

# the satanic force



**EBOOK**

**VOLUME 1**

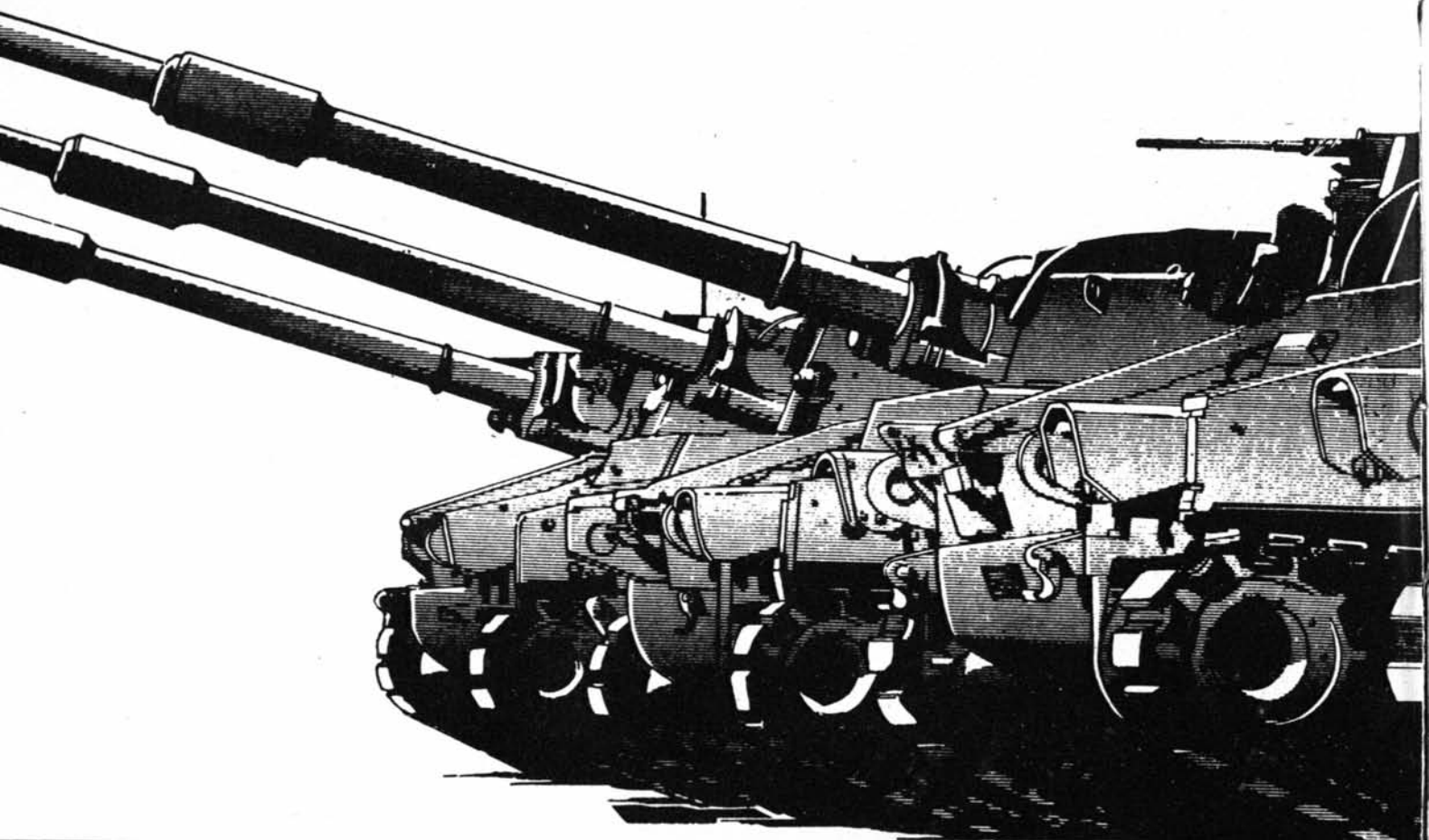
**PART 1**



the  
Italian  
force









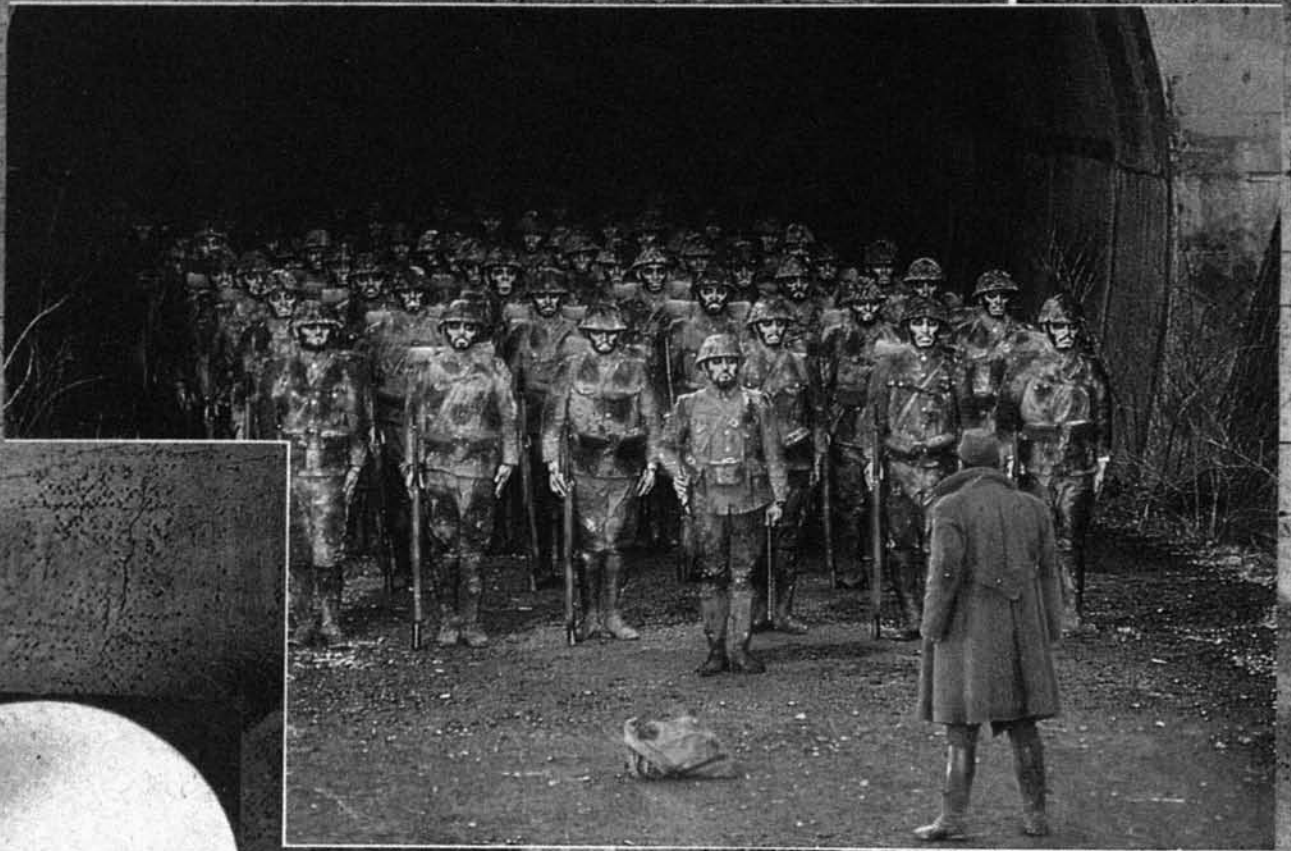
.....  
So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,  
Farewell remorse: all good to me is lost;  
Evil be thou my good; by thee at least  
Divided empire with heav'n's king I hold  
By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;  
As man ere long, and this new world shall know,  
— Thus while Satan spake, each passion dimm'd his face  
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy and despair,  
Which marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd  
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld  
For heav'nly minds from such distempers foul  
Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware,  
Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calm,  
Artificer of fraud; and was the first  
That practis'd falsehood under saintly show,  
Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:

.....  
Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear  
Touch'd lightly; for no falsehood can endure  
Touch of celestial temper, but returns  
Of force to its own likeness: up he starts  
Discover'd and surpris'd. As when a spark  
Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid  
Fit for the tun some magazine to store  
Against a rumour'd war, the smutty grain  
With sudden blaze diffus'd, inflames the air:  
So started up in his own shape the fiend.

.....  
To whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake,  
Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd  
To thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge  
Of others, who approve not to transgress  
By thy example, but have power and right  
To question thy bold entrance on this place;

.....  
Paradise Lost







# the satanic force



**the heinous crimes of indian peace keeping**

**Volume 1**



Published by  
**LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM**  
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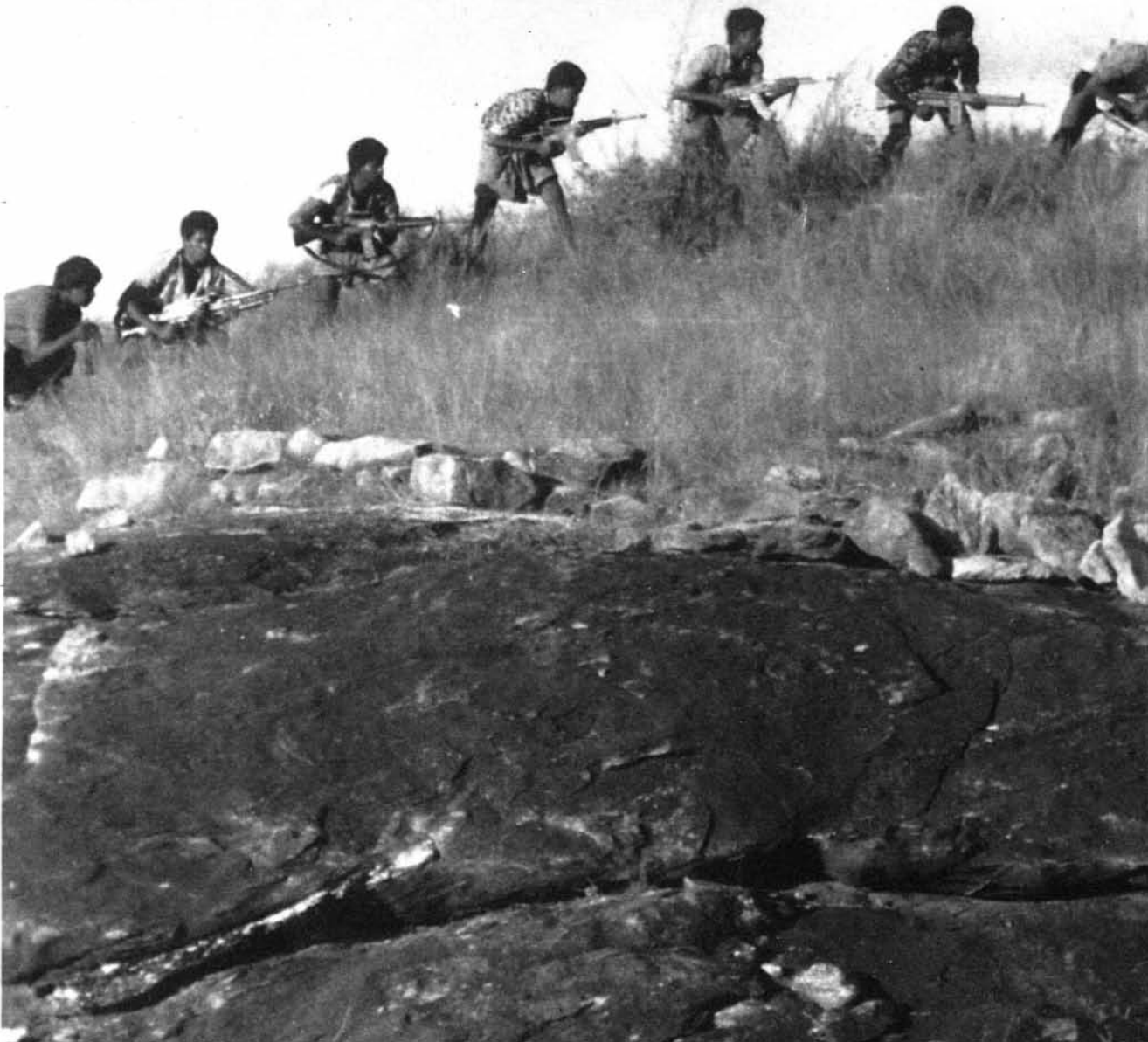
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தர்மமும் உண்மையும் எமது பக்க



மிருக்கிறது. அதுவே எமது பலம்.  
வே. பிரபாகரன்.



