

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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Cleghorn Minute 1799

"Two different nations, from a very ancient period, have divided between them in possession of the Island: (Ceylon). First the Cinhalese, inhabiting the interior of the country in its southern and western parts from the river Wallouve to that of Chilow, and secondly the Malabars (Tamils), who possess the northern and eastern districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religions, language and manners ..."

YOUR VOICE

POLITICAL MISJUDGEMENT

Dr Nath, Croydon

My congratulations to you on the high quality of your journal. **My only reservations are that more than enough emphasis should be made that our disappointment is not with the people of India but with those strategists who advise the Indian Prime Minister, and on their manifestly misleading advice** as subsequent events have proved. Enough has been said about the atrocities committed by the IPKF to warrant further documentation. After all, the IPKF have been drawn into a war by a political misjudgement on the part of the Indian government, and it is understandable that the Tigers had to defend themselves against the IPKF which had been ordered to destroy these freedom fighters. Under the circumstances it is imperative that the Eelam Tamils should endeavour to mobilise all available forces at our disposal to inform and spread the message to the Indian people that the Eelam Tamils still remain their greatest allies and friends despite the unfortunate events of the past few months. **It is now becoming clear that both Rajiv and the Tigers were victims of the vile and political cunning of that slippery customer JR who has been ruthless in handling the ethnic crisis despite his periodic salutations to Buddha Dharma.** In the context of our present predicament the only viable alternative for us, Tamils, is to seek a fresh dialogue with our Indian friends and, any accord reached should have the guarantee of the Indian government.

FOR THE TAMILS BY THE TAMILS

Siva Muttulingasamy, Croydon

President Kennedy of the USA once said, **"Ask not what the country can do for you; ask what you can do for the country."** At this juncture in our troubled times, the late President could have had the Tamils in his mind when he uttered these,

now-so-famous, words. The TVI is coming out, at last, to be a truly Tamil paper, for the Tamils by the Tamils. It is the duty of every self-respecting Tamil to come out and offer his services to the community, instead of waiting to be asked. In the non-combatant Tamils of Eelam we have tremendous amount of industrial resources, and in the LTTE we find tremendous guts, capacity for strong leadership, high discipline and very good organisational capabilities. If only someone could harness these two qualities of us Tamils and bootstrap it together, the results would be staggering.

It is too much to ask from any nationality to be united and work together; however, **it is not much to ask to stand united when confronting another national or race.** If we do not realise, even now, that divided we will fall, then we might as well brace ourselves to be hunted and massacred by, may be, the Chinese next. A nation of people, up until a few months ago, were able to grow enough food to feed themselves and also export to the southern regions, now having to take handouts from a nation which is not able to feed half of its population. What a sorry state of affairs!

UNITARY STATE - A COLONIAL LEGACY

J. Visvanathan, Harrow

President Jayewardene, in that famous BBC World Service Phone-in on February 7, stated, "Sri Lanka has been a Unitary State from time immemorial, from 6th century BC."

I should like to tell him that the **TAMILS had a separate kingdom in the Northern and Eastern parts of Ceylon from about 350 BC, over 2200 years ago.** They held suzerainty over these areas for almost 2000 years until 1591 AD, except for two brief periods from 161 to 137 BC, and 1169 to 1186 AD. Thereafter their suzerainty continued uninterruptedly till the arrival of European powers. Briefly, European involvement lasted 443 years, as follows:-

AD 1505 - The Portuguese cap
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tured the western maritime provinces from the Sinhalese Kings.

1591 - The Portuguese captured the Tamil Kingdom which was ceded to them by the Nallur Convention.

1638 - The Dutch captured Trincomalee.

1640 - The Dutch captured Negombo and Galle.

1658 - The Dutch captured the Tamil Kingdom after a siege of Jaffna for 3 1/2 months.

1795 - Jaffna, Trincomalee and Kalpitiya surrendered to the British.

1796 - Colombo surrendered to the British.

1802 - British conquest of Ceylon confirmed by the Treaty of Amiens.

1815 - The Kandyan Kingdom surrendered to the British. (The last King of Kandy was a Tamil), Until

1815, Ceylon had between one and four kingdoms at various times, always including a Tamil Kingdom.

1833 - The British commenced ruling the whole island as a single administrative unit instead of two or three separate units as had been the case up to that time. The "Unitary State" is really a colonial legacy, and the so-called unity of the country was only a union of administrations rather than an integration of two peoples.

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Aren Thamilsenan, Philippines

Just as the people of Austria find their President Kurt Waldheim morally guilty of not having done enough to stop Nazi atrocities during World War II, **the world condemns every Indian and the so-called free Indian press and news media for not having done enough to stop the Indian atrocities perpetrated against the Tamilians of Sri Lanka** who only seek to exercise their inalienable fundamental human rights of security of life, language and culture.

Action should also be filed in the World Court against India and its government and military leaders for crimes against humanity.

ANOTHER FRAUD ELECTION

"I wonder if we could contrive some magnificent myth that would in itself carry conviction to our whole community" -PLATO

President Jayewardene is unique. An observer once cynically remarked that the trouble with free elections is that you cannot predict the result. In Jayewardene's technology some kind of system has been perfected. The trial run was at the DDC (Development District Councils) elections in Jaffna in 1981 - stuffed ballot boxes, missing ballot boxes, state owned CTB (Ceylon Transport Board) buses and two UNP ministers to supervise the elections. They lost but they learned. The Referendum of December 1982 to postpone the general election and extend the life of the 1977 Parliament was carried out with consummate skill. The UNP won but stood condemned by the Commissioner of Elections. Now once again electoral technology is to be utilised throughout Sri Lanka. We are concerned about what will happen in the Northern and Eastern provinces. There are questions that need answers on the basic fact of the provincial election itself.

Our view is that the provincial councils themselves are a fraud. These councils are not what the Tamil people wanted. We asked for our freedom. We have been taken for a ride by the Gandhi-Jayewardene duet. Our people live in the shadow of the almighty Indian 'Police' Keeping Force (IPKF). The Tamil people have in the past boycotted elections. The Tamil people voted against the Referendum to extend the 1977 Parliament. It is possible that UNP candidates and other dummies will stand for these elections. Any attempt at boycott will be strangled by India's Policemen. What should we do?

We should not be trapped into contesting elections which are conducted under the auspices of the Sinhala terror state. These elections are with a view to indicate to the world that the oppressed Tamils of Sri Lanka have now been appeased and reconciled. The elections are also intended to display the success of Rajiv Gandhi, "the great peacemaker." Gandhi has a well-earned reputation of signing accords and leaving them unfulfilled. As for the Sinhalese, there is no necessity for us to give examples of the dismal record of broken promises by Sinhala governments.

Another way is to win seats and wreck the fraudulent provincial council system. We should refuse to take our seats. The councils will then not be able to function. The changes in Jayewardene's electoral technology are designed to enable minor parties such as the UNP in the Northern and Eastern provinces to contest and win a few seats here and there. That explains the provision to abandon the present 12½ per cent cut-off point, leaving it open to any grouping or minor party to win a few seats. **Let us not be victims to these evil designs. The Tamil people must win their freedom first.** In the meantime, to use Jayewardene's own vocabulary, borrowed from a British statesman of the nineteenth century, "roll up that electoral map. We have no use for it."

TAMIL VOICE International

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ATTACKING THE ACCORD.

Anti-IPKF sentiment scales a new high. There could have been no greater irony than Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardene's presence as chief guest at India's Republic Day parade. With internal opposition to the Indo-Sri Lankan accord snowballing alarmingly in recent weeks, New Delhi now has the added worry of the political survival of the ageing leader.

The contretemps plaguing the accord has regenerated the anti-accord lobby in Sri Lanka. Now, as Jayawardene enters the final year of his presidency, the pastiche of forces ranged against him is pushing him to the penumbra of isolation. As the venerable pro-accord, leftist leader of Sri Lanka, Dr. Colvin de Silva remarked, "JAYAWARDENE NOW STANDS MORE ISOLATED THAN HE EVER WAS SINCE HE CAME TO POWER 10 YEARS AGO."

A manifestation of this alienation was the resignation of the high-profile finance minister, Ronnie de Mel, from the Cabinet on January 18. De Mel was both a loyal lieutenant of Jayawardene and an ardent supporter of the accord. Yet, he deliberately invited presidential penal action with his outcry in Parliament; "We must hold elections before the people get up and say, 'In god's name, go.'" Said de Mel after his resignation: "The faltering of the accord since September brought about a loss of face for those of us who supported the accord and provided grist to those who were opposed to it." Indeed, in the last few months, despite Jayawardene's absolute control over the party, cabinet ministers have become increasingly strident in their criticism. On December 31, in a public speech riddled with anti-Jayawardene innuendo, Prime Minister R. Premadasa asked, "WHY SHOULD THE NEIGHBOUR BE BROUGHT TO SCOLD OUR QUARRELLING CHILDREN?" And, in Parliament, National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali declared, "The people want the IPKF (the Indian Peace Keeping Force) to go."

The swelling numbers of the IPKF and its prolonged stay have created a grave psychosis in Sri Lanka. NOBODY BUYS THE LINE THAT INDIA CAME TO PROTECT THE TAMILS, said the ebullient Athulathmudali, "Let's face it. The experience all over the world is that external forces come to a country to pursue their own ends." This view was endorsed by the Tamils and Sinhalese alike. Cocktail and diplomatic circles in Colombo are abuzz with rumours of the IPKF's intended five-year stay - fuelled by reports that the IPKF has been leasing houses in Jaffna for five years.

Ironically, the presence of the IPKF has brought a new unity in Sri Lankan society, cutting through political, ethnic, social and economic barriers. Said Premadasa, "FROM JAFFNA TO SANGAMANTHUDUWA PEOPLE WANT THE IPKF TO LEAVE."

But despite the sudden change in the scenario, there is no immediate danger of the Jayawardene Government collapsing. Gamini Jayasuriya, who resigned from the Cabinet on the issue of the accord observed, "Ninety-five per cent of the M Ps are unhappy. But they will stay with Jayawardene because they shrink out of power."

There is also no denying Jayawardene's alarming alienation from the public. The general feeling is one of betrayal and the President is blamed for the feeling of insecurity that exists. The accord now serves as a catalyst for the people's desire for change - they want elections. Sensing this mood, many ministers have chosen to go with the public. In fact, resentment over the accord, corruption, and the overdue elections have triggered off a realignment of forces in Sri Lanka politics. The most visible manifestation of this is the attempt by such diverse elements as the SLFP, Ronnie de Mel, and Premadasa to win over the outlawed Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) that has created a wave of terror in the south. So strong

is public opinion against the President, that a senior minister admitted, "IF ELECTIONS ARE HELD NOW, THE UNP WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE DEFEATED."

Jayawardene's only chance of survival is to make the accord work. Like Rajiv Gandhi, he has a personal stake in the accord; it is the only way he can hope to salvage his credibility and defuse public hostility. Rajiv and Jayawardene need each other's cooperation more than ever before. The leitmotiv of Jayawardene's six-day sojourn in New Delhi was to assuage Sinhala fears on two scores: one, to evolve a time frame for the early return of the IPKF - an obsession with all Sri Lankans; the second issue was to arrive closer to a treaty so that Sri Lankans feel there is reciprocity in the relations between the two countries.

But even the signing of a treaty will not obfuscate the fact that the accord is in trouble. The peace process was to have been crowned with elections to the provincial councils, slated to be held before December 1987. THE GROUND REALITY IS THAT THE IPKF IS YET TO DISARM THE TIGERS WHO HAVE REGROUPED THEMSELVES EFFECTIVELY IN THE EAST, PARTICULARLY IN BATTICALOA. While the stranglehold of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Jaffna has been broken, the IPKF has a long way to go to declaw the Tigers in the northern and eastern provinces.

The east in fact, now increasingly holds the key to the future of the accord - and Sri Lanka, says Dew Gunasekhara, a communist MP, "The real hot-spot is the eastern province and not Jaffna." Adds Athulathmudali, "My fear is that the accord will leave the east in a shambles."

Unlike the north which is Tamil-dominated, the east is far more complex - in terms of area, terrain and demographic composition - is inhabited by Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese. Admits Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratna, minister of justice, "It will

take a long time to complete the work of peace and restore normalcy in the east." Already there are Tamil, Sinhalese and, in the post accord phase, Muslim refugees in the east. The Tamils consider the east as part of their homeland. However, due to Sinhala colonisation by successive governments, it is likely that the proposed referendum in the east will go against a merger as the Sinhalese view it as the first step to Eelam. On the eve of signing the accord, the Tamils' fears about a referendum were allayed by Indian officials who referred to another clause in the accord wherein the referendum could be postponed at the discretion of the President. The behind-the-scene assurance was that India could persuade Jayawardene to postpone the referendum indefinitely.

