



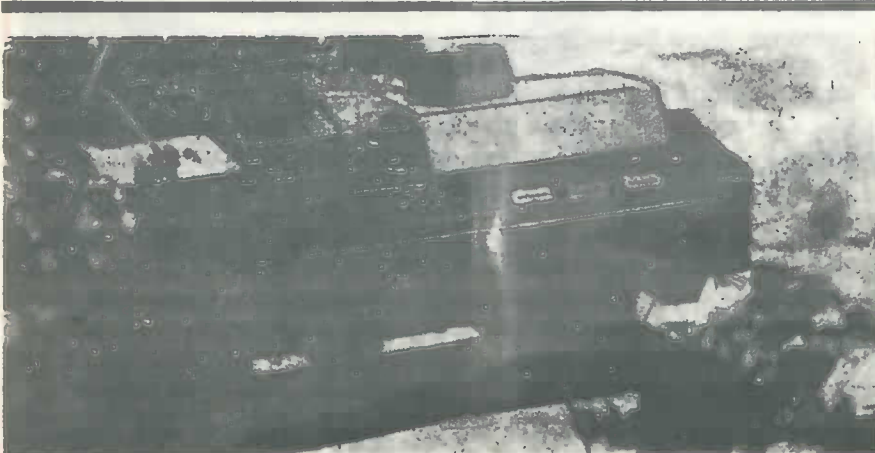
# VOICE OF TIGERS

Official Bulletin of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam September '84 - Vol 1; No. 5

## TIGERS ATTACK ON SEVERAL FRONTS

### HEAVY LOSSES TO SINHALA ARMY

*The guerrilla assault units of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have stepped up their armed resistance campaign in response to Sinhala military rampages against the civilian population in the Northern province. To restrain the Sinhala armed forces from senseless, merciless slaughter of innocent people and wanton destruction of property, our liberation forces have launched a series of tactical defensive attacks on several fronts inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. According to our estimates 67 military and police personnel were killed, and 100 seriously wounded. Several military vehicles including two armoured cars were destroyed. On our side four guerrilla fighters sustained minor injuries. These unabated, sustained attacks unleashed in the form of ambushes an open engagements extended to different areas inside and outside the peninsula have caused confusion, terror and demoralisation within the ranks of the enemy.*



*Armoured Personnel Carriers (APC) similar to the one above were destroyed by the Tigers.*

The callous, cruel reprisals on the civilian masses, the notorious strategy adopted by the fascist Sri Lankan state to crush the armed revolutionary struggle, had a disastrous set back. In spite of untold sufferings and hardships the Tamils of Eelam are backing more resolutely the Tiger's resistance campaign. The whole Tamil speaking population, including the Islamic community have turned violently hostile to the Sinhala state, whose military objective, the people have now realised, is to uproot and annihilate the Tamil speaking nation. By adopting this strategy of extreme repression the racist regime has created the very conditions for mass resistance, conditions for a people's revolutionary war of liberation.

As the vanguard movement of the freedom struggle we cannot be idle spectators when our people are subjected to savage forms of genocidal onslaught. By inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy we have taught a bitter lesson to the armed criminals of the state that they will not go unpunished for crimes against humanity. We have effectively demonstrated our growing military capability to strike at the enemy at any time, at any place, at our own choice. We will continue our guerrilla campaign until the alien army of occupation is chased out from our motherland.

Having imposed a rigorous press censorship, the Government of Sri Lanka and its Minister of State Terrorism Mr. Athulathmuthali have embarked on a malicious disinformation campaign distorting

the reality of the latest developments. This propaganda war is aimed at cheating the Sinhala people and the world that the military drive against the so-called 'terrorists' has been successful. The Government has boasted of heavy casualties to the 'terrorists'. But the whole world is now aware that these 'terrorists' are none other than those innocent civilians including the elderly and the children who have been senselessly slaughtered by the armed forces. The world is also now aware of the fact that the Sri Lankan state is operating with an illiterate, ill-trained, indiscipline army who had prior instructions to avenge on the civilians when they are attacked.

We wish to give below the authentic story of our combat, the story of recent guerrilla engagements with the Sinhala armed forces.

### TIGERS CONFRONT SRI LANKAN NAVY

It was around 9.30a.m, the 4th of August. The incident occurred at Poligandy, a coastal village near Valvettiturai. A Sri Lankan navy patrol party who were attached to the so-called surveillance zone approached a Tiger motor boat moored at the beach. Four of our guerrilla fighters who were at the spot found themselves suddenly surrounded by 18 navy personnel. The navy personnel opened fire. Laying in cover at the beach, our guerrilla fighters fought back. Six navy men fell dead on the spot and three seriously wounded and the rest fled in panic leaving their gun boat at the beach. There were no casualties on our side.

The incident is the first major confrontation between the Sri Lankan navy and the Liberation Tiger guerrillas. It should be noted that the Sri Lankan sea-men have been rampaging the seas killing innocent Tamil fishermen. It is these navy personnel who were responsible for massacring 16 young Tamils inside a boat in an incident recently.

### THE AMBUSH ON A MILITARY CONVOY

Following the attack on the navy personnel, the army went on a rampage killing innocent civilians and burning down public property. L.T.T.E decides to hit back at the enemy.

In the early hours of the 5th of August, our guerrillas ambushed a military convoy returning from a killing spree. The incident took place at Nediyaakadu, near the coastal town of Valvettiturai. The convoy consisted of three armoured cars, one truck and a jeep. The jeep, manned by police commandos, received the full impact of the blast from the land-mine placed on the road. The vehicle was blown to pieces killing nine police commandos instantaneously. Several military personnel were also wounded. Among the dead was an assistant superintendent

of Police named Jayaratne. Panicked and shocked the army men drove off in their vehicles for safety. It should be pointed out A.S.P Jayaratne was notorious for several arson attacks on Tamil civilian property.

### TIGERS RAID POLICE STATION

On the 5th of August at about 5.30 p.m. a guerrilla assault unit of the L.T.T.E successfully raided a well guarded police station at Ottisuddhan, about 20 miles from Mullaitivu, extending the resistance campaign outside the Jaffna peninsula.

