Tamils only because the Government of India is anti-Tamil.**

**The operation of killing of the Tamils has been handed over to Rajiv Gandhi while President Jayewardene is conveniently and comfortably thinking of amending the Constitution to enable him to get a third term as President. So far, President Jayewardene has been successful not because of our blunders, nor because of our lies, but because of the betrayal of India.** India entered as a mediator between the Government of



Sri Lanka and the Tamils. Now the mediator has become a traitor. That is why for the last 10 months in the name of disarming our militant people, under the pretext of implementing the Accord, IPKF is allowed to continue to massacre our Tamil people, to destroy our property and loot our houses.

Mr Prabakaran is ready for unconditional talks but India still refuses to have the dialogue directly and it imposes two conditions. If this situation is allowed to continue I fear that the Tamil race will be wiped out by the IPKF. Therefore, how to overcome this deadlock is more important.

All the political parties, and all the political leaders, must appeal to India to declare a cease-fire, but India refuses to accept our request. But it imposes two conditions.

1. LTTE must surrender its arms.
2. LTTE must end this opposition to the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord.

**Under what right, under what international law, does India compel the LTTE to accept these two conditions?** Is it the way of protecting the rights of India? No doubt, it is one of the terms of the Accord. But the LTTE is not a party to the Accord. Neither have they been consulted nor have they given their consent to this Accord. In the absence of such consent to the Accord from the LTTE, India has no right to compel them to accept the Accord. To mislead the public through the help of the media, India deliberately, wilfully and maliciously claimed that it had obtained the consent from military groups. This is distortion of facts and a travesty of the truth.

The ridiculous role taken by India is that India signed the Accord on behalf of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. These Tamils of Sri Lanka are not the citizens of India. They are the citizens of Sri Lanka. So **how can a sovereign country sign an Accord on behalf of the people who are citizens of another country?** The attitude of India is highly imperialistic in nature. According to the Government of India, the LTTE are acting against the Accord. That is their claim. So this has necessitated the Indian Peace Keeping Force to

launch a direct offensive. On the other hand, the Government of India has totally refused to realise that the Government of Sri Lanka has not come forward to implement the Accord. India itself has admitted it in a statement in the floor of the House. It is very particular to enforce the Accord only on the LTTE but not on the Government of Sri Lanka. Neither the merger of the provinces, nor the devolution of power under the 13th Amendment of the Constitution has been implemented.

**Sir, the point I would like to make is that whilst President Jayewardene, who signed the Accord acts against the Accord, a person who has not signed the Accord is compelled to accept the Accord. It is a ridiculous situation but India is not realising it.** It means that India has been trapped by President Jayewardene.

So, what I appeal for is the withdrawal of the IPKF for the following reasons:

1. The offensive of the IPKF is dead against the very objective of the Accord.
2. IPKF is more dangerous than the Sri Lankan army. Our LTTE are capable enough, brave enough, potent enough to defeat the Sri Lankan army but not the Indian Army. That is why

the IPKF must be withdrawn in the interest of our movement.

3. The role of the IPKF is hated by both Tamils and Sinhalese.

4. IPKF are fighting not for the interest of the Tamils, not for the implementation of the Accord, but for India to have a treaty at the expense of the Tamils. That is the secret move on the part of India.

**If the militants are totally disarmed, the very next moment the Government of Sri Lanka would ask the Government of India to withdraw the IPKF. Then who is going to protect the interests of the Tamils? Who is to safeguard our interests?** So the only agency in the past and present capable of protecting the interests of the Tamils is none other than the LTTE. If they disarm our LTTE we will not be safeguarded by any agency. What is the guarantee that the proposed State government of the Tamil province would be allowed to rule freely by the centre of Sri Lanka? You know well the history of India that State governments are not allowed to function freely. They are always under the threat of the centre. **The LTTE alone will protect the interest of the people. Disarming is harmful to our interest.**

## UNITY PROSPECTS BRIGHT, SAYS KARUNANIDHI

DMK President, Mr. M.Karunanidhi, said here today that the chances of opposition parties coming under one banner were bright.

Mr. Karunanidhi, who returned today from Vijayawada after attending a meeting of opposition leaders convened by the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. N.T.Rama Rao, said the DMK would extend full support to unity efforts. On seat adjustments with alliance parties for the elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly, he said it would be taken up after the election schedule was announced. Commenting on the postponement of co-operative societies' elections to August, Mr. Karunanidhi described

it as "another contradiction" in the Governor's regime. During the Vijayawada meeting he said he had spoken to the party leaders there about the Sri Lankan Tamils' issue and the DMK would organise a national conference to highlight this problem. "It is unfortunate that instead of settling the issue amicably, the Prime Minister is trying to complicate it by asking the IPKF to go for the LTTE leader, Mr. Prabakaran's life. I again appeal to the Prime Minister to give up this attitude and call for a dialogue after ordering an immediate ceasefire in the island", he said. (Courtesy *The Hindu* (International Edition) June 4, 1988)



# THIRUKKURAL

By S.Sriskandarajah

தலையின் இழிந்த மயிரணையர் மாந்தர்  
நிலையின் இழிந்தக் கடை.

Thalaiyin Izhintha Mayiranayaar Maanthartham Nilayin Izhinhak Kadai -  
(Transliteration)

Men fallen from high estate are like the hair fallen from the head -  
(Translation)

Hair-care is nothing new. It had developed as an art even during the time of *Thiruvalluvar*. In more than two contexts he has referred to hair care. Tamil readers know of *Nakkeerar's* research on hair care. People all over the world spend a lot of time, energy and money for the purpose of keeping the hair on their head. Males and females, young and old, are particular about keeping their hair in proper form. Girls spend a good part of their earnings in perming and curling and singeing their hair. Old men and women in Europe expend hundreds of pounds to ensure that they look smart and youngish.

If one sits back and ponders as to how much time and money are spent on grooming one's hair he will simply be

stunned. Care and attention are given to the hair only when it is intact on the head. **But once a single hair falls off from the head how do we treat it? We treat it as dirt and even filth and often feel loath to touch it. Of course, it is the self-same hair to which we quite religiously and regularly applied cream, shampoo and scent. But the moment it has been displaced from its position and descends to the ground we regard it as loathesome and it becomes untouchable.**

Such is the condition of people who fall from their position of rectitude and honour. Even those who are exalted like a hill will be held low if they commit deeds that are debasing, even if such deeds

are of a minor nature. If a person is honest and righteous, people will adore, admire and respect him. But if he commits the unacceptable and stoops to any mean level, then people will cease to regard him and start to treat him as dust and dirt. *Thiruvalluvar* likens the fallen hair to a person who has descended from a position of honour, with a view to driving home the importance of good and virtuous conduct.

The mighty *Ravana* of Lanka was held in high esteem as a man of valour and honour until he slipped and slid into the quagmire of ignominy and infamy by coveting the wife of another. When he fell from his height of nobility, even his much adored and faithful wife *Mandothari* treated him as a nonentity. The *Devendra*, the Chief of *Devas*, himself became small when he coveted *Akalikai*.

In the view of *Thiruvalluvar*, as good conduct or good demeanour makes for excellence, it ought to be preserved more carefully than life itself. If we fail to conduct ourselves well, then we are certain to be treated as dirt by our fellow beings.

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## PRABA IN PROFILE

*(Excerpts from Mary Anne Weaver's "A REPORTER AT LARGE" published in the New Yorker of March 21, 1988. We carried portions of this delightful piece of writing in TVI Vol.I No.11)*

Rajiv Gandhi was increasingly besieged by domestic problems - not just the growing violence by the Sikhs in the Punjab but also allegations of scandal touching his closest friends and aides, and defections from his Cabinet - and he badly needed a foreign-policy success. He was also becoming weary of Prabakaran and his Tamil Tigers.

The Tamil separatists, a dizzying array of groups and ideologists, had battled one another for a decade, and Prabakaran had consolidated his power through deadly shoot outs with his rivals over the past two years. Five major groups now survived, and, though still deeply distrustful of one another, they were roughly aligned in two major camps. The Tigers worked closely with EROS, which specialised in explosives, yet EROS's dexterous leadership kept a cautious foot in the other camp as well, for it was the three other groups - the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), and the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) - that were now receiving training from RAW.

Many Tamil intellectuals exiled in Madras distrusted Prabakaran and held him responsible for the continuing disunity among the separatist groups. "His extreme nationalism will take us to Fascism", a leftist Tamil intellectual told me last summer. "And he has erected extraordinary barriers of caste." This was an allusion to the Tigers' origins among the fishermen's caste. In reality, the Tigers' inverse caste barriers were crumbling; many of the Karayar commanders had been replaced by Vellalas, the higher, landed farmers' caste, and many field commanders were university students or graduates. Nevertheless, the rival groups wanted him out. "It is the right time in Tamil politics for India to take the upper hand and control Prabakaran", the intellectual told me.

On June 18th, fifteen anti-aircraft

guns provided by RAW left Rameshwaram for Sri Lanka by boat, along with nearly five hundred fighters from the three Indian-backed separatist groups - men who had just completed a two-month training program in the use of anti-aircraft guns which was conducted by Indian Intelligence officers in the foothills of Uttar Pradesh. Now Prabakaran's rivals had a system of anti-aircraft defence.

In the course of a series of meetings with Mr. J.N. Dixit, the Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, Jayewardene initially declared that he would not go beyond what had been agreed upon between India and Sri Lanka on December 19th - a semi-autonomous Tamil administration in the north, which, through an elected provincial council, would have wide power over land distribution, education, and security. After two weeks of negotiations, however, he agreed to a provisional merger of the island's north and east. The resulting new, enlarged province would be governed by a semi-autonomous, Tamil-controlled provincial council until a referendum could allow the Tamils, the Sinhalese and the now critically important Muslims of the Eastern Province to decide where they belonged. The settlement was a tricky one for Jayewardene, for he also had to work around the opposition of his hawkish Prime Minister, Premadasa, whose hatred for India was such that he often referred to Gandhi and his late mother as 'the calf' and 'the cow'. On July 16th, while Premadasa was on an official visit to Japan, the new agreement was presented to the 13-member 'Inner' Cabinet at a hastily convened secret meeting at the President's home. In an unprecedented arrangement, Dixit was present, to 'clarify' any points. With Premadasa absent, the Inner Cabinet was split six to six on the plan, but after much confusion, some bitterness, and a few threats, the ministers agreed to leave the matter in the President's hands.

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The agreement was refined to reflect a number of the guerrilla leaders' primary concerns, and all of them except Prabakaran agreed to the final draft. Prabakaran objected to the referendum on the merger of the north and east, fearing that the easterners might undo the merger when they went to the polls, and also objected to a requirement that the rebels lay down their arms prior to the Sri Lankan army's withdrawal from the north and east. On July 24th, he was airlifted from Jaffna to New Delhi, along with key aides, in Indian Air Force helicopters. He remained in India, still objecting, for the next ten days.