Such assurances may seem ingenious but they rarely work. **Jayawardene, whose political acumen and cunning are legendary, is unlikely to remain content as a pawn in India's hands. He would like to hold the referendum and wrap up the ethnic problem before he leaves the political stage.**

As far as long-term peace is concerned, it is a no-win situation, even if a referendum is held. If it goes against a merger, the **LTTE will continue its armed struggle to regain "lost territory."** If it is for a merger, the Muslims and Sinhalese will agitate, as most of them do not want to be ruled by the Jaffna Tamils. Already a Sinhala riot group is active in Trincomalee. And the Muslims of the east - who form 30 per cent of the Muslim population in the entire country - have formed a congress that projects an eastern outlook. According to a senior minister in the Cabinet, **"This new Muslim organisation is establishing contacts with Libya and Iran for support."** As Anura Bandaranaike said, **YOU BRING THE NORTH AND EAST TOGETHER WITH THE ACCORD. THEN YOU SEPARATE THEM WITH A REFERENDUM. THIS IS GOING TO BRING ABOUT TOTAL CHAOS.**

Surreptitious moves for direct talks between the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE are now being made. Said G.G. Ponnambalam, leader of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress, who

the LTTE and Gamini Dissanayake in Madras on January 12, "Avenues through India have dried up. So fresh avenues have to be opened." Indian officials confirm that the Sri Lankan Government was trying to initiate talks with the LTTE through Dissanayake as well as through Lalith Athulathmudali. Said Ponnambalam "Gamini, an LTTE leader and I met on January 5 at the Mahaweli office in Colombo and we decided to meet a week later at Madras. Gamini in fact, secured presidential assent for this meeting. But the Indian High Commission here sabotaged it." **Predictably, India feels that direct talks would be detrimental to its interests. Athulathmudali is open about his involvement in direct talks. He asked "WHY CAN'T I TALK TO MY CITIZENS?" Another ruling party M P added, "THEY SHOULDN'T DISCOURAGE DIRECT TALKS BECAUSE IT IS THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY WHO SHOULD ULTIMATELY FIND THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM."**

The Sri Lankan Government hopes to offer the LTTE control of the Jaffna peninsula with the Sri Lankan Army taking up their July 28 position in the east. There is a section in the Government that feels this offer could be buttressed by greater devolution, but without a merger. The east would have its province which would in turn devolve greater powers to three separate Pradeshia Sabhas for the Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese.

The structural flaw of this line of thinking is that even if the LTTE agrees to this proposal for tactical reasons, it will still continue its armed struggle in the east. Sri Lankan authorities are fully aware of this but are confident of tackling and bringing under control the situation. For, in such a scenario, India, having burnt her fingers badly, would not support the Tamil Tigers.

If the accord fails to yield results, the move for direct talks will gather momentum. The immediate task before New Delhi is to restore normalcy so that provincial elections can be held. **While the IPKF has broken the LTTE's stranglehold in Jaffna, the Tigers continue to have the men, muscle and firepower to disrupt life in the**

northern and eastern provinces. To crush the LTTE in the east, India is now going to opt for a saturation exercise. There are currently 37,000 Indian troops on Sri Lankan soil. They intend to raise it to 60,000 so that by April, LTTE resistance in the northern and eastern provinces can be neutralised. The thinking now is that elections to the provincial councils can be held in May which would necessarily have to be policed by the IPKF. A phased withdrawal of the IPKF could begin the following month so that finally, only a token presence is left. **Jayawardene wants the withdrawal of the IPKF before the parliamentary elections.** For, as Weerasinghe Mallimarachchi, a ruling party M P pointed out, **"THE IPKF PRESENCE IS A POLITICAL EMBARRASSMENT FOR THE UNP."**

With parliamentary and presidential elections slated to be held later this year, the stirrings of a succession struggle can already be seen in the UNP. Premadasa, who is number two in the party, would seem to be the natural choice. **But the inscrutable Jayawardene, who still wields absolute control over the party, is keeping the principal contenders - Premadasa, Athulathmudali and Dissanayake - on tenterhooks. Rumours are already circulating that he might eventually pave the way for his son Ravi, or brother, Hector to succeed him.**

Meanwhile, the SLFP has already declared Sirimavo Bandaranaike as its presidential candidate. "As far as the accord is concerned, **India should not depend too much on Jayawardene. He is old and he is unpopular.**" says Anura Bandaranaike. So confident are SLFP members of coming to power on an anti-government wave, that they no longer talk in terms of "if" but of "when" they come to power. The key question, however, is what happens to the accord in the context of a change of guard, particularly in view of the anti accord stand of the SLFP and Jayawardene's own possible successors? As an Indian official put it, "If the SLFP comes to power, we'll do business with them. Jayawardene is a natural ally because he is the sig-

THIRUKKURAL

by S. Sriskandarajah

குணம்நாடிக் குற்றமும் நாடி அவற்றுள்
மிகைநாடி மிக்க கொளல்.

**"Kunam Naadi, Kuttamum Naadi, Avattul
Mihai Naadi Mikka Kollal."**

(Transliteration)

"Consider the merits and also consider the demerits; See which weigh more and choose the person with greater merits" (Translation)

It was Kautama Buddha of Kapilavasthu, the first protestant of Brahminism, who resoundingly declared, **"We have the best in the worst of us and the worst in the best of us."** As if to reinforce the above declaration of the Buddha, Swami Vivekananda, the cyclonic Hindu of India, reiterated that *there are Brahmins among Paraiyars and Paraiyars among Brahmins*. Jesus Christ succinctly revealed this universal truth, when, upon seeing people incriminating and condemning a woman as a whore, he uttered **"If there is one of you who has not sinned, let him be the first to throw the stone at her."**

Thiruvalluvar drives home this eternal truth through the above Kural. This is the fourth Kural in the chapter captioned *Selection of Functionaries*. Although this Kural is an advice mainly to an Administrator, it applies equally well to others also in regard to their day-to-day dealings. Most of us run into difficulties and find it difficult to fit into the society because we fail to bear the import of this Kural in mind.

Kuttam Paarkkil Suttam Illai (Transliteration) is a proverb in the Tamil language. **It means that if we try to find fault with people, then we will have none at the end as friends or relatives.** What this means is that human beings are full of frailties and that no human is perfect, and that it is utterly futile to expect man to be perfect.

Let us now get back to the couplet itself to see what it says. As it is primarily an advice to a ruler, it states in no uncertain terms that the ruler should bear clearly in his mind that

nobody is free from blame, that everyone is blameworthy in one way or the other and that if he were to look for somebody who is perfect in every sense and devoid of blemishes, then he would never succeed in finding such a person. If the truth is that everyone is defective but only in different areas and manners, then how are we to choose the ones whom we could befriend and whom we should not? The answer to the question is contained in the couplet under consideration.

Since appearance is deceptive, one has to have his wits around and be circumspect. This is what *Thiruvalluvar* says. "Using common sense and physiognomical considerations put your recruit on probation. Analytically study his good qualities; also assess his negative points; weigh the two. If you find good qualities outweighing bad qualities, consider him as a good person. If bad qualities overshadow good qualities, deem him as bad".

Given above is the selection test *Thiruvalluvar* has set. There is no point in grumbling that this person is that or that person is this. There will be no end of our grumbling and never will we find one against whom we will have nothing to complain. That being the stark reality, we must apply the test of *Thiruvalluvar* in the selection of friends and functionaries. Realisation of this truth will make life much more tolerable for most of us.

In our epic Ramayana, Rama was an incarnation of God Krishna. But when God took human form as Rama, Rama has been depicted by sage Vaalmiki to be possessing at least some of the defects of ordinary mortals. If Rama has been so depicted, it is to show to the ordinary person of the world that **to err is human and that human beings are not perfect.**

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TAMILS - THE RIGHT TO LIVE

(By our Correspondent)

A Seminar, **"Tamils : The Right to Live"** was organised by the Tamil Refugees Action Group in London on Saturday, 27th February.

Mary Dines, Secretary of Rights & Justice, gave the keynote speech followed by **R. Sampath Kumar**, Deputy Director of the Bureau of Asia in the Office of the UNHCR in Geneva, and **Yvonne Terlingen** of the Amnesty International.

Graeme C. Jackson of British Refugee Council, **Rev. Fr. J.B. Devarajah**, Director, Catholic Relief Organisation, North & East Sri Lanka, and **David McCartney** of U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), also addressed the gathering of over 2000.

Erich Schmid, Journalist and writer from Switzerland, who had visited Sri Lanka recently and has written widely in Swiss journals, gave a moving account of what he saw and witnessed in Tamil areas.

Anne Owers of Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, Rajes Bala, founder-member and former Chair of T.R.A.G. and **S.J. Joseph**, Secretary of T.R.A.G. also spoke.

There were workshops on the current human rights situation in Sri Lanka; Relief, Rehabilitation and Settlement of Tamil Refugees, and new restrictions on the Rights of Asylum Seekers were held.

The day-long Seminar concluded with a speech by **Jeremy Corbyn, M.P.**

P.C. ELECTIONS PUT OFF

Officials of Sri Lanka's Elections Commission said that President Jayewardene had postponed Provincial Council elections in five provinces because of poor security. Mr. Jayewardene's decision means elections will not be held in the areas worst affected by violence.

THE GOVERNMENT SOLUTION - A CRAFTY SUBTERFUGE

by Wakely Paul, B.A.(Law), M.A.(Cambridge, England), L.L.M.(Stanford, California); Attorney-at-law.

The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of last year sought to solve the Island's ethnic problem by granting to the Tamil minority some measure of autonomy in the North and East, through the creation of Provincial Councils with legislative power in those regions. This was intended to free them from the legislative control of the Sinhala-dominated Central Parliament in designated areas. The Sri Lankan government has now obliged with the **Thirteenth amendment to the Constitution creating such Provincial Councils.**

The irony of this Bill is that it proves once again the reluctance, if not refusal, of the Sinhala-dominated government to lose any control over the predominantly Tamil regions, and grant them any degree of genuine autonomy. The Bill permits Tamil Provincial Councils to make statutes (which in the ethnic-charged context of Sri Lanka) can never become law. By encrusting this in the Constitution, it perpetuates Tamil subjugation to Sinhalese will.

In order for a Tamil statute to become law, it has to overcome two vetoes by two sets of Sinhala elected institutions. It must first be agreed by every one of the seven other Sinhala Provincial Councils, and then be submitted to Parliament for their majority approval. If Sinhala elected politicians to regional bodies or the central government were that empathetic to the Tamil exercise of power, they could have made federal concessions many times in the last 40 years. If, in fact, they were that understanding of the Tamil grievances, they could have remedied them in the national Parliament which would have made this Bill moot. The reality of their reluctance to approve of Tamil exercise of autonomy makes the clearance of these two hurdles a virtual impossibility. The other alternative method of turning a statute into law is more bizarre still. If any one Provincial Council disagrees with the Tamil Provincial Bill, it requires a 2/3 majority of Parliament to make it law. With proportional representation governing future elections, not even a Sinhalese Bill benefiting the Sinhalese public could be passed by such a majority, since no party could conjure up such

parliamentary control.

This Bill is therefore no more than a crafty subterfuge, tightening Sinhala control over Tamil provincial power under the pretext of a devolution of power.

The controls do not end here. The Provincial Governor (a Presidential appointee who holds power at his pleasure and is directed in certain instances to execute his direct commands) can before assenting to a provincial bill, refer it to the supreme court. He could inter alia contend that this is a matter which should be reserved for nationwide legislation (154-G(10)) as demanded by Parliament. The supreme court in turn could hold that the determination as to what is appropriate for national legislation should be deferred to Parliament being a matter more appropriate for legislative than judicial determination. **This acts as a third possible bar to legislation of a Tamil provincial statute.**

Assuming that by some miracle a Tamil statute overcomes all three hurdles, there is another provision enabling the Governor to refuse to implement the Bill or implement it to suit his mentor's desires if Sinhala mass mood surfaces to show their disapproval of the statute.

The Governor who shall implement statutes in accordance with the advice of the board of ministers of the Council can ignore that and use his discretion (154-F(1)) if the constitution requires him to do so. His exercise of this discretion cannot be challenged in a court of law (154-F(2)). Even if the Governor purports to execute the will of the ministers, he has wide latitude to interpret their intent as he wishes, since the advice tendered by the ministers cannot be adjudicated (154-F(3)).

Another serious impediment is the right of the President to proclaim an emergency and reinvest the Central government with Provincial power (154 J, K, L and M); and once again this proclamation remains unchallengeable. In a nation ruled more often than not under emergency regulations, **this hardly augurs well for the exercise of Provincial Power.**

Finally, the last major straw lies in the central control of Provincial Finances unrelated to the Provincial Councils' needs. Their finances are determined by a finance commission on which there is no Provincial representation and to whom they cannot present estimates of need (154-R1). The allocation of funds shall be on considerations quite independent of their legislative program (154.R(4)&(5)) and are not adjudicable (154-R(8)).

