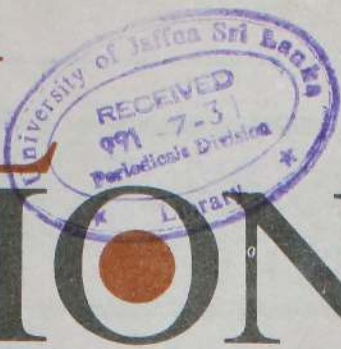


# TAMIL NATION



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## LANKA LEASES LAND TO VOICE OF AMERICA

The United States Government is poised to resume work on the controversial multi-million dollar Voice of America transmitting station in Sri Lanka. This follows fresh negotiations between the U.S. and Premadasa governments. Although it is now known that negotiations for the expansion project were completed a few months ago, the announcement came soon after the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Despite understanding reached between the U.S. and Sri Lanka governments for expansion of VOA facilities, in March 1985, when President Jayewardene was in power, the project was stalled for various reasons, chief of which was the Government of India's concern over the scope of the facilities that was intended. The project

thereafter received a setback following the Indo-Sri Lanka Friendship Agreement of July 1987.

It would be remembered that the late Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had expressed concern over the intended VOA project, and this concern formed part of the Exchange of Letters between him and President Jayewardene (Appendix II of the Agreement). The relevant portions of the Exchange of Letters are as follows:

"Conscious of the friendship between our two countries stretching over two millennia and more, and recognising the importance of nurturing this traditional friendship, it is imperative that both Sri Lanka and India reaffirm the decision not to allow our respective territories to be used for activities prejudicial to each other's unity, territorial integrity and security.

"In this spirit, you had, during the course of our discussions, agreed to meet some of India's concerns as follows:

(iv) Sri Lanka's agreement with foreign broadcasting organizations will be reviewed to ensure

that any facilities set up by them in Sri Lanka are used solely as public broadcasting facilities and not for any military or intelligence purposes.

Although the U.S. government sources at that time pooch-pooched Indian fears that the VOA facility would be capable of jamming India's communication networks, the impression in policy-making circles in Washington was that



the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement might not hold - an assessment that later proved correct.

A senior U.S. policy analyst Kenneth J. Comby in a report titled "A Key Role for US in a changing Sri Lanka" released in August 1987 maintained that the American government should offer Sri Lanka military equipment, training for policemen (the reference apparently was to the Special Task Force, a police commando unit), higher investments in the island, and the acceleration of the construction of the VOA station.

Although it is not known whether official Government approval has been given, U.S. Ambassador in Colombo Donald B. Westmore was hopeful that construction work of the VOA station might begin by the end of this year or early next year. The station is to be set up at Iranawila in the western coastal town of Chilaw, north of Colombo, and geological survey has already begun on the site which has been leased to the US govt.



Initially, the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Chilaw, the Rt. Rev. Marcus Fernando had conveyed concern to President Premadasa that the setting up of the VOA station could affect the social and cultural values of the people and the environment, but has been reassured on the point by a delegation of American officials headed by Ambassador Westmore. In fact the American delegation is reported to have said that the area could benefit by better roads, electricity and water supplies, among other advantages.

Meanwhile, the leader of the Opposition Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (SLMP), Mr. Ossie Abeygoonasekera, has lodged a strong protest with the government, and has said in a statement: "The US government had made several attempts earlier to install this powerful transmitting station in Sri Lanka; but as a result of the protests made by the people the government had to stop it. The new move to recommence the work on the VOA will have both national and international implications. Our neighbour India had expressed grave concern...."

## IS THE GOVT. LOSING THE WAR, ASKS ANURA BANDARANAIKE

Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, the son of two former Prime Ministers is expected to become executive head of the Opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) in August. His mother and veteran politician Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, now the President of the party, is likely to retire from active politics and step down in favour of the son.

Although neither the SLFP nor Mr. Anura Bandaranaike have yet spelt out the party position regarding the Tamil issue, or their attitude towards the LTTE, Mr. Bandaranaike has been in recent times making generous references to the LTTE, attributable partly perhaps to the desire to embarrass the Premadasa government.

Winding up the debate in Parliament on the extension of emergency on 20th June, Mr. Bandaranaike said the Govern-



ment's war to win the hearts and minds of the Tamil people had been lost. Ninety percent of the territory, particularly in the North was still in the hands of the LTTE. The question being asked was whether the LTTE could be tamed. The more pessimistic question was

whether the government was losing the war.

Mr. Bandaranaike said the LTTE was one of the brilliantly organised and well-armed guerrilla groups. The Observer, London, had called the LTTE "one of the most efficient killing machines in the world". The government he said had a habit of acting in fits and starts. It has a bad dream in the night and acts in the morning.

### The Kakkadicholai massacre

He said the government had a record of paying the fines of police officers punished for violating human rights and giving them promotions. A commission had been appointed to probe into the Kakkadicholai massacre and it was hoped that the government will act on the findings of that report. Since

1977 there had been commissions and commissions, but the reports were not implemented. If the ethnic problem had been made worse the UNP was responsible more than any other party.

The government was trying to put all the opposition parties into trouble. Why was it not spelling out its proposals to solving the Northeast conflict? Mr. Bandaranaike asked.

### A statue for Ravana!

While the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has emerged - in the name of Lord Ram - as a major political force in India after the recent elections, President Premadasa of Sri Lanka unveiled a 9-ft high statue of King Ravana in south Sri Lanka recently. The statue of Lanka's warrior king is the first of its kind and has been installed at Kathirgamam (Kataragama) where the pre-historic Hindu shrine dedicated to Lord Murugan stands. King Ravana has been known to be a "Sivabakthan" and a man of ten diverse skills and talents, as symbolised by his ten heads ascribed to him in mythology.



# TAMIL NATION

"Truth and knowledge are an idle gleam if they do not bring power to change the world."

Sri Aurobindo

Recognising that to change anything it is necessary to understand that which we seek to change, the TAMIL NATION is concerned, not only with providing information but also, with furthering an understanding of the issues that confront the Tamil national movement. Recognising that, in the end, we truly understand anything only to the extent that we have been able to change it, the TAMIL NATION is concerned with changing those material conditions of existence which continue to oppress and discriminate against the people of Tamil Eelam. The Tamil Nation is rooted in the growing togetherness of the Tamil people and it seeks to focus attention on the unjust relationship between nations without a state and nations that have attained state-hood. And the TAMIL NATION exists to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary, both amongst the Tamil people and outside, if the struggle of the Tamil people for national self determination is to be won.

The TAMIL NATION is published by TAMIL FORUM Ltd., a company registered in the United Kingdom, and the entirety of whose profits will go to a registered charitable trust established to help Tamil refugees, to advance education amongst the Tamil people and to alleviate poverty and hardship amongst them.

Editor

S. SIVANAYAGAM  
Advisory Editorial Board  
Nadesan Satyendra - U.K.  
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Ana Pararajasingham - Australia

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EDITORIAL  
CORRESPONDENCE  
UNITED KINGDOM  
P.O. Box: 417,  
Cambridge CB3 9LZ  
Phone/Fax: (0223) 355431

U.S.A.  
23, Tamidan Road,  
Poughkeepsie NY 12601-  
Fax: (914) 485 5865

AUSTRALIA  
P.O. Box 215, Enfield,  
N.S.W. 2136  
Fax: (02) 626 5610

INDIA  
C/o Research Institute of Tamil  
Affairs, M 11/4, 28th Cross St.,  
Besant Nagar, Madras 600 090,  
Tamil Nadu.

SALES AND ADVERTISING  
Australasia - P.O. Box 623  
Mulgrave North, Victoria 3170,  
Australia - Phone/Fax:  
(03) 560 7739

U.S.A. - 23, Tamidan Road,  
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601 -  
Fax: (914) 485 5865.  
United Kingdom & Other  
countries - Tamil Forum Ltd.,  
P.O. Box: 373, Croydon,  
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Phone: UK (081) 460 3959  
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## WHITEWASHING A MASSACRE?

On the 13th June, over 150 unarmed Tamil civilians including women and children were massacred at Kokkadicholai in Batticaloa in the Eastern Province in Sri Lanka. Reports said they were mostly hacked and beaten to death by members of the government armed forces, and many were burnt alive. TULF member of Parliament from the East Mr. P. Joseph was the first to raise the alarm and send a telegram to President Premadasa demanding immediate intervention. The independent Colombo newspaper - *The Island* - also spotlighted the massacre in a Page 1 lead story the very next day, but quoted a senior government official as saying that the tragic toll was over 50.

Unable to suppress the information which had already reached the news agencies, government sources first tried to minimise the impact of the tragedy, and in a further effort to appear impartial in the eyes of aid-giving Western governments, President Premadasa appointed a Commission of Inquiry. It is expected that like all Commissions of Inquiry the end-result would be to

whitewash the whole incident and soothe the conscience of the few Sinhalese with human rights concerns until the issue is quite forgotten, and another such massacre takes place.

It must be remembered this was not the first massacre of the kind in the East over the past several years. There was the Thambilvil massacre of 17 May 1985 near the coastal town of Kalmunai, when an estimated 60-63 people were killed by the Special Task Force personnel. One gruesome aspect of that mass murder was that about 40 of the victims were ordered to dig their own graves. The government at that time did not only deny the incident but arrested President of the Kalmunai Citizens' Committee Mr. Paul Nallanayagam for publicising the murders and put him on trial. There were dozens of such massacres of ordinary Tamil civilians, both in the East and in the North, a complete documentation of which could be found in the *Tamil Information Centre & Human Rights Council - Sri Lanka: Extrajudicial & Arbitrary Killings (January 1987)*.

## A total whitewash, says MSF

The Paris-based non-governmental organisation *Medicins Sans Frontieres (MSF)* has called the report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the helicopter attack on the MSF vehicle in Vavuniya district a "Total whitewash of the Army". Dr. Anne Vincent, Medical Coordinator with

MSF, Colombo told a media briefing that it was difficult to accept the Commission ruling as it appears partial in more than one way. She said the MSF was staying on in the country only until the government was prepared to assure adequate security for their personnel.

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## SRI LANKA: THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY

Here is a record of events and happenings in Sri Lanka during the first three weeks of June 1991 as reported in the Sri Lankan Press which gives an idea of the state of that country :-

\* At least five persons have been arrested for raiding houses of ill-fame posing as police officers - members of the Bureau of Special Operations (BSO) - and indulging in "thousands of rapes".

\* Two youths one of whom had a toy T-56 assault rifle, were arrested while attempting robbery at a 5-star hotel in Colombo.

\* Prohibition of liquor sales for five days during the Buddhist Wesak celebrations sent blackmarket prices of arrack sky-rocketing as much as 150%.

\* Armed police officers seized thousands of jackpot machines from various places in Colombo and the provinces, after Government banned import of these machines under the Emergency regulations from midnight June 1. Police said thousands of youths hooked to drugs had been addicted to these machines. Nearly 4000 machines have been seized.

\* Senior Superintendent of Police Karavitage Dharmadasa (49) once charged with the killing of Human Rights lawyer Wijeyadasa Liyanarachi shot himself to death with a Browning pistol on 3rd June.

\* A former soldier who allegedly collected funds to help injured army personnel using forged army documents was arrested and handed over to the Criminal Fraud Investigation Bureau.

\* Eighteen Sri Lankan skippers of fishing trawlers who were caught fishing in Maldivian waters have been sentenced to jail terms of 22-24 months each by the Maldivian authorities.

\* A young Buddhist monk who had hooted and tried to climb the stage at a meeting at Koggala attended by President Premadasa was produced before a Magistrate, and sent to Unawatuna hospital for mental treatment.

