# Tamil TIMES

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# A Massacre in Madras

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# A WAR WITH A VENGEANCE

'There is no question of the government calling a ceasefire. When we fight, we fight to the end. The winner takes the lot', said the hawkish Sri Lankan State Minister for Defence, Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne at a recent press conference in Colombo. Even if one were to disregard the Minister's lexicon of a gambler in regard to a human tragedy that is being enacted in the island today, what is manifestly clear from the day the government and the LTTE declared 'all-out war' on each other is that the real losers are the people, particularly those of the North-East, and they are taking the lot now.

Nearly 400,000 people have already been displaced and have become refugees. Despite attempts by the gunboats of the Sri Lankan Navy to prevent their escape, over 30,000 Tamils, women and children, the old and the sick, have taken to the boat again and fled to South India. The island of Mannar was severed from the mainland when the Tigers blew up the Mannar Causeway and, on the basis of the Defence Ministry's own statement, over 35,000 people are marooned on the island of Mannar without food, medical and sanitary facilities.

The government claims that its forces have dislodged the LTTE from such towns as Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, Vavuniya and Mannar. But the fact is that the majority of the civilian population from these areas has fled from their homes and become refugees. They are suffering without food and other essential facilities. The towns are more or less deserted and denuded of their people. In certain towns, hundreds of homes and shops have been put to the torch by advancing government forces. In addition to the army, the dreaded death squads of the Special Task Force have been moved into the Tamil areas where they are committing the barbarous atrocities for which they became notorious in the recent past in the south of the island - hacking, shooting and burning people in the most brutal and indiscriminate manner. . Burning bodies, mutilated and severed bodies – heads without bodies and bodies without heads - and 'disappearances' are becoming commonplace in the towns of the North-East.

Instead of making efforts to get their erstwhile negotiating partners of the LTTE to lift the siege to enable the trapped service personnel to be freed from the northern Jaffna Fort, the government has been engaged in launching a relentless barrage of aerial bombardment of the Jaffna town and its environs causing hundreds of casualties and forcing thousands of residents to evacuate from their homes. Helicopter gunships and attack aircraft indiscriminately strafe and bomb wreaking havoc upon the city and its people. In

their bombing campaign, the airforce has been dropping lethal 'barrel bombs' - metal caskets loaded with liquid chemical substances fitted with incendiary devices - that cause ferocious fires when they hit the ground resulting in widespread civilian casualties and destruction of property. Although the LTTE cadres fire their rocket propelled grenades, rockets and machine guns from the back of mobile pick-up vehicles, the conduct of the airforce resorting to bomb and blast private and public buildings - including homes, schools, convents, churches and libraries – located far removed from the vicinity of the besieged Fort is something inexplicable, unless the government and its forces have decided to punish and exact revenge from the whole of the civilian Tamil community. The Jaffna peninsula remains completely cut-off from the rest of the island without transport, postal and telecommunications facilities. People from other parts of the island and elsewhere who found themselves in the peninsula from day one of the outbreak of the 'war' continue to remain trapped and unable to get out.

An undeclared virtual economic blockade has brought the people of the North-East to the point of near-starvation.

What is taking place in reality is a repeat of the pre-1987 (prior to the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement) scenario with a vengeance - putting into practice a plan to effect a military solution with callous and criminal disregard for the plight and suffering of the civilian population. A National Defence Fund calling for contributions to the 'war effort' has been set up and a jingoistic call to all 'patriots' to join the armed forces has resulted in Sinhala young men queuing up in their thousands in Colombo. All the chauvinist forces and traditional enemies of a negotiated settlement of the ethnic problem on the basis of the acceptance of the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Tamil speaking people are regrouping in a renewed effort to 'save the motherland'! Diabolical moves are afoot to subvert and deny even the limited gains that the Tamil people have achieved through years of struggle and suffering and as a consequence of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 1987. The Provincial Council Amendment Act enacted after the outbreak of the current war ennobles the Provincial Governor - an appointee of the President – with arbitrary powers to disqualify and unseat elected members of the Councils. Already plans are being discussed to bifurcate the presently merged North-East Province.

This being the tragic and brutal reality, the claim of the government that 'this war is against the LTTE and not the Tamil community' rings transparently hollow, disgustingly hypocritical, palpably false and demonstrably dishonest.

# Residents Flee as Air Force Bombs Jaffna Town

JAFFNA, June 28 – Sri Lankan Air Force bombers have left the main street of Jaffna in ruins. Parts of the northern town have been levelled.

Between bombing runs residents rush to salvage food and medicine from collapsed, burning buildings.

Tamil and Moslem shopkeepers dart across intersections and come under fire from some of the 225 soldiers and policemen who have been pinned down for two weeks by Tamil separatist rebels in a sixteenth-century Dutch fort.

More than 600 people have died since the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam began attacking army camps and police stations on June 11.

Jaffna's people have been loading belongings onto oxcarts and farm tractors to flee pitched battles in which Sri Lankan forces and Tigers are fighting for control of the town of 130,000.

But there are few escape routes because Jaffna is on a narrow peninsula on Sri Lanka's northern tip. A ferry carries a group of refugees from the town to land across a lagoon.

The air force, in an attempt to dislodge rebels from positions around the besieged Fort has levelled parts of Jaffna, Sri Lanka's main northern town.

Three Sia Marchetti aircraft with helicopter cover dropped high-explosive and incendiary bombs on commercial and residential areas in a series of raids this week. Hundreds of buildings were damaged, including an orphanage and a convent.

Where can we run to? We will be found by the bombers wherever we hide', said a resident.

The air force had dropped leaflets asking residents to vacate the area around the Fort.

By night, helicopters circle above the darkened city, spray unseen targets with 50-calibre machine-gun fire and drop bombs onto the frightened town.

But casualties are relatively light, because people have dug bunkers beneath most homes, schools and temples. At the first sound of firing families turn off the lights and go underground.

The Tigers who patrol Jaffna, their northern stronghold, answer the helicopter fire with fire from truckmounted machine guns and with rocket-propelled grenades.

The Tigers have kept the 225 soldiers and policemen trapped in the army camp at the Fort for 17 days despite aerial and artillery attacks by government forces.

A suicide attack on the Fort by a lone Tiger fighter last week failed. He was killed at the wheel of a truck loaded with explosives before he reached his target.

The International Red Cross in Jaffna said people were in immediate need of medicine. That included 95 wounded people in a hospital on the Jaffna Peninsula at Vaddamarachchi. The Red Cross was negotiating with the government to bring in drugs.

People have been forming long lines in Jaffna to buy rice. Men with jerry cans of hoarded petrol have sold them for ten times the normal price.

Fuel, food and medicine are in short supply in other parts of the north. In Omantai, north of Vavuniya, refugees pleaded recently with journalists to drive three wounded civilians to a hospital 25 miles (15 km) away.

They were victims of a Sri Lankan helicopter attack on a Tamil refugee camp. The machine guns didn't kill any of the people hiding in a stairwell, but a doctor had to remove shrapnel from an eight-year-old boy's face and neck without anaesthetic.

### 'EROS Calls for Ceasefire & Talks

The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS), which forms the largest Tamil Parliamentary Group, has written to President R. Premadasa urging him to initiate a ceasefire and resume talks with the Tigers with a view to settling the problem through consultation and consensus.

The group has also informed the President of a decision to boycott Parliament during the first week of the month in protest against the Governments's failure to heed their call for a ceasefire.

In the group's memorandum to the President copies of which had been released to the Press, it was stated.

'The Government and the LTTE were engaged in a dialogue. This was helpful for the Government to send away the IPKF. The people enjoyed the peace for some time. Tourism began picking up and the Government had begun to show profits in many ventures.

'Perhaps, the talks between the Government and the LTTE failed; the war erupted all of a sudden. Thousands of people have lost their lives in the last few days. Lakhs of families have been made refugees in the North and the East.

'No food has been distributed to those unfortunate persons in the refugee camps. There is no transport. No communications, no electricity and water service connections have been tampered with in Mannar. These facts we

gather are from the reports of the foreign correspondents in those areas.

'Most areas of Jaffna city have been bombed. There was helicopter strafing and indiscriminate killings of civilians'.

The group states:

'We spoke in Parliament urging and requesting the Government for another ceasefire. We also submitted a memorandum to Your Excellency as members of Parliament and from the position of a Political party. We regret that no action has been taken on our appeals'.

The memorandum further states:

'It is sickening to find ourselves in a situation where we are unable to help the very people whom we are supposed to represent in Parliament. We are beginning to wonder whether any useful purpose would be served in our continuing to be mere mute spectators in our helplessness. 'We will have to re-assess our position in relation to the continuing situation'.

#### 'India Repeats Concern as Refugees Flood In

NEW DELHI, July 14 – The Government of India yesterday expressed its concern at the continuing clashes between the Sri Lankan troops and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in the island-nation's North Eastern Province.

This is the third time that India has expressed its anxiety since the armed clashes began on June 11.

A spokesman for the External Affairs Ministry said here this evening: "The government is concerned at the continuing reports of large scale civilian casualties in the fighting between the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE.

He went on: 'Our concern is heightened by the fact that this fighting is leading to a heavy influx of refugees into Tamil Nadu'.

The spokesman said that New Delhi would take up these matters with the Sri Lankan Government shortly.

He added that during the first 11 days of this month alone, more than 16,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees had fled their homeland and had arrived in Tamil Nadu for shelter.

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# REVENGE KILLINGS AS WAR ESCALATES

# Christopher Morris in Kalmunai

A Tamil woman outside the temple in Kalmunai, weeping hysterically, displayed the remains of an identity card. It belonged to her son, Chandrikumar, aged 23, and had been found in the burnt out ruins of a shop. Residents said more than 30 bodies had been dumped there.

Other women crowded round, each with a photograph – 'He is missing, this is my son, they have taken him away'.

On June 11, 11 Sri Lankan soldiers were ambushed and killed by Tamil Tigers on the road just outside Kalmunai, unleashing a fresh round of conflict. The war has now claimed more than 1,000 lives.

The police station in the town was attacked and many of those captured are believed to have been shot by the Tigers.

When the army moved into Kalmunai 10 days later, revenge was the order of the day. According to the townspeople, the advancing soldiers saluted at the place of the ambush, and then set about burning Tamil houses.

More than 70 men were taken into custody, and most are still missing. Bodies began to appear; six outside the hospital, including that of a Tamil

policeman released by the Tigers before they took his Sinhalese and Muslim colleagues away.

The arrests are continuing, and hundreds are said to have disappeared. The army says it releases most of those detained immediately, but no one knows where they are.

'They are taking in innocent people now. All the Tigers have fled to the jungle. But what can we do? If we complain, become prominent, we will be killed ourselves', said a resident.

The chairman of the citizens' committee was abducted last week and his two sons have also disappeared.

Anyone who associated with the Tigers seems to be regarded as a legitimate target, although, as one man pointed out, the government itself had held talks with the Tigers for more than a year.

Now Tamil civilians seem to be paying for the excesses of their former protectors. Before they left Kalmunai, the Tigers looted Muslim shops and houses and extorted money from Muslim businessmen. A Muslim leader said: 'I hate to think what would have happened if the army hadn't arrived'.

Further up the coast, in Batticaloa, five burning bodies appeared on the

roadsides on Friday. Many residents interpret them as a warning.

People say they have already been

People say they have already been told by the army that if they do not co-operate they will face the same fate as the People's Liberation Front or JVP.

Thousands of people, including many civilians, were killed in southern Sri Lanka last year when the antigovernment rebellion, led by the JVP, was ruthlessly suppressed by security forces.

Just a few miles north of Batticaloa, the Tigers are still patrolling the roads in trucks with Tiger-striped camouflage. The area leader, known only as Karikalan, exuded a confidence shared by his teenage cohorts.

He said guerrilla warfare could continue for a long time. This is becoming a people's movement, and they are ready to struggle for independence'.

The Tigers have also been indulging in their own forms of justice. Villagers, mostly Muslims, who welcomed the army as they passed through the area on the way to Batticaloa, are said to have been abducted and killed.

Revenge and reprisal seems to have become a way of life. A prominent citizen, too frightened to be identified, said nothing could be done to stop the cycle of killings. 'Absolutely nothing. We are at a loss. The people just try to survive'.

(The Guardian, 9.7.90)

# LTTE'S LONDON LEADER APPEALS TO INDIA

NEW DELHI, July 2 – A London-based senior leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) today appealed to India to extend its 'moral support' to Sri Lankan Tamils.

In a statement issued in London today, Major Kittu, alias Sathasivam K. Krishnakumar, said that he is issuing the appeal because LTTE wants India to play the role of a peace-maker in South Asia.

This is the first time since armed clashes broke out between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan security forces that a prominent LTTE leader has made such a statement, seeking India's help to diffuse the ethnic crisis in the troubled island.

Referring to the presence of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka for 32 months, Kittu decribed it as 'a bad dream that is over'. However, he declared: 'We have always been friends and will be friends with India'.

Kittu, who is also a member of the Central Committee of LTTE's political organ, declared: 'India must play the role of a peace-maker in the region and help us find a permanent solution to our problems.

He went on: 'In our struggle, it is natural and historic that we look for support from India'.

Meanwhile, in Madras, the opposition Congress-I Party and its ally All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam demanded that the National Front government of Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh should stop 'the genocide of Tamils' by the Sri Lankan security forces.

A 3-member committee set up by Congress-I President and former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi blamed the Singh government for being 'callous and lethargic' in handling the conflict in the island.

Vazhapadi K. Ramamurthy, President of the Tamil Nadu unit of the Congress-I, accused Singh of 'shirking' responsibility and said India should take 'appropriate' steps to ensure the safety and security of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

In a joint telegram to Singh, 15 members of parliament belonging to the AIADMK, blamed the Central Government for not taking 'strong action' to prevent indiscriminate bombing on the Tamil areas in the island.

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# TULF CALLS FOR CEASEFIRE AND U.N. MONITORING

The Tamil United Liberation Front in a communique released to the media has called for a cessation of all hostilities in the North and East and '....support the call for a UN or Commonwealth Peace Keeping Force to monitor and supervise such a cessation of hostilities'.

The communique states:

We are deeply disturbed and concerned by the outbreak of hostilities in the North and East. We have consistently opposed and totally reject a military solution to the national question. The civil war is brutal and cruel, causing incalculable suffering to thousands of displaced civilians. Many civilians and non-combatants have been killed as a result of aerial strafing and shelling.

There are alarming reports of disappearances, extra-judicial killings and mob-violence from Amparai, Trincomalee, Kalmunai, Pottuvil and Batticaloa towns. Hundreds of homes, shops and places of worship have been destroyed in the North and East and parts of Jaffna have been reduced to rubble.

