

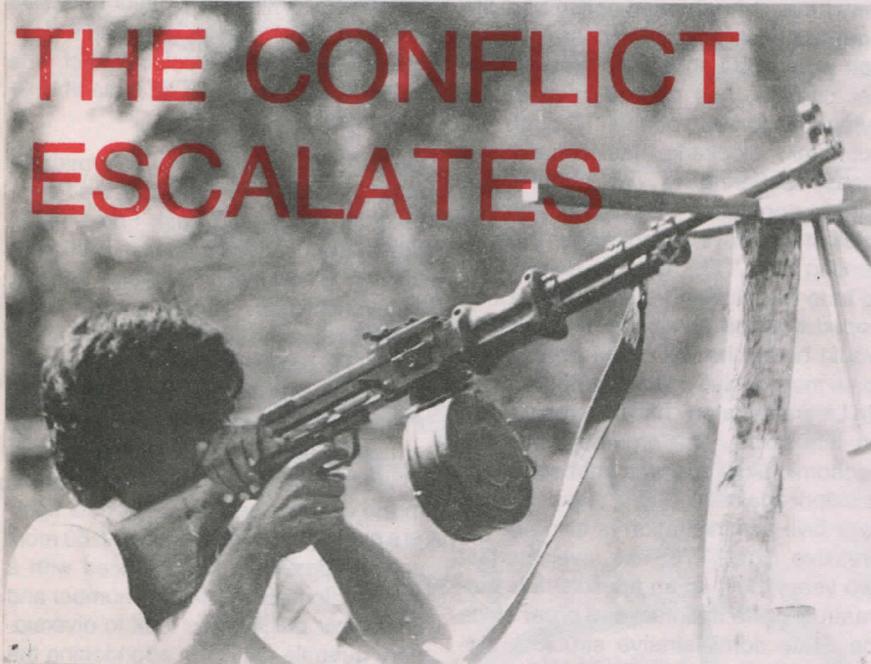


VOICE OF TIGERS

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THE CONFLICT ESCALATES



By imposing an economic blockade and by launching a massive scale offensive in the north, Sri Lankan regime has escalated the national conflict and created the conditions for a prolonged war. Jayawardane's determination to pursue a military solution has wrecked the peace process and led to the suspension of India's good offices.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, as the vanguard movement of the Tamil National struggle has resolved to fight back the military offensive rather than to submit to Jayawardane's humiliating conditions for the resumption of peace negotiations. In an official response rejecting Sri Lanka's terms and conditions the LTTE has categorically stated that it would never be forced to the negotiating table at the point of a gun.

The Government of India stipulated that Sri Lanka should withdraw the military operations against the Tamils and suspend the economic and communication blockade as necessary conditions for the resumption of talks. In response to India's demands Jayawardane has imposed a set of pre-conditions particularly on the LTTE, for talks. These conditions are that:

1. LTTE should recognise the territorial integrity and unity of Sri Lanka.
2. LTTE should agree to cease armed violent operations.
3. LTTE should suspend all military preparations.
4. LTTE should not set up or interfere with the legal administration in the Peninsula.
5. LTTE should lay down arms before the implementation of a solution.

The LTTE has rejected out-right these terms and conditions imposed by Sri Lanka. These conditions, LTTE has pointed out, constitute a call for surrender. Our liberation movement will resist to the last man, rather than to surrender to Jayawardane's threat. Sri Lanka has imposed these pre-conditions as if we the aggressor who launched an offensive. LTTE's official response points out:

"Having subjected our people to untold suffering by economic strangulation and having unleashed a most brutal form of military offensive, Sri Lanka is stipulating terms and conditions which amounts to a demand for surrender. We wish to make it absolutely clear to the hawks in Colombo that military domination and oppression are not the means to win the hearts the people. The more our people are subjected to State terror and repression the more fiercely they are determined to resist"

"We wish to state categorically that LTTE will never be forced to the negotiating table at the point of a gun. Sri Lanka's economic war and military operations against our people are inhuman and unjust. Sri Lanka should undo this injustice and earn the goodwill of our people before any meaningful peace dialogue. Otherwise, Sri Lanka will set the mechanism for a prolonged guerilla warfare"

Sri Lanka's arrogant and intransigent attitude and her callous disregard for Tamil lives has made India to take a stiff stand in suspending its mediatory role. As far as LTTE is concerned it is more determined to resist and defend the people, rather than to give in to Jayawardane's conditions. Sri Lanka will be made to realise that an armed liberation movement with the active support of the masses cannot be defeated or crushed.



THE STRATEGY BEHIND THE MILITARY OFFENSIVE

By imposing an economic blockade on the Jaffna Peninsula on the 2nd of January and by launching a major military offensive in the North on the 6th of February, Sri Lanka has deliberately thwarted the peace process mediated by India and embarked on a genocidal war against the people of Tamil Eelam. It is now apparently clear that Jayawardane's regime has no sincere intention to resolve the conflict by peaceful negotiations but rather bent on a murderous military path aimed at the destruction of the Tamil freedom movement. The strategy of this economic and military offensive is very obvious - to strangulate and subjugate the Tamil nation and force the Tamils to surrender to Sri Lanka's terms and conditions. This strategy entails an all-out confrontation and liquidation of the LTTE, the vanguard movement of the Tamil resistance. Sri Lanka government is well aware that the armed resistance campaign of the LTTE is the vital bargaining power of the Tamils, and once that is weakened or destroyed the Tamils would lose their only leverage. Thereafter, Sri Lanka could impose a solution in her own terms and conditions from a position of military superiority.

Has Sri Lanka achieved the aims and objectives of this strategy? What are the consequences of this purely militaristic approach? Let us analyse this strategy in more detail.

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

First of all, let us take the economic blockade which was imposed on 2nd of January and still continuing. Sri Lanka maintained that the economic blockade was imposed to prevent the LTTE from taking over civil administration in the Peninsula and declaring unilateral independence. But the real intention is to impress upon the Jaffna population their economic dependence on the South and to punish them severely for their overwhelming support to the LTTE. Another reason behind the banning of fuel supplies is to paralyse the vehicle mobil-

ity of the guerrillas in the event of a war that, in Sri Lanka's calculation, will undermine the ability of LTTE's resistance. Whatever the calculation that Sri Lanka may have, this inhuman action of deliberately starving a section of the population whom Sri Lanka shamelessly calls her citizens, has earned international sympathy for our people. Though the economic blockade has caused immense suffering to our people, the Jaffna population has turned bitterly against the Government rather than resenting the LTTE, and has determined to face the challenge. If Sri Lanka has hoped that the economic strangulation would break the will of the people and force them to give up their struggle, then, Sri Lankan strategy has miserably failed on this score. The argument that the economic blockade was imposed in retaliation against LTTE's plans to take over civil administration is also not impressive. The LTTE, has, over the last two years, built up an administrative infrastructure to maintain civil order since the State administrative structure collapsed. We were compelled to fill up the vacuum created by the absence of State authority in the Peninsula, otherwise anarchy and social disintegration would prevail. The fact that the writ of the Government did not run in the North, was announced by Jayawardane himself more than an year ago confirmed that the State has lost its grip over this area. Furthermore, the LTTE has announced that it had no intention of declaring unilateral independence. Therefore, the retaliation theory advanced by Sri Lanka to justify its inhuman and unjust action is untenable and unconvincing. Such action has further alienated the Tamils from the State and made them to realise that the racist Sinhala leadership is after Tamil blood rather than interested in peace and co-existence. Sri Lanka, has thus created the conditions for the reinforcement of the spirit of freedom among the Tamils and hardened their will to struggle for political and economic independence.

