

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

Vol. 1 No. 17

15th September 1988

WORLD'S FOURTH LARGEST ARMY DECLARES UNILATERAL CEASE-FIRE

(after year-long battle with 2000 freedom fighters)

"The IPKF will continue its operations until all the provisions of the Accord are fulfilled"



K.C.Pant, Defence Minister

"Operation Pawan was not just a military operation but a politico-military one"



Gen.K.Sundarji who launched 'Operation Pawan' on 10.10.87



Dixit's disclosure of 'payments' to Tigers turned into a serious embarrassment for New Delhi - one of many faux pas



J.N.Dixit, India's Viceroy in Colombo

"People (Tamil) are supportive of the IPKF's operation"



Lt.Gen.A.S.Kalkat, Overall Commander, IPKF

Some of India's top brass involved in this undeclared war

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YOUR VOICE

ENGLISH VOCABULARY ENRICHED BY TAMIL

Lexicographer, Ealing

Has anyone any idea as to how many Tamil words have found their way into the English dictionary? Most people know that 'curry' comes from the Tamil word 'Kari' (sauce), but how many know that 'rice' too is derived from the Tamil word 'arisi' (paddy deprived of husk) - ascribed to a root 'ari' to separate. 'Catamaran' is straight from 'kattu' (bind, in Tamil) and 'maram' (wood). Thus, catamaran originally was a raft formed of three or four logs of wood lashed together.

'Mulligatawny' is now the name of a well-known soup but it is simply a corruption of the Tamil word 'milagu-tannir' (pepper-water). 'Anicut' - the dam constructed across a river to fill, and regulate the supply of, the irrigating channels - comes from the Tamil compound-word 'Anaik-kattu' (dam construction). 'Corundum', a crystallised mineral belonging to the same species as the sapphire and ruby, comes from the Tamil word for ruby, 'kurundam'. 'Chatty', an earthen pot, is derived from 'Chatti'; 'Cheroot', a cigar truncated at both ends, comes from 'Churuttu' (to roll); and 'chit' as a letter or a note or a ticket, is from the Tamil word 'cheetu'.

Among other Tamil words which have found their way into the Oxford Dictionary are 'mango, (from "maa" meaning mango tree; and "kai" meaning fruit). 'Pandal' from 'panthal' - a temporary shed or booth. 'Pariah' comes from 'parai' - the large drum beaten at certain festivals. The hereditary beaters of this drum are called 'paraiyar'.

(We look to our readers to add to this list. Editor)

NOT PURI OR CHAPPATI !

Rajan Thangavelu, University of Toronto

The cover story on 'Operation Black Thunder' (India Today, May 30, 1988), gave us an insight into the happenings at Amritsar. Rajiv Gandhi

did impose two difficult conditions before personally clearing the plan. First, that the forces would not enter the main temple complex, and second, that casualties were to be avoided.

I wonder why he did not impose the same conditions on the IPKF in its fight against the LTTE in Jaffna. The IPKF bombed and shelled from the air, sea and land and killed thousands of innocent civilians and destroyed temples, houses and property worth several millions. Tamil girls were raped and houses looted. What was Rajiv Gandhi doing at that time? If he could ask the CRPF to avoid casualties, why couldn't he ask the IPKF to do the same? Is it because he considered Tamils as outcasts who could be shot at and killed with impunity?

Rajiv will dare not use his Airforce to bomb Sikh villages and towns nor will he touch the Sikh girls because of fear for his own life and of his political survival in India.

The truth is plain. He considers Tamils as aliens for whom he doesn't have to show any sympathy. After all, the Tamils in Sri Lanka are people who speak a different language and who do not eat puri and chappati as Rajiv does !

THE SHAH, MARCOS, ZIA - WHO NEXT ?

Siva Muttulingasamy, Croydon

Every third world leader who gets too close to the Americans gets the kiss of death, it appears. The US has the knack of backing the wrong horse. Every one of these proteges gained a false sense of security and took the law into his hands thinking that 'big brother' would help him out of trouble.

Marcos in the Philippines was pampered by the Yankees until he was unceremoniously deposed by his own people. Anyone with an iota of intelligence can see that Zia was murdered and his death has brought a sigh of relief to the majority of Pakistanis.

There is one more 'Yankee Dicky' left in that league table and what his des-

tiny will be is difficult to forecast. He has been a lot more shrewd than the others, by manipulating the ballot box and calling for elections that have been, without any doubt, rigged. He has managed to camouflage his form of tyranny very well. One credit I will give Zia - that is, he stood by the Mujahedin rebels through thick and thin. This is more than one can say about the back-stabbing Rajiv and the present Indian administration.

ON HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: IS IT A FARCE?

Navamani, Jaffna

The 43rd Session of the Commission on Human Rights resolved that the International Committee of the Red Cross be allowed to perform its functions in the North and East of Sri Lanka. The 44th Session took no action because India entered the fray as a third factor. The 40th Session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and Human Rights ended on Sept.2, 1988.

If Sri Lanka and India, both member countries of the U.N, are not prepared to concede to a request of the U.N to allow even the ICRC to perform its functions, I cannot understand why 'Peace' Organisations of this nature should exist! When members do not abide by the declarations they had endorsed, and when they do not co-operate in implementing the decisions they had made, is it not a farce for the peace organisations like the U.N.O to permit such states to continue as members?

The N.G.Os too seem to align themselves with the major political forces, probably to safeguard their own interests.

Can someone with a kind heart let me know, through your esteemed Journal, why these Commissions and Sub-Commissions of the U.N. are there at all, if they can only provide a platform for the defence of inhuman acts committed in countries like Sri Lanka and India, on their own citizens, and even on the citizens of neighbouring countries?

A HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND THE IPKF

The time has come for the IPKF to pack its bags. Nobody wants them. On the anniversary of mourning observed throughout the world by Tamil organisations, the one recurring theme has been the wanton killings of innocent people, the lootings and pillagings, the rapes (proven sometimes in courts of law) and plunders. Anna Chimielewski of Amnesty International stated that "conditions haven't really improved.... The country is still at battle, so people returning home are not safe. Their lives are endangered." Chimielewski added that 50,000 Indian peace-keepers "are guilty of human rights abuses against the Tamils." William Migowan in writing for the New York-based *The Nation*, on 25 June 1988, stated that "more civilians have been killed in the past year than in any previous year, most of them ironically, by the Indian peace-keepers." Authentic reports indicate that India has carried out massive aerial bombardment in the Mullaitivu district in the Tamil North. Since 22 June 1988, Indian troops have used internationally banned napalm and chemical bombs and 250-kilo bombs in their operation against the LTTE in which many innocent civilians suffered casualties. **Even President Jayewardene told *The New Yorker* (March 21, 1988) correspondent in Colombo that "India had failed to fulfil its functions under the Accord" (*The Island*, July 24, 1988). Minister Gamini Dissanayake talks now of "a phased withdrawal" of Indian troops from the island, while this minister's principal rival for the presidential throne, Lalith Athulathmudali, seeks to bypass the Indians by engaging in direct talks with the Tamil groups and "thus outflank and out-manoeuvre the IPKF, the Indian government and the Sri Lanka Supporters of the Accord....". The President of the Ceylon (mainly Indian Tamil) Workers' Congress and Minister of Rural Development, the redoubtable S.Thondaman, has in a press release stated, among other things, that "India did not really understand the aspirations of the Tamil people.... and found that it had to use the IPKF against the very people whose interests it came to protect". Mr.Thondaman admits that "IPKF actions have caused much hardship to the Tamil public".**

Mr.Gandhi has, in our view, got stuck in the quicksands of Sri Lanka's politics. There are several implications. Mr.Gandhi, the leader of the Non-aligned Movement, is the oppressor of an oppressed Tamil minority. His adventure has not even given him the reward of safeguarding his country's national interests. The Sinhalese negotiators have proved unreliable and devious. Mr.Gandhi is supporting a corrupt and tottering Sri Lanka regime. The farce of "the world's biggest democracy" (India) bolstering "Asia's only five-star democracy" (Sri Lanka) provides mock entertainment for those who have eyes to see. In the process, Mr.Gandhi has awakened the dormant Sinhalese fears of Indian expansionism, forcing Sri Lanka to replace its earlier policy of peaceful co-existence. Whether he likes it or not, Mr.Gandhi is left clutching the coat tails of the only supporter of the Accord, President Jayewardene. At home, Mr.Gandhi is faced with the united opposition of the major political forces of Tamil Nadu. At the national level, Mr.V.P.Singh has made it clear that the withdrawal of the IPKF will be a main plank in the opposition's campaign against the Gandhi government at the general election scheduled for November 1989 or thereabouts. The LTTE's epitaph for the Accord is that it is a "Charter of Servility."

The only honourable course, despite the indignities and brutal violations of human rights perpetrated on the Tamil people, is for Mr.Gandhi to quit the Sri Lanka scene. Or else, he must face a protracted armed struggle and the united opposition of all Sri Lanka's major communities.

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TAMIL VOICE International

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மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

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15th September 1988

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All correspondence to:
Tamil Voice International
P.O. Box 228, Wembley,
Middx. HA9 8SZ, England

Subscriptions: (24 issues)
£15.00 or US \$30 UK, India and Sri Lanka
£25.00 or US \$50 all other countries

Tamil Voice International, published fortnightly by Tamil International Ltd., aims to cater for the information needs of the Tamil community across the world. Subscriptions, donations, contributions in the form of articles, letters to the editor, and news reports that pertain mainly but not exclusively to Tamil-related affairs are welcome.

The views expressed in this journal are not necessarily those of the editor, the editorial board or the directors.

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

PROMINENT PERSONALITIES APPEAL TO INDIA

"It is twelve long months since the Indian army landed in Sri Lanka following the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord on 29th July 1987. Though India has claimed that the accord, which was signed without consulting the Sri Lankan Tamils, is meant to offer a solution to the discrimination and oppression suffered by the Sri Lankan Tamils for several decades, the past twelve months tell an entirely different story."

To force the Sri Lankan Tamils to accept the accord, which does not offer them even the limited autonomy enjoyed by the states in the Indian Union, a one lakh strong Indian army is engaged in an unjust war against the minority Tamils. Tamil areas are being aerielly bombarded; several

hundred Tamils including a large number of civilians have already been killed; Tamil girls are being raped; and every form of democratic dissent in the Tamil areas is being suppressed. The recently published Amnesty International report exposes these indefensible acts of inhumanity perpetrated by the Indian army on the Sri Lankan Tamils. The Indian government has turned down repeated appeals by various democratic groups in Sri Lanka and in India as well as by the Tamil militants for a ceasefire.

While the state-controlled Doordharshan and All India Radio have been constantly indulging in a disinformation campaign, the Indian government has not allowed any group of impartial observers to visit the strife-

torn Tamil areas and objectively assess the situation. Nor has it allowed the International Red Cross to operate in these areas.

It is not only the Tamils who are being savaged in this unjust war; the precious lives of a large number of Indian soldiers are being sacrificed in a foreign land for no just reason. And the Indian people are bearing the enormous cost of this unjust war - an estimated Rs.2.5 crores per day.

We call upon the Government of India to declare a ceasefire immediately and open up negotiations with the LTTE."