We are equally shocked and outraged by reports of the killing of prisoners of war in callous disregard of the provisions of the Geneva Convention. We are disturbed that no medicine or food has been despatched to Jaffna since the outbreak of hostilities.

We are seriously concerned that reactionary and chauvinistic forces are calling for dismantling of the political arrangements for the resolution of the national question. We are particularly worried about threats in responsible circles for the renegings of solemn undertakings by the Government of Sri Lanka. Inflammatory speeches, news reports and articles are causing deep disquiet and insecurity amongst minorities, and are harmful to ethnic harmony. Immediate action is required to prevent further deterioration of this situation.

It further states: Parties to the conflict to respect the Geneva Convention with regard to internal conflicts, and to protect the rights of prisoners of war, and to avoid causing loss or injury to the civilian population.

We urge that urgent humanitarian assistance be directed towards all persons injured, and to ensure that food and medicine is despatched to refugees and to the affected areas. We urge utmost restraint on the part of all persons and groups and appeal that no measures or action be initiated to inflame ethnic passions or to otherwise prejudice ethnic harmony.

We call upon all political parties to renew their commitment to policies

and measures directed towards protecting the legitimate rights and aspirations of Tamil speaking people.

# EPRLF CALLS FOR INDIAN MEDIATION

MADRAS: The Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front has appealed to the government of India to exert pressure on the Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam so that the island's Tamils could be saved from annihilation

'The Tamils are not going to be redeemed from this meaningless quest for hegemony. Instead, there is the danger of an entire generation being wiped out', the EPRLF said.

In a statement, it said the Sri Lankan government itself had admitted that four lakh of people had become refugees in the Tamil areas. There were dead bodies lying on the roads at Kalmunai, Amparai, Batticaloa, Vavuniya, Mannar and Jaffna town.

Houses had been burnt. People were dying due to starvation and lack of drinking water. Both the island government and the LTTE were only keen on establishing their dominance and they were not worried about the deaths of the Tamils.

The LTTE and Colombo, who had earlier argued that a permanent peace could prevail only if the IPKF left the island, were now fighting each other.

The government of India, political organisations and progressive forces should take all initiatives to stop this. The government of India should immediately prepare the ground for talks.

#### 'ATTEMPT TO UNITE THE SINHALESE AGAINST TAMILS' – EPRLF

The Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front in a Press release charged that 'there are attempts to "unite" the Sinhala people against the Tamil people at a time when all serious politicians must get together to unite all the people irrespective of language and religion to fight against all shades of terrorism, poverty and the rising cost-of-living'.

The Press release signed by the party's new Secretary-General K. Premachandran, said that pursuing a military solution would strengthen the hands of terrorists, increase defence expenditure leading to inflation and rise in the cost-of-living.

It added: 'The ongoing crisis in the North-East of the country is the culmination of the political blunders that were made by the political parties that hitherto ruled Sri Lanka. The resolution of such crises that are basically political cannot be achieved militarily. 'We are dismayed and disturbed to see

that there is a strong trend to identify the crisis on the isolated basis of "Sinhala-Tamil" conflict.

'We identify the present state of the crisis as due to the delaying and failure of the UNP Government to devolve power fully as given in the constitution of the North-East Provincial Council led by the elected representatives of the people of the North-East.

'We also state the passive indifference of the government to the terrorist build up of the LTTE by making use of the continued talks it had with the government, and the ceasefire between them.

The resolution of the crisis can only be made by exercising the right of the government to contain terrorism and to establish law and order and simultaneously taking practical steps towards devolution of powers to the North-East Provincial Council.

'The hasty dissolution of the North-East Provincial Council, when a military operation in the North-East is taking a heavy toll of life and property of the Tamil-speaking people, has aggravated the crisis.

'We want the government to establish law and order in the North-East with an open and concrete political commitment towards devolution. Military option will never allow us to get ourselves released from the quagmire of irrational political blunders'.



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# THE NO-WIN WAR

Rita Sebastian From Colombo

The incident, however trivial, that sparked off the confrontation between the LTTE and the government brought home, as nothing else did the tenuous relationship between the two. Not even the mediation of Minister Shahul Hameed, who as the government's chief negotiator traversed the tortuous road of conciliation and compromise over thirteen long months, was able to negotiate a ceasefire. And so on June 11, the inevitable 'war' that everybody predicted was on.

As the government rushed troops to reinforce, in most cases small army detachments in the North-East region, it was the Eastern Province, that did, in the first weeks receive the thrust of the LTTE fire power. The beleaguered army camps of Kiran and Kalawanchkudi under heavy mortar and artillery attack held out until reinforcements arrived. Hardest hit was the camp in Kiran where a small detachment fought back, surviving as they said on boiled papaws and, water scooped from water holes as bodies of comrades killed in action decomposed around them. And outside lay strewn the bodies of LTTE fighters who had fallen victim to the retaliatory fire of the soldiers.

Eight days later Kiran and Kalawanchikudi were rescued and the army inched its way into Batticaloa, clearing mines and booby-traps. Although State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne sounded almost euphoric in the first days of battle, confident that the war would not be a protracted operation, the mounting casualties among the forces spelt out clearly that it was going to be no easy battle. Timeframes of 'liberating' areas turned out to be illusory with LTTE cadres who moved out of the towns when the soldiers moved in, waiting on the periphery and striking with deadly accuracy when least expected.

As aerial operations cleared the path of advancing troops from three fronts into eastern Batticaloa, the LTTE withdrew only to surface just as quickly.

In the Muslim village of Ottamavadi on the Polonnaruwa-Batticaloa road the feeling of relief that the troops had freed them from the stranglehold of the LTTE was soon replaced with fear, for when the troops moved on, LTTE cadres came into the village, identified persons whom they charged with having collaborated with the army and shot them dead.

It was a story that was soon to be repeated in other towns as well. And as reports of Muslims being abducted and killed by LTTE cadres flowed in, so did stories of Tamil youth, identified as

LTTE sympathisers or supporters, killed by unidentified persons, begin to surface. In Kalmunai several decomposing bodies were reported lying around as the troops moved on. A citizens committee member of the town put the number close on a hundred with military officials identifying the killed as LTTE cadres.

The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) has documented alleged atrocities by unidentified gunmen, specially in the eastern districts of Amparai and Kalmunai after the hostilities broke out. TELO has a figure of 698 killings upto July 15. Most of the victims hacked to death and their bodies burnt.

A three party grouping comprising the EPRLF, TELO and PLOTE met with President Ranasinghe Premadasa on July 13, to protest at the killings of persons they described as innocent civilians. A concerned President said TELO's political advisor Sri Kantha, had promised to have the matter looked into.

There were indications too that the Muslims, at the receiving end of LTTE brutality were among the dreaded 'hooded identifiers' being used by the forces. Other Tamil groups, victims of what they describe as the LTTE's ruthless elimination of their cadres over the years, jumped on the band wagon as well. It showed as nothing else did the fragmented state of the Tamil political movement in the island, with groups trying to destroy each other, and negating each other's capacity to respond coherently to a crisis.

The Government hasn't denied that some Tamil groups are helping them. With a complete breakdown of communication with the North there have been no accurate statistics of civilian casualties. Minister Wijeratne has admitted to 'civilian casualties' through pilot error when bombing and helicopter strafing LTTE positions in the Jaffna peninsula.

It is estimated that over 2000 persons, including security personnel, civilians and LTTE cadres have been killed since the battle began on June 11. The death toll among security force personnel killed in action totals close on 400, with another 500 injured. 80 percent of the injured have had their limbs blown off by pressure mines and booby traps, according to Defence Secretary, General Cyril Ranatunge. The military estimates that over 500 LTTE fighters have been killed so far in the fighting, and an equal number injured.

And while the daring rescue operation by the Airforce of seven of the seventeen wounded soldiers trapped inside the Jaffna Fort Camp was a morale booster to the security forces, two weeks later the destroying of the Rupavahini relay station in Kokavil, ten miles north of Vavuniya and the overrunning of the army camp located in the premises and killing 50 soldiers, two captains and three lieutenants among them, gave the LTTE fighters a much needed 'victory'.

They have admitted to losing only 18 of their cadres in that operation, 6 of them women, although the military puts the figure at 35.

The Defence Ministry detailing the incident charged that the bodies of the 50 soldiers killed in the attack were thrown on the burning fuel dump in the camp, by LTTE women fighters.

It was in Kanchikudichiaru, in the eastern Amparai district that the military claimed their biggest success by capturing what they said was the largest LTTE training camp in the east with underground bunkers, tunnels and a firing range. An LTTE cadre who surrendered was shown in a Sunday newspaper alongside one of the LTTE's special 'torture chambers' for captured soldiers. Barbed wire cells with only standing room for one, where they were interrogated for days and months without food and water, and then killed'.?

And as claims and counter claims were being made by both sides over 100,000 refugees flocked into temples, schools and public buildings to escape being caught in the 'crossfire syndrome'. With a complete breakdown in the civilian administration and road and rail transport at a complete standstill, the distribution of food to the North-East was severely hampered, although Government records pointed to adequate stocks of flour and rice being available in all eight districts of the North and East region, to last two months when hostilities broke out on June 11.

The Government put the onus for the non-availability of food supplies on the LTTE whom it charged with looting food stores. To remedy the situation it sought the assistance of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and moved stocks of food and medicines to the north. With a commissioner general of essential services appointed and the roads cleared to the eastern districts food trucks began to move eastwards.

As 'Eelam War 2' as it has been labelled, goes into its second month what is very significant is, that the Government-LTTE confrontation has served as a rallying point for forces in the south. Not since the mid-fifties when S.W.R.D.'s 'Sinhala Nationalism' brought new forces into play, has there been such a surge of patriotic fervour.

'Saving the motherland' is the battle

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# A MASSACRE IN MADRAS

Blazing guns, screams of victims and men shooting their way to waiting vehicles: On June 19, residents of a usually quiet housing colony in the heart of Madras were witnessing one of the bloodiest killings in the city.

The evening was slowly dissolving into the night. For the residents of the Zackariah colony at Kodambakkam in Madras it was a sultry day. On the road below the cluster of flats making up the three-storeyed block, some of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Front (EPRLF) cadres were talking among themselves. In a flat on the second floor their leader K. Padmanabha and other prominent functionaries of the militant group were in a meeting. None of them knew that soon they would be targets of one of the bloodiest massacres Madras has ever witnessed

At 7 p.m. on June 19, a group of gun-toting assailants, suspected to be LTTE militants, stormed their way into the flat, sprayed bullets on the EPRLF leader and his comrades. Besides Padmanabha, the dead included P. Kirubakaran, Finance Minister in the now defunct North-Eastern Provincial Council, Yogasankari, Sri Lankan MP, five others in the flat including two women and five EPRLF cadres who were below, on the road.

The residents of the colony were too stunned to do anything. For them the four-minute operation meant blazing guns, screams of victims, and men shooting their way to the waiting vehicles. By the time the vehicles disappeared from sight a passer-by was dead and 21 others including a four-month-old boy were injured. Yoga-sankari who showed feeble signs of life was taken to the hospital where he died within minutes.

Top police officials rushed to the scene. Soon a Statewide alert was sounded for the assassins. As word spread, Zackariah Colony, a stone's throw from the bustling Kodambakkam railway station, was a crowd of

shocked onlookers, as the bodies were being removed to the General Hospital mortuary.

The fleet of police vehicles and the huge crowd on the usually quiet street was what greeted 30-year-old Anandi, wife of Padmanabha as she came back after visiting her father in a house nearby. Only that morning had she returned from New Delhi to Madras with her husband. She became hysterical on hearing that her husband was among those gunned down. Some EPRLF men living nearby had great difficulty in trying to console her.

It was a gruesome scene, an hour after the carnage. The stretch of road leading to the colony was caked in blood and pieces of flesh. The bodies of the five EPRLF cadres were scattered around. The grotesque postures of the victims gave an idea of their frantic efforts to escape the fury of the assassins.

Inside the flat the walls and the mosaic floor were splattered with blood. Pieces of flesh were strewn around. The pillow that Padmanabha tried to use as a shield had numerous holes. He was shot in the chest, head and back and there were signs that he tried to escape. The body of the 25-year-old woman, Kavitha, was lying in the kitchen with her calf muscles blown off. A broom was lying beside her; she was cleaning the room when the assassins struck. Inside the bedroom and the toilet there were two others with their torsos ripped apart.

There were angry condemnations throughout the State. Opposition leaders blamed Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi, held him morally responsible for the tragedy and demanded his resignation. That a group of armed militants could enter a flat in the heart of the

# T.Nadu. Govt's Directive to Sri Lanka Tamils

The State Government has directed all the Sri Lankan Tamils, living and moving about in Tamil Nadu since 1983 without any valid document, to furnish information relating to their name, address, occupation, etc., to the nearest police station within seven days It has warned that failure to furnish the information will lead to severe penal action under the law.

An official press release said it had come to the notice of the authorities that the Sri Lankan Tamils who had fled their country and had come to Tamil Nadu, were acting in a manner prejudicial to the security of India and its relations with foreign countries and the State Government considered it necessary to regulate their continued presence in India.

House owners are also warned: The Government has asked the owners of houses in towns or villages in the State, who have let out their premises to the Sri Lankan Tamils, to furnish to the nearest police station complete details about the names of such persons, period of occupation, etc. Failure to do so within seven days will be construed as an act which will cause hindrance to the regulation of the presence of the Sri Lankan Tamils in India, and liable for action under the law.

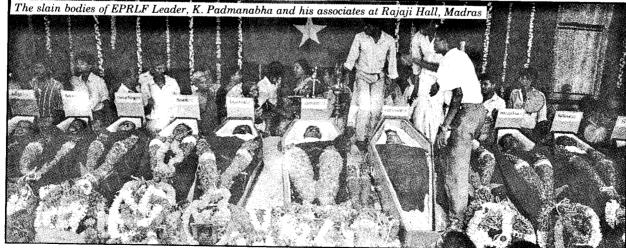
Similarly, people owning lands in coastal areas in Tamil Nadu and coming to know about the smuggling of goods into or from Tamil Nadu and the landing of militants from Sri Lanka in boats, should immediately inform the nearest police station. Any act of smuggling or abetment either into or from Tamil Nadu will be liable to be punished, warned the Government.

city, gun down 15 people and escape was a sad reflection on the law and order situation, they said.

Two days later came reports that the assassins had left the country. That the killers travelled about 350 km in an air conditioned van right from Madras, relaxed for more than ten hours in a coastal village near Pattukkottai, summoned boats from Jaffna through wireless and slipped away quietly raised disturbing questions on the ability of the police to check the LTTE militants and their activities in the State. It was another blow to the State Government.