BETRAYAL IN Myth Of  
SRI LANKA? Devolution

"India is a hegemonic,  
expansionist power"

Indian copters  
bomb Lanka town

INDIA'S LORDLY  
AMATEURS

Charges include murder, rape, loot

PKF MEN FACE COURT MARTIAL

Peace  
means War

BLUNDER  
IN LANKA  
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NOTICE TO QUIT

Get Out Before  
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SUPERPOWER OR  
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TIGERS SITTING PRETTY ON  
INDIAN T-72 M TANKS

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APRIL 3, 1989

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No. 14

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The Next Military Power

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Can Rajiv afford to pull out IPKF?

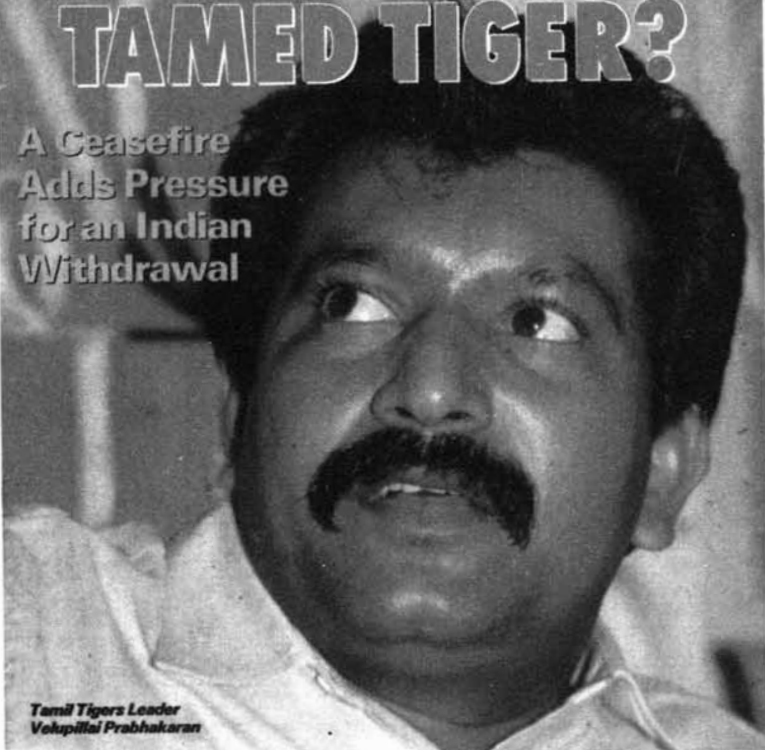
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ASHOK MITRA

**The  
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clothings**



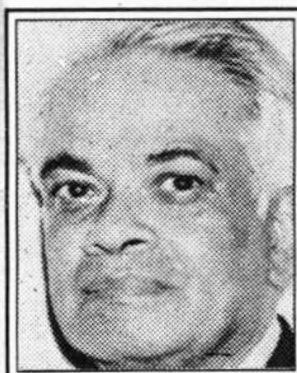
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Jeevan  
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Maitreyi  
Charumathi  
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Swapna

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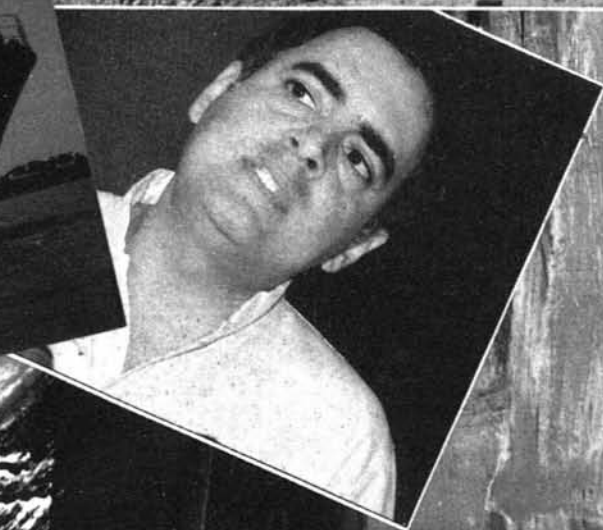
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Anjolie Menon  
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Milon Mukerji  
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Charlie

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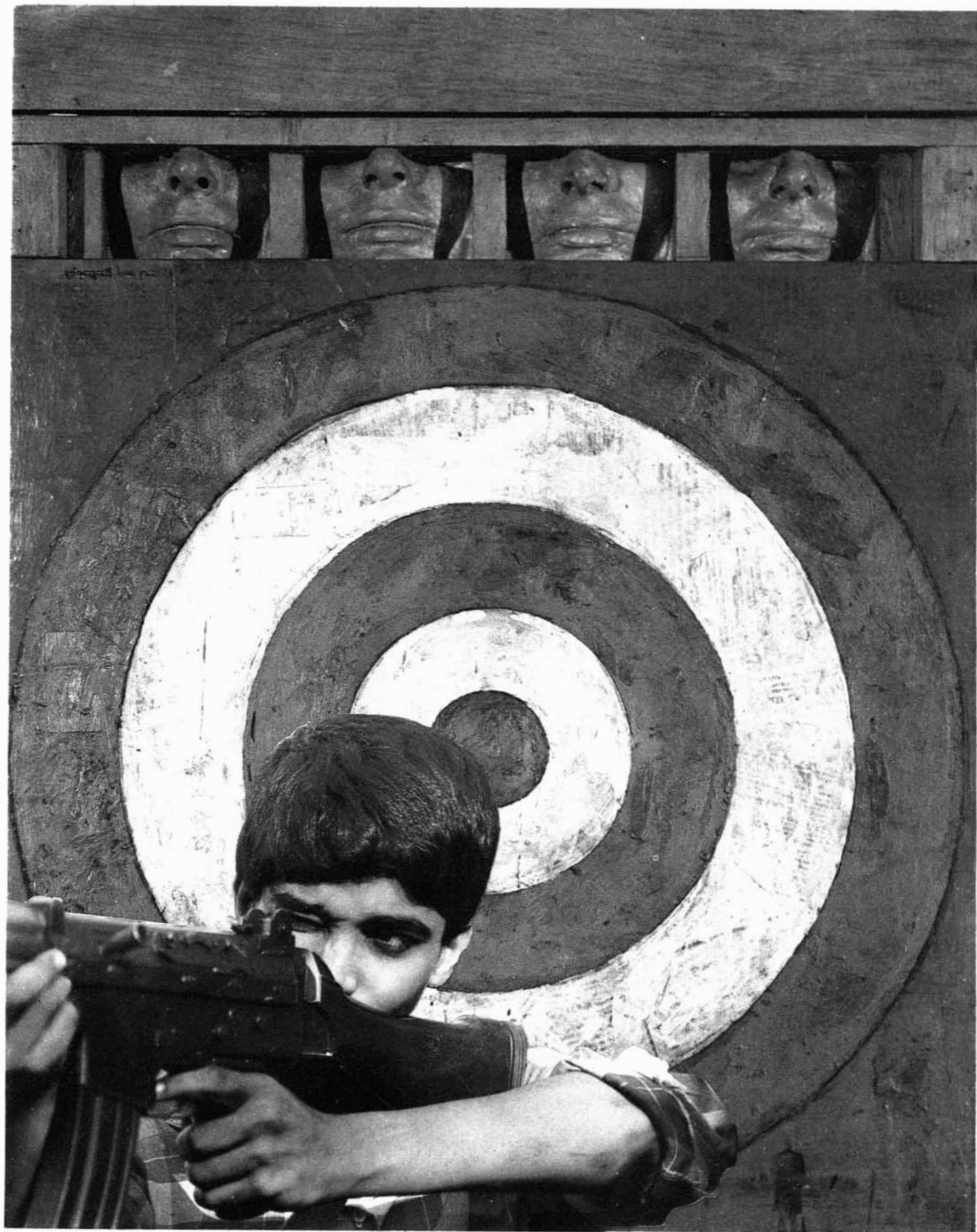
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Sudhir Dar  
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Prakash  
Chandu  
Abu Abraham  
Bhatlekar  
Mickey Patel  
Venkatesh  
Ramamoorthy  
Rajendra  
Maya  
Amita

*Artificer of fraud;  
and was the first  
That practised falsehood  
under saintly show,  
Deep malice to conceal,  
Couch'd with revenge*

*As when a spark  
Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid  
Fit for the tun some magazine to store  
Against a rumour'd war, the smutty grain  
With sudden blaze diffus'd, inflames the air:  
So started up in his own shape the fiend.*







*Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd  
To thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge  
Of others, who approve not to transgress  
By thy example, but have power and right  
To question thy bold entrance on this place;*



*When fate is following in our tracks  
Like a madman with a razor in his hand*  
—Arseniy Tarkovsky

## INTRODUCTION

**I**t is now universally acknowledged that the Indian military intervention in the Tamil homeland was a disastrous mistake.

The war undertaken by the Indian military establishment against the LTTE was the costliest, the bloodiest and longest protracted armed conflict. It was a humiliating military debacle that severely tarnished the image of India and put at serious stake the 'honour' of the Indian army.



The Indian military intervention served no purpose; it achieved nothing; it was counter-productive. The strategic

objectives of the whole military exercise collapsed in face of fierce resistance by the Tiger guerrillas and the brilliant political and diplomatic manoeuvres undertaken by the LTTE leadership. The paradoxical aspect of the Indian military intervention can be best discerned by the end product of the whole exercise. What began as a peace-keeping mission turned out to be a most violent and ruthless war; what began as a disarming process turned out to be a heavily arming programme in the creation of a proxy army called the TNA; what began as a firm commitment and obligation to ensure the physical safety and security of the Tamil speaking people turned out to be a destructive campaign of mass extermination of Tamils and Muslims; what began as a strategic objective of eliminating the LTTE ended up with the emergence of the Tigers as the most powerful politico-military force in the Tamil homeland.

The Indo-LTTE war, which began on the 10th October 1987 as a 72 hour operation, lasted more than 720 days, the longest war ever undertaken by the Indian military establishment. The direct victims of this protracted war were the people of Tamil Eelam. The war brought enormous suffering to the Tamil and Muslim civilian population. The Indian army wanted a quick victory. But it was not forthcoming. Angered, frustrated and demoralized by the heavy toll of casualties, the Indian jawans went wild and ruthless, violating all norms and conventions of warfare. In a desperate attempt to smash

through the fierce resistance of the LTTE guerrillas in Jaffna, the Indian armed forces unleashed torrents of artillery and mortar shells indiscriminately against the unguarded civilian targets. The ruthlessness of the attack took a heavy toll of civilian casualties. In the battle of Jaffna which lasted for











more than a fortnight, over two thousand innocent Tamil civilians were killed and nearly five thousand wounded and five hundred thousand people became refugees. The utter callousness by which the civilians

were exterminated in cold blood by the advancing Indian columns and untold suffering inflicted on the huge population of helpless refugees made the Indian offensive a most barbarous act of inhumanity. The offensive against the LTTE soon became an all-out war against the civilian masses.

The Indian soldiers killed with impunity and the

massacres of the innocents became a common feature. The most notorious of the mass killings was the massacre at the Jaffna General hospital during the early days of the Indian campaign. Without any provocation or reason, the Indian military personnel stormed into the hospital senselessly slaughtering over eighty people mostly in-patients and outpatients, doctors and nurses. The monstrous massacre at Pirampaddy Lane, Jaffna, the helicopter borne rocket at the Chavakachcheri market and lately the Valvettiturai massacre amply illustrated the brutality and ruthlessness of the Indian military operations which earned universal condemnation. Unable to cope-up with the increasing resistance of the Tiger guerrillas, the Indian military retaliated on the innocent civilians and adopted repressive methods subjecting our people to merciless persecution. More than six thousand civilians perished during the two year military campaign.