The above appeal was organised by the Confederation of Associations for the Protection of Eelam Tamils and among the signatories are the following illustrious personalities:

Shri B.D. Jetti, former Vice-President of India
Justice (Retd.) V.R. Krishna Iyer, Supreme Court
Mr. Paul M. Sweezy, Economist and Editor, 'Monthly Review', New York
Prof. A.R. Desai, Social Scientist, Bombay
Dr. Upendra Baxi, former Vice-Chancellor, South Gujarat University
Dr. Malcolm Adiseshia, former Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras
Justice (Retd.)
P. Venugopal, President, Tamil Nadu Intellectuals Forum
Dr. V. Sp. Manickam, former Vice-Chancellor, Madurai Kamarajar University
Dr. C.T. Kurien, Economist, Madras
Dr. Bharat Wariawalla, Defence Analyst, New Delhi
Dr. S. Guhan, Economist, Madras
Dr. A. Vaidyanathan, Economist, Madras
Dr. Hirdaramany Dhar, Economist, Lucknow
Mr. O.V. Vihayan, Malayalam writer and cartoonist
Mr. Sameeksha M. Govindan, Malayalam writer
Dr. C. Narasimha Reddy, Economist, Hyderabad
Dr. Haragopal, Political Scientist, Hyderabad
Mr. K. Krishnaraj, Editor, 'Economic and Political Weekly', Bombay
Mr. Timir Basu, Editor, 'Frontier', Calcutta
Dr. K.P. Kannan, Economist, Trivandrum
Dr. P.K.M. Tharakan, Historian, Trivandrum
Dr. John Kurien, Social Scientist, Trivandrum
Dr. G.N. Rao, Economic Historian, Trivandrum
Dr. Ganshyam Shah, Social Scientist, Surat
Dr. S. Pattanayak, Professor of Mathematics, Sambapur
Mr. Samanta Bannerji, Writer and Journalist, New Delhi
Dr. Vandana Shiva, Ecologist, Dehra Dun
Dr. P. Ganguly, Scientist, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore
Mr. Achin Vanaik, Assistant Editor, 'Times of India', Bombay
Dr. Ramachandra Guha, Sociologist, Bangalore
Dr. Titu Dhawan, Social Scientist, Bombay
Dr. G.S.R. Krishnan, Sociologist, Bangalore
Mr. M.S. Appa Rao, former Chairman, Hindustan Photo Films
Muthamizh Kavalal K.A.P. Viswanatham, Thiruchirappalli
Dr. A. Sivanandan, Director, Institute of Race Relations & Editor, 'Race and Class', London
Dr. S.L. Shetty, Economist, Madras
Dr. M. Gangadharan, Editor, 'Jayakemalam', Calicut
Dr. Meenakani Thyagarajan, Economist, Madras
Dr. N. Sanjeevi, Tamil Scholar, Madras
Prof. Nirmal Sengupta, Social Scientist, Madras
Dr. M. Naganathan, Reader in Economics, University of Madras
Prof. K.G. Sankaran Pillai, Malayalam writer
Mr. Mike Handa, Journalist, London

Mr. David Humphreys, Artist-Lecturer, Ruskin College, Oxford
Mr. Michael Hastings, Playwright, Royal Court Theatre, London
Mr. Dusty Hughes, Playwright, National Theatre, London
Mary Dines, Rights and Justice, London
Murasoli Maran, M.P., Editor, 'Murasoli', Madras
Mr. Valampuri John, M.P., Editor, 'Thai', Madras
Mr. Sundara Ramasamy, Asokamitran, S.V. Rajadurai, Tamil writers
Mr. S.P. Muthuraman, Film-maker, Madras
Mr. S. Dhanu, Film Producer, Madras
Mr. V.C. Ghuanathan, Film-maker, Madras
Mr. Balakumaran, Tamil writer and Film-maker, Madras
Vishnu Mathur, Film-maker, Bombay
Dr. C.S. Lakshmi, Tamil writer, Bombay
Messrs. Vairamuthu, Suradha, Mu Mehta, Tamil poets, Madras
Mr. Jnani, Pareeksha Theatre Group, Madras
Dr. M.S.S. Pandian, Social Scientist, Madras
Shastri Ramachandran, Asst. Editor, 'Newstime', Hyderabad
Mr. P.K. Sunil, Correspondent, 'Illustrated Weekly of India', Madras
Mr. Pankaj Dutt, Writer, Calcutta
Mr. M.V. Devan, Architect, Alwaye
Ramachandra Adityah, Editor, 'Malai Murasu', Madras
Dr. Aurobinda Ghosh, Civil Rights Activist, New Delhi
Dr. S. Barah, Central University, Hyderabad
Mr. J.G. Veerasingham, International Campaign Director, Gaborne
Dr. Saalai Ilanthiraiyan, Editor, 'Ariviyakkam', Madras
Dr. C.N. Deivanayagam, Convenor, Physicians for Peace, Madras
Dr. J. Amalorpavanathan, Physicians for Peace, Madras
Dr. Ilavarasu, Tamil Scholar, Madras
Dr. Sp. Veerapandiyar, Writer, Madras
Mr. Inquilab, 'Tamil Post', Madras
Mr. C. Rammohan Reddy, Journalist, 'Deccan Herald', Bangalore
Dr. Raja Ramanna, Vice-Chairman, 'Baratiya Vidya Bhavan', Bangalore
Dr. G.V.L. Rao, Dr. N.S. Ananthanarayanan, Mr. H.K. Ranganath, Mr. S.K. Venkatachalam, 'Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan', Bangalore
Mr. H.A. Shankaranarayanan, R.M.C.R., Bangalore
Mr. M. Kannaiyan, Chairman, Town Planning & Improvement, Bangalore City Corporation
His Holiness Guru Mahasannithanam Meignana Sambantha Desigar, Madurai Aadheenam
Pulavar A.K. Selvaganapathy, Tamil Nadu Thirukkural Peravai
Dr. R. Shanmugham, Dr. P.B. Rajendran, Dr. N. Chokkalingam, Dr. S. Sambasivam, Dr. N. Velevan, Dr. K. Kasirajan, Dr. M. Vannamuthu, Dr. Philomina Mary, Dr. G. Rajam - all from the Institute of Correspondence Courses and Continuing Education, Madurai Kamarajar University, Madurai
Dr. G. Velan, Dr. N. Durairaj, Dr. M.S. Subramanian, Dr. T.V.V. Singh

Point of view

SRI LANKA : THE MYTH OF RACE

Padma Edirisinghe

In any human tragedy there are those who, vulture-like, grow fat on carcasses of bigotry and ignorance and it is an unfortunate fact that these are the voices which dominate and direct, drowning with their booms and shrieks, the consciences of reason and truth. Anyone peering into the clouded glass of history must acknowledge the truth that, in the short term, it is the bigots, the demagogues and the fanatics who too often prevail.

Padma Edirisinghe has been researching into Sri Lanka's turbulent past, charting the events which have moulded her nation's destiny and the tangled paths leading to the current conflict. Her investigations have provided a stark case study of the irrationality of prejudice.

Sri Lanka, the beautiful, pear-shaped Island lying in the shadow of the Asian sub-continent, has become a nation tortured on the rack of racial conflict. In the early seventies, the Tamil minority, who for years had brooded on the economic, social and cultural discrimination they perceived as endemic in the attitude of the Sinhalese majority, finally despaired of a non-violent resolution of their grievances and erupted into violent retaliation against their persecutors. The consequences were as inevitable as they were tragic. Attitudes within the Sinhalese-dominated government hardened, oppression and coercion increased and cultural and racial fascism began to tighten its grip on many sections of the community.

By 1979, violence and civil disobedience had reached such a peak that, with the situation rapidly escalating beyond its control, the embattled Sri Lankan government declared a state of emergency. Reports of atrocities perpetrated by extremists on both sides of the conflict were interspersed with reports of horrific human rights abuses by government agencies. Amnesty International received a deluge of reports of torture, illegal and inhuman interrogation techniques, deaths in custody and other abuses, and the government resorted to importing 'internal security consultants' in a vain, self-defeating attempt to regain control.

This maelstrom of suffering and conflict spawned an international market in media coverage. Overnight a whole new generation of 'experts' on Sri Lanka emerged, analysing, prophesying, reporting and moralising. There were almost as many different theories, forecasts and opinions as there were pundits. **Only on one issue did there seem to be general agree-**

ment. Racial and cultural differences lay at the heart of the problem. It was clear that, both racially and culturally, the Tamil and Sinhalese populations were distinct from one another. Sinhalese, supposedly, are lighter-skinned than Tamils; Sinhalese are Buddhists whilst Tamils are Hindus; there are distinctions in art, dress and speech. Racism may well be a deplorable social pathology, but at least in the case of Sri Lanka the racial differences are clearcut and easily noticeable... it is generally accepted. However, anyone caring to look beneath the surface of contemporary differences will discover that the truth is far more complex and confused than the chauvinism that currently blinds both sides will admit.

Sri Lanka's history begins in the sixth century BC, when, it is surmised, groups of seafarers from Bengal colonised the lush shores of Sri Lanka, presaging a steady influx of traders, craftsmen, out of favour courtiers and fortune-seekers. The word Sinhalese means 'Lion's Blood' and was probably adopted by travellers and explorers to signify the intrepid nature of their callings. By the time the word Sinhalese was commonly used to describe the population of what is now Sri Lanka, the original cosmopolitan groups had begun to attain cultural form with the advent of Buddhism. The Sinhalese had four centuries to develop their own distinct culture before the political turmoil of the 7th century engendered another exodus of peoples from the mainland, this time predominantly from South India. This was the first Tamil invasion.

However, it is a fallacy to assume that these two communities lived in physical and social separatism. In fact, the period between the 7th and 15th

centuries encapsulates the myriad developments which led to the intermingling of the two communities at all levels of society." There was a constant flow of population between Sri Lanka and mainland India with mercenaries recruited from South India and intermingling with an already cosmopolitan population. "During the Kotte period (15th century), the Sinhala dynasty became so mixed up with Indian Royalty that it became impossible to distinguish one from the other." The eminent historian Raghavan has shown how Tamil families became 'Sinhalese', while Sinhalese families merged into the Tamil population. Raghavan draws attention to the saga of the Kuru family, one branch of which living on the Sinhala side of the Negombo lagoon became Sinhalese, and the other branch of the family, living on the Tamil side, remained Tamil.

There are a series of 'affinities' which the two groups have developed with each other, racial, cultural, linguistic and religious, and the points of similarity today far outweigh the points of difference, which seem to be primarily based on geographical and class consideration. **It is actually, to a large extent, a myth that Tamils are 'darker-skinned'. In a crowd, only external variations in dress will distinguish a Sinhalese from a Tamil as colour of skin and hair, facial features and body build are markedly similar.** Though the Sinhalese are supposed to be lighter-skinned, there are many dark-skinned Sinhalese and fair-skinned Tamils making the distinction more difficult.

Recent newspaper reports in 'Sinhala Island', spurred on by the frenzy aroused in the two warring groups

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THIRUKKURAL

By S.Sriskandarajah

மழித்தலும் நீட்டலும் வேண்டா உலகம்
பழித்தது ஒழித்து விடின்.

"Mazhiththalum Needdalum Venda Ulagam
Pazhiththathu Ozhiththu Vidin." (280) (Transliteration)

Neither matted hair thou wantest nor shaven head,
if thou abstain from what the world condemneth. (Translation)

We pay a lot of attention to our external appearance. We wish to appear commendably comely and personable. Human nature is such that everyone wants to appear more handsome and beautiful than he or she really is! It is because of this our forebears had a saying "Aarl paathi, aadai paathi" - meaning only 50 per cent is natural beauty, the balance is artificial adornment. To the ordinary men and women, it is the external appearance that is more important; they care not much about the internal. It is this lack of concern for the inner self and the obsession with the exterior appearance that is retarding the progress of humanity. This state of affairs is not peculiar to our times; it has been prevalent even during the times of Buddha, Socrates and Thiruvalluvar. Peace, tranquillity and happiness could be acquired only through paying attention to the inner self.