Madras

R. Parthasarathy



# FROM THE WAR FRONT

- ABOUT 60 ELITE COMMANDOS of the Special Forces Brigade were eliminated in a Tiger ambush on June 13. Lt. Com. Luxman Illangakoon, commander of the SLN Kandula (a landing craft) was ordered to land about 100 commandos including five officers at Muttur jetty area. At about 4.30 pm on 13 June, when the ship carrying the commandos came close to the Muttur beach, Tigers opened fire. SLN Kandula, one Chinese-built gunboat and two Israeli-built fast attack craft retaliated with 37 mm and 25 mm guns. As a fierce clash continued Major A.M. Asad after consulting his senior officers in Trincomalee decided to abandon the operation. SLN Kandula turned back. An hour later it arrived in Trincomalee. A few hours later, Major Asad was ordered to take his men and start operations from a place called Brown Rock Point. At 1 am (14 June) SLN Kandula left Trincomalee. And about 2.30 am while the Navy staged a mock landing close to Muttur jetty commandos landed at the Brown Rock Point area without any trouble. However the Tigers were aware of the move. They were waiting to wipe out a contingent of the best Sri Lankan soldiers and capture all arms and ammunition. Except for about 40 commandos, who were rescued by another commando team, the rest were killed.
- A DEFENCE Ministry press release on 24 June stated that nine soldiers were killed and three others injured following a landmine explosion caused by the LTTE on the Padaviya-Pulmoddai road in North-East Sri Lanka; two soldiers were seriously injured while attempting to clear landmines and explosive devices. In an encounter with the LTTE on the Kankesanthurai-Thondamanar Road in Jaffna one officer and six soldiers were killed while eleven LTTE men were also killed.
- THE GOVERNMENT has announced a major recruitment drive to the armed forces. Following the announcement, thousands of Sinhalese young men queued up in Colombo volunteering to join the armed forces. In the meantime, the government has also set up a National Defence Fund to which people have been asked to make donations. These moves are reminiscent of the pre-Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement period during which the then government was committed to a military solution to the conflict.
- TROOPS FROM the Palaly airbase advanced further on 6 July and captured one of the crucial security points in Jaffna, the Vsavilan junction hitherto held by the Tigers. Two soldiers and an unaccounted number of Tiger guerrillas died in the encounter. Government forces began punching a new track connecting the Palaly Air Base in Jaffna peninsula with Kankensanthurai nearly six miles away using a tracked bulldozer to enable direct access from the base to the port.
- BATTICALOA LTTE leader Karikalan, in an interview with BBC Tamil service, said that some of the policemen who surrendered during the first days of the outbreak of the war were still alive while others have been killed in confrontations between the LTTE and the security forces. He claimed that it was the government which started the war with continuous provocations by the police.
- MANY THOUSANDS of displaced families from the Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, Vavuniya and Mannar districts have trekked into the Jaffna peninsula to escape the violence.
- AT PARAYANKULAM in Vavuniya in the north, nine soldiers were killed on 8 July when a landmine was activated allegedly by Tigers.
- INDIA HAS DEPLOYED two naval vessels in the Palk Straits to watch the movements of Sri Lankan gunboats and fast attack naval craft.
- LTTE SOURCES claimed that on 7 July, Tigers ambushed and attacked a contingent of soldiers who ventured out of the Kilinochchi army camp. Following the retreat into the camp by the soldiers, government forces engaged in an aerial bombardment of the area. On 9 July, Tigers launched an attack on government forces at Kunchukulam junction; in their attempt to escape, a number of soldiers were killed and injured by exploding landmines. On 7 and 8 July, government forces launched aerial attacks in Muttur in the east; later, the forces which marched towards Madappukali hacked and shot dead about 30 people. At Kinniyai, six Tamil persons were set on fire with tyres around their necks.
- THE AIR FORCE intensified its strafing and bombing operations on 24 June in the area surrounding the Jaffna Fort in a bid to break the nine-day siege of the Fort where an undisclosed number of security service personnel were holding out against a relentless assault with mortar, shell and gun fire by the LTTE. Several public buildings have been damaged and many civilian casualties have been reported in consequence of these operations.

- ACCORDING TO Lt. Col. R.H. Stephen of the 6th Sinha Regiment, on 28 June they intercepted a secret radio message by the Tigers of the plan to capture 5000 kilos of gelignite and over 60,000 detonators from a store in the Kankesanthurai Cement Factory in the Jaffna peninsula and kill all 35 soldiers guarding this magazine. A few hours before the Tigers executed the plan, Maj. Lalith Buddhadasa and eleven others rushed to the magazine around midnight on 28 June and hurriedly dumped whatever quantity possible into the wells near the magazine and blasted the balance.
- TROOPS TRAPPED in the army camp at Kiran in the east for several days besieged by the Tigers and subjected to a relentless barrage of attacks by rockets, grenades and machine guns eventually managed to repulse the attacks with sustained aerial bombardment and strafing. Fearing further attacks, soldiers from these camps were withdrawn on 25 June. On 29 June, Tigers demolished several buildings vacated by the army at Kalawnachikudy and Kiran, including the army camp to prevent the security forces from reoccupying them.
- DEFENCE MINISTRY sources claimed that four boats carrying alleged Tigers were destroyed by the Navy off the coasts of Trincomalee and Talaimannar on 6 July killing about 40 guerrillas when the boats were sunk by naval fire. Three of the boats were intercepted off the Trincomalee coast while the other boat with nine men was sunk off Orumali Point, Talaimannar.
- OFFICERS IN CHARGE of all police stations have been issued with shoot-on-sight orders to quell any incidence of rioting, looting or violence in areas outside the North-East province. These orders were issued allegedly following intelligence reports that southern 'subversives' were attempting to regroup and stir-up antigovernment disturbances while the security forces were engaged in a war with the LTTE in the North-East.
- FIFTY-FOUR Tamil policemen are among the security service personnel trapped within the Jaffna Fort army base which is under siege by the Tigers. The rest of the men comprise 57 Muslims as well as an Assistant Superintendent of Police, Perven Fernando and 80 men belonging to the Sinha Regiment of the Army. Most of the containers of food and other supplies dropped from a height of 5000 feet intended for use by the trapped service personnel in the Jaffna Fort either fell into the adjoining lagoon or on land outside the Fort perimeter.
- A JOINT OPERATION codenamed 'Operation Strike Hard' was launched by the security forces in Trincomalee district against Tiger positions from the strongholds in Kovilladi, Alankerni, Kinniya, Muttur, Kaddaiparichchan, Sampur and Foul Point. The government forces claimed that these areas comprised the staging bases to the north and east by sea and land. The major battles involving fierce fighting were at Kaddaiparichchan. More than a thousand troops drawn from the Sinha Regiment and Gemunu Watch closed in on the Kaddaiparichchan LTTE base surrounding it by 7 July. The Navy deployed six Korean-built gunboats under the direction of the Navy mother ship 'Sagaravardhana'. As the army used Yugoslav made field guns, two Sia-Marchetti SF-260 bomber aircraft bombarded alleged Tiger positions.
- THE SRI LANKAN NAVY, on 9 July, intercepted six boats carrying 700 Tamils, men, women and children, from Pesalai in the Mannar area who were trying to flee as refugees to south India. The All India Radio announced that over 16,000 Tamil refugees had arrived in Tamil Nadu since the current outbreak of hostilities between government forces and the LTTE.
- A NAVY VESSEL, anchored off the coast of Valvettiturai and described as a mother-ship, which performed the task of providing needed supplies to the armed forces in the north, was attacked by a suicide squad of Tigers on 10 July. A three-man suicide squad had rammed their speedboat laden with explosives into the navy vessel causing serious damage and it was seen later limping back to port.
- A HELICOPTER that was dispatched on 12 July to rescue seven wounded soldiers from the Mankulam Army Camp came under fierce LTTE fire killing an airman and gunner aboard the chopper and perforating its fuel tank. Since 15 June, the Mankulam Camp had been besieged by the Tigers who had kept up fire preventing the inmates from receiving vital provisions and evacuating its wounded there were no medical facilities within the Camp. On 12 July, soldiers were alerted and posted along the periphery of the Camp, enabling two helicopters to land outside the Camp with the objective of evacuating the wounded. The Tigers opened fire just as the helicopters lifted off with the wounded soldiers. An airman and a soldier were killed. The flooding of oil from the damaged fuel tank was remedied by stuffing the holes with strips of cloth.

- THREE SPEEDBOATS, carrying Tiger suicide squads attacked a Navy vessel off the coast of Trincomalee on 11 July. Of the three boats, only one succeeded in ramming the navy vessel causing serious damage. The Navy fired at the other two speedboats in the course of which one was destroyed and the other escaped. In this encounter one Navy Midshipman was killed in action and three sailors were wounded.
- GOVERNMENT FORCES, on July 11 completed the capture of what is described as the biggest fortress-like LTTE base at Kanjukudichchi Aru in the eastern Amparai district after five days intensive military operations, involving an estimated 4000 troops, resulting in fierce fighting with LTTE guerrillas. Although security forces said during the operations that there were several hundred Tigers in the camp surrounded by the troops, when the camp fell to forces, it was found that the majority had succeeded in disappearing into the nearby thick jungles. A defence Ministry press release said that the troops found 17 bodies of dead Tigers, five vehicles, a rich stock of food, large quantities of weapons, explosives, detonators, ammunition, claymore mines and mortars; the base was surrounded by six smaller camps provided with concrete bunkers, a firing range and systematically laid out roadways. As many as fifty Tigers were killed in the whole operation.
- THE GOVERNMENT claimed that the Vavuniya Hospital had to be closed as most of the medical staff, mainly doctors and nurses, of the hospital had been abducted allegedly by the Tigers to treat their wounded comrades. Previously the government gave the same reason for the closure of the Mullaitivu Hospital.
- MAJOR GENERAL Denzil Kobbedaduwa, Commanding Officer of North-East Operations, has taken up duties to direct operations in the northern sector as from 12 July. He is generally remembered for the 'Vadamaradchi Operation' of 1987 in the Jaffna peninsula. He said that 'during the time they were having political discussions, the Tigers were busy building bunkers and laying landmines to pressurise the military. But our aim now is to destroy the LTTE and their organisation and only then go for a political solution'.
- A MAJOR LTTE base and four of its satellite bases located in Mandurankulam in Trincomalee were destroyed and a large quantity of equipment including hand grenades, rocket propelled launchers, mortar shells, detonators, khaki uniforms, rice and dhal were recovered by government forces on 12 July, according to security sources; two army personnel were killed and 12 more injured while the LTTE death toll was 7 with a large number injured. Another LTTE base situated along the 6th mile post in Manutai in the Mannar district was surrounded and captured after an attack in which two soldiers were killed and three injured while 15 LTTE men were killed. Six boats allegedly with 30 heavily armed Tigers crossing the lagoon from Kathankudi to Kokkaddichalai were attacked by government forces and sunk.
- THE DEFENCE MINISTRY claimed that on 13 July at least 35 Muslim civilians were massacred at Ondachchimadam between Kalmunai and Kalawanchikudi in the eastern province allegedly by Tigers who had intercepted a convoy of vehicles which were carrying food. In another incident, a convoy of five lorries had been hired from Colombo to Kathankudy for delivery of food to refugees at Kurukulamadam and Kalawanchikudi. Heavily armed Tigers are alleged to have taken control of the vehicles.
- THE DEFENCE MINISTRY claimed on 14 July that the Tigers continued to fire mortars, rockets and machine guns at the Kilinochchi Army Camp from adjoining areas; the Jaffna Fort Army base, the Kankesanthurai army detachment and the Palaly Air base.
- A SPECIAL TASK FORCE UNIT (STF), numbering over 150 personnel have been transferred from Moneragala and posted to police stations in the Eastern Province on 13 July. The Officer-in-Charge of the Moneragala Unit, Gamini Perera has been attached to the Kalmunai police station.
- THE GOVERNMENT has decided that recruitment to the regular armed forces should be done through Members of Parliament as a means of preventing the possible infiltration of the forces by 'subversive elements'. All MPs will be asked to recommend twenty youths each from their electorates. The Defence Ministry has estimated that this scheme will permit it to take in nearly 4000 recruits.
- MRS. S. BANDARANAIKE, Leader of the Opposition said speaking on 13 July at a seminar held in Colombo, 'I would like to take this opportunity to commend the valiant efforts of the security forces, fighting at great odds, to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of this country. The large majority of the people of this country yearned for peace and ethnic harmony. It is only a miniscule minority which has suddenly taken upon itself to disrupt the peace which prevailed over the last year in the North and East'.

- ELECTRICITY SUPPLY to Jaffna was cut allegedly by the Tion 13 July plunging the area into darkness.
- DEFENCE SECRETARY Gen. Cyril Ranatunga said on July 12 that 342 police and security personnel were killed in action and 412 others injured since June 11 when war broke out between government forces and LTTE. 95 per cent of the police and security personnel casualties were due to mines and booby traps.
- A CONVOY of 12 vehicles carrying food and medical supplies to the Northern Jaffna peninsula under the supervision of the ICRC was to reach Jaffna 13 July. Relief officials said that Jaffna had a population of 800,000 besides the recent arrival of refugees from other areas of the north. There was an acute shortage of food and medicine. The contents of the 12 trucks were hardly adequate for even a fraction of the people even for a day. A minimum of 40 truck loads of supplies per day were essential to meet basic requirements.
- AT PALALY AIRBASE camp, one soldier died due to sniper fire on 13 July, and the Jaffna Fort, Elephant Pass army camp and Kilinochchi army camp came under frequent mortar and machine gun fire, according to a Defence Ministry press release. There were clashes between the LTTE and government forces in Mannar on the Thallady, Manthai and Illupaikadavai road.
- THE ARMY BASE AT KOKKAVIL, situated about 30 miles south of the Jaffna peninsula, was completely over-run by Tamil Tigers on 12 July and it is reported that about seventy soldiers had been killed. The LTTE claimed that 18 of their guerrillas died in the operation. The attack on the camp, one of a number of isolated army bases in the Northern Province and which had been under siege by the Tigers for several weeks, began on 10 July with a barrage from mortars and rocket propelled grenades. The Tigers also tried to smash their way in, using armour-plated bulldozers mounted with machine guns. The garrison was heavily dependent on support from helicopter gunships and aircraft, which strafed and bombed the surrounding jungles. On the night of 11 July the Tigers scored a direct mortar hit, destroying a state television relay station situated inside the camp, and causing a large fuel dump to explode. The Tigers said that they found 45 bodies when they moved into the compound and they took custody of a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Some of the soldiers who escaped into the nearby dense jungle are reported to have been traced and gunned down by the LTTE guerrillas. According to government sources, at least two of the soldiers had managed to reach the Mankulam army base. The LTTE claimed that 18 of their guerrillas, including 6 women, died in the operation.
- ACCORDING TO Defence Ministry, there are an estimated 35,000 refugees from the mainland in Mannar in the Mannar Island without adequate food, water and medicine. Attempts made by government forces to air-drop food and to land some food by boats had failed because of firing by 'terrorists' who are alleged to have mingled among the refugees. The only connection by road to the Mannar Island from the mainland is the Mannar Causeway, but the Tigers had blasted the causeway bridge thus making it impossible for food and medical supplies to be sent from the mainland. The government was seeking the assistance of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to enable supplies to be sent by ship. Sources from Mannar say that the thousands stranded in the Mannar Island went there with a view to go to south India as refugees, but have been prevented by the Sri Lanka Navy patrolling the Palk Straits.
- STATE MINISTER FOR DEFENCE, Ranjan Wijeratne, presented for parliament's approval five supplementary estimates on 18 June for a total sum of Rs.5,013,570,200 (five billion, thirteen million five hundred and seventy thousand and two hundred rupees) for the purchase of arms, ammunition, helicopters and other military equipment for the armed forces and the police and general administration and management of defence and to contain the situation that had arisen in the north-east of the country—Rs.2,727,000,000 for general administration and management of defence, Rs.1,464,569,600 for the Army, Rs.1.90 million for the Navy, Rs.232 million for the Air Force, and Rs.400 million for the Police.
- THE PFLT (LTTE'S POLITICAL WING) in a press release issued in London on 19 June stated that over onehundred thousand Tamil and Muslim people had been made refugees in the Batticaloa district as a direct consequence of the massive military operations by the Sri Lankan forces. Heavy aerial bombardment, artillery mortar shelling, and strafing from helicopter gunships had driven the civilian population in the areas of Kiran, Santhiveli, Morakottanchenai, Sithandi, Vantharamunai, Kumanthurai and Eravur in the east to seek refuge in schools, temples and churches; hundreds of houses had been destroyed.