MASSACRE AT KOKKATTICHOLAI

Now let us see the consequences of the military offensive.

Before embarking on a major offensive in the North, Sri Lanka launched a massive strike in the Batticaloa district. The main target was the LTTE base at Kokkatticholai.

On the 28th of January, a formidable force of 1,000 commandos of the Pakistan trained Special Task Force (STF) drawn from various camps in Batticaloa district (Thoonadi, Vellaveli, Kallady, Kaluvanchikudi, Karadiyanaru, Vavunativu) launched a massive assault on the LTTE base camp at Kokkatticholai. The advancing column ran into our landmine field and a South African made armoured personnel carrier was blasted to pieces killing 9 police commandos. In the ensuing battle our guerrilla fighters put up fierce resistance and 50 more commandos were killed. Faced with a formidable force superior in number and fire power our fighters took to diversionary guerrilla tactics of abandoning the temporary base and consolidating the position elsewhere. It should be noted that in the four day battle the LTTE has not lost a single fighter, which is a remarkable feat in the context of the adverse situation we faced. The STF commandos having suffered heavy casualties, and having found an abandoned base, took their vengeance on the innocent civilians. They went on a wild rampage shooting indiscriminately at the civilians on sight, and left a trail of arson, looting and rape. It was a massacre in cold blood and 220 civilians were perished in the senseless, brutal rampage.

Has Sri Lanka achieved its military objective in the assault at Kokkatticholai? The answer is in the negative. In military terms, while the commandos suffered heavy casualties, the LTTE guerrilla unit stationed at the base, having offered stiff resistance, left the area unscathed. We acted in accordance with the logic of

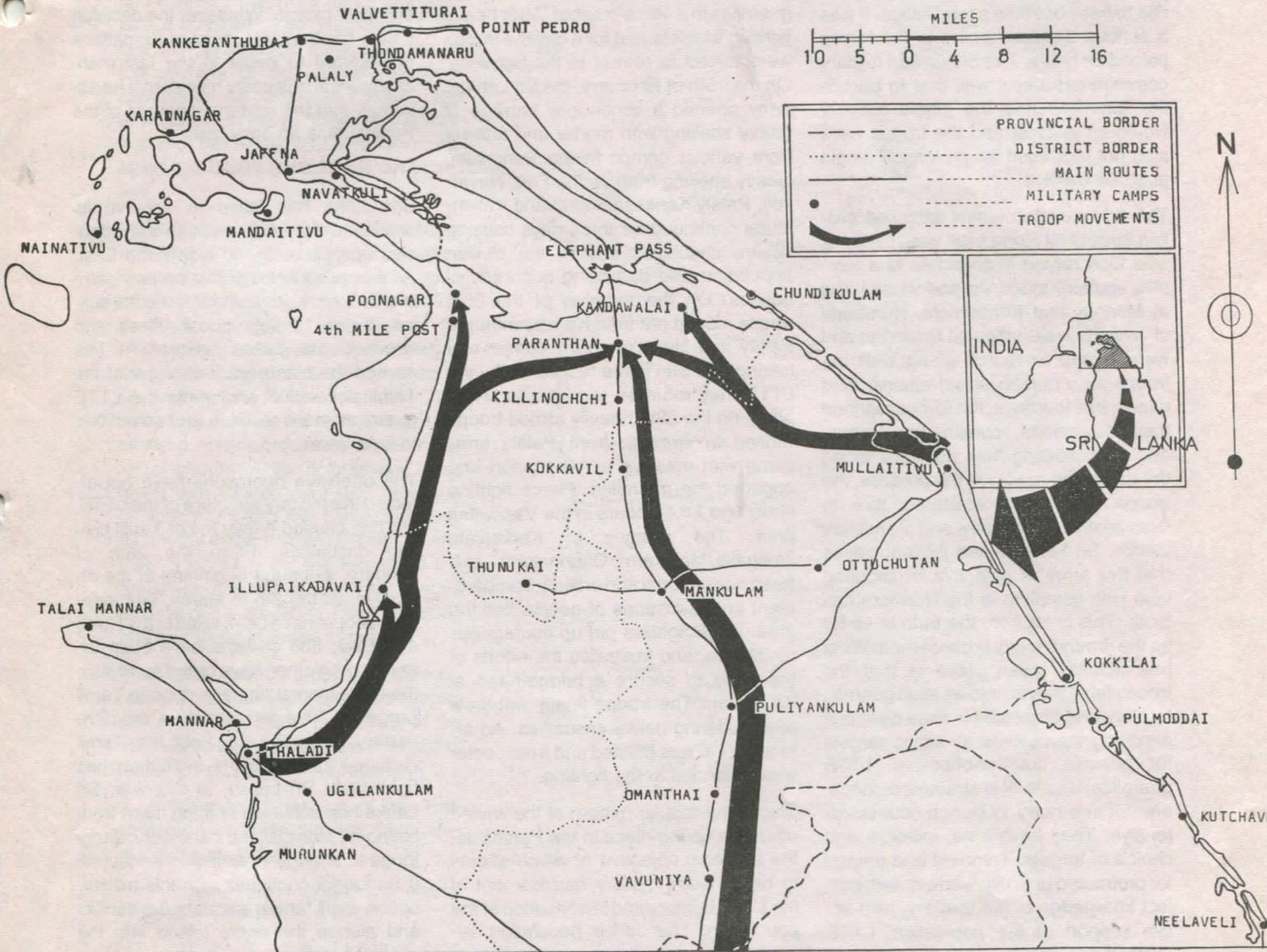
mobile guerrilla warfare. At Kokkatticholai and the surrounding villages, the military operation was directed against the Tamil civilians as the STF commandos has a notorious reputation for such racist assaults. What Sri Lanka achieved in this mad military adventure is the resentment and anger of the local Tamil population, and an additional blood-stained record for serious violation of human rights. The military occupation of land is not the means to win the hearts of the people. The more the repression, the more will be the resistance. It is a tragedy that Sri Lanka has not learned this historical lesson.

OFFENSIVE IN THE NORTH

The offensive in the North has its negative consequences as far as Sri Lanka's over-all politico-military strategy is concerned.