Heavily armed Tiger guerrillas stormed the police station killing six commando police including a police inspector named Ganemulle. The rest of the police officers fled in terror. From the police armoury, our fighters raided four sub-machine guns, two 303 rifles, three repeaters, two

revolvers, one shot-gun and a large quantity of ammunition. Following the raid the guerrillas seized a passenger bus and escaped to safety. In the raid, four of our guerrilla fighters had minor gun shot injuries. Inspector Ganemulle was notorious for the harassment and intimidation of Tamil plantation workers who settled in the area.

### ARMOURED CAR DESTROYED

On the 6th August at an incident near the general hospital, Jaffna, our guerrillas attacked with hand grenades an armoured car that was shelling indiscriminately at public buildings. In the attack the machine gun operator died on the spot and two other military personnel seriously wounded. The armoured car was severely damaged.

In a separate incident at Keradavil, Valvettiturai on the same day a Tiger guerril-



## VOICE OF TIGERS

There is a war raging in Jaffna. A deranged, demoralised army is set on a violent course of destruction, killing, burning and plundering as they please. Blood is spilling everywhere. Flames are engulfing towns and villages. Tigers are hitting back at the enemy more ferociously than ever. Tamil Eelam has been turned into a graveyard for the Sinhala soldiers. The dialectic of repression and resistance is unfolding into a deadly conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed.

While a war is raging in Jaffna, a peace process is taking place in Colombo. This 'Peace Talk' is not concerned about the war of genocide launched against the Tamils. It is not concerned about massacres, mass murders, mass arrests and the massive destruction of public property. It is simply concerned about vague concepts, loose generalisations and illogical propositions. It is a dialogue of empty words. This dialogue has been going on for decades ever since the birth of the federal party. It may go on for ever until the death of the Tamil nation. The world is sceptical about a positive outcome. Even the Indian leaders are disappointed and disillusioned. The monks of Maha Sanga are arrogant and unappeasable. Sinhala opposition parties are staying out. Even the tiny Tamil Congress has the political wisdom to boycott. The only person who is jubilant and hopeful is Amirthalingham. The whole world is puzzled and dazzled about his positive assertion of a 'progress' in talks.

What is he upto? Is he playing a dirty personal diplomacy over the life and destiny of four million Tamils? Is he trying to boost up the tarnished image of Jayawardane's regime which is being indicted by the civilized world for the crime of genocide? Is he trying to undermine the armed revolutionary resistance which has become the only alternative mode of political struggle? What ever the game he plays, our people will not tolerate anyone who betrays the national cause for which thousands have died and thousands will die a heroic death to uphold freedom, dignity and justice.

ia fighter was suddenly surrounded by military personnel. Our guerrilla fighter fought alone killing an army officer. As soon as the army officer fell dead, the rest of the soldiers fled in fear.

### TIGERS AMBUSH MILITARY CONVOY IN MANNAR

Thallady army camp in Mannar is notorious for persecution and torture of Tamil youth. Innocent young men who are randomly rounded up in the backward villages of Mannar district are brought to this torture chamber for interrogation. They are kept here incommunicado and several of them have mysteriously disappeared. It was the army men from this infamous camp who fell victims to a successful Tiger ambush.

It was on the 11th August our guerrilla fighters laid a land mine on the Mannar-Poonagari main road. As the military convoy approached the mine exploded. A military jeep which received the full impact of the blast was blown to pieces 30 feet in the air. 13 soldiers died on the spot.

### V.V.T. POLICE STATION ATTACKED

On the 14th of August in the early hours of the morning an assault unit of the LTTE

launched a sudden attack on the Vavattur police station manned by both the police and army personnel. Our guerrillas launched the attack on three fronts, with automatic rifles and handgrenades. The exchange of fire went on for nearly one hour. The Tigers withdrew having injured several police and military personnel and causing damage to the building. There were no casualties on our side.

### AMBUSH AT KARAVEDDY

On the 24th August at about 12.30 p.m. an armoured personnel carrier (with machine-gun tower) approached the kaluvan-Mandan road, at Karaveddy West. The army had information that a land mine was laid in the road by Tiger guerrillas. A traitor had passed the information. But the army men did not notice the Tigers were laying in ambush with an exploder watching the movement of the enemy. As soon as the armoured carrier approached the spot looking for the mine, our guerrillas detonated the explosion. The military vehicle was destroyed killing eight army personnel.

### ATTACK AT NEERVELI

A similar incident occurred at Neerveli on the same day. On receiving informa-

tion that a land mine was placed by the Tigers on the Neerveli main road, an army convoy arrived at the scene, leaving the vehicles behind. Three army men approached the spot to detect and defuse the mine. Our guerrillas hiding and watching at a distance set off the explosion. The three mine experts were blown to pieces.

*The above engagements constitute the diary of combat of the LTTE within the month of August. Though the Sri Lankan state made every attempt to hide the facts of its so-called military campaign, the armed force suffered heavy casualties. We have changed our tactic of hit and run to a sustained guerrilla campaign. This is the only alternative left to us to hit back and punish the hooliganism of these racist thugs in uniforms. At this critical stage we call upon the other liberation groups to join us as comrades-in-arms to fight our common enemy and defend our people.*



## SEELAN: PORTRAIT OF A REVOLUTIONARY

It was the 15th July 1983. Meesalai village was calm and quiet, soaked in the afternoon sun. A light breeze from the nearby Katchai sea adds tranquility to the simple farming village. It was 3 p.m. Suddenly and abruptly the village was shaken from its stillness. A great historical event begins to unfold.

Over one hundred heavily armed Sri Lankan storm-troopers encircle the village. They move in from all directions in trucks and jeeps barricading the main roads. A massive man-hunt has begun.