The Indian army became an object of fear and hatred. The people regarded them as an aggressive army occupying their homeland. The myth that the Indian military presence would guarantee the safety and security of the Tamils and Muslims was soon dispelled. Because of this disenchantment the people overwhelmingly supported the armed resistance of the Tamil Tigers. The hostile, irrational behaviour of the Indian army towards the civilian population, the ruthless repressive methods adopted as a collective punishment against the people, the callous disregard to human life and dignity, were the

essential factors that led to the estrangement between the people and the Indian army and made the Indian military approach a disastrous failure. The other crucial factor that caused the Indian military debacle was the miscalculation and misconception about the LTTE guerrilla movement – its



*Truth has to be lived; not taught. Prepare for battle.*

Herman Hesse

manpower, its fire-power and above all its fierce determination to resist. The Indian policy makers, heavily depending on the inaccurate reports provided by RAW miscalculated the strength and motivation of

the LTTE and assumed that the Tamil Tigers could be wiped out within days. When the war prolonged indefinitely and when the Indian army faced heavy casualties, Delhi began to realize its folly. The LTTE was not a rag-tag army of sarong clad boys as the Indians assumed. The Indian army was faced with a unique military phenomenon – a well

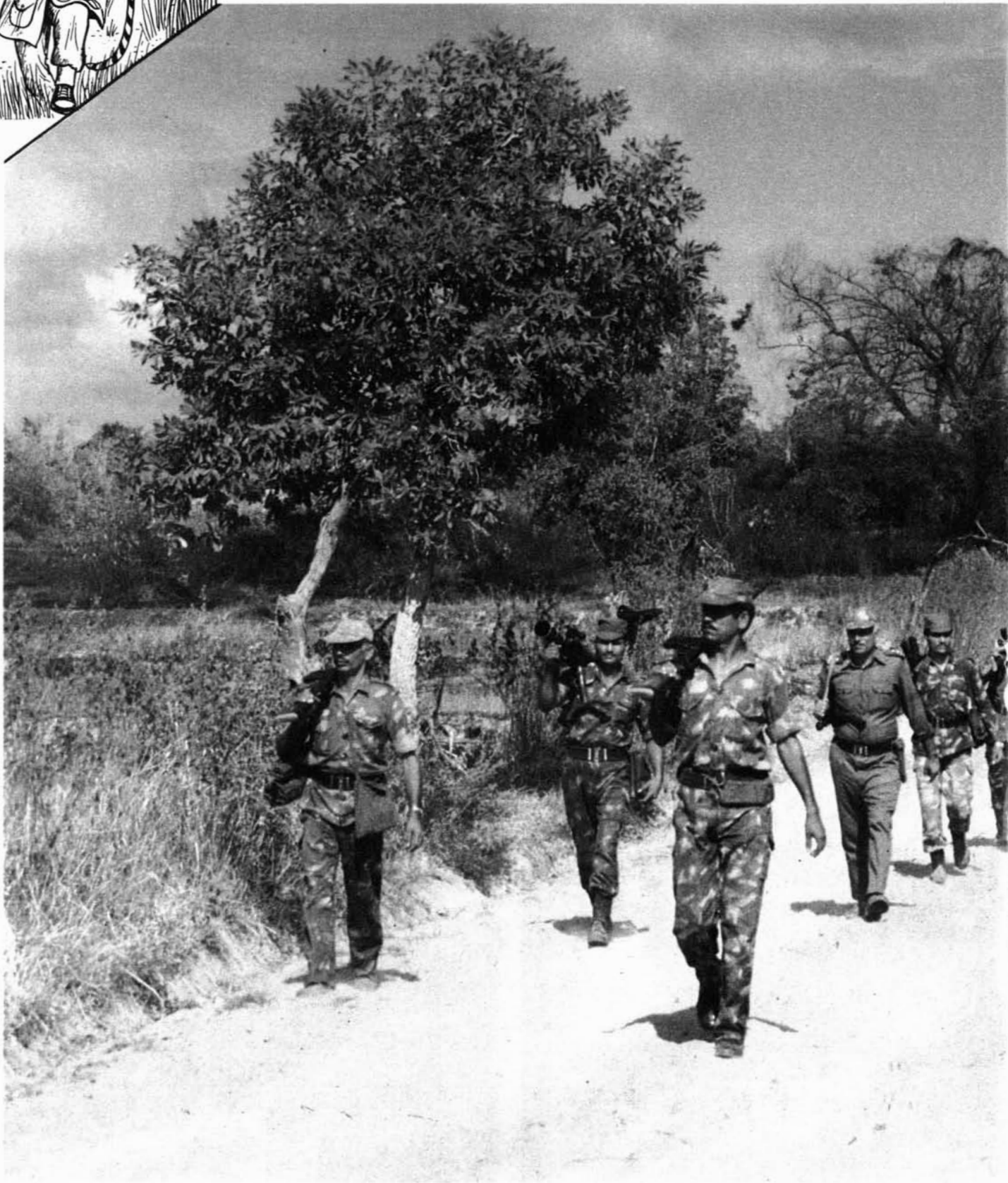
disciplined, highly motivated guerrilla force – one of the best in the world. Delhi was compelled to re-orientate its military strategy. The honour of the Indian army was at stake. Yet, Rajiv rejected the LTTE's pleas for unconditional talks and wanted a quick military victory. India decided to increase its military strength in the occupied areas and to intensify offensive operations against the Tigers. Accordingly, the Indian troops were beefed up to more than one hundred thousand troops and intensified offensive operations under various code names were launched against the LTTE. Jungle trained special commando units were thrown against the LTTE fighters in the northern jungles. Fierce battles raged on several fronts. LTTE fighters withstood the might of the Indian army and were able to inflict heavy casualties on the Indians. The morale of the Indian army began to crumble. After massive military efforts, the Indian army high command realized that the Tiger guerrillas could not be defeated. The price paid in terms of men and money to subdue the Tigers was inconceivably high.

It was at this time, in May 1989, the LTTE leadership responded positively to the call made by President Premadasa and entered into a peace dialogue with the Sri Lanka government. The peace talks in Colombo, between the parties in conflict, severely embarrassed the Indian Government and placed the Indian mediation in serious jeopardy. While the historical enemies talked peace in a cordial atmosphere in

Colombo, the war waged by the Indian army against the LTTE on behalf of Sri Lanka became absurd, meaningless and illogical. Confused, humiliated and alienated by the brilliant diplomatic stroke of the LTTE, the Rajiv administration turned hostile towards Sri Lanka and









intensified the military offensive against the LTTE, a desperate move which made Indian military intervention ridiculous in the eyes of the international community.

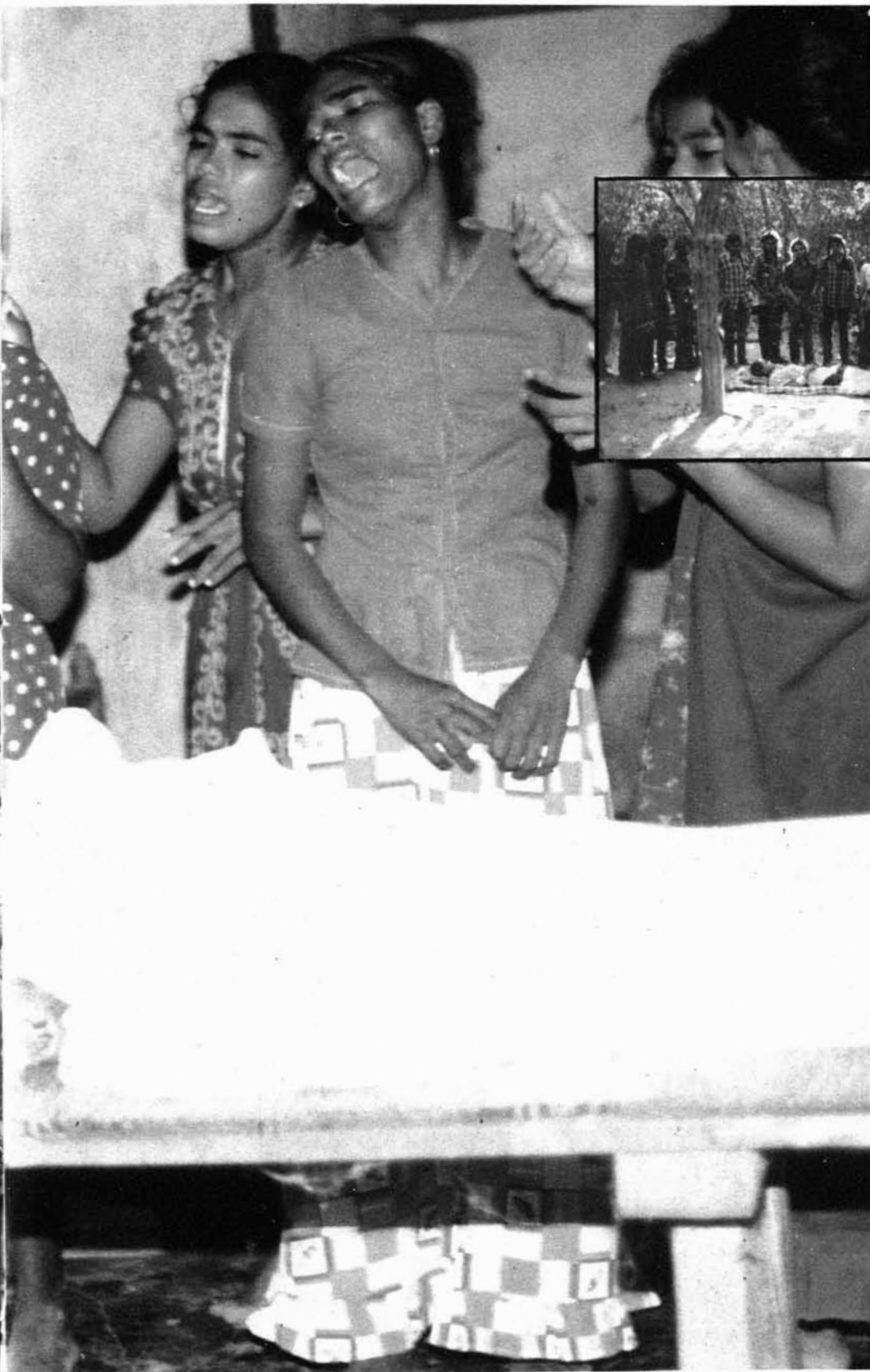
In the Colombo peace talks, the LTTE delegation condemned the atrocities of the Indian army and categorized it as an alien occupation force. The LTTE expressed the view that the Indian troops stationed in the Tamil homeland could not be categorized as a peace keeping force. Taking U.N. conventions of peace keeping models as

examples, the LTTE delegates argued: "There are internationally accepted norms and standards of controlling conflicts and promoting peace. A peace-keeping army is a neutral force that stands between two or more conflicting parties or combatants. The main function of a peace keeping exercise is to help to maintain or restore peace in areas of conflict. A peace keeping operation is a conflict control exercise. A peace keeping force in the U.N. tradition is mandated to prevent aggravation of a conflict situation and to create congenial conditions of peace and normalcy which are fundamental pre requisites for settlement of conflicts through peaceful negotiations. A peace-keeping operation involves the deployment of military personnel without enforcement powers. The military personnel are not authorized to use force except in self-defence and they always carry light defensive weapons. An important principle which has been demanded of every peace keeping force is that the peace keeping force should adopt a position of neutrality and non-involvement as far as conflicts are concerned. A peace keeping force should not act in anyway to influence the balance of forces between parties in conflict and that it should not interfere in domestic affairs. The purpose of a peace keeping exercise is to prevent situations from deteriorating and to achieve stabilization of relations between the parties in conflict".