Gandhi waited while his foreign policy advisers attempted to cajole or coerce Prabakaran. The Sri Lankan government had already announced that Gandhi would fly to Colombo to sign the agreement on Wednesday, July 29th. At midnight on Tuesday, six hours before Gandhi was to emplane, Prabakaran was driven from the government-owned Ashok Hotel, where he had been staying, to the Prime Minister's office, in the elegant viceregal complex of South Block. It was the two men's first meeting since Prabakaran had arrived, and they talked, argued, and threatened each other until dawn. Prabakaran still refused to support the agreement or to lay down his arms. He was driven back to the Ashok Hotel and, guarded by elite Indian commandos, was placed under virtual house arrest.

After the agreement was signed, Prabakaran was allowed to return to Jaffna, and on August 4th more than a hundred thousand people flooded the grounds of the city's ancient Hindu temple, and spilled over into narrow streets and crowded on to rooftops, to see the man who had been underground for so many years. Prabakaran mounted the podium with three Tiger military commanders and other political aides. Out of



military uniform, his hair now speckled with grey, he looked more like a portly businessman than like a guerrilla leader. And he had left his suicide capsule behind. The large crowd gave him a rousing reception appropriate to a conquering hero, and he addressed them from a raised wooden dais festooned with the Tigers' red banners and red-and-yellow flags. Their cheering contrasted starkly with the grim look on his face.

His address was sober, not inflammatory, and **he surprised everyone by announcing that the Tamil Tigers had agreed to lay down their arms.** "We had no choice", he said. "We had to toe the Indian government's line. We were not prepared to go into battle against the Indian Army, and are bowing to geopolitical realities and superior military strength. But this is an Indo-Sri Lankan agreement, not a lasting solution. We not only did not sign this agreement, we were not consulted. We were presented with it as a *fait accompli*. The only lasting solution is a separate Tamil state."

He said that he would not accept the post of chief minister of the newly merged north and east, but that the Tigers would contest the scheduled provincial council elections. He left his own future open, only vowing to continue the separatist struggle "through other methods and means" - a statement that was worrisome to the governments of both Sri Lanka and India.

As Prabakaran left the temple grounds, in a blue minibus, surrounded by guerrillas still brandishing their Soviet machine guns, the war-weary people of Jaffna cheered wildly; **no one was certain whether they cheered because the war appeared to be over or because the thirty-two year old fisherman had done more than anyone else to give them back their Tamil identity and their dignity.**

In truth, the Tamil Tigers never stopped fighting. They had handed in what was estimated to be only twenty per cent of their weapons.

At the same time, Prabakaran



### Handing over of arms

seemed to be doing well in negotiations for control of the semi-autonomous interim council for the north and east. He demanded and received a majority of the council's twelve seats. Then, according to the Tigers, on October 3rd, things came apart when seventeen of their members, including three of Prabakaran's most trusted aides, were arrested by the Sri Lankan Navy off the northern coast as they were bringing arms from India in a trawler. National Security Minister Athulathmudali insisted that the men be brought to Colombo for interrogation - a move that Indian officials strongly opposed. Athulathmudali won out. As the seventeen men moved across the tarmac of Palaly Airbase towards a waiting Indian Air Force plane, Kumarappa, a senior Tiger commander, nodded, and they all swallowed the cyanide capsules that hung from their necks. All but four died.

Prabakaran's reaction to the mass suicide was quick. The Tigers' first victims were eight Sri Lankan soldiers they were holding captive, and the next were four policemen; all twelve were murdered on October 5th. The following day, the Tigers issued a statement formally announcing that they were opposed to the peace plan, and they began a rampage in the east. They hijacked trains and buses, and shot the Sinhalese passengers or hacked them to death. In Batticaloa, they rounded up Sinhalese men, women, and children

and killed them. As told, they killed more than two hundred people in four days.

On October 9th, General K.Sundarji, India's Chief of Army Staff, flew to Colombo to consult with an outraged Jayewardene and with Sri Lankan government officials and members of the general staff. Mincing few words, Jayewardene demanded that India meet its obligations under the peace accord: it must disarm the Tigers; otherwise, he would be compelled to send the peace-keepers home. **Stung into action, Indian forces set out the following day upon Operation Pawan (the word means 'wind'), to destroy the Tamil Tigers as a guerrilla organisation, beginning with their stronghold in the city of Jaffna.**

It is impossible to say how many died in the battle that followed, but the number was at least two thousand people - between seven hundred and a thousand of them civilians. (The Catholic Church of Jaffna disputes the generally accepted civilian toll, claiming that between three thousand and four thousand civilians lost their lives). Of the Tamil Tigers, between three hundred and four hundred died in the battle for the city, and **Indian Army lost more than five hundred soldiers and twenty-five officers. (This is the figure the Indian defence officials concede privately). It was the highest death toll that the Indian Army**



had suffered since the 1971 Indo-Pakistan War -evidence of astonishing blunders and miscalculations on the part of the fourth largest army in the world.

No longer a ragtag group of fishermen's sons, the Tamil Tigers had evolved into one of the most effective guerrilla forces in Asia. They had been trained, after all, by the Indian Army and India's RAW. Yet the Indians now fatally underestimated their former proteges dedication and strength, their fighting skill, their insane bravery, and their intimate knowledge of the local terrain.

In late October, the Indian Army duly claimed to be in control of Jaffna, but it proved a hollow victory. During the last days of the battle, Prabakaran and twelve hundred Tiger fighters slipped through the Indian net into the swamps and jungles; other guerrillas, many of them teenagers, remained behind. After coating their weapons with grease and wrapping them in plastic sheeting, they hid them, dropping them into the myriad lagoons and harbours of Jaffna, or burying them in the powdery red soil. Then they slipped quietly into the refugee camps dotting the north. A nameless, faceless army, unknown and unseen, had blended into the civilian population from which it came. One Sri Lankan Intelligence official concluded, two months after the battle began, that as a fighting force the Tamil Tigers had survived largely intact.....

However, the advantage is shifting to their side again, as a full-fledged guerrilla war takes its toll in the east and the north. Booby traps and mines set by the Tigers, often with the aid of civilians, have made the Indian troops jumpy and confused, and they patrol in a perpetual crouch to avoid sniper fire. The soldiers have shot and killed civilians - sometimes intentionally, sometimes not. **According to lawyers and human rights activists, there is strong evidence of widespread atrocities by the Indian troops in Jaffna and the east. They have reportedly raped women and pillaged homes and shops. (On December 15th, a Sri lankan court found six Indian soldiers guilty of raping Tamil women during house-to-house**

**searches in the north).....**

Eight months after the Gandhi-Jayewardene accord, the agreement is in tatters, and in the east and north more than sixty thousand Indian 'peace keepers' are occupying a fourth of Sri Lanka's countryside. And in the face of a vengeful guerrilla army, an increasingly hostile civilian population, and a peace agreement that has brought none of its promised rewards, India's peace-keeping operation shows every sign of becoming a painful long term occupation - one that invites comparison not just with Ulster but with Vietnam and Afghanistan. **Indian forces are bogged down in a foreign country, fighting a counter insurgency war they cannot hope to win.**

For the Indian Peace Keeping Force (which is costing New Delhi more than three million dollars a day), it is a matter of face and honour that the provincial polls be held - after which, at least technically, some of the unhappy peacekeepers would be eligible to go home. But no one, including the Indians, is under any illusion about the difficulties of holding them. It will be impossible to have peaceful elections unless the Tamil Tigers and the JVP bless the polls, and a new wave of large-scale violence could be precipitated when a hundred and twenty-five thousand Tamil refugees in India are repatriated and find that Sinhalese are now occupying their former homes.....

**The conflict in Sri Lanka - independent India's longest war - is rapidly becoming an embarrassment for Rajiv Gandhi.** Indian flags now fly throughout the north and east, and those areas are blanketed with Indian Army checkpoints and small army camps, but thus far the Indians have been unable to intercept the vessels plying the east coast which ferry to the Tigers ammunition and weapons, now most often from Singapore.

Sinhalese friends have spoken to me proudly of how 'the lad' Velupillai Prabakaran kept the Indian army out of Jaffna for more than two weeks. Ironically, the rising tide of criticism of the tactics and behaviour of the Indian troops has at last brought Sinhalese and Tamils to a consensus -

the Indian 'peace- keepers' must go home. **The Sinhalese resentment of India has always been there, and what happened when the Indian troops arrived in the north was that the Indians saw Jaffna, and the people of Jaffna saw the Indians, and neither liked the other very much.**

There is now a realisation among the Tamils that they have to look south, to Colombo, instead of north, to India. Also, I think there is a realisation in the Sri Lankan government that the Tamil Tigers, defanged, would be a better bet to negotiate a political settlement with than any other group in the country, including the Indians. Two government ministers, Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake, the Minister of Lands, were attempting to initiate such talks. When I brought up the possibility of direct talks between the Tigers and the Sri Lankan government, Dixit said, "I am not certain these talks will take place. There is a firm understanding between my Prime Minister and President Jayewardene that no arrangements will be made without India's involvement and India's advice....."

In November, Mr. Jayewardene told a journalist from the 'Madras Hindu', "About Jaffna I must say that I am rather ignorant, although we have people coming and telling us about the situation".....

(When I met the President in the last week of February, I asked him if he was having second thoughts about the peace accord.) The anti-Indian feeling sweeping Sri Lanka is extremely high", I said. "My Sinhalese friends have expressed admiration for the Tamil Tigers for standing up to the Indian Peace Keeping Force, and my Tamil friends have told me that the Indian Army is ten times worse than the Sri Lankan Army was." "Well, yes", the President said. "On your second point, the Sri Lankan Army has behaved much better than the Indian Army".....

I asked Mr. Jayewardene what, after ten years in office, he considered his greatest achievement. He laughed, and said, "My greatest achievement is that I'm here." (Concluded)



## EELAM NEWS

### IPKF OFFENSIVE INTENSIFIES

IPKF offensive under the code name "Operation Checkmate" is still continuing in the Mullaitivu district. Helicopter gunships and bombers have been used in the area. It has now been confirmed that the Indian Air Force has used MI-24 helicopter gunships to strafe the area. The bomber planes have dropped 250 Kilo bombs which have created 30 yards wide craters and destroyed civilians and jungles in the area. Independent observers are forbidden from entering the area to assess the situation.

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### TRISTAR WORKING WITH IPKF

People in Vavuniya and Killinochi say that the IPKF is encouraging the TRISTAR group to engage in anti-social activities. They are been allowed to operate in these areas and in some places they have their own camps. A resident from Killinochi told the Tamil Voice International reporter "We are living in tension in Killinochi. It seems that IPKF and TRISTAR are working together. Most of the robberies and lootings in the area are carried out by the TRISTAR with the blessings of the IPKF. We have heard stories that the IPKF is sharing the loot with the TRISTAR. We have seen TRISTAR men going in and out of the IPKF camps. It is very dangerous to live in Killinochi, anything might happen to you any time."