\* Police raided casinos in Colombo and suburbs and seized equipment worth several millions. Having lulled casino operators into the belief that casinos could operate until the necessary legislation is passed to ban them, the government acted under emergency regulations and seized the equipment, most of them at 5-star hotels in Colombo, within 48 hours of the earlier assurance.

\* A vacation of post order was declared on Assistant Superintendent of Police Lucky Peiris who deserted his post and left the country with his family. ASP Peiris is the brother of Earl Peiris, Headquarters Inspector of Moratuwa police who was shot dead six months ago by a police sergeant at the Moratuwa police station.

\* The Muslim community of Dickwella have asked the government to hold an inquiry into the incident where thirty policemen in civvies attached to the Dickwella police station stormed the Jumma mosque and assaulted Muslims who were at prayers.

\* Several packets of camphor (a traditional item in worship ritual in Hindu temples) found in a lorry carrying essential supplies to Jaffna were seized by the Sri Lankan armed forces. Army sources said that camphor could be used to make explosives.

\* Police raided several video theatres in Colombo which had been screening the film "Captain Prabhakaran" produced by Tamil Nadu box office star Vijayakanth.

\* Policemen who raided scores of guest houses and houses of ill-fame in Colombo and Negombo took in nearly 100 unmarried couples.

\* An Army corporal at the Palaly army camp in Jaffna shot at a fellow soldier and later killed himself. The corporal was identified as Edwin and the victim Chandradasa. This is the second such incident at Palaly in recent times.

\* An alarming increase in car thefts has been reported in Colombo during the past one month.

## JUNE WAR - HEAVY ARMY CASUALTIES

Heavy army casualties have been reported in the war against the LTTE in the north-east. 19 soldiers were killed and four wounded in Manal Aru (renamed Welioya after State-aided Sinhala colonisation) - in the Trincomalee district on 20th June, when the LTTE ambushed an army truck. In Sinna Thampanai and

Poovarasankulam in the Vavuniya district on the 14th and 15th June, government sources admitted 12 army men killed and about forty wounded in a 2-day battle with the Tigers. It is however believed the casualties could be higher, and that the total army casualties for the first three weeks of June could have exceeded 100.

## Seminar on India's Role

Seminar 3 in the Seminar Series on INDIA'S ROLE IN SOUTH ASIA, organised by the *Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies* was held at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall (BMICH) Colombo, on 14th, 15th and 16th June. The Seminar opened under the Chairpersonship of Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, and the inaugural address was delivered by Lankan Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Harold Herat.

Apart from one-time India's Foreign Secretary A.P. Venkateswaran, participants included several academics from USA, USSR, China, Japan, Indonesia and Sri Lanka.



# JUNE '91 HIGHLIGHTS



## LANKA ARMY BASE BLASTED

Over 40 persons, mostly army personnel, were feared killed and over 100 injured when a car bomb explosion caused extensive damage to the operation headquarters of the Sri Lankan Ministry of Defence in the heart of Colombo on June 21. According to UNI, a senior military official accompanying Prime Minister Wijetunga at the site put the number of dead between 70 and 100 and the wounded at about 200.

The military complex is located in one of the posh localities of the city - Sir Ernest de Silva Mawatha (Flower Road).

Portions of several buildings inside and outside the military complex collapsed, and the roof of the main Joint Operations

Command (JOC) came down, following the blast which was said to be twice as powerful as the one that killed the Minister of Defence Ranjan Wijeratne, and was heard several kilometres away. About 50 houses in the residential neighbourhood were badly damaged and another 100 may have suffered slight damage. About 20 vehicles were wrecked and about 40 others damaged by flying debris. The explosion, believed to be caused by an estimated 70 kilos of plastic explosives blew up right outside Gate "B" of the high security complex and dug a crater 10 feet across.

Senior army officers meet periodically at the operational headquarters, but on that day, only a relatively low-level meeting chaired by an under secretary was scheduled at 10 a.m. The explosion took place a little before that.

Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, a former National Security Minister, and now the Education Minister told *Times of India* that the security at the complex was as tight as it could be. "These people have a way of looking at places which you assume are alright", he said.

As was to be expected, the immediate "needle of suspicion" pointed at a LTTE suicide squad as being the perpetrators of this daring attack.

Two days after the explosion President Premadasa speaking at a Gramoduwa (village awakening) celebration coinciding with his 67th birthday, said the government would not be cowed down, forced, or intimidated by terrorist activities. He said now the situation has gone beyond guns and the militants were carrying out suicide missions using car bombs. He called for a national consensus to solve the vexed ethnic problem.

### Helicopter crashes

An American-built Bell 212 helicopter providing air support to Lankan ground forces crash-landed five miles west of Vavuniya on 16th June, killing the gunner and wounding three other airmen. The helicopter caught fire on landing and was a complete wreck. "Unexplained technical problems" was the reason given for the crash. The incident occurred in the midst of a fierce combat between the Lankan forces and the LTTE near Poovaransankulam on the Vavuniya-Mannar road.

## India's Ninth Prime Minister

Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao (70) was sworn in as the ninth Prime Minister of India on June 21. He has a long political career which began in 1957. Mr. Rao has held some of the most important portfolios in the country - Home, Defence, External Affairs and Human Resource Development. One-time Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, he is the first southerner to become India's Prime Minister.



## 1st elected woman Chief Minister

Ms. Jayalalitha Jeyaram (43) took her oaths as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu on June 24, following an unprecedented AIADMK victory at the elections. In a brief but stormy political career she managed to unite all factions of the AIADMK, and today heads a Cabinet composed of several senior leaders like Mr. V.R. Nedunchezhiyan, Mr. S.D. Somasundaram, Mr. K. Rajaram, Mr. K.A. Krishnaswamy and Mr. R.M. Veerappan. Ms. Jayalalitha is Tamil Nadu's first elected woman Chief Minister.



## The top investigators

The CBI Chief Vijay Karan (left) and SIT chief D.R. Karthigeyan



The suicide-assassin, now identified as Thanu, seen between mother and daughter Latha and Kokila, at the assassination site, from the picture taken by the slain photographer Hari Babu.

## WANTED



**Sivarasan',  
'Subha'**

Four Indian nationals, Nalini (27), her mother Padma (49) and brother Bhagyanathan (25), and Perarivalan (Arivu, 20) and two Sri Lankans, Murugan (alias Das, 18) and Robert

Payas (25) have been held by the Special Investigation Team (SIT) of the CBI in connection with the Rajiv Gandhi assassination, according to Indian

Press reports.

Nalini, daughter of ex-police-men Sankaranarayan was steno-secretary in a firm in Adyar, and Padma, estranged

wife of Sankaranarayan was a nurse in a private hospital. Perarivalan, Murugan and Robert Payas are believed to have had connections with the

LTTE.

Muthuraja, an Indian national, is believed to have joined the LTTE but his connection in the case is unclear.

## Four Indian Nationals, two Sri Lankans held



(Left to Right): Murugan, Nalini, Padma, Bhagyanathan, Perarivalan and Robert Payas



Indira Gandhi was devoured by the never-ending Punjab crisis which turned malignant some time in the 1980s. She stood no chance whatsoever against the furious forces of fundamentalist enmity and hatred and fanatical, extremist determination which had been unleashed, partly by a deeply flawed Punjab policy.

In much the same way, her son and successor - who hoped to win back the premiership he had lost in November 1989, and campaigned for it freely, heedless of security barriers and risks - was a victim of the fallout of Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis. This was a crisis into which India had been drawn involuntarily in 1983; in turn, the crisis has been affected by India's contradictory, activist and deeply flawed policy.

To add insult to heinous murder, the trail which leads back from Sriperumbudur to the organisation or forces behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi appears to have gone cold. This much has become clear two weeks after the grisly massacre, notwithstanding the investigative efforts of the CBI, the dubious claims made by intelligence agencies (especially the IB) and the highly contrary, breathless versions put out, by sections of the press.

### The Press blamed

The state of play became clear when two things happened - when the investigators arranged to have leaflets containing pictures of the 'belt-bomb woman' strewn from the air over the war-torn north-east of Sri Lanka, and when they blamed the press for "hampering" the investigation.

Fortunately, the CBI and the state police investigators have in hand vital evidence on how the assassination was carried out, on the *modus operandi* that shocked the world. Thanks to the photographs unearthed by the press, we do know what the agent or agents who executed the plan look like. We do know that, in all probability, it was part of a team work by a larger squad of experts, highly motivated, suicide mission (or "self-destruct") killers.

### Pyjama-Kurta man

We also know that a man in white pyjama-kurta who cannot be accounted for in any bonafide way and who was photographed by Haribabu, the young indigent photographer who perished in the blast - got away. The first major act of bungling by the state police and administration occurred when this man got away in apparently dare-devil, but actually effortless fashion. He got through the police "dragnet" - because there was none!

Indeed, the film in the dead photographer's camera was not collected and processed until the morning of May 22, which means the man the police are looking for had a clear run during those crucial hours after the assassination. It is also clear that no roadblocks were set up from Sriperumbudur that night and no practical state-wide alert sounded for the possible accomplices of the belt-bomb woman.

It was first-rate bungling by the state police authorities, the top bureaucracy and the governor under president's rule. Part of the problem has been interforce rivalry, a lack of cooperation and coordination in professional work, and a conflict over jurisdiction or turf. One hopes that the enlarged terms of reference of the J S Verma commission of Inquiry will permit the exercise to probe at least three sets of problems relating to the police role vis-a-vis the assassination.

First the gross failure of intelligence (about Rajiv Gandhi

being on the hit list of dangerous players in the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict); in any case, the failure to transmit whatever vague intelligence might have been obtained to the relevant, operational level. Secondly, the weaknesses and fatal gaps in the security arrangement which had come under unbearable strain in the political circumstances. And thirdly, the incredible police and administrative bungling in the immediate response to the brutal event.

### 'Needle of Suspicion'

Unsurprisingly high on the investigators' priorities is the LTTE, the most feared armed militant organisation in this part of the world. Its deadly capabilities have been proved in the field against two armies and against a host of political adversaries in Sri Lanka as well as in India. After some initial



**N. RAM**  
on

# INDIA'S MORAL & POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY

THE INDEPENDENT, Bombay, June 9

vacillation and confusion within the intelligence agencies (as can be judged from the plants and reports in the press), the *needle of suspicion* - to recall a tragically quaint phrase culled from a controversial inquiry into the assassination of Rajiv's mother-swung magnetically towards this organisation.

Two governments, the Congress-I organisation in Tamil Nadu (but, curiously, not Jayalalitha's AIADMK) and the remnants of Sri Lankan Tamil militant groups savaged by the LTTE in the post-1983 period have been quick to allege that this organisation, and no one else, could have committed the deed. Further, public opinion poll is likely to establish that. But high suspicion and evidence are two, completely different things - unless we are dealing with kangaroo courts, which we are not.

### The track record

What is indisputable, in an objective assessment, is that *specific and concrete evidence* - even circumstantial evidence - linking the crime and its agents with the organisation most suspected *has not been obtained*. I fear it will never be obtained, given the track record of such investigations in South Asia. This track record reveals that most often the challenge is way beyond the means and capabilities of the investigative machinery of 'soft' states which repeatedly make the tall claim of being expert at going after 'terrorism'.

Actually, agencies in developed countries do not have a positive track record either - if the results of the investigations into the Kennedy and Palme assassinations are representative indications.

About one thing we can be virtually certain about - the link between the assassination of Rajiv and the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict, which in the northeast theatre of the island is being waged in the form of a full fledged civil war. Rajiv Gandhi fell victim - in a crime of unimaginable brutality, enormity and cool, practised expertise to the inability of two neighbouring societies to find a reason-

able, peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict.