Four young men are on the run. Armed with sub-machine guns, they were winding their way through the tiny sand lanes

in their bicycles. They have been betrayed. A traitor had revealed their whereabouts to the enemy. They were making a desperate bid to escape realising that they have been surrounded. But the avenues of escape are already closed. The troops were converging on them. When the young men were within firing

range, the army personnel jumped out of their vehicles and took vantage positions behind young palm trees. The young men are now unfortunately right out in the open. Their leader takes a quick look around to realise that he and his comrades are cornered. With cool collection, the young leader resolves to face the consequences. He is Seelan, the fearless freedom fighter, the terror of the Sinhalese army. Seelan, Asir, Jayachandran are the many names of one man - Lucas Charles Antony, the leader of the military wing of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the most wanted person of the Sri Lankan State.

Surging ahead with his loyal companion Anand (Arulnathan) at his side Seelan gives the order 'fire'. With determination, poise and professionalism, the young Tigers spring into action. In unison the freedom fighters open fire. Their guts catches the enemy off guard. The army temporarily retreats and takes refuge in the face of the offensive. Our young men stand firm for all the world to witness their courage, determination and fearlessness in the face of the enemy. These are the fighters groomed and polished by Prabakaran, pledged to sacrifice their life with honour for a noble cause.

Undaunted by the numerical odds against them, the four young revolutionaries grip their machine guns and battle on returning fire for fire. A bullet lodges in Seelan's chest. The young leader is wounded. Stunned, he staggers to regain his poise. He turns to his friend and comrade-in-arms and gives the final order, "Finish me off and escape". His comrade flinches.

Seelan senses an instant of hesitation in his friend. "Shoot" he orders. His comrade respects the order of his leader and his friend. A single bullet pierces Seelan's forehead. A legend is born. Anand too, tall in body, courageous and determined falls wounded. Instantly he thinks of the others and chooses to join Seelan. "Finish me off too" he shouts. Courageously and kindly his friends acced to his wishes. Anand joins the ranks of the heroes of Tamil Eelam. He died for his people.

The surviving guerrillas quickly gather their wits, collect their comrade's arms and escape. Seelan and Anand's wishes are fulfilled. Their lifeless bodies lie in peace in blood-soaked sands of Meesali.

A pitiless cry of glee rings out from the enemy. They had no conception of the sanctity of that historical event. They move in like a pack of wolves to feed on their prey. But they are confused. The fallen guerrillas are not in their collection of wanted men photos. A major struts forward. Flippantly he draws back Seelan's trousers and reveals his battle scarred leg. He announces, 'This is Seelan'.

### ABOUT THE MAN

Seelan was 23 years old at the time of his death but those twenty three years were packed with experience. His face mirrored his personality. Strong, distinctive, serious features gave way to openness, honesty, warmth and humility in his smile. Seelan was hesitant at first meetings but he would quickly warm to people and he generously gave his affection to those around him. In turn he received affection

freely. So genuine was his warmth that Seelan would appear alarmed at any signs of anger towards him. He was totally devoid of hypocrisy; he despised hypocrisy in others.

Seelan was an authentic politico-military cadre. His humble beginnings in a gunny bag hut, the poverty of his family, the repressive environment provided the basis for his sharp perception of social inequalities and injustice. He was enraged by the systematic colonisation of his homeland, Tirumalai (Trincomalee) He was sickened by the savage atrocities perpetrated on his people by racial fanatics. The constant exposure to social and national oppression nurtured in the young Seelan a rebellious and potentially revolutionary character. At the tender, formative age of 18 Seelan overtly mocked the Sri Lankan state and fell a victim of its terrorism.

Seelan planned to foil a victory celebration in Trincomalee when J.R. Jayawardane assumed Presidency of Sri Lanka in 1978. Arrangements were made at the Hindu College in Tirumalai for the hoisting of the Sri Lankan flag. Seelan cleverly concealed phosphorous in the rolled up flag. As the flag unfurled it burnt to ashes. The authorities arrested the defiant young man and subjected him to severe torture. Seelan endured the agonies of torture without uttering a word about his accomplices.

Ever sensitive to realities Seelan learned that individual protests could hardly make an impression on a powerful authoritarian state machinery. He realised the necessity to be a member of a revolutionary move-

## ARMY RAMPAGE IN MANNAR: MARKET SQUARE SET ABLAZE



A scene of destruction in Mannar.

Following an ambush of an army convoy by the Tiger guerrillas in which 13 soldiers were killed, the 'gallant' Sinhala soldiers got themselves drunk at the local bar to boost their depleted morale, went to battle with the civilian population. Mannar market square suffered the racist and the drunken fury of the soldiers, who embarked on a two hour's orgy of looting and arson. Flames engulfed and completely destroyed the central market place. About 150 shops owned by muslim businessmen were razed to the ground. Several houses in the town were set ablaze and five innocent civilians were shot dead.

The incident caused an outcry among the Islamic community. To appease the muslim resentment, Minister Mohamed was rushed to Mannar to console the victims. At the public meeting, the minister was mocked and ridiculed by angry crowds who accused the Government and its armed mercenaries of terrorism against civilian population.

ment working towards the emancipation of his oppressed people. He was convinced that the violence of the oppressor could only be met with the revolutionary violence of the oppressed. He joined the ranks of the liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam.

Inducted into a revolutionary socialist struggle, Seelan was drawn to Marxism as a revolutionary political ideology. In the light of scientific socialism, he had a profound understanding of the socio-political issues. He comprehended the



Seelan with Prabakaran

Tamil National Question in depth and had an unshakable confidence that the armed revolutionary struggle is the only viable means to achieve the political end, i.e., a socialist state of Tamil Eelam. He felt the liberation Tigers had a concrete programme, a clearly worked out politico-military strategy to realise the political independence of his people. He had unwavering faith in the leadership of Prabakaran.

### HE BECOMES A GUERRILLA

Prabakaran and Seelan enjoyed mutual respect and affection for each other. Prabakaran's honesty, sincerity and efficiency in mobilising an underground guerrilla movement captured Seelan's loyalty. He learned from Prabakaran's experience and knowledge of guerrilla organisation and was proud to work for the movement. In turn Prabakaran respected the highly principled Seelan who stood by him in times of crisis. Seelan infused energy into Prabakaran when he became despondent over the defections of some of his trusted comrades. He shared Prabakaran's contempt for opportunists and promotion seekers.