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### DEMONSTRATION IN MANNAR

Transport Union, Vehicle owners Union and the leading citizens of Mannar organized a demonstration which started at 8a.m on 5th July at the town centre and ended at the main IPKF camp at Main Street at about 2p.m. About 2000 people participated. They submitted an appeal to the Commander of the camp. They appealed to the Indian Government for an immediate ceasefire in the Tamil areas and to enter into unconditional negotiations with the LTTE

to resolve the Tamil problem.

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### INDIAN HELICOPTER SHOT DOWN

LTTE shot down an Indian helicopter in Vavuniya on 4th July. Two top army officials were confirmed to be killed in this attack. Capt. Harpal Singh was one of the officers killed instantly.

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### 35 IPKF SOLDIERS KILLED IN GUERILLA ATTACKS

Independent news paper reports from India confirm that at least 35 IPKF men were killed in guerilla attacks by the LTTE in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka. It is reported on the 5th July 17 Indian soldiers were killed in Mullaitivu. At Visvamadu in the Mullaitivu district another 8 soldiers were killed by the LTTE. In this attack IPKF killed LTTE's woman fighter MARIA. In another operation in Mullaitivu 8 IPKF soldiers were killed in the Jaffna peninsula in an ambush bringing the casualties to 35 men.

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### TAMIL YOUTHS IN THE FORE-FRONT

TULF leader, Mr A. Amirthalangam who was in Colombo said "It is very sad to hear that fighting between Indian soldiers and Tamil youths still continues. What is needed today is peace. Tamil youths who sacrificed their future must be given a prominent role. We will continue to serve the people while staying behind and playing secondary roles." He made these observations to party members who came to meet him from Northern and Eastern provinces.

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### CANADIAN AID TO TAMIL WIDOWS

The government of Canada has donated a sum of Sri Lankan rupees five lakhs to the Trincomalee District Tamil Refugees Welfare Association. This money will be utilized for the rehabilitation of nearly 4000 Tamil

women whose husbands were killed as a result of military operations by the Sri Lankan and Indian security forces. The plan includes setting up of poultry farms and other self-help projects. A deep-sea fishing project in Thirukadaloor near Trincomalee is also being funded by Canada.

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### KISSING THE HANDS YOU CAN'T CUT

A Colombo based Weekly made the following comments regarding Indian Prime Minsiter's invitation to LTTE for talks, "The attack on LTTE by IPKF since October last year is meaningless. Lots of problems, including the damage done to the reputation of the fourth largest army in the world, could have been avoided. The most important reason for IPKF-LTTE clashes is the attempt by the Sri Lankan Government to accelerate the Sinhalese colonisation of north and east. The LTTE tried to prevent this. Indian army got trapped in this situation due to lack of intelligence. Even Sri Lankan ministers admit that the goodwill of Tigers is imperative if provincial council elections are to be held. Thus India's position today is like kissing the hand you can't cut."

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### IPKF USED LOOTED GOODS IN THE CAMPS

Reports reaching from Jaffna confirm that the IPKF had chased away or killed the innocent people around their camps during the assault on Jaffna in October 1987 and had removed the fittings and fixtures to improve their camps. In particular, people in Navatkuli allege that the IPKF have used the door and windows for their camps and when complained at the post the officers say that the matter should be referred to the commander in charge. Navatkuli is one of the villages where the IPKF killed many civilians. People say that looting in this area was selective and blame the Indian army for killing the residents in order to loot the valuables and use the fixtures for the camp.



## NEWS IN BRIEF

### RAJIV'S GLASNOST

Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi has decided to experiment an Indian version of the Soviet Leader's policy of 'glasnost' [i.e openness or telling the truth]. TVI reliably understands that instructions have been given to Govt. departments and spokesmen as to how they should publicise decisions made by the government. During his recent visit to Tamil Nadu, the prime minister made lengthy speeches about the failures of M.G.R's rule. On one occasion, he mentioned that over 19,000 files had been lying around for many months and are now actioned by the governer. Observers wondered whether this was part of his new policy of 'glasnost' and if so whether he will apply this policy in his foreign adventures, especially in the north and east of Sri Lanka, which is out of bounds for journalists and Human rights organisations.

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### EPRLF MEN ARRESTED IN INDIA

Mages [21] and Nadhan [19], former members of the EPRLF were arrested near a closed railway gate at Kaveripakkam in Tindivanam district. Police said that they hired a taxi at Tambaram under the pretext of going to Pondichery. At Maraimalaiagar, the three forced the driver to get down, tied his hands and legs and then drove to Pondichery to get Rs.5000 in exchange for the vehicle from a cinema owner there. At Tindivanam, when they saw the police party, they took a diversion and landed themselves before the closed railway gate.

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### NEW RECORD SET IN COUNTING OF VOTES

There was not a single vote cast in ten ballot boxes which were taken up for counting in the Southern Provincial Council elections held on 9th June. Counting staff at the Kachcheri disposed of 16 ballot boxes in just under 23 minutes.

It was a sad scene south of Bentota Ganga, observers pointed out, and appeared as if a curfew was imposed. Due to the threats from JVP, all shops were closed, vehicles were missing and very few people ventured beyond their doorsteps.

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### INDIAN OPPOSITION PARTIES CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS CRISIS IN SRI LANKA

Janatha Party M.P. S.Sahabdeen has announced in a press conference that opposition parties are planning to hold a conference on the 27th July to discuss the minority Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. He has appealed to all the opposition parties to participate in the conference. He further stated that he will have discussions with the LTTE representative Kittu before the conference to acquaint him of their plans.

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### RAW ATTEMPTS TO BUY EXPATRIATE LEADERS

Indian Secret Service RAW (Research and Analysis Wing) is engaged in influencing the overseas Tamil organisations for its disinformation campaign. Reporting of the World Tamil Eelam Convention IV held in Nanuet in New York on 2nd and 3rd of July was deliberately doctored by the Press Trust of India. It is believed one or two of the Tamil expatriates were responsible for the false reporting.

PTI reported "a resolution calling for an investigation into allegations of human rights violations in Sri Lanka by the Sri Lankan Government, the LTTE and the IPKF", and had a "plea to make Mr Prabhakaran and the LTTE as the sole representatives of Tamils in Sri Lanka rejected." Press Secretary to the conference and the convenor, in their joint statement issued to the PTI, which appears elsewhere in this issue, and twenty out of the twenty

seven delegates, have signed a letter addressed to Prabhakaran, the LTTE leader, denying the news item.

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### INDIA'S REACTION TO AMNESTY REPORT

The Government of India denied allegations of rape and brutality levelled by the Amnesty International against the IPKF in Sri Lanka. "The charges were fabricated and unfair", a foreign office spokesman said. He said every specific complaint received from any source about the behaviour of IPKF troops has been investigated. Most of these charges have been found to be baseless. Whenever such charges have been proved, quick and salutary action has been taken against the guilty. The IPKF operated in Sri Lanka with the utmost restraint, and used minimum force to avoid or reduce civilian casualties as far as possible. As a result, the IPKF took extraordinarily heavy casualties, a sacrifice which only a highly disciplined force was capable of. The Indian army is a highly professional body of troops, and acts according to professional code. (Unfortunately, facts have proved otherwise and Rajiv Gandhi and the Indian forces stand indicted. Ed.)

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### SOUTHERN CAMPUSES OPEN IN AUGUST

The secretary of the Ministry of Higher Education, Mr Stanley Kalpage announced that all campuses in the south of Sri Lanka will be opened on 1st of August. He also said that those students who did not attend the last examination will be allowed to re-sit. It is further understood that the ministry is unable to make a decision regarding the campuses in the north and east of the country due to the uncertain circumstances prevailing there.



# PATHETIC PLIGHT OF ESTATE TAMILS IN SRI LANKA

*An open letter to Honourable Minister S.Thondaman from Dr.Benjamin J.Raj, President of the Tamil Welfare and Human Rights Committee based in Washington DC, USA, is reproduced in toto.*

We are prompted to address this open letter to you because of the misleading statements made by you during your recent visit to India regarding the Estate Tamils in Sri Lanka and the grant of citizenship. We would like all our people in Sri Lanka as well as in India to recognize that the problem of the Estate Tamils is not a frivolous matter to be dealt with in such a casual manner as had been done by the Indian and Sinhalese Governments in the past forty years.

## HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM AND NOT ONE OF NUMBERS

We are aware that ever since you became a minister of the Sri Lankan government you have made visits to India. It would not have been clear to many the real purpose of such visits - whether they were for personal business or as a representative of the Sinhalese Government or to make deals with either TULF leadership resident in Madras or one or the other militant groups. The recent statement made by you would make it appear that the humanitarian problems of the Estate Tamils who arrived in Sri Lanka since 1820 would all be settled but for the granting of citizenship to some 200,000 Tamils now stateless in Sri Lanka. You wailed that the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments have got numbers mixed up and "wanted the problem of numbers to be sorted out...and the obligation of each government to be discharged."

Mr.Minister, the problem that we are dealing with is a real humanitarian problem and not one of numbers. We will later deal with how you yourself have got the numbers mixed up. For the present, we wish to focus on our Committee's serious concern for the human tragedy. We would like to recall a resolution which was passed unanimously for immediate follow up action:

*"Resolved to awaken the conscience of the world to the worsening problem of the Estate Tamils in Sri Lanka whose origin in Sri Lanka dates back to 1820,*



*and who continue to be denied their fundamental rights and to take all steps to prevent the involuntary repatriation of 200,000 Estate Tamils as contemplated by the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of July 29th, 1987."*

Our concern for all the Estate Tamils is reflected in the fact that we had made repeated representations to Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, to address this problem. Thus, on the eve of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord we pleaded with the Prime Minister that the interests of the Estate Tamils should not be compromised in the process of stemming the genocide of the indigenous Sri Lankan Tamils. You talk about numbers but as far as our Committee is concerned we would champion the cause of the Estate Tamils even if it means only one individual. Our plea from the outset has been that everyone of these Tamils who had been resident in Ceylon at the time of independence in 1948 and their children and grand children all belong to the Island and should be encouraged and assisted to get back to the land where they belong. It is in this context that the numbers of 55,000 and 94,000 quoted by you are totally erroneous and therefore irrelevant.