### Between two poles

The situation on the ground in Sri Lanka can be summed up this. Politically, the conflict appears intractable because the bloody action and tensions are locked between the poles of *Eelam*, which is unattainable given the geo-political circumstances (and especially the fact that India will never back it), and *unitariness and discrimination* against the Tamils, to which Sinhala chauvinists who dominate national politics are wedded.

Militarily, the Tigers call the shots in the region of ethnic conflict and set the terms of war or temporary peace in the pursuit of their secessionist political objective. The suffering and war-weariness of the affected people do make a difference to the tactics of those who regard themselves as "liberation fighter". The state seems to have little initiative in this situation; its job is to respond, typically with unenlightened brutality and stupidity to Tiger initiatives.

Talk about 'liquidating' the LTTE and hammering down a military solution in the north and east is old and virtually useless currency in Sri Lankan politics.

From Lalith Athulathmudali, the original author of the 'military solution', through the IPKF, which took on the task of Tiger-taming with 'one-and-a-half hands tied to the back', to Ranjan Wijeratne, the late captain of the shrieking hawks, it has been the same basic story. The motivations, capabilities and goals of those who have attempted to conquer the LTTE have varied considerably: it would, certainly be wrong (except from the LTTE perspective) to put them into the same basket.

### Alienated people

But at the end of the chapter each adversary has learnt the same bitter lesson. The war cannot be won through any conventional means; the guerilla 'fish' cannot be flushed out of the water by any means short of genocide. The problem,

which has been shaped by the benighted history of Sinhala-Tamil relations, lies as much in the socio-political arena and in the minds of divided, bitter and alienated people as it does down the barrel of the gun.

The Vadamarachi military offensive of 1986-87 failed to cow down the Tamils for this reason. The progressive and honourable, but deeply flawed attempt to implement India's part of the bargain concluded in the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement of July 29, 1987 ran to ground, at huge human and financial cost, against the intractability of this fact". Ranjan Wijeratne's grandiose strategy, which went on the offensive in June 1990, stood no chance, whatever the temporary successes attained.

From time to time, the solution has appeared obvious: "A

for equality, security and justice - for all the brutalities the Tigers have inflicted on their political opponents, on innocent people and on civil society.

Ofcourse, it is not just the factor of popular sympathy and backing - which the Tigers are not going to allow to be tested in any democratic process of 'free and fair' competitive elections, if they can help it - which is important. In military terms, the LTTE is way and ahead the most developed, resourceful and powerful of South Asian extremist organisations.

Indeed, in the unromanticised professional opinion of a senior general serving in the Indian Army says, "The world has rarely seen a fighting force of this type, motivation and calibre." He assigns a central place to the factor of spirit and motivation and rates Prabhakaran as a rare kind of military leader belonging to the 'genius' category. This is without prejudice to the view that the LTTE leadership has a distinct Pol Potist streak in its character, methods and, above all, disregard for human life.

### LTTE unsinkable

What is acknowledged in such objective assessments is that as an extremist guerilla organisation which is capable of shifting its mode to conventional warfare at the cost of tremendous civilian losses, *the LTTE is unsinkable* - at least for the conceivable future.

Rajiv Gandhi, who had earlier entertained many an illusion about the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict and India's capabilities, came to this understanding during the last year or two of his tragically short life. I referred to the parallel between Indira Gandhi/Punjab and Rajiv Gandhi/Sri Lanka; the parallel stops at one crucial point. The Indira approach to the Punjab problem and crisis, as it developed from the late-1970s, was marked by a gross degree of cynicism and opportunism.

The Rajiv approach to the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis war honourable through and through. Its goal, concretised in the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, was the progressive one of helping the Tamils secure a just political settlement (based on a devolution of power and self-administering opportunities) and of helping Sri Lanka as a nation stay one and united, without succumbing to extremist secessionism. This is why its substance must be preserved and taken forward.

### Flawed methodology

Those of us who are honest must acknowledge that between 1983 and 1987, the course of harbouring, aiding, financing and arming Tamil militants in an effort to put pressure on the negotiating process in order to win a just and reasonable political settlement involved a basic contradiction and the methodology proved deeply flawed - as the Indian Peace-Keeping Force discovered at great cost.

Rajiv Gandhi inherited the policy and made major new inputs into it, above all the direct involvement of the Indian army in an attempt to wrest a moderate political solution. That the policy ended in failure must be recognised realistically. However, to regard the whole exercise as an 'misadventure' would be grossly unfair and inaccurate. History cannot be rewritten and 'got right' in this way.

### Better understanding

In my view, Rajiv Gandhi gained a better understanding of the problem and the nature of the challenge during his year-and-a-half as opposition

(continued next page)





# COLOMBO SHOULD LEARN FROM ETHIOPIA!

The Countries of the Horn of Africa - Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia, have all been devastated politically, economically and, even as nation states, they have become mere rumps. While Sudan and Somalia are still struggling on the verge of total collapse. Ethiopia whose earliest recorded civilisation was known to the ancient Egyptians and dated 2nd millennium BC, has keeled over and a revolutionary government has taken over the reins in Addis Ababa.

All three countries are also examples of nations and peoples who have been caught in the "crossfires" of the cold war, having "enjoyed" in various ways and at various times, the support of the two super powers and their reshuffled a lot of arms and tiny morsels of economic aid to these countries and a large number of post-colonial newly-freed nations to keep their influence intact.

In facilitating their movements to independence, the colonial powers to a very large extent ignored traditional systems that were more real to the various countries. The political structures that served them well for centuries before they were subjugated as colonies were destroyed by sheer tyranny and force by the European colonial powers.

Post-independent Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia, though rhetorically indulged in patriotic slogans could not sustain empty political gestures long. Super power support was critical and this demanded a less people oriented system and more use of the military might, another debilitating feature of the Third World nations that keep the armaments industry of the West well oiled.

## Forcibly annexed

The largely puppet governments of these countries also failed to appreciate and meet

the demands of ethnic and religious groups for fairer treatment and knit them into political structures that ensured their just development. Many of these groups have known nation states of their own before they were forcibly annexed into colonial units and enclaves that suited colonial administration whether from Whitehall in London or from other colonial capitals of the West.

Eritrea was integrated into Ethiopia in 1962 against the popular will of the Eritreans. Somalia became a nation state by the unification of two parts, the British Somaliland and the Italian Somalia and since then the war over the Ogaden Desert has raged along with border disputes with Kenya and Ethiopia. North-South tension has been the plague of Sudan.

In 1941 Emperor Haile Selassie, a victim of the Italian invasion was restored to the Ethiopian throne. This was all part of the British plan to set up an Ethiopian empire with a multi-ethnic political structure and, likewise, an Afro-Arab Sudanese state and finally Somalia, which though homogenous ethnically yet had sharp divisions in many other ways. In all these three states, the strong central governments spelt the death knell to development and progress.

In 1975 Emperor Haile Selassie and his government fell in a Marxist coup. But the new government with all the resources and power at its disposal could not contain serious opposition in the eastern province of Eritrea. Over the years, as a result of civil wars, a country that could feed a good part of Africa with its agriculture has become one of the poorest in the world and thousands of its citizens - young and old have perished like flies.

Finally last month, after several years of fighting, the rebels have captured the seat of power

of a country that will need a most intense and determined development programme to bring some kind of sanity. Thousands of lives will still be lost because the countryside has been ravaged, people displaced and many too ill for recovery.

## An object lesson

Ethiopia presents an object lesson for Sri Lanka. Like Ethiopia, Sri Lanka too is rich in its resources but unlike the African state, all is not lost yet on the Indian sub-continental teardrop state. Colombo has failed not only the Tamils who had their own independent state before the island became a colony, but also the majority Sinhala. The government has waged wars on both the fronts, south and north, killing thousands of Sinhalese and Tamils, and both military adventures are alive and extremely active with deadly repercussions and consequences.

by JAYAN DEIVENDRA  
Winnipeg, Canada

These are wars that Colombo can never win and in persisting with these, the country can become totally devastated. Like Ethiopia, one day rebel tanks may move into the capital to pick up what has been left but with the nation's back totally broken. The moderating influence is fast disappearing and people who are needed to develop the country have either fled in fear or left the shores of Sri Lanka in disgust. Under the conditions prevailing in Sri Lanka today, this exodus was inevitable and those who forsake a country where reason and decency have been obliterated from the considerations of the state, cannot be blamed.

## Obsolete arms

If Colombo and the other warring elements in the country believe that shoot-out is the only way to solve problems that beset the island state, there is no room for civilised interventions and discussions. Military ware and all kinds of armaments are freely available to any warring party from so many sources-sources that wish to get rid of obsolete goods, and countries that thrive on death and desolation in the poorer countries. The Sri Lankan government with the kind of deadly armaments available to it, carries on regardless using raw armed might as its vehicle to solve political and human problems.

In this, the respective warring factions are also learning from each other and the sophistication of armed conflict is reaching new dimensions.

In recent times the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam enrolled young women into

consisting of women and this will be trained by former British SAS men and the Israeli intelligence agency, Mossad, to fight Tamil separatist guerillas.

This despatch further stated that the successful women applicants to the Special Task Force (STF) will receive paramilitary and clerical training. An STF official added that this will enable the unit to use women in all types of situations but indicated, however, that they are unlikely to be used in fighting.

Perhaps he is still not sure whether the enthusiasm shown by 28,000 women applicants to join this unit when applicants were called for, is still not sufficient enough to be able to be in combat role with the Tigers and the Tigresses - even though the government may have very much wished they could.

Unlike the lion, the tiger is an exceptional breed-a no-nonsense jungle being, whether in the political jungle of Sri Lanka or elsewhere!

More and more Colombo gets drawn into the war mania with the Tamils as well as with the Sinhalese young people of the south, more and more they will direct and guide the fate of Sri Lanka on to the path on which Ethiopia tread for so many bloody and utterly devastating years. The government of Sri Lanka must wake up to realities.

If it still slumbers in violence and kidded into false dreams by those elements that stir up disharmony and racial intolerance and at the same time serves the armament industry of the West, the Peoples Republic of China and other states that export violence in the name of trade, one day - and that may be very soon, rebel tanks may very well roll into the streets of Colombo not only from the south and the central provinces but also from the north if justice in Sri Lanka can be ensured only by taking over the state's capital. Let this not happen.

their fighting cadres with stunning impact in their struggle. They brought back good results to their camps after every mission against the state forces. Of course, as in all wars, they too suffered their reverses but the Tamil Tigresses showed exceptional courage, will and fighting techniques and have become a great inspiration to the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

## Women commandos

Not to be beaten the Sri Lankan government has taken steps to send young women to the war front as well. According to a recent Reuter news despatch, the Sri Lankan government has set up a police commando unit

# INDIA'S MORAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY

(continued)

leader. There are some 260,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in India, which cannot get away with pursuing an isolationist, we-wash-our-hands-off policy towards the ethnic conflict of Sri Lanka - in which India has had a deep hand from 1983. Given the human fallout, the geography and the 'geo-political' realities, India and especially Tamil Nadu cannot escape the effects of the crisis.

In mid-1990, Rajiv Gandhi spoke informally about his concerns over the prospect of the Sri Lankan state committing 'genocide' against the Tamils - he expressed his sentiments over the 'uncivilised' act of a government bombing its own people, innocent civilians alongside the armed militants. There are some indications that he appreciated the fighting spirit of the LTTE, although he clearly disapproved of its deadly methods and its Eelam demand.

## Delhi meetings

Without understanding the content and orientation of this policy and the post-failure understanding of its partial architect, we cannot make any sense of the meeting Rajiv Gandhi had at 4.30 pm on March 5, 1991, with an authorised, but politically lightweight LTTE representative, Kasi Anandan, and of a subsequent discussion he had with an LTTE sympathiser, Arjuna Sithampalam. The spokesman of the Congress-I have shown weak knees and a remarkable lack of intelligence in denying the fact of these meetings which have become quite relevant to the investigations. In fact, they have behaved as if they were responding to Bofors allegations.