Under the terms and definitions of the U.N. peace keeping tradition, the Indian army could not in anyway be categorized as a peace-keeping force. The Indian forces neither maintained peace nor controlled the conflict. Instead, it waged a violent war, disrupted the peace and aggravated the conflict. It forcefully occupied the Tamil homeland, used enforcement powers and created an authoritarian military regime. The







Indian army never adopted a position of neutrality and non-involvement, instead it was biased and hostile towards the LTTE and fully supported and promoted all the Indian backed quisling groups. It

deliberately influenced the balance of forces in the conflict by training and arming certain puppet groups. Instead of peace-keeping, the Indian army assumed entirely a different role and became an active and dominant participant in an armed conflict with one of the combatants of the conflict – the LTTE. The Indian troops therefore violated all

accepted norms and practices of peace keeping. The LTTE's contention was that the Indian forces stationed in the Tamil homeland had no essential characteristics of a peace-keeping force, but rather it was an occupation army.

The fierce and determined resistance of the LTTE guerrillas at the battle front and the subtle diplomatic moves during the Colombo talks finally led to a cease-fire between the Indian army and the Tamil Tigers, and eventually secured the total withdrawal of the Indian forces from our homeland. Though the Indian army has completely withdrawn and peace and normalcy have returned, the deep wounds that were inflicted on the soul of the Tamil nation by the occupation army have not been healed. It is our duty and responsibility to expose to the world the despicable war crimes committed by the Indian forces under the pretext of a peace-keeping exercise. *The Satanic force* is a major effort towards this project.

This encyclopaedic documentation illustrates the horrendous story of the heinous crimes committed by the Indian occupation forces in the Tamil homeland. The compilation consists of authentic reports, analyses, reviews, commentaries and critiques of the Indian military intervention and the disastrous consequences that followed. The critics are mostly Indian journalists, authors and columnists whose indepth analyses and objective elucidations expose the hypocritical pretensions of the so-called Indian peace

mission and the blunders of the Indian strategic objectives. The entire compilation constitutes itself as a negative critique of India's military mis-adventure and a serious indictment of the war crimes, of the barbaric military atrocities, of the merciless persecutions of the innocent civilian population.





Hundreds of affidavits detailing extra-judicial executions and inhuman torture and hundreds of photographs vividly depicting the horrors of civilian casualties and monumental damage done to property illustrate the pages of this brilliant documentation.

The diabolical misdeeds of the Indian occupation army is aptly characterized by the biblical concept of SATAN denoting it as an evil force bent on human destruction. The Indian army behaved as a Satanic force, as a devilish destructive force, with a callous and cruel disregard for human life bringing

instant death to thousands of innocent lives. The compilation is a bold attempt that documents the monumental tragedy of a small nation of people who have committed no crime other than seeking peace and protection from India against the genocidal onslaughts of the Sinhala armed forces. The Indian forces that invaded our homeland under the pretext of a peace keeping mission left a tragic saga of death and destruction more violent and brutal than the Sinhala army atrocities.

The Indian military authorities in collusion with the Delhi government adopted the most fraudulent methods to suppress information of military atrocities leading to the international community. The Government of India bluntly refused permission to international human rights organizations, i.e., Amnesty International, International Commission of Jurists, International Red Cross to visit Tamil Eelam and to make on the spot investigations. The Indian occupation army sealed off the local media, incarcerated the Tamil journalists and prevented the world media from entering the occupied territory. All the Tamil quisling groups and parties who were installed to power in the Provincial administration and in Parliament with the blessing of the Indian government kept a calculated silence while the Indian army slaughtered our people in thousands. One of the Tamil leaders utilized the Parliament as a platform to defend and praise "the supreme sacrifices" made by the Indian jawans in the "noble cause" of preserving peace and protecting the Tamils.

The Government of Sri Lanka under Jayawardane which invited the Indian army to do the dirty job watched the whole episode with callous disinterest as if the Tamils and Muslims were alien people who deserved to be wiped out. Thus, the Indian military had a free hand with unquestionable authority







to kill, rape and plunder. While the Indian military machine went on a mad frenzy of reckless violence breaking every rule of civilized behaviour, the Indian state propaganda machine worked overtime to

defend the honour of the Indian army and to praise the glory of Indian democracy.

During the Indian offensive operations, our fighters took extra-ordinary risks to collect information and were able to produce factual accounts of the Indian military barbarities.

Whenever our statements were released to the

international media, the Indian High Commission in Colombo and the foreign office in Delhi were quick to brand our version as 'malicious terrorist propaganda'. In a diabolical effort to stifle information leaking to the outside world, the Indian army and the Tamil quisling groups, particularly the EPRLF and ENDLF, killed in cold blood several prominent Tamil citizens, human rights workers and Citizens Committee leaders who had been voicing against the Indian military brutalities.

Though the Delhi Government, its diplomatic mission in Colombo and the Indian military authorities in Palaly made every effort to cover-up the war crimes committed by the occupation army, our persevering effort to bring the culprits to book had a positive outcome. Amnesty International, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights as well as the international media ridiculed the Indian peace mission and condemned India for serious human rights violations in the occupied Tamil territory.

The publication of this work, '*The Satanic Force*' will throw more light on the brutalities of the Indian war and heinous crimes committed against our people. The crimes against humanity, wherever they occur, should be brought to book and the perpetrators of such crimes should be exposed to the critical eyes of the world.

We commend our comrades for the diligent and skilled work in compiling this voluminous document to record for history one of the darkest periods in the annals of our liberation struggle.

**Politburo**  
**People's Front of Liberation Tigers**





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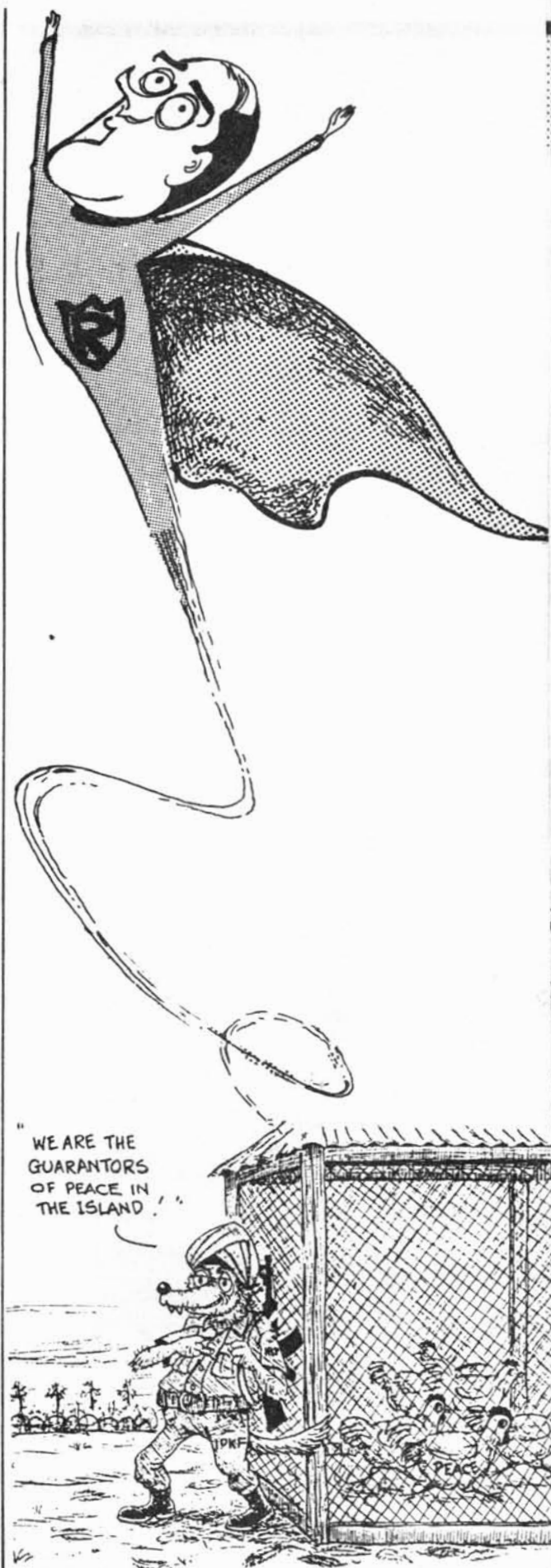
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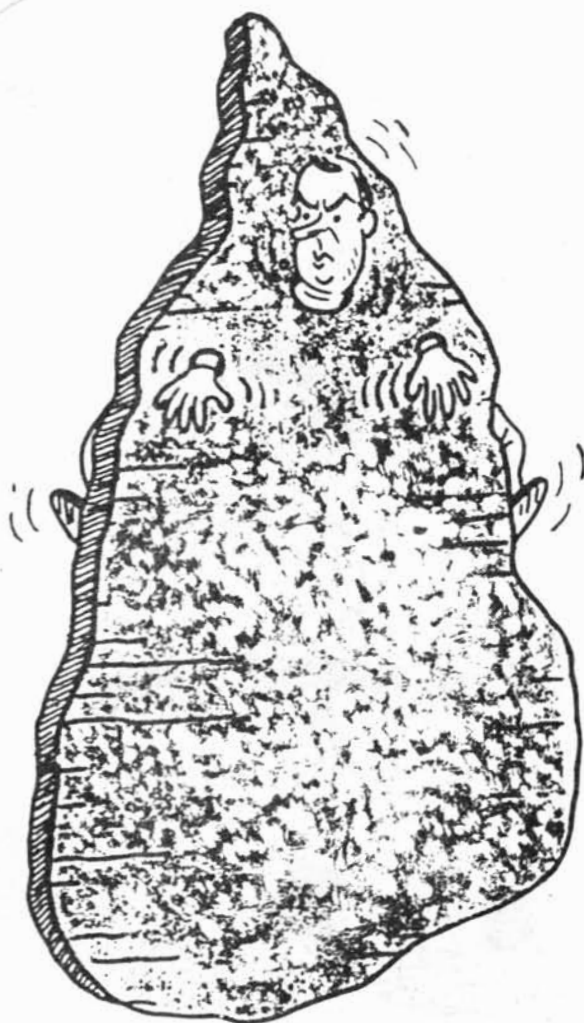
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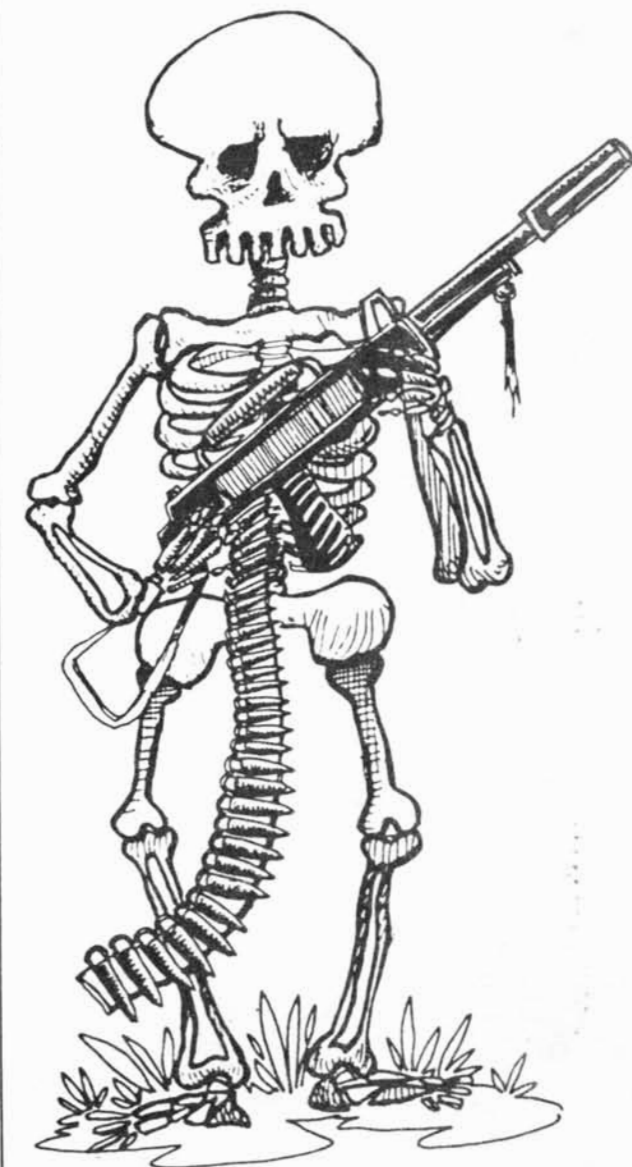
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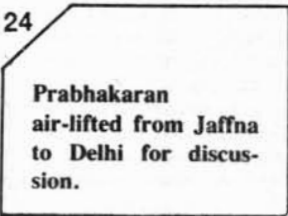
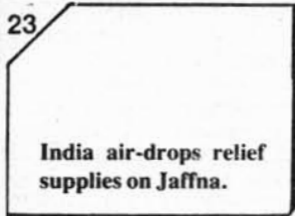
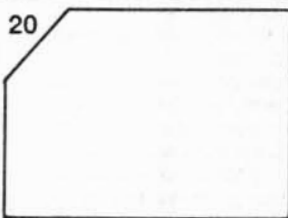
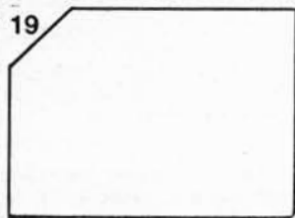
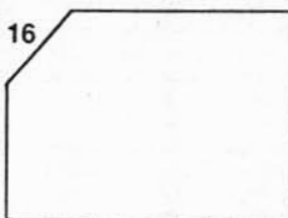
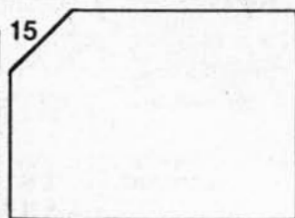
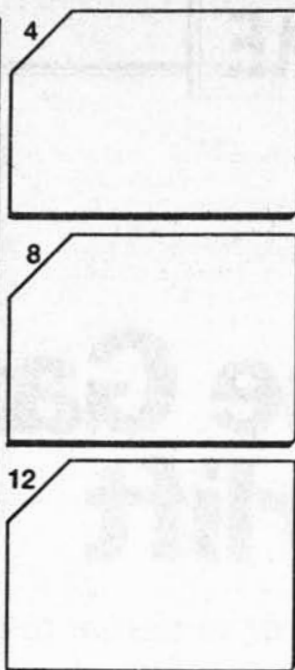
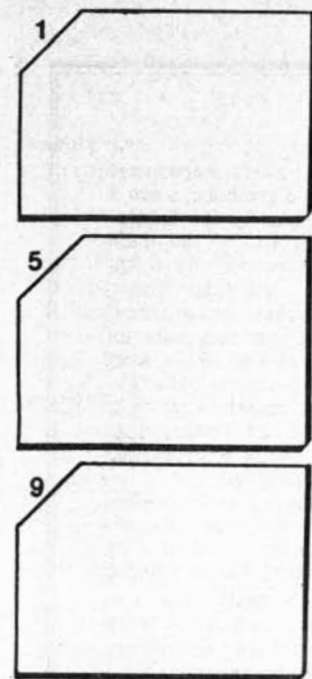
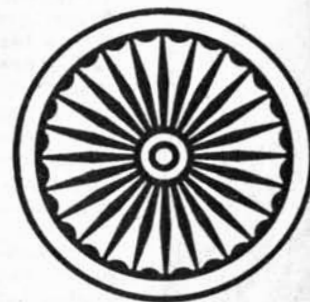


