

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGNER MURDERED IN JAFFNA



Dr (Mrs) Rajani Thiranagama, lecturer in Anatomy at the University of Jaffna, was shot dead near her home in Tinnevely by a lone gunman on 21st September. Rajani, a 35 year old mother of two girls, was an articulate and persistent critic of the IPKF. She had written several reports which described the killing of civilians by the Indians and by Tamil insurgents. According to information from Jaffna Rajani had received threats and her home had been searched repeatedly by armed men who had taken away documents that described human rights violations. "The local Indian army officer in charge is trying to trap me" she wrote only a few days before she was killed.

YOUR VOICE

DIVINE JUSTICE IS DELIBERATE Kumar, NSW, Australia

Human suffering is not a matter for rejoicing. Our Sinhalese brethren are undergoing savagery and brutality that Sri Lankan Tamils have faced at the hands of Sri Lankan forces, the IPKF and their hirelings. While there is a cease-fire, the IPKF and its allies are yet on the rampage in North-East Sri Lanka. So the whole of Sri Lanka is a killing field today! The 'gang of four' are responsible for this miserable situation. They sped towards the "final solution" in North-east Sri Lanka; the 20th century Machiavelli invited the Indians and today death knocks at the door of almost every Sinhalese home.

Our intellectuals, human rights activists and politicians did not lag behind in taking up an irrational (communal?) attitude and here are some of their comments. These men are yet in the arena - some of them dormant, perhaps for the time being.

"After the barbaric and cruel murders which took place on the Habarana-Trincomalee road, the inhuman bombing at the Pettah Bus Stand, the punitive raids on the Jaffna Peninsula, and the unique type of foreign aid being now offered Tamil Nadu style..." (R Siriwardene & R Coomaraswamy in the Lanka Guardian of June 15, 1987).

"An ICRC presence, therefore, may well also act as a brake on separatist excesses, notably attacks on hapless civilians, a conduct which is particularly abhorrent to the humanitarian principles of the Geneva Convention." (Secretary, Civil Rights Movement - 1987 Circular)

"When India dropped a few bags of *parippu* you all screamed at India..." (Anura Bandaranaike in Parliament after the food *bombardment* by Rajiv Gandhi.)

"The government of India as the responsible government of a viable democracy has no justification for providing safe haven for a group of terrorists whose intransigence, bestial cruelty and inhumanity and avowed totalitarian intentions have now become plain to the world." (The Liberal Party of Sri Lanka in the Liberal Review, '87).

"The state has been resorting to aerial bombing of sections of the people in the cities of the north. This is leading inevitably to the killing of innocent civilians. Likewise heinous, even if it be only as a response to the violence of the security forces, is the militant action of the killing of innocent civilians by bombs exploding in civilian transport, and urban areas, aircraft, factories..." (Father Tissa Balasuriya in the Lanka Guardian of August 1, 1986)

"In any case, what was the Anuradhapura massacre but an exhibition, as we wrote at that time, of pure unbridled terror that would have earned the envy of such prime exponents of terrorism like Abu Nidal and the IRA? And what of the many other acts after Anuradhapura?" (Columnist Kautiliya in the Sunday Island of 20.8.86.)

Fascists, hell-bent on clinging on to power, even if they had to drink blood, supported by a hypocritical intelligentsia and media, have brought this Island to the present impasse.

What Rajiv Gandhi called a "short sharp exercise" for "our boys" has resulted in the biggest ever defeat for the so-called powerful Indian army. "Arasan antru aruppan, Theivam nintarrukkum" - the paraphrase of this Tamil saying is kingly justice is swift, whereas divine justice is deliberate.

WHERE ARE WE HEADING? N Rajaratnam - London

I am one of the few who are fortunate to have escaped from the abyss that Eelam is today. I managed to come to London just a week ago. I am one of those who had tasted hell for the only crime of having supported the LTTE along with the vast majority of the Tamils in the peninsula.

The Tamils in Eelam have suffered at the hands of the Sinhalese, both civilians and the various forces of the state, the Indian soldiers and our own children belonging to "freedom" groups who think that they have the unfettered right to kill their brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers. The worst of all atrocities are being committed by our children belonging to the EPRLF, TELO & ENDLF. They continue. There is no end in sight to the sufferings of the Tamils, but an end to the Tamils is what we seem to be facing.

Once the Indian soldiers leave, I fear that the Tamil people themselves will go beyond what we can now imagine. In the east, particularly in Trincomalee, the Tamil people will also face the music from the Sinhala army as well as the Sinhalese people. In fact, the remaining Tamils in Trincomalee district will certainly be wiped out.

Is this what we will achieve after the enormous sacrifices that have been made? Can we forget that at least 30,000 lives of our people have been lost? Yet what is to be the result?

I call upon the Tamils who are fortunate to live outside Eelam to bring about an understanding between all the groups. Otherwise, Eelam Tamils will perish in toto in a few months, not years. I call upon Tamil Voice International to use its influence not to promote the views of a single group but to bring all the groups together.

The Sinhalese still speak of concessions to the Tamils. You will never get a fair deal from them. At least let us get a fair deal from our own children. There are various forces working in the field, each with its own political interests. We are the victims. We must unite and stand together, or else we will fall. So I beg fellow Tamils, particularly those living outside Eelam, who have not experienced the misery of those still in Eelam, to do all that is possible to stop the killing and harming of one Tamil by another Tamil.

AN INDIAN NUREMBURG! A Victim

Your editorial of 1st September couldn't have been stronger. Everyone who has experienced, seen, heard and read about the Indian barbarities should follow up your editorial and keep up the cry for a trial like the one that was held at Nuremburg. If divine justice prevails, the Nehru dynasty should end and the Opposition should favour a trial to save India and the region from arrogant adventurists.

Tamil civilians were fleeing, taking shelter in bunkers and homes, "disregarding" orders to abandon houses and to move on to one of three refugee camps; the innocents in and around the Jaffna Hospital on 1987 Deepavali Day and the day after were massacred in cold blood. That great Paediatrician Sivapathasuntharam - highly duty conscious who cycled to hospital the day after Deepavali - was among those mowed down. Empty houses were looted. Helpless women were raped and killed in many

THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

There appears to be a silver lining to the particularly gloomy overcast cloud in Sri Lanka. The second All Parties Conference provides evidence of a sincere desire on President Premadasa's part to inch away from the abyss. While comparisons are not appropriate and sometimes odious, we are constrained to remark that unlike the first APC which was nothing but a stalling device by President JRJ to deceive the Indians and cheat the Tamils, a play for valuable time to get foreign mercenaries, British, Israeli and Pakistani, to train his ill-disciplined and poorly qualified soldiers and officers to give combat to the LTTE, this second APC has all the auguries of seeking to achieve constructive results.

We assume that President Premadasa has explored all avenues of ways and means of finalising an agreement with the LTTE. But he has other more important and urgent steps to take, while there is every reason to presume that the agreement with the LTTE will be laid on the table. Even if there is no agreement, if all of Sri Lanka's other major parties agree to the proposition that the alternative to an agreement can only mean a return to permanent and destructive civil strife, our hope is that conditions in the island will take a turn for the better. The President has gone on record as stating that he is prepared to make as many sacrifices as are possible in order to ensure normalcy. We welcome the President's willingness to give serious consideration to the demands of the Opposition to agree to establish a National Government to which we think he will be more receptive than the renunciation of the executive presidency, the cancellation of the present constitution, setting up of a provisional government and the conduct of fresh elections under neutral auspices. These we think will work contrary to the interests of the UNP and we know of no cases in recent modern history where parties willingly renounced power.

In our view the need of the hour is for parties to get together and agree to an arrangement with the Tamils which will then hasten the departure of the IPKF which today is nobody's darling. The National Government could then seek an understanding with the JVP. What are the immediate needs of the JVP that need to be addressed? There must be some kind of agreement that the rule of law will prevail; an end to the present war of attrition that is taking toll of innocent lives and public property which belongs to the people and not to these individuals; the disarming of all vigilante squads and the elevation of the judiciary to its former prime place as the most respected and impartial body.

We repeat at the risk of vain repetition that all these misfortunes would not have befallen Sri Lanka had its underpinning of a contented minority been taken care of. The desiccated ideologues of President Premadasa's predecessor and his *ancien* regime had thought and spelled out the possibilities of the LTTE rebellion being encapsulated in the north and the east while the rest of the island flourished under the umbrella of the economy. But peace, as Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet Foreign Minister of the 1930s observed, is indivisible. A conflagration cannot be confined without the danger of its spreading like a forest fire. This is exactly what happened in Sri Lanka. President Premadasa is the unhappy heir to President JRJ's ill-fated and disaster-laden presidency. The President has a way out. There is goodwill and a willingness to accept President Premadasa at his word. We can only wish him well and godspeed in this the onerous task that has befallen a Sri Lankan head of executive and state.

TAMIL VOICE International

ஊழியர்கள் யார் யார் வாங்கக் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்

மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு

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WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE

Ajantha, Trincomalee

The saying goes that you can wake a sleeping man but not a man who pretends to sleep. Our Tamil political situation is nearing this sad state of affairs. We believe we have a responsibility to the Tamil people to lay bare the facts so that those who have eyes to see will see. Premadasa is today a beleaguered President. Like all presidents he likes to keep power. It does not matter that he has a host of Tamil friends. In the end he himself must answer the question: Where does power lie in Sri Lanka's political system? The simple answer is that it lies with the Sinhala Buddhist majority.

It is in this context that we warn the Tamil public to beware of wolves in sheep's clothing. Premadasa's position is shaky and unstable. His predecessor has proposed a "national government". But Ex-President JRJ has declined to name a head for this government. It is clear that he lacks confidence in his successor. So do many of Ex-President JRJ's former astute and hawkish ministers now holding ministries of not much consequence. Some of these disgruntled ministers and their accomplices have formed a "Senanayake Society". Here is a house divided against itself. On the other hand we have the majority in the Opposition calling for

a "Provisional Government" which will run the country to restore normalcy. There are also sizeable segments of Sinhala opinion which demand a return to prime ministerial cum cabinet government where the executive will be answerable, accountable and responsible to the legislature. The besieged President for his part has called for a second All Parties Conference to resolve the question of national harmony, a return to peace and the sending away of the IPKF. To cap this all we have information from unimpeachable sources that RAW agents are negotiating in London with the emissaries of the JVP.

There is yet more disturbing news. A Peace Committee comprising representatives of the Sri Lankan and Indian governments, the EPRLF, the LTTE, the Sinhalese and Muslims in the Eastern Province and other necessary components will be set up to handle the problem of law and order in the North-east. We can anticipate the resulting mayhem. The Sinhalese Army and the Sinhala Police will take the place of the IPKF. Is this the perennial conundrum of exchanging ginger for pepper? We ask the very pertinent question as to where the LTTE fits into this dismal picture.

The situation on the ground presents a crazy jig saw puzzle. Not even Mr Gandhi's worst enemies expect him to suffer ignominy at the forthcoming general election. At the worst he will obtain a reduced majority. His attitude to the LTTE, especially after he has lost over 1,000 men, is unlikely to change. Nor for that matter will the opinion of any patriotic Indian. If the ultimate goal of India is to protect India's vital security interests, we will still have an IPKF though a better behaved one. This would be the case if VP Singh becomes Prime Minister.

In the end we are forced to answer the question where power lies in the Sri Lankan system. A dead country, broken to bits and smashed to smithereens, will for the Sinhalese be preferable to handing over the north and east to us the Tamils, not because they fear Tamil Nadu but because they think that they are the sole proprietors of the whole country. We are yet to experience the full fury of the JVP which will soon be unleashed on the Tamil people. **Unfortunately for us Tamils, we just now face the peace and quiet of the graveyard.**

SOLVING THE SRI LANKAN PROBLEM

Dr Brian Senewiratne

It is an interesting exercise to criticise one's own writings! I refer to my article in TVI 1 August 1989, the original draft of which was written over a year ago. Anything written on Sri Lanka is out of date even before the ink is dry!

In my article I put forward the requirements for an honestly Federal State. Such a non-extreme solution was possible when the Sinhalese, in particular the extremists in the JVP, were less crazy. The crazier such groups get, the more extreme the final solution will have to be. It cannot be overstressed that it is the extremism of the Sinhalese that will make Eelam inevitable. It is the Cyril Mathews, the Rev Sobithas and the JVP extremists rather than the Tamils who will ensure the creation of Eelam. I doubt if many Sinhalese in or outside Sri Lanka appreciate their

critical role in determining the nature of the final solution in the Sri Lankan mess. If the Sinhalese want to keep Sri Lanka undivided, then they and their political leaders will first have to recognise the Tamils as equals and talk at a horizontal level. Attempting to stand two feet higher and talk down to them will not work. If they attempt such gymnastics, Eelam will become inevitable.

India will not support the creation of Eelam. This is not only because it will encourage similar separatist tendencies in India but because Delhi would not know how to "manage" the non-Eelam part of Sri Lanka and prevent it from drifting out of the Indian orbit. Eelam, if and when it comes, will come from an internal civil war which will cost thousands of lives on both sides and both the Sinhalese and the

Tamils must be prepared for this. It will be beyond India's ability to prevent or stop this civil war. India could have played a critical role in solving this conflict. Thanks to the juvenile behaviour of Rajiv Gandhi, India will now have to stand on the side lines and watch as the Tamils fight it out - not against the Sinhalese but against Sinhala racism. The Tamils will not have to seek India's permission to create the necessary conditions to live with equality and dignity in Sri Lanka.

Regarding a solution, the Sri Lankan mess is now too chaotic to talk of 'solutions'. All one could do is to identify the immediate problem and take one step forward. Today the problems in the Tamil and the Sinhalese areas are different. In

MONTHLY MUSINGS

A DANCE OF DEATH

"Over 4000 dead in the last one month, economic chaos and anarchy, trigger-happy militants gunning down innocent civilians in their crossfire and the prickly presence of a foreign army. Sri Lanka's internal strife has transformed the once-idyllic island paradise into a bloody battlefield" - so stated the cover of India Today, 30 September. It says it all.