The fact that the March 5, meeting took place at Rajiv Gandhi's New Delhi residence does not in my political understanding, rule out the LTTE from the shortlist of suspects. But it needs to be taken into

account in any investigation of the background to the assassination and the possible motives. At this stage, it would seem to raise the problem of contra-indications.

## DMK dismissal

In their effort to defend the indefensible vis-a-vis Tamil Nadu - that is, the act of Congress-I and AIADMK instigated dismissal of the DMK government on fraudulent charges relating to 'harbouring' the LTTE in the state - Congress-I spokesmen find their late leader's meeting with an LTTE representative a messy embarrassment, which it is not. In the process, they seriously distort the truth about India's post-1983 Sri Lankan policy and Rajiv Gandhi's flawed, but honourable and movingly persistent role in it. Those who say they will carry forward Rajiv's vision and policies must face up to this particular challenge realistically and constructively,

not run away from it.

The problem will not go away, especially the 260,000 refugees (who are mostly decent, innocent people), the fall-out from the civil war in the island, and India's moral and political responsibility in providing its good offices intelligently and justly. The situation

in Sri Lanka, which indisputably affects India, is in a tragic state of 'dynamic stalemate.' The one hope is to seek to narrow the gap by promoting a federal solution within the framework of Sri Lankan national unity and sovereignty, while there is no guarantee this will work, it is clear nothing else can work.

## Colombo raid on ENDLF office

The police raided the office of the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) in Colombo and took in for questioning three Tamil youths along with a Pajero jeep in connection with a spate of armed robberies in the city and suburbs. The ENDLF is a small militant group that came into prominence during the IPKF operations in the northeast.

Police said the raid was ordered after investigations had established that the jeep belonging to a Western Provincial Councillor was used in several robberies, including a Rs. 1 million robbery from a wealthy Muslim household in Bambalapitiya.

The ENDLF suspects were also alleged to have snatched a gold chain from a Tamil youth who had returned from Italy recently. This is the second time in six months when the ENDLF office was raided.





# RAJIV GANDHI ASSASSINATION NEWS & VIEWS FROM

THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY  
OF INDIA

Excerpts

K.P. Sunil in Madras,  
June 8-4, 1991.

"..... The CBI team that went to Colombo to try and identify the alleged assassin through militant groups there, have again been sent on a wild goose chase with rival groups assigning different identities to the woman in the photographs. One group claimed that it is a former LTTE commando, Sumati. Another identifies her as an LTTE suicide squad member Malati. A third group

identifies her as Akileswari.... The list is unending. Quite obviously the investigating team has erred in prejudging issues and attributing the murder to the LTTE. Considering that all the other Tamil militant groups in Sri Lanka are opposed to the LTTE, they are all obviously working hard to have the blame pinned on the Tigers. A course that is not exactly opposed to the intelligence and investigating agencies' line of thinking."

## Ex-Police chief quoted

by Moses Monoharan of  
Reuters, Delhi, in Madras  
From ASAHI EVENING  
NEWS, Japan, June 8, 1991

"The killing of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is still a mystery with investigators struggling for clues to the assassin's identity and motive. 'Everyone has become a Sherlock Holmes with their own theory about the death', said Subramaniam Sivanayagam, Editor of the Tamil Nation newspaper published by Sri Lankan Tamils. .... Investigators have focussed on the 125,000 Tamil exiles living in the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Many sympathize with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) separatist group that is the prime suspect in the murder. Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar has been quoted several times as saying the Tigers were definitely to blame and that the question remaining was whether they were acting as agents someone else. He has not said what his evidence was.

"Others, including former Tamil Nadu Police Chief K. Mohandas, are not yet sure. 'There are many question marks', said Mohandas, an authority on separatist groups in India.

"The LTTE has denied involvement in Gandhi's assassination by a woman suicide bomber... A member of the special investigation team set up to probe the murder said the mystery would be unravelled as soon as the woman's identity was established. Senior members of the team returned from a six-day trip to Sri Lanka in pursuit of the bomber's identity.

"The Press Trust of India news agency quoted investigation chief Vijay Karan as saying the trip had been 'useful and purposeful'. But he said a reward of 500,000 rupees (about \$ 25,000), a huge sum in India, would go to anyone who could identify the assassin and her presumed conspirators. That suggested the investigation team was no nearer to finding out who she was.

"There are still other intriguing questions. Police officials insist that the photographer who took a widely-published picture of the woman and who died along with 16 others in the bomb blast, must have known the assassin. But they do not offer proof. They also admit they do not know why she was wearing clothing common in



North India but rare in the south. She was also heavily made up, unlike rural women, adding another touch of mystery. Several witnesses remembered her because of her dress and make-up. 'Would any potential assassin want to draw attention to herself?' asked Mohandas. Nor is the motive yet clear to everyone.

"Police say the LTTE may have killed Gandhi to stop the former Prime Minister from coming back to power. Gandhi sent troops to Sri Lanka in 1987 to enforce an Indian-brokered accord between Colombo and the Tigers to end the ethnic war between Tamils and the island's majority Sinhalese. The accord quickly collapsed and the Indian troops ended up by fighting the LTTE until withdrawn last year at Colombo's insistence.

"But Tamil Nation editor Sivanayagam said there was no reason for the LTTE to alienate a country from which it drew considerable support. Mohandas agreed the question of motive was still open. 'In a whodunit WHY is the first important aspect. HOW and WHO come afterward', he said. He said a three-month government deadline for a report on the assassination might put undue pressure on investigators and tempt them to make evidence fit the theory. 'I know the psychology of police in this country. If you set time limits, the police will come up with an accused', he said.

## Another false lead

Rita Sebastian in  
INDIAN EXPRESS, JUNE 10

Colombo, June 9: Another false lead in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination is the alleged involvement of Amuthalingam Mathimagan as the accomplice of the woman suicide bomber.

## Pointers to 'deeper conspiracy'

INDIAN EXPRESS, June 14

The stubborn choice of the Sriperumbudur meeting venue by the Cong-I high command, and the "rapid rectification" of the snag in Rajiv Gandhi's plane on May 21 have led some analysts to think that there was a deeper conspiracy in the former Prime Minister's assassination than thought of so far.

These analysts have noted some of the factors in the Rajiv visit which were rather odd in the sequence of events leading to the meeting and the assassination.

First of all the Sriperumbudur meeting was not planned in the schedule in Mr Gandhi's visit. It was the idea of somebody in Delhi, and that too only a few days before the visit actually took place. Thus, a group of external conspirators functioning from abroad who depended on meticulous planning would not have been able to pull off the assassination at such short notice.

Secondly, the choice of the meeting venue - Sriperumbudur, where there was no proper ground to hold such an event - was baffling. The local Cong-I leader Maragatham Chandrasekhar has said subsequently that it was the Delhi party brass which arranged the meeting at this place. With a great deal of finality, a dry tank bed with poor security qualifications was chosen for the meeting.

Then, there was the intriguing episode of the TNCC-I president Vazhapadi K. Ramamurthy saying that he never wanted the meeting to take place in Sriperumbudur. He even went to the extent of appealing to Governor Bhisma Narain Singh to get the plan altered. However, the Governor is reported to have said he was no longer a party functionary, and could not do such a thing sitting in Raj Bhavan. Also, the other state Cong-I leader, G.K. Moopanar said he knew nothing of the plan for the Sriperumbudur meeting.

**Snag episode:** Again, an interesting factor in the sequence was the aircraft snag episode in the Rajiv visit.

A mysterious snag developed in the self-piloted aircraft at Vishakapatnam on May 21, and a disappointed Rajiv was faced with the prospect of staying overnight there, and even having to borrow an aircraft from a public sector company at the instance of the district collector.

At this point, the analysts feel, such a 'snag' might have been generated, if the group of conspirators had suspected that there was a leak in their plan, and had decided to abort it.

But ultimately the plan was apparently decided to be carried, through, and the 'snag' was rectified even as Rajiv Gandhi was driving to a rest house.

At a local level, there was the mysterious episode of a recent entrant into the Cong-I, Latha Kannan, making it closest to the dais along with her daughter, and finally standing in the company of the suspected assassin.

Finally, there was the report of massive election funds carried in Rajiv's aircraft the fate of which was not known after

the assassination.

The analysts feel that these factors, would have to be probed further, to establish links.

While this theory was one worthy of consideration, the angles relating to an external agency using local militants to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi, or conversely local militants seeking help from external agencies were also there.

Another theory was that Sinhala forces across the Palk Strait might have conspired to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi in league with the LTTE, as they wanted to prevent the formation of a government which would adopt an independent policy on the ethnic issue, on the lines of the Indo-Lankan agreement.

## What Vajpayee said

From THE HINDU, June 6  
(Bhopal report)



"The BJP leader Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee today expressed concern at the delay in the investigation into the assassina-

tion of the former Prime Minister and Congress-I President Rajiv Gandhi, and said the activities of the Sinhala terrorists should also be checked along with those of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Talking to reporters at the airport here, the BJP leader felt that the inordinate delay in various investigating agencies in reaching any definite conclusion would give the killers enough time to cover their tracks and remove evidence.... Elaborating his suspicion on the Sinhala involvement in the assassination, Mr. Vajpayee said the attack on Rajiv Gandhi by a naval rating during his visit to Sri Lanka should be reinvestigated...."

## Prabhakaran was in Tamil Nadu

by K.N. Arun,  
SUNDAY MAIL, May 26  
"LTTE chief Velupillai Prabhakaran was in Tamil

Nadu a week before the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, according to informed sources....

## 'LTTE must be punished'

From THE HINDU - June 5, 1991  
by Prem Shankar Jha

"... Rajiv Gandhi's assassination must therefore be avenged. If it is established beyond reasonable doubt that the LTTE were responsible they must be made to pay.... The first task that the next government will face is to restore the authority of the State and make people safe again. Taking punitive action against the LTTE, both in Tamil Nadu and in Jaffna, if their involvement is proved, will only be the first step on a long road...."

For Other News  
Other Views  
Read Tamil Nation



## RAJIV GANDHI ASSASSINATION

## THE INDIAN PRESS

BLITZ

THE FEARLESS VOICE OF EACH NEW GENERATION

## On the Colombo connection and the CIA

With the early and easy acceptance of LTTE complicity in the murder of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi - a theory that may or may not have validity - one important avenue appears to have been completely ignored so far: the role of the Colombo government and its Western backers in the whole affair.

Nor has the idea been seriously pursued of a mercenary being recruited by an external agency to do the job. The fixation with the notion of putting together a suicide squad from committed cadres may have pre-empted this line of inquiry. But the more important omission is the failure to view Colombo's role more critically, as also that of Colombo's patrons in Tel Aviv and Washington.

The LTTE's bloody record and fascist behaviour in the recent past made acceptance of theories of its involvement that much easier. What has been overlooked, however, is the strenuous efforts of Colombo in promoting that theory as a final and undisputed fact. Those efforts played a crucial role in

the possibility of CIA involvement, the suspicion of external involvement of a complex and sinister kind is gaining ground.

The LTTE-type of organisation is an ideal target for infiltration, experts point out, and wonder if this is what Yasser Arafat had in mind when he wanted Rajiv Gandhi some time ago that an attempt might be made on his life.

## Mossad links with LTTE

Arafat himself has been on the hit list of some small Palestinian splinter groups which talk in the language of extreme Palestinian nationalism, but which in reality are either heavily penetrated or directly controlled by the Israeli super-spy organisation, the Mossad. It is believed that, concerned by the signals gleaned from such quarters through his counter-intelligence, Arafat might have worried about the possibility of an attack on Rajiv by Mossad-linked organisations. The Mossad is known to have had a finger in both pies, maintaining links with both the LTTE and the Colombo government, while performing services for its friends in Langley, USA.