### **BATTLE FOR BATTICALOA**

GOVERNMENT troops yesterday fought their way into the town of Batticaloa, the key stronghold of the Tamil separatists in the east of Sri Lanka. Foreign diplomats here said that a peaceful solution to the conflict now seemed unrealistic. 'The talking is off and the fighting is on and we seem to be in for a protracted war', one senior diplomat said here yesterday.

A military spokesman said that government forces were inside Batticaloa, but he stopped short of claiming the town had been captured. Other sources said the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam controlled parts of the town and were holding several police at Batticaloa's jail. Casualties were said to be high among military personnel and civilians on both sides.

Fighting continued in the north of the country, where the Tigers shelled a government-held fort in Jaffna, heartland of the separatist Tamil minority. In the east, refugees fled from villages on the coast to avoid the fighting.

In Amparai, the main governmentheld town at the edge of the battle lines, Sinhalese civilians slaughtered ten Tamils in reprisal killings and razed a Hindu temple before police intervened. There are fears that sectarian killings will spread, especially if reports of massacres of unarmed policemen by the guerrillas, which diplomats now say seem likely to have occurred, are confirmed.

So far, except for burning some Tamil shops in Trincomalee in revenge for the killing of their colleagues, the police have behaved with restraint, according to witnesses and diplomats in Colombo. 'Until now, most of the provocations have been coming from the Tigers', one diplomat said.

In Colombo, the government has detained more than 700 Tamil youths 'for their own protection'. Residents have been asked to give police details of any lodgers as fears grow that Tigers will attack the capital. 'The Tigers have shown in the past they can knock off people in Colombo at will', said one senior diplomat.

The government has sought parliamentary approval for a series of supplementary estimates totalling 2.7 billion rupees (£43 million) to purchase arms, aircraft and naval vessels for battles against the Tigers.

'Now we are going to annihilate them', Ranjan Wijeratne, the state defence minister, told parliament.

'Our military machine is committed to that and there is no turning back'.

Mr Wijeratne's tough rhetoric cannot be taken lightly. Last year he bloodily suppressed an uprising in southern Sri Lanka by the maoist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front), a violent Sinhalese nationalist organisation. At least 10,000 people lost their lives in suppressing the front and killings continue, though on a much reduced level.

In the east of the country, which has seen the worst fighting of the past nine days, a task force of police commandos was yesterday dispatched to defend besieged troops at Kiran, a camp which has been under strong rebel attack. The army strategy is to push down the coast from Batticaloa to link up with the police commandos, relieving army camps that are low on food and short of medical supplies. The armed forces are trying to mount a pincer movement', noted one military analyst.

The fanatical Tiger fighters, many of them only 15 or 16 years old, are likely to fight every inch of the way. They are commanded in the east by a 21-year-old named Karikalam – a veteran by Tiger standards – who is a former local government employee.

The experience of the Indian Peace Keeping Force which withdrew last March after heavy casualties, having failed to subdue the Tigers, is that the security forces underestimate the Tigers at their peril. The Indians have said in recent days that they will not intervene here again.

But this time army officers, though conceding a healthy respect for the Tigers' fighting qualities, believe they have the edge, at least in this level of fighting, as they are forcing the Tigers to fight a conventional war. 'The Tigers have excellent guerrilla troops, but we will have the advantage in this kind of fighting', a military officer at Amparai said this week.

Diplomats here were asking why the Tigers decided to end their year-long truce with the government and renew military attaks just when it appeared the political talks were progressing. The government seemed about to dissolve the North East Council and hold fresh elections, as the Tigers had demanded, said one diplomat. In the end, perhaps, they feared they could not win such elections and decided to abort the peace process now before it went any further.

There is speculation that this was the personal decision of the ruthless but charismatic Tiger leader, Vellu Pillai Prabakaran, aged 36. 'Prabakaran was persuaded by his aides to give the negotiating process a chance', said one diplomat. 'But Prabakaran is a fighting man and he never trusted the talks. He has always lived by the gun so he just followed his instincts'.

From James Pringle in Colombo, The Times, 20 June 1990.

#### **BLOODIED, BUT UNBEATEN**

Christopher Morris in Colombo

SRI LANKAN government troops have taken control of two key towns in eastern Batticaloa that have been under heavy attack from Tamil separatist guerrillas armed with mortar bombs and small arms for the past week, security sources said yesterday.

'There was little resistance from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam guerrillas when our men moved in', a senior officer said on the telephone from Amparai, 40 miles away. He said that the Tigers are now on the run in most eastern districts.

'We are moving into Batticaloa and should be able to secure the area in a few days', the officer said. He admitted there were still pockets of Tiger resistance

The Sri Lankan government declared all-out war on the Tigers on Monday after peace talks failed. The Deputy Defence Minister, Ranjan Wijeratne, in charge of military operations, told Parliament there will be no more ceasefires 'if the Tigers want to talk they must lay down their arms'.

Mr Wijeratne said that 600 rebels have been killed in the fighting since last week and other sources suggest that 100 soldiers have died. At least 215 of the 800 policemen abducted by the Tigers at the start of the latest offensive are reported to have been lined up and shot dead.

Residents contacted by telephone in Batticaloa confirmed that the Tigers have withdrawn, but said the centre of the town remained deserted. People have taken shelter in churches and temples. According to a government statement, the Tigers have mined the main railway station in Batticaloa, and there is no doubt that their extensive use of mines has prevented the army from progressing more rapidly.

The army seized the strategic east coast port of Trincomalee after a fierce battle on Monday.

Elsewhere in the east, army camps on the coast besieged by the Tigers since last week have been relieved and the Tigers are retreating into the jungles, bloodied but unbeaten.

In the northern province, however, the situation is different. The Tigers have continued to attack army bases, with the heaviest fighting reported from the town of Jaffna, where the base in the 17th century Dutch fort came under heavy attack from mortars, rocket propelled grenades and bulldozers yesterday.

Military sources said the Tigers have secured all the vantage points and buildings around the fort, and the 100-strong garrison has received no

supplies for more than a week. Helicopter gunships have been supporting the troops trapped inside and bombing the rebel bulldozers.

It seems that the security forces have decided to concentrate on regaining control of the towns and main roads in the east before turning their full attention to the north. They may be able to achieve that task in the east fairly quickly, although the dangers lurking in the jungle, in the shape of die-hard Tiger resistance, will remain.

The north is likely to be a different story. The Tigers hold more sway there, especially in the Jaffna peninsula, and have more genuine popular support. For the army to drive the Tigers out of Jaffna, a highly populated area, would risk a large number of civilian casualties, something the government wants to avoid. In Jaffna a few days before the fighting erupted, the destruction caused in previous campaigns was obvious. Much of the centre of the town near the fort was in ruins, and people were already fearing the worst. In the words of one man: People here could not take another war. It would destroy us. We have suffered too much already'.

The Guardian, 20 June 1990.

#### TRINCOMALEE, AN ABANDONED WRECK

FOR the soldiers holding Trincomalee, Monday's announcement that a state of war now exists in north-east Sri Lanka came as a relief.

'At last we can go and get them', a lieutenant exclaimed as we heard the news on my short-wave radio at C Company headquarters, half a mile from the nearest Tamil Tiger positions.

Trincomalee, once a thriving city and one of the busiest ports in Asia, has become an abandoned wreck. After 10 years of fighting between the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Sri Lankan army, most of the civilian population has fled to the south of the country.

Shops have been burnt down and buildings bear the marks of mortar-fire. A concrete traffic control-post lies in rubble on the ground. Only troop lorries move through the deserted streets.

Until last week there had been 14 months of near-peace, and people had started to return. Government policy had been to leave the Tigers alone while peace talks stumbled on. Tourists had reappeared at the splendid beaches of Nilaveli and Kuchchaveli, a few miles north of Trincomalee.

These towns and their resort hotels are now under the Tigers' control, after

they broke the ceasefire and launched an attack on police and military bases the length of Sri Lanka's eastern coast a week ago.

A cease-fire was negotiated on Saturday, but was a dead letter from the start. It was called off on Monday, and area commanders were given full authority to conduct intensive operations.

Trincomalee, once the finest British naval base in the Indian Ocean, now has no power, no communications and no petrol. No hotels were open when I arrived minutes before curfew on Monday, so I stayed at C Company HQ. A perimeter guard of 25 men, equipped with AK-47s, rocket-propelled grenades and 60mm mortars, stood watch all night.

Down the road, at Brigade HQ, plans were being drawn up for the first Sri Lankan offensive against the Tigers since 1987, when the Indian peace-keeping force of 80,000 men arrived to secure the north and east of the country and take the war out of Sri Lankan hands. Then, earlier this year, the Indians withdrew, with the Tigers still untamed.

The night passed peacefully, though I heard gunfire a few miles off in the morning.

In Colombo, the government claims to have secured Trincomalee. The reality is different. The old city, which lies on a narrow peninsula, is safe enough, but it is impossible to travel more than a mile out of it, in some places much less, without running into army roadblocks ahead of known Tiger positions.

Only the 200-mile road to Colombo is secure, and it must constantly be swept for landmines. The three other roads out of the city are interdicted.

About two miles from where I passed the night in a requisitioned car company office, 40 commandos, including a major and three other officers, died at the weekend in a Tiger ambush.

Incautiously venturing to Mutur, on the far side of China Bay, they were surrounded by a force which outnumbered them by at least five to one, and were massacred. 'The Tigers have hung their bodies from the trees to intimidate us', one soldier told me.

Nearby, at Kinniya, the Tigers have taken control of an army camp and a police station. Kinniya can be reached only by ferry from Trincomalee, and the Tigers have ordered that no ferries or other boats should make the crossing. Unable to go any further, I looked across to Kinniya and saw soldiers constructing bunkers.

They were Tigers. The Sri Lankan army abandoned Kinniya without much of a fight. Twenty-one policemen who were taken prisoner by the Tigers were executed. Villagers on the Trincomalee side of the bay saw their bodies being half-burned and left for the dogs.

Most soldiers I spoke to expressed great resentment at what they describe as a policy of appeasement emanating from President Premadasa in Colombo, which has allowed the Tigers to rebuild their strength during the last 14 months.

'We have not been able to conduct the operations we wanted, because the government said there was peace', a senior officer said.

'We knew, and we warned the government, that the Tigers were receiving arms shipments from their supporters in India and directly from dealers in Singapore.

'We could see them building bunkers and ammunition dumps. Now, we are weak and they are strong. We will be able to drive them back into the jungle, but we expect 50 per cent casualties'.

Another officer described the lengths to which the peace negotiations have driven his men in the last year. 'We had to invite the Tigers to our festivals. We had to lend them our transports if they wanted them. Their flags have been stuck up outside our command posts, and we have been guarding them'.

I was told that troops have even had to turn over weapons to the Tigers as part of a highly secret plan to pressure the Indian peace-keeping force to leave.

The soldiers think they will be betrayed again. A young soldier in his early twenties said: 'We have the equipment and the manpower to hit the Tigers hard. We will never be able to wipe them out, but we will be able to hem them in.

'Unfortunately, we will not be able to avoid killing innocent civilians, and Amnesty International will condemn us. Then the Tigers will offer to negotiate again, and we will be called off while they rebuild. And so it will go on. Tell me, how can we end this fighting?"

Christopher Lockewood from Trincomalee, Daily Telegraph 20.6.90

#### CLAIMS OF VICTORY CHALLENGED

MANY guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are in their early or mid-teens. The youngest I met was 12. He was not much larger than the Chinese-made AK-47 automatic rifle he was carrying. All were heavily armed and in full battle-dress.

Until last week's outbreak, the Tigers had been negotiating with the government on a proposed North-East Provincial Council, which might have

answered some of their demands without full separation.

Now the Tigers are rejecting negotiation and the council. It is not possible to resolve this problem by political means', said Newton. We do not trust the government. The council would have no power. We must have an independent, separate homeland'.

Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne, Sri Lanka's Minister of Defence, claimed on Thursday that Batticaloa, once a thriving tourist resort and home to a big military air base, was again in government hands.

At about the same time as he was making the claim I was driving through the city's deserted streets after being driven there with our Tiger escorts.

Batticaloa itself is now, strictly speaking, in no-one's hands. Newton said a decision had been taken two days earlier to abandon the town for fear of heavy civilian casualties should the government counter-attack with artillery and air-strikes as they have been doing further down the coast. Residents say a few Tigers remain.

But the only sign of the government is at the nearby airbase, where a small detachment of troops are holding out. They are so nervous that as we passed, we were ordered to stop 100 yards from a check-point and made to march up in single file with our hands on our heads.

The city, lovely on its lagoon, is almost deserted. One of the remaining inhabitants said: 'Everyone is afraid that the government troops will begin indiscriminate killing of civilians here, as they did in the south when they were fighting the (Marxist) JVP last year'.

There is no power or water and food supplies are running low. All the shops are boarded up and there is considerable evidence of the Tigers' rage.