To add to these controls is the power of the President to proclaim the nation or region financially unstable, for him to have immediate control of the financial disbursements in the province through his Governor (154-N). This includes the power to reserve the use of provincial funds voted for certain uses and the power to cut provincial salaries, making provincial servants beholden to him rather than the council for their continued existence on secure terms. The question that looms as obvious is how difficult is it to declare a region of a third world nation financially unstable especially when it is unchallengeable.

All of the above comments do not even touch on the controls maintained over supposedly devolved subjects.

Conclusions

We have then a Bill which the government of Sri Lanka will claim was designed to satisfy the demands of the Accord and the Tamil minority. **Tamil refusal to fall into the trap of accepting this pretence of devolution will be interpreted as indicating that the Tamils are extremist fanatics, unwilling to compromise or accept anything short of a separate Tamil homeland - Eelam.** The reality as reflected in this Bill is the Sinhalese refusal to compromise by granting any meaningful federal concessions to the Tamils. It demonstrates once again the unreality of hoping for the relinquishment of the Sinhalese desire to colonise and dominate the Tamil regions. **It gradually convinces one that EELAM is the only solution to escaping Sinhalese discrimination.**

INDIA INDICTED AT UNITED NATIONS

Human Rights Commission -44th Sessions

Our special correspondent in Geneva covering the 44th Session of the U.N Commission on Human Rights, held during February 1 to March 11, reports on proceedings. Extracts from addresses made are reproduced.

International Federation of Human Rights. (F.I.D.H.)

Mme. Fabienne Rouso-Lenoir

"On July 29, 1987, the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and the President of the Republic of Sri Lanka, Junius Jayewardene, signed an agreement with the intention of bringing the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka to an end. **This agreement was made up of two aspects of the question:** The first concerning the cessation of hostilities between the Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan armed forces; the second concerning the institution of an autonomous administrative regime in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

We shall concern ourselves here only with the first aspect of the agreement. According to the terms of the agreement, the **Indian Government contracted to send troops, called the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), to Sri Lanka, with a triple mission, viz.**

- to organise and maintain a cease-fire between the Sri Lankan armed forces and the groups of Tamil militants;
- to ensure the protection and security of the Tamils as well as the members of other communities residing in the northern and eastern provinces;
- to ensure the total surrender of arms by the militant Tamil groups.

After a few days of wavering, all the groups making up the Tamil guerilla force accepted to lay down their arms. However, the IPKF authorities, basing their decision on uncorroborated information that one of the groups of the guerilla force, namely, the LTTE, had not observed the terms of the agreement, launched military operations against the members of the latter group, right from the beginning of October 1987. From this date onwards **IPKF repeatedly**

violated its obligations entered into in the 29 July 1987 agreement.

And so, since early October 1987, under the pretext of effecting a cease-fire, the Indian troops have undertaken military operations with the aim of bringing under their control the areas held by the LTTE militants. **As far as the civilian population was concerned, the IPKF operations have been extremely lethal, marked by atrocities committed by the Indian military personnel, in no way justified by the needs of maintaining order.**

According to information and corroborated testimony that the International Federation of Human Rights holds at the disposal of the Commission, **the IPKF launched massive air and mortar bombardments, especially at night, indiscriminately aiming at civilian housing where the militants were supposed to be found, particularly public buildings such as schools and temples where the civilian population thought fit to find refuge.** The intensity and the deadly nature of the battles have caused numerous civilians to flee the Jaffna peninsula to seek 'refuge' in the hope of ensuring their safety, in the Vavuniya region. This exodus often took place under extremely difficult conditions. Since the IPKF helicopters shot at sight any moving vehicle by day or by night, the refugees avoided all means of road transport. The civilians also chose to avoid the main thoroughfares for fear of being bombarded. As a result, the journey through jungle, in this period of the year, from Jaffna to Vavuniya took between twenty to forty days.

Moreover, the IPKF has prepared a blockade of the Jaffna peninsula, thus making it impossible to provide the civilian population with fresh supplies which precipitated a situation of dire want. During the period of hos-

tilities, it is to be noted, the civilian population was deprived of even the basic nutritive elements. Even if the IPKF had subsequently proceeded to distribute food supplies, it was undertaken in such a discriminatory way that the supposed sympathisers of the LTTE were deprived of them.

In addition, it is an incontrovertible fact today that **the IPKF were guilty of murderous acts committed without any justification.** So it was that under the pretext of regaining control of the Jaffna Hospital, **nurses and doctors were executed cold-bloodedly.** Deserted civil buildings - a direct consequence of the embattled situation - were ransacked. Acts of rape too have been perpetrated. It is therefore clear that the IPKF has not respected one of the terms of the agreement underwriting the security of the civilian population. **The IPKF may not therefore shift the blame on to the LTTE** who, it is presumed, refused to lay down their arms.

First of all, some Westerners who were able to visit Vavuniya in December 1987 witnessed that certain militant groups presumed to have laid down their arms were still armed to the teeth. These militants regrouped under the banner of **"Three Stars" behaved as though they were the militia and summarily executed, rightly or wrongly, suspected individuals thought to be LTTE militants.** Citizens' Committees have testified that these groups operated with the backing of the IPKF. Arrests and disappearances of persons are rife. The families of persons so concerned have no clue whatsoever as to where or why they may have been detained.

One cannot but be skeptical about the Indian Government's declarations since it systematically refuses to let the CICR into Jaffna where it might perform its invested, hum-

anitarian mission. Likewise, no international observer has been authorised entry into the region in order to verify, as the case may be, if there had been human rights violations. The F.I.D.H. is seriously worried about the rapid deterioration of the situation in Sri Lanka and of the state of permanent insecurity that the civilian population is subjected to.

The F.I.D.H. requests the Commission on Human Rights to plead with the Indian and Sri Lankan governments to take the following measures:

- to respect their obligations, taken under the terms of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and to permit without delay and without any limitation the presence of the CICR over there;

- to authorise without condition the right of access of the H.C.R. in all the provinces of Sri Lanka.

- to authorise the entry of non-governmental international observers into the Jaffna peninsula and the eastern provinces in order that they may freely investigate the state of the rights of man in these areas.

- to permit the HCR, the ICRC and other N.G.Os the right to visit detainees and prisoners-of-war.

- to proclaim immediately a cease-fire and to commence at once negotiations with the participation of international observers.
- to abrogate the Prevention of Terrorism Act, a law which enables the security forces, both military and police, to arrest any one, at any time, without the observance of any judicial procedure, a law which is the cause of numerous disappearances.
- to liberate all Tamil prisoners, whether political or otherwise."

International Indian Treaty Council

Robert Cruz

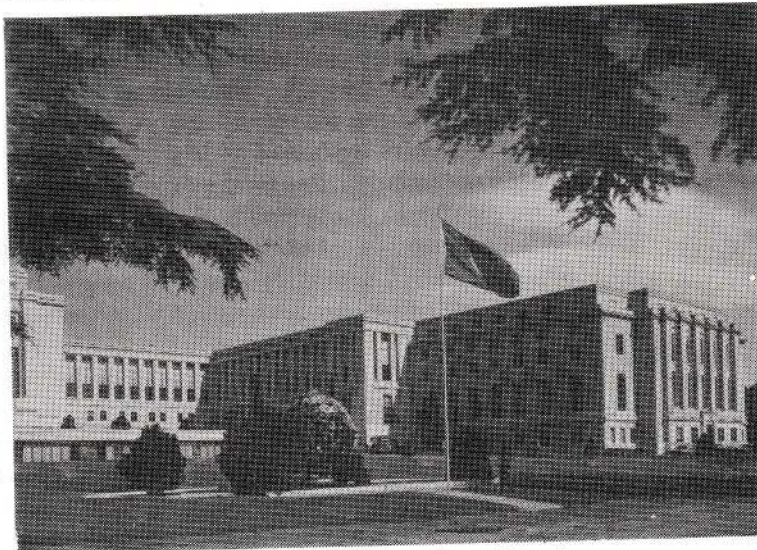
"Since our leaders visited Sri Lanka in 1979, we have been concerned with the Tamil indigenous population in that country. We welcomed the July

1987 Indo- Sri Lankan Accord as a step forward for peace and justice for Tamils. Tragically, Tamils continue to suffer because of the war against them and the atrocities committed by the Indian Peace Keeping Force. **We ask all to join us in urging India to accept the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) offer of a cease fire that can lead the way to guarantee Tamils all their rights as a People."**

Disabled Peoples' International

Karen Parker

"The Commission, in its resolution 1987/61, requested the parties to the Sri Lanka conflict to comply with humanitarian norms and to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross to fulfill humanitarian activ-



Geneve - Palais Des Nations

ities regarding the victims of the armed conflict. Unfortunately, **Sri Lankan civilians now suffer violations of humanitarian law with a devastating effect on life and limb.** In addition, **the International Committee of the Red Cross has not yet been granted the requested access to victims.**

Of particular concern to Disabled Peoples' International in any armed conflict situation are armed attacks on hospitals in violation of Article 18 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. In the Sri Lanka conflict, Manipay Green Hospital, Tellipalai Hospital and the Philip Nursing Home were shelled by the Indian Peace Keeping Force

in October, 1987. The large government hospital in Jaffna was also attacked, and an eye-witness who escaped with serious injuries reported that at least 200 patients died. Several doctors and nurses were also killed. Eye-witnesses said most wounded bled to death because there was no one to attend on them.

We immediately expressed our concern to representatives of the **Government of India, who in admitting the attack, alleged to us that members of the opposition forces had sought shelter in the hospital.** Our information indicates that several members of the opposition forces may have been at the hospital.

However, Article 19 of the Fourth Geneva Convention is patently clear: **protection of hospitals only ceases if the hospital is used to**

commit acts harmful to the enemy, and then only after "due warning" and a "reasonable time limit." The mere presence of some opposition combatants is insufficient cause. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights agreed with us on this point, when in its decision of 17 April 1986 in our case 9213 (reprinted in the 1986/87 Annual Report of the IACHR), it found admissibility based on prima facie violations of

the right to life in spite of Respondent Government's assertion that enemy soldiers were at the hospital in question.

Article 16 of the Fourth Geneva Convention requires the parties to a conflict to search for and attend to killed and wounded persons. The Indian Peace Keeping Force abandoned the sick and wounded in these hospitals, even though they were responsible for their injuries.

Another incident occurred at Punalai Bridge, where **at least 15 fleeing refugees were killed and 15 injured.** The injured sought aid at Moolai Hospital, subsequently bombed on November 8. Violations at the hands of opposition forces are certain

to have occurred, though verification of responsible parties has been extremely difficult.

The events we describe and many others we could present have been verified to us beyond doubt through direct communication with, inter alia, the highest Church officials in the region, Representatives of European Organisations on the scene, the families of numerous victims (Tamils and Sinhalese), and the foreign press.

We urge the Commission to request the Special Rapporteur for Human Rights and Disability to investigate these and other incidents involving the parties to the conflict in Sri Lanka with an aim of ameliorating suffering. We sincerely regret the loss of life and injuries on all sides - rehabilitation needs will be difficult to meet. **We ask all Members and Observers to urge a cease-fire and peaceful settlement of the disputes between the parties in Sri Lanka and to assist with humanitarian aid for the victims.**

Minority Rights Group

*Martin Ennals of
International Alert*

"I speak on behalf of the Minority Rights Group to recall to the Commission its resolution on 12th March 1987 on the subject of the conflict in Sri Lanka.

In that resolution the Commission unanimously voted to recommend - inter alia - that the International Committee of the Red Cross should be enabled to fulfil its mandated functions of protecting victims of conflict visiting prisoners, and providing relief and rehabilitation without prejudice or discrimination.

In the 12 intervening months there have been many developments in Sri Lanka, but **strife and killings continue, human rights are violated and the ICRC is still unable to visit places of detention, meet the victims and dispense relief.**

There has been however the Peace Accord between Sri Lanka and India which was initially accepted by all parties and which left many of those concerned about Sri Lanka in a state of euphoria believing that

the future was secure. The 29th July 1987 was the date on which the Indian Peace Keeping Force was invited to Sri Lanka as an interim instrument towards a constitutional settlement providing regional elections for Provincial Councils. The militant Tamil groups agreed to surrender their arms to the IPKF and peace seemed possible. The hopes were premature. Violence recommenced. Violence attracted violence and the syndrome of conflict was repeated.

Violations of human rights, by the IPKF, by the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) and by Security Forces were reported in abundance. International NGOs, individual observers, newspaper reports and official statements **all acknowledged that extra-judicial killings, murders of civilians, and countless other violations were carried out by all those involved in the conflict.**

The purpose of this intervention, Mr. Chairman, is not to point a finger at any of the parties to the conflict as being specifically responsible. All are probably guilty of excesses which have been documented. Reports have been received from Asdia Watch, the Canadian Churches, International Alert, Amnesty International and many others. The press, both in India and Sri Lanka, and internationally, have all carried stories which justify concern no matter which side of the conflict is being reported.