In the north-east, after more than two years of ruthless attempts to break the LTTE, India has agreed to make "all efforts" to withdraw its troops from the island by the end of this year. It is too early yet, though, for any rejoicing that the IPKF will leave. President Premadasa has failed to elicit a clear commitment from India - by merely agreeing to make all efforts to leave, Mr Gandhi has left himself the clear option of relaxing his efforts should the withdrawal prove a political or military embarrassment. The Indian intervention has served no other purpose than to deepen the divisions in the country and the Tamil community. It has cost the lives of countless Tamils, caused untold suffering and hardship, and left over 1000 Indian troops dead. This act of insanity led *The Independent* to comment: "The outcome is a lesson to any regional power tempted to intervene in a small neighbouring country. Troops should be used only to preserve the integrity of the state to which they owe allegiance, or to defend a clear and vital national interest. In Northern Ireland, British troops are defending the integrity of the United Kingdom. Mr Gandhi should never have treated Sri Lanka as if it were part of India."

"A SRI LANKAN SOLUTION TO A SRI LANKAN PROBLEM"

As expected, the All-Party Conference (APC) went without the participation of the JVP. Nevertheless, 21 political parties launched the APC in a bid to restore peace and normalcy. Informal consultations with political parties and groups began on 18 September. The aim of the exercise, according to *The Island* is psychological - to build confidence in the country - and that at least the share market seemed to respond to the outcome. The JVP, it points out, is not in the same position as the LTTE. For one, the Sri Lankan army's onslaught is only two

months, and not two years old. Moreover, the JVP is engaged in a protracted war not to claim territory, but to seize power. Hence it is in no mood to talk.

FOOD NOT FIT FOR A FISH

The Daily News reports that the price of fish has come crashing down. It failed to give the reason why this is so: namely that people fear that they will buy fish that have been eating human bodies, given the number that end up in the sea. At the same time, people have become blasé about bodies. A favourite pastime among commuters and schoolchildren in Colombo is to stand on the bridge over the Kelani Ganga, watching for bodies. "My country is finished," said a senior bureaucrat, "the only people doing better than before are florists and coffin-makers." Commenting on the havoc wreaked by the JVP, which has all the hallmarks of a fascist organisation, Neelan Tiruchelvam recently made the comment: "Now lawyers can't defend, doctors can't treat, teachers can't teach. The very basis of our existence is being questioned."

CVF TRAINING

Four schoolboys who had undergone military training at an IPKF run training camp, were found to possess plastic explosives and automatic weapons. It is reported that the youths were sent to an estate in the hill country to await instructions from their masters to engage in a campaign of destruction in the hill country. The boys are believed to have been among a group of about 100 youths from estates in the Nuwara Eliya district, alleged to have been taken by an EPRLF member for training with the CVF.

Meanwhile, those who fled CVF conscription and now live in a state-run camp at Hindu College, Bambalapitiya are to be offered places in Colombo schools. The problem though is that schools have not

been open for months on end, so the pursuit of education in the south does not seem likely in the immediate future.

FLYING FINE

Air Lanka has been asked to pay fines in the region of £25,000 for bringing passengers without authentic documents to Britain. It seems that some Sri Lankans have landed without the required documents for claiming political asylum, using various ruses such as exchanging boarding passes. Desperate people will, after all, resort to desperate means. It is a reality that most Western countries seem unwilling to face.

CENSORSHIP BY ANY OTHER NAME

A new form of news censorship emerged with newspapers not being permitted to import newsprint required for the rest of the year, compelling several national newspapers to reduce their pages. According to *The Island*, representations to the "Newspaper Quotas Committee" established by the government have met with the stock response: "Please submit figures," despite comprehensive audited figures of newsprint consumption as well as rapidly increasing sales figures being placed before the committee since June. Its editorial states: "The very concept of a 'Newspaper Quotas Committee' should be repugnant in a democratic society. What reason can there be for not allowing newspaper publishers to import their full quota of newsprint under an open market economy? It cannot be foreign exchange difficulties because the import of luxuries which has no relevance to the mass of the people and which will only serve to aggravate social envy goes on unchecked... newsprint has to be treated as an essential item in any free and open society which respects the freedom of expression." Sadly, freedom of expression is a rare commodity. Soon we may have no option but to read the writing on the wall.

RAJANI KILLED

Dr Rajani Thiranagama, a lecturer in the medical faculty of the Jaffna campus was brutally murdered by the EPRLF in Jaffna. Ms Rajani, a human rights activist, was critical of the human rights violations by the Indian army and its quisling groups. Rajani is the sister of Nirmala Nithiyananthan, a well known dramatist.



THIRUKKURAL

S. Sriskandarajah

பல் குழுவும் பாழ் செய்யும் உட்பகையும் வேந்தலைக்கும்
கொல் குறும்பும் இல்லது நாடு.

"Pal Kuzhuvum Paazh Seiyyum Udpahaiyum Venthu Alaikkum
Kol Kurumpum Illathu Naadu." (Transliteration)

"The country which is free from factions, desolating internal strife
and assassins harassing the kings is the ideal one." (Translation)

In the Kural above Thiruvalluvar tries to give the definition of an ideal country. His definition is quite different from that of political scientists. (These scientists may define the term as "a sovereign political community organised under a distinct government"). One may say that a country which does not seek help from another is the ideal country. Another may say that a country which continues to be free from starvation, disease and strife is the exemplary one. Yet another may say that it is a great country where harvests never fail and where saintly men reside. But Thiruvalluvar would say that they are but incomplete definitions. According to him it is the people of the country and the quality of the administration that matter. Thus he defines, in this Kural, an ideal country as one which is devoid of factions, debilitating internal strife and free from terrorising elements. If a country is not free of all these drawbacks then however affluent it may be it cannot have peace and tranquillity.

This thought of an ideal state as envisaged by Thiruvalluvar made me grow pensive and the distressing plague of my country came to mind. The cold blooded murders and the numerous vendettas perpetrated currently in the south of Sri Lanka kindled nostalgic thoughts in me. The thought that this one-time Granary of the East and Pearl of the Indian Ocean reputed for its hospitality and tranquillity has been plunged into this chronic state of confusion rankled through my whole system.

Sri Lanka is now writhing in political pain not knowing which way to go. It is in the identical situation of the Panchatantra monkey whose tail got caught between the semi split halves of a wooden plank when it attempted to pull off the wedge that had been kept to keep the halves apart. "The Independent" of London of September 19 has aptly reported that Sri Lanka is "reeling under an anar-

chic wave of massacres, atrocities, political assassinations and revenge killings". Be it north or south, east or west, there is anarchy and pandemonium reminiscent of the satanic administration portrayed in Milton's "Paradise Lost". In short, civil administration in Sri Lanka has come to a grinding halt.

Why, one may ask. The reason is not hard to find. Sri Lanka has long ceased to be a state as defined by Thiruvalluvar. There are many factions and political groups in Sri Lanka bitterly opposed to one another; there is disarray and discord within the ruling party itself; even within the cabinet they have ceased to work as a team and they act in a way only beneficial to themselves individually. To cap these all the country is riddled with armed militant groups which are impervious to reason and logic. The civil strife that was until two years ago confined to the Tamil provinces has now spread to other areas.

It is this awkward situation which Thiruvalluvar wanted a wise administrator



to guard against. If the successive rulers of Sri Lanka had been wise and cared to take a leaf from the sacred book of Thiruvalluvar they could have removed the cankerous growth in the body politic of Sri Lanka way back as 1948. Instead of diagnosing the disease and treating it at the incipient level they were engaged in a cosmetic exercise of dealing with the external symptoms little realising that internally the malady was going on unchecked. And the result is that what started as a cancer in the Tamil homeland has now spread all over Lanka making any treatment mighty difficult, if not impossible, through the growth of numerous factions, deep divisions and menacing militancy.

If Sri Lanka is to survive, it is imperative that these factions, subversives and militants, should be disarmed tactfully and peacefully. It could be done only by one who is sagacious and trusted. Whether the present Sri Lankan President can retrieve the situation is a question. But the more important one is whether the militant groups in the North-East and the South who are trying to wrest power from the present Administration will try to remember this Kural.

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the Tamil area the problem seems to be the presence of the Indian army and a dubious regime forced on the people by the force of Indian arms. If this is a correct reading of the situation, the first priority must be the removal of the Indian army and the dismantling of the current Provincial Councils which, in any case, are completely ineffective. The next step should be planned after this.

In the Sinhala areas the problem is not the JVP. The JVP is only a symptom of a far more serious disorder. The problem is the dismantling of democracy and the replacement of the Rule of Law by the diktat of the armed thug. The responsibility for

this can be laid with Jayewardene and his successor. We have a President and a Parliament elected by massive intimidation of Opposition voters as a result of which they do not have the authority to govern. This makes the JVP call for a dissolution of both these offices and a re-election under a caretaker government, completely valid. We have a bunch of trigger-happy maniacs directed by a power-hungry megalomaniac, Wijeweera, who have set themselves above the law and in pursuit of anarchy. We have 'Black Cats', 'Yellow Cats', 'Green Tigers' and other monsters in addition to the more regular ones in uniform. We have a government (and indeed an Opposition) who condemn the actions of Tamils as 'terrorism' but call

similar, or worse, acts by the Sinhalese as 'subversion'. We have an economy in shambles with the necessary ingredients for a civil war. We have a President blindly leading a group of sheep and wolves, not knowing where he is going and also unsure whether the dagger will come from behind him or from the JVP in front of him. We have the SLFP leader with even less of an idea of what to do. In this chaotic situation it is nonsense to talk of 'solutions'. All one could ask for is a re-election with less mass-intimidation and hope for the emergence of someone, if indeed such a person exists, who can restore the Rule of Law and a semblance of democracy and sense to a country which today lacks all three.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT!

Culled by Hari

*Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne,
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
and behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow,
keeping watch above his own.* - Lowell.

And at a time when the image of the Prime Minister Rajiv was taking a beating following the Fairfax scandal, stunts such as the air dropping of relief supplies on the Island and then rushing in troops to crush Tamil insurgency were widely believed to be face saving gimmicks. - Kuldip Nayar, *Sunday* August 20-26, 1989.

We have lost more than 1000 officers and soldiers, and nearly Rs3,500 crores have gone down the drain. - Kuldip Nayar, *Sunday*, August 20-26, 1989.

Much of the Accord's failure stems from bad personal relations between the LTTE and the Indian negotiators. In fact, it could even be argued that one of the reasons why the Accord failed was that Indian negotiators lost sight of their principal objectives, driven as they were by their burning desire to teach the LTTE a lesson. - Anita Pratap, *Illustrated Weekly*, August 20, 1989.

We will not tolerate the dictates of any government on how to run our country. - Rajiv Gandhi at a press conference.

More recently he (Foreign Secretary S K Singh) had an embarrassing experience. At a reception hosted in Delhi by J N Dixit, India's ambassador to Pakistan, to celebrate his daughter's wedding, the PM

told Singh that he was lucky that Dixit was four years junior to him. *The Week*, August 20, 1989.

How could I sign a pact with the Tamil groups! They are murderers. That is why I signed the accord with India. - J R Jayewardene, *Sunday*.

SUNDAY, 6-12 August 1989 interviewing J R Jayewardene.

Q: And that (i.e surrender of arms) didn't happen?

JR: The process was begun. But when 13 LTTE members were arrested and efforts made to bring them to Colombo, they swallowed cyanide capsules. Everything started going wrong from then.

Q: What do you feel about the accord now?

JR: (Smiles) It all seems like a cartoon - not one, but two. In the first, Prabakaran and I are boxing in the ring with Rajiv Gandhi as the referee. In the next, Rajiv and Prabakaran are fighting, while I am one of the audience.

INDIA TODAY, August 31, 1989, interviewing Varadaraja Perumal.

Q: You are not sure about his (LTTE leader's) death?

A: I am personally sure that he is dead.

Q: How are you sure?

A: A lot of animals are dying in the jungles do we hear of it? As far as I am concerned Prabakaran is dead and gone.

His (Amirthalingam's) death, as his political pursuits, is cloaked in intrigue. Though LTTE is the prime suspect, why

would it kill him just when it has had a patch-up with Colombo, his patrons? - *The Week*, July 23, 1989.

Investigations conducted hitherto point to the fact that the assassins, though pretending to belong to a militant group, in fact have had no connection with that group for some time before the killing and police firmly believe they have acted on instructions by an interested party who wanted the assassinations carried out. Investigations do not rule out the possibility that the assassins would have been promised a large sum of money, a quick get-away after the assassination, and protection. - *Ceylon Sunday Observer*, July 23, 1989.

Visu (one of the assassins) was flown in by the IPKF to negotiate the release of Lance Dilip Barley Shagakar, who was captured by the LTTE on the 6th March last year....Later on 20th August last year, Visu was reported to have been arrested in Tamil Nadu...Early in May this year Visu is known to have repaired defective weapons in Kilinochchi." - *Ceylon Sunday Times*, July 23, 1989.

When you say 200 Crores were made on the deal (Bofors) it doesn't give you an idea of what happened. But when you think that the Bhakra Dam cost Rs205/-crores to build, you realise there is some dalal (agent) walking around with the Bhakra Dam in his pocket. - V P Singh in the *Indian Express*.

OMINOUS IMPASSE

Anita Pratap

Nineteen-seventy-eight: A meeting took place between Lalith Athulathmudali, a junior minister from Sri Lanka and Morarji Desai, prime minister of India. The latter is supposed to have said: "Young man, you must be afraid of India. Well, you are right to be afraid of India. But it is my job to prove on every occasion that you are wrong."

In 1987: A meeting between J N Dixit, India's portly High Commissioner in Colombo and Lalith Athulathmudali, now a senior energetic minister for national security, who had just launched a major military operation in Jaffna to dislodge Tamil guerrillas. "Mr Minister, don't take Jaffna," Dixit said.