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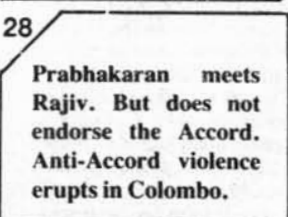
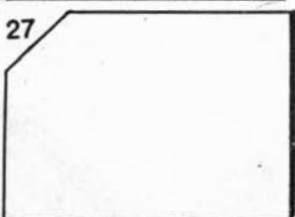
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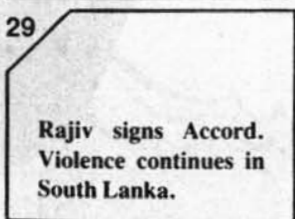
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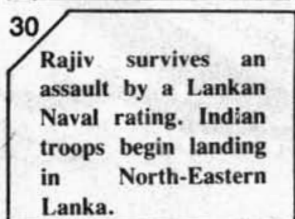
Prabhakaran  
air-lifted from Jaffna  
to Delhi for discus-  
sion.



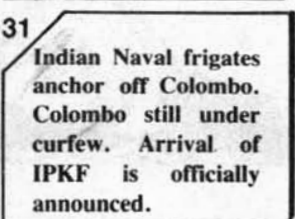
Prabhakaran meets  
Rajiv. But does not  
endorse the Accord.  
Anti-Accord violence  
erupts in Colombo.



Rajiv signs Accord.  
Violence continues in  
South Lanka.



Rajiv survives an  
assault by a Lankan  
Naval rating. Indian  
troops begin landing  
in North-Eastern  
Lanka.



Indian Naval frigates  
anchor off Colombo.  
Colombo still under  
curfew. Arrival of  
IPKF is officially  
announced.

# The Gandhi Airlift

REPORT

## New Delhi's mission to aid the Tamils

**T**he five Soviet-designed An-32 military transports roared across the 22-mile Palk Strait and began their descent over Sri Lanka. Overhead, their swept-back wings glinting in the late afternoon sun, four French-made Mirage jets flew protective cover. At about 1,200 ft., the Indian air force transports opened their giant rear doors and dropped their payload—22.5 tons of food and medicine—over the village of Kokuvil, three miles north of Jaffna. All that was visible below was empty streets and lush greenery as the planes parachuted their cargo to Tamil civilians. Less than an hour later, pilots and crews landed safely at India's Bangalore air force station.

So ended Eagle Mission-4, an operation aimed ostensibly at providing relief for ethnic Tamils caught up in a weeklong offensive by Sri Lankan forces. That the airlift also had a political objective was made clear minutes after the drop as the five An-32s pointedly flew over Palaly, the busiest air base in Sri Lanka. By flaunting its vastly superior air power over its weaker Indian Ocean neighbor, New Delhi gave notice that it no longer considered itself neutral in the four-year-old war between the Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lankan government and the separatist guerrilla forces seeking independence for the Tamil minority.

In a note handed to the Sri Lankan High Commissioner in New Delhi, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs called the mission "humanitarian assistance." But to Colombo, it was a "naked violation of Sri Lanka's independence." Colombo's daily *Sun* newspaper called India a "predator of the worst kind." For many, the anger was overshadowed by despair: Sri Lankans know they cannot take on the might of their giant neighbor. Complained a Sinhala shopkeeper bitterly: "They may shout, but when we are in trouble, America and China do nothing to help us." Whatever Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's motives for the drop, its effect was to edge his government perilously close to open conflict—a prospect that neither side wants.



The week began with Sri Lanka's armed forces completing the first phase of Operation Liberation, its long-awaited drive against the Tamil rebel stronghold in the Jaffna Peninsula, which lies opposite India's southern coast. The area's civilians had already endured some hardship from recent fighting and a five-month-long cutoff of fuel supplies and telephone service. Backed by air support and naval gunfire, Sri Lankan troops seized all the territory around

Valvadditturai. The town's importance was both strategic and symbolic, since it is an operational center for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the main Tamil separatist group, and the birthplace of its leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran. In the process, government troops sealed off key landing sites for supplies ferried across the straits from Tamil rebel bases in southern India. Colombo claimed that casualties on both sides had been light: 29 soldiers dead and 166 wounded, with 87 guerrillas and 41 Tamil civilians killed.

TIME's Qadri Ismail, who flew aboard a Sri Lankan government plane into newly captured Point Pedro, found little recent battle damage there. But his requests to visit Jaffna and Valvadditturai were denied by Sri Lankan authorities. While many Point Pedro civilians were hungry, the army appeared to be making an effort to bring in supplies. When soldiers in an army truck arrived in the town of Nellandai and began handing out rations, civilians ran to the truck and scuffled with one another over the handouts. A mother with a child in her arms watched helplessly until a journalist noticed her plight and brought her a food packet.

Other army units, meanwhile, were busy mounting a dragnet aimed at depopulating the area of all male Tamils of fighting age. Outside the Pathirakali Amman temple in Nellandai, more than 600 barefoot youths with their hands tied could be seen marching four abreast toward Point Pedro, a mile away. One woman, with tears streaming down her face, cried, "Give me back my son! Why do they take him away?"

"All of them cannot be terrorists," conceded General Cyril Ranatunga, commander of Sri Lankan forces. "But still we will get some of them." At Point Pedro, the youths were lined up against a wall, while rebel defectors, with gunnysacks over their heads to conceal their

O.V. Vijayan, Newstime . 7.6.87



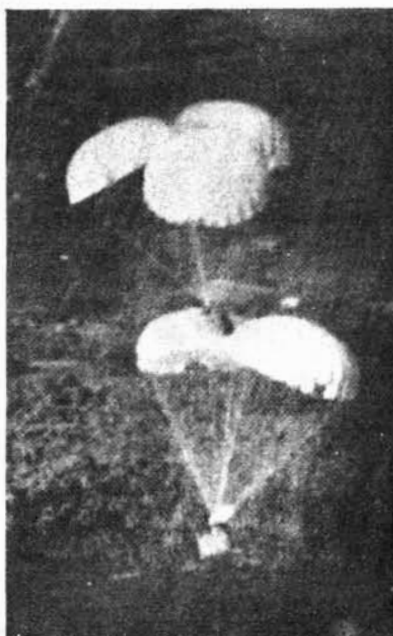




Indian fishing boats embark on a futile attempt to deliver food to civilians

identities, walked down the line pointing out Tiger suspects. The few who were recognized were separated from the group. The rest were put aboard a ship waiting at sea. Their destination: Boosa detention camp, 300 miles from their homes. "To me," said Captain Lal Ariyathilleke, "the most difficult part of the campaign was not the fighting, but separating husbands from wives and sons from their mothers."

Increasingly, all sides in the war have become captives of their own rhetoric. India has long tried to mediate the conflict, even as it was arming and training the Tamil rebels. When the Sri Lankan government launched Operation Liberation, Gandhi began demanding an outright halt to Colombo's offensive. Last Monday, Sri Lankan forces ended their campaign after taking Point Pedro. But Tamil terrorists ambushed a bus in Eastern province on Tuesday, gunning down 32 passengers, including 29 Buddhist monks. Next day a car bomb exploded outside the 300-year-old army fort in Jaffna, followed by a deadly rebel mortar barrage that left three soldiers dead and 42 wounded. The attacks, coming after Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene had just been perceived as giving in to



Relief packages being dropped by parachute. Colombo called it a violation of sovereignty.

New Delhi, left him with little room for further concessions.

At midweek Jayewardene faced yet another demand. Indian officials requested that his government permit a fleet of Indian fishing vessels to deliver relief supplies directly to Jaffna, where more than one-third of Sri Lanka's 2 million Tamils reside. Jayewardene's response: No relief was necessary, but if India insisted, its boats could deliver their supplies to Sri Lankan officials for distribution by them. Under no circumstances, he emphasized, would any unauthorized flotilla from India be permitted to violate Sri Lankan territory.

India dispatched the boats anyway, 20 in all, with one of them carrying nearly 100 journalists who had been flown by the government aboard an Indian Airlines jet to the staging area in the port of Rameswaram. Led by the *Vikram*, an unarmed Indian coast guard vessel, the flotilla set out late Wednesday and reached a point eleven miles from Sri Lankan shores just before dark.

To no one's surprise, three Sri Lankan frigates were visible on the horizon, already in position to bar the flotilla's progress. Darkness fell, and rough seas threatened to swamp the small craft. When the frigates radioed the flotilla to halt, the Indian boats turned back to Rameswaram. The fleet's interdiction prompted a stinging rebuke from New Delhi. Colombo's intransigence, said an Indian government spokesman, "makes it clear that the government of Sri Lanka is determined to continue to deny the people of Jaffna their basic human rights."