About 10,000 heavily armed troops with armoured vehicles and artillery pieces, with massive aerial support from fighter bombers and helicopter gunships, descended on the four mainland districts of Vavuniya, Mannar, Killinochchi and Mullaitivu on the 6th February. (There are already 8,000 troops stationed in various army camps in the four districts as indicated on the map). The immediate objective of the invading army was to advance towards Elephant Pass on a tripartite path from Thalady (Mannar), Vavuniya and Mullaitivu and to encircle and destroy LTTE guerrilla bases along the main route. On the North-Western sector, the army planned to march along the coastline towards Poonagari and then to branch off to Paranthan and Elephant Pass. On the North Eastern flank the troops were to advance towards Kandawalai and then

branch off to Paranthan. In the central region, the troops assembled at Vavuniya from Anuradapura were to advance along the main trunk road towards Paranthan and Elephant Pass. Apart from encircling and destroying the LTTE bases along this projected thrust, the object of the strategy was to establish new army camps on strategic locations and to strengthen and consolidate the existing ones. Once these objectives have been achieved in the mainland, an all-out offensive on the Peninsula was planned. This major offensive, codenamed *operation giant step* was to involve a combined force of 20,000 troops. With the induction of fresh troops in the recent past, the strength of the forces in the nine camps (including the naval base) in the Peninsula has risen upto 12,000 in number. About 8,000 troops were to launch an assault on the



Peninsula from the mainland North through Elephant Pass.

With this blue-print of strategic offensive, thousands of Sri Lankan troops advanced along the main routes in three directions penetrating across Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Killinochchi. Faced with formidable troop formations, with heavy fire-power and aerial support, LTTE regional guerrilla units in the districts took diversionary tactics. Our guerrillas shifted their bases inland in the jungles avoiding direct confrontation with the enemy forces. This was possible because of the geography of the area which is suited for mobile diversionary guerrilla warfare. Along with the guerrillas vast sections of the civilian masses too, fled to the jungles for safety. The invading military formations advanced without any form of resistance from the LTTE guerrillas. The army marched past empty bases, abandoned posts. The immediate objective of the offensive - to encircle and destroy guerrilla bases - became a total fiasco. It was a serious disappointment to the forces poised for battle. The Sri Lankan military commanders knew well that to pursue the guerrillas into the jungle territory would be suicidal and the troops were also not mobilised for prolonged jungle guerrilla warfare.

The advancing columns attacked civilian targets all along their way. Civilians who took refuge in churches and temples were rounded up and massacred at Mannar and Killinochchi. Hundreds of civilians were taken as hostages and were forced to march along with the troops as a human shield against land mines. In a few days, the forces reached their destination, constructing camps and consolidating their positions along the main high roads. In the process, the troops fanned out, scattered, took to fixed positions in the new and old military camps. Sri Lanka made jubilant claims that the army's objective of securing land was complete in the Northern districts. This is far from the truth in so far as the ground reality is concerned. What has actually taken place is that the troops have moved into an alien guerrilla territory and dispersed in fixed positions exposing themselves as sitting targets for guerrilla counter-offensive. LTTE guerrillas, who took to strategic defence, are not in a hurry to launch counter-offensive. They have time, initiative and choice of targets. Trimmed and trained for protracted guerrilla warfare, with perfect knowledge of the territory, with active support of the population, LTTE fighters are gearing themselves for a

jungle war that would eventually reverse the balance in their favour. The strategic objective of the Sri Lankan army 'to clear up guerrilla territory' will not be a practical task as envisaged, but rather the task of clearing up the army will become a practical possibility for the guerrillas. The most important factor is that time is on the side of the LTTE fighters and Sri Lanka cannot afford a protracted jungle war.

OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS IN THE PENINSULA

Sri Lanka has not yet launched a major military invasion on the Jaffna Peninsula as planned, due to various compulsions, but continue with limited offensive operations to harass LTTE guerrillas and the local population.

On the 10th of February, the 5th day of the offensive in the Northern districts, Sri Lankan troops moved out of the army camps at Palaly, Thondamanaru and Valvettiturai and engaged the LTTE guerrillas in a fierce combat. After heavy fighting which lasted for a day the troops were forced to retreat to the barracks. On the 15th of February, the Sri Lankan army opened a continuous barrage of heavy shelling with mortar and artillery from various camps in the Peninsula. Heavy shelling from Jaffna Fort, Navatkuli, Palaly, Kankesanthurai and Valvettiturai continued for three days causing severe casualties among the civilian population and damaging hundreds of houses. On the morning of the 26th troops moved out from Kankesanthurai, Palaly and Navatkuli army camps and having met with fierce resistance by the LTTE they returned to barracks. Then again on the 28th heavily armed troops moved in strength from Palaly army camp with massive aerial support and engaged the guerrillas. Fierce fighting continued for 48 hours in the Vasavillan area. The villages of Kadduvan, Tellipalai, Malakam Chunnakam suffered heavy aerial and artillery bombardment and thousands of people fled the area. LTTE fighters put up courageous resistance, and frustrated the efforts of the army to secure a bridge-head at Kadduvan. The troops finally withdrew after suffering heavy casualties. An armoured car was blasted and a helicopter was grounded in the fighting.

This is the regular pattern of the limited offensive taking place in the Peninsula, the strategic objective of which seems to be constant military harassment of the LTTE fighters and terrorisation of the population. The Jaffna population, already subjected to extreme hardships

due to economic and communication blockade, are constantly faced with death and destruction by indiscriminate aerial and artillery shelling. By unleashing this barbarous form of collective punishment on a population, simply because they supported the LTTE, Sri Lanka hopes to achieve a political settlement through tactics of terror. Jayawardane is not even satisfied with the torrents of blood and tears already shed. He wants an all-out military invasion of the Peninsula in callous disregard to the huge toll of civilian casualties that might result in the war.

Whether Sri Lanka will go for an all-out invasion of the Peninsula with all its disastrous consequences is a matter that will be known in the near future. There seems to be hesitation and indecisiveness in Colombo due to uncertainty of the outcome. Yet one cannot rule out the possibility since the hawks in Colombo are capable of irrational political behaviour purely impelled by the instincts of racism. Whatever the decision it may be, the LTTE fighting formations are alerted to resist to the last man. Jayawardane is sadly mistaken if he assumes that the military conquest of the Peninsula is an easy task.

THE NEGATIVE POINTS

Sri Lanka has failed to achieve its politico-military objectives in the offensive operations in the North and East. As a consequence of this military gamble, Sri Lanka has contributed to the suspension of India's good offices and wrecked the peace process. It has earned the bitterness and anger of the Tamil population and made the LTTE guerrillas more resolute and committed to fight back.

The offensive operations have not affected the military structure of the LTTE, but has caused heavy toll of Tamil civilian casualties. From the 28th of January, since the beginning of the offensive, till the 5th of March, 504 innocent people have been killed in the North and East, 868 civilians have been arrested, 28 women have raped apart from the monumental damage done to Tamil property. This is certainly a massive military operation "against the Tamil civilians" as the Indian Government has rightly told Sri Lanka. In this war, Sri Lanka has achieved nothing apart from letting its indisciplined bands of military thugs to engage in sadistic massacres. If Sri Lanka continues with this military option it will further escalate the conflict and plunge the entire island into the abyss of civil war.

NOTORIOUS STRATEGY TO ANNEX TAMIL AREAS

A secret document, purported to have been worked out by a Sinhala 'study group', calls for the annexation of Mannar, Trincomalee and Amparai districts by Sinhala colonisation. The document strictly forbids the Government to concede for a merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces and suggests active colonisation in the Trincomalee district to break the geographical contiguity and the ethnic link.