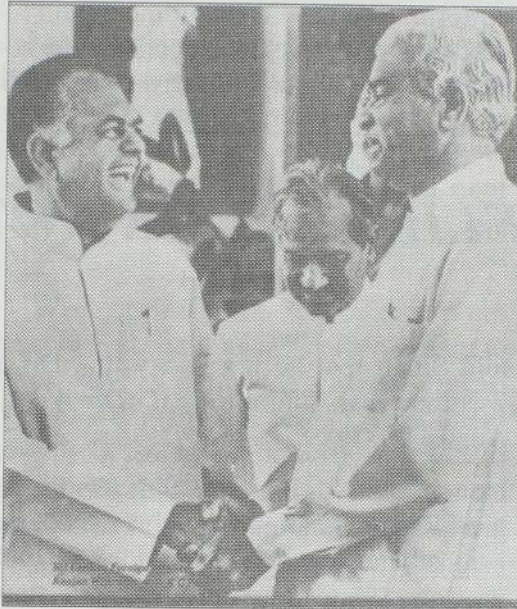
Almost a decade separates the two exchanges, but it highlights the sweeping changes that have taken place in India's foreign policy. Under Desai, India enjoyed its best ever relations with its neighbours, precisely because he believed in assuaging and not exploiting their natural fear of a huge, populous and militarily powerful India. But as this decade ends, India, under Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, has emerged as a muscle-flexing big brother who wants to and will dictate terms to its smaller, weaker neighbours.

Smarting under this treatment is Sri Lanka, where India has 44,800 soldiers battling to quell the island's internal ethnic strife, and Nepal, where India is using a trade and transit dispute to pressure the Himalayan kingdom to turn away from China and move into the Indian orbit. Says Athulathmudali: "We accept India as the dominant power in the region but we resent its tactics to keep the region under its thumb."

India's attempts to keep Sri Lanka under its thumb culminated with the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. But that accord went hopelessly awry. On the occasion of its second anniversary, the incontrovertible fact that hits one right between the eyes is that this accord has failed. Each and every one of the stated and unstated objectives peddled to journalists by the keepers of this Accord has failed to materialise. In fact, its failure runs even deeper. The exact opposite has happened. Indian intervention has not only failed to achieve its objectives, it has worsened the situation.

A series of ironical situations prove how disastrous the accord has turned out to be.

The strength of the IPKF in proportion to the areas of the north-eastern province is larger than that of the US forces in Vietnam. Yet, as Jagat Mehta, India's former foreign secretary said: "We are bogged



Ranjan Wijeratna with K C Pant

down militarily, and that too by the Tamils whom we sought to assist." **What gave India the moral handle to intervene in Sri Lanka was the Sri Lankan security forces' attacks on the Tamil population. But the accord went so badly wrong that India wound up killing a large number of Tamil civilians,** in their attempt to disarm the LTTE. But by India's own admission, there is neither peace nor devolution in the north-eastern province.

With the accord, India intended to impose a political solution that would end the military dimension of the Tamil ethnic conflict. But not only has India failed to disarm the LTTE, it is further militarising the ethnic conflict by arming its puppets, the EPRLF, the ENDLF and now the EPRLF's conscripted force. "*India is fanning a civil war in the Tamil areas,*" said a leading Tamil politician.

India intervened because of the adversarial relations between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government. Today, they are talking to each other behind India's back and as a matter of fact, relations had deteriorated so badly that India was barely

talking to the Sri Lankan government in the month of June. India has stopped having even informal contacts with the higher echelons of the LTTE since late last year. In June, as the diplomatic deadlock between India and Sri Lanka proved, personal contacts between the two nations had been drastically reduced, with both communicating to each other mainly through letters spiced with sarcasm, put-downs, one-upmanship and thinly veiled threats.

India, which went in as a mediator between the Tamils and the Sri Lankan government, has been marginalised to such an extent that today it is alienated from everybody except its surrogates. It is widely perceived that India is no longer as interested in protecting Tamil interests as its own prestige, which unfortunately now is linked with the perpetuation of the EPRLF provincial government.

India wanted to settle Tamil insurgency lest it fans secessionism in Tamil Nadu, resulting in some sort of pan-Tamil movement. The person who is most staunchly committed to Tamil nationalism is LTTE leader V Prabaharan. He fought Indian domination. It is inconceivable that he would be part of a movement in which he plays second fiddle, and the very idea that DMK chief minister, M Karunanidhi, would play a similar role vis-a-vis Prabaharan is preposterous. Those who know Prabaharan well know that this line of argument never had much validity. Yet, on the other hand, the accord has not succeeded in getting the DMK to completely dissociate itself from the LTTE. They keep sending feelers to the LTTE and as long as the DMK remains in the National Front, Delhi has to cope with the possibility of the DMK adopting a line that runs contrary to the Indian government.

India was committed to the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. The LTTE, the main separatist group, is no longer talking of Tamil Eelam, but is concentrating instead, on a negotiated political settlement within a united Sri Lanka. Ironically, it is the EPRLF and the ENDLF that are threatening a 'unilateral declaration of independence' ever since President Premadasa issued his ultimatum.

Under the agreement, India was committed to ensure that its territory was not

used for hostile propaganda against Sri Lanka or activities that threatened Sri Lanka's integrity. Yet, the EPRLF has been issuing an array of statements, threatening to sever from Sri Lanka, not so much from Trincomalee as from Madras. Again, it is from Madras that the TELO has been threatening 'a return to arms' if the IPKF is suddenly withdrawn.

A fundamental objective of India's foreign policy is to assert itself as the dominant power in the region and keep hostile foreign forces out of what India increasingly sees as its neighbourhood. While these security fears were valid earlier, they seem largely imaginary, particularly in the post-Vladivostok era. Besides, the US was quite simply not interested in the Indian subcontinent. When the India-supported Tamil separatists intensified military pressure, a hurried Jayewardene went around in vain trying to get help from the western countries.

But India did not want to give even elbow room to any foreign forces in the region, however innocuous they may be. India perceived a threat even in the small Voice of America transmission facilities in the eastern Sri Lankan port town of Trincomalee. In the exchange of letters between President Jayewardene and Rajiv Gandhi, which is an integral part of the accord, Gandhi got Jayewardene to agree that Trincomalee or any other Sri Lankan port would not be made available for military use by any country in a manner 'prejudicial to India's interests' and that 'Sri Lanka would ensure that foreign broadcasting organisations did not use their facilities for military or intelligence gathering operations'. India's main objective was to keep Sri Lanka sterile of hostile foreign forces. Today, there are no American or Israeli agents spearheading anti-India campaigns, but no one's campaign could possibly be more anti-India than the LTTE's and more so the JVP's, which has even started its own clandestine radio broadcasts called 'Ranahanda' (battle cry).

According to reports, the Sri Lankan government has started broadcasting news from Puttalam on the north-western coast about IPKF atrocities. The target audience is Indians living across the Palk Strait that separates the two nations. There are no foreign forces inimical to India, but the accord has turned three potent local forces—the Sri Lankan government, the LTTE and the JVP—hostile to India.

The result of Indian foreign policy failures is that India has lost out on the security, political and economic fronts. India wishes to emerge as the sheet anchor of South Asian polity and through a process of dominance, establish itself as the undisputed leader of the South Asian region. Far from helping foster regional stability, Indian dominance and interference has resulted in political instability in Sri Lanka and economic instability in Nepal, which, in fact, invite foreign interference. That no foreign power has chosen to meddle in either of these two countries only serves to prove that India's fears of hostile foreign forces working to subvert the Indian system are largely imaginary.

At the political level, India has lost out on the goodwill of the region. As Mehta said: "Eighty per cent of our foreign policy success would come from fostering good relations with our neighbours. It boils down to developing the chemistry of trust." Pakistan was a historical enemy, but India's pressure tactics have now alienated two important natural allies - Nepal and Sri Lanka. Both have a rich history of cultural and religious ties with India. Today, it is not only the JVP that conducts a virulent anti-India campaign. Even the government has to pander to the nationalist sentiments of the Sinhalese. For instance, the Sri Lankan television gives a lot of play to anti-Indian sentiments expressed by political leaders. Deputy Information Minister Arthur Ranasinghe's speech in which he said: 'India might bomb us or destroy all of us, but we will fight back to the last man' was given a lot of play on Sri Lankan television. As an Indian High Commission Official in Colombo said: "The unfortunate thing is that some of this hate campaign will stick." It already has. An Indian housewife in a posh Colombo residential area said she no longer got the kind of service she used to get in her neighbourhood store. The sales-girls no longer wanted to serve her.

The confrontationist stance has also affected trade. India is Sri Lanka's tenth-largest trading partner, and imports goods, mainly bus and lorry chassis, auto-rickshaws, textiles, medicines and food worth Rs 2.89 billion. Last June, the JVP imposed an embargo on Indian goods, and border trade from India to Nepal has come to a virtual standstill following the lapse of the trade and transit treaties. Sri Lankans love Indian saris and dhotis. But following the JVP order last month, most stores have put up signs say-

ing: "Indian goods not sold here." Dawood Mulafer, a store owner in Colombo's busy main street said his monthly turn-over before the JVP order was Rs 5 lakhs. Now many of his shelves that previously stocked popular cotton and silk saris from Madras, sarongs from Coimbatore and salwar Kameez suits from Bombay are empty. His turnover has gone down to Rs 2 lakhs.

The confrontationist stand has not helped Indian nationals either. Fearing attacks from hostile Nepalese, Indians are now afraid to even holiday in Kathmandu, one of the favourite Indian destinations for sight-seeing and shopping for foreign goods. In Sri Lanka, Indians live in dread of the JVP who have announced that they will kill Indians if they continued to live in their island after June 14. On that day, the Indian High Commission in Colombo in fact asked Indian nationals to live in the safety of five star hotels.

Experts identify four main foreign policy objectives in any nation - it must safeguard national security, contribute to national development, promote international standing and contribute to regional stability and co-operation. India would score only on the first count. Unlike in the sixties and seventies, the threat of invasion no longer oppresses Indians. But that has been achieved primarily through heavy military expansion and not skilful diplomacy that has won over the adversaries. According to Bharat Wariavwalla, a prominent defence expert: "We rely primarily on our military power to translate our regional pre-eminence into primacy."

Neighbouring countries will give a long litany of complaints against India but high on the list is their perception of India as the regional bully that meddles, pressurises, threatens, and when that fails, punishes. Said one foreign diplomat in Colombo, "It is tempting for small countries to blame the big brother for all their problems. But India plays up to the image." According to Mohan Prasad Lohani, Nepal's ambassador to Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives, "*India's pre-eminence in the region is recognised by all of us but it should not be confused with licence for domination.*"

Like a Colossus, India towers over her neighbours - 21 times bigger than Nepal, 48 times bigger than Sri Lanka and 68 times bigger than Bhutan. It is the preponderant nation not only in size, but even in terms of population, resources

and military power. India has failed to be accepted as the regional security guardian by the neighbouring countries because its economic and diplomatic efforts have not kept pace with its military expansionism. As Bharat Wariawalla points out, India has the capacity to punish its neighbours but not to reward. Through its military clout, India can destabilise its neighbours, impose restrictions on their foreign policy and limit their sovereignty in the region because it has no economic or technological carrots to offer.

Small neighbours also complain that Indian bureaucrats behave as if they are the inheritors of the British Raj legacy. The British administered the entire Indian sub-continent from Calcutta. Indian bureaucrats see the region as a strategic entity that they must police from New Delhi. India may complain about American imperialism, but the smaller neighbours are talking about Indian imperialism. India is perceived as having no territorial ambitions, but neighbours feel they are expected to kowtow to India. In the words of Jagat Mehta, "The IPKF is seen as proof of Indian imperialism."

Many Indian states, particularly those ruled by non-Congress parties, feel much the same way about New Delhi as do the smaller nations nearby. Remarked Murali Maran, DMK MP: "Delhi sits like an imperial power and behaves as if it has the divine right not only to meddle but usurp the power of the smaller states." And like the British, Delhi assiduously pursues the divide-and rule doctrine which has, in fact, led to a bloody internecine war among guerrilla organisations in Sri Lanka.

Realising they could not manipulate the fiercely independent LTTE, the RAW created its private army, the TELO, to wage Delhi's proxy war against J R Jayewardene. LTTE sabotaged Delhi's plans by butchering the TELO cadre in the summer of 1986. The LTTE killed many cadres of other "quisling" groups like the EPRLF and PLOT and banned all of them except their ally, the EROS from Jaffna, where the LTTE was firmly entrenched.

Threatened by New Delhi's domination, resentful states react by asserting their identity all the more emphatically. This happened in several Indian states like Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Assam and Andhra Pradesh, where powerful regional movements struck root from the sixties to resist New Delhi. This is what is happening in Sri Lanka as well. The arrival of

the IPKF aroused fears of being swamped and Sri Lankans responded by asserting their nationalism, most virulently expressed by the JVP. Forced to appeal to this constituency, Premadasa too became stridently anti-Indian in his public pronouncements.

Wittingly or unwittingly, India compounds these fears by its insensitivity. Said Sri Lankan minister Gamini Dissanayake, "Like all big countries, India fails to understand the inner dynamism of small countries, the inner problems and compulsions." Regarding the crises over IPKF withdrawal, a senior Sri Lanka diplomat exclaimed in anguish: "For India, Sri Lanka is only a prestige and an election issue, but for us it is a life-and-death matter." New Delhi has failed to appreciate how grave the JVP problem is for the Sri Lankan government. In 1985, the government's writ did not run in the Jaffna peninsula. Today, it does not run in the north-east and parts of the south.

By its actions, India gives the impression that it has scant respect for the smaller nation's sovereignty. When Nepal and Sri Lanka rebel, India responds by flexing its muscles - imposing economic hardship or using military force. But history is full of examples of how determined nationalism eventually frustrates superior military might - Vietnam, Afghanistan, Algeria and even Tibet. As Jagat Mehta pointed out, "The capacity of defiance within a small nation is stronger than the big nation's capacity of coercion."

Another aspect that has certainly aggravated the hostility of the smaller nations is the dichotomy between what India sanctimoniously preaches in international fora and what it callously practises in the region. The neighbours don't see much evidence of Nehru's Panchsheel or the five cardinal principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and the recognition of the equality of all states, irrespective of their size and power.