Man does not become great by sporting this kind of hair-style and that kind of hair-do. **Greatness lies in how pure and poised his mind is. He will be judged by his virtues and by what he is, not by what he looks.** The learned know that appearance is deceptive and therefore they will judge a person only by what he intrinsically is. This is what Thiruvalluvar tells us in this couplet under consideration.

He says that there is no need for a shaven crown or shaped hair-style if a person could abstain from those deeds which the wise have condemned. Now the question arises, "What are these prohibited deeds?" They are numerous and hence impossible to catalogue. Therefore it would be safe to say that whatever is done with a spotless mind is virtue, all else is evil and vanity. In other words, whatever we do when our mind is not happily poised is evil. **Virtue consists in avoiding envy, lust, wrath and the harsh word.** It may be correct to say, according to Thiruvalluvar, that our mind will be pure and

clean when we have flushed these out from our mind. When our mind is cleansed of all these four sinful qualities all our acts will be virtuous and meritorious. If a person avoids envy, lust, wrath and the harsh word, then there is no need for him to grow his hair or to trim it; in fact, he will not care to do it.

Let us illustrate the point. Take the case of Mahatma Gandhi. Sir Winston Churchill called him "half naked fakir" disparagingly. Mahatma was not hurt; he did not care two hoots. He never worried about his exterior. He spent very little on his clothing and chose to wear a cheap piece of cloth to cover his shame. He

in fact loathed to wear costly habiliments. As his mind was pure he did not feel that he should adorn himself. Perhaps it may be correct to say that it is those that are not internally honest and pure that seek to dress well with an eye to cover up the internal short fall. Honesty was the best policy of Mahatma. The story of Harischandra enraptured him even as a boy of ten years of age and captured his mind and soul so much that he developed an implicit faith in truthfulness and practised veracity to the very hilt. He knew that his mind could be purged of impurities and kept pure only through speaking truth and accordingly led a life of absolute truthfulness. It is this purity in thought, word and deed that enabled Gandhi to secure Independence for India without engaging in a military war. Again it is the leading of a pure life that has elevated this ordinary mortal of Porbander to the status of divine being thus proving the age old philosophical concept of India that humans are replica of the Almighty and that humans can become divine through pursuit of pure life of which Gandhi was an embodiment.

Sri Lanka: The myth of race

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against each other, make frequent mention of the long history of intermingling and intermarriages of which Sri Lanka can boast. News items have exposed the fact that even the majority amongst the most militant factions, for example, within the closed ranks of the Eelam movement of Tamil youths, own 'Sinhala' names, having descended from Sinhalese families living in Tamil strongholds.

The majority of Sinhalese and Tamils follow the Buddhist and Hindu religions respectively. There are close similarities between these two religions and both groups share common places of worship such as Kataragama. In every Buddhist temple is a Hindu Devale. Similarly, in art and culture, both religious and secular art demonstrate that the cultural patterns of both groups have become inextricably entwined in architecture, painting and sculpture.

Over 6,000 people have died in this war to date in the name of separation, yet culturally and racially these distinctions are more imagined than real. (According to independent sources, the number killed in 1987 alone was over 5,000, the total for the 5-year

period since the anti-Tamil pogrom of July 1983 easily exceeding 15,000. Ed.) The case of Tamil separation, based on a claim of ethnic separatism is actually very weak, although there are undoubtedly real grievances. Sadly these grievances, primarily economic and political, have become distorted in the mirror of prejudice.

Today, newspapers abound with changes of names from Tamil to Sinhala in the style of the Nayakkar kings. These name changers are probably Tamils living in Sinhalese areas who feel that their life is worth more than steadfastness to their own community. The similarity of Sinhala and Tamil names makes the name change absurdly easy. Merely by dropping the last letter in a name a Wijesingham (Tamil) becomes Wijesingha (Sinhala) and a Rajasuriyar (Tamil) becomes a Rajasuriya (Sinhala).

In these days of conflict and chauvinism, the strident claims of those who proclaim fundamental racial differences between the two groups are stoking the furnace of racial hatred, making rationalisation and tolerance a distant dream. Courtesy - 'Eastern Review' - September 1988

13th AMENDMENT

PROVINCIAL POWER OVER LAW ENFORCEMENT: A NATIONAL PRESERVE PRESERVED

By Wakeley Paul

INTRODUCTION

One area in which Tamil leaders have sought autonomy was in the enforcement of law and order in their regions. This need was heightened with the trauma the Tamil population suffered at the hands of Sinhalese armed forces and police since 1977, when the people of the region were looked upon as an ever present danger to the army and police - than an entity to be protected by them. **The need for law enforcement officials empathetic to the needs of the local population was paramount.**

How far has the 13th Amendment gone in satisfying that desire? The sad answer is that here again, the Central Government has neither diminished the presence or role of its security forces in this region on the one hand, nor enhanced the provincial control over a newly created provincial force on the other. Their role is subordinated to that of the National Police Force of the Central Government.

ARMY, NAVY AND AIRFORCE

Defence, national security and the deployment of armed forces in aid of the civil power are the exclusive preserves of the Central Government. This means, in short order, that they can be housed in the provinces on state land controlled by the State - armed as the National Government sees fit - and be manned with no ethnic constraints. The Provincial Government has been vested with no say whatsoever in these matters. The status quo prior to this amendment remains unchanged.

NATIONAL POLICE FORCE

The National Police Force is as expected the arm of the Central Government - recruits are selected by nominees of that government (by the IGP, a nominee of the PSC selected by the President, and a nominee of the Chief Justice) without any ethnic constraints.

What power do they exercise over the provinces? The powers are the same as today - in that the prevention, investigation and prosecution of offences against the state are vested in them exclusively. This means the enforcement of criminal law is in their hands as it always has been. The Provincial Administration cannot exercise that power. The Provincial Government may retaliate by making such offences against the province as well

But would the Tamil people want to be punished twice for the same offence or prefer the protection against such a fate by invoking the defence of double jeopardy? Since this is a reserved power, making such acts offences against the province does not preclude the State from exercising its jurisdiction over nationwide offences.

Another ominous area of power given to the National Force is over "Offences against the President."

What can this encompass? Can it inhibit provincial politicians from criticising the extent of power vested in the President, exhorting changes, and asking for greater divestment of power from him to the Chief Minister of the province? Can this assume the proportions and dimensions of 'The Prevention of Terrorism Act'? If that passed constitutional muster, what couldn't? Can this be used as a death knell to democracy in the provinces? The awesome reality, based on past experience, is that it can.

RELATIONSHIP - NATIONAL TO PROVINCIAL FORCE

What this Amendment has sought to do is to create a Provincial Force controlled by the Central Government - and made subordinate to its own force. The Provincial Force is under the control of the IGP who appoints the Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIG) from the National Force to head it in the province. All appointments to that force are by nominees of the Central Government, to wit, the IGP and a presidential nominee from the Public Service Commission.

One can only acquire the highest position as a police officer by being promoted from the Provincial to the National Service - which means that any self-respecting ambitious police officer must cast his eyes and loyalties toward the National Force to secure his goals. In the event of any conflict over powers of the two forces, such officers would be inclined, if not tempted, to side with the position of the National Force - and order their subordinates to do so.

POWERS OF PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OVER PROVINCIAL FORCE

The powers of the Provincial Council over the Provincial Police Force may be likened to that of an alley cat left out on the street - with the Central Government awaiting its cry for help. The Council may only ask for the

help of the National Police Force or the CID when he feels they need it. **Does the Provincial Council have even its paws patted for consolation with regard to any powers over this force?**

The Chief Minister shall be consulted by the I.G.P. in selecting a D.I.G to head the province, and if they disagree, the President makes the appointment after consulting him. If they disagree, there is silence, which means the President prevails. Thus, the head of the Provincial Force owes his position and his future to the Central Government. The recruits are selected by their nominees - and the Provincial Council has no control over them.

Salaries are determined on a uniform basis for all provinces after consultation with all chief ministers - which means none of them has individual power over these dictates of the Central Government. The Provincial Council has no say over the manner and extent to which this force will be armed, since this is done uniformly for all provinces after consultation with its nominees on the National Provincial Commission.

Is there any other concession bestowed on the provincial powers over their provincial force? It says the cadres of officers and other ranks shall be fixed by the Provincial Administration. What at first blush appears to be a mighty divestment of power to the Provincial Council over the Provincial Force turns out to be power securely wrapped over by the glove of the Central Government. Their power is rigidly controlled, in that the cadres are to be fixed on predetermined criteria set by the Central Government such as population and area, to be applied uniformly between all the provinces, which is why the exercise of this power is subject to the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the President - who has to approve their decisions. One more for the Central Government.

CONCLUSION

The National Security and Police Force will re-emerge in the north and east to re-exercise the undiminished role and presence that they did prior to their physical ouster from the region. This will be supplemented by a centrally regulated and manipulated provincial force, over which the Provincial Administration exercises neither legislative nor administrative control.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WRONGS

By our Political Analyst in Geneva

The fortieth Session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights which met in Geneva ended its deliberations on 2 Sept. 1988.

The Sub-Commission consists of 26 members who are supposed to be independent experts in the field of human rights and related affairs. The member states of the United Nations are represented by observers. A number of Non-Governmental Organisations have consultative status.

The Governments of India and Sri Lanka are represented here by powerful teams of diplomats and officials who are always ready to state their side of the case on matters relating to the happenings in the Tamil areas namely the North and the East of Sri Lanka. Unfortunately the Tamils have no representation nor even an opportunity to put their case or the right to reply to false allegations and gross misrepresentations levelled at them. The Tamils here have to rely on the mercy of European and other non-governmental organisations to present the plight of the Tamil civilian population and the persecution and violations they suffer daily.

To make matters worse, a few of the European non-governmental organisations are, we are told, confused by the machinations of some self-appointed Tamils, masquerading as Tamil representatives, but with ulterior motives.

A member of the Indian delegation, Prabhou Dayal, in his Statement said, "The agreement is designed to meet the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Tamils of Sri Lanka, within the framework of Sri Lanka's unity and integrity." Probably he was not aware of the Thimpu Declaration of the Thimpu talks which was held under the auspices of his own Government, where the Tamils unitedly put forward their legitimate demands and aspirations, or has his government so soon forgotten it or chose to ignore it and impose a solution which it deems fit for the Tamils? He further alleged that "The LTTE was either unable or unwilling to give up violence and participate in the democratic political process." The LTTE indeed has on a number of occasions sought a cease-fire and

negotiations to arrive at a political solution. In a statement issued on August 9th the LTTE states, "The problems of the Tamil people are not going to be solved if the LTTE accepts the Accord, lays down arms and participates in the elections...The Government of India has rejected our pleas and is campaigning that we are frightened to face the people in the elections. We are ever prepared to face our people in the elections. But we want to ask whether India is prepared to face our people. We wish to call upon the Government of India to hold a referendum to determine whether the Tamils accept the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, whether the IPKF should be withdrawn and replaced by an International Peace Keeping Force and whether or not the LTTE are the representatives of the Tamil people." The LTTE further states that it is prepared to accept the Accord if they are defeated in the referendum.

upon the governments of Sri Lanka and India, the LTTE and the international community as a whole to support an immediate cease-fire between the IPKF and the LTTE, and to set in motion a mechanism to carry out a referendum in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka under international supervision.

Mr. M.C. Bhandare of India was the Chairman of the current Sessions of the Sub-Commission. Many independent experts and representatives of non-governmental organisations showed surprise and shock at the way the Indians are managing and manipulating the affairs of Sri Lanka. Many pointed to the reports of Amnesty International and other independent organisations accusing India of brutality, torture, rape and disappearances. Some did admit that the Indian lobby working through various diplomatic and other avenues are scuttling any move to place matters before the Sub-Commission.