The purpose of this intervention is to highlight the role which the international community can play - **a responsibility recognised by the Commission in 1987 which cannot be simply ignored or forgotten in 1988.**

There are several elements on international community involvement in the conflicts of Sri Lanka.

1. Refugees; The UNCHR is operating in Sri Lanka and is well placed to understand the situation and to advise both refugees and governments on the problems which confront returnees or those who decide to seek asylum. Refugees have been returned from Europe against their will and despite the advice of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. More European governments are threatening to do the same. The Indian government is encouraging those Tamils who have sought san-

ctuary in Madras to return and many are confused as to whether their return is required or voluntary. The UN can surely amongst its members agree to respect the right of asylum to which refugees are entitled, and to which governments are committed. Of course, it is essential that people return to their homes so that the Accord can be fulfilled and elections held. But while violence continues so does fear.

The Geneva Conventions and international humanitarian law are quite clear that the International Committee of the Red Cross is independent, neutral and charged with the implementation of the conventions. To admit the Red Cross (ICRC) is to fulfil obligations; not to concede criticism. **The Human Rights Commission of the UN in 1987 recognised this and addressed recommendations to the Sri Lanka government with the endorsement of India. The plight of the victims has not changed and the role of the ICRC deserves the same backing in 1988 as in 1987.**

Conflict cannot be resolved without dialogue. Today there are women on hunger strike in Batticaloa to persuade those responsible that dialogue should re-commence. There can be no peace without talk; no settlement without dialogue. **If the alternative to talk is killings, then talk must be the preferred option.** The UN rapporteur, HE Mr. Amos Wako referred to Sri Lanka in his report which was presented on March 1st. A positive response from the Commission would reflect the anxiety and policy reflected by the 1987 resolution and endorse the positive initiatives taken by India and Sri Lanka since 1987, while reflecting an appreciation of the political and physical fears felt by minorities seeking protection of their rights to life and safety."

Joint submission by fifty nine Tamil Organisations

Fifty nine Tamil Organisations representing the International Tamil Community have jointly appealed.

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PEACE ACCORD THAT BROUGHT WAR, VIOLENCE, DEATH AND DESTRUCTION

(continuation from Vol.1 No.4)

VIOLATION OF PEACE ACCORD

What angered the Tamils most was that Sri Lanka, immediately following the signing of the Accord, launched a massive programme of colonising the Tamil areas with Sinhalese settlers under the cover of rehabilitation and re-settlement. **Thousands of new Sinhalese settlers were brought to Trincomalee, Mullaitivu and Vavuniya areas and settled in Tamil villages. These villages were deserted by Tamil peasants who were up-rooted from their traditional lands by racial violence and state terrorism.** To further provoke Tamil anger, Sri Lanka started opening up police stations in Tamil areas with Sinhala personnel. Alarmed over these developments we registered our protest with India but no action was taken.

One of the assurances given by the Indian Prime Minister was the formation of an Interim Government with LTTE playing a dominant role. We were also assured that the problem of re-settlement and rehabilitation of Tamil refugees and the formation of a Tamil Police Force would be the responsibility of the Interim Administration. But neither Sri Lanka nor India took any concrete steps to form the Interim Government. There was a calculated delay in this matter and Sri Lanka continued with her colonisation programme and started inducting a Sinhalese police administrative machinery in the North.

INDUCTION OF ARMED TAMIL GROUPS

What was more disturbing at that time was the arrival of armed Tamil groups from South India who, with the patronage of the IPKF, established bases in the North and East and started harassing the LTTE as well as the public.

We were rather shocked and surprised why the Government of India

chose to arm these groups and to dispatch them to the Tamil areas at a sensitive time when the peace process was being introduced and disarming of the LTTE was taking place. This is one of the reasons **that led to our disenchantment with Indian policy on the Tamil issue.**

Because of these negative developments, the LTTE launched a fast-unto-death campaign spearheaded by our political wing leader Mr. Thileepan seeking redress to our grievances. The campaign soon expanded into a mass non-violent movement with the active participation of the popular masses. At the initial stages the **Indian Government ridiculed the non-violent campaign of the LTTE but soon realised that it was turning into a massive national uprising with mounting anti-Indian feelings.** The Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Dixit rushed to Jaffna to listen to our grievances on the 9th day of the fast, when Thileepan was reaching the brink of death. **Mr. Dixit offered vague assurances which failed to meet our demands. The fast continued and Thileepan died. It is after Thileepan's death, and when the mass agitation took a serious turn into a national outcry, that Mr. Dixit came with proposals to set up an interim administration. If the Government of India had acted without delay Thileepan's life would have been saved.**

SCUTTling INTERIM ADMINISTRATION

The proposed interim administration soon ran into serious difficulty when President Jayawardene announced the list of names contrary to the order of preference suggested by the LTTE. Sri Lanka demanded from us a list of names for the Chief Administrator as well as the members of the Council. The list was given in the order of preference giving larger representation to the people of the East

tern Province. Jayawardene deliberately changed names and rejected LTTE's nominee for the Chief Administrator. Finally, the proposed Interim Government was dropped. The Sri Lanka Government deliberately sabotaged it and blamed the LTTE for its "intransigence." The Government of India supported Sri Lanka's stand. **Once again, the Tamils were betrayed.**

It was during this time that a tragic incident occurred with far-reaching consequences which further added to the estrangement of relations between India and the LTTE. It was the incident in which two LTTE regional commanders and ten senior members were compelled to commit suicide in the custody of the IPKF. Though these LTTE leaders were arrested by the Sri Lankan Navy on the coastal waters of Point Pedro, they were kept in the protective custody of the IPKF at Palaly Camp. Sri Lanka demanded that these LTTE men should be taken to Colombo for 'interrogation'. But the Government of India gave us an assurance that they would be released soon. **The arrested Tiger leaders had already warned both Sri Lanka and India that they would swallow cyanide capsules and kill themselves rather than face torture and possible death at the hands of Sri Lankan security forces.** We argued with the Government of India that the arrest of these LTTE leaders constitutes a serious violation of the Accord since LTTE men were given general amnesty. We also insisted that **the protection of the lives of our members was the responsibility of the IPKF which assumed the role of avoiding conflicts between the Sri Lankan security forces and Tamil guerrillas.** We also warned India of a possible outburst of violence if the LTTE men were massacred.

Our plea to secure the release of our leaders was a minor concession we demanded from both India and Sri Lanka who had just entered into a

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PEACE ACCORD THAT BROUGHT WAR, VIOLENCE, DEATH AND DESTRUCTION

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major agreement to resolve the ethnic conflict. But Jayawardene was very obstinate. The Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Dixit, who held lengthy discussions with Sri Lankan President failed in his diplomatic endeavour. The result was a great tragedy. The massacre of twelve prominent LTTE men, who were great heroes of the Tamil Liberation war, outraged Tamil sentiments. Puleran, the regional commander of Trincomalee and Kumarappa, the former regional commander of Batticaloa, were highly respected leaders in the Eastern Province who had spearheaded a courageous resistance campaign against Sri Lankan security forces in defence of the people. The tragic circumstances in which they were killed angered the Tamil population and there was widespread violence and racial clashes in the Eastern Province which resulted in the death of several, mainly Sinhalese civilians. Ignoring the outraged sentiments of an angry people and the provocative circumstances which led to the outbreak of spontaneous mass violence, both Sri Lanka and India accused the LTTE of master-minding racial conflict. What followed was a top level conference in Colombo between India and Sri Lanka in which a series of tough measures, including military action against the LTTE, were decided upon.

DECLARATION OF WAR

While the LTTE and the people of Tamil Eelam were mourning over their dead heroes, the Government of India mobilised its Peace Keeping Force for a bloody war against the Tamils. Neither the Tamil people, nor the LTTE, anticipated, even in their wildest dreams, a war with India. For the Tamils, India was their protector, guardian and saviour; and the presence of the Indian troops was looked upon as an instrument of peace and love. For the LTTE, India was their

promoter, a friendly power who provided sanctuary and armed assistance, an ally who respected its role in the liberation war and recognised its political importance. Therefore, the Indian decision to launch a war against the LTTE shook the Tamil nation by surprise and anguish.

DEADLY WEAPONS

What horrified the Tamil people was the brutal and ruthless manner in which the Indian troops conducted the military campaign in callous disregard for human life and property. The war was a nightmare. To break through the LTTE's stiff resistance and to capture Jaffna town, which took nearly two weeks, the Indian troops used all its available fire-power in a most ruthless manner in the densely populated areas of the Peninsula. The most deadly weaponry that caused heavy casualties among the civilian population were the mortar and artillery shells. **From all the military camps mortar and artillery shells rained on the people from every direction for 24 hours a day continuously for weeks.** There was no escape. People were killed everywhere. The civilians who took shelter in temples, schools, and even refugee camps were not spared. Dead bodies were littered everywhere. The injured bled to death. Yet the Indian army kept on shelling irrespective of the mass killing of civilians. Bombers and helicopter gunships continued pounding civilian targets adding to the death and devastation of innocent people. When the Indian troops advanced interior they wrought havoc. **Innocent civilians, including women and children, were massacred in a most barbaric manner.** Houses were destroyed, temples desecrated and shops looted.

BRUTAL RAPE

The worst crime committed by the Indian troops was the rape of Tamil women. Hundreds of Tamil women were raped brutally and most of them were done to death after sexual violence. This brutality deeply wounded the sentiments of the people and the hate for the Indian army became widespread. The IPKF was renamed the Innocent People

Killing Force. Among the most brutal massacres committed by the IPKF was the mass killing at the Jaffna General Hospital. The Indian troops stormed into the Hospital and killed in cold blood over a hundred and injured scores of people. Four doctors were senselessly slaughtered and several nurses raped and murdered. **In this ruthless military campaign, 1,400 innocent Tamil civilians were killed and several thousands injured. Colossal damage was done to Tamil property.**

MALICIOUS PROPAGANDA

The Indian Government's assertion that the LTTE fighters used women and children as human shields was a baseless lie. The IPKF propaganda that old women were armed with pistols, children carried hand grenades, and young girls hid sub-machine guns under their skirts was nothing but fabricated tales concocted to justify the unacceptable rate of civilian casualties. **The truth is that the Indian army intelligence miscalculated the LTTE's strength, fire-power and its fierce determination to resist.** When pressurised by Delhi policy-makers to do a quick job, the IPKF waded in, using maximum fire-power in total disregard of civilian casualties. Apart from the casualties inflicted, the IPKF brought extreme hardships to the civilian population. Electricity was cut-off purposely for more than two months, which plunged the entire Jaffna Peninsula into darkness and paralysed all industrial work. Water supply too was cut off. IPKF banned public and private transport putting a halt to food and medical supplies reaching the Peninsula from Southern Sri Lanka. There was a ban on fishing. Such harsh measures drove the civilian population to the brink of starvation. There was total disruption of the socio-economic life of the people. The other unpopular measure that brought immense suffering to the civilian population was a round-the-clock curfew imposed on the Peninsula which lasted for more than two months. **Even today, after three-and-a-half months of the declaration of war, dusk-to-dawn curfew continues.**

NEWS BLACK-OUT

The inhuman brutalities and other cruel crimes committed on our people by the Indian troops could not be brought to the notice of the world community because of the total black-out of news by India. International media was prevented from entering the 'war zone'. The occasional press notes released by the LTTE was branded as malicious distortion of truth. On the first day of the war itself the Jaffna local newspapers were forcefully silenced. The **Indian troops stormed into these newspaper offices, arrested the journalists and blasted the printing machinery with explosives.** The Tamils were shocked beyond belief to see India which claims to be the guardian of democratic liberties, had adopted this high-handed method to muzzle the local media which functioned as the only voice of our people. Having suppressed the local press, and blocked the international media, the Government of India effectively utilised the state-controlled media to put out fabricated stories about the war and to malign the LTTE.

We pleaded with India to send a team of observers from Amnesty International and International Commission of Jurists to investigate the violations of human rights and extra-judicial killings but our request was turned down.

Today, after six months of the signing of the Accord, the war continues with its violence and destruction of life. **The Indian claim that peace and normalcy are returning to Tamil areas is far from the truth. The conditions of war prevail and human suffering continues.** The IPKF and LTTE guerrillas are still engaged in violent confrontation. Cordon-off operations, house-to-house searches, search and destroy missions, mass identification parades, arrests, detention and torture of Tamil youth continues unabated by the IPKF. The deployment of several thousand troops has turned the Jaffna Peninsula into a massive military encampment. There are military sentry posts in every junction and on main roads, where rigorous checking systems operate. There is no freedom of public mobility. The

Tamil areas are placed under a rigid military administration. This situation cannot be described as normal. The Government of India assumes that the time is ripe for the induction of a political process and polls in Tamil areas. But the Tamils feel that **this artificial normalcy achieved by military occupation and domination is not a congenial atmosphere for democratic political practice.**

The LTTE has been pleading with the Government of India, since the beginning of the war, to call off the military offensive, to declare a ceasefire and to initiate a dialogue to bring about peace and normalcy. The LTTE asks for a status-quo-ante, the return of the Indian troops to pre-offensive positions and the re-activation of the 28th September Agreement which allows the formation of an Interim Government. The Government of India has rejected outright LTTE's suggestions and demands total surrender and unconditional acceptance of the Accord.