India preaches non-alignment in all international fora, but when Nepal tries a bit of non-alignment in the region, India raps its knuckles. The height of Indian hypocrisy was the virulent campaign against former Pakistan president Zia-ul-Haq for supporting Sikh terrorists while India was doing the same to Sri Lanka, and to a lesser extent to Bangladesh. Recently, in Calcutta, reacting to the Super-301 controversy and the US efforts to get India to

relax some of its restrictive import policies, Rajiv Gandhi said at a press conference: **"We will not tolerate the dictates of any government on how to run our country." Yet, he has no compunction in dictating the foreign and even domestic policies of Nepal and Sri Lanka.**

Another complaint is that India refuses to treat its neighbours as equals and fails to understand the gravity of their internal problems. When small nations assert their independence, India reacts with anger, pettiness, pique or petulance. Asked why India never accepted the principle of equality in diplomacy, a senior Indian diplomat in New Delhi said caustically, "If I were a short-statured man who wished to have a one-to-one talk with Aalam Channa (the tallest man in the world from Pakistan), I can't expect him to cut off his legs." No, but Channa could bow down gracefully to listen to the small-statured man. As the exchange with Morarji Desai shows, confidence-building is the onus of the bigger nation that has to convince the smaller nation that its prosperity will benefit the big country. Political turbulence and economic hardship in Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh will have a spill over effect in India to which they are geographically, historically and culturally bound. There could be a major refugee problem. Lack of fuel compels the Nepalese to rely on firewood. Deforestation in Nepal aggravates floods in northern India and Bangladesh. If harnessed, Nepal's vast potential for hydel power could benefit India as well.

India relates to its neighbours from a moral and military high horse, forgetting that the fundamental law of diplomacy is to treat them, or at least pretend to treat them, as equals. Referring to Gandhi's rejection of Premadasa's ultimatum, A G Noorani observed, 'India is a co-negotiator, not an umpire.' The arrogance of Indian negotiators and their inability to relate to their smaller neighbours on a one-to-one basis is most evident in India's shoddy handling of the LTTE and the other guerrillas. As a senior Indian diplomat, typical of the ruling westernised elite in India, remarked, "How can you relate to these Tamil militants? They can't speak English and they wear dhotis and bathroom chappals."

As far as the Indo-Sri Lankan accord is concerned, India's mistake was that it never took the LTTE seriously. Not only the diplomats but even IPKF officers were unimpressed by the LTTE at first - they

were young, wore civilian clothes and seemed so mild. That resulted in a costly underestimation of the LTTE. The LTTE has had to deal with various Indian politicians, bureaucrats, army officers and intelligence operatives. Said A S Balasingham, LTTE spokesman, "Each one was puffed up with his own sense of importance and power. They never cared to listen to our points of view. There was never any dialogue. They merely dictated terms and conditions and demanded absolute obedience."

Much of the accord's failure stems from bad personal relations between the LTTE and the Indian negotiators. In fact, it could even be argued that one of the reasons why the accord failed was that Indian negotiators lost sight of their principal objectives, driven as they were by their burning desire to teach the LTTE a lesson.

Even the current diplomatic crises

could have been defused, had India seized upon LTTE's July 2 statement in which they agreed to surrender weapons, eschew the path of violence and enter the democratic mainstream. Given the fact that India does want to withdraw, though in a graceful and honourable manner in view of the fact that it is an election year, it could have pointed out that the LTTE had finally vindicated the accord and moved in to force the LTTE to commit itself to its new proclamations. Instead, India lost the diplomatic initiative, sarcastically asserting that the LTTE could not be trusted.

The failure of Indian diplomacy often results in a stalemate which India has a tendency to resolve in a heavy-handed manner. Said Dissanayake, "India uses knuckle-dusters when kid gloves would be more effective." Classic examples are India's airdropping of food and medicines in Jaffna in June 1987 and the Nepal im-

broglia. According to N Ram, editor of The Hindu, 'imposing economic hardship on people will be counter-productive.'

It is counter-productive in more ways than one. It is not only the people of the affected country who become anti-India, but for the first time, there is a breakdown in consensus within India on foreign policy. Gandhi's handling of Nepal and Sri Lanka has come in for wide criticism. Many leading academicians, political analysts, liberals and political parties including the communists, who endorsed the IPKF's role in Sri Lanka, have urged Rajiv Gandhi to withdraw the troops in deference to Premadasa's sovereign right. As commentator Ashok Mitra said, "We did not, four decades ago, liberate ourselves from the clutches of imperialism in order to turn ourselves into imperialists." [By courtesy of *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, August 20, 1989]

YOUR VOICE

Continued from page 2

Domestic animals died by the hundreds for want of care. The roads were strewn with corpses and left to vultures and stray dogs. A bon-fire was made of corpses. For many days one could see heaps of skulls on the Hospital Road, opposite the hospital and skeletons almost on every road in the peninsula. Indiscriminate artillery fire played havoc with lives, buildings and public installations, private vehicles and what not. On instructions from the quislings, they looted pro-LTTE shops.

Dhoordharshan commenced two programmes "Vettimalai" (Victory Garland) and "Nesakkarangal" (Friendly Hands) and churned out lies after lies, day after day and Goebells would have blushed if he was alive! In fact the Indians could teach a few things to the Bothas and Pol Pots.

I fear that the Western democracies and most of their media are active pedalling the anti-Russian and anti-Chinese theme - there are a few exceptions no doubt. We have to keep on lobbying until they realise the crimes on a helpless minority in North-east Sri Lanka.

Even if the Opposition fails, Siachen, Arunachal Pradesh, the Punjab and the other trouble spots in Bharat will make the people realise and they themselves will want a tribunal to try Indian crimes.

"First they came for the Jews
and I did not speak out-
because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for the communists
and I did not speak out-
because I was not a communist.

Then they came for the trade unionists
and I did not speak out-
because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for me-
and there was no one left
to speak out for me."

- Pastor Niemoeller (victim of the Nazis)

Breakaway TULF group behind Amir's killing

A team of Police investigators who probed the killings of TULF leader A. Amirthalingam and former Jaffna MP V. Yogeswaran have concluded that a breakaway group of the TULF was responsible for the killings and the attempted assassination of V. Sivasithamparam.

The investigators are of the view that the intended victims were Mr. Amirthalingam and Mr. Sivasithamparam. Mr. Yogeswaran was believed to have suffered fatal injuries when he was caught in the crossfire.



Dear Thileepan, we salute you gratefully. You are a seasoned guerilla veteran of exemplary dedication, will power and tenacity of purpose. If only you can hear us we are pleased to announce proudly that you have not become a martyr in vain. Your efforts have begun to yield fruits.

Thileepan Commemoration Committee

EELAM thoughts

Kurushetran

An expatriate Tamil friend who had been following this series of articles, writes to me raising several doubts. The various issues he raises could be summed up as follows:-

1. You talk of "the inevitability of Tamil Eelam", but by when do you think it is achievable? 5 years, 10 years, 50 years?

2. Do you think it would be ever possible for the Tamils to have an independent homeland of their own without India's help? By antagonising India, are we not destroying all hopes of winning Tamil Eelam?

3. We are a "selfish, wretched race". We can never get united. The so-called "our boys" who took to guns to fight the enemy are now turning their guns at each other and on our own people. They are engaged in a "blood-thirsty" struggle for their own power. Do you think that we as a people deserve to have a homeland of our own? Why talk of "the inevitability of Tamil Eelam"?

4. Violence can never bring us freedom. The only way we can achieve it is through a disciplined non-violent struggle as Mahatma Gandhi did in India.

The letter is couched in strong emotional language and is unfortunately punctuated with cynicism, self-pity, self-recrimination, and a mood of hopelessness. Before I reply my friend, point by point, may I make some general comments, in the hope that they would not be considered condescending or patronising.

A people waging a struggle against oppression - from whichever quarter it comes - and convinced that the only way they can ensure their self-respect and self-dignity is to rule themselves (which axiom my friend appears to be convinced about) cannot afford to get impatient or display the kind of self-destructive emotion that my friend has led himself into. If a Tamil expatriate living 5,000 miles away from the scene, living in safety and comfort, with no risk to his life, can work himself into a mood of hopelessness, may we pause for a moment and think of the state of mind of the people back home living in

THE INEVITABILITY OF TAMIL EELAM - 10

the thick of gunfire, death, destruction, murder and mayhem? What kind of emotion do you think should they be smouldering under? But surprisingly, having met hundreds of them over the last few years who had lived in the northeast and lived through army attacks by two governments, seen mortars and shells, having suffered humiliation and witnessed death at the hands of "our own boys", and seen and smelt the stink of corpses, I am truly amazed at their stoic attitude, and the collected responses by many of them to my persistent queries. There is near total absence of emotion even when they lie between Life and Death. I offer this observation not only to my expatriate friend but to all Tamil expatriate readers in the West, to derive whatever moral out of it. I do not suggest by this that cynicism born out of frustration - human as we all are - is altogether avoidable under the circumstances, or that emotion is a bad thing; without it, life would be like a parched desert! But the mere display of emotion, instead of channelling it towards positive thinking and greater determination, would be of no avail; on the contrary, it could harm the morale of the entire expatriate community. It is worth recalling what an American President Calvin Coolidge once said: "Doubters do not achieve; sceptics do not contribute; cynics do not create".

Recently, an Indian journalist A S Panneerselvam, undertook a journey at great personal risk, and under the guidance of the LTTE, travelled from Valvettiturai in Jaffna to the thick Wannu jungles to meet LTTE leaders. In a three-part series of articles to his paper India Week (New Delhi) he offers many astonishing details of the life of a fighting force in the jungle. There is one incidental statement that he makes, which because of its relevance here, I quote: "... *The guides, some medical students, some plain high school drop-outs (above 13s are recruited) wore camouflage gear and army boots and spoke "We'll have Eelam", "Death to traitors" indistinguishably. Their knowledge of military tactics is inspiring; they have good insight of the extant socio-political regime in various Third World states. Not surprisingly, they do not reflect the despair of older Tamils at the worsening situation in the Tamil provinces...*"

Now to find an answer to my friend's first doubt: when do I think Tamil Eelam is achievable? Since my role is neither that of a prophet nor an astrologer, an answer could be arrived at only through a reasoned, logical analysis. Various factors, Geography, History, Geopolitics, have made the life of the Eelam Tamils inextricably linked with developments in two politics - the Sri Lankan, because we have shared the island with the Sinhalese for several centuries and we are still part of it; the Indian, because the country has been our emotional "motherland" for an equal span of history and also it is no longer possible to delink our problems from India's strategic concerns in the region. Irrespective of the stake we have, we do not have a share of power in the determination of policies in the two countries, and hence to a large extent the determination of our own future depends on the behaviour patterns of the rulers or ruling classes of the two countries. But even those who wield power in Colombo or New Delhi, despite the accepted claims to their sovereignty, are not free agents to pursue policies as they like. They are governed by various constraints - domestic opinion, international opinion, the interaction between other countries in the region, the pressures or otherwise of these facts, and not by skirting this truth that my belief in "the inevitability of Tamil Eelam" rests. As to when Tamil Eelam is achievable, in five, ten, or fifty years as my friend cynically asks, that depends not only on the above factors, but on the degree of commitment to the Eelam objective by the many Tamil groups now jostling for power, by the strength of conviction of all of us, our own determination, our staying power and our political and diplomatic skill (an area where our expat activists have a crucial role to play) in seeing to it that the interests of the various governments converge, or are made to converge, into a position where our goal of Tamil Eelam becomes realisable. In short, while "the inevitability of Tamil Eelam" is an existentialist fact now, the time-frame in translating the inevitability into accomplishment is largely in our hands. By "existentialist", one means the modern belief and teaching of philosophers like Kierkegaard and Sartre that "man is alone in a meaningless world, that he is completely free to choose his actions, and

that his actions determine his nature rather than the other way round”.

If our nature were to decide our actions, let us ask ourselves a question and give ourselves the honest answer: “What has been the nature of our people?”. Under the British, we were good quill-drivers, hard-working and obedient servants of the Crown, and a meek and timid people. Our whole concern in life could have been expressed in one word - security. What has been the nature of our people after independence when for the first time our sense of security was threatened? Every time goondas and ruffians attacked us, our first and last impulse was to run, either to Jaffna or Batticaloa or Trincomalee, or to the nearest refugee camp. That has been the pattern of behaviour since 1956; except in a few instances in Batticaloa during the 1958 riots when some Tamils there fought back, we never had the mettle in us even to defend ourselves. It was not surprising therefore that the more we ran, the more frequently the Sinhala mobs set upon us; because they knew our nature. But today, what does a distinguished foreign observer think of our “nature”? Ex-Indian Foreign Secretary A P Venkateswaran writing in *The Week* (June 18, 1989) makes this observation:-

“... the fighting capacity shown by LTTE may be expected to act as sufficient deterrent to any temptation on the part of the Sri Lankan security forces to attempt once again what they had failed to do earlier. Even without the help or sympathy of their brethren in Tamil Nadu, and certainly in the face of the punishing attacks by the IPKF which have continued to this day, the Sri Lankan Tamils have established a reputation for fighting that places them squarely in the category of a martial race, if indeed there is such a category”.

Well, haven't we got ourselves a brand new image, we who have been a timid, compromising escapist people? How did that happen? It happened because our actions over the past several years (at least the actions of some of our people) have endowed ourselves with a new nature. What were these actions?

1. The proclamation of the “Adanga Thamilan” (Tamils won't be put down) “war cry” by the late C Suntharalingam in the 60s, (a prophet who was mocked by several fellow Tamils during his lifetime).

2. The one-man revolt within the Federal Party by the then party theoretician and M P for Kayts, Mr V Navaratnam who held that an independent Tamil homeland was the answer, not Federalism (a man who was unfortunately ahead of his time and was effectively silenced by the late A Amirthalingam with party support).

3. The Tamil Eelam Resolution of 1976 that served notice on the Sri Lanka government that we are no longer prepared to be under its heel.