## NOT ALL WERE KILLED BY SINHALESE

While on this business of numbers we remind you that in November 1928, when the voting rights of plantation Tamils were hotly debated in the Ceylon Legislative Council and

vehemently contested by the Sinhalese politicians, the population of Ceylon was 5,000,000 of which the Estate Tamils were estimated to be 10 to 12%. 1931 was the time when these Estate Tamils who were variously described as *Indians* and *Coolies* started to be discriminated against and shabbily treated by various sections of the Sinhalese community. You could not have forgotten that these anti-Tamil sentiments were the root cause of the sour Indo-Ceylon relations in the thirties and forties and the exodus of Estate Tamils from Ceylon which commenced in the thirties itself. Even so, during the 1947 elections the plantation Tamils were able to elect seven members as their representatives to Ceylon's first parliament. When in 1948 and 1949 the Estate Tamils were rendered stateless and disenfranchised, they represented 10% of Ceylon's population. We do not have to point out to you that fertility among the poor Estate Tamils has always been higher than average for Ceylon. If the present population of Sri Lanka is 16 million, Estate Tamil population should be at least 1.6 million.

For a concerned man who wants to get the 'number' right, where do you think these numbers have disappeared? Not all were killed by Sinhalese mobs in the hills, nor have most of them died out of starvation, suffering like slaves on the tea and rubber estates. They found conditions made so hostile for them in Ceylon that they were obliged to



escape to India without waiting for repatriating arrangements Sri Lanka government successfully made with various prime ministers of India -1954 with Jawaharlal Nehru; in 1964 with Lal Bhahadur Shastri; in 1974 with Indira Gandhi; and now with Rajiv Gandhi.

Since 1947, the Estate Tamils could not have a single representative in the Ceylon Parliament until 1977, when they thought they had you. If you care for the Estate Tamils, you should represent all of them - the 1.6 million or more. During your recent visit you had also made a statement to the effect:-

*"The CWC, my organisation, was opposed to the whole arrangement under the 1964 pact... Why should our getting citizenship in Sri Lanka depend on somebody getting repatriated to India?"*

### NOT A SINGLE REPRESENTATIVE

We are astonished at your thinking as we and they. Who is the somebody you refer to whom you don't care about? Are you dissociating yourself with all the Tamils who have been hounded out by the successive mob attacks and government machinations? We wish to jog your memory on something that you claimed you stood for in 1976, when the Estate Tamils, one and all, placed their faith in you as their sole representative:-

*"Before 1948, we (Estate Tamils) had a right to vote and to elect our representative to the government councils. We had a right to engage in economic activity, to own a house, to purchase a plot of land, and to engage in any employment. All this we had lost. Since then we had witnessed countries and legislators discussing our future as if we are pawns of some kind to suit their convenience. In the end, the Srimavo-Shastri agreement of 1964 evolved a formula based not on the wishes of the people who were affected but numerically so many thousands to be given to Sri Lanka and so many to be repatriated to India."*

What has made you change? Your becoming a Minister of the Sinhalese government! Are your statements now consonant with the 'wishes of the people who are affected'? What makes you to think that dealing with

the problem numerically now is justified when it was not so before?

It is well recognised that the 200,000 or so of these coolies who were banished from the promised land since the holocaust of 1977, are languishing on the streets of Madras, Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta and dying of starvation. But the plight of the 500,000 or so who were respectably repatriated under the **various Prime Minister pacts** is not generally known. It would not take a lot of time to know that the beggar community all over India swelled its ranks with these long forgotten Tamils.

### A HUMAN PROBLEM

We view the whole thing as a human problem and are not sold on your idea of numbers, splitting them between the Indian quota and the Island's quota, like sharing the spoils. These are the Tamils allured into Ilankai, the promised paradise, the Tamils to whom the 'paradise' has been a vanishing illusion since the dawn of the twentieth century, the Tamils whose legitimate rights were doled out in niggardly ways, anathema to the Sinhalese politicians since 1931, and finally banished from paradise when the Sinhalese entrenched themselves in power by subterfuge. We do not want to sound political; these are the Tamils with whom Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi's spiritual heir, played politics; whom Shastri used to stay in power; Mrs. Bandaranayake and keep J.R. Jayewardene out of power; and now Rajiv Gandhi is using in his desperate efforts to stay in power.

These plantation workers are the descendants of those Tamils who travelled from their distant and interior villages of South India to Mandapam or Thattapparai quarantine camp, were then ferried across to Talaimannar and made to walk all the way, on the hoof as it were, to Kandy, more than 150 miles, through thick jungles infested with snakes and wild animals.

Talking about these Tamils as beggars on the streets of India, your appeal to get India, citing sob stories, involved in the form of a crash programme does not sound different:

*Many people who had appealed for*

*citizenship had died during the 24 years after the pact was concluded. As human development had been over-looked due to statelessness and as this people had been subjected to slavery over the last 35 years, I would like to get India's help in the form of a crash programme to improve the lot of these people." (Why the Indian Government?)*

Ever since you became minister of J.R. Jayewardene's cabinet you have played his tune, without being exposed of your breach of faith by the community you were supposed to represent. Observers may be charitable believing that there was no fun in your being in the opposition, especially in Sri Lanka where opposition politics is self-destructive. You also might have believed that by playing ball with the Sinhalese 'friends' you could succeed in eking out some favours for the remaining Estate Tamils. Surely you could not have forgotten what patriotic men before you have said, believed and found:-

*"All the arguments in the course of discussing the Universal Franchise in November 1928 'were a smoke screen of words' uttered here.....with no other object than to 'preserve what is known as the Sinhalese majority in this island and to preserve it at all costs'. There is absolutely no competition between the Indian assisted cooly labour and the Sinhalese villager. Large areas on which Sinhalese will not place their foot or lift their hand to promote, have been opened up and are now smiling fields and smiling plantations on account of the Indian assisted labour. Are there sufficient Sinhalese villagers ready and prepared today to step in and work in these plantations if by some edict of the would-be aristocrats of Ceylon, all the 'Indian population' were immediately packed off and sent over Palk Strait back to India?" (A. Mahadeva).*

Here is what a thankless C.E. Corea said in response:

*"The member for the Tamils of the Western Province said that some of us are going about the country like Peter the Hermit, preaching a crusade against the Indians. I would*



ask, is there a scintilla of bona fide in the suggestion that there is any rancour, any ill-feeling towards the Indians in the attitude we are taking in this matter? If the Indians are anxious to have a finger in the making of the administrative pie, all we (Sinhalese) say is that we will welcome them provided that they sit down and eat it with us at the risk of getting indigestion.....In my humble opinion not a single argument has been added to support the proposal of giving the Indians the franchise. All speeches when condensed amount to a mere plea *ad misericordiam*. They say the Indian cooly is living in a state of semi-slavery, that he is an underdog and that therefore we Ceylonese (Sinhalese) should make an effort to raise him from that deplorable condition. Speaking for the Sinhalese, Sir, Buddhists and Christians, I may say that 'helping when we meet them lame dogs over stiles' has been our national characteristic..... Charity is our most predominant trait even our enemies will not deny. But this is not a matter of charity; just as it is no question of hatred. **It is simply a question whether we should permit the alien to predominate in our Councils of State.**

"During the general elections of 1924, the Indian Community in Colombo rallied round me to a man. While I feel that I would not shrink from any self-sacrifice to prove my appreciation of their goodwill towards me I also feel that the franchise is not mine to give. **We are dealing with matters that will affect the generations (Sinhalese) yet unborn, and I feel that our children will arise and call us accursed were we to make the stranger within their gates their rulers. We Sinhalese have been bitten once and twice shy...."**

### D.S.Senanayake

If more is needed, here is what D.S.Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of Ceylon, who cheated his Tamil friends, said in 1928:-

"They (the Tamil Councillors) were doing an injustice to us (Sinhalese). I can tell those honourable gentlemen that we, the Sinhalese, will make an attempt to live. We will try to exist. It is

*not every Sinhalese who will be a traitor to his country for the sake of a seat in the Council or for the sake of the 10 cent bits of the Indian labourers. We feel the position very strongly. If a person comes from India and wanted to settle down in Ceylon, we would welcome him (as a slave or cooly only?) although I say we would be justified in refusing to admit him into the electorate. I would ask my friends (Tamil representatives) to think not only of their own interests but of ours (Sinhalese) as well....I say to them, 'live and let live'. Give us (Sinhalese) an opportunity to live in this country.*

We realise that they and we have not the whole world open to us. With regard to accusation made against the Sinhalese, I may say this much. We happen to be major community and they (Tamils) happen to be three million (out of a total of five million 60%; the remaining 40% being Tamils - Ceylon Tamils, Muslim Tamils, Estate Tamils and a few thousand Burghers), I feel certain whether we have 10 or 12 votes here (in the Council) it is the voice of three million that speaks and I certainly think that should count with the British Government. We did not want to take away the Government of the country out of the hands of able administrators like the English and hand it over to the Indians or to anyone else (who?)... We do not want to transfer power from the Englishmen to the hands of the Indians."

Mr.Minister, you might choose to ignore history and believe that by paying obeisance to the Sinhalese in power and displaying patience will secure reasonable resolution of the

burning problem but the millions of Estate Tamils do not have the luxury of time. How many of our noblest and best should be incarcerated, shot, battered to death, the helpless women gang-raped and children murdered before the problem is finally resolved? Do we have to exhaust patience relying on eternal law of justice and righteousness and accept these as designs of God the Most High?

**We therefore appeal to you to campaign actively for our Committee's stand that:**

(1) All members of the Estate Tamil community resident in Ceylon in 1947 and their descendants should be deemed to be citizens of Ceylon with equal rights enjoyed by all others.

(2) Despite all regulations and pacts concluded after 1948 between India and Ceylon -(a) an immediate declaration be made that everybody presently resident in Sri Lanka should be declared a citizen with equal rights as any other in the Island; and (b) all members of the Estate Tamil community, their children and grand children who left Ceylon after 1948 should be given the option, encouraged and assisted to return to Ceylon within the next ten years.

(3) In keeping with these three steps, no member of the Estate Tamil community should be repatriated from Sri Lanka as envisaged in the Gandhi-Jayewardene Accord.

## HELP OUR CAUSE

Over 2,000 copies of each issue of TVI are sent free to non-Tamils with the object of letting the world know of

1. Human Rights Violations committed against the Tamils of Eelam and
2. The rationale for the Tamil Liberation Struggle.

There is a need to send copies of our paper to several others who should know of what is going on in Tamil Eelam. Would you wish to pay for TVI to be sent to a particular person? In the alternative, please send us a donation towards this service. Every gift, whether big or small, will be gratefully acknowledged by us.

Thank you (Ed.)



# INDO-LANKA DEFENCE TREATY - THE AUTHENTIC DRAFT

When President Jayewardene visited India as chief guest at the Indian Republic Day celebrations, commentaries and speculative reports in both the Indian and Sri Lankan press gave special attention to a Indo-Sri Lankan Defence Treaty drafted by Sri Lankan officials. There were in fact many drafts prepared by the Foreign Ministry and the government's legal advisers, both within the administration, and outside. This may explain the various versions, and excerpted reports of what was offered as the Defence Treaty. For the record, we publish the following which we have reason to believe is the full, authentic draft that remains to be signed, if at all. The Indian Defence Minister, Mr.K.C.-Pant has returned to Delhi after a two-day visit to Sri Lanka.