PLEA FOR NEGOTIATION

The Indian position is unfair, unjust and undemocratic. This intransigent attitude will prolong the conflict and perpetuate the agony of our people. It is the Tamil people who have the liberty to decide their own political destiny. **The Government of India has no right to super-impose a political framework which the Tamil opinion feels totally inadequate, and fall short of their legitimate political aspirations.** But if the Government of India attempts to do so it will amount to a grave injustice done to our people. We call upon this forum to give urgent and serious consideration to the predicament of our people, and urge the Government of India to abandon its militaristic approach and initiate negotiations with the LTTE to find a peaceful negotiated settlement to the Tamil issue. **We appeal to this body and to the humanitarian conscience of the civilised world to rescue this helpless and voiceless people, particularly as they have no other avenues for redress, by ensuring that human rights violations are minimised**

through the immediate intervention of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, The International Red Cross and other international humanitarian organisations. Please save the Tamils.

ATTACKING THE ACCORD

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natory, but the events of the last four years cannot cloud the fact that **India has traditionally had close ties with the SLFP.**" In characteristic opposition bravura Anura Bandaranaike declared publicly, "IF WE COME TO POWER, WE WILL SEND THE IPKF PACKING IN 24 HOURS." He later admitted that total withdrawal of the IPKF may not be possible but that the SLFP would definitely strive to reduce its number.

Despite public posturings, even seemingly virulent anti-Indian Sinhala politicians concede, "FRIENDSHIP WITH INDIA HAS TO BE THE CORNER-STONE OF SRI LANKA'S FOREIGN POLICY." India is recognised, though grudgingly, as the regional superpower. A hostile India can easily foment trouble in the north and east through the Tamil guerrillas. An anti-Indian Sri Lankan Government could be inextricably trapped between the anvil of Tamil insurgency in the north and the hammer of JVP terrorism in the south. No government can hope to survive the resulting turbulence and anarchy. As an Indian official put it, **"IF THE GOVERNMENT DOESN'T HONOUR THE PACKAGE AND INSISTS ON THE PREMATURE WITHDRAWAL OF THE IPKF, SRI LANKA WILL BE DIVIDED. ONLY THIS ACCORD CAN KEEP THE COUNTRY TOGETHER."** That conclusion is, right now, the only hope the accord has of success.

(Extracts: Anita Pratap, in Colombo. Courtesy INDIA TODAY. Feb. 15, 1988.)

CITIZENS WITHOUT A COUNTRY

(Less than 10 per cent of the 1/2 million Tamil plantation workers from Sri Lanka, who were repatriated to India under the Shastri-Srimavo Pact of 1964, have been properly rehabilitated. Government schemes have been thoughtless and badly managed. Despite this, the government is planning to accommodate another two or three lakh plantation Tamils under these schemes, reports T.N.Gopalan)

Any time now plantation Tamils of Indian origin in Sri Lanka granted Indian citizenship would be reaching our shores. The flow, which remained suspended since 1984, will resume now.

Barely 10 per cent of 4.6 lakh plantation Tamils repatriated since 1968 have been rehabilitated in the proper sense of the term - that is, they are wage-earners of some status. The rest have been pauperised, **the men-folk crushed in bondage, and women pushed into prostitution - dehumanisation on a colossal scale.** Several programmes which were meant to rehabilitate the repatriates have failed. Despite this, instead of evaluating the programmes and devising more meaningful ones, the central government seems determined to drag in two to three lakh more people into these inadequate schemes.

A senior official in the Social Welfare ministry recently told this correspondent, "Look, we accept all your criticism. We have to dismantle the present programmes and start afresh. But where is the time? **The young man (the PM) is in a hurry.** Apparently smarting under snipings that his accords never work, he has decided that at least clause 2.16 of the July 1987 accord between the two countries (India and Sri Lanka) shall be put into effect...." (The said clause deals with the return of Tamil refugees to Lanka and repatriation of plantation Tamils).

In 1948, hundreds of thousands of plantation Tamils born and brought up in Sri Lanka suddenly found themselves decitizenised. (Their fathers and grandfathers had been taken there as indentured labour from the southern district of Tamil Nadu.) **Jaffna Tamils cold-shouldered them. Their own leaders like S.Thondaman betrayed them. Recurrent communal riots**

continuously disrupted their lives. Further, parliamentary measures, supreme court rulings and the 1954 agreement between Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his counterpart Sir John Kotelawala, all served only to turn the knife in the wound.



Did he not betray?

An then came the cruel and inhuman pact of 1964 which set off, as it were, an infinite number of time-bombs which continue to explode to this day. There just seems to be no light at the end of the tunnel into which plantation Tamils were then consigned.

The 1964 Srimavo-Shastri Pact was arrived at without even the formal motions of consultations with the representatives of the affected community. Even the president of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, S.Thondaman, an ever-pliable instrument in the hands of Sinhalese politicians, was not invited to participate in the negotiations between the two countries.

Of the estimated 9.75 lakh plantation Tamils of Indian origin, 5.25 lakh were to be granted Indian citizenship, and three lakh Sri Lankan citizenship. The status of the remaining 1.5 lakh was to be decided later. But as it turned out, the total number of applicants for Lankan and Indian citizenships put together was 11 lakhs.

While by a subsequent agreement the two governments split equally between them the estimated balance of 1.5 lakh, the approximately 1.25 lakh more applicants have not been accounted for so far. In fact, as of now, **an estimated five lakh Tamils of Indian origin are leading a ghostly existence in Sri Lanka, with neither government willing to acknowledge their existence.**

Incidentally, seven lakh Tamils had applied for Lankan citizenship and only four lakh for Indian. With both the governments playing an appallingly callous game of numbers, all norms of justice and fair play have been thrown to the winds.

Article 15 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights declares, "Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality."

As the authors of "Engengum Anniyamaakkap Paddavarkal" (Alienated Everywhere), an authoritative work on the plight of the repatriates, bitterly observe, **"Nothing but exile on an unprecedented scale."**

As much as 83.47 per cent of those repatriated so far have been given assistance under the Business Loans Scheme. Most of them have not returned to obtain the second instalment of the loan. Nothing could have been more senseless than doling out Rs.3,000 per family, advise them to start some business or other, to show some results and avail the second instalment of Rs.2,000, and then forget them completely. **These people, traditionally used to plucking tea-leaves and dutifully carrying out the orders of their masters, were asked to turn businessmen overnight in a place whose culture and clime was alien to them.**

Predictably, they all came to grief. Today it is these men and women who drift into hill areas to eke out a miser

able existence under harrowing conditions. **R.Sivalingam, Director, Repatriates Research Organisation, states** "This scheme is reponsible for pauperising a majority of the repatriates and should be scrapped forthwith. Some other imaginative plans have to be thought of, if the government is serious about rehabilitation."

Land colonisation schemes, under which more than 2,000 families were given agricultural land to live on, have failed because the land was not fit for cultivation, there was water scarcity, and the technical know-how and capital for reclaiming the land were not available for the beneficiaries.

State farm corporations, located on sprawling acreages in Neyveli, Kancheepuram and Puthukoddai in Tamil Nadu, have all been closed down one by one because of **"non-viability"**, a euphemism for **corruption and mismanagement**.

Even as those thus rehabilitated are being continuously driven to the wall, **unscrupulous businessmen and the ubiquitous middlemen are having a field day**. For instance, the repatriate Co-operative Finance and Development bank advances Rs.25,000 towards working capital per repatriate employed to any private enterprise offering to do so. Those who were well-connected obtained loans, made a show of employing the repatriates, closed shop thereafter and vanished into thin air.

Some gave the repatriate employees the boot after a time, and still others keep them in virtual bondage. And then there were enterprises which remained only on paper. How many lakhs of rupees have thus gone down the drain is anybody's guess. Yet the scheme is still in operation.

Apart from those given jobs in co-operative enterprises and plantations, tea, concona, rubber and cardamon (the latter category accounting for 3.03 per cent of the rehabilitated), **the rest are on the streets**.

"Engengum Anniyamaakkap Padavarkal", cited earlier, portrays the heart-rending distortions in the family psyche caused by the family-card syndrome - the card which entitles repatriates to government

assistance. **Sons quarrel with and beat their own parents demanding that the cards be transferred to their own names, daughters want them as dowry, parents cling to them as their only security. Marriages have been delayed, prostitution has increased.**

A committee of some human rights personalities which looked into the issue recently has suggested that repatriates be absorbed in rubber and red oil palm plantations which the government is planning to open up in the Andaman and Nicobar islands. If only the government would bring in additional acreage (apart from that planned) under cultivation, as many as an estimated 10,000 repatriate families could be rehabilitated.

The repatriate bank loan scheme has worked well in the case of well-established co-operative enterprises. A radical restructuring of the bank itself and choosing enterprises with a sound financial base could increase employment opportunities for repatriates.

Even the farm corporations could be re-opened and entrusted to managements with integrity and human concern.

The present practice of writing off a repatriate family after doling out assistance in some form or another should be given up, and a continuous monitoring, for a period of at least five years after arrival, could be considered.

Seven years ago, in a survey of the living conditions of repatriates, this writer quoted Sivanandan, a noted repatriate poet, as saying, **"The entire social structure in this country is rotten. At least back in Lanka, constrained to lead almost a kind of community life because of the contingencies of plantation work, we were evolving into a better type of society. Unless there is a wholesale change of values here, I don't look forward to anything better happening."** Sadly, it does not look like this requiem will ever lose its poignancy or validity.

(Indian Express, Bombay.

Mar 6, 1988)
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BATTICALOA MOTHERS' FAST

The death fast undertaken by the Batticaloa Mothers' Front continues. Three Sri Lankan medical personnel who examined the fasting mother Mrs. Annammah David (58) pronounced her situation as being critical. Two members of the Mothers' Front are fasting in sympathy with Mrs. David. The relay fast is conducted in periods of 24 hours.

Reports from Batticaloa said that Mrs. David's kidneys had stopped working. She is expected to relapse into a coma by Sunday. According to medical reports there seems to be no hope that Mrs. David would survive. Indian army officials led by Brigadier I.M.Dhar have been associated in talks with the Mothers' Front for the past few days in a bid to persuade the organisation to call off the fast. The meetings were held at the Manresa, Batticaloa, rest-house and Sumaithangi IPKF camps.

Mothers' Front sources told that they had informed the Indian authorities that two of their members had commenced the fast requesting the Indians to declare a cease-fire and enter unconditional negotiations. The LTTE was asked to lay down arms and enter into negotiations without conditions. According to the Mothers' Front they had requested one mother to call off the fast when the LTTE informed them that they would enter negotiations. It was the Mothers' Front view that a cease-fire announcement should emanate from the Indian side.

The Front also issued an appeal to the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. J.N. Dixit, to view the fast on humanitarian terms and take steps to bring about peace. Meanwhile, several organisations representing students, teachers, clergymen, workers, government servants, businessmen, etc. have expressed solidarity for the fast. Over 200 members of the Jaffna Mothers' Front are scheduled to hold a sympathy fast in the Nallur Kailasapillayar Kovil premises.

The student organisations of Batticaloa have started to embark on fasts of a similar nature with a view to attracting the attention of the government to the utter helplessness of the people of Tamil Eelam.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT

(continued from Vol.1 No.4 issue)

DEEPAVALI 'FIREWORKS'

From 14th to 20th it was a common sight to see one or two helicopters accompanying a bomber. For me it was something new. But others seemed to be very familiar with the sight. They had their own name for each. The helicopter which accompanies the bomber is known as the 'task bearer', for it instructs the bomber about the places to be bombed. One which hovers alone for sometime is the 'spy'. The sea 'plane' is the 'photographer'. When we tune our radio, the FM band, we could clearly hear the instructions. The people were sure that the 'bomber' could not stay for more than 45 minutes. They had listened to the conversation "The stuff is over, I am returning. Follow me to". So, it is either the fuel or the explosives that do not last for more than 45 minutes.

It was with horror I watched the bomber dip low, drop something like fire balls and move away with lightning speed. Everyday we had some injured people coming for treatment, and during that week we had four deaths.