Elaborating on these issues the document states, It is of utmost importance to the Sinhalese and Muslims and to the future security of Sri Lanka that the Northern Tamil districts should on no account be allowed, either now or in the near future, to join up with the Eastern Province Batticaloa Tamils . . . for, they can control almost two thirds of the Sri Lanka coastline. The Trincomalee district with its strategic harbour is vital to the security of Sri Lanka and there should not be any compromise. *The area forms an ethnic bridge and colonisation of this region by Sinhalese population can break this inter-district ethnic link.*

"Giving up a large segment of the North and East for a Tamil autonomous region is unacceptable for the majority community ...It may be a good idea to abolish provinces altogether and search for other units", says the document. Calling the present boundaries as 'cartographic absurdity' of the British colonialism, the document calls for the re-drawing of the traditional maps before the actual transfer of population by colonisation. This newly demarcated map will "reinforce or highlight the fact that Tamils form only a minority in the Eastern Province" and that "it would boost the morale of the Sinhalese and reinforce the anti-Eelam attitude of the wavering Tamil speaking Muslims living in these areas.

The 'study group' urges the Government to "break the 9 province system completely and erase the outline of the 19th century provinces from the map of Sri Lanka. It suggest the following:

* Westward extension of the Trincomalee district so that the Sinhalese are in the majority.

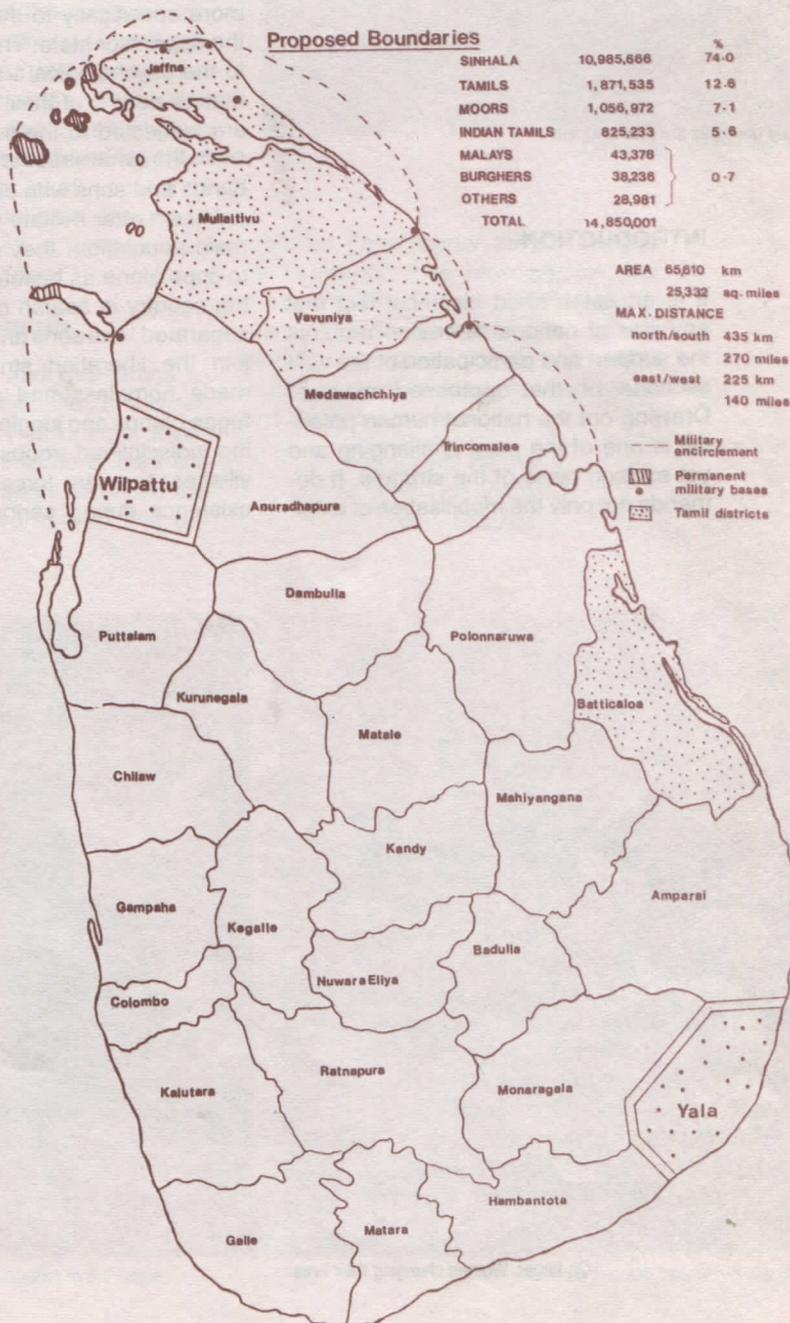
* Extend the Polonnaruwa district eastwards upto the sea coast.

* Create a new district of Madawachchiya to include some areas of Northern District.

* Amalgamate the strategic Mannar district to Anuradhapura.

The study further suggests that the remaining Tamil areas must be placed under effective control by establishing permanent military bases under the umbrella of naval surveillance.

(Annexed to the document is a map with *proposed boundaries* showing Mannar, Trincomalee and Amparai as Sinhala dominated areas).



WOMEN IN THE L



Many of our female guerrillas are markswomen.

ing skills and ability but the training and activation of people into new areas of socio-political and military work for effective deployment in the cause of national liberation. It demands that people re-think their lives, re-think their social relationships and quite often re-think their moral values if they are to become determined and committed participants in a struggle against oppression.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION IS WOMEN'S SUFFERING TOO

Women, as part of the oppressed national masses are equally subjected to military atrocities, torture, murder and more specifically to their sex, rape, by the oppressor state. They are subjected to the psychological trauma of the premature deaths of their loved ones, they are subjected to the trauma of despair over the whereabouts of fathers, husbands and sons who disappear into the unknown after military round-ups of the male population; they are often forced to cope alone as husbands move out of the country in search of work; they are separated from sons and daughters who join the liberation struggle; they are made homeless and pushed into refugee camps and jungles when marauding indisciplined troops sweep through villages; they are forced to eke out an existence during periods of economic

crisis. Indeed their lives become uprooted and plunged into turmoil and insecurity. Women, therefore, experience the direct impact of national oppression and they desperately desire to fight back the monstrous scourge that has descended upon them and, in one form or other they contribute.

WOMEN ARE IN THE STRUGGLE

While it is true that established social prescriptions psychologically and physically constrain the level of their participation many women have broken the barriers and expanded the depth of their activity in the struggle for national liberation. They have taken on new roles that would not have been possible under normal conditions. Subsequently, in the case of the national liberation struggle for Tamil Eelam the contribution of women is taking various forms ranging from unstinted support for the cause to active battle field operations. From the woman feeding the freedom fighters to the woman with her gun she gives her individual capacity and risks her life for the struggle.

WOMEN GUERRILLAS

The female guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam embody the fighting spirit, strength and courage of the female populace of Tamil Eelam.