## AGREEMENT TO CONSOLIDATE AND EXTEND THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA AND THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA.

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Republic of India, (hereinafter referred to as the Contracting Parties)

- Conscious of the friendship between the two States stretching over two millenia or more and recognising the importance of nurturing, intensifying and strengthening the traditional ties of friendship;

- Believing that these traditional bonds have been given a fresh meaning, importance and impetus by the fact that the two States have over their four decades of independence and against threats to the cherished system successfully upheld and promoted the democratic political order;

- Aware that the consolidation of their States as democratic societies and the further democratisation of these societies are matters mutual to their national interest;

- Recognising the territorial character of their State Order and

resolved to protect the independence, unity, integrity and sovereignty of their States;

- Recognising, however, that the two States are multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious societies and the need, therefore, to foster conditions in their States in which all citizens can live in equality, safety and harmony and fulfil their aspirations thereby strengthening the forces contributing to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their two countries;

- Conscious of the fact that the processes of democratic evolution and national consolidation in their States are complicated by cross-border links and sensitivities that have historical origin and determined to work together constructively to remove any impediments to these processes from this situation;

- Believing that the further development of their friendship, and particularly their constructive co-operation in promoting mutual goals, would be a contribution not only to national consolidation and democratic progress in their two States but also to regional co-operation and regionalism in South Asia;

- Reaffirming their firm commitment to the U.N. Charter and to the principles of Non-Alignment, peaceful co-existence, sovereign equality of States, mutual co-operation, noninterference in the internal affairs of States, non-use of force or threat of force and respect for territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty;

- Declaring their resolve to promote a regional environment conducive to the security and progress of their two States -

## HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

### Article I

The Contracting Parties solemnly declare that enduring peace and friendship shall prevail between their two countries and peoples. Each Contracting Party will respect

the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other. The Contracting Parties will continue to develop and strengthen the relations of friendship, good neighbourliness and all-round co-operation existing between them on the basis of the principles stated above.

### Article II

In this spirit, the Contracting Parties agree to work for the consolidation of mutual trust, confidence and good neighbourly relations and co-operation by eliminating any hindrances to achieving such relations and co-operation.

In particular, the Contracting Parties will:

- (i) ensure that all Ports within their respective territories will not be used for military purposes to the prejudice of the national interest of either Contracting Party;
- (ii) deport any national of one Contracting Party who, within the territory of the other, engages in terrorist activities or advocates separatism or secessionism with respect to the other country.

### Article III

The Contracting Parties will also:  
1:1 review the relevance and employment of foreign military and intelligence personnel with a view to ensuring that such presences will not prejudice Indo-Sri Lankan relations;

1:2 review any agreements with foreign broadcasting organisations to ensure that any facilities set up by them within the territory of either country are used solely as public broadcasting facilities with respect to the other Contracting Party.

2. The Government of India in a spirit of friendship and co-operation will provide training facilities and military supplies for Sri Lanka's security forces at the request of the Government of Sri Lanka.

*Continued on page 17*



# INDIAN PRESENCE IN SRI LANKA: NO JUSTIFICATION FOR SATURATION

By P.Varothayasingham, Surrey, U.K.

**Was it political deception? Or just the planned annihilation of the victims of Sinhala state terrorism?**

It is totally unacceptable that the Tamils of Eelam and the Indian soldiers are losing their lives and limbs while those responsible for this policy blunder continue to hold high public office and enjoy holidays in remote Indian ocean islands. Tamils around the world, particularly those living in India, have a duty to ensure that justice is done.

There is no doubt that the Tamils of Sri Lanka were facing slow genocide at the hands of the majority Sinhalese since July 1983. Over 16,000 Tamils had been killed by the Sinhalese security forces and by Sinhalese civilians. Some form of Indian military intervention was necessary to stop the slaughter. Also, **total subjugation of Tamils by Sinhalese in Sri Lanka would eventually have led to the de-stabilisation of India itself by forces hostile to it operating freely in an all-Sinhala Sri Lanka.**

Tamils today form about 20% of the total population in Sri Lanka, a figure which would have been over 30% if not for a disgraceful and inhuman repatriation pact signed by an Indian Congress government dominated by a North Indian ruling elite in the 1960's. This pact has set a precedent which Enoch Powell could very well exploit to expel all coloureds from U.K.

Given the religious, cultural and historical links with India, plus the fact that over 50 million Tamils form part of it, there was absolutely no way the Tamils of Sri Lanka would have ever wanted to undermine India. So, why did the Indian Peace Keeping Force kill nearly 3,000 Tamils and themselves suffer such serious losses? Billions of Rupees worth of Tamil property was destroyed and hundreds of Tamil girls raped, particularly by the Gurkhas and the Sikhs. Again, it was the North Indian dominated Congress government which took all the key decisions lead-

ing to this tragedy.

**The present day Indian Congress is not the same party which won India's independence 40 years ago. With no party democracy or internal elections it has degenerated into a form of family business with a feudal power structure confined mainly to the North Indian States, the Hindi-speaking belt.** While Hindi is spoken by less than 25% of the total population of India, the Central Government has proclaimed it as the sole official language for the whole of India. It is this kind of racist attitude which led to the killing of the Tamils of Sri Lanka by Indian troops acting under direct orders from Delhi.

Going by recent history, the events in Sri Lanka should have followed closely those which occurred in Cyprus in the 1970s. Both Sri Lanka and Cyprus are islands inhabited by two principal races. In both cases the majority race was about four times the size of the minority race. In Cyprus, after years of discrimination and killings, the majority Greek Cypriots made an attempt to take over the whole island in 1974. The minority Turkish Cypriots had been confined to small Turkish enclaves with only essential food supplies allowed in. In July 1974, Mr. Bulent Ecvit, the Prime Minister of mainland Turkey, flew to London to ask for joint intervention to save the Turkish Cypriots. But agreement proved impossible. On July 20, 1974, Turkey made a unilateral military intervention by landing its troops in Northern Cyprus. Turkish troops made no attempt to disarm the Turkish Cypriots nor did they allow any Greek Cypriot military camps in the Turkish Cypriot homeland. Mr. Ecvit called it the "Peace Operation." **To the Turkish Cypriots it was the dawn of their liberation. After an exchange of the population left on the wrong side of the line, Turkish Northern Cyprus was created as a single unit.**

The Tamil population in Sri Lanka is nearly 3 million. The killings of

Tamils in Sri Lanka by the majority Sinhalese was on an unprecedented scale. Yet the Indian administration found it acceptable to kill another 3,000 Tamils! This surely must go down in history as one of the most disgraceful acts by any country. Yet we see some of the racist Indian newspapers lauding the victory of Indian troops over the Tamil Tigers, who are but the sons and daughters of the victims of Sinhala State terrorism. Even the Indian state media has been manipulated to create an atmosphere of a foreign victory achievement. **Lord Krishna, the perfect warrior and embodiment of righteous war, may wish that he had never been born in India!**

**In practical terms, what was needed to save the Tamils in Sri Lanka was the expulsion of the Sri Lankan sectarian armed forces from Tamil areas, sealing of the border, and a token presence of the mighty Indian army to police the border. There was absolutely no need to have retained any Sinhalese army camps in Tamil homelands under Indian supervision or not. There was absolutely no justification to have saturated Tamil areas with Indian troops and brutalised the entire Tamil nation.** Rajiv Gandhi used to refer to the Sri Lankan army as the 'Colombo Army' because of its sectarian make-up. He knew this army had no legal right to remain in Tamil homelands and no constitutional status except as an army of occupation. Yet Gandhi found it convenient to discard this important distinction when he rushed into a peace pact with Jayewardene. Did Gandhi rush into this pact foolishly because of other pressures at home?

When the British left India, the duty of protecting Tibet devolved on India. Yet India led by Nehru reneged on this commitment. Now the Chinese have swallowed Tibet and are looking for other 'Tibets' around India. So, India is going to need all the Sikhs, Gurkhas, even the Tamil Tigers it can find to face the external threat.



## WORLD THAMIL EELAM CONVENTION - IV CONTRADICTS PTI REPORTS

(A letter sent to the Press Trust of India by the Convenor and the Press Secretary, World Tamil Eelam Convention, held recently in New York, complaining of misreporting is reproduced below. A letter on similar lines, signed by twenty out of the twenty seven participants, has been addressed to the LTTE leader, Prabaharan.)

**We were distressed to find that the Press Trust of India had misreported the proceedings of the Fourth World Tamil Convention held in Nanuet, New York, on the 2nd and 3rd July 1988.**

The reports that have appeared in the Indian newspapers speak about 'A resolution calling for an investigation into allegations of human right violations in Sri Lanka by the Sri Lankan government, the LTTE and the IPKF' and about a 'Plea to make Mr. Prabaharan and the LTTE as the sole representatives of Tamils in Sri Lanka (that was) rejected'.

First of all, no resolution was passed at this convention either on the first day or the second. Secondly, no attempt was made to make Mr. Prabaharan or the LTTE as the 'sole' representative of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. It was generally accepted by all delegates present that the LTTE is the premier and dominant force among the Tamil leadership, and as such there was no need to 'make attempts' to enhance their leadership position.

On the question of human rights violations, **all delegates understood that the IPKF were guilty of gross human rights violations, and that these should not be let go without inquiry.**

**All delegates clamoured for an investigation into this by an impartial body such as the Amnesty International.** The question of an 'Indian Tribunal' arose only when it was stated that the 'Indian

government will never let a foreign organisation to investigate the actions of its army'. The delegates then agreed that they should, as a second choice, ask for a joint Indo-Sri Lankan Tribunal to investigate human rights violations by the IPKF.

The entire proceedings of the convention were recorded and we can make the recordings available to you if you need to verify what we have stated here.

Further, at the beginning of the convention it was announced that a competent authority had been appointed to issue press statements and that no one else was authorised to do so. We are enclosing herewith a copy of the official press communique that was issued at the end of the convention.

We hope that you would make the necessary corrections and give it equal publicity.

### PRESS STATEMENT

The fourth World Tamil Eelam convention held in Nanuet, N.Y., on July 2nd and 3rd, attended by delegates and other Tamil organisations in North America and abroad decided on the following proposals:-

1. That the governments of Sri Lanka and India allow unrestricted access to the International Press, Amnesty International, ICRC to all parts of Sri Lanka, including prisons and detention camps, to monitor and report on alleged serious human rights violations.

2. If, for any reason, Amnesty International and other agencies mentioned above are unacceptable, then as an alternative, a respected Independent Indian Tribunal be admitted to study and report on the Human Rights concerns. This must be undertaken in the interests of the Indian image in the international community.