The 20th and 21st October are days of feasting for the Hindu majority of Jaffna citizens. Every Hindu celebrates the festival of lights 'Deepavali'. This year these two days saw the worst military offensive. Instead of crackers there were shell blasts. Around 11 a.m. we saw bombs being dropped at a place very close to our house. Several bombs were dropped at the same place, and there was fire and thick black smoke. Later we heard that the target was a five-storeyed building and the jetty. Some thatched huts close by caught fire. A child of five was killed on the spot and five of them were brought to our place for treatment. Around 4 p.m. I was standing at the OPD and I saw a man throwing his bike away and rushing towards us shouting, "He is alive..... He is breathing ...We are bringing him..." As I was wondering what he meant another cyclist came in with a man doubled over his bike soaked in blood. We carried him to the OPD and as we put him on the table he

passed away. He was found lying on the road probably injured about half an hour before. There was a wound in his thigh hitting his femoral artery and he had bled to death. No one seemed to know who he was and it took about half an hour to get in touch with his relatives. He was 35 years old, father of two children, and the third baby was due any time then.

We had a few more casualties in the evening and by 8 p.m. we gathered in our hall for an hour of quiet prayer. At 8-40 p.m. all the hospital staff were called out to the OPD. **Two shells had fallen at Girls' High School, Chundukuli, where about 20,000 people had taken shelter.** It was pitch-dark and the people had been running for shelter. **Four had died on the spot and 35 injured. One van was hired to take the injured to the Government Hospital.** Three of the injured were brought here, one on a motor-bike, the other two on cycles; and we were asked to be ready to receive the others. Another five arrived after some time. There were no vehicles available to bring the other injured. With the curfew on, no one wanted to take the risk. After an hour, four arrived in a handcart. **Can you imagine our feeling at that moment? Did we ever dream that we would be forced to use a handcart to take a seriously injured patient to hospital?** A child of three was carried by his grandfather, dead in his arms. When he learnt that the child was dead he left him there and ran back to see the other children. We just could not see where the injury was.

SHELLING FROM EVERY DIRECTION

Later, after we finished attending on the patients, we examined him closely and found a small wound at the back. A tiny piece of shell had found its way to the heart. He was lying on a bench all alone, so beautiful and peaceful and I was wondering how his mother would accept his death.

Two of the injured arrived at 11-30 p.m. Since the shelling continued

fiercely even at midnight, we removed all the patients to the in-patient section, and even brought all those who were upstairs to the ground floor. Some of them were sitting up and there was no space even to stretch themselves comfortably. All the nurses crowded into an adjoining building which had an upstairs floor, and the people from the neighbourhood took shelter in the verandahs. Mothers and children sat up almost the whole night, kept awake by the onslaughts of the mosquitoes and bomb blasts.

That was the story of the 20th and 21st. There was more in store for us. In the morning everyone in the hospital was kept busy dressing wounds and cleaning up the place. Though the bomb blasts continued we had no casualties that day till 3 pm. We had just gone to our house for prayers and as we started we were called out. **There had been shell blasts at the Ayurvedic Orthopaedic clinic as well as at St. Patrick's College.**

At the Orthopaedic Clinic about 25 people had taken shelter. At about 2-30 p.m. a shell fell near the well killing two girls on the spot and injuring one. As the others ran towards the well to help the injured, another shell alighted almost at the same spot. And another fell near the gate. On the whole there were five deaths and eleven people were injured. Those who sustained serious injuries were packed off to the General Hospital, and others came to our place for dressings. At St. Patrick's College, where over 8,000 people had taken refuge two shells struck around 3 p.m. injuring about 15 people. Some of the injured were taken to the G.H. and four of them were brought by car to our hospital. Among the wounded was Mr. Benjamin, brother of Mr. Jesudason of our hospital. He had taken shelter at St. Patrick's College. He sustained a fractures of his right arm and a deep wound in his abdomen. Another old man had fracture of both the right hand and leg and was bleeding profusely; later he succumbed to his injuries.

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NEWS FROM EELAM

U.S. CONCERN

The government of the United States has expressed concern over the Indian naval build-up in Sri Lankan waters and in international waters around Sri Lanka. Diplomatic sources said that the United States was seriously concerned over the lease of Soviet-built submarines to India. The United States government believes that the Soviet made submarines were freely moving around in Sri Lankan waters.

The U.S expression of concern in South Asia was voiced by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near-Eastern and South-Asian Affairs Robert A. Peck when he addressed a congressional panel in Washington.

CUSTOMS MEN AND IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS TO TALAIMANNAR

Currently the Talaimannar pier is not manned by either Customs or Immigration officials. In view of the "expected" rush of refugees into the "paradise" of Sri Lanka from India, the Sri Lankan government appears to be taking efforts to send Customs and Immigration officers to Talaimannar. According to reliable sources officers of the Customs and Immigration are reluctant to go to Talaimannar as they sincerely feel that no one including the Indian Peace Keeping Force can assure their safety in Talaimannar.

INNOCENT TAMILS MASSACRED IN HORAWUPOTANA

According to a BBC news report, masked gunmen in Sri Lanka have attacked a bus and killed at least 16 passengers all of them Tamils. Military officials in Colombo have confirmed that the attackers threw bombs and shot the passengers before setting the bus on fire. It is reported that the bus was travelling on the main road in Horawupotana in Anuradhapura district.

TAMILS PREVENTED FROM SETTLING DOWN

Tamil families which were uprooted from their homes during the recent wave of violence are continuing to roam from place to place as destitutes and vagrants. Hundreds of hill-country Tamil families that went and settled down in Thambalakamam Pier area after the 1977 communal violence were driven away from their homes during the 1983 communal riots. These families tried to get back to their homes after the signing of the peace accord. But they were

not allowed to do so.

The lands in which they were living have been vested with the Port Development Authority. These families remain in refugee camps.

CYANIDE IS THE WAY OUT

According to a news item appearing in the Sri Lankan Sunday Times of 6th March, the Jaffna people have exhorted the power that be to appoint a Commission to inquire into the activities of the IPKF in Jaffna. It is reliably learnt that the Jaffna people have ventilated their grievances in the following terms:- SHOULD there be a repetition of the brutal activities of October-November 1987 by the IPKF at any time in the future in Jaffna, we would be left with no other alternative but to herd all members of the family into one room of our house and then for all of us to take cyanide.

INDIAN SOLDIERS AMBUSHED

According to the latest reports reaching us from Tamil Eelam, during an ambush attack by the LTTE members on the Indian Peace Keeping Force, two Indian soldiers have been killed and one taken captive. This incident is reported to have taken place in the outskirts of Vavuniya.

RANDOM SHOOTING AT ALIYA ODAI

In an unbridled shooting carried out by the Indian Peace Keeping Force at Aliya Oдай in the Batticaloa district, six innocent Tamils have been killed.

INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN TRINCOMALEE

In a separate incident at Kanniya in Trincomalee district, a group of Indian soldiers who had gone on foot for the purpose of indulging in genocidal activities were killed by a landmine that was planted by the Tigers who had a preknowledge of the criminal intention of the Indian soldiers.

SRI LANKAN SOLDIERS KILLED

A group of Sri Lankan soldiers who had set on a mission of hunting down the Tigers in the jungles of Morawewa in the Trincomalee district came to grief when a landmine that was set to devastate the soldiers went off killing six Sinhalese soldiers. This is reported to have taken place on the 24th Feb.1988.

TIGERS ARE STILL POWERFUL IN MANNAR

According to confirmed news reaching London, in a direct clash in Mannar involving the Tigers and the Indian Peace Keeping Force, six Indians soldiers have been shot dead by the Tigers. It is reported that the Indian soldiers, in spite of their numerical strength, had to retrace their steps unable to face the fierce advancement of the Tigers in this incident.

MULLAITIVU IS REINFORCED

Realising that all is not well with Mullaitivu, which the Indian forces once claimed has been rid of the Tigers, the IPKF has started to build up its military strength in Mullaitivu. According to reports, Indian helicopters continue to hover over the Manakulam-Mullaitivu area transporting soldiers and ammunitions.

HOMEGUARDS COULD NOT GUARD THEMSELVES

Unconfirmed sources report that a pack of homeguards living in the Sinhalese Colonisation Scheme at Kokkuthoduvai in the district of Trincomalee, who had gone on a robbery spree into a Tamil village at Munthirikai Kulam, were shot at by the Tamil residents of the village. Though none of the homeguards was killed, two were injured while three managed to run away. The injured two who were in possession of hunting guns were arrested and handed over to the Tamil Tigers.

HOSPITAL STAFF ATTACKED

Dr.Mohanathan, a Dental Surgeon, attached to the base hospital in Kalmunai was seriously hurt and four others were also injured in an incident involving Indian army personnel on March 4th.

According to Kalmunai sources, soldiers from the IPKF camp at the Kalmunai rest house had gone to the residential quarters of the Kalmunai medical staff, at about 7-30 p.m. on Friday. The Indian soldiers were looking for another doctor S.Sasendran of the same hospital for questioning regarding a charge that he had been giving treatment to LTTE men. Dr.Sasendran was not in the medical quarters at that time.

Thereafter the Indian soldiers had assaulted Dr.Mohanathan and three others who were playing bridge with him. A fourth was also injured. The others were Messrs. Selvanayagam, Kailasapathy, Mahendran and Nadanalingam.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT

continued from page 16

There was no way of sending the injured to the G.H. as heavy shelling continued. There was no respite till 5 p.m. We could see shells falling just in front of us into the sea and behind our hospital. One fell in our compound just behind the laundry and two in the temple compound close by. Unlike in the Sri Lankan military offensive, shells were now coming from all directions. The Sri Lankan military was stationed in the Fort and were shelling from there; and people could run away to safer areas. But now the Indian army was coming into Jaffna from all directions and as they were advancing they were shelling. We could clearly see shells coming from at least three directions. We removed all the patients to the ground floor of the in-patients' block.

"LEFT AMMA WITHOUT HER HEAD"

Around 4-30 p.m. Sister Allen came to tell us that there were patients being brought through the rear gate of the hospital. There was such a thick cloud of smoke that I could not see her clearly. As I was watching her coming towards the hospital a shell fell just behind the laundry, and she shook off her slippers and ran towards us. Matron Muthu was in the canteen with the girls getting dinner ready for the patients and we shouted for her to come to the hospital.

About 25 injured people arrived within half an hour. There was hardly any space available and we put them on the floor in the labour room, operating theatre, and in the corridor between. The two to arrive first were shouting at the top of their voices, "I saw her.... I saw her... She is without her head... He is burning..." Moving among them with splints, dressings and bandages was bad enough. We had no time to listen to their tales of woe. At about 5-30 p.m. when the shelling abated we got dinner ready, managed to give a cup of hot tea to all the people, collected water and tried to make the patients as comfortable as possible. I also managed to go back to our house and found all the nurses safe in the hall reciting prayers.

The shelling started again at 7 p.m. and continued till 9-30 p.m. Thank God, there were only two casualties during that time. We neither had the space nor the strength to face another emergency. The

shells were falling all around us and those of us in the hospital thought that they were falling on the Trainee Nurses' Hostel; and those in the hostel thought that the hospital was being damaged. **For more than two hours everyone chanted prayers, amid groanings and moanings and screams of pain.** Many of us prepared to face the life hereafter. We had no place to sit even on the ground. Moving among the patients to observe bleeding or to adjust the position of broken limbs and accommodating ourselves between them, we also joined them in prayer. During the two hours some of us tried to reach our house as we were worried about the safety of the nurses there, but it was not possible. Around 9-45 p.m. too scared even to flash a torch light, we found our way to the house. Thank God, everyone was safe. **All of them including the trainees and working girls had gathered in the hall and were chanting prayers.** We had a quick dinner and I went back to the hospital to relieve the others.

Around 10-30 p.m. a five-year old girl walked up to me and asked, "Sister, will you let me go home?" Knowing that her father was also injured and in the hospital I told her that she could stay with him. Then she told me the pathetic story of how she had left her mother, and said, **"We have left Amma in the cattle shed. She is lying there without her head. I want to go and see her."** She lives just behind our house. Seeing the shells damaging a brick- and-tile house close by they had run to the cattle shed thinking that the damage caused by collapsing mud walls would be minimal. Her mother, who was 8 months pregnant, was holding her to her chest and was lying face downwards. A shell fell severing her head and the head of her nephew who was lying close to her. Her mother, sister, husband and nephews were all injured. A little further away her brother-in-law had been killed. Her sister escaped with minor injuries. When everyone was shouting and calling for help the little girl had crawled out from under her mother. She had a superficial injury on her scalp. **She saw her mother lying without her head. Will she ever be able to forget the incident? Forget the scene?**

(to be continued)

MRS ANNAMMAH ABDUCTED

Mrs David Annammah who was on a fast-until-death has been abducted by the Indian Peace Keeping Force on 16.3.88.

OFFER FOR UNCONDITIONAL TALKS

(A letter dated 9 March, 1988 addressed to Rajiv Gandhi by Velupillai Prabhakaran is reproduced in its entirety)

"I wish to write to you once again to clarify our position with regards to a negotiated settlement and the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord. You will appreciate that our organisation has been appealing to you for peace, for cessation of hostilities, for negotiations to put an end to the unfortunate conflict and to alleviate the suffering of our people. Morally and spiritually we are opposed to this war. We always wish to put an end to this painful tragedy which was not of our choice. In this context we regret to not that the government of India has persistently rejected our urgent and sincere plea for peace.