One thing some experts find more than a trifle suspicious is the all-too-pat manner in which Colombo, barely hours after the assassination, described it authoritatively as an LTTE job - with some of its friendly newspapers even spouting the names of those believed to have executed the operation.

"Don't forget Colombo's own vested interest in the



ROBERT GATES  
... CIA chief

whole affair," says a top official. "It could be that they are trying to be very helpful - it could also be an attempt to capitalise on the situation to deal a deadly blow to a political adversary. If it can be definitely fixed that the LTTE was in some way involved, nobody would stand to benefit more than Colombo. Its main adversary would then lose the sanctuary (in Tamil Nadu) that kept it alive during the most difficult periods." Other analysts, too point out that Colombo's equation with Rajiv was "at least as bad as the LTTE's was."

Meanwhile, investigators here are breaking their heads over the plethora of ever multiplying "leads" that seem to take them no further. A common grouse amongst them is that the highly coloured and sensational newspaper reports are, in fact, influencing the testimony of witnesses. "We have people imagining they have seen or heard things that they

didn't. It's mess," says one official.

The recovery of the foreign made 9 volts battery with two switches used to ignite the explosion from the site at Sriperumbudur has further strengthened the foreign involvement angle. Much, obviously, revolves around the ability of the investigators to fix the identity of the assassin. Many of the "breakthroughs" confirmed in the press have turned up very little in reality.

## "Breakthroughs" reveal little

The CBI is believed to have collected earlier photographs of the suspected woman assassin, but it is not clear how and from where they obtained the pictures. And many of the phone calls flooding the CBI's new office housing the SIT have turned out to be from enthusiastic but ill-informed members of the public. But since no chances can be taken, the investigators have to follow up some of the tips and leads, often consuming valuable time and energy.

What does seem to have been established, however, is that there was a larger conspiracy, going well beyond organisations like the LTTE, behind the murder of the former Prime Minister. The question is whether our intelligence setup has the ability and the political will to tear the veil of secrecy from those behind that larger plot.

Tissa Jaykody... Eliyatambi Kirupalan... Robert Gates. These are some more, maybe distant, names now; but who knows if the conspiracy is unravelled tomorrow in all its dimensions, they, or some of their link, could well be the mastermind in snuffing out India's most prominent political leader.

## Who are they?

Jaykody is an intelligence expert who was sent to Madras by Colombo on a diplomatic assignment in 1983, and reportedly built a veritable intelligence network throughout the state in just a few years.

Kirupalan, the dapper LTTE explosives expert, is said to have surfaced in a West European capital barely a few days before Rajiv's assassination.

## Investigations hampered

Gates, the new CIA chief and a so-called expert on South Asian affairs, is a man firmly wedded to Bush's unipolar New World Order, where the Rajiv Gandhi's of the Third World were perceived as hindrances. A man in with the William Casey school of covert warfare, and who, according to an authoritative source, was also a player in the Iran-Contra scandal.

Now that the Special Investigating Team (SIT) and other probing agencies have reached one firm conclusion - that there definitely was a foreign hand in the assassination - the motives of these gentlemen and the groups they represent need closer examination....



settling the agenda both for the investigations and speculation that have followed.

The investigators are, of course, quite correct in not going by LTTE denials. The record of that organisation, particularly after the assassination of TULF leader Amirthalingam, rob their denials of credibility.

It must also be said for the investigators that they are neither ruling out nor asserting LTTE responsibility for the plot, which is a correct approach. It is the lack of importance attached to other possibilities that could be problematic. However, reliable sources assure BLITZ that they are taking the external involvement theory quite seriously - though in which direction it is not quite clear - and concede that the conspiracy, even if it does involve the LTTE, could well go beyond that organisation.

One of the objectives of the CBI team's visit to Colombo is reportedly not just to fix the identity of the assassin among LTTE cadres, but also to probe the links of the LTTE and its factions to notorious agencies like the Mossad of Israel and the CIA. With even leaders of the Right-wing BJP like Atal Behari Vajpayee speaking of

## Arafat tipped Rajiv

From Batuk Gathani,  
London. The Hindu, June 3

"THE OBSERVER, in its lead story today (June 2) reveals that Mr. Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) tipped Rajiv Gandhi a month ago about a plot to kill him. This was disclosed to the British Sunday paper's correspondent Mr. Shyam Bhatia, by the Prime Minister Mr. Chandrashekhar. The intelligence services investigating the Rajiv Gandhi assassination have been reportedly ordered to follow up the information given by the PLO.... According to THE OBSERVER Mr. Chandrashekhar confirmed that the prime suspects in the assassination were the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka. Intelligence staff believe they should have been more wary of the Tigers who profess to be Marxists, because of their carefully cultivated links with Arab extremist groups in Lebanon. At least 200 Tigers have been trained by Palestinian splinter groups, according to the sources in Delhi....

## Congress-I armed LTTE-Vajpayee

Indian Express June 3,  
PTI from Moradabad

"...Referring to the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and its alleged connection with the LTTE, Mr. Vajpayee alleged that it was the Congress-I government which armed the LTTE and later sent the Indian army to Sri Lanka to fight it. "In the beginning itself we had pointed out that this was a wrong policy", he said.

## LTTE emissary meets SIT?

Indian Express June 14.

"LTTE emissary Kasi Anandan has met the Special Investigation team members in the city, according to a source. It is not yet clear whether Mr. Kasi Anandan was summoned by the investigators or whether he met them voluntarily. SIT chief D.R. Karthigeyan declined to comment on this. The LTTE has denied responsibility for the assassination and even offered to help in the probe...."

## Jyoti Basu's Charge

Indian Express, June 10

CPM leader Jyoti Basu charged the Congress-I with shielding those behind the murder of Rajiv Gandhi by diverting attention from them by unleashing violence against the party's political opponents...."

## Journalist arranged meeting

Indian Express, June 12

The reported meeting between Rajiv Gandhi and two LTTE emissaries was arranged by a prominent southern daily newspaper, top Tiger sources have said. Mr. Gandhi is said to have met Kasi Ananthan and London based businessman Arjuna Sittampalam in two separate meetings on March 5 and in the second week of March this year. A woman journalist of the newspaper acted as the intermediary for the meetings, according to the sources who requested anonymity.

## Pakistan leaders blame CIA

Indian Express,  
June 12 (UNI)

A section of the Pakistani leaders belonging to the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) has blamed the United States for the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the recent devastating explosion in the army ammunition depot in Noshera in the frontier province. Information Secretary of IJI and Chief of the Hazab-I-Jehad (a constituent of IJI) Aga Murtaza Poya said the assassination of Mr. Gandhi was another achievement of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)....

## Inter-Agency rivalry?

The Hindu, June 9

"... There are also clear differences between the CBI, RAW and IB over the investigation. CBI sources question in regard to RAW and IB: What are the inputs of the two agencies after the Centre alerted the Tamil Nadu government four days in advance about the possible threat to Rajiv Gandhi during electioneering, or for that matter what did the Intelligence wing of the State Police do in the face of such a warning. Was there any serious contingency plan to keep a vigil over the Sri Lankan militants and their movements at least in Madras? asks the CBI official, adding that "we get the impression that no one appears to like CBI to unravel the mystery behind the assassination lest others should get exposed for their failure...."

Krishna Iyer:  
A quote

From FRONTLINE,  
June 22 - July 5

"... Was the investigative instrument politically guided to look for LTTE culprits?.... Are we, in India's criminological advances, living simultaneously in third degree primitivity and the 21st century? Did the police suffer from the Tamil tiger mind-set?...."



## JOHN NIDES of the American section of Amnesty International on the persistent violation of Human Rights in Sri Lanka

# U.S. OBLIGED TO CUT OFF ALL AID TO SRI LANKA

(continued from previous issue)

### Government's Response

Armed opposition groups present governments with grave difficulties. Governments are responsible for protecting the lives and property of their citizens and maintaining law and order. But in doing so, governments must ensure that fundamental human rights are respected. Under international human rights law, certain fundamental rights—the right to life and the right not to be tortured—must be upheld at all time and in all circumstances. However widespread and violent the acts of armed opposition groups, there is never any justification for government to fail to fulfil their obligation to respect such fundamental human rights.

The UN Committee on Human Rights has said in comment 5 (13) to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights that "in times of emergency, the protection of human rights becomes all the more important, particularly those rights from which no derogations can be made. The Government of Sri Lanka acceded to the Covenant in 1980.

What has been the response of the Sri Lankan government to charges of gross, persistent and systematic violation of human rights? The government and its security forces won't even acknowledge the deaths of

so many defenseless people in the Northeast. Government statement only refer to atrocities committed by the LTTE and the deaths in combat of Tamil Tigers and security forces personnel.

There will never be an end to human rights abuses in a country unless there is accountability for human rights crimes. What has been the government's approach to accountability?

Just days before the December 1988 presidential election, the government passed the Indemnity (Amendment) Act which gives immunity from prosecution to all members of the security forces and the government involved in enforcing law and order between August 1, 1977 and December 16, 1988 if their actions were carried out in good faith and in the public interest. Anyone who can show they acted in good faith under the authority of a government official during the period is also immune from prosecution.

In only a few cases have charges been brought against security forces for extrajudicial executions. No charges are known to have been filed in connection with the disappearance cases.

What has the government done to resolve the tens of thousands of disappearance cases reported in 1988 and 1989? Practically nothing.

In September, the police confiscated details of 533 disappearance cases from an opposi-

tion member of parliament who was about to leave for a meeting of the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances in Geneva. The papers were returned to him in October after he filed a petition in the courts. Seizing those papers hardly constitutes the act of a government which is sincerely interested in doing something about disappearances.

to have been former government officials.

Last fall, on the eve of the aid consortium meeting in Paris, I met with the distinguished Sri Lankan Ambassador to the United States and we had a very frank discussion about Amnesty's concerns regarding Sri Lanka.

(The government of Sri Lanka has published proposed amendment to the fundamental

with Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Schaffer to raise our concerns about Sri Lanka. When we raise specific concerns, such as death threats to Dr. Saravanamutlu, Richard De Zoysa's mother, the State Department has been quick to act and for that we are grateful.

I am pleased to say that human rights concerns were fully discussed at last year's consortium meeting. The European nations issued a statement that future aid to Sri Lanka will be affected by the response of the Sri Lankan government to the human rights concerns that were raised.

We might ask the representative from the State Department whether the United States joined in that statement or issued a similar statement of its own.

I believe the United States only committed \$24 or \$30 million dollars in aid to Sri Lanka. The overall aid committed however increased because of additional amounts committed by the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank and the Japanese. I believe last year the U.S. delegate to the World Bank was instructed to oppose non-humanitarian loans to China because of its human rights record. We might ask the State Department representative if the Administration is considering doing the same in regards to Sri Lanka, based on its human rights record. We might also ask what efforts are being made by the Administration to convince the Japanese to pressure the Sri Lankan government to end human rights abuses. I believe the Administration and conversations with Japanese about the amount of aid it was providing China in the aftermath of the Beijing Massacre.

We might also ask whether the Administration has raised the issue of Sri Lanka's human rights record with the appropriate subcommittee of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva and if not, why not.

Finally, under Section 512b of the Foreign Assistance Act, the Administration is obligated to cut off all military and economic assistance to nations that are gross and consistent violators of human rights. I would like to ask Mr. Dilly if the Administration considers Sri Lanka to be gross and consistent violator of human rights and if not, why not.

Thank you.