Geneve - Palais Des Nations (O.N.U.)

The Sri Lankan delegate alleged that the LTTE was responsible for the attacks on Human Rights activists like Fr. Chandra Fernando and K. Kanthasamy, when all evidence available pointed to the contrary. Even a few NGOs were so confused as to believe this mischievous story supported by one or two busy bodies in our own ranks.

Five members of the World Federation of Tamils from Paris, London and Berne attended the Sessions, where they met many members of the Sub-Commission and NGOs. A Statement on the situation in Sri Lanka was submitted by the Federation on behalf of the Tamil Associations and Organisations. Digitized by Noolaham Foundation. noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

However, many admit that India for the first time stands on the defensive and compromised in the international arena, which seems to worry some NGOs who have always sought and received the support of India on other international issues. A few confessed that all the allegations and weight of evidence indicated that the Indians are "thick-skinned". Some even pointed to the Indian governments violations of the human rights of their own people which in other countries would have been unthinkable. But one NGO was more to the point. He said that "What happens here (in the UN Sub-Commission) is not human rights but pure politics. If you think it is human rights you are wrong!"

AT DELHI'S BEHEST TAMIL NADU ARRESTS 300 'MILITANTS'

In an attempt to curb the activities of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Tamil Nadu, the state government has so far arrested nearly 300 militants in various parts of the state. Acting under orders of the central government, the Tamil Nadu police raided over a dozen places in Madras, Madurai, Tanjore and Trichy. The raids which began nearly three weeks ago are still continuing.

Police have sealed three buildings being used by the militants in Madras and also the LTTE office in Madurai. A majority of those held in the current swoop are from either the political or the publicity wing of the organisation. All the arrested people are lodged in the Madras and Madurai central jails and are under judicial custody. Those held have been charged under the Indian Passport Act for not possessing valid travel documents. Some of them have been booked under the Arms Act for possessing weapons without valid permits.

Meanwhile, 31 of the militants filed bail applications in the Madras High Court since offences under the Passport Act as well as the Arms Act are bailable. But as soon as the state government learned of the bail applications, the Tamil Nadu police brought fresh charges against them under the National Security Act. Under that act a person can be held in custody without trial for an year. This in effect means that if the Madras High Court grants bail for the militants held under the Passport Act and Arms Act, they will continue to be held as there is no provision for bail under the National Security Act.

Directed by Delhi

State government sources here said the entire operation against the LTTE was being directed by the central government while the state police are merely carrying out orders. Among those held in the current operation are political wing activists Castro, Maran, Visu, Arvindan, Manoj and Daniel.

State government sources in Madras said that though all those held are under judicial custody, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) as well as the Intelligence Bureau are continuing to interrogate them inside the prison. Those lodged in judicial custody cannot be interrogated without a court order and the central agencies

questioning the militants have so far not secured a court order for the purpose.

Political observers here say that the campaign against the militants is aimed at forcing the LTTE men to "fall in line and accept the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord." But Tiger sources here assert that LTTE chief, Velupillai Prabhakaran, cannot be coerced into accepting any accord that goes against the interests of the Tamils. **"We are not afraid of jails. The government of India is mistaken if it thinks that we will fall in line fearing imprisonment. Nothing can be more absurd than this."**

Raids in Bombay

As part of its strategy to round up the militants operating from India, the Bombay police raided several places in the metropolis over the week-end and took into custody two senior members said to belong to the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam. Both of them were allegedly involved in two bank robbery cases in Tamil Nadu. They have been lodged in the Bombay Central Jail.

Meanwhile, the Dravida Kazhagam led by Veeramani has sought the release of all the militants held in the current operation. In a statement the organisation said that if the militants were not released immediately, it would launch a statewide agitation to secure their freedom. *By courtesy - 'India Abroad' - Aug. 26, 1988*

Press statement by the LTTE PLANS TO BOMB INDIAN CITIES

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) wish to deny categorically news reports emanating from Colombo that our organisation is planning to bomb major Indian cities. These reports are false, and maliciously aimed to discredit our movement.

The LTTE wishes to state that these fictitious stories are deliberately fabricated by the Sri Lankan government to confuse the people of India and tarnish the image of our organisation. **The LTTE will never resort to any action that would harm the lives and property of the people of India for whom our organisation has great love and respect.**

The statement purported to have been issued by one of our leaders

in Vavuniya is both baseless and mischievous.

TWO INDIAN HELICOPTERS DESTROYED: IPKF SUFFERS HEAVY CASUALTIES

The guerrilla units of the LTTE inflicted heavy casualties on the IPKF during the recent clashes in the Northern Provinces. A total of 64 Indian soldiers were killed and 67 injured in several confrontations between the IPKF and the LTTE guerrillas during the month of August. On our side we lost 11 freedom fighters. 20 pieces of weaponry, including machine guns and automatic rifles, were captured from the IPKF.

A commando unit of the LTTE launched a surprise attack on a well-fortified IPKF camp at Nithikaikulam in the Mullaitivu district last week and destroyed two Indian military helicopters stationed in that camp.

Faced with military reverses and increasing casualties, the IPKF has launched a malicious propaganda campaign to discredit our organisation. Distorted versions of casualties are fabricated to claim success in the offensive against the LTTE. Recently, the IPKF claimed to have destroyed LTTE gunboats and killed 35 fighters near Mannar coast. This is a totally fabricated story; no such incident occurred in that area.

With the connivance of Sri Lanka, the Government of India is attempting to portray the LTTE as a terrorist organisation bent on unleashing terrorist violence in India. Statements purported to have been issued by the LTTE are highlighted in the Indian media. This is a devious attempt to tarnish the image of our liberation movement. **We are surprised and shocked that the Government of India, which supported our struggle and provided us training and called us 'freedom fighters', is now attempting to characterise us as 'terrorists'.**

During the IPKF's offensive in the month of August, 15 innocent civilians have been killed and 11 Tamil women raped. The following are the members of the LTTE who attained martyrdom during the clashes in August: Lt. Samuthiran, Lt. Somesh, 2nd Lt. Victor, and Varathan, Ramesh, Gurusamy, Vinoba, Cyril, Arun, Gobu and Robert.

INDIA AND SRI LANKA PAY THE PRICE FOR A DIPLOMATIC BLUNDER

By Chris Nuttall, Colombo

"We have reached an agreement. It is a momentous event in the history of our two countries. It heralds peace.... it promises national reconciliation in Sri Lanka.... it has dispelled the clouds that had hovered over our relationship"

Politicians are so often victims of their own rhetoric, and Rajiv Gandhi's words of 29 July 1987 must strike him now like daggers. **Point by point, the Indian Prime Minister's speech of such noble aims and good intentions made after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement to restore peace to the island can, on this anniversary, be proved wrong.**

The accord did not herald peace; it heralded a new phase of the communal conflict that for five years now has been tearing Sri Lanka apart. Instead of bringing about national reconciliation, it has only led to a cataclysmic widening of social differences, and although for a time the sun did shine on the relationship of India and Sri Lanka, a year on, the storm clouds are gathering again. **The death toll in Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict over the past 12 months can be put at more than 3,000 - most of them innocent civilians, many of them killed as a result of Indian military actions. This is the worst total since the organised massacres of Tamils by the majority Sinhalese at the start of the present outbreak of ethnic violence in July of 1983.**

So, how did India, the putative saviour of the Sri Lankan Tamils, stepping in as they were being pounded by a Sri Lankan army offensive against the separatist fighters, become their tormentor? The simple reasons are that the agreement was flawed and was built upon a false premise. It amounted to, in the words of India's former foreign secretary, Mr. A.P. Venkateswaran, one of India's biggest diplomatic blunders in 40 years of independence. The mistake was in the small print of the agreement - the very last words in fact. Point (6) of Clause 6 in the annexure to the agreement ends: "An Indian

peace-keeping contingent may be invited by the President of Sri Lanka to guarantee and enforce the cessation of hostilities if so required."

Peace-keeping forces elsewhere in the world have merely served to separate opposite factions. But here the Indian force, the IPKF as it is known, with the Sri Lankan army returning meekly to its barracks, was being asked to play an active role in disarming the Tamil militants. The false presumption was that this would be just a matter of course. In the days before the signing of the accord the Indians had sounded out all of the Tamil Eelam groups, especially the main one, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, and had formulated the agreement so that it would be acceptable to them - notably in that a merged province of the north and east would be formed to meet as far as possible the Tamil demands for self-rule in their own separate state on the island.

What actually happened was that all of the groups eventually did acquiesce except for the Tamil Tigers. It is now immaterial whether this was due to the unwillingness of these hardened fighters to give up the gun, as the Indians claim, or to their doubts about a genuine commitment on the

part of the Indian and Sri Lankan governments to satisfy Tamil aspirations, as the Tigers see it. Whatever the real reasons, the result has been a major conflict in the island's north and east between the Tigers and the IPKF.

Furthermore, an extreme chauvinistic Sinhalese group, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna or People's Liberation Front, has been assassinating supporters of the ruling United National Party by the score since last July as revenge for what it sees as the surrender of Sri Lankan sovereignty to the 50,000 Indian troops now on the island.

With attempts at a negotiated settlement between Indian officials and the Tigers in Madras having reached a stalemate, criticisms are now being levelled by the Sri Lankan government that the IPKF is not hard on forcing the Tigers to sue for peace.

A year on, that achievement is no nearer. **The Indian military machine is cranking itself up once again for what it hopes is a final assault to try to subjugate a guerrilla force, which like so many others in the world, has managed to elude and exasperate a much larger army.**

JUSTICE KRISHNA IYER QUESTIONS AUTHORITY OF IPKF

The former Supreme Court judge, Mr. V.R. Krishna Iyer, has appealed to the Centre to send a team of three sitting Supreme Court judges to Sri Lanka for an on the spot study of the 'role of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).

At a public meeting on 'one-year-old Indo-Sri Lanka accord', organised in Madras by the Forum for National Integration, he said that he would accuse those who supported Indian troops being under Sri Lankan president's command. He also questioned the authority of the IPKF to declare curfews and to arrest civilians. "Will we allow or tolerate any foreign army to arrest us and seize our belongings", he asked.

He described the accord as a misfor-

tunate because the two affected parties, the Tamils and Sinhalese, were not consulted. **Mr. Krishna Iyer said the Indian government, while ordering the seizure of arms from the LTTE, had not taken efforts to press the Sri Lankan government for general amnesty and devolution of powers to the Tamils as provided in the accord.**

Terming as utter lies, the LTTE's alleged threat of bombing major Indian cities, he said, "It is a pity that sections of the Indian press are forced to publish such false stories." He said every citizen of India and one who loved and recognised human rights should raise their voice to get the Sri Lankan Tamils the much needed political justice.

IPKF STEPS UP OPERATIONS IN VAVUNIYA

The Indian Peace Keeping Force has stepped up its operations against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in the Vavuniya area, in what is regarded as an effort to reduce the militant group's capabilities as a fighting force to the minimum before holding provincial council elections in the northern and eastern provinces.

The area around Vavuniya has between 600 and 800 LTTE activists, the largest concentration in the north and east. The top LTTE leaders, Prabaharan and his second in command Mahatiya, are also believed to be in the area. The current operation, which the IPKF has described as the third stage of 'operation checkmate', is also under way in Jaffna, parts of Trincomalee and Batticaloa, so that the LTTE's capacity to disrupt the elections, in which they will almost certainly not participate, is reduced.