Seeking to maximize its public relations impact, New Delhi then diverted the journalists returning from Rameswaram to the An-32 transports that were already loaded and poised for takeoff in Bangalore. This time Sri Lanka had no means to resist. Its air force has no jets, and its only anti-aircraft guns date to World War II. The government in Colombo was reduced to a verbal riposte, denouncing the violation of its airspace as an "outrage" and an "act of cowardice."

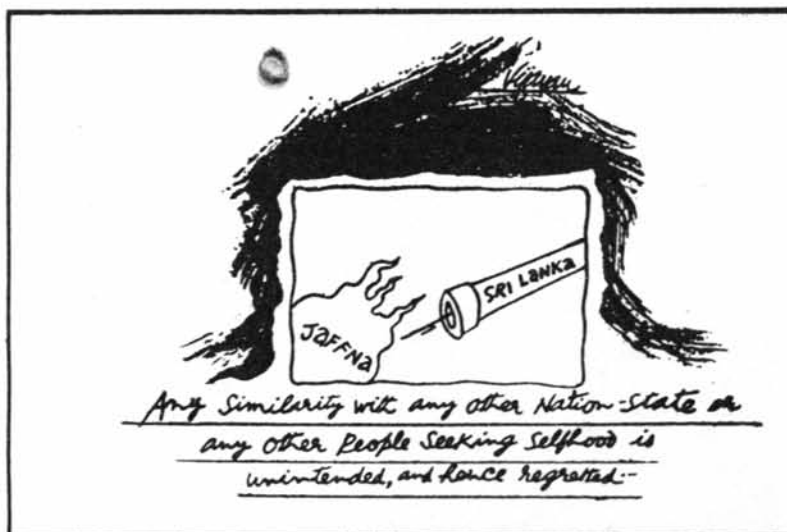
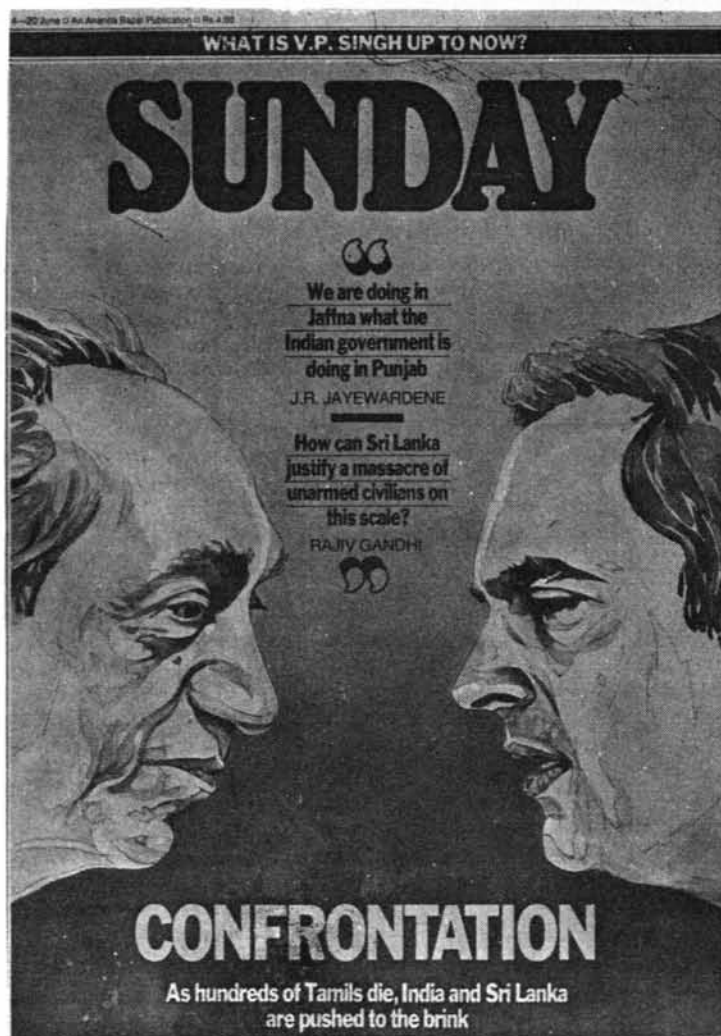
The airdrop dramatized Gandhi's new assertiveness, and his actions were generally lauded in India. One of the few voices of dissent was an editorial in the *Statesman* of New Delhi that called the attempted sea lift "gunboat diplomacy" and warned that "India appears to have become an active participant in the conflict."

That was putting it mildly. Gandhi claimed that India's attempts to mediate a peaceful solution between the Sri Lankan government and the rebels had not succeeded because the government had virtually declared "war" in Jaffna. Combined with an earlier statement that India would no longer remain an "indifferent spectator" to the plight of the Tamils, Gandhi's words seem to convey that further intervention by New Delhi was not only possible but probable.

—By Lloyd Garrison.  
Reported by Qadri Ismail/Point Pedro and Venkat Narayan/Rameswaram

JUNE 15, 1987

14-20 June 1987



O.V. Vijayan, The Statesman

Soon after coming to power, Rajiv Gandhi saw Jayewardene's inner compulsions and mounted pressure on the LTTE, largely through its father-figure, the Tamil Nadu chief minister, M.G. Ramachandran, to settle its differences with Colombo. But Romesh Bhandari, the then foreign secretary, seemed to convince the Prime Minister that there was little substance in the LTTE demand for an autonomous stretch of land covering the northern and the eastern provinces of Sri Lanka because Tamil-majority areas in the state were not contiguous. They are, in fact, contiguous. So, when Bhandari and Hector Jayewardene, the President's lawyer brother, hammered out a draft agreement in August 1985, based on the factually incorrect premise, many Tamils thought it was a sellout and the LTTE boycotted all official-level discussions.

Since then, Rajiv Gandhi's Sri Lanka policy has changed considerably, having come round to the old view that the island's Tamil problem can be solved only in a quasi-federal set-up in which, without undermining the territorial sovereignty of Sri Lanka, its minorities can enjoy limited autonomy. Throughout the second half of last year, Rajiv Gandhi got the union minister of state for internal security, P. Chidambaram, to work out the modalities of a settlement based on this principle. But while the proposals were finally fleshed out on 19 December in Colombo, the Jayewardene government suddenly imposed an embargo on fuel supplies to Jaffna on 30 December.

Someone obviously has to pick up the chord of negotiations from where it has snapped. India will lose all leverage vis-a-vis Colombo if it has to repeat its show of strength. Already Sri Lanka's 18,000-strong Buddhist clergy has been spewing venom at "Hindu India" in public rallies. In Colombo's Haltsdorf Court Complex in the beginning of June, a demonstration of lawyers led by Hector Jayewardene held aloft placards which read, "Hands off, India" and "Exit Dix-it". The island's *Daily News* published a doggerel in its editorial page, which said: "Rajiv, you should hang your head in shame/Although you bear the great Mahatma's name."

It is unlikely that Colombo will invite India to begin mediation efforts soon. It is also possible that Sri Lanka will now turn more vigorously to its Western allies, and also Pakistan, for increased military assistance, because, as Athulathmudali says, "When threatened by a big neighbour, small countries always try to get even by inviting outside powers." But, drifting into the Sri Lankan skies for just about 15 minutes, India has only casually waved a stick after the carrot failed to work. **Sumit Mitra**

## REPORT

# Bitter Mood

**A**N Indian ship carrying relief supplies finally berthed at Kankesanthurai, the northern-most Sri Lankan port, last fortnight. But New Delhi could have chosen a ship with a less provocative name. *Island Pride* can only add salt to Sri Lankan wounds. Anti-India demonstrations are still held every other day before the Indian High Commission in Colombo while Prime Minister R. Premadasa leads the protracted, propagandist, anti-India war, passionately supported by the media.

The Sinhala middle class, in particular, is seething with anger, more because the manner of intervention has been so bitterly humiliating. Perhaps an invasion by a power a hundred times stronger, would have been preferred. In the case of the Sinhalese opposed to the ruling United National Party (UNP), the question is whether India or their own regime is the main enemy.

The wily opposition leader, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has partially resolved that contradiction. She, her son Anura, who is leader of the Opposition, and their Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have condemned the Indian violation of sovereignty. But she also blames the Jayewardene Government, its anti-India policy, ineptness and inconsistency. A government that cannot defend the country's sovereignty must resign, she said last week, adding: "My foreign policy of genuine non-alignment and friendship with neighbours was our first line of defence." She then went on to demand a "restoration of democracy" and found all other opposition parties, including the rival three-party left alliance, responding to her slogan.

With the arrival of the *Island Pride* and relief supplies likely to be a two-week operation, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have announced a unilateral ceasefire—an assurance to the Indian Government—and expressed the hope that the army will do the same. Though there have been sporadic clashes, the drop in cas-

ualty figures reflects the sharp scaling down of the fighting, which effectively ended with the Indian air-drop. As part of this politico-military struggle, four cabinet ministers also flew to the north to appear on television, distributing food and talking freely to local people.

Recent happenings trouble those Sri Lankans who realise that the alienation of the Tamils in the north may reach a point of no-return, and psychologically, if not physically, a 'separate' state may come into being. Prominent US Congressman Stephen Solarz, said last week that if a political settlement is not reached soon, the Tamil north will become South Asia's Ulster. The current situation suggests that Jaffna has already gone beyond Ulster.

The Tigers in the Jaffna peninsula have gone strictly by the book—on guerrilla warfare. With the exception of Jaffna city, they have withdrawn in the face of the armoured might of the Sri Lankan forces, particularly in the Vadamarachi area on the north-eastern coastal flank, where the army has the advantage of the sea behind its back and naval protection. If the Tigers' reflex was a classic guerrilla response, so was the

Sri Lankan Army's. It has established nine new camps, extended the defence perimeters of all camps, dug trenches, fortified forward positions and gone through the predictable exercise of consolidation. The question being asked last week was whether it can hold, patrol and defend the "liberated zone". The Tigers have meanwhile strengthened their positions in Jaffna, the key in this highly complex political-military conflict which not only involves the two combatants but also the politics of this island country and India as also—overtly or covertly—Pakistan, Israel, China, Britain and the US.

Politics in the Sinhala south is the great neglected factor in both India's Sri Lankan policy as well as in foreign media reportage of the island's crisis that has also gone beyond its original boundaries of an ethnic conflict. In July, the UNP will celebrate its tenth anniversary in office, the longest of any regime in an island accustomed to "throwing the rascals out" every five years. Besides electoral exhaustion and impatience, there is the long-suppressed anger of the Sinhala constituency over how this longevity was acquired.

Rajiv Gandhi has said that he had two objectives in mind while making the air-drop: help for the Tamils and a message to Colombo that Delhi cannot be a silent spectator to a military onslaught on the civilians of Jaffna. He might have added a third. The Tamils were being told that in the final analysis, it was not the Tigers or even Tamil Nadu which could be their protector but the Indian state.

Delhi has also urged the Tigers and others to work out some reasonably acceptable regional autonomy formula. If this will lead to a resumption of talks, and the talks pave the way to a settlement, Rajiv's 'benign intervention' will make his assertion of regional paramountcy more meaningful. But it is only after Minister for National Security Lalith Athulathmudali's return to the island from Pakistan and the US that the Government's next move will be known. Pakistan, top favourite in the local media, will obviously have much to do with it.

—MERVYN DE SILVA in Colombo





# LTTE rejects accord Rajiv Gandhi going to Colombo tomorrow

NEWS



From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, July 27.

The Government of India today formally announced the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's plan for a two-day State visit to Sri Lanka from Wednesday which, it is known, will be utilised for signing an umbrella agreement, enshrining the political solution of the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. The move for an accord however suffered a setback as LTTE announced its rejection of the new package tonight.

Notable for its boldness, New Delhi's decision obviously took into account not only the provisions of the draft agreement, but also its relevance and importance in the wider political context. In the pursuit of its objective, New Delhi made, for the second consecutive day, determined efforts to dispel the misgivings of some Tamil groups. By a strange coincidence, the draft agreement was opposed by a section of Tamil militants, and by the Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa.

An official announcement this evening said:

"At the invitation of the President of Sri Lanka, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and Mrs. Jayewardene, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, will pay a State visit to Sri Lanka on July 29 and 30." The announcement put an end to speculation over the possibility of delay in regard to the visit because of reservations expressed by the Tamil groups; notably the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. It came at the end of the day-long discussions at various levels with the Tamil groups.