Prabakaran was quick to observe the ability in the young Seelan and working together Seelan's potential was drawn out. Seelan demanded perfection of himself in his work. He was ever guarded against negligence. He scrutinised intelligence reports to the last detail to minimise operational risks. His ability to spot the weaknesses in the enemy was almost a gift. His military ability quickly elevated him to the position of trusted lieutenant in Prabakaran's ranks. As an assault commander Seelan's talent revealed itself.

### INTO ACTION

Armed with revolutionary theory and proficient in guerrilla training Seelan threw himself into the armed struggle. The guerrilla attack on the armed forces in October 1981 killing two soldiers can be credited to Seelan.

One of his most reputed operations is the assault on the Chavakacheri police station. Seelan decides that the best

time to launch the operation is early morning when the police personnel are tired from a night's duty. The guerrillas disguised in army dress, make their way to the site in a mini-van. Seelan and his men storm the police station and quickly take up their positions. They silence all resistance from the police personnel. The van is moved in. The cache of arms is loaded into the van. Seelan however, has been wounded in the leg by a repeater shot gun in the return of fire from police. The 'shot' from the cartridge shatters his leg. In great pain limping and bleeding badly, Seelan remembers the value of his weapon. He hangs on tightly to his machine gun and his comrades helped him to the van. He just makes it.

### BATTLE SCARS

This is Seelan's second bullet injury. He had previously been wounded in a shooting accident during a training exercise. The injury was serious. The bullet passed straight through his chest and he was bleeding profusely. His lung was filling with blood, he was becoming breathless, his body was cold and clammy. He looked as if he was about to die. Yet he was unperturbed almost non-chalant. His prime objective at this critical time was to enthuse his comrades and to protect his weapon. "Continue the struggle" was his first request to his frantic panic-stricken friends. "Hide the machine gun" was his second major request. Having purged himself of these important matters Seelan was mentally peaceful. He allowed events to unfold. Fortunately Seelan's physical and mental strength promoted his survival and recovery. But his leg injury was different. It caused him severe pain, agony.

The lower thigh, just above the knee, absorbed the full force of close range shot-gun fire. The effects of the 'shot' from the cartridge penetrated five places causing extensive damage to tissues and muscle. His thigh swelled to double its normal size. Seelan tossed and turned in agony. Seelan had to rely on the loving care and support of dear friends to see him through this agonising period. His recovery was steady but he was left with a limp, a battle scar. Nevertheless Seelan longed to return to his politico-military work, he wanted to get back to the struggle.

### BACK TO WORK

On May 23rd 1983 the elections to the local governing bodies were to be held. All the political parties, the T.U.L.F., U.N.P., Tamil Congress, N.L.S.S.P. were vigorously campaigning for votes. Seelan worked among the people impressing upon them the nature of national oppression, the betrayals of the Sri Lankan state, the opportunism of political parties and politicians. The movement called on the Tamil people to boycott the elections as a symbolic gesture rejecting the authority of the Sri Lankan state over Tamil Eelam. Seelan reinforced his political work with action. Three Tamil U.N.P. supporters were assassinated as a warning to all traitors who supported J.R.'s government. As a consequence, all Tamil U.N.P. candidates withdrew from the elections. The Sri Lankan state immediately tightened their 'security' arrangements. On the day of the elections, May 23rd 1983 five heavily armed police and army personnel guarded each booth. Army convoys patrolled the streets.

Jaffna, May 23rd 1983. Time 4.15 p.m. Three young men casually ride their bikes to the polling booths at Saivaprakasa, Mahavidyalayam, Kandarmadam. They stop, get down from their bicycles and park them in a get away position. Seelan limps into the centre of the road, machine-gun in hand. He immediately takes control of the traffic, turning back all vehicles. Once the roads are sealed off the freedom fighters launch their attack killing and wounding government troops. Then the guerrillas get on their bicycles and make a successful get away.

Describing the attack a Sinhala writer comments, "It was obvious that the defending army and police were a poor match for the Liberation Tigers and people were lauding the military skill of the Tigers".

### LAST MOMENTS

Although Seelan had left his family at a young age he was constantly aware of his family's suffering. He confided his concern for his family to his closest friends. He often cried over their pitiful plight. Yet Seelan knew that his family was one of many thousands of poverty stricken people and that his highest ideal in life is to effect a social transformation to redeem



# TIGER REVOLUTION

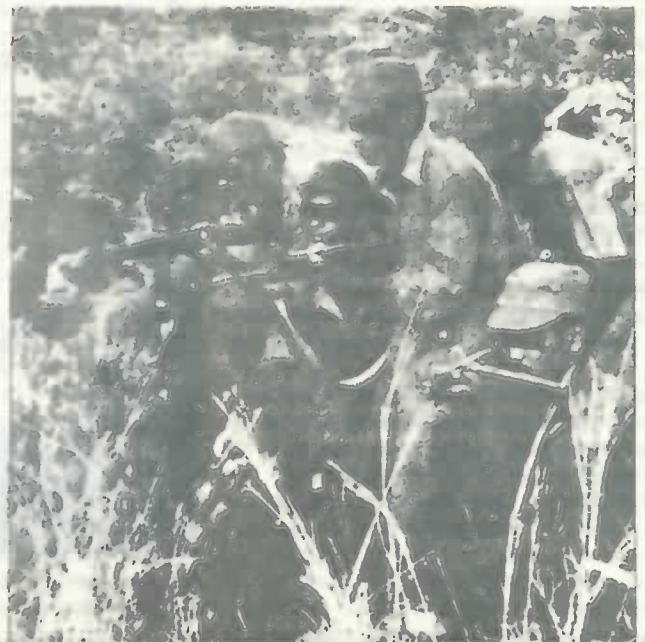
IN E



Voice of Tigers



# NAVY ARMY IN JUNGLES



all people from oppression and exploitation. The Sri Lankan state was aware of the revolutionary objectives for which this young man died. He was a legend, an embodiment of revolutionary aspirations. The racist, bourgeois state was scared of such revolutionary heroes. Death immortalises their ideals. The state refused to release the young man's body to his relatives. A public funeral, they feared, would commemorate Seelan as a national hero.