3. That the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka be repealed to enable all shades of political opinion to participate in the democratic process in the forthcoming elections.

4. That the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord be restructured to accommodate all of the concerns, grievances and the aspirations of the Tamil-speaking minority; and that in this spirit the 13th Amendment be replaced by one that gives effect to the revised accord.

5. That a United Tamil Front be formed by all the politico-military groups, with the LTTE as the dominant group; and that this United Tamil Front participate in the negotiations of the revised Accord.

*Issued by the Press Committee of the Convention of July 3rd, 1988; and by Conference order, no other statements will be allowed by individuals or groups to speak on behalf of the Convention. If statements have been issued contrary to the above communique on any one of the above items, they are factually incorrect. (Edward Benedict, Press Secretary, Convention IV).*

### INDO-LANKA DEFENCE TREATY

*Continued from page 15*

#### Article IV

The Contracting Parties, convinced that bilateral problems could only be resolved by discussion and dialogue declare their commitment and adherence to solving all bilateral problems through discussion and negotiations on the basis of their sovereign equality.

#### Article V

The Contracting Parties affirm their commitment to the consolidation and extension of their friendly relations

and mutual co-operation. Towards this end, they agree to promote active co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, technical, scientific and other fields as mutually agreed.

#### Article VI

The Agreement shall be subject to ratification and shall enter into force upon the exchange of Instruments of Ratification.

#### Article VII

The Agreement shall remain in force until either Contracting Party declares its intention to terminate it by giving the other six months' writ-

ten notice.

#### Article VIII

The Contracting Parties shall consult each other with regard to any amendment or modification of this Agreement and such amendment or modification shall be effected in writing as mutually agreed.

#### Article IX

Any difference of interpretation or application of this Agreement that may arise between the two countries shall be settled in a spirit of mutual trust and understanding. (Source - Lanka Guardian - June 1, 1988)



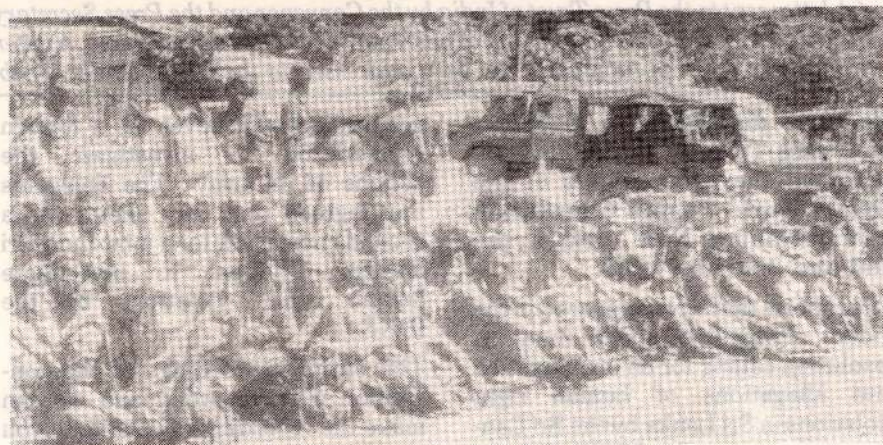
# INDIAN TROOPS SET FOR LONG STAY

There's a sour joke doing the rounds in Colombo. An Indian soldier - known as a jawan, a young man - tells his colleague who asks how long the Indian peacekeeping force will stay in Sri Lanka; "We will stay at least until my son goes to school." The implication is that the jawan has fathered a child with a local Tamil girl in the north or east of the country, and that there is no chance of a troop withdrawal by the Indians for the next five years.

There was, it is true, a token pull-out last week to help the electoral chances of the ruling United National Party, and it may have helped. But in reality no one believed that very many troops were going, and the party won the election by a comfortable margin anyway. But, as **General Nalin Seneviratne, the commander of the Sri Lankan army, told 'The Times', it would need the recruitment and training of another two divisions of troops before his men could hope to take over from the Indians, and that would take two to three years to achieve.**

The Sri Lankan armed forces number around 32,000, and are fairly stretched dealing with a terrorist campaign by a Sinhalese chauvinist left wing group, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, in the south and west of the country. The Indians, by most recent counts, have around 52,000 troops here. Moreover, Mr. Ronnie de Mel managed - before being compelled to resign as Finance Minister after falling out with his party over the calling of elections - to cut one billion rupees (about £20 million) from the defence budget.

There is a belief among certain Indians that world opinion will impel Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, to bring his jawans home. But Western diplomats here scoff at the idea, insisting that no foreign government will do anything on this matter to annoy the Indians. There is also a belief that domestic pressure might persuade Mr. Gandhi to withdraw. But again, there is no indication of such pressure except among a few opposition politicians, and there is no real sign of any ground-swell of public opinion objecting to the continuing loss of life among the Indian army's jawans. **The jawans, then, are only likely to leave if some agreement can be**



## INDIAN TROOPS IN EELAM

**reached with the principal Tamil separatist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, under which it would surrender its guns and join the mainstream of politics. But there seems to be precious little sign of that either.**

Surreptitious negotiations are reported to have been going on between the Indian authorities and the Tamil Tigers in Madras, where the former commander of Jaffna, Mr. Sathasivam Krishnakumar, alias Kittu, is in exile. However, many people here are sure that the negotiations will come to nothing. The Tigers' leadership is likely to repudiate any agreement reached by Kittu, and in any case are said not seriously to be interested in any settlement falling short of the establishment of an independent Tamil homeland. There is also a feeling that they will not wish to participate in any election in which they stand a chance of losing. Caste and other factors are all likely to operate against them in a democratic poll.

Elections have just been held for seven provincial councils established in the rest of the country under the devolution of powers forced on the Government by the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. They were boycotted by the principal opposition party and violently opposed by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna gunmen. Now they must be held in the north and east to elect a joint council for the predominantly Tamil area.

A senior Indian diplomat last week assured me that elections will be held and that the Tamil Tigers are sufficiently cowed not to be able to interfere. Such optimism is derided by other observers, who forecast that the Tigers will issue death threats to any

one who takes part. "If they do not reject the LTTE now and take part in these elections", said another senior Indian, "then I fear it will be the end for the Tamils."

The situation is equally fraught for the ruling party. Elections are due soon, and such is the unpopularity of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord that the party is in danger of losing them. President Jayewardene, who will be 82 in December, is technically not allowed to succeed himself, but a committee has reported that a minor change in the Constitution could change that. Diplomats believe firmly that he will run again. (Michael Hamlyn in *The Times* (London) - June 13, 1988)

## PRESSURE ON INDIAN GOVERNMENT

The Australian Federation of Tamil Associations and the Uniting Church in Melbourne have called on the Federal Government to exert pressure on the Indian Government to call for an immediate ceasefire in Sri Lanka.

The Secretary of the Federation, Mr. Somasundaram, and Reverend Richard Wootton, of the Uniting Church, say the situation in Sri Lanka has worsened in recent days, following what they say is an offensive by the Indian forces against guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

**The Federation and the Church say India should give due consideration to the plight of the Tamils, with a view of arriving at a lasting solution to the current problems in Sri Lanka.**

Letters of appeal have been sent to the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, foreign minister, Bill Hayden, and to several international leaders and organisations.



# INDIA'S \$ 3 MILLION A DAY QUAGMIRE IN SRI LANKA

William McGowan from Jaffna

## Tigers by the tail

From the rubble of the nearly 75,000 houses destroyed or damaged during its drive last October against Tamil Tiger militants, the Indian Peace-keeping Force has built a city of pillboxes and fortified bunkers inside this former rebel stronghold. Normalcy now prevails past the ends of machine guns bristling from sentry posts on every street corner. Yet the Indian troops deployed throughout northern and eastern Sri Lanka still find their quarry elusive. Given the opportunity, the Tigers can still paralyse civil administration and commercial life, kill political foes and collaborators and attack unprotected Sinhalese villages as well as Indian army patrols before melting away uncaught.

Having given arms, training and sanctuary to Tamil separatists fighting the Sri Lankan military, India originally thought it could quickly tame them under the terms of last summer's Indo-Lankan Peace Accord. The accord was an attempt to resolve the longstanding conflict between the minority Tamils (18 per cent of the population) and the majority Sinhalese Buddhists (74 per cent of the population). The feud is rooted in the institutional discrimination the Tamils say they have suffered since independence, in 1948, in education, employment, land settlement and language. But it dates further back, into colonial times and ancient antagonisms. Since 1983, when more than 1,000 Tamils were killed in Sinhalese pogroms, the nation had been in a state of civil war and de facto partition. Upwards of 7,000 civilians had perished.

India had supported the separatists because their cause was strong among 55 million ethnic brethren in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, and because the Western leanings of the Colombo government of President J.R. Jayewardene made it anxious. But when the trouble it was encouraging in Sri Lanka began to threaten India's own equilibrium, and Sri Lankan armed forces broke the struggle's long stalemate in a successful lunge against the militants in May 1987, India stepped in - at first

with only a small force to back up what was intended to be primarily a diplomatic initiative. There was nominal peace for six weeks, but now, nearly a year after the signing of the accord in July, 1987, the fighting continues; **more civilians have been killed in the past year than in any previous year, most of them, ironically, by the Indian peace-keepers.**



## HOW RAJIV KEEPS PEACE IN EELAM



Any intervention into the miasma of Sri Lanka's ethnic troubles ran the risk of frustration. But **India's presumptuous diplomacy and military miscalculations have turned its involvement into a daily \$3 million quagmire for Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, with dark implications for his political future as well as for the domestic stability and international prestige of his country.** Also on the line is the government of Jayewardene, co-signer of the accord, which has for months been under violent pressure from rapid Buddhist nationalists in

the southern part of the island.

Delhi's first mistake was to overestimate its leverage on the two warring sides. The Indo-Lankan Peace Accord called for the rebels to lay down their arms in return for substantial political autonomy in their traditional areas and a guarantee that Sri Lankan armed forces - 99 per cent Sinhalese - would be confined to their barracks. Although the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, or LTTE, the dominant Tamil militant group, had gotten more than its fair share in the bargain, suspicions of the Colombo government built up over several decades were not easily dissipated. The language of the hastily prepared document left several substantive issues, like land colonisation of Tamil areas, vague or unaddressed, and after provocation by Buddhist hardliners within Jayewardene's own Cabinet, the Tigers resumed armed hostilities. At first the Indians did little to hold the Tigers back; in some cases, in fact, Indian soldiers from Tamil Nadu turned a blind eye while brethren Tamils burned Sinhalese out of their homes and shops. Before long, however, the Indians came down hard on their former charges, although for years they had warned Sri Lanka of the futility of a military solution.