That LTTE had taken a tough line was clear since yesterday but its total rejection of the new package tonight gave a new negative dimension to the current efforts to resolve the ethnic problem. They, Mr. Prabakaran said, would not be a party to the signing of the agreement between India and Sri Lanka.

In an earlier development, the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran had a one-hour meeting with the Prime Minister. Mr. Ramachandran presumably acquainted Mr. Gandhi with the outcome of his discussions with Mr. Prabakaran.

## An act of betrayal, says LTTE chief

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, July 27.

Announcing the rejection of the accord, the LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabakaran, described it as an act of betrayal and affirmed his resolve to continue the armed struggle in Sri Lanka.

He based his concern and disappointment on the provision requiring them to surrender their arms. He was opposed to the disarming of the militants until the military camps in their areas were dismantled.

In a strongly-worded statement, he blamed the Prime Minister for having betrayed their trust. They had come to Delhi, he said without any idea of the proposal, but appeared to have "walked into a trap." The LTTE, which so far had to reckon with the Sri Lankan army, might have to face the Indian Army as well, he said.

**Govt. disappointed:** An official spokesman expressed deep disappointment with the LTTE's stand. He noted that all the other Tamil organisations had agreed to extend support and expressed full confidence that the Government of India's efforts would meet the legitimate aspirations of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The spokesman also said the talks were still continuing with the LTTE and hoped that they would understand that the Government of India remained committed to a political solution which would not compromise with the legitimate interests of the Tamils. This had been recognised by all the other Tamil groups.

PTI reports:

**'Disappointing':** Mr. Prabakaran, told PTI that the accord would remain "only on paper" as it had been drawn up ignoring the Tamils' aspirations.

Describing Mr. Gandhi's decision to sign the accord as "disappointing and shocking" the LTTE chief said it amounted to "a stab in the back of Tamils". He said the LTTE least expected the Government of India to "let down the Tamils" who had suffered immensely and were now totally exposed to the Sri Lankan military offensive.

The LTTE leader said his group would not adhere to the truce which formed the main plank of the 17-point peace plan and added it would not lay down arms until the Sri Lankan Government dismantled the nearly 200 Army



camps established in the last one year in the Tamil areas and Army moved to barracks.

The LTTE delegation, he said, was 'tricked' into coming to Delhi for talks. They were merely told that the Prime Minister wanted to hold talks with them to clear certain misunderstandings. Only on arrival here were they informed that an "unsatisfactory accord" was to be signed by the two Governments, he said.

Mr. Prabakaran wondered why the Government of India had toed the line of the Sri Lankan Government and tried to 'thrust' a 'pre-conceived' plan on Tamils. He felt piqued that

the entire Indian exercise in Delhi was aimed at getting their consent and not for consultations for improvement.

While the other groups chose to give their acceptance and reservations on the proposals

"Let them take away our arms. But the peacekeeping force proposed to be deployed will have to protect the Tamils' lives and properties. When we are disarmed at the instance of India though we are the sole protectors of our people, India will be held responsible for atrocities on Tamils", he said.

## Premadasa wants referendum first

COLOMBO, July 27.

The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. Rana-singhe Premadasa, has urged the postponement of the visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to Colombo to sign a peace agreement to end the country's civil war until other proposals are considered, Government sources said.

The President of Sri Lanka, Mr. Junius Jayewardene appeared, however, determined to sign the agreement with Mr. Gandhi on Wednesday.

Mr. Premadasa expressed his reservations during an extraordinary two-and-a-half-hour Cabinet session called by Mr. Jayewardene to discuss the proposal, the sources said.

Mr. Premadasa, who returned here on Sunday from a foreign tour, called for a national referendum on the matter before signing the ac-

cord that would merge the Tamil-dominated Northern and Eastern regions of Sri Lanka.

It was not known if the Agriculture Minister, Mr. Gamini Jayesuriya, who had also opposed the proposal, pressed home his reported threat to resign from the Cabinet.

Political observers attached considerable significance to the fact that Mr. Premadasa, a bitter critic of India's involvement in the ethnic tangle, went to the Cabinet meeting in his private car.

These observers felt that Mr. Premadasa's action provided added substance to the speculation that he might quit the Cabinet.

The Cabinet met amid mounting opposition to the peace deal with India. The Indian High Commissioner, Mr. J. N. Dixit, who flew back here today, was in a Cabinet ante-room



R.K. Lakshman, Times of India



From Our Special Correspondent

# NEWS

NEW DELHI, July 28.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi expressed his disappointment at his meeting with the Opposition leaders here today that the LTTE had reservations on this accord. He added that the LTTE had asked that the safety and security of its personnel be ensured and he had told them that the Sri Lankan Government had given the assurance that this would be done. Mr. Gandhi also noted that the other Tamil groups had welcomed the agreement.

The Prime Minister made it clear in this meeting that attempts to reduce the gap between the LTTE and the Government of India's approach to a settlement were continuing.

PTI reports:

The Prime Minister made it clear that there was no change in his plan to leave for Sri Lanka tomorrow morning, to sign the accord with the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene.

Mr. Gandhi explained how India would be involved in ensuring that peace returned to the island. One of the features of the agreement was that hostilities would cease within 24 hours of the signing. Another important feature was the assurances received on the linking of the Northern and Eastern Provinces.



## PM disappointed at LTTE stand

The accord contained provisions for the sending of Indian observers, induction of a peace-keeping force, the return of Sri Lankan refugees in India and of Indians still awaiting repatriation.

About the reservations expressed by the LTTE, the Prime Minister said its attitude was very disappointing since the LTTE had accepted all the major proposals earlier, though it had reservations regarding the withdrawal of army camps. The issue was taken up with the Sri Lankan Government and even on that "we got the Sri Lankan President to agree".

At a meeting with Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister in Madras later, the LTTE had fully accepted the proposals. In Delhi now they had gone back, he said.

**Safety assured:** The Government was looking into why this had happened. One of the reasons could be apprehensions about safety and security. "We will certainly ensure their safety and security," Mr. Gandhi assured.

The Prime Minister said the LTTE consisted mainly of 2,000 young people. Barring them, all the Sri Lankan Tamil groups had welcomed the agreement.

To a question from Mr. Samar Mukherjee (CPI-M) about the time factor involved, Mr. Gandhi said, the ceasefire and cessation of hostilities would come into effect immediately. The full details of the accord would be published tomorrow.





# India, Sri Lanka sign agreement

From K. K. Katyal

COLOMBO, July 29.

India and Sri Lanka today signed an agreement—described big and unusual by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi—that provides for a set mechanism to safeguard the interest of the Tamil minority, envisages a role for India in its implementation and most important of all, takes into account the security concerns of India in the region.

In all, seven out of 29 Ministers kept away from the functions connected with the agreement.

## Delhi provides guarantee

At a simple but elegant ceremony in an amiable atmosphere, Mr. Gandhi and the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, appended their signatures to a six-page document, committing the two countries to a co-operative approach not only in regard to the limited issue of resolving the ethnic problem but also in a much wider concept. The vastness of its sweep and the boldness of its approach did not go unnoticed.

Particularly notable is the provision that the "Government of India will underwrite and guarantee" the accord and cooperate in the implementation of its provisions. India, for instance, could send a peace-keeping contingent at the invitation of Sri Lanka to guarantee and enforce the ceasefire. Then there is the omnibus provision that at Sri Lanka's request India would afford military assistance to enable it to implement the agreement.

As important as the agreement is its annexure and the letters exchanged by the Prime

Minister and Mr. Jayewardene. Whether the contents of the letters have the same force and status as the provisions of the agreement remains unclear, despite a specific query on the subject at the press conference by the two leaders. However, there is no doubting the significance and far-reaching implications of the points agreed upon by them. All this shows the complete appreciation of India's security perceptions and takes care of the irritants that have arisen in the past—be that in regard to the use of the strategic Sri Lankan port of Trincomalee, the use of foreign military personnel in Sri Lanka or the use of the Sri Lankan broadcasting services by outside powers.

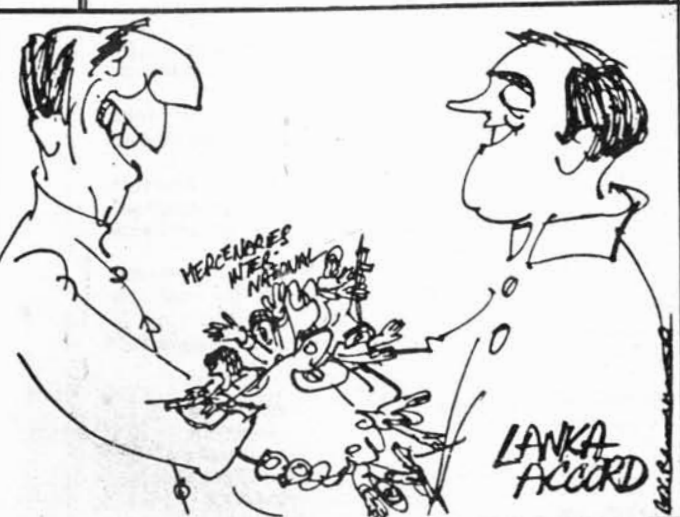
## Boycott by Ministers

From K. K. Katyal

COLOMBO, July 29.

The Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Mr. Rana-singhe Premadasa, and at least two Ministers stayed away from the official reception accorded by their President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, on his arrival here today. The Ministers, conspicuous by their absence were, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Internal Security, and Mr. Gamini Jayasuriya, Agriculture.

This was the first glimpse of the open manifestation of the strains and differences in the Sri Lankan Government over the signing of the 17-point accord with India—the purpose of Mr. Gandhi's visit—as also the political solution of the ethnic problem enshrined in it. Mr. Premadasa and some of his colleagues had not minced words in decrying the accord in the last few days.



Ramamorthy, Deccan Herald, 29.6.87



# Indo-Sri Lanka Accord

DOCUMENT

**F**OLLOWING is the text of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to Establish Peace and Normalcy in Sri Lanka:

The Prime Minister of the Republic of India, His Excellency Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, His Excellency Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, having met at Colombo on July 29, 1987:

Attaching utmost importance to nurturing, intensifying and strengthening the traditional friendship of India and Sri Lanka, and acknowledging the imperative need of resolving the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka, and the consequent violence, and for the safety, well-being and prosperity of people belonging to all communities in Sri Lanka,

Have this day entered into the following Agreement to fulfil this objective.

In this context,

1.1. *desiring* to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka;

1.2. *acknowledging* that Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic and a multi-lingual plural society consisting, *inter alia*, of Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims (Moors) and Burghers;

1.3. *recognising* that each ethnic group has a distinct cultural and linguistic identity which has to be carefully nurtured;

1.4. *also recognising* that the Northern and the Eastern Provinces have been areas of historical habitation of Sri Lankan Tamil speaking peoples, who have at all times hitherto lived together in this territory with other ethnic groups;

1.5. *conscious* of the necessity of strengthening the forces contributing to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka, and preserving its character as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious plural society, in which all citizens can live in equality, safety and harmony, and prosper and fulfil their aspirations;

2. *Resolve that:*

2.1. Since the Government of Sri Lanka proposes to permit adjoining provinces to join to form one administrative unit and also by a referendum to separate as may be permitted to the Northern and Eastern Provinces as outlined below:

2.2. During the period, which shall be considered an interim period, i.e. from the date of the elections to the Provincial Council, as specified in para 2.8., to the date of the referendum, as specified in para 2.3., the Northern and Eastern Provinces, as now constituted, will form one administrative unit, having one elected Provincial Council. Such a unit will have one Governor, one Chief Minister and one Board of Ministers.

2.3. There will be a referendum on or before 31st December 1988 to enable the people of the Eastern Province to decide whether:

(a) The Eastern Province should remain linked with the Northern Province as one administrative unit, and continue to be governed together with the Northern Province as specified in para 2.2., or

(b) The Eastern Province should constitute a separate administrative unit having its

own distinct Provincial Council with a separate Governor, Chief Minister and Board of Ministers.