INTRODUCTION

It is an established historical fact that any war of national liberation requires the support and participation of the vast sections of the oppressed masses. Drawing out the national human potential is one of the most challenging and yet exciting tasks of the struggle. It demands not only the mobilisation of exist-



On target. Women changing their lives.



Shooting in any position. Crucial for the guerrillas.

தமிழ்த் தேசிய ஆவணச் சுவடிகள்

LIBERATION TIGERS

many instances these young women, enraged by the atrocities of the 1983 riots and ignited by a fire to fight back the perpetrators, walked out of their homes to join the struggle. In many instances mothers yielded to the demands of their daughters and wished them well on their journey into the ranks of human history's freedom fighters. The courage of these young women cannot be underestimated. They chose an unknown path, a path of austerity, discipline, hardwork and sacrifice. They have faced the rigors of jungle life; the rigors of a full military training, the pain of homesickness that goes with the first separation from homelife, the tension of proving themselves worthy in the face of sceptical opponents to women in the struggle. But they have waged a battle and won, won acceptance, proven that they are as good, and in many areas, better than the male counterparts.

These women have chosen a path that fundamentally changes age old conceptions of women's life. In this context they have stepped out of the old world and into a modern reality, a world where women can realise another image of themselves, demonstrate a personality compatible with the demands of the real-politik of contemporary socio-political relationships, a world that, should they

wish to pursue, holds out a future beyond the constraints of a kitchen into a world where they determine not only their own path but the lives of others in the form of socio-political and military leadership.

The female Tigers have brought great joy to the ranks of the freedom fighters, not only in their pursuit of full preparation to fight side by side with their male colleagues but with the richness of the cultural activities these young women display. Many of these female guerrillas can sing beautifully, are adept at putting on dramas and it is an exhilarating experience to witness the delicate and complicated movements of the traditional bharatanatayam dance performed in military uniform. It is the point at which the old and the new, the cultural and the political, come together. The sincerity of these young women in all aspects of their lives is unimpeachable. The nation is indeed a lucky nation to have such treasures in human form.

IT'S JUST A BEGINNING

It would be unreal and misleading to suggest that the participation of women in the struggle is at its optimal level. Nevertheless, they are there, they are part of the national oppression and the struggle being waged against that op-



On parade. Tamil women stand proud.

pression. Tamil women are part and parcel of history, they have stepped into the ranks of the progressive forces; they are part of the international struggle by women against the forces of reaction, imperialism, zionism, social oppression and male chauvinism.

Victory will be theirs
LONG LIVE THE WOMEN OF
TAMIL EELAM



Together in the jungle.



Intense interest. Learning is the name of the game.

தமிழ்த் தேசிய ஆவணச் சுவடிகள்

HEROES OF THE STRUGGLE

The heroic war of national liberation being waged by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is loaded with individual personalities which form the collective body of the movement. Each individual brings to the struggle a particularity and every death constitutes a loss to the struggle and the nation. Within this collective heterogeneity there are personalities which embody the spirit of the struggle, the ideals, the determination and the courage of our fighters. The following obituaries provide a brief account of three such characters. They are all young men, they were all in the leadership of the Liberation Tigers, they belong to the first generation that took up arms to advance their struggle, they are all from the various provinces of Tamil Eelam, Mannar, the East and the northern province, Victor, Ganesh and Arputhan respectively.

THE GENTLE GIANT

VICTOR (Marasulin Piuslus)

24.11.63 - 12.10.'86

On the 12.10.'86 a sadness and gloom descended over the masses of Tamil

Eelam. The death of Victor had been announced. Victor died as he would have wanted, fighting back Sri Lankan troops, who had hunted him and his people for many years.

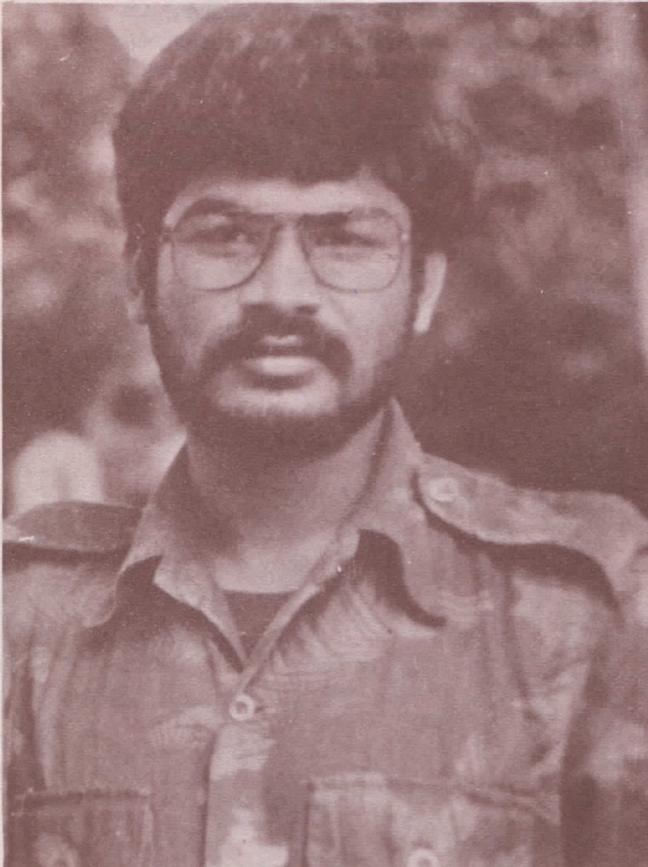
In the death of Victor the Sri Lankan State claimed victory. For them they had destroyed a formidable enemy, a man who had instilled fear into the hearts of the soldiers as he relentlessly fought back their efforts to exert their oppressive military hegemony over his beloved area of Mannar.

It is true that Victor's death was a severe blow to our struggle. but no sooner had he died than the people brought him back to life again. He became a national hero, his legendary heroic military operations a source of inspiration, infusing strength into the people in the face of military brutality. He became a part of the collective conscious of the people.

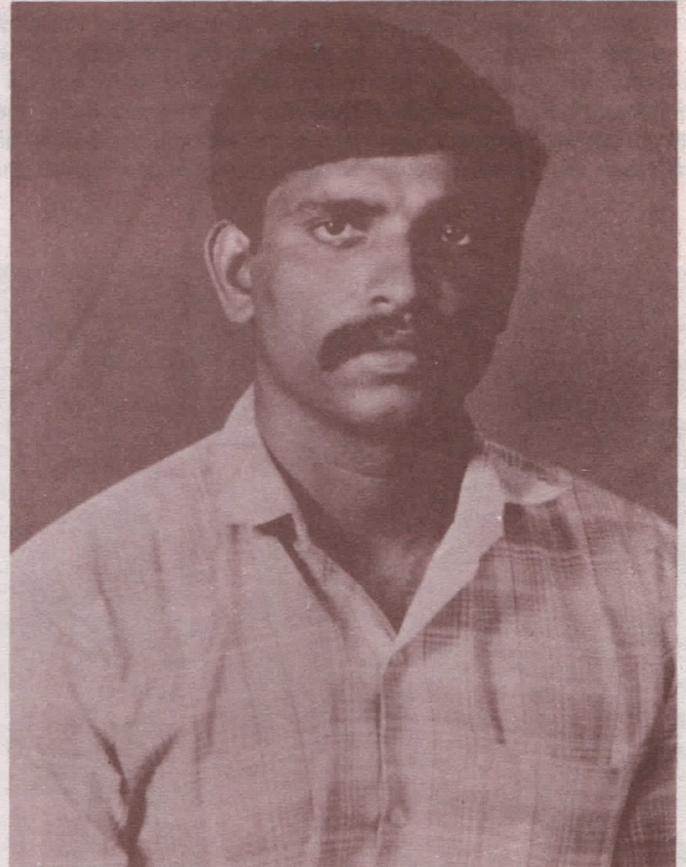
Although Victor was a Regional Commander charged with the responsibility of his comrades and people he remained a simple, unpretentious man which endeared him to all those who cross-