The police station and its barracks are blackened shells and the nearby police superintendent's office is gutted. When the rebels appeared, most of the police simply threw down their weapons and ran. Many of the guerrillas are now proudly carrying new rifles

The Tigers were not the only ones to wreak destruction. Vellavelli, a Tamil village of about 2,500 people, was destroyed by government forces a few days ago. All the houses have been burnt down by withdrawing government troops who often used the occupants few possessions to set fire to the houses.

One woman showed where her bed and library of paperback books had been. The fire had destroyed everything. Icons of the Madonna and Child

still hung on the wall, blackened by the

The post office, school and hospital were also burnt down. This is revenge against the Tamil people', said one old man. Soldiers had shot a local school teacher and burned his body. In all, 15 people were killed.

Government troops are hoping to push the Tigers back into the jungle. They are slowly advancing on Batticaloa along the eastern coast road, but they have left two other roads open for the Tigers to flee on, discretion clearly the better part of valour.

At the moment, however, the Tigers say they will hold their positions, and the army is bogged down a good 30 miles south of the city.

Soldiers we met a few miles south of the Tiger-held coastal town of Killunai were preparing to take it on Thursday morning, but by late yesterday there was no word of their success.

Christopher Lockewood from Batticaloa, Daily Telegraph, 23.6.90.

#### **CIVILIANS KILLED**

SRI LANKAN Air Force planes firebombed and strafed residential areas and killed civilians in a battle for a strategic fort in the northern city of Jaffna, Tamil Tiger rebels claimed vesterday.

Meanwhile, residents in Kalmunai said they found the charred bodies of nearly 100 Tamil rebels after the army wrested the east coast town from the guerrillas. – Reuter.

Daily Telegraph, 27.6.90.

#### **VAVUNIYA A GHOST TOWN**

IN VAVUNIYA, a large town south of Omantai, a priest told us that the military's ground forces had killed indiscriminately a few days before. Once a thriving city, it is now a ghost town. Houses are shuttered up or burnt. It reminded me of photographs of the desolated Phnom Penh after the Khmer Rouge had marched the population out at gunpoint in 1975. Vavuniya and most of the north has been without power for two weeks, and there is little food or petrol. Travelling is possible only with the Tamil Tigers. No-one else has fuel or food to spare. No-one else dares to ride the roads, for fear of the helicopters. The army is seldom seen, while the Tigers roam at

About 200,000 people have been uprooted by the war which began on June 11 after the Tigers attacked police stations throughout the eastern

part of the country. Between 20,000 and 30,000 people from the region have fled to Jaffna, increasing the problems there.

The government is not allowing relief supplies in and it has turned back a consignment of flour. It also holds Elephant Pass, the narrow spit which connects the peninsula with the mainland, and the only other route is a vulnerable ferry at Kerativu, surrounded by open salt flats for miles.

Daily Telegraph, 28.6.90.

# POLICEMEN'S BODIES 11 MASS GRAVE

THE BODIES of 11 Sri Lankan policemen were found with gunshot wounds in a mass grave yesterday, near the eastern town of Trincomalee.

Hundreds of policemen were captured by Tamil Tiger rebels earlier this month after they took over more than 25 police stations. The subsequent fighting between government forces and the Tigers is continuing, amid reports that a military offensive will soon be launched in the north of the country.

According to official figures, at least 170 policemen have now been killed by the Tigers and more than 600 are still missing. There have been persistent reports that many of the missing men have been shot by the rebels and the Inspector-General of Police, Ernest Perera, has said he is 'intrigued' by the fact that no human rights organisation has appealed for them to be released unharmed.

All the dead men found yesterday are reported to have been from the majority Sinhalese community, while most of those still missing are Tamils. It seems increasingly doubtful, though, that many of them will be found alive. The Tigers have had to disperse in many parts of the east and it is difficult to see where they would be able to hold so many prisoners.

The Guardian, 30.6.90.

#### AIR ATTACKS IN JAFFNA

SRI LANKAN Air Force planes yesterday bombed Tamil rebel positions around the old Dutch fort in Jaffna, where wounded government troops desperately need medical help as food and medicines run out. Military sources confirmed the bombing without giving details, but admitted the attempt had failed and Tamil rebels entrenched in their well-fortified bunkers were still firing rockets into the fort. Colombo quickly denied an

accusation by the rebels that the air force had used napalm in the attack.

Though details are sketchy and phone lines to Jaffna, the northern city that is the heartland of the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, are down, sources in Colombo said that the bombers had silenced some rebel mortar positions round the old grey fort, which has been under siege since fighting resumed here more than two weeks ago.

The presence of about 245 soldiers and policemen in the fort, which was built by the Dutch on the site of earlier Portuguese fortifications, has become a symbol of the Colombo government's determination to crush the Tigers, who broke a year-long truce with a series of attacks earlier this month.

While some foreign military attachés here believe that the government's position may become untenable in the thick-walled citadel, others say the Sri Lankan armed forces will attempt to hold it at all costs.

Sources here say that in the past 24 hours the Sri Lankan Air Force has initiated heavy bombing and strafing attacks on the devastated area around the fort which even a few months ago looked like parts of Beirut.

Helicopter gunships have also been machine-gunning and rocketing Tiger bunkers after dropping leaflets on the area telling civilians to flee. 'We can only assume casualties are high among the civilian population', one foreign envoy here said.

The air force has also been making drops of food and medical supplies to the 245 soldiers and policemen holding out in the fort, which contains a fine old Dutch church where the remains of British colonial administrators are interred.

Many of the air-dropped packages have landed in the nearby lagoon or within Tiger-held territory, but at least some have reached the beleaguered garrison.

The Times, 27.6.90

### JAFFNA FORT UNDER ATTACK

COLOMBO, June 23

TAMIL militants besieging a military base in a 300-year-old-fort in northern Jaffna town have intensified attacks on troops trapped inside, military sources said today. According to them, the LTTE made a strong assault yesterday with mortar bombs and rocket-propelled grenades. The 240 soldiers and 60 policemen inside fought back with small-arms, artillery and mortar bombs.

The fort had been under siege for nine days and its occupants were running out of food, sources said.

In another clash between Government forces and militants 10 Tigers were killed when a navy gunboat destroyed a vessel carrying rebels off the coast of Jaffna.

The militants firing automatic weapons damaged an Air Force helicopter on a supply mission to an army camp at Mankulam in the Northern Province. The fuselage and rotor blades were damaged but no injuries were reported.

Another battle erupted when security forces raided a rebel hideout at Vavuniya in the north, causing heavy casualties. Four soldiers were killed and eight wounded.

Some 15 LTTE militants were killed in eastern Trincomalee district when army troops attacked 40 well-fortified militant bunkers fitted with booby traps and improvised explosive devices, a spokesman said.

One army officer and a soldier were also wounded in the attack, which led to a bloody gunfight.

About 20 militants travelling in a boat were killed off Jaffna's Velvettiturai area, the birthplace of the LTTE chief Mr. Prabhakaran, military officials said. The Tigers were attacked by a Sri Lankan naval speedboat.

The security forces are reported to be clearing roads and advancing on several fronts in the Eastern Province, which the Government had claimed had been 'liberated' two days ago.

Officials said an airman was killed and six soldiers wounded in operations near Myliddy in the northern Jaffna peninsula.

More than 200,000 people have been rendered homeless in Sri Lanka's north-east due to the ongoing heavy fighting between the Sri Lankan security forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam since June 11, officials said today. A majority of them had taken shelter in school buildings and temples and the government was faced with the massive problem of providing food to them.

With security forces regaining control of most areas in the east, efforts were on to persuade the displaced to return home. The largest number of 80,000 refugees was in Batticaloa district.

The districts facing serious refugee problem were Mannar (45,000), Amparai (23,881), Trincomalee (26,000), and Vavuniya (20,000).

The number of refugees, if any, in the northern Jaffna peninsula was not known as all communication channels with the civil authorities in the area had been cut off, officials said.

- The Hindu, 24.6.90

# PEOPLE ORDERED TO EVACUATE

AIR FORCE planes dropped leaflets on the town of Jaffna in Sri Lanka's northern peninsula yesterday, where 240 government soldiers and 60 policemen have been besieged in an old Dutch fort for 10 days by Tamil Tiger guerrillas. The leaflets asked people to leave their homes in the town because the air force may be about to attack the area

The men inside the fort have no food and an unknown number may be wounded and without proper medical attention.

In weekend fighting in the north and east, 18 government troops were killed and 26 injured. Among the dead were nine soldiers killed by a landmine in Pulmoddai, in eastern Trincomalee. Three were hurt. Two soldiers were seriously injured at Velioya, also in the east, while clearing mines.

Ten Tamil Tigers were killed when a naval boat destroyed their craft off the coast of Velvettiturai, and 15 others were killed in other encounters, while hundreds of suspects were arrested.

Daily Telegraph, 25.6.90

#### **BIG OFFENSIVE IN JAFFNA**

COLOMBO, June 25.

Government forces today launched a major combined operation to relieve the siege of the Jaffna fort in northern Sri Lanka that had been a major target of LTTE attack for the past few days.

The Army, Air Force and the Navy launched its pre-dawn offensive against the militants who had surrounded from three sides the Dutch built fort located on the seashore.

Objective of the offensive was to reinforce the fort and reach medical relief to the injured soldiers, officials here said this afternoon. The besieged fort had been under renewed mortar attack since last night.

The Minister of State for Defence and Government spokesman, Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne said at a special news briefing earlier during the day that the Air Force had been dropping leaflets in the Jaffna peninsula asking civilians

Continued On Page 17





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to evacuate the areas around LTTE camps and hideouts warning of impending 'military action' in the area.

Mr. Wijeratne claimed that Air Force helicopters managed to drop some food articles and urgently needed medicines inside the fort last night.

The Minister admitted that the hospital in Jaffna had been closed after the hospital staff walked out while the LTTE had taken control of the nearby Point Pedro hospital where they were nursing their injured.

Claiming that the adjoining areas of Palaly airport and the army camp on the outskirts of Jaffna town have been 'cleared' of all the LTTE militants, Mr. Wijeratne said the government forces were planning early steps to clear the Jaffna fort that had been under constant attack from the militants since June 11.

Mr. Wijeratne said the government forces were concentrating in the three districts of Eastern Province and taking effective steps to prevent the LTTE attempting guerrilla warfare.

Admitting that it was difficult for the government forces to make a steady progress in the east, the Minister said 'our troops are literally inching their way and the progress has been slow'.

He said the Akkaraipattu and Pottuvil police stations in eastern Batticaloa district had been reestablished.

Mr. Wijeratne categorically denied LTTE allegations that the Government was preparing for war while it was continuing with peace talks with the militants. 'Far from preparing for war, in fact we had been withdrawing our camps from some of the areas to satisfy the LTTE', the Minister said.

The Hindu, 26.6.90

# 60 MUTILATED BODIES FOUND

ABOUT 60 mutilated bodies have been found strewn at two places in eastern Sri Lanka and residents said they were believed to be those of LTTE suspects taken in for questioning by the security forces.

Residents of Kalmunai in the Amparai district, contacted from here by telephone, said at least 35 bodies had been dumped at the entrance of lanes and bylanes in the predominantly Muslim township. 'I personally counted 21 bodies, while others had seen nine more at another place and four more in a third place', said one resident, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) sources here said they too had received reports from their supporters in Kalmunai that a large number of bodies had been found in the town.

Kalmunai residents said they had also received reports that about 30 bodies had been found at Karativu, about five km south of Kalmunai.

They said of about 80 LTTE suspects taken into custody by the forces for questioning there, only 50 had been released.

Military officials here said they had no information about the finding of bodies either in Kalmunai or Karativu. – PTI, Reuter, UNI.

The Hindu, 26.6.90

#### 350,000 PEOPLE DISPLACED

THE FIGHTING has already caused tremendous hardship to civilians in the North and East, who have been forced to flee their homes and are short of food. According to government figures nearly 355,000 people have been displaced from their homes by the fighting, though the actual figures are bound to be several times larger, since there are large numbers of people who do not register with the Government, but simply flee their villages when fighting erupts.

There are 90,000 refugees in Trincomalee district, 80,000 in Batticaloa and 67,000 in Jaffna. Widespread shortages of food have been reported from different parts of the North and East, and a resident of Batticaloa contacted over the telephone said nearly 80 per cent of the town must be close to starvation. 'All the shops have been closed since June 11, and though rice is still available, there is nothing else. There has been no electricity and no water for 17 days now. There is nobody out on the streets. This has become a ghost city', he said.

The town of Kalmunai in the Eastern Province was also reported to be short of food, and a Tamil resident said that all the Tamils in the predominantly Muslim town were staying at home for fear of being picked up in the Army's cordon and search operations for LTTE men. According to one source in the town, around 150 Tamils were arrested at Pandirippu outside Kalmunai last night, and three Tamil homes near an army post were destroyed with explosives. There is no record of the numbers of people arrested, but the army has reportedly released 60 people it had taken in earlier in the week. There are widespread reports of Tamils being killed and burned in Kalmunai, and residents reported several bodies in different parts of town.

Batticaloa has been under army control for three days now, and is under an unofficial curfew. The Army meanwhile rather mysteriously vacated two strategically located camps at Kiran and Kalvanchikuddi, which control the northern and southern approaches to Batticaloa town. The Tigers have always been strong in northern Batticaloa, and the removal of the Kiran camp will give them freedom to regroup. One explanation for the Army's withdrawal is that it is extremely short on manpower and the Army Commanders have decided to concentrate their forces around the town, if this is so, then the Army is going to find it extremely difficult to retain any sort of control over large areas of the Eastern Province.

The Hindu, 28.6.90

### WEAPONS FOR 3000 VILLAGERS

Three thousand civilians were armed with repeaters, shotguns and ammunition in the villages spreading from Anuradhapura town to Thanthirimale in Mannar bordering the Wilpattu National Park. This covers a 200 mile long area determined to be a high risk region in the context of the fighting in the north.

Senior Police personnel from the district accompanied Minister of Power and Energy, Chandra Bandara on the 200 mile tour distributing arms and ammunition to the groups of villagers who had been given small arms training.

Weapons training had been given to these 'home guards' under the supervision of A.S.P. Malcolm Guneratne at a camp at Mihintale.

The 'home guards' were also taught to construct bunkers.

Among those who were given training were students who had just got through their Ordinary Level examinations and opted in favour of defending their villages as a priority against looking for employment.

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# KANTHASAMY MEMORIAL LECTURE

# THE VALUE OF DISSENT

#### Izeth Hussain

It seems to me that hardly any subject could be more apposite for a memorial lecture on the late K. Kanthasamy than 'The Value of Dissent', for he stood pre-eminently for dissent. In formulating the project for the establishment of the Saturday Review, he wrote: 'This is not intended to be a polemical paper, nor a partisan one. It will be a forum for all opinions so far as they concern Tamil rights and race relations in this country, but yet not parochial in content'. His wanting all opinions to be published clearly shows the value he attached to dissent.