**The drive on the rebel capital of Jaffna was a military and intelligence debacle.** The Indians basically dismissed the Tigers as low-caste youths who would never dare stand against the world's fourth largest army - which after all had entered the conflict on their side. Having scoffed at Sri Lankan warnings, the Indians had little idea of Tiger man-power, fire-power, intelligence and communications capabilities. Nor did they sense the fanatic motivation of the Tigers, symbolised by the cyanide capsule each cadre wears around his or her neck to swallow if captured. Most important, the Indians did not understand the lethal force of the Tigers' form of land-mine warfare - an innovation in guerrilla strategy. Losing face politically as casualties mounted daily, Delhi poured more troops into battle, often without proper rest,



briefings, maps or equipment.

What should have taken the Indians three days took nearly three weeks, and during that time brutality against civilians - which India had originally intervened to stop - was ghastly. Here in Jaffna during the October drive, I saw random shelling of civilian areas and evidence that Indians had strafed civilians from helicopters and also shot them point-blank as they hid in their own homes for safety. In direct violation of the Geneva Accords, top Indian officers ordered the storming of the Jaffna Hospital, killing scores of doctors, nurses and patients. The Indians banned foreign journalists and the International Red Cross, making it difficult to verify or dismiss consistent reports of rape and other atrocities committed by Indian troops; likewise, reports that the Tigers had used civilians as human shields.

Utter bedlam reigned during the battle as half a million panic-stricken refugees sought safety, and the Tigers continued to fight-killing many more Indians than military authorities admitted - before pulling out of Jaffna still largely intact as a fighting force. When it was over, with the peace-keepers claiming victory, there was "a city of corpses and rotting flesh", as one Indian brigadier general put it, with some estimates of civilian casualties running as high as 3,000. There was also a deep bitterness among the Tamil populace toward what had effectively become an army of occupation. Conservative estimates say India has 50,000 troops in Sri Lanka, but if higher figures given by Indian analysts and journalists are accurate, it may have up to 100,000 there - almost as many as the Russians had in Afghanistan.

Whenever they are asked about the current situation, Indian troops in the field, cued by public relations officers, no doubt, smile broadly and answer "picnic" - often the only English word they know. But a picnic it decidedly is not. Despite their overwhelming numbers, Indian forces are musclebound, their bureaucratic-minded officers vulner-

able to the Tigers' hit-and-run tactics; convoys still leave the main roads with trepidation. The Tigers continue to train new, ever younger cadres and say that even with weapons deliveries interdicted, they can hold out for five years more with the material that they currently have hidden. The Indians have been unable to protect informers or stop the Tigers from mounting boycotts, general strikes and shut-downs of important administrative services.

Most important, the same pattern of terror from previous years continues under the Indians' very noses. Armed bands of Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims still massacre civilians of other groups. Sri Lankan police have broken out of their barracks to retaliate against Tamil civilians. In other cases, the Tigers have rampaged through Sinhalese settlements with impunity, intimidating government-funded colonisers. The Indian presence has made it worse for the Muslims, an important community in the Eastern Province's war of demographics. The rise of Islamic militias has been the result, with indications of Iranian and Libyan financial support, poisoning the ethnic brew even further.

Support for the Tigers among the Tamils had been waning until the harshness of the Indian occupation. Indian commanders talk of winning hearts and minds, but detentions of suspected militants and sympathisers are arbitrary, beatings are standard and the ethnic and caste complexion of the soldiers clashes with that of the population, leading to tension. The officer corps may be Sandhurst material, but the largely illiterate rank and file have treated civilians badly and are undisciplined. The simple presence of so many gun-bearers who can't speak their language has the population on the edge of nervous breakdown and wishing, ironically, for the return of Sri Lankan troops, who had a harrowing record of human rights offences.

The upshot is that despite their war-weariness and the hardship brought about by the Tigers' rejection of the peace accord, a

majority of the Tamil population supports the guerrillas. And without the backing of the civilians, the Indians can do very little. The chemistry is by no means unalloyed. Tamils may fear the Tigers' authoritarianism and question their lower-caste background and their political inexperience, yet they are recognised as a historically necessary force asserting long-denied rights for national identity and liberation. Besides, there is simply no alternative moderate group.

In fact, the Indians may also feel that the Tigers are the only legitimate force; there are many indications that the military drive against them is more of a bid to discipline than to liquidate. The Indians have seemed reluctant to go for the Tigers' jugular; for example, reporters seeking interviews have sometimes had to wait for the militants to finish cricket games within half a mile of major Indian army encampments, the Tigers keeping their AK-47s at the ready in bat bags. Such apparent laxity signals a fundamental contradiction in Indian policy, for as much as the Indians need to neutralise the Tigers militarily, they also need to preserve them politically, a balancing act requiring great delicacy and organisation, which often elude them. For the accord to work, the Indians need some kind of guarantee of compliance from the increasingly disgruntled Sinhalese Buddhist nationalists in the south, which will be hard to secure without the prospect of a re-activated Tiger threat as leverage.

(By courtesy *The Nation*, (New York) - June 25, 1988).

*To be continued.)*

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

## **TAMIL REHABILITATION ORGANISATION**

**Contact:**

**Secretary,**

**7 Sitwell Walk**

**Stoney Gate,**

**Leicester LE5 5TZ**

**U.K.**

**Phone: (0533) 736363**



## LTTE GREETS NELSON MANDELA

Kittu, the former Jaffna Commander of the LTTE, has sent the following message on behalf of Prabakaran, the Leader of LTTE to ANC on the 70th birthday of Nelson Mandela. **TVI too joins the thousands in greeting the Great Leader.**

The oppressed people of Tamil Eelam and their vanguard movement, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who are waging a heroic struggle for national self-determination, salute the heroic leader Nelson Mandela, who represents the collective consciousness of the oppressed people of Azania. We send our revolutionary greetings to the noble leader on his seventieth birthday which falls on July 18.

Nelson Mandela, 'the world's best known political prisoner', is braving a torturous life in prison with an unshakeable conviction and commitment to see his people liberated. When condemning him to the dungeon in the most infamous Robben Island, twenty-six years ago, the racist regime in Pretoria perceived wrongly, as all oppressors do, that it could silence the cry of the black people of Azania for freedom. But the courageous people of Azania are demonstrating to the world that in their sacred struggle for freedom they will never be cowed down.

Today, the racist regime of South

Africa stands before the conscience of the world accused of committing grave crimes against humanity. The people who love peace and cherish justice are horrified by the recent revelations that over ten thousand black children have been tortured and intimidated in Botha's hell-holes.



**NELSON MANDELA**

At a time when the progressive and oppressed people of the world are rallying behind the oppressed people of Azania and involved in an intensified worldwide campaign calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, it is reported in the world media that the barbaric regime in Pretoria has accelerated its so-called total strategy to find a Hitlerian final solution to the struggle of Azanian

people.

The LTTE, on behalf of the oppressed people of Tamil Eelam, vehemently condemns such fascist strategy of the Botha regime to crush the democratic and legitimate struggle of Azanian people. We extend our solidarity and support to the heroic people of Azania and their legitimate representatives, the ANC, in their struggle to dismantle the barbaric and inhuman apartheid system. It is the oppressed people who are the final victors.

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### RELEASE NELSON MANDELA & OTHERS, DEMANDS PRABAHARAN

*LTTE leader, Mr Prabakaran has written the following letter to the South African Premier Mr Botha:*

"The people of Tamil Eelam and their vanguard movement, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam vehemently condemn the continuous imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners on trumped-up charges. We consider their imprisonment as vicious, undemocratic and unjust. Hence we demand their immediate release."

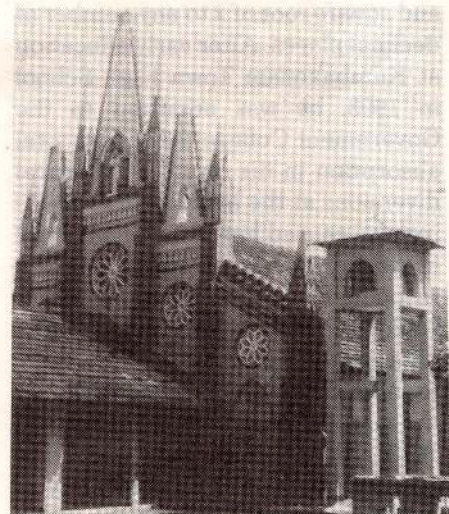
### St. ANTHONY'S CHURCH, MATHAGAL CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION (1888-1988)

Centennial celebration of St. ANTHONY'S CHURCH, MATHAGAL, in Sri Lanka, was held at St. Xaviers Church, Lewisham, London, on 12th June, attended by a large crowd. The mass was conducted by three priests.

**History:** St. Anthony's church is the oldest of three churches in the Parish of Mathagal. 300 years ago, when this church was housed in a thatched shed under the name of St. Xavier's church, Rev. Fr. Joseph Vaz took refuge in it for fear of possible persecution by the Dutch. It is said that the entire shed got burnt in a fire but to everyone's surprise the idol of St. Anthony inside was found quite

unaffected. A new church was duly built on the same premises and dedicated to St. Anthony and St. Xavier.

This church was one of the first four churches in Jaffna at the time of the birth of the Catholic Diocese in Jaffna, during Portuguese rule. It was established under the Chairmanship of Rev. Fr. Heuilehanged and its construction was according to Gothic architecture, financed from France. The building was completed in 1888. Even though 100 years old, the church retains its magnificent appearance due to modifications and structural alterations effected from time to time.



**ST. ANTHONY'S CHURCH  
MATHAGAL**



# TAMIL GREATS

## RAMANUJAN - A MATHEMATICAL PHENOMENON

By S.Ranjithan, Oman

*"I have set myself a task in these lectures which is genuinely difficult and which, if I were determined to begin by making every excuse for failure, I might represent as almost impossible. I have to form myself, as I have never really formed before, and try to help you to form, some sort of reasoned estimate of the most romantic figure in the recent history of mathematics; a man whose career seems full of paradoxes and contradictions, who defies almost all the canons by which we are accustomed to judge one another, and about whom all of us will probably agree in one judgement only, that he was in some sense a very great mathematician."*

These were the opening remarks of Prof. G. H. Hardy, a distinguished mathematician from Cambridge University, while he was delivering a series of 12 lectures on the life and work of Ramanujan at the Harvard University Tercentenary Celebrations in 1936.

Srinivasa Ramanujan Aiyangar was born into a poor Brahmin family at Erode, Tamil Nadu, on 22 December 1887. His father was a 'petty accountant' to a cloth merchant at Kumbakonam where Ramanujan grew up.

Ramanujan's mathematical talents surfaced early. He is said to have recited mathematical formulae to his schoolmates, including the value of Pi and square root of 2 to any number of decimal places. After early education at Kumbakonam Town High School in 1903, he was admitted to the Government College there. Yet, total absorption in his own mathematical diversions at the expense of everything else caused him to fail in his First in Arts examination. Hardy later on recounted that Ramanujan never could rise even to be a 'failed B.A.'. As a result, during most of the years to follow until he was 'discovered' by the mathematicians at Cambridge in 1913, Ramanujan lived in dire poverty with added responsibility of having to support his parents and a wife (he married in 1909).