sed his path. In fact, his gentlemanly nature was one of his greatest strengths. He was able to move with the people and earn their respect and trust, a most important aspect for the guerrilla fighter who relies on the support of the people for his survival. Indeed, so successful was he in combining gentleness and understanding of his people with ruthless courage in the face of the enemy, he was able to win the support of the Muslim community in Mannar, a community for to whom he held a particular soft spot, recognising them as an oppressed section within his oppressed nation. For Victor religion was not the criteria of identity. For him Hindus, Christians and Muslims were Tamils who had to fight back the oppression of the Sri Lankan State. We have, in Victor also a man confident of the abilities of women's participation in the struggle. Women, he felt must take to arms and fight back and he had no hesitation in recruiting women for the struggle.

Victor was loved by his comrades in arms. It was not necessary for him to be a rigid disciplinarian. Discipline



Lt. Col. Victor



Major Ganesh

amongst his comrades automatically fell into place through love and respect for a man they knew would be the first to lead them into battle and defend their interests when the need arose. He had done so, so many time during his period of leadership.

The fierce patriotism of Victor coupled with his equalitarian social views have their roots in his family life. He was brought up on the food of a fiercely patriotic family in the fishing village of Pan-nankuti Kotil. He knew what it was to struggle for economic survival and at the same time coping with constant military harrassment. He knew that to survive one had to fight back and bring about social change in all its aspects.

A FOND FAREWELL

Victor's funeral was unique in the history of our freedom struggle, unique in two aspects. Firstly, the body of a national hero had not fallen into the hands of the Sri Lankan military personnel. Secondly, his funeral provided an opportunity for the masses to express their collective grief over his death. A measure of the esteem he was held in was evident by the hundreds of thousands of people who turned out to bid this veteran of the struggle farewell. Indeed there is a befitting epilogue to Victor. In the battle that brought about his death two Sri Lankan soldiers were captured. They were exchanged for two of our freedom fighters, one who was presumed dead. In death he gave lack life. This is Victor.

A SON OF THE SOIL

GANESH (Chitravel Chitrabalam)
4.9.61-5.11.87

We lost one of our most experienced and determined guerrilla commanders in the death of Ganesh on 5.11.87. Ganesh, from Kantalai in the Eastern Province has a distinguished record of guerrilla warfare ranging in scope from battles in urban guerrilla tactics in the far north at Karainagar to rural guerrilla warfare in the southern border of the eastern province at Thirokuvil. With his vast military experience and profound knowledge of the geography and population, Ganesh was eventually assigned the command of a most difficult and complex area, Mutthur.

Ganesh, joined the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam at the age of 20 in 1981. There is no doubt that the influencing factors in his decision to join the 'tiger' movement was his long association with the legendary hero Seelan. The two young men studied together at the Hindu College in Trincomalee and were acutely aware of what was taking place around them. They knew that the induc-

tion of Sinhala peasantry into the Tamil homeland in the Eastern Province was a calculated policy by the Sri Lankan State to disrupt the demographic composition of the province in favour of the Sinhala population. They knew also that the increasing militarisation of the province was planned to subjugate the Tamils in the area, and, by military harrassment, to drive them out. There grew in Ganesh, along with many young men of his generation, an increasing restlessness to fight back the State machinery.

One of Ganesh's earliest confrontations with the army resulted in the heroic death of his friend Seelan. Ganesh and another famous associate Aruna, escaped the military round up that led to the tragic death of Ganesh's friend, Seelan and another colleague, Anand. His earlier operations included a classical guerrilla attack on a police patrolling party at Nelliady in the Jaffna peninsula and the Chavachechcheri police station attack. He was also in the guerrilla party which killed 13 soldiers in July 1983. From 1983 on wards Ganesh has been in the fore front of the guerrilla war being waged by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

When Ganesh took charge of Mutthur district he set out to gain military control of the area and to expand the political work of his cadres amongst the people. He was a commander who encouraged his cadres in new projects when he felt they would benefit the people. He considered it of crucial importance to win the support of the Muslim community in Mutthur and the counted amongst his friends many Tamils of Islamic faith. Where there was distrust he tried to build trust even at the cost of risking his life. For Ganesh risks had to be taken. The entire area was saturated with new Sinhala population many of them trained para-military force or 'homeguards' as they are commonly known. Every move involved a risk. Subsequently, it was not unusual to see Ganesh moving around on a push bike in the company of a friend. In this way he was relatively inconspicuous in dangerous areas and conspicuous in safe areas. In this way the people knew who he was and he knew who the people were. He was accessible to them. When he came to know of the abduction of 40 Tamil women by police commandos and homeguards he led his guerrillas to the rescue of these women. For such acts of self-sacrifice and caring Ganesh was loved by his people.

In the death of Ganesh the people of Mutthur have lost a great son of the soil, the nation a courageous and devoted freedom fighter, the movement, an experienced, capable and trusted guerrilla commander and to so many colleagues a good and loyal friend. That Ganesh was a giant in our ranks is indicative by the fact that hundreds of soldiers were despatched to ambush a man and a companion on a bike and that it was considered necessary to secure the removal of his body by helicopter to prevent a mass funeral and an outpouring of grief and anger over the death of our hero from the East.

THE GOLDEN UNCLE

ARPUTHAN (Yogarathnam Kugan)

23-12-56 - 14-2-'87

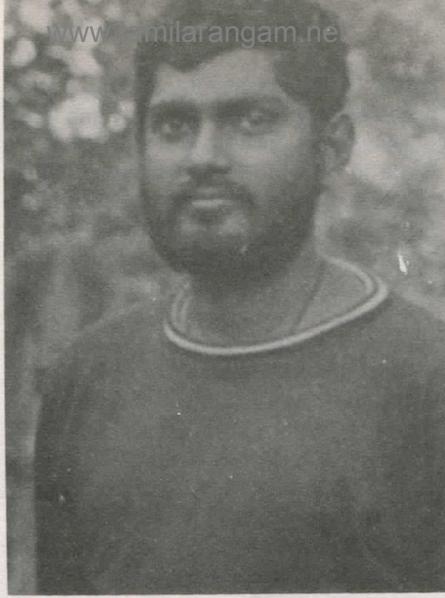
The death of one of our most senior cadres, Arputhan, in a tragic explosives accident in Jaffna, along with fifteen other colleagues, is a quirk of fate, for it was Arputhan who initiated and developed the movements capacity to produce hand grenades and it was Arputhan who spent so much time in the company of our guerrillas as the man responsible for managing their training programme

That Arupthan's life was prematurely cut off with such a glorious history of advancing the struggle is a fitting end to a man who, when an A level student, spent so much of his time discussing the State oppression of his people and ways to end their suffering. He set out on the path of a freedom fighter while he was at school and eventually became a full time member of the Liberation Tigers in 1977. His early training as an underground guerrilla laid the foundations for Arputhan to be an effective and capable training manager. A man with an ability to combine seriousness and a delightful sense of humour Arputhan was able to instill in the trainee guerrillas a determined patriotism and at the same time offer a listening bar to the human problems of his young recruits.