Though I have been given the honour of delivering today's lecture, I did not myself have the honour of knowing Kanthasamy personally. But reading the moving tributes, and the extracts from his writings, in the volume AnUntimely Death prepared by the Kanthasamy Commemoration Committee. I get the impression of a man who had an extraordinary commitment to the truth. He wanted all opinions to be published, and he was against partisanship and polemics, obviously because he thought it important for people to get at the truth. It appears that he valued dissent because for him truth was the supreme value. I will argue in the course of this lecture that the value of dissent derives essentially from the value we place on truth, and that the life and death of Kanthasamy exemplifies the integral connection between the two.

We know from the fate of the man we are commemorating today that it is dangerous to dissent. In concluding a letter to the Editor of Saturday Review in 1982, he wrote: 'I know the secret of how to lose friends and make enemies and that is, to publish an independent paper'. An independent position, that is to say a position independent of political parties and all groups, the position of dissenting in terms of what one sees as the truth, can make enemies, and he knew of course that enemies can be dangerous. We do not usually recognize the full dimension of the danger following from dissent, for we usually associate it only with governments. Actually societies can be just as dangerous over dissent as governments, perhaps more so. Few governments in history have been willing to tolerate dissent, and it appears that even fewer societies can tolerate the questioning of their norms and conventions and shibboleths. De Tocqueville wrote this about the democratic America of the nineteenth century: 'I know of no country in which there is so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion as in America'. And in 1962, Bertrand Russell found that no British paper would publish his article on the Sino-Indian border conflict, except for one Sunday paper which however published only an emasculated version of it. Society, not just government, can be intolerant of dissent. We know that a group in this

society in which Kanthasamy lived, not the Government, silenced him for his dissent.

We have to ask the question, why is it that some dare to dissent when they know that it is dangerous for themselves? Obviously because they are convinced of the value of dissent. We have to ask further whether most of us in Sri Lanka really value dissent, a question that has to be asked because our Governments have found it so easy to control or stamp it out. It will be remembered, for instance, that the freedom of the press in Sri Lanka was first eroded and then destroyed without too much difficulty. Perhaps that was the consequence of a failure to examine the value of dissent for ourselves, and then establish its importance in the public mind. That was done in the West where dissent, constricted though it might be in some ways, is really valued and has become part of the cultural inheritance of the people. In Sri Lanka we have proclaimed the right to dissent, and sometimes protested over its denial, but we have not really examined the value of dissent to anything like an adequate extent. It could be of crucial importance for our future to undertake that examination.

Perhaps the most important point that we have to establish is that while dissent is dangerous for oneself, the refusal to allow dissent is dangerous for the government and society as well. Before we examine the value of dissent, we must take a look at what has actually been happening in societies where little or no dissent has been allowed. It is quite possible that the year 1989, which saw the erosion of the communist system in the Soviet Union -and its virtual collapse in Europe, will come to be seen retrospectively as just as epochal as 1789, the year of the French Revolution. What is the explanation for so sudden and spectacular a transformation, which very few could have foreseen, the result it appears of a raging tidal wave of anti-communism?

Dissatisfaction with economic performance under the communist system is no doubt part of the explanation, but probably the less important part of it. In comparison with the Western economic performance, that of the communist countries is certainly poor. But countries such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary attained standards of living that must seem paradisal by the standards of a great many Third World countries. And furthermore, everyone in the more successful communist countries, perhaps in all of them, has had economic security unlike people even in Western countries. It is arguable that economic dissatisfaction should have led to adaptations of the communist system as expected by the theory of convergence in the 'sixties, according to which the dynamics of the industrial system would make the Western and communist countries come to resemble each other. But instead of adaptation, or a gradual economic transformation, there has been a sudden collapse of the communist system in several countries. This suggests that there was something much deeper than economic dissatisfaction behind the upheavals of 1989. We know that the people of the communist countries want not just drastic economic changes, but an overhaul of the entire system: they want democracy, including the right to dissent, and that seems far more important than dissatisfaction over the economy. A system of power that is totalitarian in outlook, if not always in practice, has been found wanting.

Perhaps the fundamental defect of Marxism is that it does not deal adequately with the problem of power. Marx himself might be regarded as having had a liberal ideal - fiercely intolerant of dissent though he was personally - because the communist utopia was one in which everyone would be free. It is arguable that there was no dichotomy as such between Marx and Bakunin, as the quarrel between Marxism and anarchism was really about means and not the end of a free society. We might conclude therefore that what appears to have failed in Eastern Europe is not Marxism but Leninism or Marxist-Leninism which made the mistake of substituting the dictatorship of the party for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Lenin himself wrote about the 'withering away of the state'. The truth is that while communism, of whatever variety, is for freedom as an ideal, the reality was the dictatorship of the party which had been maintained unrelentingly for decades, with no signs whatever of 'the withering away of the state' and nothing like the freedom available in the West.

The explanation for the anomaly, I believe, is that Marx failed to address his massive intellect to the problem of power; and that was because he was a true child of the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, whose shallow optimism he inherited in full. More specifically, the primal error of

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Marxism is to regard man as basically an economic animal. Surely, if the postulate of economic man were correct the world would be a far more rationally ordered place rather than the madhouse that it is. Marx believed that the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Lenin believed that the dictatorship of the party acting as the vanguard of the proletariat, would lead without too much difficulty, and after not too long a period of socialism, to the communist utopia because the rationality of economic man would prevail. Neither understood the power drive in man, the appetite for power that grows in the eating, and neither foresaw that power without any constraints could lead to great criminals of the order of Stalin, Pol Pot, and Ceaucescu. The epochal year 1989 shows that the basic problem standing in the way of a rational and humane ordering of society is unconstrained power. It provides, I think, a convincing negative demonstration of the value of dissent.

I will not, of course in this lecture be able to examine a great many countries where little or no place has been allowed for dissent. I will look at the peculiar case of Sri Lanka, but before doing that I will make some observations on the failure of democracy in the majority of the Third World countries. A process of democratisation has been going on in Latin America, but even there dissent too often proves to be dangerous. In Afro-Asia there are very few fully functioning democracies, a few governments might perhaps be regarded as quasi-democratic, but for the most part the peoples of Afro-Asia are under the boot of dictatorship. The vast majority of Afro-Asian governments claim legitimacy in terms of democracy but, of course, they allow little or no dissent.

We have to ask why there has been so colossal a failure of democracy in Afro-Asia. It might be argued that democracy, a product of Western culture, is a transplant which withers in Afro-Asia because it is alien to our traditions of government. I do not find this argument convincing because it is contradicted by the fact that India and Japan have had fully functioning democracies for decades. Perhaps there are some things in some of the Afro-Asian cultures which make adaptations to democracy relatively easy. But it is difficult to imagine anything more remote from democracy than Indian traditions of government, or the royal, aristocratic, martial traditions of government in Japan before MacArthur imposed democracy on that country. We have to wonder whether Afro-Asia pullulates with so many dictators who cannot brook dissent because of what might be regarded as some sort of moral, spiritual, cultural, or civilizational decadence.

It will not do to argue that Afro-Asian dictatorships have merely reverted to the traditions of 'Oriental despotism', which itself is a Eurocentric misconception going as far back as Herodotus. For in the traditional Afro-Asian polities power was controlled or constrained in important ways. Otherwise the great Afro-Asian civilizations would never have arisen. In Africa the tribal governments were based on consensus. Perhaps Nyerere was right in saying that the West had nothing to teach the African about democracy but unfortunately, as far as I am aware, he did not explore the problem of why so many African governments today tyrannically deny consensus. Both in Africa and in Asia. Governments were constrained by tradition and custom, as well as by occasional rebellions and the threat of rebellion should abuse of power go too far. Above all, in Asia secular power was constrained by the religious order. as can be seen from just a glance at the Mahavamsa. Innumerable texts both ancient and modern can be listed in support of this thesis, including texts from our own Ananda Coomaraswamy who however became excessively philological in dealing with this subject. Let me quote instead from an authority on the subject, the Israeli scholar S.N. Eisenstadt who wrote in his book Tradition, Change and Modernity, that because of the ultimately religious character of certain societies,

...the rulers of these societies were dependent on the religious organizations both for the maintenance of their traditional legitimation and for the provision of the more flexible resources. Hence they were in the long run to some extent less free in their manoeuvres towards the religious organizations. In the short run the rulers could destroy any given religious organization, but beyond this they were continuously dependent on some religious organization. The basic autonomy of the religious organization and their transcendental orientations, in contrast, made them relatively more independent of any particular polity'.

Until the coming of Western democracy, the traditional polity of the West was fundamentally the same as that of Asia, with secular power being constrained by the religious order. That Asian polity as well as the African tradition of consensual government, broke down under the impact of colonialism, and for the most part we have in Afro-Asia supposed democracies which enjoy power that is not constrained on any regular basis, either by the dissent implied in consensual government or by the power of dissent formerly held by the religious order. The Afro-Asian governments which refuse to allow dissent are not being true to the traditions of Afro-Asian civilization, and they have to be

regarded as the manifestations of a decadence. Their economic and other performance is poor, which I believe is the result of unconstrained power.

I will now make some observations on the peculiar case presented by Sri Lanka, which some might consider as the most peculiar of all the Third World countries for the reason that at the time of its independence in 1948 it was regarded as having the finest prospects for economic and other development, while in 1988 - 1989 it gave the impression of sinking into savagery. There are other dark places on earth, of course, but what makes Sri Lanka so peculiar is the contrast with the prospects offered at the time of its independence. When the 1977 Government assumed office, it appeared that Sri Lanka had nowhere to go but up, and yet at the end of its term in 1988. and for some time afterwards, we had lost control of a third of the country and almost half the coast-line, there was a rebellion in the North and East threatening a breakup of the country, a Pol Potist rebellion in the South from which we were saved only because the army held steadfast, and we had the soldiers of the Indian Peace Keeping Force whose behaviour was of the sort that one associates with a brutish occupying army. And, of course, the economy was in a shambles. The climax came in burning bodies, floating bodies, bodyless heads, and headless bodies. We have to ask ourselves how it was that the paradise island had come to look like the heart of darkness.

I suggest that Sri Lanka was being wrecked by the excess of power enjoyed by successive governments, a power that was hardly constrained by dissent or by anything else. The usual and familiar hypothesis is that all our problems, including the ethnic problems, are the consequences of our having followed disastrous economic policies for 21 years, from 1956 – 1977. But the 1971 Government, which rejected those policies, left Sri Lanka in a more difficult situation than any previous government. I suggest that the disastrous economic policies were themselves the expression of an obsession with power. Our welfare policies, which many see as having retarded economic development for decades, were doubtless motivated to some extent at least by humane concern for the poor, but they look somewhat ambiguous when we take into account what might be called the dialectics of the gift. The relationship between donor and recipient is an essentialy unequal one because they, the great ones in power, provide you, the miserable ones without power, the basic wherewithal for your very existence. That kind of relationship could have more than a little attraction for the power-obsessed. Far less ambiguous is the significance of the wreckage of the

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## North-East PC Dissolved

The North-East Provincial Council has been dissolved.

A press release issued on 7 July by the Presidential Secretariat states that the Commissioner of Elections will take appropriate measures to hold a fresh election.

The Commissioner R. K. Chandrananda de Silva told the *Sunday Observer* yesterday that no date has yet been fixed for this election.

The full text of the press release issued by the Presidential Secretariat is as follows:

Parliament yesterday amended the Provincial Councils Act to deal with Members of a Provincial Council either abandoning the functions of the Provincial Council and leaving a vacuum or the majority of the Members repudiating the oath that they took to up-hold the Constitution at the time they were elected.

The Governor of the North-East

Province had communicated to His Excellency the President that on or about the 1st March 1990 the EPRLF and ENDLF Members of the Provincial Council had made a declaration purporting to create a separate State in the North-East Province calling it the Free and Sovereign Democratic Republic of Eelam. They had also refused to participate as Members of the Provincial Council in any of the activities of the Provincial Council.

His Excellency the President has informed the Commissioner of Elections of the fact that the Governor of the NEPC had made such a communication to him.

Accordingly by the operation of the law the North-East Provincial Council stands dissolved and the Commissioner of the Elections will be taking appropriate steps to hold a fresh election to the North-East Provincial Council. stitution. The Governor has no constitutional or moral right to invoke the oath of office to suppress the rights of Provincial Council members. We therefore, feel that there is a serious threat to the freedom of speech and expression embodied in this legislation. It smacks of McCarthyism.

'We are therefore convinced that the Provincial Council Amendment Act is an anti-democratic piece of legislation which should not find a place in the statute books of the country. It is violative of Articles 2, 10, 14 of the Constitution and negates in law and in spirit the 13th Amendment. We wish to reiterate that there can be no meaningful devolution in Sri Lanka without the repeal of this amendment.

'We feel that the present crisis in the Northern and Eastern Province could have been resolved within the framework of the 13th Amendment without diluting the scheme of devolution. We are also extremely disappointed that the Government after a delay of several months introduced this Bill as an urgent bill, and thereby prevented a full consideration of its serious political, and constitutional implications'.

# P.C. Amendment Act, An Undemocratic Law

The Sri Lanka Mahajana Party, the TULF and Liberal Party said in a joint communique yesterday that the recent amending legislation to the Provincial Councils Act sought to confer on the Governor an '... arbitrary authority to dismiss and disqualify members of the PC from an office to which they have been elected, on indeterminate and arbitrary grounds and without recourse to judicial determination. Such a provision is without precedent in the history of representative democracy and a serious erosion of the democratic character of Provincial Councils. This law would be like the "Sword of Damocles" hanging over individual Provincial Council members, and distort the relationship between the Council of Ministers and the Governor under the present Constitutional scheme'.

It said: "This legislation further undermines the separation of powers under the Constitution by vesting in the Governor the judicial power to determine that a Member has violated the oath of office. Such a power cannot be exercised by a nominee of the President to disqualify an elected Member of a legislative body. The exercise of judicial power by a Governor is a serious violation of the basic features of the constitution and an erosion of the rule of law.

The Provincial Council Amendment

Act further erodes the basis on which these institutions have been elected under the proportionate representative system. Under such a system neither death, resignation or disqualification of any individual member can alter the continuity of the Council. Vacancy created by such death, resignation or disqualification is filled in by the reserve list under the Provincial Council system. The present law precipitating the dissolution of the Provincial Council on the alleged disqualification of half its members, arbitrarily empowers the Executive to dissolve the Council in a manner contrary to all democratic norms and existing constitutional safeguards.