His mother and brother were brought from

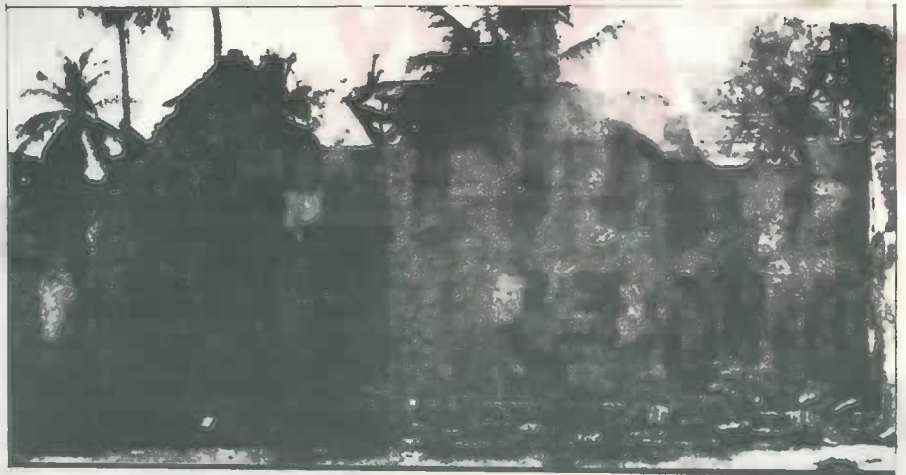
Trincomalee to the Jaffna morgue to identify his battle-scarred body. His mother stood and gazed at the lifeless body of her beloved youngest son. He had left home as a young lad and now she was witnessing the matured body of a man. His face had changed. It had been disfigured by the final bullet. But his mother, who had nurtured the young revolutionary, knew every inch of Seelan. She knew that near his lip, now adorned by a thick moustache, lay his identity, a small mole. It was indeed her child.

Seelan's mother stood tearfully gazing at her son. Seelan's brother stood next to the grieving mother. The cruel world callously interrupted their last precious moments. "Is this your son", snouted an army officer. Tearfully she nodded. She begged the major to hand over the body of her son. A cold callous refusal was the reply. The unjust law of the racist state thus, crushed a just demand of a poor mother to provide a decent funeral for her beloved son.

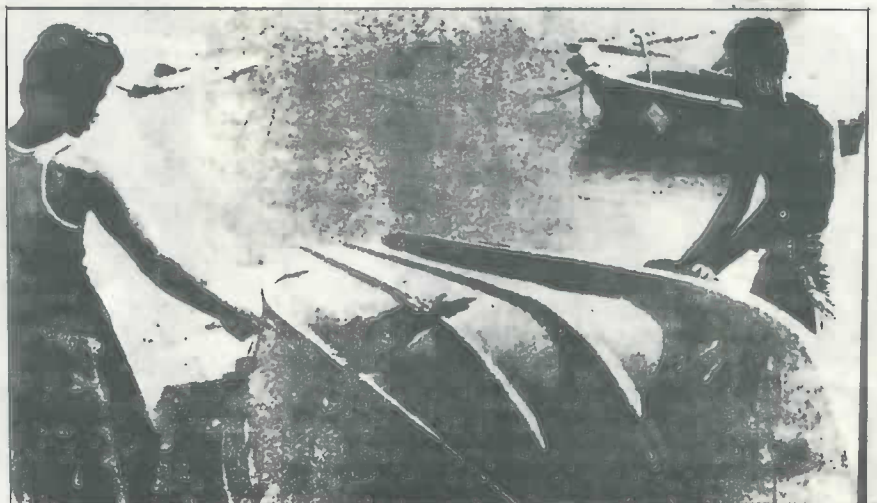
## VALVETTITURAI SUFFERS NAVAL BOMBARDMENT

Valvettiturai, the legendary coastal town that produced several revolutionary heroes and the birth place of L.T.T.E. leader Prabhakaran, suffered the full impact of the racial violence unleashed by the Sinhala armed forces. As the worst escalation of military violence, the fishing town suffered heavy bombardment from the Sri Lankan navy. Unabated shelling destroyed hundreds of houses, forced the entire population of 5,000 people to flee to neighbouring villages for safety. Following the naval bombardment, the army went on a rampage, setting fire to houses, schools and shops inflicting colossal damage to public property. The rampaging army men also set fire to hundreds of fishing boats and nets, with a deliberate intention to destroy the economic life of the local population and drive them to starvation.

Having caused such a havoc, the Minister of State Terrorism Lalith Athulathmuthali, issued a statement denying the naval bombardment of Valvettiturai. "Our navy does not have cannons" he lied. To prove to the world that Lalith is a dangerous liar and criminal, our liberation movement has produced a 20 minute video film giving clear evidence that the town was bombarded by cannon. The film shows rows of houses with gaping holes made by the shells. Pieces of spent shells were also shown. The film provides ample testimony of the havoc caused by the navy and the army and proves that Lalith is a born liar. The film is being shown in several world capitals by the L.T.T.E. branches.



*Destruction in Valvettiturai.*



*A boat mauled by naval shelling.*



# TIGER MOVEMENT REJECTS JAYAWARDANE'S PROPOSALS

We, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, wish to declare that Jayawardane's proposal of a 'Second Chamber' does not invest any form of political power with the Tamil People and fails to meet even their basic political aspirations. This so-called 'compromise formula' is nothing but a fraudulent attempt to perpetuate the alienation of the Tamil people from the State administrative machinery and keep them as second-class citizens. Jayawardane's proposal clearly indicates that his Government has no sincere intention to resolve the Tamil question by political means.

The functions, powers, composition of this Second Chamber, though not specifically defined, resembles the old, defunct Sri Lankan Senate, a toothless body that had no legislative and executive powers. The proposed Chamber has no say in the important affairs of the State. It is excluded from any exercise of powers in relation to allocation of national funds, constitutional affairs, foreign relations and most importantly, public security, a matter of great significance to the Tamils.