Though informed sources say that no final decision has been taken on holding elections, this would appear to be the policy option under the most active consideration of New Delhi. With the carrots that were dangled before the LTTE and the stick of military action having had only a small impact on the LTTE political demands, some Indian policy-makers now feel that the only reasonable quick option would be to try and bypass the Tigers politically by holding elections and getting the provincial council to function. **Holding elections without the LTTE, a force which through a mixture of fear and sympathy, commands the obedience of a fairly large section of Tamil society, is a gamble, but those arguing for this course appear to feel that it is the only option available if the Accord is to be implemented in the near future.**

Record of Procrastination: Negotiating with the LTTE has not proved effective..... as the leadership of the LTTE will not agree to any solution which will not guarantee it a decisive voice in the future administration of the northern and eastern provinces, and leave it with a residual military capability which will allow it to relaunch a struggle for a separate State, if necessary.

Among Indian policy-makers, there seem to be two schools of opinion. One section feels that the best course would be to declare a cease-fire and negotiate with the LTTE leader

Mr.V.Prabaharan, and perhaps try to moderate his demands, but essentially work with the LTTE. The other section of opinion stresses the unreliability of the LTTE, especially after the interim administration experiment last September, and feels that a cease-fire at this point of time would only embolden the LTTE, give it time to regroup and launch a fresh offensive, if its demands are not met.



IPKF personnel occupy a Tiger bunker in the heart of Jaffna

To ignore LTTE: This school of thought feels that if the Accord is to be saved, the LTTE must be reduced, either by military or political means, to a position in which it can no longer hold up implementation. **Since it has not been possible to contain the LTTE through military means, the only option is to try and bypass them politically by holding elections.** It is also argued that part of the LTTE's strength comes from the recognition that India has given to the group as the main force among the Tamils. By ignoring the LTTE completely and working with other political forces, it is felt that the political strength of the Tigers can be reduced.

Tamils from the area however warn that elections without the LTTE would end in a blood bath, with the LTTE killing candidates, their families and anyone who attempts to vote. The only candidates who are willing to stand so far are members of the Eelam Peoples' Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), and Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDL). The militant group,

the Peoples' Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) is at present unlikely to contest, but observers say their position might change later. According to the most likely scenario, there will be a common Tamil Slate consisting of members of the pro-India, pro-Accord groups, with the EPRLF fielding the maximum number of candidates in Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Jaffna, while the other groups will put up

candidates in Mannar, Vavuniya, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu. According to one estimate, there could be a 50 to 60 per cent turnout in the Muslim and Sinhalese areas of Amparai and Trincomalee, a 40 per cent turnout in Batticaloa, where the EPRLF is said to be strong, and a 5 per cent turnout in Jaffna.

Little enthusiasm: Among Tamil opinion, however, there is little enthusiasm for this plan, and that the fear is that so few people will go to vote that the elections will turn out to be a farce. The violence surrounding the elections, and the heavy presence of the IPKF, will tend to discredit the democratic process, the institution of provincial councils, and in turn the Accord, moderate Tamils feel. The slow implementation of the Accord, and what the Tamils see as the failure of the Sri Lankan Government to fulfil parts of it such as the release of Tamil detenus, the recognition of Tamil as an official language, and what is regarded as the continued colonisation by Sinhalese in the east have reduced support for the Agreement. **The holding of unrepresentative elections will only further this, they fear.** By courtesy - The Hindu (Int.Ed.) - Aug.27,1988

POST ACCORD VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SRI LANKA

Continuation from Vol. I, No: 16 - part of an appeal made by The World Federation of Tamils to the 40th session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and Human Rights.

Killings by the IPKF

"3. My brother T.T., age 44 years, his wife T.K., age 39 years, his son, T.H. age 6, and his daughter T.D. age one-and-a-half years, were living in their own house at No.24, Pirampadi Lane, Kokkuvil, in Jaffna.

4. On 12.10.87 morning heavy firing was heard in the direction of my brother's residential area.

5. I came to know that the IPKF personnel were in the area surrounding Pirampadi Lane.

6. I was able to go to my brother's house only at about 7 a.m. on 13.10.87 where I found 5 dead bodies including that of my brother T.T., his wife K and their daughter D inside their house and 2 other dead bodies in the compound.

7. I also found my brother's 2 sons H and G and a nephew D(11) who was living with my brother's family hiding under the bed in a room.

8. My brother's son T.G. and my nephew J.H. were found to be injured and bleeding...."

B) "5. On 12.10.87 at about 10 a.m. IPKF personnel walked into our house and searched for militants and left our house.

6. While leaving our house they informed us that they would not do any harm and they wanted us to stay in our house.

8. At about 3 p.m. the same day, another batch of IPKF personnel came to our house and called for the inmates.

9. My husband who was with me inside the house took the child and opened the door.

10. While opening the door, the IPKF personnel opened fire and

my husband received a gunshot on his chest and the child sustained an injury in her right hand.

11. Both bled profusely and were removed to the General Hospital, Jaffna, in a car.

12. On our way to the General Hospital, Jaffna, my husband succumbed to his injuries.

14. The right hand below the elbow of my child has been amputated....

C)

"3. At about 5 p.m. on 12.10.87, we were informed that the IPKF were marching towards our village with several gun-carriers.

4. 28 of us in our village had collected together due to fear.

5. The IPKF who came to our village a little while later ordered all the 28 of us to move to an open space closeby and ordered us to fall on our knees.

6. About half-an-hour later we were all fired at by IPKF from gun-carriers.

7. Eight of us were killed and 8 were injured in the firing.

8. IPKF left the place at 6-30 p.m. that day.

9. While the injured were removed to the hospital the others fled from the place...."

Killings at and Attack on Moolai Hospital in Jaffna

"2. On 10.10.87 as our locality was subjected to heavy shelling from Jaffna Fort, I, accompanied by my wife and children, fled to St. Patrick's College for safety.

3. On 21.10.87, when shells fell on the College premises causing injuries to several, we fled to the Nallur Kan dasamy temple

4. On 22.10.87, about 70 refugees of Nallur left at 7 a.m. in a lorry for the Araly jetty.

5. At about 9 a.m. the boats in which we were crossing the lagoon Sarawanai were fired at from a helicopter. Digitized by Noolaham Foundation. noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

The right thigh of my son D.H. aged 5 years, was shattered by a bullet and several others including my wife were also injured. 13 persons were killed instantaneously.

7. My son who was rushed to the Kayts hospital was transferred along with other injured persons to the Moolai Hospital.... 9. On 1.11.87, after the Moolai Hospital was strafed by helicopter, I removed my son to Sillalai.....

Disappearances

"2. That on 21st Nov.1987, which was our Dheepavali Festival day, my husband S.P, age 55 years, a labourer by profession, was at home with us.

3. That on the aforesaid day some personnel of the IPKF came to our house and took my husband into custody. 4. That thereafter my husband's whereabouts are not known. 5. That I have already handed over three applications to the Commandant of the Civil Administration Unit, Jaffna, but up-to-date (12.2.88) I have had no information regarding the whereabouts of my husband or even a reply from the officer concerned..."

Reports by Amnesty International

There are hundreds of instances of such killings, torture and rapes of Tamil women by IPKF during the short period of 10 months of their several operations code-named "Operation Pawan", "Operation Virat", "Operation Checkmate", etc.

On 30th May, 1988, four young girls were taken away and raped by Indian soldiers at Muthaiyankaddu in the Mullaitivu District in the Northern Province.

Then again the IPKF personnel entered the General Hospital, Jaffna, and opened fire at random killing doctors, including a paediatrician, the matron, some nurses and even patients and visitors to the hospital.

Amnesty International in its report dated June 21, 1988 sums up the human rights violations by IPKF in the North and East in scathing terms. It says, "... There have been reports that members of the IPKF stationed

in Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka in terms of the July 1987 Accord, have been responsible for rape and other acts of brutality, as well as the killing of unarmed civilians in reprisal... Some Tamils have also "disappeared" in the North having been arrested by the IPKF.

A.I. also refers to the killing of at least 26 unarmed civilians, most of them Tamils and some Muslims, by the Police in reprisal for the killing of a policeman on 28.12.87. Eye-witnesses have reported that the victims were dragged out of houses and shops and then shot dead.

In a document reviewing human rights abuses in Sri Lanka presented to the Sri Lankan Government on 1st March, 1988, A.I. says that the Sri Lankan security forces were responsible for the "disappearance" of 685 Tamils between 1983 and July 1987. It lists the names of all the 685 disappeared and states that none of them has been accounted for. The report goes on to state that there is evidence that many of the "disappeared" had been tortured while held incommunicado and that others had been shot dead after arrest and their bodies disposed of in secret."

There were arrests of hundreds of Tamil civilians in Colombo and in the North and East of Sri Lanka towards the end of 1987 and in 1988. These arbitrary arrests and detentions by the IPKF and also "disappearances" still continue in the North and East. Torture and degrading treatment and extra-judicial killings of innocent Tamil civilians have not diminished.

In its recent report published on 10.8.88, Amnesty International has condemned the human rights abuses in Rajiv Gandhi's backyard in India and also in Sri Lanka by his security forces. It reports widespread extra-judicial killings, use of torture by police and security forces and arbitrary arrests and prolonged detention of political activists and their supporters. The report also accuses the Indian Government for its failure to clamp down on them and to initiate investigations into the violations and to bring the culprits to book. The report also attacks the Indian Government for betraying the duty enshrined in the Constitution to protect basic liberties, a duty reinforced by

India's signature to the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights.

The Tamils of Sri Lanka are thus under siege wedged in between the Sinhala extremist hordes and the Indian juggernaut!

APPEAL

Your Excellency, we have tried to heave our heart into our submission. We are not unaware that our voice will find it difficult to penetrate through the sonorous din that is generated by the powerful propaganda machinery of the government against whose unethical and inhuman acts we are complaining to you. Even so, we appeal to you in the hope that you

would listen to our appeal patiently and do all that is within your power to allay the fears and ameliorate the sufferings of the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

We fervently hope that you would hold the scales of justice evenly and bring peace in Sri Lanka. **May we suggest that your Excellency use your good offices to arrange for a cease-fire between the Indian forces and the Tamils, and cause a political solution to be arrived at. If this task is found difficult for any reason we request that as a preliminary step arrangements be made to appoint a Rapporteur on Sri Lanka - especially to the North and East where the Indian forces are running amuck.**

IPKF NOT GIVING US THE NEWS Lankan Press

The two newspaper groups in Colombo not under State control today made highly critical editorial comments on the Press briefing given exclusively to Indian news agency staffers in Sri Lanka by the overall commander of the Indian forces in the North and East, General Kalkat.

Its comment titled 'Why no Lankan reporters?' the English daily 'Island' said that the Indian general had claimed that "The back of the LTTE resistance has been broken" when he spoke to visiting journalists in the jungles of Vavuniya. Noting that it was the ninth time such a claim had been made by the Indians, the editorial said: "Apparently no local reporters had been invited to see the conduct of this operation, for reports published even in the Government-controlled Press quotes the Sri Lankan national news agency, Lanka-puwath, which has based its report on India's national news agency, the Press Trust of India. **The failure of the Indian military top brass to invite the Sri Lankan media to view their operations on Sri Lankan soil is not the way a democratic Government acts under such circumstances. Besides the Indians should realise that they are here on the invitation of the President, Mr.J.R.Jayewardene and not as a conquering army.**"

The paper also said that there were contradictory reports given by residents in areas where IPKF operations were taking place, and cited its own report a few days earlier where residents of Mullaitivu arriving in

Colombo had claimed that a 24-hour curfew had been enforced for 10 days in the district, "the Indian High Commission spokesperson had said that she was not aware of such IPKF operations in Mullaitivu."