Too poor to afford paper, he did his

calculations on a slate and jotted the results in a series of notebooks. Through the influence of some of his Indian admirers such as Prof. P.V.Seshu Aiyar and R.Ramachandra Rao, then Collector at Nellore, Ramanujan secured a clerical post in the Madras Port Trust at Rs.30 a month. This job had an additional advantage. He could take away wrapping paper, to write his mathematics on!



RAMANUJAN

He was encouraged by his friends to communicate with the leading mathematicians of England. Two of the prominent ones there had returned his manuscripts without comment, apparently after being satisfied that they were valueless. He then wrote to Hardy at Trinity College, Cambridge in January 1913, enclosing some of his theorems. Hardy sat together with his colleague J.E.Littlewood, another distinguished mathematician, and went through what he had received. Very soon they knew that the writer of these manuscripts was a man of genius. It is only later that they knew that Ramanujan was in terms of natural genius in the class of Gauss and Euler. In fact, according to his own "pure-talent scale of 100" of mathematicians, Hardy was later to rate Ramanujan a 100, Littlewood a 30 and himself a 25. The German mathematician David Hilbert, the most influential figure of the time, merited only an 80.

Despite the lack of formal

qualifications, Ramanujan was very soon invited to Cambridge. He left India in March 1914. During the next five years he was at Trinity College, Cambridge, he contributed brilliantly to mathematics (mainly theory of numbers and related areas) and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1918 when he was only 30 years of age - he became the youngest Fellow of the Royal Society at the time of election. He was also elected a Fellow of Trinity College. He soon became ill, diagnosed at that time as tuberculosis. In 1919 he returned to India as it was hoped that he might recover there. Unfortunately on 26 April 1920, at the age of 32, he died in Madras, leaving a widow but no children.

Hardy described his association with Ramanujan as "the one romantic incident of my life." When Ramanujan lay critically ill in hospital at Putney, Hardy had visited him by a taxicab bearing No.1729. He had remarked that the number was a dull one, to which Ramanujan replied "No Hardy, it is a very interesting number. It is the smallest number expressible as a sum of two cubes in two different ways -  $(1729 = 12^3 + 1^3 = 10^3 + 9^3)$ ."

H.W.Turnbull has said "India has from time to time possessed mathematicians of great power. They may be traced through the ages back to the later Greek period. But judged by absolute standards of greatness, among all mathematicians of the East, the genius of Ramanujan appears to be supreme."

(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, sport, etc. Ed)

*"Mathematics possesses not only truth, but supreme beauty - a beauty cold and austere like that of a sculpture".*

BERTRAND RUSSELL.



## Book Review

# THE BREAK-UP OF SRI LANKA - THE SINHALESE-TAMIL CONFLICT

Dr.A.Jayaratnam Wilson

(250 pages including biographical notes and index -£17.50)

"My considered view is that Ceylon has already split into two entities" the author writes. "At present this is a state of mind; for it to become a territorial reality is a question of time." He uses the name 'Ceylon' advisedly, he says, because the new name was forced on the country without the consent of the Tamil minority. 'Sri Lanka' is used in the title only.

Dr.Wilson held the founding Chair of Political Science at the University of Ceylon - today the University of Peradeniya. He is now Professor of Political Science in the University of New Brunswick, Canada, and has authored a number of other books on constitutional and on Sri Lankan affairs.

From 1978-83 he was unofficial political consultant and adviser to President Jayewardene acting as intermediary between him and the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) during the discussions over the terms of the District Development Councils - a constitutional device to devolve power to provincial bodies. It might have satisfied the Tamil demand for regional autonomy. But the scheme turned out to be one more of those false fronts opened by the wily President to double-cross the Tamils.

Dr.Wilson has been long wedded to the movement for Tamil emancipation. He is son-in-law to the Gandhian leader of the TULF, the late S.J.V.Chelvanayagam, 'a man of rare vision and character' lovingly remembered throughout the Tamil country as "Thanthai" - the father of our people. Dr.Wilson has used his political expertise and connections to promote a fair and reasonable peace; but has failed. Much of this book is the story of that failure and why. He is among the few who could present a correct and authoritative analysis of what went wrong.

It is the author's opinion that Don

Stephen Senanayake -another father of his country, incidentally - could be said to have fathered the Tamil movement for separation. His disfranchisement of the Indian Tamils and his state-sponsored colonisation of the Tamil lands by Sinhalese settlers soon after independence, rang warning bells and gave a powerful push to Tamil nationalism.



DR. A. J. WILSON

The book traces the growth of Ceylon as an independent unitary state: the challenge to its unity from political Buddhism - which, in the author's opinion, is a recent phenomenon, and probably a Western invention -; the competition for state-power among the elites, leading to a demand for a federal set-up by the Tamil minority; a study of the period before the current civil war; India's interest and the Western aim at penetration through their client states; and the country's future; all these have been analysed in depth and presented with supreme craftsmanship and historical objectivity.

Sri Lankan expatriates, Sinhalese and Tamil, driven to seek new homes around the world, because of a misguided policy of 'our land, our race, our faith', should read this book: to the Sinhalese it is the tragedy of what might have been if their ruling elite had been a little more accommodating to the Tamil it

is a tale of sorrow, also of pride at their people's indomitable will to resist repression.

The book also uncovers the shameless duplicity which has come to be the hallmark of all Sinhalese governments and their infantile belief that they could manipulate a nation just because they had the numbers. On the notorious **standardisation of marks**, the book quotes the Sinhalese historian C.R de Silva, "It was an object lesson on how inept policy measures and insensitivity to minority interests can exacerbate ethnic tensions." This undoubtedly was the final straw that drove the youth to militant methods.

Dr.Wilson on the political power of the Buddhist clergy, "The Buddhist monks enjoyed unlimited freedom to dictate policy. They will in the end be responsible for the demise of the state. They have no conception of how the affairs of the modern state are managed."

President Jayewardene is described as 'the keenest of political artists'. Yet despite all his cunning, like the imperial Churchill, **he is destined, if he lives that long, to be presiding over the break-up of his little island state.**

There are two maps one of which shows the ethnic distribution of population district-wise, as per census of 1981. It is compared with the 1946 figures to demonstrate the insidious attempt to take over the Tamil country by state-sponsored Sinhalese colonisation.

**A note on the dedication:** Readers generally pass the dedication by most reviewers also; but Dr.Wilson's cries out for special attention. In contrast to the 'gloom and doom' in the book, the dedication is about the only ray of sunshine - an almost perfect tribute to an 'exotic' and special guru.

(Thirumalai Nathan)



## LATE NEWS

### INDIA USES NAPALM & CHEMICAL BOMBS

Indian forces, in their attempt to wipe out the LTTE, have carried out massive scale aerial bombardment in Mullaitivu district. Since 22nd June, Indian planes and military helicopters bombed and strafed the residential areas of Alambil, Naayaaru, Semmalai and Kumulamunai in the Mullaitivu district. Indian forces used internationally banned napalm and chemical bombs and 250 kilo bombs in these operations.

Hundreds of houses, schools and government buildings have been severely damaged. The civilian casualties are feared high but as Indian forces continue this operation, accurate figures are not immediately available.

Most of the jungle areas in Mullaitivu are on fire and the animals are badly affected, several of them dead. It is understood that Rajiv is bent in destroying the Tamil Resistan Movement and enthroning his ally J.R. Jayewardene for the third term. Tamils believe that Rajiv will meet his Waterloo in Tamil Eelam if he does not mend his ways. A nation cannot be massacred however militarily powerful India may be.

### Hunger-strike protest in Mullaitivu

A mass hunger-strike protest rally was organised by the people of Mullaitivu on 24.6.88 against the Indian atrocities. Over 1,000 people from the villages of Thanneerootu, Kumulamunai, Kallappaadu, Vaddakkandal and Mulliyavalai participated in this protest and demanded the Indian government to

\* announce a ceasefire and start negotiations with the LTTE;

\* dismantle the Walioya Sinhala colonisation (a Tamil village called Manal Aru recently turned into Walioya Sinhala colony) and to release all the civilians who were arrested by the Indian and Sri Lankan forces.

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### INDIAN BOAT SUNK: SOLDIERS KILLED

Eleven Indian soldiers including two officers were killed, at sea off Mullaitivu on 11.7.88, and their

boat sunk by a commando unit of the LTTE. These Indian army personnel were returning in a boat after attacking and harassing the Tamil fishermen.

### PROTEST DEMONSTRATION AND RALLY EELAM TAMILS CALL UPON PEOPLE WITH REASON AND CONSCIENCE TO JOIN THIS DEMONSTRATION AND RALLY TO BE HELD ON SUNDAY 31ST JULY, 1988

Starting from TYBURN WAY (Tube -Marble Arch)  
to TEMPLE PLACE. Assemble at 1-30 p.m.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN  
KILLED IN COLD BLOOD IN THE STATE-SPONSORED  
TERROR CAMPAIGN OF JULY 1983 AND THEREAFTER IN TAMIL  
EELAM WHERE OVER 20,000 CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN KILLED

#### JOIN TO REGISTER YOUR PROTEST

Against Rajiv Gandhi's despicable expansionist military  
manoeuvres in Sri Lanka under the pretence of a Peace Accord  
which remains dishonoured.

At the continuing crimes against humanity by Indian troops  
against Tamil Eelam and its people. So far about 5,700 civilians  
had been killed, about 780 women had been raped and  
hundreds of young men and women had disappeared after the  
Indian invasion.

At the devastation and destruction caused by Indian troops by  
their use of high explosive, Napalm, chemical and other deadly  
bombs in Tamil residential areas.

Against India's persistent denial of access to International Red  
Cross, International media, humanitarian and aid agencies to  
resist and render assistance to the long suffering people of  
Tamil Eelam.

At the vulgarity of Rajiv's duplicity and treachery in gaining  
entry into Sri-Lanka claiming to bring peace and solution to the  
long standing national question and in fact trying to achieve  
self and geo-political interests.

At the blood thirsty attempts to search and eliminate Liberation  
Tigers and their leader V. Prabaharan who are authentic  
representatives of Tamils with the objective of destroying the  
national liberation struggle of Eelam Tamils.

### MASS DEMONSTRATION AND PROTEST MEETING BY THE D.M.K.

The Working Committee of the D.M.K. have resolved to hold a  
mass rally and demonstration on July 29, 1988, condemning the  
false propaganda made by the Rajiv regime without agreeing  
for a ceasefire in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka, despite LTTE's  
appeals for cessation of hostilities and negotiations for a  
political solution.