4. The Tamil Eelam mandate that we gave the TULF leadership at the 1977 elections.

5. Consequent to its failure or unwillingness to carry forward that mandate, the emergence of armed youth militancy.

6. The subsequent failure of sections of Tamil militants themselves in carrying forward the struggle, and the emergence of the LTTE under the inspiring leadership of Prabaharan as the only force to remain committed to the goal of Tamil Eelam.

It is these actions, at all times by a minority of men, who have now brought us the image of a “martial race”, which frankly many of us who belong to that “race” do not deserve. My friend who

wants to know whether we can achieve Tamil Eelam in 50 years must analyse the above pattern of events carefully. **First, we mocked at the man who first brought the very word “Tamil Eelam” into our political vocabulary. Then we drove into the political wilderness the other man who said that was the only solution. Then we clung on to the very men who weakened the cause of Tamil Eelam by talking of “viable alternatives” that never came. And today many of us (including several expatriates in the West) are doing our damndest to weaken and intrigue against the only force that remains committed to this goal.** May I therefore first invite my friend to try to find an answer to this question, about 5 years or 50 years, in the light of the above behaviour patterns of our own people? I have my own answer, based on the strong belief, and on historical truth, that the real achievers in the world are always in a minority, and that they win through, as long as there is a dominant mass of opinion that supports them. Talking of his own people, the American Negroes, Martin Luther King once said:

“Like all people, they (the blacks) have differing personalities, diverse financial interests and varied aspirations. There are Negroes who will never fight for freedom. There are Negroes who will seek profit for themselves alone from the struggle. There even are some Negroes who will co-operate with the oppressors. These facts should distress no one. Every minority and every people has its share of opportunists, profiteers, freeloaders and escapists No one can pretend that because a people may be oppressed, every individual member is virtuous and worthy. The real issue is whether in the great mass the dominant characteristics are decency, honour and courage”.

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SEPARATION IS THE ONLY WAY OUT FOR SRI LANKA

Lt Col Anton J N Selvadurai

I read with interest the article "A way out for Sri Lanka" by Dr B Senewiratne in the 1st August issue of your journal. With due regard to the learned doctor's specious arguments, I am unable to agree with him that Federalism is the only way out for Sri Lanka. I believe that Federalism will work only if there is ethnic harmony. Dr Senewiratne states that a separate Tamil state is not a realistic proposition, due to changing dialectics. Now dialectics is the art or science of investigating the truth by logical discussion, so I don't see how it affects the final conclusions, because the scenario and the facts are still the same. It is now more important that expeditious action be taken to simplify and solve this protracted problem instead of delaying and making it merely an academic issue.

SECURE AREA FREE FROM SINHALA HOODLUMS

Dr Senewiratne is presuming ideal conditions for the establishment of an honestly Federal State as a homeland for the Tamils. I quite agree, that Federalism is only possible if there is ethnic harmony. It would be rather naive to presume that such a possibility could ever exist in our wildest dreams, taking into consideration the hatred shown and the carnage caused by the Sinhala Buddhist chauvinists against the minority Tamils in the last 20 years or so. I ask, can a Tamil Federal State or an independent Tamil Eelam ever sleep easy in the nights, secure in the knowledge that they will not be attacked by their hostile Sinhala neighbours who are even now colonising our homeland with a vengeance? Will the anarchist JVP, who are creating havoc in the South among their own Sinhala people not move up North? JVP leader Wijeweera thinks he is a re-incarnated King Vijeyabahu, who is supposed to have reigned over the whole of Sri Lanka, and says he has plans to do likewise. The good doctor has left out the destructive JVP, who will never permit any autonomy to the Tamils, and so will the majority of the Sinhalese.

DEFENCE OF TAMIL HOMELAND

Obviously, the Tamils cannot successfully defend their homeland and secure their borders from the encroaching Sinhalese who have numerical and mili-

tary superiority. While guerilla warfare is only good to harass an occupation force like the IPKF, for proper Defence and Attack operations conventional forces are required to operate on land, sea and air. This is the reason why the Afghan rebels are unable to invade Kabul.

THE SINHALESE INVITED INDIA

It is ironical that the very Sinhalese people who wanted the Tamils out because they conveniently imagined that the Tamils were in cahoots with Tamil Nadu and were a threat to them, are the very people who invited India to solve an internal problem. They must be feeling quite stupid.

THEY SHOULD HAVE BEFRIENDED THE TAMILS

Any giggling schoolgirl would tell you that the obvious thing to have done was to have befriended the Tamil minority and developed the North and East so that they would be happy in their homeland instead of flocking down to the South for their livelihood. The highly productive Tamils should have been fully exploited by the government for the general good.

CLIMATE PLAYS A PART

It is a well-known fact that geography and climate determine the development of all fauna and flora. It is this that has determined the differences in character of the two races. The arid, one-monsoonal climate of the North left the people there with no option but to take to study and persevere in improving themselves to enable them to get a livelihood in the better developed and prosperous, luxuriant two-monsoonal South - the land flowing with milk and honey.

Whereas the deprived Tamils saw that education was a ticket to success, the soft Sinhalese with their balmy beaches and cool up-country climate had no such motivation. The Tamils therefore acquired a superiority in the fields of Education and Employment which quite naturally engendered the jealousy and hostility of the majority Sinhalese. This fact, compounded by an historical anti-Tamil antagonism by the chauvinistic Buddhists and a false sense of history which portrayed the Tamils as no more than foreign invaders and interlopers, quite

ignoring the archaeological evidence to the contrary, **nurtured in the Sinhalese a strong anti-Tamil bias from the cradle to the grave.**

THE CAUSE CANNOT BE REMOVED

Dr Senewiratne states that the propagation of ethnic chauvinism and extremism must end. But this, the main cause of our conflict, can only be removed by removing the Buddhist clergy and the Sinhala chauvinists from any political activity: this is well nigh impossible. It is they who started this problem by inciting ethnic violence every few years; this finally erupted in the holocaust of July 1983. It is they who are refusing to solve this problem peacefully, and it is they who forced the Tamils to ask for separation and finally to take up arms in a liberation struggle, creating heroes - Prabhakaran and the Tamil Tigers of Eelam. Tamils now have no need to hark back to the third century BC to find a Vijayan hero when the Sinhalese have given us one.

INDIA HAS NO OTHER WAY OUT

As explained, the presence of the Indian army, much against all our wishes, is a necessary evil - for the protection of the Tamils. The time is not far away when by attrition and in India's interests she will have to "smoke the pipe of peace" with the LTTE and bring them into the political arena. There is no other way, if India is to save face and avoid a "Vietnam" or "Afghanistan" situation. Provided she has the good sense not to be tempted to emulate America and install puppet dictators, India could play a very useful role and even set an example to other erring super powers. Now that she has a foot in Tamil Eelam and has almost complete control of Sri Lanka, there will not be a need for India to keep Sri Lanka in a state of de-stabilisation any more. In fact having expended about 1,000 lives and billions of rupees, the time has come to count the cost and promote peace.

FINANCIAL AID FOR THE EELAM TAMILS

The new state of Tamil Eelam, as an Indian Protectorate and free of Sinhala domination and control, will be able to

rehabilitate herself with the assistance of the UN, India and other donor countries like the USA, Canada, Japan, Germany, Scandinavia, etc. in addition to vast contributions by expatriate Eelam Tamil diaspora all over the world. World-class Eelam Tamil experts will start trickling down and our scientists, doctors, engineers, technicians and entrepreneurs will soon put Eelam on the world list of exporters with Agriculture, Agro-technology and the Fishing industry providing the food. Eventually like Japan and South Korea we could import raw materials and export electronic goods and like Malaysia even cars. I understand our industrialists have already plans for a little car called the "Yarl" based on the indestructible and ubiquitous Austin A40. The mammoth expenditure due from the Sri Lankan government as war reparations for damage caused by the Sri Lankan forces will not be forthcoming, as it has a ruined economy and a mad hatter's economic policy where a broke economy with hardly enough money for paying 6 weeks imports, according to "The Economist" is determined to pay a grant of Rs 2,500 each for 1.4 million families for 2 years. As I pointed out in my article "Robbing Ponniah to pay Perera" in 15th May issue of TVI, we cannot expect any assistance from the central government and have to fend for ourselves. So what is the point of Federalism? With Federalism we will have to bail the central government out with Indian help. It is best we leave the sinking ship and fend for ourselves instead of going down with it. The mammoth amount of money due to Tamil Eelam from the Sri Lankan government could be eventually adjusted in trade agreements with them. Eventually the Eelam Tamils may have to bail out their Sinhala neighbours after their Marxist revolution has gone the way of the Russians and the Chinese.

THE SINHALESE UNWITTINGLY ENGENDERED SEPARATION

Successive Sinhala governments have quite naively and unwittingly fomented a demand for separation by the Tamils by heaping on them injustices and discrimination in areas of education, employment etc. Many counter-productive actions by the government only made the Tamils feel unwanted and bereft of any sense of belonging to the land of their birth. The 6th and 13th Amendments to the Constitution, passed by a huge majority, formulated to further discrimi-

nate and repress the Tamils, have still not been repealed. Mr Premadasa, the President of Sri Lanka, has openly said that "with the obstacles and injustices presented to them it is no wonder that the Tamils demanded an independent Eelam."

He is saying these things a little too late. He should have told these frank truths when he was Prime Minister. But then he said a lot of different things. J R Jayewardene too has admitted that had Provincial Councils been instituted in the seventies we would not be having this problem today. However, because of the ethnic disharmony it could not have survived for long because a Tamil state, depending on the largesse of a biased Sinhala central government and working through a hostile bureaucracy would never be viable.

FLOGGING A DEAD HORSE

As pointed out before, when the Portuguese arrived in the early 16th century

the Sinhalese and Tamils had stabilised into 3 regional kingdoms. This situation would have continued had not the Europeans arrived. The changes brought about by their occupation and the creation of a unitary state worked out well as long as we were under foreign rule. After independence the natural tendency is to revert to the original state along racial lines and cause a de-stabilisation like in all post-independence situations of former European colonies of Africa and Asia and now in the Eastern European block after "Perestroika" and "doi-moi" in Vietnam. So this is a natural process which cannot be halted. If only wise men would appreciate this and avoid unnecessary bloodshed and suffering, the world would be more peaceful today. They say that history has a way of repeating itself. So the only solution to our ethnic problem is to revert to the pre-Portuguese period and live separately as good neighbours. Separation it has to be and trying to promote anything else, like Federalism, is like "flogging a dead horse."

SRI LANKA FAILS

Sri Lanka was unsuccessful in getting the Governor of the North-Eastern Province included in the Peace Committee. Though an agreement has been reached, political observers see disagreement visible in the agreement. Different interpretations are being given to the agreement in the two capitals. Tamils and Sinhalese believe that the Indian troops and the Indian interference will not get away from Sri Lanka.

LTTE AND THE ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE

The LTTE participated in the All-Party Conference convened by the government of Sri Lanka on the 13th of September. LTTE's participation was on an observer level. The LTTE's decision to participate in this Conference was prompted by the desire to co-operate with the government of Sri Lanka in its efforts to find solutions to the complex problems that beset the island.

MURASOLI EDITOR IN CANADA

Former Murasoli Editor Mr Sinnadurai Thiruchelvam landed safely in Toronto on June 25 after the EPRLF killed his only son Ahilan. If the Canadian diplomats had not worked quickly to get the Editor and his wife to Toronto following the death of their son, the couple might have been next on the hit list. The Canadian High Commission approved the Thiruchelvams visas before they even had passports. The sight of a Tamil boy near the apartment complex where they live brought horror rushing back in a wave of grief to Mrs Ranjitham Thiruchelvam; she was rushed to a Toronto hospital emergency ward recently. That is an example of the psychological effect of the war in Eelam.

TAX-FREE GOODS

According to new regulations, IPKF personnel who have been on duty for more than 20 months are allowed to take home goods worth Rs20,000 without any tax. The value of the Indian Rupee is double the Sri Lankan. Reliable sources say that most of the goods that the IPKF take home are not purchased but

EXCERPTS FROM MEDIA

NOT QUITE PEACE KEEPING

THE IPKF'S moment of truth has arrived. The time has come for it to ask the Indian government to pave the way for its early return home. As a report in a Delhi daily graphically describes, the frustration of not being able to tame the LTTE is showing itself in many forms, some of them very cruel. In the past four weeks anger, rather than its famed discipline, has guided the contingent's action. On two occasions, the report says, soldiers lost their cool and spewed out fire in all direction. Dozens of civilians have fallen victim to this retaliation. Delhi, it is apparent, is fully alive to the dangerous turn to the IPKF operation. No force can function in a hostile environment, but the IPKF was forced to because of the political perceptions of the Indian government. Also, the peace pact between the LTTE and the Sri Lanka administration has considerably eroded the legitimacy of the IPKF presence. **Once the militants had agreed to cease hostilities, how can the anti-LTTE campaign be justified?** (*The Tribune*)

SRI LANKAN TRAGEDY

Sri Lanka's future, however, is no longer entirely in the hands of its people. Much depends on how New Delhi conducts itself. Sadly, its influence on the course of the island's politics so far has not been a healthy one. The Indian army was sent into the island, under the accord signed by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the then President, Mr J R Jayewardene, to ensure its survival as a single nation. Two years later the threats to Sri Lankan unity are greater than before. So much for the success of the Indian effort, which has been extremely costly in military terms. This has happened because the political leadership, unable to evolve and pursue a coherent policy, abdicated its responsibility to low-level operatives who had neither the equipment nor the vision to take up the task.

The LTTE, through a series of daring acts, has demonstrated that it is not the spent force which the Indian establishment makes it out to be. If the reports that the Indian army commanders, angered by the LTTE's strikes, have drawn up plans to demolish its remaining bases and liquidate all top-ranking leaders, is true, it points to a pathetic inability to draw the right lessons from the events of the past two years. **At this critical juncture, Indian efforts should be directed towards saving Sri Lankan democracy while**

there is still a chance to do so. It must be evident to the meanest intelligence that, in the conditions obtaining in Sri Lanka today, it is not in India's interests to destroy Mr Premadasa, who only wants New Delhi to respect his country's sovereignty, or the LTTE, which remains the only indigenous force capable of leading the island's Tamil community. (Editorial, *Deccan Herald*, August 22, 1989)

IPKF'S MORALE

It is said that, although America won every battle in Vietnam, yet it lost the war there as the US soldier was demoralised, as he was confused regarding the national objectives of the Vietnam venture.