We also wish to point out that disqualification on the ground of violation of the oath of office represents a serious limitation on the freedom of speech and expression of the elected members of a legislative body. In a free society, an oath of allegiance is merely symbolic and cannot serve as a 'imitation on free speech and right to advocate alternative forms of governance. For example, Members of parliament elected in 1970 who advocated a Republican Constitution according to the reasoning of this law would have been in violation of their oath of office to uphold and defend the Soulbury Con-

#### 'DISSOLUTION OF COUNCIL IS ILLEGAL & IMMORAL'

The EPRLF has said in a statement that the dissolution of the North-East Provincial Council was the beginning of the illegal and immoral grabbing of the powers of the Tamil-speaking people devolved to them according to the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and the 13th amendment of our constitution. This is an attempt to isolate the EPRLF that sacrificed a large number of comrades and the Provincial Government that was blamed with false, irresponsible, and unrealistic crimes. The members of the North-East Provincial Government, the members of the Provincial Council and the Provincial administration were subjected to total insecurity by the infamous talks and ceasefire between the Government and the LTTE. This is also an illegal attempt to get more membership to the U.N.P. in the Provincial Council, where it has only one member at present and it is also an attempt against national reconciliation national unity and the self determination of the Tamil-speaking

It added that: Inspite of all these situations and provocations the EPRLF expresses its uncontaminated commitment to fight for the establishment of the inalienable national rights of the Tamil-speaking people within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. The EPRLF declares that it will revitalize all the struggles to make this struggle of the Tamil-speaking people of Sri Lanka a total success.

#### A.I. ON KILLINGS AND 'DISAPPEARANCES'

In two separate statements released on 10 July, the London-based Amnesty International states:-

Hundreds of people in northeastern Sri Lanka have reportedly 'disappeared' after being detained by Sri Lankan security forces since 21 June. Bodies, some of which have been identified as those of prisoners, have been dumped in several places.

'In Kalmunai, over 70 people were reportedly detained and then 'disappeared' after soldiers reclaimed the town from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) on 21 June. Other residents of Kalmunai were reportedly shot in their homes, including Mr Thiyagarajah. Among those who 'disappeared' are the chairperson of the local citizens' committee, Mr Pandiyuram and his two sons (names unknown), Mr Anurachelvam and Mr John Patrick Asirwathan. The army reportedly says it releases most detainees immediately, but it is not known where these five people are. Over 30 bodies were dumped in a burnt-out shop in Kalmunai, including the body of 23-year-old Chandrikumar, who had earlier been taken by the security forces. Another six were found outside the Kalmunai hospital, including the body of a Tamil policeman who had earlier been captured and released by the LTTE. On 8 July 1990 six burning bodies were found on the roadside in Batticaloa, about 20 miles north of Kalmunai.

'Possible extrajudicial executions were also reported from other parts of the northeast, after government forces had regained control of the locality from the LTTE. In Vavuniya on 13 or 14 June 1990, government forces reportedly shot and killed defenceless civilians after they had recaptured Vavuniya police station from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). About 15 bodies were found on the road. Among those killed were a public health inspector named Anthony Pillai, his wife and son. In the iast week of Jane, Sri Lank**a Army and** police personnel reportedly killed 15 people in Vellavelli village, Batticaloa District, including a school teacher whose body they burnt.

#### **Background Information**

'Armed militant groups have been fighting for a separate state in northeastern Sri Lanka for the Tamil minority since the late 1970s. From July 1987 to March 1990 Indian troops were responsible for security in the northeast. After their withdrawal, the LTTE gained effective control of the area. From April, Amnesty International began to receive reports of summary executions by the LTTE of political opponents, and that prisoners were

being held in incommunicado detention. The organization called for an immediate halt to these abuses in May.

'Fighting in northeastern Sri Lanka between Sri Lanka government forces and the LTTE broke out in June 1990 after the LTTE captured several police stations in the area and took prisoner hundreds of policemen who surrendered, many of whom they are believed to have murdered. Tamil policemen among them are believed to have been released. The LTTE had been negotiating with the Government of Sri Lanka about conditions under which fresh elections to the Northeastern Provincial Council could be held.

When government forces launched their campaign to regain control of the northeast, the LTTE withdrew from certain areas. As they withdrew from Kalmunai, they reportedly abducted five Muslim residents who refused to give them money. The whereabouts of these men - named Latif, Farloon, Salim Khan, Rahim and Akram - is not known.

On 26 June 1990 Amnesty International sent a telex to President Ranasinghe Premadasa expressing its condemnation of the killing of policemen in captivity by the LTTE. In view of the serious provocation to government security forces presented by these killwhatever the frustrations of the negoWhatever the frustrations of the negoWhatever the frustrations of the negoover several years that Sri Lanka Government forces have used excessive force in situations of armed opposition, Amnesty International also sought assurances from the President that his government would take every possible measure to protect the rights of defenceless citizens in those areas of the northeast where government forces had regained control.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Tele grams/telexes/express letters and airmail letters: - expressing concern at recent reports of 'disappearances' and extrajudicial executions by government forces in northeastern Sri Lanka, giving details of at least one of the incidents described above;

- urging the government to take all possible steps to ensure that the lives of defenceless people in the northeast are protected, and that the security forces do not use excessive force;
- condemning the killings of captive policemen and civilians by the LTTE, as described above;
- pointing out that international human rights standards uphold the right to life, including protection against the arbitrary deprivation of life, at all times, including during a national emergency;
- urging the government to institute full, impartial investigations into allegations of extrajudicial executions and 'disappearances' by security forces in the northeast.

#### In South Sri Lanka

'Amnesty International has received reports that on 8 July the Sri Lankan Government issued shoot-on-sight orders to police in the south of the island in response to fears of a renewal of subversive activity by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP, People's Liberation Front). According to information received by Amnesty International 70 bodies have been found dumped in southern Sri Lanka during the last two weeks. Amnesty International fears that shoot-on-sight orders to the police may result in further extrajudicial executions of unarmed civilians.

#### RECOMMENDED ACTION: Telexes/ telegrams/express and airmail letters:

- expressing concern about the new order to the security forces to shoot suspected subversives on sight and requesting that the government issue instructions to them to use force only when strictly necessary for the performance of their duty and to halt shootings of defenceless people.

### **'TAMILS WILL BE** THE MAIN LOSERS' Australian Foreign Minister

tiating process in which the LTTE have been engaged until this point, it cannot justify abandoning peaceful negotiations in favour of a return to the killing and destruction that has caused such misery throughout Sri Lanka in recent years', the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans has said.

By resorting to violence, the LTTE has not only destroyed a real chance of a return to peace in Sri Lanka, but it also ensures that the Tamil people the very people whose rights the LTTE claims to protect - will be the main losers as their homes again become caught up in the fighting, he said.

There were already clear signs that the grotesque cycle of massacres and reprisals was starting up again, with the consequent deaths of civilians, including children, being used by each side as propaganda.

There can be no winners from the conflict which is now taking place. The Australian Government urges both sides to act with restraint and resume their dialogue for the sake of all the people of Sri Lanka, regardless of their ethnic origin', Senator Evans said.

Senator Evans further said it was especially distressing that this latest round of fighting had come at a time when the Tamils had achieved most of their aims, short of a separate state, and needed only to complete the final negotiations to bring about a Tamilcontrolled North-Eastern Province.

#### Continued From Page 7

cry as banners fly across the city skyline paying tribute to the 'valiant forces'. Significantly too the opposition has thrown in its support, not for the Government per se but for 'crushing the naked terrorism' of the LTTE. Opposition Leader, Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, away in Yugoslavia for medical treatment when the war broke out, made her concern very apparent by visiting the wounded soldiers in hospital. Although she retracted a statement that she had made, that only a military solution would resolve the crisis by saying that what she meant was that in the present crisis a military solution was inevitable and necessary, but in the long term, steps will have to be taken for a lasting political solution, she has been one of the main critics of the Government for 'shielding the LTTE' and carrying on secret talks with them.

President Premadasa who has always advocated 'consultation, compromise and consensus' for resolving issues, feeling treacherously betrayed by the LTTE leadership in whom he had placed implicit faith made it quite clear after hostilities erupted that the LTTE could face the same brutal repression suffered by the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna. 'I will let the crows fly over my head but I will not allow them to make a nest in my hair' he said. 'If the LTTE was not ready for consultation the government was ready for confrontation.

Yet inspite of his hard rhetoric he kept the door open last fortnight by inviting the involvement of the international community in any further discussions with the LTTE so that they would not renege on their committments.

But international involvement according to the general thinking must not involve India. The print media has carried on a concerted campaign to keep India out of any mediatory role. 'Any involvement by Delhi would have Karunanidhi barging in' say political analysts. Ceylon Workers Congress Chief and Cabinet Minister, S. Thondaman articulated his own thinking when he told foreign correspondents in Colombo recently that India came in once and failed and so there was no further role for India. 'She pleased neither the Tamils, the Sinhalese nor the Government, he said. Despite the initial fears that India would intervene having been dispelled by a categorical statement by the Indian leadership that it would not interfere in Sri Lanka's domestic problems, the Indian bogey still remains in the background, specially with over 20.000 refugees fleeing to Tamil Nadu with horror stories of army atrocities.

President Premadasa sees it as a ploy by the LTTE to force Indian revention.

There is some speculation that European countries concerned with the influx of Tamil refugees into their countries would try mediating through inter-governmental agencies.

The Eleevar Democratic Front (EDF, the former EROS) an ally of the LTTE, 'anguished' at the hardships being heaped on the civilian population, appealed to President Premadasa to initiate talks with the LTTE to end hostilities. Although the appeal came from EDF General Secretary, Vellupillai Balakumaran, marooned in Jaffna, EDF's Mr. Ratanarajah in Colombo is echoing the same refrain. Balakumaran describing Premadasa as a 'man of foresight and mature vision' appealed to him to have the army call off military operations. And that is the one thing the army will not do now, not as Major General Denzil Kobbekaduwa said, until it gets the upper hand. State Minister of Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne is of the same mind. And Wijeratne has made it quite clear that there can be no ceasefire until the LTTE lays down arms. And that the

LTTE is not going to do.

Where then is the meeting point. The Government has met two of the LTTE's main demands. The dissolving of the North-East Provincial Council and the calling of fresh elections. But the LTTE rather strangely has changed its mind and is demanding regional autonomy. The LTTE, during its peace talks with the Government accepted in principle a North-East Provincial Council as an administrative structure for the region, LTTE spokesman Balasingham of course made the point very clear that they would want substantial powers devolved on the council.

The Government has not still reacted to the LTTE's new demand. Neither have the opposition parties. What is most immediate is a cessation of hostilities and getting back to tne negotiating table. As Thondaman very rightly put it 'it should not be a show of boldness or bravery, but of wisdom. And if you are thinking of the people then the answer is the negotiating table.

#### **Continued From Page 19**

state sector under successive governments. The entirety of our government service and the state corporations became the preserve of our politicians for the appointment of relations, friends, and political supporters. The state sector malfunctioned inevitaby as a consequence, and as so much of the economy had been grabbed by the state that malfunctioning meant a colossal draining away of our resources. It must be acknowledged that at least the wreckage of the economy under our 1970 Government had behind it certain illusions, in the case of our Marxists illusions backed by an ideological commitment as among their East European counterparts. But our 1977 Government, which came to power with a commitment to a liberalized economy, had no such illusions, no socialist objectives at all, and yet failed to privatize or place state sector enterprises under private sector management to anything like the extent that was possible. I suggest that a huge state sector, which in the Sri Lankan case meant hordes of supplicants crowding the gate, continued to be necessary because the priority was the enjoyment of power, not economic development.

My hypothesis that the factor of virtually unconstrained power could explain the situation in which we found ourselves in 1988 – 1989 will obviously be challenged on the ground that Sri Lanka has been one of the few democracies in Afro-Asia. In fact ours has been a quasi-democracy, or perhaps a democracy of an altogether peculiar sort. The 1970 Government

awarded itself an extension of office, and had no democratic legitimacy whatever for two years. The 1977 Government held a referendum instead of the General Elections which were due, a referendum it must be said of rather dubious legitimacy, and the last Presidential election is under challenge in the Supreme Court. It might be argued neverthelesss that all our governments have had some sort of legitimacy, except for the period 1975 – 1977, unlike dictatorships under whch supposed elections and referenda are blatantly farcical.

The important point, in my view, is that in between elections our Governments have behaved undemocratically. We have failed to understand that the proper functioning of democracy requires much more than the proper functioning of just one of its institutions, free and fair elections. Actually democracy involves much more than our having certain institutions, which is why it has been said that early nineteenth century British democracy, with its rotten boroughs and all the other shortcomings was vital and dynamic, the expression of the culture of the English people, unlike the transplanted democracies which were later tried out elsewhere. Democracy is meaningless unless Governments behave democratically, and that means that the approach to problems should be consensual, due weight should be given to the opposition as the 'alternative Government', and also institutions such as the free press should be respected. Our Governments have for the most part failed these elementary tests of democracy.

(To be continued in next issue).

# 35,000 Refugees Pour into the North from East

July 4, (Reuter) – Thirty-five thousand refugees, some horribly wounded, have poured into the north from the east by boat and from the south by bus with stories of attacks on Tamil civilians.

In Jaffna and other areas in the north, many people said they feared the Sinhalese majority planned genocide of Sri Lanka's 2.5 million Tamils.

'They want to finish off all the Tamils', said a 59-year-old government auditor whose house near Jaffna Fort had been bombed flat in actions from both sides.

Many civilians in small towns across the eastern part of the Jaffna peninsula said similar things. They said that view was growing as government forces bombed and strafed Jaffna and surrounding towns and villages.

Tamil Tiger political leaders are capitalising on the fear, telling villagers the Tigers and the fight for a Tamil state of Eelam are the only alternative to death.

'This is the last fight. We Tamils have no alternative. The army, the government and the Sinhalese want to kill us all. Everyone knows that', a 22-year-old political officer in Mullaitivu district, south of Jaffna, told Reuters

'There have been a lot of civilian casualties'. Anton Balasingham, the Tiger chief political strategist said in an interview in his Jaffna city safehouse. Helicopter gunships were attacking civilians 'district by district', he said. One hundred Jaffna civilians had been killed and 300 injured in the past three weeks, he said.

Many of the casualties were a result of bombing raids on June 25 and 29 when the air force dropped barrels filled with petrol, explosives, rubber and waste metal.

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Phone: 081-998 1526 0860 785 475 Cultural Evening - 22nd April 1990



The Institute of Tamil Culture based in Surbiton, U.K., celebrated the Tamil New Year and their 4th Anniversary, at the Surbiton Assembly Rooms with a well attended function and highly appreciated items including music, dance and a play, presented by children and teachers of the Institute.