This proposal was announced in a memorandum when Jayawardane had talks with Mrs Gandhi and earned the dissatisfaction of the Indian leaders since it failed to

provide an alternative compromise to the Indian proposal of regional autonomy. By reinvoking a proposal that has no blessing from the good offices of India, nor from the Tamil people, Jayawardane's government is proving itself to be intransigent, callous, and unsympathetic towards the plight of the Tamils and constantly closes the door to a political solution. Sri Lanka's intention seems to be to drag on this so-called Round Table Conference while the process of militarisation and liquidation of Tamils continues unabated in Tamil areas, with the induction of foreign forces of subversion. Such a strategy clearly indicates that the Government of Jayawardane has opted for a military solution and has no sincere intention to utilise India's good offices to resolve the problem through peaceful means.

We wish to re-iterate our long drawn position that the so-called Round Table Conference is a farce, and that Jayawardane's present proposal has nothing to offer to our people. In this context the only alternative open to the Tamil people is to reject such deceptive compromise formulas and support the armed revolutionary struggle advanced by our movement to gain the right to national self-determination and political independence.

## THE EXPERIENCE OF AN INDIAN JOURNALIST IN JAFFNA

*The following details the bitter experience of an Indian Journalist Mr. Saeed Naqvi, who risked his life to witness Sri Lankan armed forces committing arson and looting Tamil property in Jaffna. Courtesy : Indian Express.*

*Indian Express, Sep. 1, 1984.*

Jaffna 25th August 1984

Our perverse disappointment at not having seen the army on the rampage at Karanavai, 10 miles east of Jaffna on the Point Pedro road, fades rapidly when three miles farther, at Achchuveli, an armoured personnel carrier, a scout, pulls up from a side street and trains its 50 calibre gun on us. That is not all. Soon a heavy APC comes alongside rotates its turret, and we find ourselves gaping into a large cannon. Three soldiers crouch in front of the vehicles, their AK 47's on the ready, all aimed at us from a distance of about 25 feet, or say, a little more than a cricket pitch. "Gosh" exclaims Gary Burns of BBC television in his broad Australian accent: "They're going to blow us to smithereens".

It all started on Sunday. Reaching Jaffna by train from Colombo, I had checked into Ashok Hotel, my regular haunt in this doomed city, when the manager, Siva Sutianiam, always cheerful in adversity, informed me that three other journalists have just returned to the hotel from Valvettiturai, the township on the northern coastline, where from Aug. 4 to 6, the armed forces burnt and destroyed over one hundred houses in reprisal for an ambush. They would soon be out of their rooms and, he suggested conspiratorially, we should meet in the bar.

Gary Burns is a strong, well-built Australian, with dark hair, close set eyes, a gaunt rugged face and muscular, like a pugilist, possibly in his mid 30's. He is Visnews cameraman shooting a film for the BBC on the current troubles in Sri Lanka. His sound recordist, Sompote Phuerksumlee is a Thai, about 5 feet nothing and equally broad, looking rather like a distorted drawing on Humpty Dumpty. Rodney Tasker, a grey-haired Englishman slightly taller than Gary, is the chief correspondent of the Far Eastern Economic Review,

based in Bangkok.

On their way from Valvettiturai they had seen a portion of the road blown up by a mine, presumably by terrorists, and rows of houses in the nearby town of Karanavai ablaze. Gary had taken some shots of the fire but, suspecting army presence in the midst of the arson, had withdrawn just in case the troops opened fire for being found out. In other words he had got no close-up footage and was keen to return to the spot to capture the aftermath.

So we leave in the hotel van driven by Navaratnam, a 28-year-old Tamil with a military moustache totally out of character with his slight frame and timid face. In this part of Sri Lanka, villages are not clustered together but strung together in one continuous row, rather like Kerala. But nearly 10 miles outside Jaffna towards Point Pedro the road suddenly curves out of the foliage onto open, parched country, like a blade coming out of a scabbard. On the left hand is a lagoon, on the right, about 100 metres of parched fields, lined by a group of palm trees from where columns of smoke are rising.

On the road in front of us there is a crater, about 26 feet in diameter. It must have been a fiercely potent mine. We start walking towards the smoke coming out of Karanavai.

Uma Ambhi Sinnathurai, 42, a clerk in the buildings department, is just beginning to tell us how the tanks lay in wait for the army in a nearby temple for two days, how the villagers abandoned Karanavai for fear of reprisals, how the road was blown up and the soldiers set fire to about 20 houses in mad retaliation. Suddenly there is a loud report, like something being dynamited. "That's another mine" Rodney says, Sinnathurai points to his left, his eyes wide with terror. "Achchuveli, Achchuveli", he mutters. We scamper back to the van and urge Navaratnam to drive. To drive as fast as possible in the direction of the thudding noise.

On the way one or two men coming towards us on a motorbike wave at us, a kind of warning. "Go back. It is dangerous". We look at each other, in a sort of silent consultation, and nudge Navaratnam to keep moving.

We are soon driving through a row of houses, totally empty. It is like an evacuated area. The eeriness is accentuated by the sight of two shoes abandoned by the roadside. "I don't like it at all", Rodney says. "They've been running for their lives leaving their shoes behind." With the suddenness of revelation two boys appear. They look very scared. Navaratnam talks to them in Tamil. I notice a weakening of pressure on the accelerator. "Tiger, army. It is too dangerous." His face is white as a sheet. "A little more", Gary says, determined to get his footage.

We stop at an intersection. By now we hear sounds of automatic fire somewhere down the left loop of the T, the main market in Achchuveli.

"That's the story", Gary says, waving his arms like an Italian. "That's the f\_\_\_\_\_ story\_\_\_\_\_ the army in action". He is hysterical with excitement.

I am laughing inexplicably. I guess it is fear. Possibly something about Rodney's expression — a trace of forced bravado. May be Sompote's-Buddha-like expressionless eyes.

We can only hear noises, we cannot see the troops yet. The initiative comes from the quiet Thai. Sompote moves into the intersection, his hands above his head moving towards the left. All of us join him, our hands up. Spontaneous choreography under pressure. We can see two soldiers crouching, their AKs on the ready. We advance. We are keen to make contact. Just then the APC pulls in from the right. Then the heavy vehicle with a cannon.