Arputhan too, as one of our most senior cadres, has his history of clandestine work and guerrilla operations. Operating as a member of an underground organisation, he diligently carried out intelligence work from which his colleagues were able to move and work in relative security and plan future guerrilla attacks. He, as with Ganesh, participated in the attack on the Chav-

ackncheri police station thereby contributing to the stock of arms for the Tiger movement's arsenal and giving a severe shake to the State forces in the northern peninsula. He was in the field for the guerrilla operation of July '83 when 13 soldiers of the Sri Lankan state were ambushed and killed.

Following the Ho'ocaust of the '83 riots against his people, the ranks of the Liberation Tigers swelled creating a need for a capable organiser for the eager young recruits. It was crucial to the very fabric of the movement that the guerrilla fighters achieve a high standard of military efficiency along with a determination to sacrifice their lives for the struggle and loyalty to the movement. Arputhan was charged with



Lt. Col. Arputhan

the job of maintaining the long standing tradition of the Liberation Tigers cadres. That the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has become the most powerful military force confronting the Sri Lankan State is a measure of the success of Arputhan at his work.

Because of the unique position that Arputhan occupied in the movement he was personally known to thousands of guerrillas throughout Tamil Eelam. Apart from the experience and expertise that the movement and the struggle has lost in the death of Arputhan, there is a deep sense of personal grief for a man who has imparted help and advice and was therefore affectionately known among the ranks as Ponnammam - the golden uncle.

FOREIGN MERCENARIES IN SRILANKA

Sri Lanka, in her desperate effort to crush the Tamil freedom movement, has turned the island into a breeding ground for foreign mercenaries. These notorious 'soldiers of fortune' ruthless and barbarous in the methods of warfare, have found Sri Lanka most amicable place to vent their bloodthirsty instincts. Handsomely paid and highly respected by the host government these dirty warriors have involved themselves as active participants in the genocidal war against the Tamils, turning the Tamil homeland into a killing field.

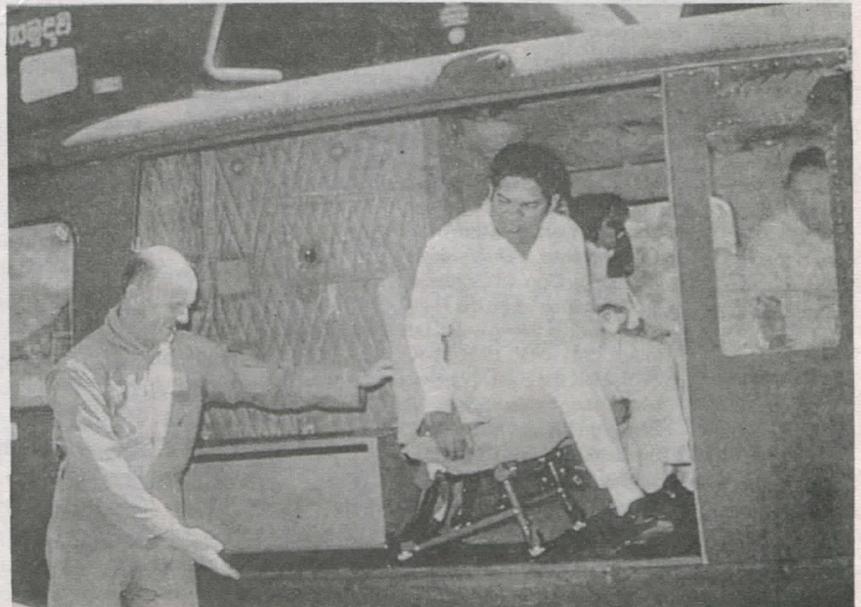
These mercenaries are mainly drawn from England, America, Israel and South Africa with the quasi-official approval of these countries concerned. These are not individual soldiers seeking fat payment, but trained personnel in counter-revolutionary war who function as an instrument of terror for Western imperialism. Western imperialists and their allies operate mercenary agencies to provide active military support to Third World dictators to crush revolutionary forces in their countries. It is in this context Jayawardane's racist regime is provided with assistance from mercenary agencies to put down the Tamil resistance movement.

Foreign mercenaries penetrated the Island soon after the July holocaust of 83 which led to the intensification of the guerrilla resistance. The first mercenary

gangsters who were hired by Jayawardane was the former British Special Air Service (SAS) personnel in the employ of an ill-reputed firm called K.M.S. Ltd. K.M.S., known as Keeny Meeny Service deriving its original meaning in Swahili language as snakes under the grass, perfectly fitting to the under-cover dirty job done by these mercenary personnel. At the early stages about 40 SAS mercenaries were recruited to provide commando training to the Sri Lankan Special Task Force (STF) police commandos in

the Batticaloa district. This was in October 1984. Now there are nearly 100 British mercenaries who are no more trainers but active participants in combat against LTTE guerrillas. Rapid expansion of the Sri Lankan airforce and the massive deployment of Bell helicopter gunships led to the recruitment of British mercenaries as helicopter and bomber pilots, who are now involved in actual missions engaging in combat. Apart from the British ex-soldiers, Sri Lanka has hired mercenaries from the United

Athulathmudali and British mercenary in Jaffna.



States and South Africa, who are also utilised for aerial missions.

Trained and assisted by foreign mercenaries, the Sri Lankan armed forces, particularly the STF commandos, brought hell in the Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts. Acting as death squads, the STF commandos physically liquidated hundreds of innocent Tamil civilians and made several thousand homeless. Under the cover of anti-terrorist operations they unleashed barbarous savagery of raping, looting and killing in cold blood, the latest being the horrific massacre at Kokkatticholai in Batticaloa, in which more than 200 civilians were senselessly slaughtered. Foreign mercenaries too, participated in these sadistic orgies by unleashing terror from the air, bombarding and strafing civilian targets setting aflame Tamil villages.

Among the foreign subversive elements inducted in Sri Lanka, Israeli agents play the most crucial role in the genocidal annihilation of the Tamil people. The Zionists are the masterminds, the evil hand that moulds the programme of mass destruction for Jayawardane. The induction of the Israeli intelligence agencies, the notorious MOSSAD and SHIN BET, in the middle of 1984, as counter-insurgency experts dramatically changed the strategy and tactic of the Sri Lankan armed forces. Military operations are no longer confined to guerrilla targets, but rather extended to civilian masses. Large scale reprisals on the civilians, in the form of massacres, massive destruction of property, mass arrests of youths became the strategy of war, a strategy described as 'collective punishment'. In the last three years, since the Zionist agents entered the theatre of war, more than 10,000 innocent civilians were done to death.