So far as the Indo-Sri Lankan accord is concerned the LTTE has pledged to co-operate with its implementation. We still insist that the implementation of the accord should safeguard the interest and aspirations of our people. Our concern for the interest of our people is based on our legitimate fear of the chauvinistic attitude of the Sri Lankan regime which has already flouted the accord by failing to fulfil their commitment. In order to honour the demand of the Mothers' Front of Batticaloa we made an open statement on 27th Feb.1988, announcing our readiness for unconditional talks. I officially inform you of our readiness for unconditional talks to resolve all the matters between the government of India and the LTTE. You may be aware that the condition of Mrs. Annamma David has become very serious. She has been fasting unto death for the last 19 days to bring about cease-fire and negotiation.

I urge you earnestly to occasion a cease-fire without further delay and initiate negotiation to discuss all related issues to bring about peace in Tamil areas and save the valuable life of Mrs. Annamma David. I hope that you will give earnest and serious consideration to our appeal."

TAMIL NADU'S BITTER CONTEST

The poll it eyes
With sobs and sighs,
The race is open
Past friendships broken,
The stakes are high,
If DMK wins, the Accord may die.



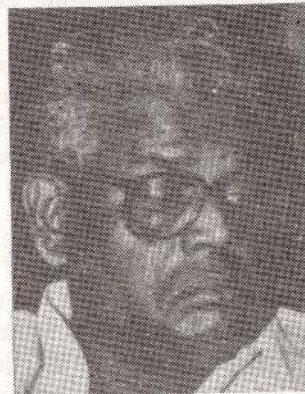
Tears marked Janaki's public meetings in Madurai and Salem, with the Thaikulam (the community of mothers) well represented. She clearly won the sympathy of the massive crowd by breaking down and weeping. A good number of women cried with her. The Janaki group hopes that in the conservative Tamil society, MGR's widow will be more acceptable than his screen lover.



Keeping one step ahead of the others, Jayalalitha has set a hectic pace as she goes about mobilising mass support. She claims the mantle of Puradchi Thalaivar (revolutionary leader) as MGR had steadfastly kept his wife out of politics and had given her (Jayalalitha) pride of place within the AIADMK organisation.



Rajiv has sent G.K. Mooppanar, All India Congress Committee's senior-most General Secretary, to take charge of the Tamil Nadu Congress (I) party. Mooppanar is not a flamboyant figure, but has considerable experience and knowledge of Tamil Nadu in-fighting. He will not be denied the backing of the state administration, now under President's rule.



Karunanidhi has a solid base in Tamil Nadu, but he would need more support to ensure his return to power. His trump card will be the growing disillusion with the IPKF's presence in Sri Lanka, especially of all the atrocities committed in the course of disarming the Tamil Tigers. As of now, the DMK has not given any indication whether it would align itself with the Janaki faction of the AIADMK or Sivaji Ganeshan's new party, Thamizhaga Munnetra Mun-nani (Tamil Nadu Progressive Front).

It will be interesting to see how the other prominent ex-congressman, M.P. Subramaniam, acts. A combination of Karunanidhi, Ganeshan and Subramaniam will be unstoppable.

INDIANS ANGRY AT COLOMBO'S OFFER TO REBELS

Independent Sri Lankan initiatives to make a deal with the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have infuriated India. They have caused the first public falling out between New Delhi and Colombo since the Indo-Sri Lankan accord was signed last July. The Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. J.N. Dixit, said, the proposals, if they lead to an agreement, "would destroy the July accord."

He understands that Sri Lanka is prepared to give the Tigers complete control of the Jaffna peninsula, with its 900,000 inhabitants, if the rebels renounce all claims to the Eastern province. Government in the Northern province, outside the Jaffna peninsula, would be by an unelected administrative council. This would virtually amount to the granting of an autonomous Tamil independent state or Eelam, something Colombo has long sought to avoid. This is clearly not an idea that pleases India. New Delhi's principal bone of contention, however, is that it has not been consulted over the negotiations, something it sees as a moral and legal right.

"We have lost 400 men in Sri Lanka since the accord was signed and no deal should be made outside it", said Mr. Dixit.

Faced with three different elections this year, the Colombo leaders wish to reach an agreement which will get the Indian army out of Sri Lanka as soon as possible. New Delhi, however, seems to favour a long-term strategy that will require its military presence in Sri Lanka for many more months if not years. And India, with 70,000 troops in the North and East, is in a strong position to enforce its will.

Rupert Scott for The Daily Telegraph (March 3, 1988)

— A POINT OF VIEW —

INDIA AS MAJOR REGIONAL POWER

Castrated sovereignty. That is all that Sri Lanka is left with under President J.R.Jayewardene. The former Minister of Finance claims that 'Finlandization' of the island is a small price to pay for India's intervention. We argue that, far from "Finlandization" (in Finland the Soviets cannot go too far because NATO watches developments), India has "Sikkimized" Sri Lanka; and Gandhi tries to make of Jayewardene a "Chogyal" (the ruler of Sikkim), a ruler who does the bidding of his Imperial master with canine docility. Meanwhile, the castrated sovereign like the castaway pig is fattened for the slaughter. That is the significance of the recent durbar in New Delhi when President Jayewardene was chief guest on India's Republic Day. Sri Lanka today is in the grip of an Oriental despotism, one of whose features, to quote Suzanne Hoeber Rudolph, is a genre of "Sultanism" where "the servile subject" is "dependent, infantilized, obedient, without public voice or identity." So Sri Lanka has no V.O.A (Voice Of America), no right to let her ports be used by foreign powers and must send back all her foreign military training advisors.

BALANCE OF POWER

This Indian Accord is heralded as a triumph of regional hegemonial stability by Moscow and Washington. Some politicalised Indians and Indian newspapers hail Gandhi for his diplomatic triumph. But let us be the proverbial Cassandra, the bringer of bad tidings. In World politics, no single power has for long been permitted to hold unchallenged sway. The manoeuvring to bring such a power within the international state system begins on the day it claims regional superiority. We have forgotten too early and too soon, the British concept of "balance of power." Whenever Spain, France or Germany sought hegemony over Europe, British statesmen ensured a return to a balance of power so that Europe will remain in equilibrium.

TYRO AND NOVICE IN POLITICS

This we boldly predict is what will happen to India in Gandhi's dalliance with the Grand Old Man of South Asia. **Our prediction is that President Jayewardene will win against the tyro and novice in politics, Rajiv Gandhi.** Soon Jayewardene will have Gandhi tied in knots over his so-called Accord. Indian troops will have increasing problems in Sri Lanka. And who will restore the balance of power in the sub-continent?

Britain ensured that Philip's Spain (the defeat of the Armada), Napoleon Bonaparte's France and Hitler's Germany were cut to size when they sought regional hegemony. The United States, the super power that it is, is under the surveillance of Fidel Castro, Nicaragua and other potential anti-U.S. rulers in Latin and Central America. How can India be provided unrestricted freedom to impose her hegemony over a South Asia of states antipathetic to Delhi's pretensions to imperialism?

CORRUPT CLIQUE

The signals are all too clear. It is unstable for the world system to have a corrupt clique in New Delhi (Bofors and all that) to remain unchallenged. It has never before happened in world politics. The U.S. has given its sanction because its hands are full with the Afghan mess and the Gulf war. **Pakistan remains an angry onlooker. And every neighbour of India - Nepal, Burma, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and most importantly, the People's Republic of China, are observing events as Gandhi's intervention in the domestic affairs of a neighbour becomes plainly evident.**

India, according to our reading of the situation, will sooner than later be brought in line. In effect a balance of power will be restored in the region. The U.S. will soon be freed of the Afghan problem. Pakistan will invent its nuclear device. The People's Republic has still to settle border

problems with Imperial India. Khalistan, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura have to be pacified. What are 100,000 Indian troops playing around in Sri Lanka? The people of Sri Lanka, Sinhalese and Tamils, abhor the Indian presence. President Jayewardene is reportedly conducting talks with the LTTE leadership. He has already made contact with Mahatiya, Deputy leader of the Tigers. Our forecast is that President Jayewardene will succeed in outflanking Gandhi. Gandhi's skit on the world stage is only a brief interlude. He will have to beat a hasty retreat from the shores of Sri Lanka. We Tamils and our traditional enemies, the Sinhalese, can then fight it out and come to a settlement. Gandhi should read Neville Maxwell's INDIA'S CHINA WAR, that is, if ever he stops reading the signals that he used to when he was a commercial pilot.

JVP BLAMED FOR ATTACK ON BANK CHAIRMAN

The Chairman of Sri Lanka's state-run People's Bank was shot and wounded by unidentified gunmen as he was leaving his home. Police said the victim, Mr.S.T.G.Fernando, was being driven to his office after lunch when a gang of men opened fire. A spate of shootings of influential people in the past six months has been blamed on an outlawed Marxist group, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP or People's Liberation Front). The JVP is opposed to the peace pact signed by President Junius Jayewardene and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, last July.

Reuter for "The Guardian"
March 2, 1988.

BANK 'GO-SLOW'

Hundreds of workers in state-owned banks have been carrying out a 'work-to-rule' campaign since last week of February demanding higher wages.

IPKF ATROCITIES

Some of the incidents where places of refuge were attacked

1. **11.10.87** - Shells fell on Kailasa Pillayar Temple at Nallur. 12 refugees died; 20 injured.
 2. **14.10.87** - Hindu Ladies' College, Jaffna, was attacked by machine gun fire and rockets from helicopter gunships. One refugee, Mrs.Thandeswary (38 years), died. Two children injured.
 3. **21.10.87** - Shells fell on Inuvil Amman Temple. 10 refugees died; 28 were injured.
 4. **22.10.87** - Shells fell on Navalar Cultural Hall, Nallur. 6 refugees died; a number of other injured.
 5. **25.10.87** - Shells fell on Kokuvil Technical College. 25 refugees killed; 60 others injured.
 6. **26.10.87** - Shells fell on Subramaniam Ashram, Alaveddy. 12 refugees died; a number of others injured.
- Details of those killed are:-
- Mrs.Sundarammah (60 yrs); Miss Ravidevi (23 yrs); Mrs.Tharmini (60 yrs); Mrs.Gangai (63 yrs); Stephen (40 yrs); Raveendran (23 yrs); Rajasegaram (19); Miss Devi (19 yrs); Miss Kalaivani (13 yrs); Miss Santhirasoathy (16 yrs); Miss Pathmarani; Mr.Thillaiampalam.
7. **29.10.87** - Shells fell on Ladies' College, Jaffna. 3 children were killed; seven, including 3 children, wounded.
 8. **9.11.87** - Shells fell on Sandilipay Amman Temple. Three refugees - Miss Thanaluxmy (27 yrs); Mr. Kunam (50 yrs); and Mrs.Kunam (45 yrs) - injured. The injured were taken to hospital by Mr.Pararajasingam, Principal of a School, and Mr. Ramanathan. While they were going by car with a white flag, they were stopped at Navalay and shot dead and the car was set on fire by the Indian soldiers.
 9. **09.11.87** - Ramakrishna School, Kokuvil, bombed by aircraft. 3 refugees killed; 13 others injured.

In addition to the above, St.Patrick's College, Jaffna; Green Memorial Hospital, Manipay, and a number of other schools, temples and churches hit by artillery and mortar shells causing death to a number of refugees.

Some of the incidents of indiscriminate shootings

1. **11.10.87** - At Palai in Jaffna peninsula, 13 civilians including 2 children killed.
2. **11-12.10.87** - Around Jaffna Campus, 30 civilians killed, over 250 injured.
3. **20.10.87** - Between Palaly and Urumpirai, over 10 civilians killed and around 20 injured.
4. **20.10.87** - At Anaikkoddai, 19 civilians killed.
5. **27.10.87** - At Chavakachcheri, 49 civilians killed and 55 injured when helicopter gunship opened machine gun fire and attacked with rockets. 18 of the injured died later after being admitted to hospital.
6. **31.10.87** - Indian army moving from Navatkuli to Chavakachcheri opened fire indiscriminately. About 100 civilians killed all along the road.
7. **10.11.87** - Between Mulankavil and Velankulam in Mannar District, 2 civilians killed when Indian army opened fire at a mini-bus transporting civilians.
8. **15.11.87** - At Urelu, near Urumpirai, Sinnakuddy (80 yrs) and Thangarajah (27 yrs) killed.
9. **15.11.87** - At Eravur in the Eastern Province, 6 civilians killed by the Indian troops.
10. **15.11.87** - At Vantharumoolai in the Eastern province, Mr.Thevanayagam (58 yrs) assaulted to death by Indian soldiers.
11. **3.12.87** - At Kiyavedduvan in Batticaloa, 6 civilians killed.
12. **3.12.87** At Kiran, a civilian bus going from Colombo to Batticaloa was stopped by the Indian soldiers; 15 of the passengers lined up and shot. 12

of them died on the spot.