Gary advocates no movement but predicts the end. "And not a bloody witness," Rodney whispers. This inspires a kind of ironic laughter. We look at each other and chuckle to ourselves, nervously, each one of us doing exactly the same thing,

like a herd under pressure

Drop your hands and look relaxed that's our only hope" Gary suggests. Sompote takes this piece of instruction to its extreme and offers us a cigarette each. We light it. I spot a hardware store on our right mounted with an enormous figure of Ganpathy looking under the circumstances, none too auspicious. It is like a shot from some surrealist film.

Meanwhile, we see columns of fresh smoke rising, not far from the APCs and the three crouching soldiers. Then we see a soldier emerge from the smaller APC, waving at us to get away from the intersection towards our vehicle. We have a sigh of relief and follow instruction.

But soon we see four soldiers skirmish along the wall on the opposite side, then cross over towards us in full combat position. The soldier with a radio asks me to come over. "Who sent you here?" I tell him we are journalists. He calls the driver who all this while has been hiding in the van. Navaratnam walks towards them, his hands up, shaking like a leaf. "Sinhala or Tamil?" the soldier asks. "Tamil" Navaratnam replies weakly. "You wait" the soldier says.

"But he is our driver", we say almost in chorus. The soldier talks on the radio. Suspense. We are awaiting instructions. "OK" the soldier says. "You can get into your van and join our convoy". We drive towards the APC. From the billowing smoke, the major emerges, wearing a blue cover all, parachute canvas, jump boots, a floppy hat, flourishing a revolver. He introduces himself as Major P.A. Kurunatilaka, twirling his moustache as they do in the movies.

"No pictures please", the major says, "I've had it", Gary exclaims. Just then we see about eight APCs in convoy. A full company strength. Sompote notices soldiers rolling up pieces of large brown paper, presumably to set fire to buildings.

Our van is placed directly behind the major's. Every now and again he stops. Six soldiers jump out with their AKs, three on each side, sliding along the walls and shooting indiscriminately into the houses to prove few know what. Either it is drama staged to impress us with the presence of terrorists or a amateur bunch of soldiers are going through their copy book motions.

At this point Navaratnam breaks down. "It is too dangerous. It is too dangerous." He rests his head on the steering wheel and sobs even as the van moves along with the convoy. I pat him on the back "Nothing to worry about. We are now in the army's hands." But the skirmishing along the walls on either side of the road continues. It is like some mock street play.

"Can you imagine all this drama. Just the bloody stuff they'd love to watch on the tube. The story I nearly killed myself for and not being allowed to film it. Gary's barrage of four letter expletives multiplies

every time a soldier shoots into a deserted house

Finally we pull up at Kankesanturai police station. The major talks to his superiors on the telephone and leaves us with Inspector Gurusingham. Now the police interrogation begins. Our nationalities, passport numbers. Were we spying for someone? (Quite as blandly as that) We ask the inspector if we are being interrogated, detained or arrested. No reply. He is awaiting word from his superior, who is awaiting word from the ministry, which is awaiting word from the minister.

However, after about two hours of waiting we are allowed to leave. At the hotel, Gary orders chilled poultry — fuisse and cognac to drown his sorrows. Navaratnam makes the swiftest thanksgiving sprint to the temple grinning from ear to ear.

Over dinner, we pool in our conclusions. What was the army doing in a deserted street in Achchuveli in full company strength? The pattern is similar from Mannar, Valvettiturai, Karanavai to Achchuveli. There is a terrorist attempt at ambush. The army burns and destroys everything in the vicinity by way of reprisals. Between Valvettiturai and Achchuveli, the difference is only of degrees. This being the pattern, the appalling situation in the north can only drift from bad to worse, government protestations notwithstanding.

## JRJ's gift elephant dies in Washington

A baby elephant, given to President Reagan by Sri Lanka President J.R. Jayawardane during a state visit last June, died on Thursday of a "mysterious" illness at the national zoo.

Jayathu, the 20-month-old Asiatic elephant weighing 141 kg had been ill for two weeks with symptoms that included diarrhoea, loss of appetite and weight loss, said Dr. Michael Robinson, director of the zoo.

"It's been very mysterious" Dr. Robinson said. "All we could do was treat the symptoms."

At the White House, spokesman Peter Roussell said the Reagans "expressed sincere regrets at the elephant's passing. They were sorry to learn of it."

## UN BODY CALLS ON LANKA TO PROTECT TAMILS

A United Nations sub-commission has expressed deep concern over the recurrence of violence in Sri Lanka resulting in heavy loss of life and property and has emphasised that it is the responsibility of the Government to protect all sections of the people.

The sub-commission on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities adopted a resolution on the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka at its meeting which concluded in Geneva on Thursday. The resolution related to the agenda item on human rights and fundamental freedoms in all countries.

The United States, France, Argentina, Belgium, Ecuador and Colombia co-sponsored the resolution in the sub-commission which is a subsidiary organisation of the UN Human Rights Commission. The sub-commission consists of elected experts from various regions of the world.

The resolution, adopted despite intense lobbying by the Sri Lankan Government against it, was supported by experts from Canada, the Soviet Union, India, Belgium, Zambia, Morocco, Argentina and many other countries.

It recalled that the Human Rights Commission had on March 14 appealed to the parties concerned in Sri Lanka to take all necessary measures to strengthen and

maintain peace and restore harmony among the people. It welcomed all measures aimed at reconciliation.

The resolution also expressed the hope that the all-party conference convened by the Sri Lankan Government will achieve progress in resolving or reducing the ethnic tension in the country.

The Sri Lankan Government was asked, through the resolution, to submit information on the progress made in the investigation of incidents of ethnic violence and also on the efforts to promote communal harmony.

The Indian member of the sub-commission, Mr. M.C. Bhandare, MP, had said last week that the human rights situation in Sri Lanka was grave and had urged the sub-commission to ask the Sri Lankan Government to exercise restraint in dealing with the situation and show compassion towards the Tamil minority.

The sub-commission had also been urged by Mr. Bhandare to ask the Sri Lankan Government to find a negotiated settlement to the Tamil problem. "State terrorism" could not be morally justified, he said.