The other English daily, 'Sun', also noted that the Indian diplomatic mission in Colombo "seems to be news-starved of the military operations of the IPKF", adding, "More often than not the media in New Delhi report on war casualties in the scrub jungles of Nittikai Kulam more than 48 hours before it is known here either by our officials or by the Indian mission. **According to the latest reports from Delhi, the IPKF high command has not only provided hitherto unknown details to the Indian media but has also flown in the alien reporters (sans visas and accreditation) to the war front in our own country while deliberately blacking the news out from the Sri Lankan public.**"

Describing it as "a deplorable intervention and a violation of a fundamental right", the editorial said, "the vibrant and free media in India would never have tolerated such a dreadful exercise if it were perpetrated on it in that country."

The 'Sun' took the editorial view that the IPKF was waging a war against the Tamil Tigers here **"more for the benefit of the decision makers in New Delhi than to rid this country of a terrorist menace as they make it out to be."**

Courtesy - 'The Sunday Statesman', Sept. 4, 1988

TAMIL TOGETHERNESS AND THE WAY OUT FOR OUR PEOPLE

By Krishna Vaikunthavasan

"You can't change what has happened but what you can do is to make the best of what you have got" - Bader in London, in 1982, some time before his death. (Bader was a British ace pilot during the 2nd World War.)

The Tamil Sage Valluvar exhorts: "On whatever subject, whichever person sees fit to comment, it is the path of wisdom to inquire about such matters as to who is trying to use whom and for what purpose and then come to a sober and meaningful conclusion." We Tamils must constantly have these gems of thought in mind.

MOHENJO-DARO

The former Indian Foreign Secretary, Mr. A.P.Venkateswaran, speaking at the recent international Tamil Conference in London on "The Tamil National Struggle and the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord" referred to the very ancient and pre-historic civilisation of Mohenjodaro and how the Tamil people are the proud inheritors of this most remarkable legacy in the human story.

He went on to say that such people deserve to live in this world with dignity and self-respect as a nation on equal footing with others. When he was talking of the Tamil people, it is obvious that he had in mind the 55 million Tamils in South India also where he himself was born.

According to the late Rev. Fr.S. Gnanapragasar, the well-known anthropologist, there was a time when the Dravidians (i.e those who speak Tamil, Kanarese, Telugu, Malayalam etc.) occupied the whole of India and Ceylon which then formed part of the sub-continent. Fr.Gnanapragasar adds that, for the Tamil occupation of North India, unimpeachable evidence was brought to light by excavations in the Indus Valley and that there was no doubt now that before the advent of the Aryans into Punjab, some 2,000 years B.C, the Dravidians were the undisputed masters of India and Ceylon. After Ceylon had been cut off from the mainland by some seismic disturbance, it was only natural that the speech of its inhabitants

developed into a dialect of its own.

Father Heras of Bambay, who specialised in the seal inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa and who had visited Ceylon, indentified the signs of the old punch-marked coins of Ceylon as picture-writing belonging to the Indus Valley culture. These are all pre-Buddhistic, and mark, according to him, the marvellous civilization of the Indus Valley which had spread down to Ceylon three millenia before Christ.

This Indo-Ceylon relationship continued unabated until, in the early years of the 11th century, practically the whole of Ceylon became a province of the Chola Empire under Raja Raja Chola I.

Prof. S.Arasaratnam, a historian specialising in Indo-Ceylon affairs, recently said at a meeting in London that for several centuries immediately preceding the arrival of the Portuguese colonists, the political, commercial and trade relationship between India and Ceylon had been very close. India at present is only trying to regain her earlier position by such Accords as the one of July 1987, he added.

Some people say that the July Accord is dead. The question before us is not so much as to whether the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord is alive or not.

De-facto Political Link-up:

As a consequence of this Accord, the fact is that over 100,000 Indian troops are on our soil. We all condemn the atrocities committed by these troops and, even if by a miracle, they are withdrawn suddenly, the fact remains that a de facto political link-up between India and Sri Lanka has become closer.

When even a country like Great Britain has sacrificed a part of her sovereignty as a result of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, don't you think that the path of wisdom for the people of Tamil Eelam is, especially in the long-term interests of strengthening our traditional friendship with the great people of India and in the immediate objective of putting an end to the

bloody war, to tell the Indian government and the Indian people that we are prepared to come into the Indian Union, in a confederal set-up or sovereignty-Association basis as in the case of the demand of Parti Quebecois in Canada? The 55 million people of Tamil Nadu appear to tolerate the Indian Constitution. So, why not we join them in the name of Tamil togetherness?

It is also relevant here to recall the words of the world renowned Kala-yogi Dr.Ananda Coomaraswamy: "The more I know of Ceylon, the more inseparable from India does it appear and indeed I regret sometimes that Ceylon is not in the truest sense a part of India.... In Asia, all roads lead to India." Long before Ananda Coomaraswamy, Arumuga Navalar, the first Tamil freedom fighter, although born in Jaffna, demonstrated with his life that he regarded the whole of Tamil Nadu as his own motherland. He spent many of his years in Chidambaram and the Navalar School there is still flourishing. His contribution to Tamil language is monumental. His greatest single legacy for us is his life's mission which looked upon the whole of Tamil Nadu and Tamil Eelam as one Nadu, one single state.

THE CORRUPT RAJIV!

'Rajiv' is corrupt. His uncorrupt full name was Rajivaratna. In "Rajivaratna" are hidden the name of Rajiv's grand mother and grand father. Rajiv's grandmother was Kamala; Rajiv's grandfather was Jawaharlal. "Rajiva" means "Kamala", "Ratna" means "Jawaharlal." (Kamala means "lotus" and Jawaharlal means "gem"). Lotus is the grandest and the chief among flowers. Gem is the chief among stones. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted his grandson to be model of greatness and grandeur. But alas! his name was corrupt first. Now there is nothing left uncorrupt in him! What a paradox in life! What a difference between the intention of Nehru and the conduct of the grandson! - By "Hairsplitter"

EELAM NEWS

JAFFNA TAMILS WRITE TO RAJIV

Seven prominent citizens of Jaffna have addressed a letter to Rajiv Gandhi complaining about the atrocities and iniquities perpetrated by the Indian forces on the peace-loving Tamils of Jaffna and requesting him to cause immediate steps to be taken to halt the genocidal massacre that goes on unabated and unchecked in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

TELEGRAM TO DIXIT

Following the countermand of the IPKF to close the banks altogether if they are not prepared to operate them from Monday to Friday, the banks that were operating three days a week in deference to the wishes of the LTTE now remain closed all through the week, thus causing untold hardship to the customers. As a result of the short-sighted demand of the IPKF, the commercial activities as well as normal life of the people of Vavuniya have been brought to a standstill. Mr. Nadarajah, Chairman of the Society for Agriculturists in Vavuniya has sent a message to Mr. Dixit, Indian High Commissioner, asking him to intervene in the matter to ameliorate the hardships of the people of Vavuniya.

TRAVAILS OF THEN- MARADCHY PEOPLE

The search operations by the IPKF which go on ad nauseam in the Thenmaradchy area of Jaffna have exposed the people of that area to intolerable inconveniences and difficulties. Reports reaching London state that the delays caused at the numerous check-points have resulted in thwarting the business activities of the farmers of Sarasalai and Kanesan Puliyadi in the Chavakachcheri area.

KITTU ARRESTED

Former LTTE Jaffna Commander Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu, his assistant Rahim and 12 others who were under house arrest in Madras, even after all other LTTE cadres were imprisoned last month for one year without trial, have now been taken into custody, on the morn-

ing of 12th September. Agitation in Tamil Nadu pressing for the release of the LTTE cadre seems to have had no effect.

MERGER OF NORTH AND EAST

The expected temporary merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka into one administrative Province has now been announced by a Gazette Notification issued at midnight on 11th September. J.R. is said to have set the 'ball rolling' for holding the Provincial Councils Elections for the north and east! He has also offered to set free some of the political detainees in custody for the last four years.

PANT'S CANT

The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) will continue its operations in Sri Lanka until all the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord are fulfilled. The accord essentially has a set of three objectives, namely, to maintain unity and peace in the island nation, to protect Tamil interests and to ensure that Indian security concerns in the region are not put at risk.

The Union Defence Minister, Mr. K.C. Pant, was explaining to a Youth Congress rally in Kanpur how all efforts to secure the participation of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in the electoral process had failed despite the IPKF personnel doing a gallant job. India had accepted the invitation to send the IPKF to Sri Lanka as the entry of any other power might have turned against the country's (India's) security interests, he added.

TULF LEADERS EXPECTED IN COLOMBO

Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam, the Secretary-General of the Tamil United Liberation Front, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam and Mr. R. Sambandan are expected in Colombo shortly, according to reliable TULF sources. It may be recalled that Mr. Amirthalingam and other TULF leaders, who have been guests of the Indian Government in Madras, visited Sri Lanka three months ago. Political observers attach great significance to

the proposed visit of the leaders of the almost defunct TULF in view of the 'imminent' Provincial Councils elections for the north and east of Sri Lanka.

INDIA WILL CHANGE ITS STANCE IF PRABAHARAN DOES

It is reliably learnt that the Indian Government has reacted to the memorandum submitted by the peace-lovers and senior citizens of India urging the Indian Government to initiate ceasefire negotiations with the LTTE. According to a senior diplomat of the Indian High Commission, Indian authorities have informed the signatories to the memorandum that India would change its stance taken against the LTTE only if Prabaharan publicly announces that he would renounce violence and agree to pursue democratic ways. The diplomat has further said that India could not be persuaded otherwise unless this declaration is made by the LTTE leader Prabaharan himself.

EPRLF WILL PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS IF ITS DEMANDS ARE MET

The EPRLF, which had applied for registration as a political party in Sri Lanka, is said to have told the Sri Lankan government that it would consider participating in the provincial council elections only when their demands contained in their memorandum have been met. Sometime ago, the EPRLF had submitted a memorandum to the governments of India and Sri Lanka containing the following demands:- a) All the Tamil political prisoners in the Boosa Camp and the Magazine Prison be released before the provincial councils elections in terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord; b) The merger of the north and east be proclaimed before the holding of the provincial council elections.

K.R.P. VISVANATHAM'S VIEWS ON TAMIL QUESTION

K.R.P. Visvanatham, a veteran Tamil activist, who has gone to Colombo to

participate in the launching of a book on Thondaman, is reported to have suggested, while talking on the 'Tamil problem, that an effort should be made to find out whether the Tamils of Sri Lanka in fact support the Accord and if it be so, the best course for the LTTE would be to lay down arms and revert to peaceful means of running the affairs of the Tamil homelands.

CURFEW CONTINUES IN MULLAITIVU

The curfew that was imposed in the Mullaitivu area some four weeks ago continues to be operative there causing untold hardships and difficulties to the people of the area who have already been experiencing shortage of food supplies and lack of transport facilities. The strafing by helicopters and the humiliating search operations by the IPKF personnel have, it is reported, wrought havoc in the villages of the Mullaitivu area.

IPKF ORDERS CLOSURE OF ALL BANKS IN VAVUNIYA

The IPKF has ordered all Banks in the Vavuniya district (in the north of Sri Lanka) to be closed forthwith. This is in retaliation to the Banks acceding to the request of the LTTE. The Tigers, with a view to disrupting any smooth civil administration, had required the Banks in Vavuniya to function only on three days of the week, viz. on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays; and the banks have acted accordingly. Angered by this co-operation of the Banks with the LTTE, the IPKF has ordered that all banks should give an undertaking to work on all 5 days of the week or else to close completely until further notice. It will be remembered that a similar move taken earlier by the IPKF in respect of the Banks in the Jaffna district ended in failure, even though the respective Bank managers were physically taken by force and made to open the Banks.