Jayawardane's Government permitted the establishment of an Israeli Interest Section in the U.S. Embassy in Colombo in May 1984 with America as the protecting power. Since then the relationship between Israel and Sri Lanka has become very close and the Interest Section expanded itself into a quasidiplomatic mission with the American blessing. MOSSAD and CIA firmly established their grounds in Colombo.

The Sri Lankan-Israeli axis is the brain child U.S. imperialism to consolidate its hegemony in the region. Jayawardane

'SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE' ADMIT ATROCITIES

Sixty British ex-SAS mercenaries have walked out of Sri Lanka in disgust over the role of the Sri Lankan Special Task Force in the massacre of innocent Tamil civilians. The STF trained by these ex-SAS soldiers since 1984, has, they say, gone out of control.

The ex-SAS mercenaries were hired by Sri Lanka through the infamous Keeny Meany Service LTD in 1984 ostensibly with the blessing of the British Government. Britain, to prevent a diplomatic embarrassment, refused the services of active SAS units to the Jayawardane government when he approached the British for help to crush the Tamil freedom movement. Instead, the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher has given quasi approval to the use of mercenaries from K.M.S., including an ex-colonel. The mercenaries have been operating from a base at Katukurunda south of Colombo.

was even prepared to go to the devil to crush the Tamil resistance, so it was convenient for the Americans to arrange a marriage between the two infamous regimes of State terrorists. Sri Lankans found the Zionists the most suited ally in organising a programme of genocide, with intelligence expertise and material assistance. Israel also helps Sri Lanka to procure sophisticated arms from South Africa and from the international market. The growing ties between Sri Lanka and Israel is further corroborated by frequent clandestine visits by Lalith Athulathmuthali, the Sri Lankan Minister of war, to Tel Aviv. Recently, on the 20th Dec. 1986 Israeli President Chaim Herzog made a brief visit to Colombo, met Jayawardane and had a secret meeting and discussed, what Sri Lankan officials described as 'matters of bilateral interest'. These bilateral interests are nothing but the genocidal liquidation of Palestinians and Eelam Tamils. It is reliably learnt that the Israeli President has offered all possible help to Jayawardane to eliminate the LTTE.

It is very difficult to assess the number of Israeli personnel in Sri Lanka since they arrive at periodic intervals in constant rotation to avoid person identity.

Despite official denials from Sri Lanka, it is well known that the Special Task Force is responsible for the massacre and disappearance of hundreds of Tamil civilians in the eastern province, particularly the Batticaloa district. As recently as 28th February, at Kokkatticholai the STF massacred over 200 Tamils during search and destroy operations aimed at liquidating the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in the Eastern district.

In an attempt to prevent embarrassment to one of their staunch allies and arm suppliers, the Sri Lankan High Commission in London has claimed ownership of the mercenaries, denied the atrocities but admitted 'excesses'. Says the Sri Lankan High Commissioner in London, Mr Chandra Moenrawela, in a UNI press report, in reference to the civilian casualties, 'but when you are dealing with guerrillas anything can happen. They don't wear uniforms'.

In the beginning of last year, there was a team of colonisation experts, drawn from West Bank, and Gaza, whose expertise Sri Lanka utilised to upset the ethnic balance in the East by driving the Tamil population out of their traditional villages.

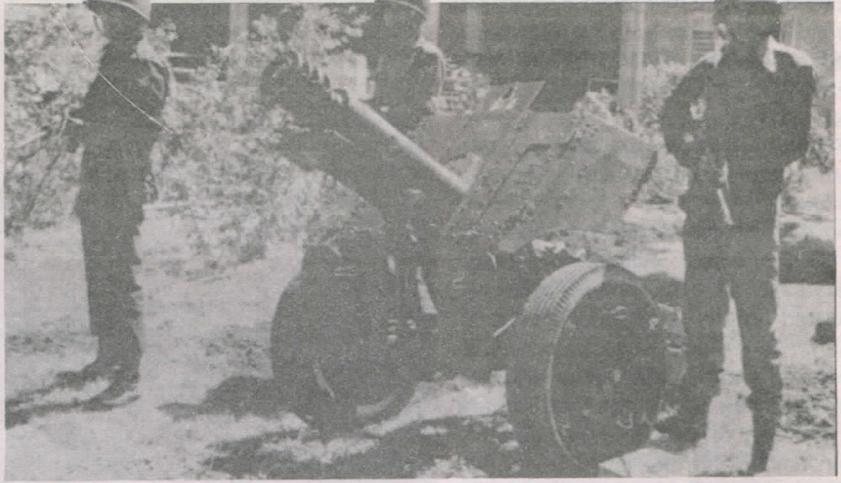
The operational activities of the Israeli Intelligence agents are not confined to counter-insurgency advice. They are primarily involved in collaboration with the CIA, in subversive activities in South Asia promoting the geo-political interests of the U.S. imperialism in this region.

The active involvement of foreign mercenaries in the war against the Tamils, the subversive operations of the Israeli Intelligence agencies, the involvement of Pakistan in providing special commando training to Sri Lankan troops, the military aid provided by China, South Africa and others - are clear indicators of growing involvement of the international forces of subversion and reaction in the national conflict in Sri Lanka. The penetration of these forces is posing a serious threat not only to the liberation struggle of the Tamil people but also to the peace and security of the Indian sub-continent.

JAFFNA HOSPITAL BOMBED: 30 CIVILIANS KILLED

Sri Lankan troops stationed in the Jaffna Fort garrison opened a heavy barrage of mortar and artillery shelling on 7th March '87 killing 30 civilians and severely damaging the General Hospital. Electricity supply to the Jaffna town was suspended from last night causing further hardship to the civilian population.

Intense artillery and mortar bombardment started from 7.30 p.m. and continued unabated till 10.30 p.m. causing severe damage to civil targets. The worst affected was the Jaffna General hospital which had direct hits from 15 shells. Outpatients Department (OPD) Children's Ward, pharmaceutical section, doctors quarters were severely damaged. Two nurses and several patients were killed, and doctor injured. Oxygen cylinders in the surgical section were bombed and exploded and the pharmacy was set ablaze destroying



vital medicines. More than 50 houses and several shops were destroyed. More than 75 civilians were seriously injured

Sri Lanka government also suspended electricity supply to the town last night.

With fuel, food, electricity and medical supplies cut-off the entire Tamil population was placed under the peril of starvation and death. The worst affected are patients critically ill in the hospital who are dying without medical treatment.

PIRABAKARAN AT THE WAR FRONT

LTTE leader and military commander Velupillai Pirabakaran who is at the war front in Tamil Eelam since early January this year, is spending most of his time with regional commanders and cadres instructing them on the strategies of the liberation war. In the above photo Pirabakaran is seen with Jaffna Regional Commander Krishnakumar (Kittu) and in the photo below, Pirabakaran is teaching younger recruits how to handle automatic weapons.