## INDIAN MPs ACCUSE SRI LANKA OF GENOCIDE OF TAMILS

Indian Parliamentarians have accused Sri Lanka of genocide and State Terrorism. Expressing deep concern over the massacres and mass killings of Tamils, the members demanded urgent solution to the ethnic conflict.

Debating in Lok Sabha, members voiced deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Tamil people.

The members also expressed concern over the security implementations to India from the induction of foreign forces and intelligence agencies into the neighbouring country.

Prof. Dandavate (Janata) said India should not worry about 'unwanted and unwanted' advice of so-called "international moralists" that the situation in Sri Lanka should not be discussed here because of that country's sovereignty.

"Sovereignty of human values" was more important than the sovereignty of nations, and it was in India's tradition to express itself against violation of human rights and values, he said.

Prof. Dandavate said the Tamils in Sri Lanka had been suppressed all along and subjected to attacks on several occasions since 1956, but now there was the new element of the security forces joining in the violence. What was happening could be described, as "genocide".

The Janata leader charged the Sri Lankan leaders with trying to explore a military solution rather than a political solution of the Tamil problem.

The Sri Lankan President, he said, had gone back on the promises given by him when he visited Delhi some time ago that

autonomous councils would be set up for the affected areas.

Prof. Dandavate pointed out that Sri Lanka was a non-aligned nation and warned that if the situation deteriorated there, there was the risk of super-powers exploiting it.

Mr. Eduardo Faleiro (Cong-I) condemned the attack of Tamils in Jaffna and the eastern sea-board areas and said what was happening in Sri Lanka was 'State terrorism' and discrimination against the Tamils.

He said that the regional councils proposed

### JUST RELEASED TOWARDS LIBERATION

- It is a collection of selected documents dealing with different dimensions of the Tamil national Independence struggle in Sri Lanka.
- It is an analysis of the multi-pronged state oppression against Tamils.
- It is a record of the birth and growth of armed resistance movement, the guerrilla mode of armed revolution
- It is a document on theoretical perspectives and politico-military practice of the Liberation Tigers.

*For copies : write to*

P.O.Box 928  
Adayar  
Madras - 20

for the Tamil areas provided far less powers than available under the set-up of States in India.

President Jayawardane had gone back on the proposals "obviously because of pressures", Mr. Faleiro said.

He urged the Government to pursue the course for a political solution of the problem.

Mr. Faleiro said the Sri Lanka Government should compensate "all the innocent people" who had suffered in the recent disturbances. They were reported to have decided to give compensation only for the sufferers in the Mannar area.

Mr. M.M. Lawrence (CPM) urged Mrs. Gandhi to use her influence as the chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement to solve the Sri Lanka problem. The Commonwealth could also help in the matter.

He said that the economy of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka had been ruined and condemned the use of army against unarmed Tamils.

Mr. Lawrence also expressed concern at the services of 'Mossad' lent to Sri Lanka by Israel.

Mr. Era Anbarasu (Cong-I) called for finding a viable political solution to resolve the Sri Lanka tangle.

He wanted India to take up the issue of Sri Lanka Tamils in world forums. India should also withdraw aid to Sri Lanka, he suggested.

Mr. C.T. Dandapani (DMK) pleaded for recognition of a separate 'Eelam' (State) for Tamils in Sri Lanka and snapping of ties with that country.

He criticised President Jayawardane for agreeing to some of the proposals including the setting of district councils, but later going back on his words.

As a member of the non-aligned movement, Sri Lanka should be condemned for obtaining arms from the super-Powers, Mr. Dandapani said.

Mr. K.T. Kosalaram (Cong-I) felt that the only way out of Sri Lanka trouble was a political solution. He also opposed the demand for sending the Indian Army to Sri Lanka. Mr. Kosalaram was for giving adequate power to Tamils.

Mr. Subramaniam Swamy (Ind) warned President Jayawardane that if he wanted unity and integrity of Sri Lanka to be maintained he must find a political solution to the problem.

Mr. Swamy said that the Sri Lanka Government had launched "a process of genocide". The "genocide" and the practice of "apartheid" against Tamils should be halted, he said.

Mr. Jagpal Singh (LD) opposed the suggestion for armed intervention and said if the country departed from the policy being pursued it would give an excuse to super-powers to start interfering in India's affairs.

## TIGERS DENY GUERRILLA LOSSES

We, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam wish to deny the reports emanating from Sri Lankan Government sources that eight Tiger guerrillas were killed by the naval forces on Point Pedro seas. These reports claimed that Sri Lankan navy intercepted a motorised boat carrying arms and ammunition and Tiger guerrilla leaders were ambushed. These reports also claimed that the L.T.T.E. leader V. Prabakaran was also killed.

*We wish to state categorically that the L.T.T.E. guerrillas were not involved in the incident and that our leader Prabakaran is safe and sound.* These malicious stories are nothing but a part of the disinformation campaign carried out by the Sri Lankan Government aimed at confusing the Tamil people and the world.

These Government reports, which are given extraordinary prominence by the State controlled press, also aimed at boosting the morale of the Sri Lankan armed forces who are being severely harassed by the latest guerrilla campaign advanced by the Liberation Tigers. The Sri Lankan armed forces suffered heavy casualties with 67 killed and 100 wounded in the latest clashes.



*Eelam Tamils in London demonstrate against the recent massacres of Tamils by the Sinhala Army.*

## TIGERS BLAST CONVOY 20 COMMANDOS KILLED

On the 1st of September, our guerrillas, in retaliation to continuous harassment by the armed forces laid a successful ambush on a commando convoy at Thikkam about 2 miles from Point Pedro. Our freedom fighters detonated a land mine blasting a truck carrying police commandos. Twenty police commandos died on the spot and several wounded. The truck was blown into the air and it fell into the sea.

It should be noted that this particular commando unit was responsible for the death of one of our guerrilla commanders, Captain Ranjan. Following the incident the army personnel went on a rampage, killing innocent civilians and burning down shops at Point Pedro.

Official Bulletin of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam  
Post Box 928, Adyar, Madras-20, India  
For private circulation only