50 MOTHERS UNDERTAKE FAST

The mothers of 50 of the detainees undertook a day's fast on 10.8.88 in front of the Nelson Theatre in Trincomalee, requesting that the Tamil detainees languishing in the jails of Boosa, Negombo, Welikade and Mag-

azine be released. At the end of the fast they handed a memorandum to the Indian High Commissioner, through the deputy leader of the IPKF, urging the release of all political prisoners.

LIVE WITH HONOUR OR PERISH !

"We Tamils will live with honour and dignity or else perish as a nation", thundered Mr.C.V.K. Sivagnanam, former Jaffna Municipal Commissioner. "The respective Sinhalese governments that ruled Sri Lanka after the Independence have refused to realise that nations other than Sinhalese too were living in Sri Lanka. That is the basic reason for the present chaotic situation in Sri Lanka", he said.

He further said that it was surprising that even the Indian government, which is supposed to have come for rescuing the Tamils, has not understood the feelings of the Tamil people. "We are not opposed to the Indian government or its people. It is very unfortunate that the Tamils who love them and welcomed them are now disappointed with the conduct of the IPKF", he said.

"The Eelam Tamils today have been driven into seeking self-determination and are ready to sacrifice anything that is in their possession to attain self-rule. It is the military oppression on the Tamils that has pushed them into a state of frustration - that is, to live with honour and dignity or to perish wholesale as a nation." So said Mr. Sivagnanam, speaking at a meeting assembled for the first release of the Journal "Jeeva Sakthy" at the 'Kailasapathy Arangu' at the University of Jaffna.

NO REHABILITATION UNTIL PEACE RETURNS : IHRA

The International Human Rights Association has declared that no rehabilitation in the North and East of Sri Lanka could be undertaken until peace and normalcy are restored there.

Absolute peace and normalcy were expected in the lives of the Tamil people living in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka as a result of the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, but the expectations have been proved

futile. The situation deteriorated just after a month from the signing of the Accord.

The three parties, the Indian and Sri Lankan governments and the LTTE, have failed to arrive at any workable solution to the problem. In the present situation, it will not be advisable nor feasible to undertake any steps towards implementing any schemes of rehabilitation.

The Association has therefore decided not to engage itself in any rehabilitation programme until peace and normalcy are restored in the North and East.

TULF, TC - OUT OF POLLS

The Tamil United Liberation Front and the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress, the two major Tamil political parties, say that they will not contest the forthcoming Presidential election. TULF sources said they had not thought about Presidential election and the party had no idea of participating in the next Presidential election. The General-Secretary of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress and a former Presidential candidate Kumar Ponnambalam said that his party would not take part in the forthcoming Presidential election.

IPKF AND PLOTE CLASH IN MANNAR

It has been reported that there has been a confrontation between the IPKF and the PLOTE at Mannar on Sept.3, 1988, in the course of which 3 soldiers of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force have been killed, says a report from Colombo. It is believed that the said confrontation ensued immediately after the IPKF on some suspicion surrounded a camp of the PLOTE in the Mannar area.

8 SRI LANKAN SOLDIERS DIE

Eight Sri Lankan soldiers and a policeman have been killed in an ambush attack in Vavuniya by the LTTE on the Sri Lankan army, says a report from Madurai. It is reliably learnt that this incident took place when a posse of Sri Lankan policemen and soldiers who were proceeding towards an LTTE camp in Vavuniya area was suddenly waylaid and shot at by the LTTE cadres.

Sri Lankan News

SRI LANKAN COMMUNISTS WANT IPKF TO QUIT

The Sri Lanka Communist Party has asserted that IPKF should leave Sri Lanka immediately.

In their hand-bills distributed in Sri Lanka on August 27, the party stated that:

- * India should stop forthwith the attacks on the Tamil Tigers.
- * The arms taken from the militant groups should be duly returned to them.
- * All Tamil militants and civilians arrested, both in Sri Lanka and in India, should be released.
- * The IPKF personnel should leave Sri Lanka immediately.
- * The various militant groups should shed their differences and consolidate into one force, under one leader.
- * They should co-operate with the progressives of the Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities, and work for the downfall of the UNP fascist regime.
- * They should work tirelessly towards the achievement of self determination.

ISRAEL'S "WELFARE SECTION" STILL FUNCTIONS

The office of "Israel's Welfare" is still functioning, attached to the American Embassy, under Mr. Hayburg, the head of that institution. This information was given by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in reply to a question raised in the Sri Lankan Parliament on August 10.

LTTE ARE TERRORISTS; UNP ARE FASCISTS; SO, GIVE A CHANCE TO JVP!

There are increasing signs that a rapprochement between the government and the JVP may just be on the cards. Over the last few weeks, JVP hit men have been noticeably inactive. On the government side, the names of Rohana Wijeweera, Upatissa Gammanayake and other JVP leaders have been taken off the "wanted" list. Now the Minister of National Security has gone on record that the eleven con-

ditions put forward by "the JVP" at the time its proscription was lifted, could be the basis for negotiations.

It could be argued that the way the government set about removing the ban on the JVP was clumsy. Nevertheless, what was abundantly clear from the whole exercise was that the bona fides of the government could not be doubted. The JVP should have made use of the opportunity then.

There is a second chance now, which the JVP must take. From his recent statements, the President has made it clear that he will use all the force necessary to crush the southern terrorists if they do not see reason. While this may not influence the JVP mind, there are other very good arguments why it should.

The primary JVP demand today is for General and Presidential elections. If the battle between it and the government continues into the next few months, the UNP could make out the case that, because of the security situation, elections cannot be held. With the populace itself gearing up psychologically for the polls, the JVP will have to face the wrath of the people if they create a situation in which polls cannot be held.

Secondly, there is the political role the JVP could play. With Mr. de Mel saying he would be joining the SLFP thus lending credence to that party's commitment to a liberal economy, and with Mrs. Bandaranaike making conciliatory noises about India in a recent interview with an Indian news paper, there is an unoccupied political space that the JVP should logically fill. The anti-devolution, anti-open economy constituency is one that the JVP can easily and successfully nurture within the democratic framework.

The JVP has been given another chance, and it is one it should not let slip. *Editorial from 'The Sunday Times' (Colombo) - Aug. 21, 1988*

HONEST ADVICE BY RETIRING A.G

Mr. Siva Pasupathy, the only Attorney General to serve two different governments for a record 14 years, is to relinquish duties on August 25.

Mr. Pasupathy who hails from Jaffna had his primary and secondary education in Jaffna, Galle, Kandy and a distin-

guished career in the University, he passed out as a lawyer and joined the official bar in 1953. He served as Crown Counsel, Senior Crown Counsel, Solicitor General, and Director of Public Prosecutions before being promoted Attorney General.

The outgoing A.G offered constitutional and legal advice to two governments having altogether different policies. Looking back on his service, the President of the Bar Association, Mr. H.L.de Silva, said that Mr. Pasupathy received complete acceptance by both governments.

Legal sources state that during both governments there were occasions when Mr. Pasupathy did not see eye to eye with the government. When the SLFP government intended indicting Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali for an alleged offence, Mr. Pasupathy refused to forward the indictment.

During the UNP regime, Mr. Pasupathy refused to appear for the State in the Courts against Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, a former minister, in his appeal against the recommendations of the G.P.A Silva Commission.

It was also revealed that Mr. Pasupathy had advised the government against the 3rd abortive amendment to the Constitution. The 3rd amendment proposed having two members for the Kalawana constituency.

Mr. Pasupathy, in a brief interview with the 'Sunday Times', said that whatever advice he gave the SLFP or the UNP governments, he did it in good faith. The outgoing A.G feels that it is important to introduce rules to ensure that no postponement is granted to appeals over ten years under any circumstances. Regarding fundamental rights, he feels that the person seeking relief should give notice so that the A.G could possibly resolve the matter before proceedings are instituted.

(JR can no longer say "My three chief law enforcement officers are Tamils." Chief Justice Sharvananda, Attorney General Pasupathy and Inspector-General of Police Rajasingham have all retired by the efflux of time. How many times JR and his henchmen would have said 'Nothing seriously wrong can take place with these three men at the helm'. - Editor)

WORLD NEWS

MANDELA MOVED TO PRIVATE CLINIC

The South African Prison Services said that they had moved the black nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, from Cape Town's state-run Tygerberg Hospital to a private clinic. The African National Congress leader, aged 70, was taken to hospital on August 12 from Cape Town's Pollsmoor prison, where he had been serving a life sentence on charges of plotting to overthrow white rule in South Africa.

President Botha said on August 17 that he did not think Mandela should return to prison but hinted that the ANC leader would have to comply with certain conditions to achieve freedom. Mandela has rejected previous conditional offers of release and has refused to comply with Pretoria's requirement that he renounce violence as a means to end white rule in South Africa.

ENOCH MAY FUEL AUSTRALIA'S ASIAN IMMIGRATION ROW

Enoch Powell, former M.P for South Down and a staunch supporter of stricter immigration controls, is to visit Australia to make speeches, possibly on the subject of immigration. Australia is currently in the throes of a public debate on Asian Immigration, and Powell's visit looks set to fuel the row between a split opposition coalition and government officials.

Asian immigration has become an electoral issue for the first time in 20 years in Australia. After the 'White Australia' policy was dropped in the 1960s, all political parties supported a non-discriminatory policy. Despite the threat of John Howard, the leader of the Liberal National Party, to reduce Asian immigration, Bob Hawke, Prime Minister of Australia, has said that keeping out Asians would be morally repugnant and economically insane.

TAMIL NADU ELECTIONS IN JANUARY 1989 ?

It is widely rumoured in Tamil Nadu and in the Indian capital that the President's rule which is in force in Tamil Nadu will cease to operate with effect from 28th January 1989, and that elections to the Tamil Nadu State Assembly will have been completed before that date. President's rule is now in force in four of the States of India - Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Nagaland and Mizoram.

INDIA NOT ANSWERABLE TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL !

The Minister of State for Home, Mr. Chithamparam, has declared that the Government of India is not answerable to organisations like the Amnesty International, and does not take note of their reports. He has further said that India is aware of the motives of such organisations and the forces that propel them.

LTTE THREAT TO BOMB MAJOR INDIAN CITIES !

LTTE terrorists yesterday vowed that they would explode bombs in major Indian cities unless the IPKF stops its military offensive in the northern province of Sri Lanka immediately. In a press release issued in Vavuniya and reported in Colombo newspapers, the LTTE's Vavuniya leader, Dinesh, said the group's hierarchy took the decision following intimation of support from international guerrilla groups. *Courtesy - 'The Hindu' - Sept.3, 1988 (See page 9 for the reaction of the LTTE to the above newspaper report)*

THE DEFAMATION BILL

Hundreds of Journalists marched in New Delhi, last week, to protest against a controversial 'Defamation Bill' which seeks to drastically curtail the freedom of the Press in India.

Newspaper Unions and the Editors' Guild have turned down an offer by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to hold discussions on the Bill, and demanded its unconditional withdrawal. Journalists throughout the country will strike today (6.9.88). Journalists at a rally outside the (Indian) Parliament pledged that "We the members of the newspaper profession will spare no effort, sacrifice or suffering to ensure that the Defamation Bill is withdrawn unconditionally and unequivocally."

DENTISTS WILL NOT CATCH AIDS

Professor Jens Pindborg of the World Health Organisation has condemned the dentists who refuse to treat patients with AIDS for fear of catching HIV virus as a disgrace to the profession. He has made the above remark while speaking at the World Dental Conference held in Bristol on Sept.8. A spokesman for the British Dental Association has said that most dentists have realised that there was no health risk.