13. 3.12.87 - At Oddamavadi in the Eastern province, 41 civilians including women and children killed. Over 50 injured. Most of the victims were Muslims. Indian army that when on rampage entered a mosque and killed 13 civilians including women and children.

14. 6.12.87 - At the villages Kaluvanchikkudi and Vantharumoolai, 4 civilians killed.

15. 8.12.87 - At Kondavil in Jaffna peninsula, 12 civilians killed by Indian troops.

★ ★ ★ ★

ATHULATHMUDALI HINTS AT SNAP POLL

UNI - Colombo Feb.26.

The Sri Lankan National Security Minister, Mr.Lalith Athulathmudali, today hinted at the possibility of snap general elections and said the ruling United National Party was confident of winning them.

Winding up the debate on a motion for the extension of emergency by another month, passed by the House by 121 votes to six, Mr. Athulathmudali said, "The President is going to say I am taking you by surprise by holding general election."

The parliamentary election due in August 1988 could be held this year "if the killings stop", he said and added that a Government which tried to complete the full terms would only be preparing for defeat. The Government's intention to hold the provincial, presidential and general elections showed that it had faith in the elections.

Referring to the LTTE, Mr.Athulathmudali said the group had over-estimated its military strength and under-estimated its political strength. "They are traumatised by the idea of having to contest elections." The forces against them were so strong that they could not hope to have any place.

But, the LTTE should not fear the "interim politics" because those who fought them hard still felt that they had a place in the mainstream of politics.

INDIA INDICTED AT UNITED NATIONS

continued from page 10

"We are aware that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam made an offer of a cease-fire and peace negotiations on 24 February 1988 to the Prime Minister of India, the Honourable Shri Rajiv Gandhi. We are also aware that the offer for peace talks was made unconditional in a telex statement by the LTTE dated 26 February 1988 in which the fast unto death of Tamil women was raised.

We are Sri Lankan Tamils who, because of the tragic events in our country of birth, have been forced to flee. Our organisations represent thousands of Tamils around the world. These organisations have represented a wide variety of views concerning strategies to improve Tamil rights in Sri Lanka.

We are united now in this appeal to you to assist the Government of India, the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE to achieve a cease-fire and meaningful negotiations regarding what is obviously our fate and the fate of our families and friends in Sri Lanka who remain at great risk."

SWISS FEDERATION OF TAMILS

The Swiss Federation of Tamils organised a demonstration in Geneva which was well attended. At the end of the rally a public meeting was held. A memorandum was submitted to the Chairman of the 44th Session of the Human Rights Commission.

"The whole world now knows that the **Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord has not led to peace for us but has instead led to more war, death and destruction in our Tamil homeland.** We appeal to you and to the whole world to consider how we can solve the Tamil situation by peaceful means.

The Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa, has himself pointed out that 'genocide is now being enacted by the IPKF (Indian

Peace Keeping Force) instead of Sinhala army, a tragedy for the Tamils." The government of India which championed the Tamil cause up to the signing of the accord is now committing genocide. We are sure you join our distress over what has taken place since 10th October, 1987:

1. Killing of more than 2,000 innocent civilians, mostly elderly;
2. Injuring thousands of civilians in their houses, places of refuge, etc.;
3. Raping of Tamil women and girls in a mass scale;
4. Destruction of houses, schools, temples to the extent that Tamil homeland had never witnessed in known history;
5. Making 500,000 persons (more than half the population of the North) homeless;
6. Removal of the belongings of the people such as gold, jewellery, electrical and electronic goods, furniture, etc.

We hand over a copy of a video tape and copies of photographs which may provide at least some account of the situation caused by the IPKF, together with a few documents received from our sister organisation in Paris and a copy of a memo from the LTTE.

We appeal to you to use your good offices to bring about a political solution to save the Tamils. **We rely on your immediate intervention to save us."**

18 NGOs APPEAL TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

"We appeal to the Members of the Commission to support initiatives for a cease-fire and dialogue between the parties involved in the conflict in Sri Lanka. Additionally, we appeal to the Members to prevail upon the parties to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross to fulfill its activities in conformity with Commission resolutions 1987/61, 1987/62, 1987/63, 1987/64, 1987/65, 1987/66, 1987/67, 1987/68, 1987/69, 1987/70, 1987/71, 1987/72, 1987/73, 1987/74, 1987/75, 1987/76, 1987/77, 1987/78, 1987/79, 1987/80, 1987/81, 1987/82, 1987/83, 1987/84, 1987/85, 1987/86, 1987/87, 1987/88, 1987/89, 1987/90, 1987/91, 1987/92, 1987/93, 1987/94, 1987/95, 1987/96, 1987/97, 1987/98, 1987/99, 1987/100, 1987/101, 1987/102, 1987/103, 1987/104, 1987/105, 1987/106, 1987/107, 1987/108, 1987/109, 1987/110, 1987/111, 1987/112, 1987/113, 1987/114, 1987/115, 1987/116, 1987/117, 1987/118, 1987/119, 1987/120, 1987/121, 1987/122, 1987/123, 1987/124, 1987/125, 1987/126, 1987/127, 1987/128, 1987/129, 1987/130, 1987/131, 1987/132, 1987/133, 1987/134, 1987/135, 1987/136, 1987/137, 1987/138, 1987/139, 1987/140, 1987/141, 1987/142, 1987/143, 1987/144, 1987/145, 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1987/1132, 1987/1133, 1987/1134, 1987/1135, 1987/1136, 1987/1137, 1987/1138, 1987/1139, 1987/1140, 1987/1141, 1987/1142, 1987/1143, 1987/1144, 1987/1145, 1987/1146, 1987/1147, 1987/1148, 1987

NEWS IN BRIEF

GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

It is learnt from a spokesman for a group of expatriate academic and professional Tamils that a panel of experts have been set up to study and report on the feasibility and logistics of establishing a government for Tamil Eelam in exile. The Group proposes, having completed the study, to urge the LTTE leader Mr. Prabaharan to declare and establish the government in exile, possibly in a western capital city. It is learnt that certain western governments have not shown any disapproval. This idea seems to have wide support among expatriate Tamil Associations in UK, USA and Australia.

GENERAL ELECTION IN MAY-OCT?

New system of elections in Parliament in April

"The Island" Mar.6, 1988

Speculation is rife in government circles of a possible general election any time between May and October.

The government has already decided to introduce the legislation for the new system under which the next general election is to be held by April.

Ministerial sources said, the committee report on the proposed changes to the system of proportional representation will be presented in Parliament next week.

Following this, the legislation will be placed before the cabinet of ministers for their approval, sources said. The legal draftsman has already prepared the new legislation.

Sources said after the ministers approve the new legislation it will be debated in parliament probably in early April.

Approval by ministers is a formality since the committee which went into the new system of elections comprised Prime Minister R.Premadasa and several other senior ministers.

The new system provides for a proportional representation system on the zonal basis with a choice of three votes for each voter.

Sources said that it would also be to the UNP's advantage to hold a general

election while President Jayewardene is in office. This would enable the president to shape the new government, sources added.

"The Island" learns that the May-October possibility is being considered since it will not be feasible to hold a general election after this period due to the Presidential election.

election.

JAYEWARDENE RENEWS AMNESTY OFFER

"The Hindu"

(International Edition -Mar.5, 1988)

The President, Mr.J.R.Jayewardene, today renewed the amnesty offer to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), revising his earlier decision to withdraw the one made under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

The LTTE would be eligible for amnesty and to take part in the provincial council elections provided it gave up violence, laid down arms and "accepted the accord", Mr.Jayewardene said, addressing the annual opening session of the Sri Lankan Parliament. Otherwise, the LTTE would be eligible for these once the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) succeeded in disarming its men and made them give up violence.

Mr.Jayewardene had withdrawn the amnesty offer to the LTTE after the group unleashed a wave of violence in the North and East in September.

Asserting that the provincial councils would be constituted in May after completing the electoral process in April, he said a new Ministry of Provincial Councils has already been set up. It has been entrusted with the task of constituting the councils, electing members and appointing Governors, Chief Ministers and Board of Ministers.

"Salute" to IPKF He paid tributes to the Indian soldiers who had laid down their lives for the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. "Our soldiers died for our motherland. The Indians also died for our motherland. I salute them all", he said.

The President gave a detailed background of the whole perspective in which the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was signed and in which the IPKF was compelled

to take firm action against the LTTE, which "violated the Agreement", to recover arms and explosives. This "has gone on for almost six months and I hope that very soon the IPKF with such help as the Sri Lankan forces can give, both on land and sea, will be able to ensure that the LTTE gives up arms and violence, and accepts the Agreement."

They (LTTE) would then be entitled to the amnesty mentioned in the Agreement, and could enter the mainstream of democratic politics and seek election to the Provincial Councils, he observed.

The Indian "Prime Minister, Mr.Rajiv Gandhi, came to my assistance by sending the IPKF to the Jaffna peninsula to relieve the Sri Lankan forces to come down to the South. As a result of this gesture. I was able to bring to the troubled areas outside the North and East sufficient security services to prevent further rioting and causing of damage to person and property", Mr. Jayewardene said.

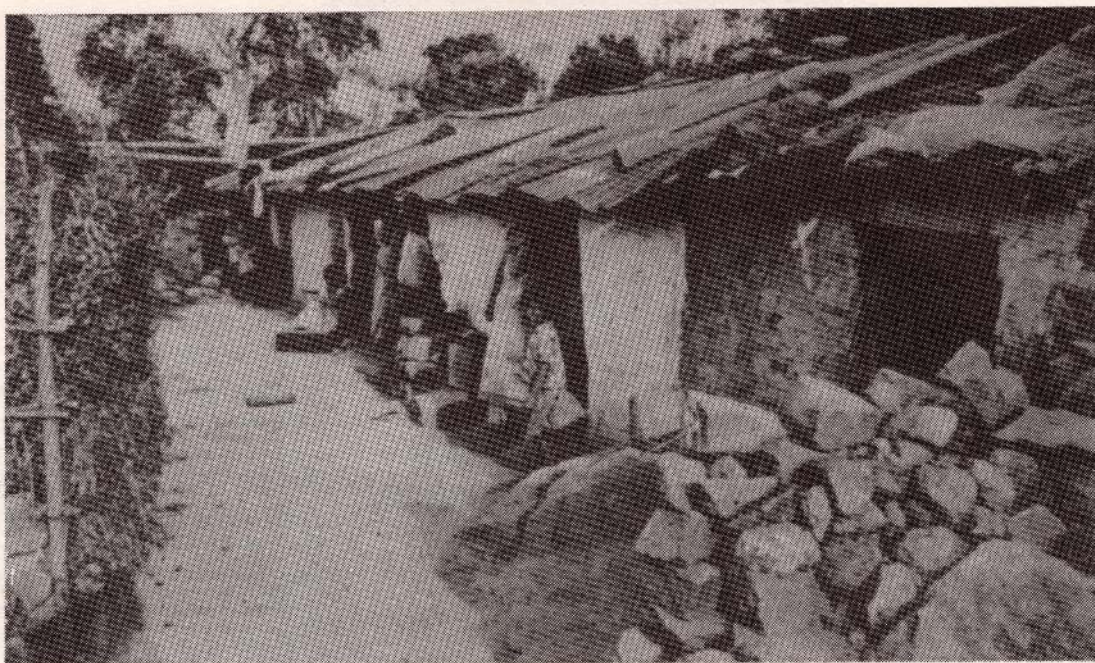
Sri Lanka Alliance vows to implement accord

In a forthright defence of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, the newly-formed United Socialist Alliance (USA) has declared that it "will do everything we can" to ensure its implementation.

"The accord is an important reversal of the policy of trying to enforce a solution to the nationalities problem in Sri Lanka by military means, which had brought the country to the brink of territorial separation", the USA said, in a declaration of its aims and perspectives.

The alliance is considered as the "emergent third force" in the island's political scene, composed of four left parties - Sri Lanka Mahajana party (SLMP), the Communist party, the Lanka Sama Samaja party and the Nava Sama Samaja party. It was launched on Sunday at the funeral of the slain SLMP leader and popular film star, Vijaya Kumaranatunga, who was the moving spirit behind its formation. Mrs Chandrika Kumaranatunga, wife of the SLMP leader, has been nominated to lead the alliance. Basis for solution: The alliance said the Agreement provided an "initial and viable" basis for a political solution of the separatist problem. The Agreement, although incomplete in certain particulars, could nevertheless be enriched and built upon to provide a more fundamental and lasting solution.

Mrs.Kumaranatunga was named leader of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (SLMP).



CITIZENS WITHOUT A COUNTRY



By courtesy of Indian Express