### Text of Speech at the American Bar Association Seminar

Following last October's annual aid consortium meeting in Paris, a three member Presidential Commission was appointed to inquire into disappearance cases which occur after January 10 of this year. The three member Commission consists of a retired Supreme Court Judge, a retired Court of Appeal Judge and an attorney. The Commission is not empowered to look into the tens of thousands of cases of disappearances that occurred before January 11.

### Detention without Trial

In January 1990 the government announced that detainees held without charge or trial in the south under the Emergency Regulations would be screened. Criminal charges would be filed in cases where there was sufficient evidence of serious involvement with the JVP. Those thought to be only marginally involved with the JVP would be released on probation, but those thought to be involved but against whom there was no evidence would remain in detention for "rehabilitation". At the end of last year, 9,000 prisoners remained in detention without trial.

### Curbs on Special Powers

Last February Emergency Regulation 55FF was repealed; this regulation had permitted police to dispose of bodies without post-mortem or inquest. But the remaining Emergency Regulations still enable security forces to dispose of bodies secretly and the extrajudicial executions continue.

### Govt. Response to AI

In the past, members of the Sri Lankan government have labeled Amnesty International a terrorist organization and accused us of providing aid to the insurgency groups. The Sri Lankan Ambassador to Belgium has publicly torn up petitions from Amnesty members calling upon his government to end its human rights abuses. Amnesty has not been permitted to send a delegation to Sri Lanka to investigate human rights abuses.

There have been some positive signs recently, however. The creation of the Presidential Commission to investigate disappearances is such a sign though we would have preferred more of the appointees not

rights chapter of its Constitution. The proposed amendments would appear to strengthen and extend the scope of fundamental rights protection in Sri Lanka. We welcome this. On closer examination, however the amendments provide for the restriction of many rights.)

### The Role of the U.S.

The United States is not responsible for the human rights abuses being committed by Sri Lankan security forces nor by the insurgent groups. The United States cannot stop such abuses from taking place; only the Sri Lankans can.

But the United States can speak out forcefully and frequently about the situation in Sri Lanka and make it clear to the Sri Lankan government that its actions are intolerable and in violation of international law.

Last year before the October aid consortium meeting, I spoke with representatives from the U.S. Agency for International Development to express Amnesty's concerns.

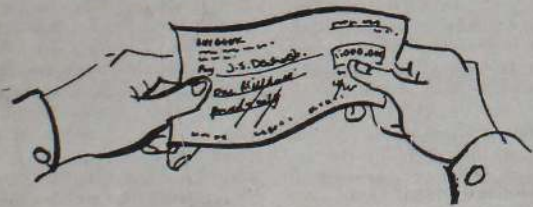
Let me mention at this point that Amnesty does not take a position on linking aid, loans, investment monies to a country's human rights record. We neither support nor oppose sanctions. But we do believe it is our duty to call attention to decision-makers the human rights situation in a country where gross and widespread human rights violations are taking place. It is up to the decision-makers to decide what use they will make of our information.

The American officials at AID were very receptive to our giving them a briefing at the State Department. We also met

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## Amnesty members get telephonic threats

An Amnesty International team visiting Sri Lanka has called off, at least for the time being, a scheduled trip to the East to investigate reports of human rights violations. The postponement is said to have come about after team-members received threat calls over the telephone. The Amnesty International team arrived in Colombo during the first week of June in its first officially approved fact-finding mission. The 3-member team was headed by Mr. Derek Evans.

It is believed that pro-government forces did not want the Amnesty team to get to know the truth of the massacre of over 150 unarmed Tamil civilians at Kokkadicholai in Batticaloa on the 13th June.



# BACKGROUND BRIEFINGS

by Arjuna

The real worth of a person they say is tested only in times of crisis. This goes for not only individuals, but for nations, communities, politicians, and in today's world the Media as well. The Rajiv Gandhi assassination was an event of crisis proportions. How did the media - reporters, correspondents, sub-editors, editors, come out of this test? With a few exceptions, pretty poorly it must be said.

Never before in recent memory has the media sunk to such depths of ignorance, prejudice, misinformation, disinformation, sensationalism, even malice, let alone carelessness in factual details, as it did in the post-Rajiv Gandhi assassination period. While screaming sensationalism has always been the special forte of the Tamil-language Press in Tamil Nadu - most of the dailies as well as the periodicals - with scant disregard for facts, Truth, or the laws of defamation, what is tragic is that there is such a vast credulous relationship to lap up whatever that appears in print and accept it as God's own truth! For example, one evening Tamil daily ran the headline and story that the "one-eyed Jack" supposed to be a chief suspect in the assassination has been caught. The paper sold like hot cakes, while the poor Tamil Doordashan that same night and every night thereafter was exhibiting the picture of the man and appealing to the public to help trace the man. It was blatant misinformation, but it does not seem the paper has lost any credibility as a result.

While the behaviour pattern of the Tamil-language Press, however deplorable, was not surprising, many English-language reports did no credit to the newspapers concerned. Now take the *Sunday Times*. London, a prestigious newspaper in that part of the world. In its issue of 2 June, it carried a report by its correspondent Jon Swain in Colombo. Under a 7-column headline - **Sri Lankan Police identify Gandhi killer** - it said :-

"Sri Lankan Police believe they have made a breakthrough in the hunt for Rajiv Gandhi's assassins by identifying the mysterious suicide bomber who killed the former Indian Prime Minister. They suspect that the woman, whose photograph was taken moments before the explosion, was an unmarried Tamil militant in her mid-thirties called Jayanthi. She was from Sri Lanka's northern Jaffna peninsula. They say Jayanthi was a hardcore member of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam - the Tamil Tigers - the most fanatical of Sri Lanka's militant groups...."

The report goes on to say :- "Early in March this year two Tamil envoys were sent to Delhi to give Gandhi a letter from Velupillai Prabhakaran, the Tigers' commander-in-chief. One emissary was Kasi Anandan, the Tigers' main representative in southern India. The other was Nadesan Satyendra. Both were from Madras, the capital of Tamil Nadu near where Gandhi was killed...."

While the very idea of the Sri Lankan Police making a break-through in a case that involves the Indian Police and a top Indian investigation team, concerning the killing of an ex-Indian Prime Minister of Indian soil, was funny enough, (like a man making honeymoon plans when he heard the neighbour was getting married!) who fed Jon Swain with the legend that Nadesan Satyendra from Madras met Rajiv Gandhi? Mercifully, the London paper, conscious of the law of defamation perhaps, carried the correction prominently that Nadesan Satyendra was neither from Madras, nor did he meet Rajiv Gandhi, nor was he in India for more than three years.

Then again, a Reuter report from Madras datelined May 31 filed the following imagined "information" :-

"Police sources said officers of the Central Bureau of Investigations (CBI) searched the offices of the periodical *Tamil Nation*, mouthpiece of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which is edited in Madras, published in London, and seized documents".

Firstly, it was false report. No such search was carried out

# PUBLISH AND BE DAMNED?

Two cheers for the Freedom of the Press!

at that point of time; the *Tamil Nation* is not rich enough to have "offices". No "Police sources" could have given Madras Reuters this false information. But what was most abnoxious about the report was the element of malice behind the report in describing *Tamil Nation* as "mouthpiece" of the LTTE. *Tamil Nation* is nobody's "mouthpiece" and is proud of its individuality and independence. If an Indian newspaper supports the Palestinian cause, it does not become a PLO mouthpiece, does it?

Even the careless lapses on the part of the media have been too many for cataloguing. Several reports even in prestigious journals have referred to some Sri Lankan "telephoning" Jaffna from Tamil Nadu. Alas, Jaffna never had the luxury of telephones for the past three years, let alone the luxuries of electricity or banking facilities or even a bus service. Another report referred to Jolapet as being somewhere in Jaffna! And so on and on. The overall media approach appears to have been, in the words of the Duke of Wellington: **Publish and be Damned**. We said two cheers for the freedom of the Press. The third unsaid cheer is for the freedom of the wild ass.



## The Gladstones, Dixit, Nehru and all the rest....

The departure of British High Commissioner David Gladstone from Colombo after being declared persona non grata by the Sri Lankan government was not entirely without diplomatic precedent. Following the 1971 JVP insurrection, the government headed by Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike ordered the closure of the North Korean embassy in Colombo. The ambassador and his entire staff packed their bags and left by a Aeroflot flight on April 16 of that year. Interestingly, it was Mrs. Bandaranaike herself who had given diplomatic recognition to North Korea the previous year shortly after she assumed power.

In 1982, the First Secretary to the U.S. embassy, Kenneth M. Scott was recalled by his government after Sri Lanka protested over some alleged remarks made by Mr. Scott at a Colombo cocktail party. The remarks were reported to be some unwelcome comments made by him about the outcome of the 1982 Presidential elections. The real reason - although not publicised at that time - was that Mr. Scott had developed open sympathy with the Tamil separatist cause. Mr. Scott who was previously attached to the U.S. Consulate

in Madras, was known to have picked up his Tamil meanwhile.

Over the years, at least three Indian High Commissioners became objects of controversy in the Sri Lankan capital - C.C. Desai in the midfifties, Vincent Coelho, and of course J.N. Dixit, with only Mr. Coelho being actually recalled before his term ended. The one who earned the biggest hostility in Colombo was Mr. Dixit. SLFP heavy weight Anura Bandaranaike made a bitter reference to him as the "Viceroy of Sri Lanka" and agitated Buddhist monks began campaigning for his recall.

David Gladstone's recent exit on the other hand was regretted by many Sri Lankans in Colombo. An unorthodox diplomat in many ways, he made the mistake of identifying himself too much with the country to which he was posted, and its problems - warts and all!

There were also incidents involving the Soviets. The Soviet embassy once came under suspicion during the early sixties and two visiting Soviet Trade Unionists were packed off. All of which makes one wonder whether there is something about Sri Lanka,

which invites foreign diplomatic meddling!

On the subject of David Gladstone, President Premadasa was reported to have made a veiled reference to "one-time colonial masters still trying to interfere in Sri Lanka's internal affairs" at a public ceremony. Which reminds us of what Jawaharlal Nehru said about Gladstone's illustrious ancestor during the Victorian era in British history. The reference from the *Glimpses of World History*, a book written to his daughter Indira Gandhi, goes as follows :-

"... The two leaders of the English political parties in the second half of the nineteenth century were Disraeli and Gladstone.... He (Disraeli) was a great imperialist, and it was he who made Victoria Empress of India. Gladstone belonged to one of the rich old English families. He became the leader of the Liberal Party, and was also Prime Minister many times. So far as imperialism and foreign policy were concerned, there was no real difference between Gladstone and Disraeli. But

Disraeli was frank about his imperialism; Gladstone, typical Englishman as he was, covered it up with fine phrases and pious exhortations, and seemed to make out that God was his chief adviser in everything he did...."

We quote this here, not with any prejudice to David Gladstone the ex-diplomat, but merely to show that there are many politicians and autocratic rulers in the world who try to make out that they have a special hotline to God Almighty!

While there were several anecdotes about that distinguished duo of Gladstone and Disraeli, there is one that immediately comes to mind, concerning these political foes. Disraeli who was holding the floor in the House of Commons was rudely interrupted by Gladstone wanting to know what the Prime Minister meant by repeating the words "disaster" and "calamity" all the time. "I shall explain the difference Sir", said Disraeli addressing the Chair. "If Mr. Gladstone were to fall into the Thames, it would be a disaster. But if someone were to pull him out, that would be a calamity!"

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## BOOKSHELF

The following books were received recently and are now part of the documentation material of the Research Institute of Tamil Affairs (R.I.T.A.) :-

1. **SRI LANKA TOWARDS A MULTI ETHNIC DEMOCRACY?** Report of a fact-finding mission by Neville Jayaweera. Published by PRIO, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Fuglehauggata 11, 0260 Oslo 2, Norway, 1991.
2. **THE WORLD OF COOMARASWAMY** by Dr. S. Durai Raja Singam, "Selvamani", House Seven, Section Eleven-Three, Petaling Jaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
3. **FIFTY YEARS OF COOMARASWAMY** by Dr. S. Durai Raja Singam.