In Sri Lanka, if today the IPKF's morale is not what it should be, it is not due to the casualty rate, high as it may be, but the Indian jawan is not very clear why he is there, what he is fighting for, and for what cause he is dying. (Brig. N B Grant (Retd) *Hindustan Times*, August 14, 1989)

ONLY TARGET PRACTICE

The power struggle within the Tamil minority claims new victims every night as gunfire reverberates throughout this war-battered town.

"We are now so brutalised that revenge, revenge and more revenge is our credo. We are wiping out our own Tamil youth, said Mr Velupillai Balakumar, general secretary of the EROS. Visitors ask the staff at the Ghanam hotel, one of the few in Jaffna still open, what is going on. They receive a stock answer: "Nothing sir, somebody is doing some target practice."

The next morning the targets - young Tamil men - are found lying in pools of blood in the middle of the streets of Jaffna and surrounding villages.

"We don't know who is killing whom, but the dead turn up almost as a ritual every morning, and the sounds of gunfire, explosions, crying and wailing are part of our daily nightlife", a senior Tamil newspaper editor said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

"The brutalisation has reached such an extent that it is part of our lives. No one is interested even in knowing who the dead person is"

Like many other Jaffna residents, he blamed the bulk of the killings on the EPRLF, whose members are permitted by the Indian troops to carry arms openly. Tamil militants and civic leaders estimate at least 10,000 people have died in pre-

dominantly Tamil North-Eastern Sri Lanka since July 30, 1987. (AP, *The Hindu*, August 21, 1989)

ANOTHER WARNING

Valvettiturai, the small town on Sri Lanka's northern coast, has become a blemish on the Indian army which it will find hard to live down. The detailed account of the IPKF's attack on August 2 on the residents of the town given by David Housego, the Correspondent of the *Financial Times*, London, after a visit there shows the barbarity of it all. It shows too the lunacy of what is going on in that hapless country. The LTTE ambushed an IPKF patrol in the market place. The Indian jawans fired back and followed up with chilling reprisals against the inhabitants. There have been other incidents of this kind, many of them provoked by the LTTE, in the last two years but this is the most shocking of them all. It has again served to underline the high cost the men of the IPKF have had to pay in terms of earning a bad name.

A guerilla war on home ground can be trying enough for a regular army to counter. In the present case, the Indian army has been asked to deal with well-armed guerillas on foreign soil. The jawans' position has become particularly unenviable because they are unable to see how the deadly responsibility thrust on them by the Indian government served the nation's cause. Today the IPKF has no sense of purpose. It has no friends. And every day our soldiers see their colleagues dying. Demoralisation, the feeling that no one values what one is doing, indeed what one is dying for, removes all inhibitions. A provocation triggers brutality. That is the sequence. But it is no extenuation. Not in the eyes of the Sinhalese, nor in the eyes of the Tamils whom the IPKF is ostensibly there to protect. Nor will the fact that this brutality has followed the unvarying, predictable sequence moderate the consequences of the events for the Indian army. Quite the contrary. **The fact that our men are so much on edge that they have begun to react in this way is yet another reason to hasten back.** (Editorial, *Indian Express*, August 24, 1989)

ARMED TRUCE IN SRI LANKA

Just when it seemed as if Sri Lanka was teetering on the brink, the first hesitant signs of political will have appeared. The drive towards self-destruction has by no means been halted, but it could be that someone has discovered where the brakes are.

On Wednesday, 21 of the country's 27 political parties assembled to find collective solutions to the twin ethnic conflicts that have been tearing Sri Lanka apart. The last such meeting was in 1984, when only eight organisations attended. This time both the Tamil Tigers and the moderate Tamil parties of the north-east were present. Indeed, with the exception of the militant Sinhalese JVP, almost the full spectrum of the island's political forces was represented.

More surprising still is the comprehensive nature of the agenda. It will consider any proposals - constitutional, strategic or merely tactical - aimed at restoring sectarian peace. Neither the formation of a provisional government nor the restoration of a Westminster-style constitution is excluded. President Premadasa has even acknowledged the need to address Mrs Bandaranaike's calls for his resignation.

For the next month the politicians will meet in small private sessions before reconvening in full conference in mid-October. Their deliberations will be made easier by the expected conclusion of an agreement between the Indian and Sri Lankan governments about the withdrawal of the former's peace-keeping forces. Although the details are not yet confirmed, it seems Mr Gandhi has agreed to pull out his troops by the end of the year in return for guarantees about the security of the Tamil

provincial government of the north-east.

This all sounds very propitious, but the future still depends on two sets of left-wing militants. The Tigers and the JVP, though sworn enemies, together hold the island to ransom. The brakes will only have been applied when they have been incorporated into the political mainstream.

An early Indian withdrawal should mollify the JVP considerably. After all, it was popular resentment of the foreign troops which converted this organisation from a shadowy Marxist clique into a powerful nationalist force. If, in addition, the conference is a success, and Mr Premadasa accepts sweeping constitutional reforms, the JVP may also feel that its demands for changes in the political order have been met.

The only remaining issue will then be whether it can accept the provincial councils, and in particular that of the north-east which gives the Tamil community a measure of devolution. The Indians will not accept the unravelling of the provincial councils and even the Tamils, who show little support for the incumbent administration, might wish to preserve the existing structure.

The Tigers will also welcome the Indian withdrawal. But they will insist on the dismissal of the present north-east government, because they see the EPRLF who

hold power there, as their bitter rivals. In earlier talks with the President's emissaries they are thought to have made this clear, and this in turn forced Mr Gandhi to declare that he could not accept such an outcome.

From the outside, at least, a solution seems possible. If, for instance, the JVP accepts the existence of provincial councils, fresh elections could be called. There was such an extensive boycott when the present councils were elected that a new poll would be justified. More importantly, it would give the Tigers an opportunity to demonstrate support and win legitimately. That would be an outcome Mr Gandhi could accept without loss of face.

The crucial question is whether, with the Indians out, and agreement on substantial constitutional amendments, the JVP would accept the provincial arrangement. No doubt the answer partly depends on how seriously President Premadasa and his United National Party commit themselves to change.

If, however, the Sinhalese militants continue to be obdurate there can be no alternative to the political parties' uniting to defeat them militarily. If nothing else, a successful conference could interrupt Sri Lanka's cycle of violence. (Editorial, *The Times*, Sept 16, 1989)

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EPRLF KILL EROS MEMBERS

Two EROS members were shot dead on August 25 by the EPRLF in Trincomalee. A group of EROS members was on its way for a discussion with IPKF town commander regarding a grenade attack on EROS office when their vehicle was ambushed by members of the EPRLF.

MUSLIM LEADER ESCAPES

The leader of the Muslim Congress M H M Ashraff narrowly escaped an assassination attempt made on his life by an armed gang belonging to the ENDLF. Mr Ashraff was going towards Maruthamunai from Kalmunai. A van overtook the car he was travelling in and the inmates of the van pointed their weapons at Mr Ashraff. When the driver of the car overtook the van on the wrong side, the van chased the car until Mr Ashraff reached his sister's house at Maruthamunai. The armed persons banged on the door calling for Mr Ashraff and after a few minutes they left taking with them the car in which Mr Ashraff had travelled. Mr Ashraff is now in Colombo with his family.

HARASSMENT BY IPKF

Drivers of private vehicles who pass the 4th mile post junction on the Trincomalee-Colombo highway allege that IPKF personnel manning the check-points close to Trincomalee were harassing them. All vehicles entering and leaving the city limits of Trincomalee are stopped at check points where identity cards and baggage are checked by the IPKF. According to the new procedure the passengers are required to walk ahead of the vehicle for a distance of 150 metres after they have been checked. Some drivers who were not aware of this had asked their passengers to get into the vehicles after the checking. The IPKF had allegedly assaulted them for allowing the passengers to do so.

PROOF OF EXAGGERATED DEATH

On the 25th of August in Colombo Fort a motley collection of journalists and *Tiger watchers* gathered round a TV set to be offered proof that Prabakaran was not dead. An LTTE propaganda buff had brought a ten minute cassette shot in the Tigers' den showing Prabakaran in various postures of conviviality with Mahathaya who is supposed to have killed him. The date was said to be August 11. The same video has been shown all over Madras too. Yogi appeared in it with Kittu and Shankar and said in Tamil that this was taken to prove to the world about the lies the Indian government was spreading.

The same video cassette is in circulation in the rest of the world. Tamils are enthusiastically in viewing it.

INDIAN ARMY RAMPAGE TAMIL VILLAGE

Four innocent Tamil civilians were killed, several seriously injured and 22 houses were destroyed when the Indian military personnel went on a rampage in Alampil in the Mullaitivu district on the 28th of August. The rampage was followed by a fierce gun battle between the LTTE and IPKF in which several Indian soldiers were killed. Lt. Krishna of the LTTE was also killed. The Indian soldiers went berserk following the clash and attacked the nearby village. Four civilians, Navarajah Ketheeswarn, Krishnapillai Sathiyathan, T Vickneswaran and Velayutham Paramsothy were forced out of their homes and shot dead in cold blood. The IPKF planted explosives and blasted 22 houses in the village. Armed EPRLF members actively assisted the IPKF in this rampage.

TRINCOMALEE MASSACRE

Tamil civilians were mercilessly massacred by the Indian army in retaliation for the attack on them by the LTTE on the 13th of September at Kaddaiparichan in the Trincomalee district. Four Indian soldiers were killed on the spot. Two LTTE fighters Suruli and Ruban died. In retaliation, the Indian soldiers rounded up the villagers, herded them into a school and fired at them indiscriminately. 15 Tamil civilians including women and children were killed and several injured in this incident. Identified bodies of the dead are:- Karthikesu Thangam (55), Veerakutti Deivanai (32), Nesathurai Premalatha (16), Rasaratnam Geetha (20), Kalikutty Paramsothy (75), Sittampalam Arumainayagam (35), Chandraseharam Thanganachi (32), Kalidasa Amman (8), Balasundaram Nalini, Pakiyaraja Rukmani (40).

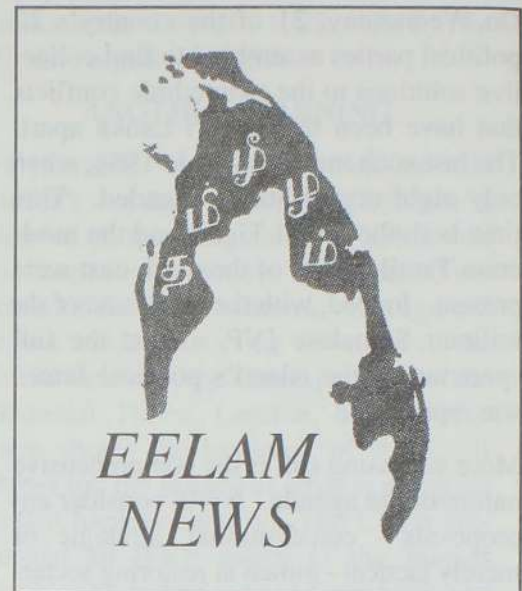
People seriously injured:- Chandraseharam Nalini (3), Mylvaganam Annaletchumi (42), Chandraseharam Theerani (11), Mylvaganam Indrarajah (48), Nallailingam Natkunam (28).

MASSACRED BY THE IPKF AND THE EPRLF IN JULY

JAFFNA DISTRICT

Muniyandi Indradevi (19) Koovil, Point Pedro, Vickneswaran Nanthakumar (27) Thambasitti, Point Pedro, Nagarasa Yogeswaran, Konathivu, Point Pedro, Balraj - Sonakkal, Mariasegar (37) Sakkodai,

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Uthayaraj (25) Irumbusiddi, Sasikala, Irumbusiddi, Rani (20) Vadaliyadaipu, Veluppiali Sandrasehar, Vickneswaran (26) Uduvil, Sivanantham Mayavan (18), Velayutham (24) Chunnakam, Rajaratnam (53) Vaddukodai, Sivanesan (28) Pandatharippu, Mahlingam Maheswaran (20) Neerveli, N Ketheeswaran (19), K Ambalavanar (36) Alvai, S Vairamuthu - Puloli, S Subramaniam - Manthikai, K Kulasingham, R Sri Pathmanathan (22), Paramaguru Skandakumar, P Ganesanathan (25) Puloli, S Sivalingam (45) Punnalai, S Appan - 4th Cross St, Jaffna, Thangamma - Thunnalai, Sellamma - Thunnalai, Shanthi (20) Thunnalai, Kandiah Yogarajah (27) Nainativu, Selvaraja Eeswaran (18) Nainativu, Siril Muhampillai (57), Ramanathan Ganeshakumar, Rasiah Rajanayagam - Point Pedro, Sivapatham Selvi - Sandilipai (34)

TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT

S Packianathan, Ragu - Manalsenai, Muthaiah Selvanayagam (45) Kuchchaveli, Pooranam Navaratnarajah (34) Kuchchaveli, Thamotheram Sarojinidevi (37) Koonitivu, Sellathambi Marimuthu (45) Pallikudiyiruppu, Balasingham Kavitha (9), Manickarajah Mahendran (8), Manickarajah Nadesan (7), Pushparajah Sihamani (12), Nadesan Saraswathy (35), Nadesan Bawani (13), Nadesan Jeevarani (7), Nadesan Rajani (5), Alinesarajah Jeyakanthan (1), Kanapathipillai Jamunarani (22) (16)

BATTICALOA DISTRICT

Krishnapillai - Sithandi

MULLAITIVU DISTRICT

Karunaharan (35) Semmalai, Yaso (15), Ravathy (11), Ponniah Varatharajah (16) Kulavisuddan, Suresh - Silavathai, Jeyaraj - Vavunikulam (6)

VAVUNIYA DISTRICT

Thangarajah Parameswari (19) Ilappai-kulam, Tharmalingam (45) Potkulam, Muthiah Ariyam (55) Ukkilankulam, Suppiah Nicholas (48) (4)

KILINOCCHI DISTRICT

S Thamarajah (51), Selvarani (24) (2)

AMPARAI DISTRICT

Ram - Palaiyadivettai, Subramaniam, Jeevan - Akkaraipattu (3)

Fourteen women have been raped in Udupidy by the IPKF on the 2,3 & 4 of August. Names of the victims have been omitted to avoid embarrassment.