BANK PUTS UP MORTGAGES, UP TO 13%

Barclays Bank has put its mortgage rate up by 12 percentage points to 13 per cent from Sept.12, 1988. Other

Banks and Building Societies are expected to follow suit.

The increase in rates reflects last month's rise in bank base rates by one percentage point to 12 per cent following poor trade figures.

The rise of 1.2 percentage points increases the repayments on a £25,000 endowment mortgage over 25 years by £18.76 a month to £203.13; and the cost of a repayment mortgage by £15.25 to £221.50. A £60,000 endowment mortgage will rise by £52.50 a month to £568.75.

It may be observed that the new rate has taken effect already and that the bank is not legally obliged to send out letters to borrowers notifying the change, though it may write to them as early as possible.

OIL PRICE SLIDES BELOW \$.13.

The world oil price continued to fall from Sept 10, with prices for North Sea Crude dropping below \$.13.

BEIRUT KIDNAPPERS RELEASE GERMAN

According to reports published in British papers, pro-Iranian kidnappers have freed the West German hostage Herr Rudolf Cordes after twenty months of captivity in Lebanon.

Herr Cordes, aged 55, the manager of the Hoescht Chemical Company in Lebanon, was released on Sept.11, 1988.

The release of Herr Cordes reduced to 17 the number of Western hostages in Lebanon, among them 2 Britons, 1 Irishman who holds a British passport, and 10 Americans.

TESSA SANDERSON'S HOPES SMASHED !

Tessa Sanderson, Britain's Olympic Javelin champion, had to be carried from the practice arena in Japan with an injury which threatens to deny her the chance to defend her title in Seoul in ten days' time.

Sanderson stopped suddenly near the end of the runway on her second training throw and needed a stitch in a burst scar tissue near left Achilles tendon.

Trying to put on a brave face, Sanderson is reported to have said, "Obviously I am shaken, but I am feeling positive. I am very optimistic and hopeful that I will be competing in the games."

SWEDISH ARMS TO KILL EELAM TAMILS

It is now over a year since India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sent food and equipment to the oppressed minority, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, by boats bedecked with Red Cross emblems. This move was acclaimed throughout the world. Finally, one believed, there would be an end to the long drawn out conflict between the Sinhalese Government and the Tamil minority.

The Indian move was followed by a "peace treaty" between Sri Lanka's President Junius Jayawardene and Rajiv Gandhi. The treaty was to give the Tamils self government and they greeted Gandhi's peace making army with flowers in the belief that they would now at last be relieved of further suffering.

This was not to be. Gandhi's "peace move" came to an abrupt stop. His army, which was to have protected the Tamils, instead started to kill them, and this killing is still going on.

The fact remains that Sri Lanka's governments, which have been in office since the time of Indira Gandhi's father Jawaharlal Nehru, have never troubled themselves about the well-being of the Tamils. It has, on the other hand, contributed to the deportation of more than half a million so called "Indian" or "Estate" Tamils from Sri Lanka's tea and rubber estates to destitution in South India. A few hundred thousand "Indian" Tamils, who have helped to build up the economy of Sri Lanka, still remain there bereft of their human and civil rights and uncertain in regard to their future. More than 300 "Indian" Tamil youths are in Sri Lankan prisons after being taken in under an "anti terrorist" law. It is no longer a secret that torture is practised on political prisoners in Sri Lanka both by the Lankan and the Indian armies as well as the police. Amnesty International in London (B.B.C.- 21-6-88) and in Sweden (D.N & S.V.D. 21-6-88) accuses the authorities in Sri Lanka of torture and assassination as well as of letting political prisoners "vanish."

Now, how does this concern Sweden

and the Swedish Government? **Our concern in the conflict is that New Delhi's peace keeping force is killing Tamils with the aid of Swedish weapons.** It is no secret that the rocket launcher "Carl Gustaf" has been used in Sri Lanka (Ref: *India Today* of 15-11-87 and the periodical *Brotherhood* of 27-11-87). "In Sri Lanka the Indians have stationed more than 20,000 men since October. At least 680 soldiers and Tamil Guerillas have been killed and thousands of civilians have also lost their lives. It is furthermore calculated that 375000 persons have fled before the Indian forces."

The researcher Bjorn Hagelin in an article in the DN of 13-12-87 states that the Swedish government doesn't need to withdraw a licence for export of arms if the buyer country's involvement in an armed conflict is in agreement with the neutrality policy of Sweden and if the receiver nation engages itself in the offensive only symbolically. Is this offensive purely symbolic? Is it merely symbolic that grenades from F.F.V blast the skulls of my doctor colleagues and of the nurses and patients in the Jaffna hospital? Is it merely for symbolic reasons that the Indian General Kalvant Singh openly admits that the "Carl Gustaf" has been an effective weapon in the war against the Tamils in Jaffna?.

Documentary proof of the Indian aggression against Tamil civilians is available. In a report submitted by the committees dealing with human rights in Sri Lanka's Northern and Eastern provinces an eye-witness describes how Indian soldiers had shot young girls and women through their vaginas after having stripped them of their clothing in the presence of their husbands, brothers or fathers, who were subsequently shot themselves. This was done as a reprisal for the attacks by the guerillas against the Indian soldiers. An official report (D.N. 3-4-88) also states that 50 civilians had been shot dead in the Jaffna hospital. The numbers were incorrect as some hundred patients and medical staff (including several doctors and nurses) had been killed.

The Indian army indulge in the same gruesome actions - blockades of food supplies, medicines and other necessities - as the Sinhalese Army practised last year when Rajiv Gandhi condemned it as being "cold blooded murder of thousands of Sri Lankan citizens", "a violation of all forms of human rights" and as "pure manslaughter."

Should not Sweden which constantly campaigns for human rights and which supports India both militarily and economically (and Sri Lanka economically) draw attention to these violations of human rights in Sri Lanka and express its disgust at India's violation of a nation's sovereignty, especially as Swedish weapons are being used? **I consider that Sweden now has an obligation to work actively for a peaceful solution of the conflict in Sri Lanka. An obvious and constructive component of a peace treaty would be that India withdraws a large proportion of her armed forces from Sri Lanka while the governments of both countries simultaneously agree to a peace keeping force from the UN being called upon to supervise that the terms of the peace treaty are fulfilled.**

Sri Lanka must also open its doors to international relief organisations such as the Red Cross and the United Nations Commission for Refugees. Journalists from abroad must also be given free access to the affected areas and Amnesty International should also be afforded the opportunity to operate undisturbed in the country.

Sri Lanka is on the point of being a new Lebanon. That this development occurs with the aid of Swedish armament technology is a disgrace for Sweden. This disgrace can only be washed off by the Swedish government abandoning its passivity and using its international reputation as a peace mediator, or is it as an arms dealer we propose to "defend" human rights? (Dr. Aru Sandanam writes in "Dagens Nyheter" July 30, a leading Swedish daily)

LATE NEWS

ALIVE AND KICKING

From the BBC World news Broadcast

Two journalists last week wrote, as they put it, 'the back has been broken of the Tamil militancy'. However, our correspondent Chris Nuttall has been to the Northern jungles of Sri Lanka where he heard a different story from the Indian commanders on the ground. "The official version given by General Kalkat last week was that everything was going well for the Indian Peace Keeping Force in the dense jungles of the North. Commanders on the ground say that heavy casualties have been sustained, conditions are appalling and the fatal delay by the overall commander in ordering an attack on the main Tiger headquarters resulted in more than a hundred separatist fighters getting away. A huge Tiger camp was located on August 18th, which the officers say had as many as 150 fighters inside. General Kalkat is said to have refused to request to take the camp immediately, and instead spent a week building up his forces around it before an assault was mounted on August 25th. By this time the Tigers had realised what was happening and most escaped with their equipment, leaving only about a dozen there when the attack finally began. Indian officers say only 17 separatist fighters were killed in two weeks of operations and not the 100 or so the General had claimed. While 18 Indian soldiers have died 58 were wounded and a helicopter was destroyed. **The officers say that far from the Tigers' backs being broken the separatist fighters are likely to be alive and kicking for many years to come.**"

BOMB BLAST IN PETTAH

BBC news broadcast on World Service - Sept 7

Five people were killed and thirty injured when a bomb went off in a hotel in Pettah (Colombo) on September 7. Chris Nuttall BBC correspondent said that the bomb was probably connected with the funeral of the Human Rights Lawyer Wijedasa Liyanarachchi taking place the same day. "Before the bomb went off in the hotel, a letter had been sent to

shops in the Pettah area of Colombo ordering them to stay closed in the morning. This is the classic tactic of the JVP, the extreme anti-government organisation, which has murdered more than 250 supporters of the ruling United National Party in recent months. And the connection being made is that it may have been tied in with the funeral later today of a 38 year old Human Rights Lawyer who the government says was a high ranking member of the JVP and who died in police custody on Saturday."

"Now he died from apparently fairly brutal treatment, thought at the hands of the police. Whats happening about this?"

"Well the government says there won't be any cover up about this, there will be an open inquest; what appears to have happened is that this man Wijedasa Liyanarachchi was arrested by police in the South about ten days ago. The south is a particular area of strength of the JVP. It's been killing government politicians there, government servants and many members of the security forces, including police and members of their families. It is said that when Mr Liyanarachchi was handed over to the police in Colombo last Friday, he was in no fit state to be questioned and he was admitted to hospital and died within about an hour and the obvious accusations that have been made is that Mr Liyanarachchi was beaten up by the police while in custody."

"He is getting a good deal of support from his colleagues in the legal profession."

"That's right. The Sri Lankan Bar Association has called a strike today throughout Sri Lanka in all the courts. There have been demonstrations outside the Supreme Court building here in Colombo. An empty coffin was burnt here yesterday and they are obviously demanding an inquiry into the whole thing. The police have enforced emergency powers so that they can limit numbers at the funeral, if necessary to only 50. That's to try and prevent any further demonstration or trouble there."

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"Going back to JVP, this was the first bomb in Colombo: for sometime as you say they have been killing people in the South. Is the government able to deal with them in any other way than military means?"

"The government has tried to make the JVP come into the open by lifting the proscription on their party. The party has been banned for some years; the JVP has not responded to this; it's profoundly anti-government since the government has been in power for too long and it has avoided elections for eleven years now and it is also against the government because the JVP is an extremely nationalistic movement. It says the government has acted as a traitor as it were in allowing 50,000 Indian troops on to the Island to deal with the problems of Tamil separatism in the North and East. So the government has not had any response from the JVP over this. At the moment it is carrying out a kind of hearts and minds campaign in the South to try and get the public to stop supporting the JVP there. It is having limited success at the moment. We daily get reports of killings of government servants and politicians and members of security forces there; still summary justice is carried out by the JVP against the members of the public who will go against their wishes and instructions and the situation seems to be just as bad as ever there."

LTTE WANTS PERMANENT CEASEFIRE

The LTTE, in a statement issued from Tamil Eelam called upon the government of India to effect a permanent cease fire and initiate official dialogue with the organisation. While welcoming the declaration of a five day cease fire by the government of India, the LTTE has repeated that this temporary cessation of hostilities does not facilitate for direct negotiations between the LTTE and the government of India. The people of Tamil Eelam the statement stressed wanted a peaceful and negotiated settlement to end the present conflict.

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

Vol. 1 No. 18

1st October, 1988

MAGNIFICENT WAR BETWEEN UNEQUALS



Tiger lair in Vavuniya



**The lone look-out for indian tanks,
helicopters and heavy armour**



**Bare-footed stretcher-bearers in
the heart of the jungle**



**The wounded - no anaesthetist
or surgeon to treat them**