### Sri Lanka : Towards a Multi-Ethnic Democracy?

The author of the report, Neville Jayaweera, held several senior administrative positions in the Ceylon Civil Service, before he retired prematurely in 1973. He was at various times the Government Agent of the Tamil districts of Jaffna, Trincomalee and Vavuniya, and later went on to become the Director General of the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation. After early retirement he was for a short time a Director of the Marga Institute (Sri Lanka's Centre for Development Studies) before taking up the post of Director of Studies and Planning with the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) in London, in which capacity he worked for 14 years.

Mr. Jayaweera now works from London as an independent consultant to donor agencies, foundations and governments. He has lectured and written widely on Communication, Technology and Development Issues of the Third World. His most recent publications include : **The Economics of Information**, New Economics Foundations, London, 1989, with Prof. Tom Stonier and James Robertson,

and **Continuity and Change in Indian Culture**, ISPCK, Delhi, 1990.

Mr. Jayaweera's report was commissioned by PRIO Norway, as part of its Research Programme on Ethnic Conflicts and Conflict Resolution (ECCO) headed by Kumar Rupasinghe. The study was undertaken in Sri Lanka between the last week of November 1989 and the end of March 1990. (This was the period when the one-year dialogue between the Sri Lanka government and the LTTE was yet on and the report includes a very illuminating and exhaustive interview with President Premadasa).

Although this is not meant to be a review of Mr. Jayaweera's report, it has to be mentioned in passing that much of the validity of some of the positive aspects of the report has suffered as a result of being overtaken by events. Ironically on the very day that the report was being discussed at a meeting held in Oslo in Norway - 11 June 1990 - the long-drawn out one-year dialogue between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE had ended and hostilities were resumed.

### On Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy

The two other publications mentioned earlier, authored by Dr. S. Durai Raja Singam of Malaysia and published by him contain a mine of information on the distinguished Ceylon-born savant Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, his equally illustrious father Sir Muttu Coomaraswamy, and on Saivait Hinduism. Dr. Durai Raja Singam, well-known as a lover and disseminator of the Ananda Coomaraswamy writings was honoured by the Jaffna University eight years ago with an Honorary Degree of Letters.

(We hope to carry reviews of these publications at some time in the future - Ed. TN).

# ANY TALKS MUST LEAD TO A PERMANENT SOLUTION

With reference to the dialogue on Talks which was initiated by Mr. Nadesan Satyendra in the **Tamil Nation** (15/09/90 et seq) I give my considered views below, in the current context.

I fully agree with Mr. Satyendra that the Sinhalese and the Tamils must not fear to talk. I may add that we must be prepared to talk at all times, in all levels and places - preferably directly but utilising all external offers, as far as is necessary, with sincere gratitude. Tamils in particular must not abandon or lose hope and faith in negotiations, just because, several times after 'independence', talks have failed and agreements violated. It will be quite right to begin talking, and to keep on talking, even about further talks, so as to approach is useful in implementing future agreements. The situation today isn't the same as during earlier talks including at the recent talks by the LTTE.

The talks must be resumed without any pre-conditions, other than a cease-fire. A cease-fire is necessary in order to prevent further deaths, injuries and suffering of the ordinary people on both sides, as well as (and why not) among both fighting forces. The cease-fire must take place forthwith, as soon as practicable. It's more civilised and honourable to talk with hope and keep on talking despite repeated failures, than to fight, kill, starve & cripple each other physically. The Government must realise this, and practise this firstly, and set an example to the Tamil fighters.

### Permanent solution

Any solution we talk about, should be fair to both parties, and have the attributes of permanency, as far as we can foresee. It is vital for the

Sinhalese leaders and negotiators to firstly think from the viewpoints of the Tamils, before they take up positions on behalf of their own groups. And vice versa. International norms must be followed, and historical facts should indeed be taken into account, without getting carried away by either. It is more important to evolve solutions, which suit our particular circumstances and are acceptable to both parties, than to simulate text book models of the past which do not satisfy Sri Lanka.

ing of ill-treatment by his father, the Government must discuss and solve the current problems with the Tamils with genuine tolerance, concern and compassion towards the Tamils-in-arms, if it is to serve the genuine interests of the elder sons, represented by the Sinhalese people. This isn't a matter of disciplining an errant son, using the numerical strength of the big boys. The younger son has genuine grievances & fears as accepted by even some of the elder sons and lately by the father himself.

## • A Point of View

by Dr. Kopan Mahadeva

Sinhalese and Tamils must respect each other's just aspirations. It is vital for both parties, having firstly realised the problems and legitimate aspirations of each other, to evolve and give details of their own minimum and maximum requirements so as to satisfy their own various sub-groups, while being fair to the other party and their sub-groups. Such thorough thinking should precede the final and serious talks, to solve Sri Lanka's ethnic problems. But no such thinking can take place when we are engaged in the day-to-day pressures of fighting a war, facing deaths, defeats, emotional outbursts, doubts and suspicions. This is why it is important for an immediate cease-fire to be brought about.

The Sinhalese and the Government should not assume any superiority during the conciliatory talks, nor should the Tamils be made to feel inferior or threatened. Just like the dialogue with a son complain-

### Basis of Equality

Thus, I do agree with Mr. Satyendra, that the talks must be carried out on a basis of equality round the table, and add that we can only talk meaningfully when we are clear about what it is the Tamils want, to give them even minimum feelings of fair-play & equality in Sri Lanka, and what is the most the Government is prepared to do in order to maintain justice, avoiding legitimate fears and grievances among the Sinhalese that their own interest is being encroached by the restoration of justice to the Tamils. The old fear of the Sinhalese that the local Tamils may join the Tamil Nadu Tamils and push them into the sea is no longer valid, as has been proved in 1988-90. Hence that fear is illegitimate. Any fears that the Tamils left alive, and their progeny may persevere with the remnant infrastructure and surpass the Sinhalese economically are also illegitimate and harmful to the Sinhalese.

## Letter

### Rajiv Assassination and Eelam refugees

From U. MUNUSWAMY, M.A. (Hist), M.A. (Pol), M.Phil., Professor and Head of the Dept. of History and Politics, Loyola (Autonomous) College, Madras 34 :-

Respected Sir,  
This is with reference to the publication of hysterical sentiments and motivated propaganda leading to unnecessary humiliation and sufferings of many innocent Eelam Tamils, consequent to the death of our former Prime Minister. Violence in any form, against anyone, under any circumstances, is despicable, and hence deserves universal condemnation. Differences in policies or political opinions can never be suppressed by eliminating individuals or even whole groups. On the other hand, violence often has its origins in earlier violence. This truth is applicable not only individuals as citizens, but even to persons who form part and parcel of the State and its authority.

It is unfortunate that the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi should in turn create violent hysteria. As a result people entrusted with power themselves lose their reasoning capacity. We read every day in the papers that "X", a suspected Tamil refugee has been brought to Madras from such and such a place, another Tamil

refugee woman suspected in the assassination brought to Madras for interrogation; so-and-so, another refugee detained under suspicious circumstances; so many others rounded up for questioning. The process of investigation is one thing, but to project these incidents in the media in the way it is done, is deplorable.

These sickening reports do not seem to evoke any sympathy even from the stoutest champions of individual liberty, individual dignity and personal freedom. On the other hand, whatever is published is lapped up as official evidence. Do some newspapers think that they have the freedom to make the readers consume any trash? This is certainly not a healthy trend for the evolution of a stable Democracy, or a responsible Press. Why cannot we develop a human understanding of the agony felt by these refugees, and those of their near and dear ones? As refugees they are already a disturbed people, disturbed by what they have undergone in their own country. Once they return from these torments after their innocence is proved, they will only return as physical and mental wrecks, besides affecting the social harmony in our society.

U. Munuswamy

The right, in principle, of self-determination of the Tamil Nation (with its divergent groups and several factional ideas to achieve even the very same goals) would be unwise to be challenged or contrarily insisted upon by anyone at this, or any stage. Democracy must return to the North-Eastern Province of Tamil Eelam (to be named as such) as soon as possible, firstly on an interim basis and thereafter, when the talks fully mature, possibly on a federal set-up with autonomy to all states of Sri Lanka, except on matters of overall defence and external affairs, with equal scope for anyone from the federal states, including Tamils to rise to the highest positions in the Central Government. Controversial issues are best decided by UN-supervised plebiscites.

My dream and prayer is that President Premadasa and Thamby Prabhakaran would take a few days off together, in a secret holiday resort, possibly abroad, as soon as a cease-fire is agreed, and talk the issues over - just the two of them, with security precautions. I believe that much more will come out of such face-to-face talks, by the two leaders who hold the keys to peace in Sri Lanka to-day, than by any other talks that I could think of. And I also wish that the willing and honorary services of dedicated and enthusiastic leaders such as Mr. Satyendra are utilised productively to make the proposed Talks a success.



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## PEOPLE EVENTS



### Lecture tour in UK

Shri Parthasarathy, the well-known exponent of Vedantic philosophy is currently on a tour of UK, giving discourses on the Bhagavad Gita. His lecture programme is as follows:- June 17-20, Wales, Bhagavad Gita Ch. II; June 22-26, Nottingham, Ch. III; June 28-July 1, Liverpool, Ch. III; July 2-6, Manchester, Ch. VIII; July 8-11, London, Ch. XII.

For enquiries, readers are asked to ring 081 868 5166.

### Chandra Schaffter to manage UK Cricket tour

Mr. Chandra Schaffter has been appointed Manager of the Sri Lankan cricket team on their forthcoming tour of England. Schaffter, Chairman of Selectors in late 60s, and later as Sri Lankan representative

in England and then in India makes his second tour as Manager. Popular in sports circles in Colombo, Mr. Schaffter had at one time represented the Tamil Union in Cricket and Hockey.

### Veena Arangetram in London



Two sisters - Sujithra (15) and Subathra (12) had their joint Veena Arangetram at the Lord Mountbatten Hall, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, London recently. Disciples of Smt. Sivasakthi Sivanesan, they are the daughters of Dr. and Mrs. Ambikapathy of 71, Glendale, Swanley, Kent, U.K.

Chief Guest at the function was the renowned Indian Carnatic musician Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam, and among the distinguished audience was Dr. John Marr, the well-known musicologist and Tamil scholar from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Among those who sent congratulatory messages was the late Veena virtuoso Padma Bhushan Dr. S. Balachander, Sangeetha Vidyarthana T.V. Gopalakrishnan, Mysore V. Doraswamy Iyengar, Mr. T.S. Parthasarathy of the Music Academy, Madras, Violinist V. Thyagarajan, Vellore G. Ramabhadran, Dr. K. Kailasanatha Kurukkal, Professor of Hindu Civilisation, Jaffna University and Sri P. Somaskantha Kurukkal of the Sri Sithivinayagar Thevasthanam, Jaffna.

The accompanying artistes were: Mridangam - Sri Somasundaram, son of Sri Ayyakannu Desigar of Jaffna; Ganjira & Tabla - Nathamani Sri Muthu Sivarajah, primarily a Mridangist, but who learnt this art under Sangeetha Rathnam Sri Ananda Prasad in Trincomalee; Moresing - Sri Sithamparanathan; Ghatam - Sri R. Balasanthan, proficient in Mridangam as well as the violin, and who learnt his Mridangam under Yarpnam Sri M. Ambalavanar and Sri Sinrasa.