IDENTIFIED KILLED IN VALVET-TITURAI ON AUGUST 2-4

Kumaravel Selvananthavel (19) Theruvil, Methavinadarajah Ravindran (31), Ilaiyaperumal (70), Amirtham Umathevi (27), Eswaramoorthi Rajaluxmi (26), Ponnudurai Sanmugalingam (45), Kandasami Mahendrarajah (49), Kandasami Velum Mayilum (43), Ponniah Kalidas (26), Balakrishnan Premraj (21), Aathy Arunasalam Sunthareswarar (11) - Vithanai, Subramaniam (Karadiyar) (55), Subramaniam Amuthan (28), Rajaguru Pushparani (40) - Sivapura Veethy, Rajaguru Javanraj (13), Ganeshalingam (32) - Mathavadi, Ganeshalingam Sasi (01), Ponnambalam Ranjitkumar (26) - Santhi Olungai, Vijayaratnam Muralitharan (19) - Palavi Colony, Thangarajah (60), Thanigasalam Ravindran (27) Kattuvalavu, Kanthakutti Shankar (19), T Nagaraj (28) Vembadi North Road, Balasubramaniam Mahendradas (16), Arumugasamy Ramachandran (29) Nediyaikadu, Arulpragasam Swarnadas (18) Oorikadu, Ponnudurai Rajendram (23) Aathikoviladi Sothilingam Rameshkumar (18) Polikand, Poopalu Sivamani (32) Urani Colony, Kuttipavun (26) Kerudavil, Fernando Vathanam - Vembadi, Kanthasamy Sivapackiam (40) Vavi Lane, Veeramanickam Thevan (28) Myliddy - KKS, Rasiah Rajaratnam (34) near Sivan Temple, Point Pedro, Navaratnam (25) Odaikarai, Rasamanickam Nadarajah (62) V M Road, Point Pedro, Vinayagamorthy Arulsothy (28), Navaratnam Banugopal (23) Theeruvil, VVT, K Sivaneswararajah (36) (39)

Names of others killed are not yet available to TVI.

VEHICLES MINUS NUMBERPLATES

Over 40 TATA buses and a large number

of Indian-made vehicles including "Mahendra" jeeps, lorries and bowsers sent by India directly to the NE Province via Trincomalee, six months ago were being run by the Provincial administration without the required Motor Traffic Dept. registration. It was the duty of the police to check unregistered vehicles and bring to book their owners. The police based in the North-Eastern province have virtually no role to play in such illegal activity.

INDIAN AID

The N-E Provincial Council announced on August 26 the impending arrival of a ship at Trincomalee with Indian aid consisting of printing machinery worth Rs 10 million, construction machinery and building material etc for the N-E, P C. The Ministry of Finance issued instructions that Provincial Councils should not have any direct dealings on matters pertaining to trade and commerce with foreign governments.

TRISTAR BOMB CASE

The court held that the accused were arrested in an unlawful manner and were subjected to torture and various types of harassment. The court could not therefore accept the statements of the accused as having been voluntarily made. The state prosecutor has now made application for the issue of copies of the proceedings and documents in order to appeal against the order of Court. The accused continue to be under remand.

CHURCH PLEA FOR FUNDS

The church committee of the Holy Emmanuel Church in Urumpirai, Jaffna has appealed to the general public to contribute towards the renovation of the Church which was damaged during the military operations of the IPKF in October 1987. It is estimated that the project will cost around Rs900,000. Donations may be sent in favour of the Holy. Treasurer, Holy Emmanuel Church, Urumpirai.

CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS

The government of India and its quisling groups continue to violate the cease-fire which came into force under the recent agreement between India and Sri Lanka. On 20.09.89 in Vavuniya, two innocent civilians, a merchant called Vallipuram and 22 years old Benedict Deivendrarajah have been killed by EPRLF members. The Indian soldiers who came along with the EPRLF members did nothing to prevent the killings. On the same day, in Batticaloa district, the Indian soldiers confiscated several boats belonging to fishermen. The Indian army is expanding its

camp at Valaichenai in the Batticaloa district with forced labour of the villagers.

On Sept. 21, in the Batticaloa district, 10 Tamil civilians were arrested and taken to Kudumpimalai army camp. At Kinniadithurai one civilian named Gopal was severely beaten by the Indian soldiers. At Akkarayankulam in the Kilinochchi district the members of the group ENDLF, under the influence of liquor tried to molest a woman.

On the 22nd several artillery shells were fired from the Indian army camp in Thunukkai in Kilinochchi district. Two civilians, Aravindan and Kandasamy were assaulted by the Indian soldiers at Kiran in the Batticaloa district.

FORCED CONSCRIPTION

The EPRLF cadres have launched the second round of forced conscription of Tamil youths to form a Tamil National Army. According to a senior spokesman, their plan is to form a Tamil militia to fight the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE.

IGNORE IPKF DIRECTIONS

The government of Sri Lanka has directed Government Agents of the districts of the N-E Province not to take any instructions from the IPKF on matters pertaining to civil administration. They have been asked to bring to the notice of the Secretary, Ministry of Defence, any interference by the Indian army in civil administration as well as total disregard or flouting of the laws of the land with regard to immigration, customs, etc.

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

There is no electricity in all the N-E districts for the last few months. As a result the whole economy in the region has come to a standstill. Fishermen's boats and fishing gear have been destroyed by the IPKF. It appears that India has imposed an economic blockade on the Tamils for their support to the LTTE whom the Indian troops are fighting for the last two years without any success.

COST OF LIVING

Cost of living is prohibitive and devaluation of the rupee, which is inevitable, will further cause hardship to the people. However, the Indian High Commission claims that life remains normal in the North-East.

CLEMENCY GRANTED

The death sentence imposed on those involved in the Maldivian coup has been commuted to life imprisonment by the President of Maldives.

SITUATION IN SRI LANKA

Burning and mutilated bodies have now become a common sight. Both sides, the subversives and the government, are espousing the theory that the only solution is total annihilation. Rebels, in desperation, are killing the families of security forces. Posters warned the rebels that for the killing of each service man or policeman the reprisals would be the elimination of twelve persons including the kith and kin of the rebels. The question is as to how many innocents are being killed in these mass reprisals.

841 PERSONS KILLED

841 persons had been killed in the south during the period July 16, 1989 to August 15, 1989. Of that number 79 were political murders while the others were "homicides". Terrorist violence by "subversives" had also resulted in the deaths of 31 police officers and 18 security personnel.

TAMIL APPOINTED AS JUDGE

President, Court of Appeal, P Ramanathan, was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court. He took his oaths before President Premadasa. Mr Ramanathan is the great grandson of Sir Ponnampalam Ramanathan and a greatgrand-nephew of Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam.

UNDERGRAD DISCHARGED

Varadalingam Jayakumar an undergraduate of the engineering faculty, Katubedda Campus, who was arrested on an alleged charge of plotting to assassinate former President Jayewardene but later indicted on other counts was discharged by a High Court Judge on August 26. Jayakumar was 21 years at the time of arrest and had been on remand since July 16, 1985. He was indicted with conspiring to cause mischief by committing arson at the Katunayake Railway Station and conspiring to commit mischief at the Army Headquarters Fort. In a separate case Jayakumar was discharged by the High Court Judge in a case of conspiracy to cause violence and attempting to plant a bomb in the Presidential Secretariat.

INDIAN MILITARY IN COLOMBO

India has decided to keep a contingent of

Indian Paramilitary personnel in Colombo in view of the worsening security situation in the country.

The contingent which arrived in Colombo in July fearing attacks on Indian targets in Colombo, will continue to stay with a view to providing intensified security to the Indian High Commission and the diplomatic staff. A few weeks ago an unidentified group of suspected Muslim militants threw a hand bomb at the Indian High Commission, but they missed the target.

AIR LANKA FINED BY BRITAIN

Air Lanka has been asked by the British authorities to pay fines amounting to some £25,000, for bringing immigrants without authentic documents to the UK. Some Sri Lankan passengers, described as asylum-seekers are alleged to have landed in Britain without the documents required to permit them to claim political asylum.

SRI LANKAN NEWS

EXPATRIATE EXODUS

Several expatriates working in various parts of the country have left the island while others have been brought to Colombo following threats issued to workmen engaged in several projects to stay away from work. Eight German expatriates have left the country while work on six German-aided schemes, most of them agricultural ones, has been frozen for the present. Expatriates were unable to do any field work as Sri Lankans working on the projects had been threatened to stay away from work. The foreigners themselves have not been the subject of such threats.

SITUATION IN THE PLANTATIONS

Government sponsored colonisation of the estate lands is taking place in the up-country. The Ceylon Workers Congress has come forward to oppose this move by the government, settling aliens in the lands while the workers in the estates who are entitled to enjoy the benefits of these lands are denied their rights. Cabinet minister Mr S Thondaman has de-

manded that such action on the part of the government should be stopped and that estate lands should be utilised for the purpose of building dwelling houses for the estate workers and further lands be allocated for cultivation and setting up of livestock farms by the estate workers.

With the killings of officials of the CWC and LJEWU by the JVP recently, the atmosphere in the plantation sector has changed as fear psychosis has taken hold there too, and thereby serious problems have cropped up in the day to day life of the population. Under these conditions the militant youths of the plantation area might take up arms in order to suppress those who are threatening the peace.

HOSPITALS REMAIN CLOSED

The work stoppage at the Colombo General Hospital and the Colombo South Hospital continues with only the Accident and Emergency units functioning. It is understood that although hospital employees report to work they do not perform their duties.

SHOT DEAD

The Chairman of Sri Lanka's State Pharmaceuticals Corporation, Dr Gladys Jayewardene, a sister-in-law of Mr J R Jayewardene, was shot dead as she was on her way home through a busy part of the city on Sept 12. Dr Jayewardene (71) was married to the former President's younger brother Dr R P Jayewardene, and there is no clear indication why she was killed. Police and eyewitnesses said two armed men, riding a motorbike, opened fire from their automatic weapons killing Dr Gladys Jayewardene.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Moratuwa University, Prof C Patuvathavithana, was shot dead by JVP militants on Sept 11.

Mr H G Perera, a manager of the State owned Marketing Federation was also shot dead by the JVP.

Mr Kanchana Abeyapala, a human rights lawyer, was shot dead at his Colombo flat and his father was wounded in the attack on August 28.

FOLK TALES AND HISTORICAL STORIES

By Thaatha

HOW KAILASH WAS BROUGHT TO EARTH

Kulankai Singai Ariyan, the first Ariya Chakravarthy King of Jaffna, was a very successful king. One day, in a dream he saw the Supreme One reigning in splendour. He was in the mountain abode of Mt. Kailash.

He thought that the dream was a divine behest. He therefore set about building a beautiful edifice for Him at Nallur. Nallur was the King's capital city. Special artisans and craftsmen were engaged; very soon a magnificent building was completed. The floor was covered with sheets of gold. On it was a throne set with rubies, blue sapphires, cat's eyes, diamonds and pearls.

On the day of the opening, the ceremonies were performed by eminent priests from India. They invoked the Supreme One from Mt. Kailash, by sacred mantras.

The King called it the "Kailash Nathar Kovil"; he worshipped there daily and lived happily thereafter. Even today, we find a "Kailaya Nathar Pillaiyar Kovil" at the site.

HOW RIVER GANGES REACHED JAFFNA

Kulankai Singai Ariyan, the first Tamil King of Jaffna, reigned during the thirteenth century. He took great pains to build his capital city of Nallur. He erected several buildings there. Nevertheless he was not satisfied; he wanted a bathing ghat also at Nallur, as at Benares in India.

But there were no rivers in Jaffna. So a "Kerni" (a small tank) was dug out close to the Royal Palace. The waters of this kerni had to be made sacred. Then only ablutionary bathing would become effective. So, tradition tells us, water from the River Yamuna, a tributary of the Ganges, was brought in silver pots all the way from North India and poured into the kerni.

The kerni thus became a part of the Ganges River Yamuna. The celebrated water kerni was called "Yamuna Aeri" or "Yamunari" meaning Yamuna Lake.

Yamunari is to be found at Nallur, even today, to remind us of the glorious days of the past.

A RIVER-PASSAGE FOR JAFFNA

Years ago a distinguished General by

the name of Karunakara Thondaman came to Jaffna. He was sent by King Kulatunga Cholan who ruled in South India in the 11th century.

Karunakaran came with a large retinue of workers to manufacture salt. The salt was to be made at Karanavai, by the lagoon. It was then to be exported to their homeland in India.

His boats had to be first led into the hinterland, safe from the rough seas. Therefore, in the first instance, he got cut a wide sea inlet canal. This was done near Valvettiturai in the North of Jaffna. The boats came in by the canal; it was also used to take away the salt.

The Canal became known as "Thondaman Aaru" or the "River of Thondaman". It is there even today; even the settlement by the side is known by the name of "Thondamanar."

VALOUR SUPREME

October is a month of Hindu festivals.

Cultural Saraswathy Puja is on the 8th, auspicious Vijaya Dasami on the 9th, joyous Deepavali on the 28th and the memorable Skanda Sashdi commences on the 28th of this month.