The chief guests were the Deputy Mayor Cllr. David Fraser, Deputy Mayoress Mrs Phyliss Fraser of Kingston and Rt. Hon. Anita Pollock, MEP for South West London. The Deputy Mayor said that the activities carried out by the Institute were enriching the multi cultural nature of the borough and it was appropriate for the council to give support to such a venture. Anita Pollock said that it was the first time that she had listened to the Veena and Miruthangam, was impressed with the standard achieved by the children and hoped to be invited for future functions.

Classes in Tamil Language, Vocal Music, Veena, Miruthangam and Bharatha Natyam are conducted every Saturday between 9 a.m. and 1 p.m. at the Knollmead Primary School, Tolworth, Surrey. For further information please contact K. Jegatheeswaran, Head Master, Tel: 081-949 3012 and W. Thayalan, Administrator Tel: 081-399 7848.







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#### **MATRIMONIAL**

Jaffna Hindu mother seeks professionally qualified bride for son, Ph.D., 34, settled in Canada. Reply with horoscope. M 401 c/o Tamil Times.

Solicitor brother seeks partner for his sister, educated, young looking, pretty, 30 years, Hindu. Please reply with details to M 402 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Catholic parents seek partner for daughter, 34, accountancy finalist. M 403 c/o Tamil Times.

Tamil Hindu parents seek understanding, kind, partner for daughter, 29, convent educated, shorthand typist, homescience diploma holder, working as receptionist/typist in London. Religion no bar. M 404 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu seeks partner for his educated, fair, attractive, niece, 38, vegetarian. Horoscope, details to M 405 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Tamil Hindu parents seek educated, handsome partner under 28 for professionally qualified son, 33. Details with photograph to M 406 c/o Tamil Times.

Brother seeks Sri Lankan Tamil Christian groom for his sister resident in Australia, 27 years, 5'5", fair complexion, doing further studies. Reply with full details including date, time and country of birth. M 407 c/o Tamil Times.

Hindu parents seek groom, professionally qualified or final year student for graduate daughter, 31, British citizen working in U.K. M 408 c/o Tamil Times.

Sister seeks partner for Jaffna Hindu sister, 37 resident in U.K., Montessori teacher. Reply with horoscope, details. M 409 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu seeks partner for sister, 22, following ICMA. Horoscope, details to M 409 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu brother seeks partner for sister in late forties, innocent divorcee, British citizen with house and income. M 410 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Tamil mother seeks very pretty, fair bride for teetotaller, non-smoker, kind hearted, handsome son, 35, looks much younger, 5'8", former lecturer in Engineering, Peradeniya; with post-graduate degree, management qualifications from Australian Graduate School of Management (University of N.S.W.), currently working as Project Engineer, Sydney; Australian Citizen. Reply with full details to M 411 c/o Tamil Times.

#### **Acknowledgement**

Mrs Manoranchitham Yogasangary and other members of the family of the late Mr. V.K. Yogasangary, M.P. for Jaffna, wish to express their sincere thanks to all those who visited them, sent messages of condolence and floral tributes and helped them in the funeral arrangements and several other ways during the period of the recent bereavement.

#### **WEDDING BELLS**

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage.

Venoharan of Sydney, son of Mr & Mrs S. Sinkainathan of 146/24 Havelock Road, Colombo 5 and Yasothara daughter of Mr & Mrs V.M. Vijayaratnam of 14 JB Flats, 150 St Josephs Street, Colombo 14 at Saraswathy Hall, Colombo 4 on 10.6.90.

Dr Sureshkumar son of Mr & Mrs C.P. Thambipillai of 408 Everton Dr., Mississauga, Ontario, Canada and Dr Ambika daughter of Mr & Mrs K. Kathirgamathamby of 64 Ruby Road, London E17 4RF on 24.6.90 at John Kelly School Hall, London NW2.

Aingaralingam son of Mr & Mrs Vaithiyaligam of Kuppilan, Sri Lanka and Sushila daughter of the late Mr K. Sabapathy and Mrs K. Sabapathy of Navaratnarasa Veethy, Kondavil, Sri Lanka at Sri Murugan Temple, London N6 on 1.7.90.

Pathmajan son of the late Mr N. Puyapala Rajan and Mrs P. Puyapala Rajan of 91 Capthorne Avenue, Harrow, Middx., U.K. and Urmila daughter of Mr & Mrs Kamalendran Nadarajah of 27/1 Castle Lane, Colombo 4 at Hotel Taj Samudra on 2.7.90.

Haran Chandran son of Dr & Mrs V.K.S. Ramadas of Thurnside, Rotherham, U.K. and Kala daughter of Mr & Mrs M. Jayaratnam of Colindale, London NW9 5AZ on 14.7.90 at the Highgate Murugan Temple London N6.

#### **OBITUARIES**



Dr Sivaguru Sabaratnam of 2 First Cross Street, Jaffna; beloved husband of Saraswathy; father of Arunthathy (Luton U.K.), Dr Vignarajah (Antigua, West Indies), Mahendrarajah, Thamayanthy (both of Toronto), Mohonarajah (Singapore); father-in-law of Dr S. Tirukkanesan (Tel: 0582 576061), Vanaja, Priya and Susanandan; grandfather of Kartick, Gopi, and Vinesh passed away under tragic circumstances (instant death due to small splinter piercing right side of head), in Jaffna Town on 16.6.90. – Mrs S. Sabaratnam, 40 New Way Road, Colindale, London NW9 6PN Tel: 081-205 8851.



Kandiah Theiventhiran, formerly of Cement Corporation, Kankesanthurai, 1960-1975, beloved husband of Sarojini, father of Gowri, Varathan, Ruthiran, and Vaheesan; brother of Perairampillai passed away on 5.6.90 – 6 Franca Crescent, Rexdale, Ontario, Canada.

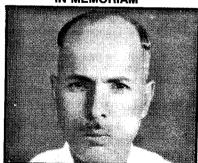


Dr. Vaithiyanathar Balasingham - formerly of Green Memorial Hospital, Manipay; beloved husband of Rasamma; loving father of Choodamani (Sri Lanka), Dr. Thalayasingham (U.K.), Dr. Chinthamani (India), Shanmugasegaram (Canada), Thanigaimani (Sri Lanka), Dr. Sironmani (U.K.), Dr. Kangadevi (U.S.A.), Indrani and Kalaivani (U.S.A.): father-in-law of Kumarasamy, Dr. Laleeni, Dr. Subramaniam, Rajes, Natkunanathan, Pathmanathan, Dr. Morgan, Thillainadarajah and Lloyd Koenig; grandfather of Ruthran, Kumaran, Selvi, Nishanthi, Guruparan, Rajkumar, Shyamala, Tharan, Raji, Ratha, Jana, Shayanthan, Uma, Ravi, Partheepan, Arthi and Anjeli; great grandfather of Brintha, Aruntha, and Mohanadas passed away on 28.5.1990. Cremation took place on 29th May at Moolai Road, Vaddukoddai, Sri Lanka.



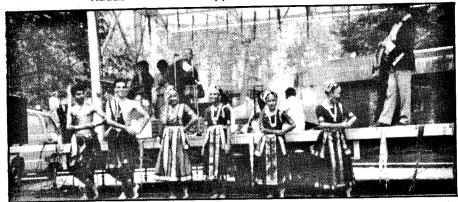
Muttuthamby Karunananthan (58) Retired P.H.I. of Kaddudai, Manipay; beloved husband of Vasantha, son of the late C.S. Muttuthamby and Mrs. Muttuthamby of Kanderodai; brother of Mrs. Gnanadevi Rajendram, Paskaradevan, Mrs. Kangadevi Sangarappillai (all of Sri Lanka), Mrs. Sitadevi Subramaniam (U.K.), and Mrs. Jeyadevi Kulasingham (Sri Lanka) passed away in Kaddudai, Sri Lanka in mid-June 1990 after a brief illness — 129B Seely Road, London SW17 9QX. Tel: 081-677 6182.

#### IN MEMORIAM



In everloving memory of our father Kanthar Eliyathamby Velupillai, Retired Malaysian Pensioner, Ilavalai, on the first anniversary of his passing away on 29.7.89. Born on 23.7.01.

Fondly remembered and sadly missed by his sons Mahathevan (Singapore), Dr. Kunasingam (GP, Rochester, U.K.), Balasingam, Tharumarajasingam (Ilavalai), Navaratnasingam (Canada), daughters Kamaladevi, Selvapakiam, Sarasvathy (Ilavalai), son-in-law, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. – 3 Ryelands Crescent, Lee, London SE12 9DA.



Men in their verties, women in their Kancheevarams, young girls in their colourful churithas; the sound of the Thavil and Nadaswaram in its natural medium — the open air; some engaged in making garlands of flowers and decorative hangings from palm leaves; others intent on creating intricate symmetry in bright dyes, the traditional 'Kolam' forms flowing from their finger tips with a facility several centuries old; the work of craftsmen in cloth and metal, in cotton, silk, brass and gold, in flowers, leaves, percussion and wind; all of them not in Tamil Nadu in south India, or the Tamil homelands in Sri Lanka; but in the Melbourne City Square on 14th April 1990, when the Tamils there celebrated New Year Day in a grand way indeed.

It was also the occasion for the presentation for the first time in Australia of the time-honoured Tamil epic Silappathikaram as a dance-drama at Melbourne's prestigious Victorian Arts Centre. The dance-drama drew large crowds and was shown to packed audiences, day after day for two weeks. The picture above shows the launching of the opening of the Tamil Festival by Senator Richard and Mrs Alston, Ranee Eliezer and the dancers from the Bharatam Dance Company. Dr. Chandrabhanu (Director of Dance Company), K. Kanagesvaran (Co-ordinator of the City Square Festival) and Ranee Eliezer should be complimented for making the days of delight possible.

#### Kalai Kathambam in Canada



L to R Roger Shanmugam, Swarnam Nallanayagam, Muthiah Karunakaran
The Senior Tamils of Canada had their annual celebrations on 2nd June 1990 at the Toronto
Midland Collegiate Auditorium. The Federal Minister of Housing Hon. Alan Redway M.P. was the
chief guest and the celebrations took the form of a Kalai Kathambam which culminated in a play
'Poly Kavravam'. A picture of a scene from the play appears above.

# PERI SUNDARAM – Patriot and Workers' Champion

The 100th birth anniversary of Mr. Peri Sundaram was celebrated at a commemoration meeting held at the Taj Samudra, Colombo on 23.7.90 when several speakers paid tribute to the outstanding contribution made by him to the nation. It was followed by a Tamil cultural show and a reception. A commemoration stamp is to be issued to mark the event, a street in Colombo will bear his name and his portrait will be unveiled in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Peri Sundaram was born on a tea plantation in Sri Lanka and started his education in an estate school and completed it at Cambridge University where he obtained the Master of Arts and Bachelor of Laws degrees, qualified as a Barrister and was called to the English Bar. On his return to Sri Lanka he took an active interest in the movement for political reforms and was a founder member of the Ceylon National Congress, which campaigned for Sri Lanka's independence from British Rule. He was the founder and first Secretary of the Workers' Welfare League formed in 1919 - the first workers' organisation in Sri Lanka. He was also the founder and first Secretary of the Ceylon Workers Federation. In 1931 he was elected un-opposed to the First State Council under the Donoughmore Constitution and became the first Sri Lankan Minister of Labour Industry and Commerce. During his tenure of office as Minister he sponsored the Trade Union Ordinance which gave workers the right to form their own organisations and provided legal immunity for those engaged in trade union activities. He also sponsored the Workmens' Compensation Ordinance. These two enactments which represent landmarks in the struggle for the achievement of workers' rights remain in force largely unchanged to this day. He was responsible for appointing a Commission which recommended the establishment of the Bank of Ceylon - the first national bank in the country which is the largest bank in Sri Lanka

In 1940 Mr. Peri Sundaram was elected the first President of the Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union (later renamed the Ceylon Workers' Congress), the largest trade union in Sri Lanka. In 1947 he was elected to the First Senate of Ceylon as the representative of the Ceylon Workers' Congress and functioned as Deputy President of the Senate until 1951. In 1950 he participated in the I.L.O. Asian Regional Conference held in Sri Lanka

#### **FORTHCOMING EVENTS**

August 4 6.30 p.m. London Meikandaar Aadheenam presents An Evening of South Indian Classical Music by Maharajapuram Santhanam at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 in aid of Chair for Saiva Sithantha in Jaffna University. For tickets Tel: 081-531 6435, 081-660 3604.

Aug. 4 7.00 p.m. Kalai Vizaha presented by Udupiddy Welfare Association at Camden Centre, Bidborough Street, London WC1 in aid of Orphans & Elderly Home. For tickets Tel: 081-540 7509, 081-942 9782.

Aug. 4 7.00 p.m. Carnatic Vocal by T.V. Gopalakrishnan at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ Tel: 071-381 3036/4608.

Aug. 5 3.30 p.m. Novena at Asian Chaplaincy, 48 Gt. Peter Street, London SW1P 2HA Tel: 071-222 2895.

Aug. 19 10.00 a.m. Chariot Festival of London Murugan Temple, 78 Church Road, London E12 6AF. For details Tel: 081-478 8433.

#### Sharmini Rajagopal



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The Bharatha Natya Arangetram of 12-yearold Sharmini Rajagopal takes place on 19.8.90 at 7.00 p.m. at the Battersea Grand Hall, Old Town Hall, off Lavender Hill, London SW11. She is the daughter of Mr. E.K. Rajagopal and Mrs Ragini Rajagopal, the Adyar graduate in Dancing, who is also her Guru. The Bharatha Natya dancer Sobana Jeyasingh well known to U.K. audiences will be the Chief Guest and Guest Speaker.

as Sri Lanka's workers' delegate. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1951 for a further term of five years. He was a visiting Lecturer at the Ceylon Law College for over 25 years and functioned as its Acting Principal in 1952. He was an Examiner in Law to the Council of Legal Education and the Ceylon Civil Service. He passed away in 1957 on Sri Lanka's Independence Day.

Mr. Peri Sundaram had no truck with communalism and chauvinism which have ravaged the country with such devastating effect since his death. They were totally alien to his liberal thinking and his vision of a united Sri Lanka with equality of opportunity for all in a truly multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multiethnic society. His impressive record of achievement is a vindication of his ability, patriotism and integrity in public life and should serve as an inspiring example to the people of Sri Lanka who have suffered the trauma of sectarian violence on an unprecedented scale and an alarming fall in national standards and need more than ever before to dedicate themselves to Mr. Peri Sundaram's cherished values in order to usher in an era of national reconciliation, peace and prosperity, for the greater glory of Sri Lanka.

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