### Chundikuli - St. John's disco

Chundikuli - St John's Disco in and of Refugee children in both schools on July 13 from 7.30 p.m. onwards at Copeland Community School, Cecil

Avenue, Wembley Tickets £5 inclusive of meal. For Further information call 021-471 3629 081-200 6743

## DEATHS

Visaladchy Eliathamby (72), wife of late Eliathamby of Alvai South and mother of Sivabalasingham (UK), Balasubramaniam (UK), Kamalanathan (Perth, Australia), Thevaratnam (Swaziland) and Kanagam Perinpanathan (UK) passed away on May 28 and cremated on May 29 at Alvai (Point Pedro).

5 Wyresdale Crescent, Perivale, Middx UB6 8TQ, U.K.

\*\*\*\*\*

Kanther Sinnathamby (Retd O.A.R.D.A.) of Mallakam, husband of Gnanasothy (Thamalai, Alaveddy South father of Suganthi Thevasenathipathy, Sasireka Thirukumaran & Tharany (all of Toronto), brother of Nagaratnam (retired headmaster), Nahanathar, Thilapillai and of late Kumaresu. Cremation Toronto May 30, 1991.

\*\*\*\*\*

Sornam Rasanayagam - relict of late A. Rasanayagam (retired Asst. Commissioner of Labour, Sri Lanka), mother of Puveendran (Nigeria and Australia), Rudran (Washington, D.C.), Subadhra (London) and Ishwaran (Washington, D.C.), and mother-in-law of Sakuntala, Ranji, Soma Arunachalam and Shanthini, passed away peacefully on 7th May, and cremated on 12th May, in Washington.

\*\*\*\*\*

Stanley Chelvarajan Chinivasagam - (Liasion Officer, Toyota Tsusgo Corporation), Colombo, husband of Therese, father of Nalini, Rohan and Lilani (all of Australia). Cremation in Colombo on 15th May. 14, Aloe Avenue, Colombo 3.

General George Thevanayagam and Sarojini Thevanayagam expired tragically. They leave behind three sons Prakash (USA), Suresh (UK) and Diresh and a host of relations 81/4 Hampden Lane, Wellawatte.

\*\*\*\*\*

Lily Rasammah Kanapathi Pillai, wife of the Late C.C. Kanapathipillai (Jaffna College), mother of Pushpam, Chandra and Raneer, mother-in-law of late V. Gunasingham, Rt Rev D.J. Ambalavanan and R.R. Scott, expired in Jaffna on May 17.

\*\*\*\*\*

Shivantha Thambyayah - (49), Chairman, Cargo Boat Group of Companies, Colombo, son of the late Alfred Thambyayah of Kayts, Jaffna, brother of Ms. Subodhini Nirmalingam, Managing Director of Cargo Boat Despatch Co. Ltd, Ravi Thambyayah, Managing Director of Renuka Hotels Ltd., and Mrs. Indu Rajiyah, Chairperson of Renuka Enterprises Ltd., Cremated at Hindu section of General Cemetery, Kanatte, Colombo on 11th May.

14, Bagatelle Road, Colombo 3.

\*\*\*\*\*

Skanda Varendran, University student, son of RN Varendran (K G Group), & Shanti, brother of Gana (Royal, earlier St John's) and Shankhari (Ramanathan Hindu Ladies, earlier Chundikuli) died under tragic circumstances. Cremation June 2 at Kanatte. 22, Nimal Rd., Bambalapitya.

\*\*\*\*\*

Dr J.P.C. Phillips (Phillips Nursing Home, Jaffna), husband of Moira (Ranji), father of Ranjith and Ajith expired in Madras on May 31. Cremation Madras June 1. Ashes will be intened in Jaffna at a later date. 228, Main St., Jaffna.

### Appreciation

## ANTON ST. GEORGE

The news was received with a sudden and unexpected shock by several of his friends and compatriots living outside Sri Lanka of the death of Anthony St. George, a well known businessman and philanthropist in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. The deceased owned a business institution by name "Autos" in the Jaffna city and two leading restaurant-cum-guest houses, one in the Jaffna city, and the other in the immediate environs, the Palm Court, and the Palm Beach.

Anton, as he was affectionately known to his numerous friends and relatives both within and outside the country, was, I learn, apparently in good shape when the treacherous hand of death snatched him away without as much as a warning. Perennially cheerful, he is reported to have answered the inescapable summons uncomplainingly and with resignation to the inevitable.

Anton hailed from a distinguished family in Jaffna and was the eldest of five illustrious brothers, three of whom had predeceased him. One brother, John, is an eminent gynaecologist, now settled and practising his specialty in Australia, and the other, Alfred, the last of the league, is a doctor practising in the U.K. Anton, like his brothers, was a devout Catholic and religious to the extreme.

Anton and his four brothers all received their secondary education at St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, where they were students of outstanding merit. The brother next to him, Joe, who was an eminent lawyer in Colombo, died a premature death in the 1960s. Another

younger brother, Charles, who had a doctorate in veterinary science died comparatively recently. So did a brother, Victor, who was a planter.

My friendship with Anton and his brothers started during our early school days and endured life-long. It was a friendship that was too close and inalienable.

It was five years ago that I had farewell to Anton when I left my beloved homeland to sojourn in an alien country. I then never expected that the sad task of laying this tribute to his memory at his feet would devolve on me so early.

True, death is the appointed end of life. To some it comes early, to some late, and to some in the middle of life, in the height of their ascendancy, their glory. Anton's end came at the peak of his glory.

Augustine  
Saverimuttu

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# TAMIL NATION

## 'No foreign wisdom required'

The government was not prepared to seek the wisdom or accept advice from other countries in resolving internal conflicts, said President Premadasa at a public meeting at Kamburupitiya. The government also did not believe in bringing down foreign armies to suppress a section of the people. Nobody can force the government to take decisions or force "solutions", he said. The meeting held on June 23, coincided with his 67th birthday.



The body of a youth which was fished out of a pond near Lakshmiapuram village in Chengai Anna district in Tamil Nadu on June 27 has been identified as that of Murugamoorthi (32) of Atchuvelli South, Jaffna. He was staying with his wife Nages-

wari and two sons at Anjugam-nagar, Kolathur near Madras for the past several months.

Murugamoorthi was stated to have been last seen with an acquaintance Easan, also a Sri Lankan. The exact circumstances and nature of injury

which led to his death were being examined, although earlier reports said he had a bullet injury over his left eyebrow.

Pictured above are the grief-stricken widow Nageswari (28) and her two sons Senthuran and Mauran.

## 'LET'S TALK, BUT NO PRECONDITIONS' - LTTE SPOKESMAN

(From our Correspondent in Germany)

Mr. Lawrence Thilagar of the Central Committee of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, has issued an invitation to the Sri Lankan Government to participate in talks with the LTTE. Speaking to newsmen in Mersbach, Germany on the 10th of June 1991, on the first anniversary of the re-commencement of hostilities in June 1990, Mr. Thilagar insisted that the talks should be without any preconditions. He said that today, the entirety of the north of Tamil Eelam was within the control of the LTTE.

Lanka must recognise that it cannot capture those areas of Tamil Eelam that are within our control. Sri Lanka must come to recognise that it cannot resolve this conflict by military means. It must recognise the need to enter into open and unconditional talks with the LTTE."

Questioned about the President Premadasa's willingness to talk with the LTTE, Mr. Thilagar responded: "It seems that on the one hand President Premadasa wants to convince the international community that he is man of peace, by saying that he will talk with the LTTE. On the other hand he prevents the commencement of such talks by imposing preconditions. These preconditions show a total lack of understanding of the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people and are clearly designed to prevent a peaceful resolution of the conflict. At the same time, President Premadasa continues his military offensive against the Tamil people. It is in this situation that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, in response to the peace efforts of several governments as well as non governmental organisations, have issued an open and public invitation to the Sri Lankan government to begin talks - without any preconditions."

### 'Under our control'

Also, about one half of the East was under LTTE control. The repeated efforts by the Sri Lanka army to wrest these areas from the Tigers have all ended in defeat. Recently, the Sri Lankan army tried to advance in the Mannar and Vavuniya districts but they were repulsed. Mr. Thilagar declared that three fourths of Tamil Eelam continues to be under the control of the LTTE.

### Unconditional talks

"It is in this situation, that we call upon Sri Lanka to enter into open and unconditional talks with us" said Mr. Thilagar. He added: "Sri

## SRI LANKAN TAMIL PRESENCE IN T.N. TO BE REGULATED

The following "important public notice" has been issued by the Public Department of the Government of Tamil Nadu and displayed prominently in many newspapers of 29th June. Signed by the Chief Secretary to the Government, the announcement says:-

"In the light of the recent incidents and present law and order situation, the Government of Tamil Nadu has taken a decision to regulate the continued presence of Sri Lankan

Tamils in India. Many of them are already in the Refugee Camps set up by the Government. However, a large number are outside the Camps either living with friends and relatives or on their own. It has now been decided that all the Sri Lankan Tamils who are outside the Refugee Camps should be got registered. Therefore all such Sri Lankan Tamils who are living outside the Refugee Camps anywhere in Tamil Nadu are hereby directed to

furnish full information relating to their names, addresses, occupation, etc. to the nearest Police Station within 7 days from the date of publication of this notice. They are hereby warned that failure to do so will entail severe penal action under the various laws of the country including liability of deportation.

"2. Owners of houses or lodging places who have leased or let out to or permitted their premises to be used by the Sri Lankan Tamils and employers who have given job to Sri Lankan Tamils are hereby directed to furnish full details relating to the names, period of occupation etc. of such Sri Lankan Tamils, to the nearest Police Station within 7 days from the date of publication of this notice. Failure to do so or supply of wrong information will be dealt with severely under the law."

A similar announcement was made in June last year, but only about twenty percent of the estimated Sri Lankan Tamils outside the camps responded, partly because of the confusion caused by the wording of the notice which particularised those refugees "without any valid document". Since many of those had passports and valid Refugee registration certificates issued by the Government of Tamil Nadu, they did not feel the need to register. But the recent order however does not make any distinction between those who hold valid refugee registration certificates and passports, and the others.

A good proportion of the Sri Lankan Tamils living outside the camps in Tamil Nadu are

### Croatia and Slovenia Secede



1980 Tito dies; six republics form a presidium to choose a president by annual rotation

May 8 1991 Slovenian parliament suspends federal defense laws and promises to declare independence by June 26

May 15 Serbia and allies use veto to prevent Croatian Stipe Mesic from assuming presidency by rotation

May 21 Croatian plebiscite overwhelmingly votes for independence and a loose alliance with other republics

June 20 Parliament session to fill presidency, vacant since May 15, put off after Slovenian and Croatian boycott; deadline for appointing president June 25

June 25 Croatia and Slovenia declare independence UNI-Octave

## Another Colombo diplomat gets into trouble

An unidentified "Asian diplomat" based in Colombo has been fined Rs. 99 million by the Sri Lankan customs on a charge of smuggling gold biscuits into

the country worth Rs. 36.6 million. He faces possible expulsion from the country unless he pays the fine.

## Indian commando falls to death in Colombo

27-year old Gurkha para-military commando T.S. Herin Wangial fell to his death from the unprotected terrace of the 3-storeyed Indian High Commission building in Colombo. The building was cordoned off by the Sri Lankan police following the bomb attack on the Lankan Opera-

tional Headquarters building on 21st June.

### An apology to readers

This issue of TN dated 15th June could not be brought out in time due to a chain of unforeseen circumstances. We hope to maintain our regular schedules as the fortnights go by.

**For Other News Other Views Read TAMIL NATION**

middle-class families living in rented houses, with their children studying in both governmental and non-governmental schools and colleges and technical institutions. They sustain themselves from foreign exchange received through banks from close relatives and friends in Western and Middle East countries.