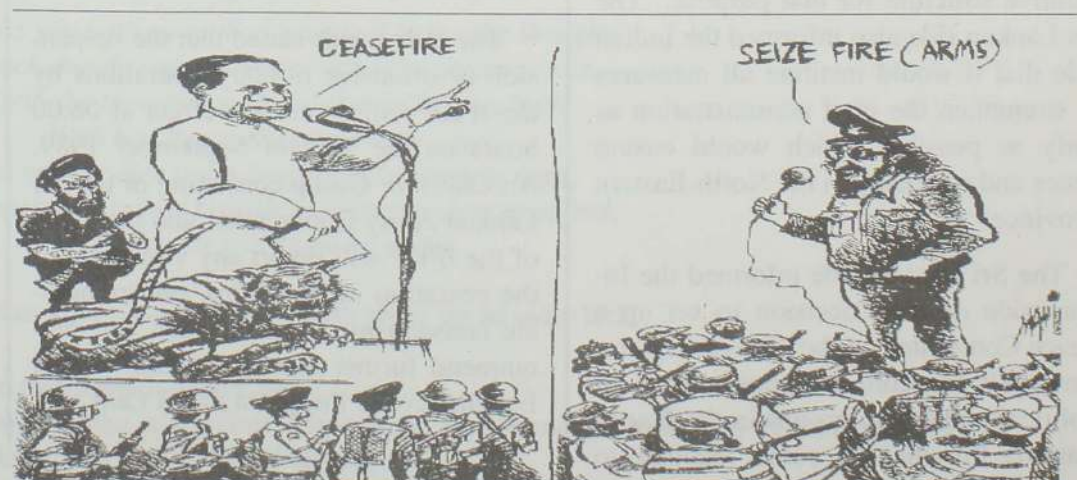
Vijaya Dasami celebrates the elimination of Mahishasura and Deepavali that of Narakasura. The five day Skanda Sashdi observances terminate with Sura Sankaram or Suran Phor, which all, young and old, enjoy witnessing. This festival commemorates the vanquishing of an Asuran, Sura Padman, by youthful Skanda or Kanda Veri. The event is most dramatically depicted annually at most temples.

Some research scholars think the celebration depicts the victory of youthful King Kumara Vel over the Mongolian hordes who invaded Central India in the early eras of proto history.

Have the ancients ensured remembrance of valorous deeds by associating them with religious significances?



Sura Sankaram festival at a Colombo temple.



JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF SEPTEMBER 18

[India and Sri Lanka reached an agreement on September 18 on the withdrawal of the Indian troops. The agreement was signed by the Indian High Commissioner Mr L L Mehrotra and the Sri Lankan Foreign Secretary Mr B P Tilakaratne. The Joint communique issued simultaneously in Colombo and Delhi is reproduced]

In pursuance of the communique signed in Colombo on the 28th July, 1989, by Mr Bernard Tilakaratna, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, and Shri L L Melhotra, the High Commissioner of India, three rounds of consultation were held by the two Governments. A Sri Lankan delegation, led by the Foreign Minister Hon Ranjan Wijeratne visited India from the 29th July to 4th August 1989. Mr Bradman Weerakoon, special envoy of His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka, held further discussions in New Delhi from the 8th to the 17th August, 1989. A final round of talks was held between His Excellency Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, and Hon. Ranjan Wijeratne, Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka, during their visit to Belgrade from 4th to 7th September, 1989.

The talks were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. They covered bilateral issues, including the de-induction of the remaining IPKF contingents in Sri Lanka, implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and measures to ensure the safety and security of all communities of the North-Eastern Province of Sri Lanka.

The implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was reviewed in depth by the two sides. The Sri Lankan side briefed the Indian side on the progress made and further steps taken by them for the expeditious implementation of the devolution process such as establishing of the Provincial Police Force and facilitating the effective functioning of the North-Eastern Provincial Council and the establishment of an adequate administrative structure for that purpose. The Sri Lankan side also informed the Indian side that it would institute all measures to strengthen the civil administration as early as possible which would ensure peace and normalcy in the North-Eastern Province.

The Sri Lankan side informed the Indian side of their decision to set up a Peace Committee on the 20th of September, 1989, to afford an opportunity to all political and ethnic groups in the North-Eastern Province to come together to

settle their differences through the process of consultation, compromise and consensus and to bring all groups into the democratic process, thereby ending violence and improving conditions for the physical safety and security of all communities. This would help restore normalcy and contribute to the effective functioning of the North-Eastern Provincial Council. The first meeting of the Peace Committee will be held within three weeks of the setting up of this Committee. This decision was welcomed by the Indian side.

It was decided to set up a Security Co-ordination Group comprising the Sri Lankan Minister of State for Defence, the Chief Minister of the North-Eastern Province, the Sri Lankan Defence Secretary and the GOC of the IPKF, with a view to avoiding any adverse impact on the law and order situation in the North-Eastern Province and to suggest measures to ensure the safety and security in the North-Eastern Province as the phased de-induction of the IPKF and the strengthening of the civilian administration of the North-Eastern Province of Sri Lanka proceed.

This group will keep in view the recommendation of the Peace Committee relating to the safety and security of the inhabitants of the North-Eastern Province.

In view of the above, the process of de-induction of the IPKF, which recommenced on 29th July 1989, will be continued on an expeditious schedule. All efforts will be made to accelerate the de-induction of the IPKF to complete de-induction by 31st December 1989.

The Indian side stated that the suspension of offensive military operations by the IPKF will come into effect at 06.00 hours on the 20th of September 1989. An Observer Group consisting of the Sri Lankan Army Commander and the GOC of the IPKF will report any violations of the cessation of hostilities and immediate consequential action taken and recommend further remedial action to His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka.

COMMENT BY THE WORLD FEDERATION

The Secretary-General of the World Federation of Tamils made the following comments to the press on September 19:

The World Federation of Tamils, at its Second International Conference held in London on the 29th & 30th April 1989, unanimously passed a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of the Indian troops. Therefore, the WFT welcomes the proposed withdrawal. The Federation is concerned, however, that its resolution calling for the repeal of the statutes relating to the Provincial Councils, and the demand that "the presently constituted North-East Provincial Council be dissolved ..." have not been met.

We object to the inclusion of the Chief Minister of the North-East P C in a Security Co-ordination Committee on the basis that his group, the EPRLF, together with the Indian troops are responsible for the civilian massacres, raping of Tamil women, destruction of property, forced conscription of Tamil youth and the consequent fleeing of civilians from the North-East that continue to this day. The present Provincial Council, in our opinion, is illegitimate.

It is clear that the agreement does not meet the aspirations of the Tamil people, and that even greater sacrifice will be called for in the quest for Tamil Eelam. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that the Indian troops will leave by the end of the year. It is of concern that the observer group comprises the Sri Lankan Army Commander and the GOC of the Indian Troops. The WFT would rather that independent parties, either from SAARC or the Commonwealth, act as observers.

The WFT would also like clarification as to the composition of the Provincial Police Force.

To conclude, we are dismayed to learn that India is still trying to impose its will on the Tamil people with scant regard to their right to self determination. This agreement signed by represen-

tatives of the two governments will not be able to redress the grievous harm perpetrated on the Tamil people.

LTTE RECIPROCATES

The Political Committee of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, in a statement issued from its Headquarters on 19th September, 1989, announced that it would cease all armed hostilities against the Indian armed forces as a reciprocal measure to the Indian declaration of ceasefire. The Supreme Military Command of LTTE has issued orders to all guerilla formations functioning in the North and East to suspend all military actions against the Indian army, the statement said.

"The LTTE has already indicated its willingness to effect a ceasefire with the Indian army. We will observe ceasefire if the Indians cease all armed operations against our cadres. We reserve the right to self-defence if the Indian army or its quisling armed groups launch any armed action against the LTTE", the political committee declared.

"We are disappointed to observe that the commentaries and interpretations made by Indian Foreign Ministry officials in Delhi seem to contradict the content of the joint communique issued by India and Sri Lanka in Colombo. Though we have our own reservations with regard to the ulterior motives of the Indian strategy in Sri Lanka we hope that the Government of India will complete the withdrawal of troops by the 31st of December 1989, which will facilitate the resumption of peace and normalcy in the Tamil speaking region. We also wish to point out that the LTTE reserves the right to re-consider its decisions and re-evaluate its strategy in case the Government of India reverses the course of peace and de-escalation of conflict and opt for the policy of military occupation by suspending the agreed process of troop withdrawal", the LTTE's statement added.

LTTE ACCUSES INDIA OF CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS

The Political Committee of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in a state-

ment issued from its Headquarters 21st september accused the Government of India "of calculated actions to violate the ceasefire agreement". The Indian army has set up 4 new camps during the last 3 days in the Kilinochchi district and has been involved in rounding up operations in Jaffna peninsula yesterday, the LTTE statement pointed out.

"The Indian armed forces have constructed new army camps at Uruthirapuram, Kandapuram and at Akarayan junction on the 19th of this month and set up another camp at Kanagapuram on the 20th of September, the day the ceasefire was declared. The Indian troops rounded up the villagers of Kopay and Varani yesterday and have taken into custody several civilians for investigations. In the meantime, the Indian army and the EPRLF have warned the Tamil public that capital punishment would be meted out to all those who participate in the second anniversary celebrations of Martyr Thileepan which falls on the 26th of this month. "Cease-fires will come and go, but your life, once lost, will not return" an EPRLF pamphlet warned.

IN MEMORIAM



Mrs Florence Ariyamalar Rajasingham
Born: 24.07.1922



Rajasingham Manoharan
Born: 30.07.1949

Killed: 16.10.1987

*We miss you both more than we could have ever thought.
As each day dawns the despair and the anger grows.
Until, the treacherous hand that killed you both
With his 'Peace Keeping Force', and
Left your bodies seven long days for dogs to feast,
Is unmasked to reveal his role in these murders most foul,
Our hearts will know no peace.*

We pray that your souls have found the peace we so sadly lack.

Fondly remembered on their second death anniversary by:-

C Rajasingham, Vasuki Manoharan, Saratha and Priyan Manoharan, Dr Narendran, Manohari Thevathasan, Selvi Rajendran, Neela Navaratnaraj, Jayadevan and Gowri Sundraram.

INDIAN OCCUPATION HAS CREATED CIVIL WAR IN SRI LANKA - LTTE LEADER PROTESTS TO NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE

Mr Velupillai Prabaharan the leader of the LTTE in a letter addressed to the President of the Non-Aligned Conference, severely condemned the atrocities of the Indian occupation army, and called upon the world forum "to prevail upon the Government of India to cease, unconditionally, all offensive military operations and ensure an early withdrawal of troops". Accusing India of having imperial and hegemonistic designs in the region, Mr Prabaharan has pointed out that the continued Indian military presence "has created ugly conditions of civil war among the Sinhalese as well as among the Tamils".

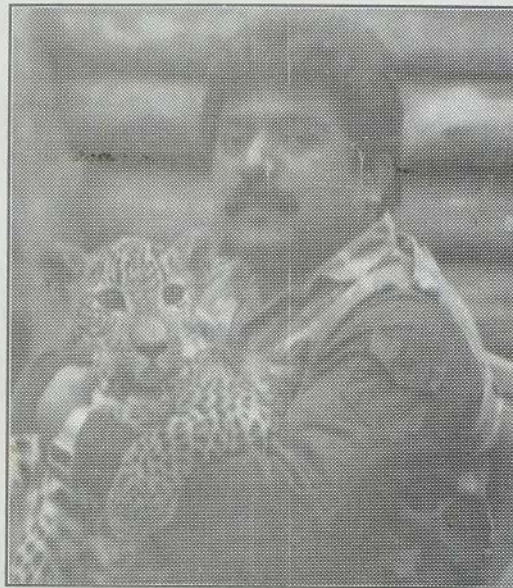
The full text of Mr Prabaharan's statement is as follows:-

"I wish to bring to your kind attention and urgent consideration the grave and critical situation that has arisen in Sri Lanka, particularly in the Tamil speaking North-Eastern region, as a consequence of the continued occupation by the Indian armed forces.

The so-called Peace Accord signed between India and Sri Lanka in July 1987 and the Indian military intervention and occupation that followed, have triggered off unprecedented violence and turmoil in the Island. The Accord, which was hurriedly signed without consultation with and endorsement by the people of the Island, has failed in its fundamental objectives in bringing peace, normalcy and ethnic reconciliation. In-

stead, the Accord and Indian military presence have created ugly conditions of civil war among the Sinhalese as well as among the Tamils plunging the entire Island into violent chaos and turbulence.

The Indian armed forces, which were originally brought to Tamil areas under the pretext of a Peace-Keeping mission,



entered into a full scale war against the very people they came to protect. In this unjust war that continued unabated for the last two years more than six thousand Tamils and Muslims have perished at the hands of the Indian occupation army. Unable to cope with the determined guerilla resistance, the undisciplined and demoralised Indian troops have been retaliating against the civilian

population with mass scale destruction of life and property. The recent massacre of 71 Tamils at Valvettiturai is a clear testimony of Indian military brutality.

The serious violations of human rights, mass arrests, inhuman torture and extra-judicial killings by the Indian army are well documented and authenticated by reputed international human rights organisations. The Indian army occupying our land has proved beyond doubt that it is a destructive force committing genocide against our people, rather than a peace keeping force protecting the Tamils as falsely claimed by the Government of India.

Having suffered enormously at the hands of the Indian occupation army, the Tamils and the Muslim people want the troops to be withdrawn as early as possible. It is the consensus view of our people that peace and normalcy could only return once the Indian military intervention ceases and troops are withdrawn. It is also the view of the vast majority of the Sinhala people in the South where violent campaigns have exploded demanding the Indian withdrawal. The Government of Sri Lanka has appealed to India several times to pull out the troops within an early time frame. But the intransigent attitude of the Government of India, the preconditions stipulated and the illogical arguments advanced to legitimise the occupation, clearly show that India has imperial and hegemonistic designs in the region.

India's militaristic posture, the policy of domination, intimidation and armed intervention have become a serious threat to the peace and stability of small and weak nations in South Asia. This imperialistic attitude contravenes the cardinal principles of non-interference advocated by the Non-Aligned Movement of which India a a founder member.

We appeal to this international forum to prevail upon the Government of India to cease, unconditionally, all offensive military operations and ensure an early withdrawal of its troops.