The President may, at his discretion, decide to postpone such a referendum.

2.4. All persons who have been displaced due to ethnic violence, or other reasons, will have the right to vote in such a referendum. Necessary conditions to enable them to return to areas from where they were displaced will be created.

2.5. The referendum, when held, will be monitored by a committee headed by the Chief Justice; a member appointed by the President, nominated by the Government of Sri Lanka; and a member appointed by the President, nominated by the representatives of the Tamil speaking people of the Eastern Province.

2.6. A simple majority will be sufficient to determine the result of the referendum.

2.7. Meetings and other forms of propaganda, permissible within the laws of the country, will be allowed before the referendum.

2.8. Elections to Provincial Councils will be held within the next three months, in any event before 31st December 1987. Indian observers will be invited for elections to the Provincial Council of the North and East.

2.9. The Emergency will be lifted in the Eastern and Northern Provinces by August 15, 1987. A cessation of hostilities will come into effect all over the Island within 48 hours of the signing of this Agreement. All arms presently held by militant groups will be surrendered in accordance with an agreed procedure to authorities to be designated by the Government of Sri Lanka.

Consequent to the cessation of hostilities and the surrender of arms by militant groups, the Army and other security personnel will be confined to barracks in camps as on 25th May 1987. The process of surrendering of arms and the confining of security personnel moving back to barracks shall be completed within 72 hours of the cessation of hostilities coming into effect.

2.10. The Government of Sri Lanka will utilise for the purpose of law enforcement and maintenance of security in the Northern and Eastern Provinces the same organisations and mechanisms of Government as are used in the rest of the country.

2.11. The President of Sri Lanka will grant a general amnesty to political and other prisoners now held in custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other Emergency laws, and to combatants, as well as to those persons accused, charged and/or convicted under these laws. The Government of Sri Lanka will make special efforts to rehabilitate militant youth with a view to bringing them back into the mainstream of national life. India will cooperate in the process.

2.12. The Government of Sri Lanka will accept and abide by the above provisions and expect all others to do likewise.

2.13. If the framework for the resolutions is accepted, the Government of Sri Lanka will implement the relevant proposals for-

thwith.

2.14. The Government of India will underwrite and guarantee the resolutions, and co-operate in the implementation of these proposals.

2.15. These proposals are conditional to an acceptance of the proposals negotiated from 4-5-1986 to 19-12-1986. Residual matters not finalised during the above negotiations shall be resolved between India and Sri Lanka within a period of six weeks of signing this Agreement. These proposals are also conditional to the Government of India cooperating directly with the Government of Sri Lanka in their implementation.

2.16. These proposals are also conditional to the Government of India taking the following actions if any militant groups operating in Sri Lanka do not accept this framework of proposals for a settlement, namely,

(a) India will take all necessary steps to ensure that Indian territory is not used for activities prejudicial to the unity, integrity and security of Sri Lanka.

(b) The Indian Navy/Coast Guard will co-operate with the Sri Lankan Navy in preventing Tamil militant activities from affecting Sri Lanka.

(c) In the event that the Government of Sri Lanka requests the Government of India to afford military assistance to implement these proposals, the Government of India will co-operate by giving to the Government of Sri Lanka such military assistance as and when requested.

(d) The Government of India will expedite repatriation from Sri Lanka of Indian citizens to India who are resident there, concurrently with the repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees from Tamil Nadu.

(e) The Governments of India and Sri Lanka will cooperate in ensuring the physical security and safety of all communities inhabiting the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

2.17. The Government of Sri Lanka shall ensure free, full and fair participation of voters from all communities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in electoral processes envisaged in this Agreement. The Government of India will extend full cooperation to the Government of Sri Lanka in this regard.

2.18. The official language of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala. Tamil and English will also be official languages.

3. This Agreement and the Annexure thereto shall come into force upon signature.

In witness whereof we have set our hands and seals hereunto.

Done in Colombo, Sri Lanka, on this the twentieth day of July of the year one thousand nine hundred and eighty seven, in duplicate, both texts being equally authentic.

Rajiv Gandhi  
Prime Minister  
of the  
Republic of  
India

Junius Richard  
Jayewardene  
President of the  
Democratic Socialist  
Republic of  
Sri Lanka

## Annexure to the agreement

1. His Excellency the Prime Minister of India and His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka agree that the referendum mentioned in paragraph 2 and its sub-paragraphs of the Agreement will be observed by a representative of the Election Commission of India to be invited by His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka.

2. Similarly, both Heads of Government agree that the elections to the Provincial Council mentioned in paragraph 2.8 of the Agreement will be observed by a representative of the Government of India to be invited by the President of Sri Lanka.

3. His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka agrees that the Home Guards would be disbanded and all paramilitary personnel will be withdrawn from the Eastern and Northern Provinces with a view to creating conditions conducive to fair elections to the Council.

The President, in his discretion, shall absorb such paramilitary forces, which came into being due to ethnic violence, into the regular security forces of Sri Lanka.

4. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Sri Lanka agree that the Tamil militants shall surrender their arms to authorities agreed upon to be designated by the President of Sri Lanka. The surrender shall take place in the presence of one senior representative each of the Sri Lanka Red Cross and the Indian Red Cross.

5. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Sri Lanka agree that a joint Indo-Sri Lankan observer group consisting of qualified representatives of the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka would monitor the cessation of hostilities from 31st July 1987.

6. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Sri Lanka also agree that in terms of paragraph 2.14 and paragraph 2.16(c) of the Agreement, an Indian peace keeping contingent may be invited by the President of Sri Lanka to guarantee and enforce the cessation of hostilities, if so required. □

## The exchange of letters

Following is the text of Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene's reply to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's letter of July 29, 1987:

Excellency,

Please refer to your letter dated the 29th July, 1987, which reads as follows:

Excellency,

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

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

(i) Your Excellency and myself will reach an early understanding about the relevance and employment of foreign military and intelligence personnel with a view to ensuring that such presences will not prejudice Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

(ii) Trincomalee or any other ports in Sri Lanka will not be made available for military use by any country in a manner prejudicial to India's interests.

(iii) The work of restoring and operating the Trincomalee oil tank farm will be undertaken as a joint venture between India and Sri Lanka.

(iv) Sri Lanka's agreements with foreign broadcasting organisations will be reviewed to ensure that any facilities set up by them in Sri Lanka are used solely as public broadcasting facilities and not for any military or intelligence purposes.

3. In the same spirit, India will:

(i) Deport all Sri Lankan citizens who are found to be engaging in terrorist activities or advocating separatism or secessionism.

(ii) Provide training facilities and military supplies for Sri Lankan security forces.

4. India and Sri Lanka have agreed to set up a joint consultative mechanism to continuously review matters of common concern in the light of the objectives stated in para 1 and specifically to monitor the implementation of other matters contained in this letter.

5. Kindly confirm, Excellency, that the above correctly sets out the agreement reached between us.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/-  
(Rajiv Gandhi)

His Excellency  
Mr. J. R. Jayewardene,  
President of the Democratic Socialist  
Republic of Sri Lanka,  
Colombo

This is to confirm that the above correctly sets out the understanding reached between us.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(J. R. Jayewardene)

His Excellency  
Mr. Rajiv Gandhi,  
Prime Minister of the Republic of India,  
New Delhi





# India's help sought

From N. Ram

COLOMBO, July 29.

The Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, is seeking immediate military cooperation and assistance from India to create a conducive atmosphere right at the start for an effective and trouble free implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, according to well informed sources here.

This means India's peace keeping force might be in place in the northern and eastern regions of the island within the next couple of days, so that the mutual process of demilitarisation of the situation — following the formal cessation of hostilities which is due to take effect within 24 hours of the signing of the agreement — can take place smoothly.

Time frame: The India-Sri Lanka Agreement to Establish Peace and Normalcy in Sri Lanka, signed today by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and Mr. Jayewardene, specifically provides that 'in the event that the Government of Sri Lanka requests the Government of India to afford military assistance to implement these proposals, the Government of India will cooperate by giving to the Government of Sri Lanka, such military assistance as and when requested'. The text of the agreement also specified a 72-hour time frame after the ceasefire comes into effect within which the process of the militants surrendering arms and security forces returning to barracks and to the pre-Vadamarachi offensive situation (as on

May 25, 1987) is to be completed.

Mr. Jayewardene indicated in Wednesday's press conference in Colombo, in response to a question raised by THE HINDU, that he was agreeable to giving more time for the mutual process, that he would also ensure in the meantime that the Sri Lankan Armed Forces strictly observed discipline and restraint.

In response to the LTTE expressing its concern and apprehension about the security or safety question for the Tamils during the initial period of implementation of the bilateral agreement, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is believed to have made clear to the LTTE leaders, Mr. V. Prabhakaran and Mr. A. Balasingam, that India would provide assurances on this point in cooperation with the Government of Sri Lanka and would come up with a practical safety-assuring proposition right from the start of implementation.

Credible guarantee: The idea of an Indian peace-keeping force representing a credible guarantee and a key safety factor for the implementation of the agreement, which has boldly taken on the challenge of finding a peaceful political solution to the ethnic conflict appears to have ready acceptance from Mr. Jayewardene. His current mood and approach openly stresses friendship with India as a guarantee for Sri Lanka's unity and well-being and even publicly acknowledges that "mistakes" were made in the past. In the current troubled situation in Sri Lanka, this mood and approach must be considered distinctly forward looking.

# Indian troops land in Jaffna

NEWS

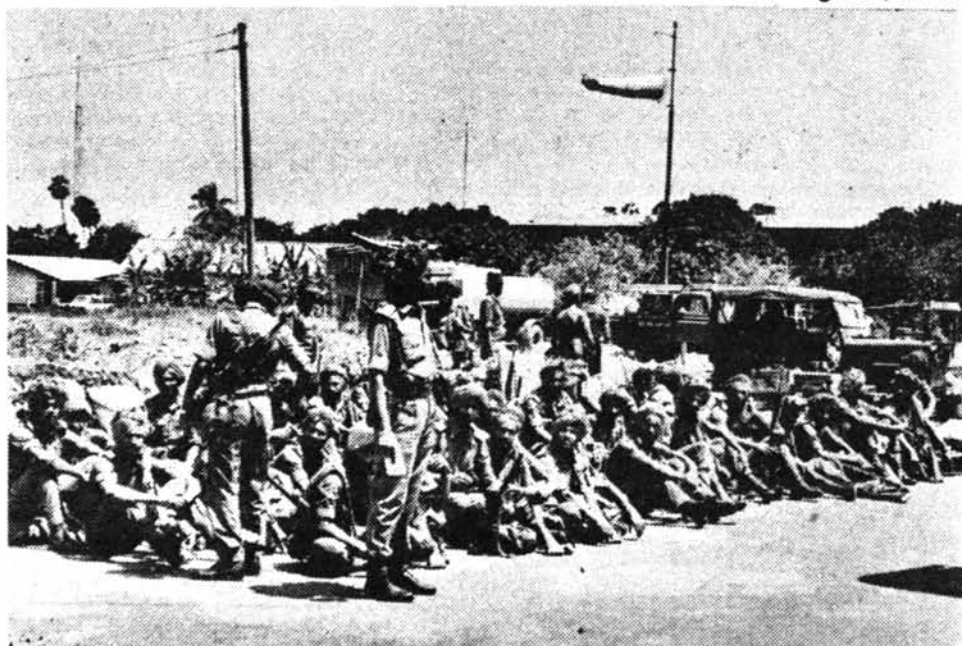
From K. K. Katyal

COLOMBO, July 30.

Close on the heels of the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, some 1,500 Indian troops, constituting the 'peace-keeping force', landed today in the Jaffna peninsula at Colombo's request. IAF planes carried the troops to the Palaly camp, the largest in the peninsula.

# Indian troops will be at Colombo's disposal: Dixit

THE HINDU, August 1, 1987.



Within 24 hours of the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, Indian peace-keeping force has arrived in Jaffna area.



## INTERVIEW

On July 30, Sri Lanka's 82-year-old President, a veteran of many political and ideological battles over many decades, looked cool and relaxed at his desk, in dramatic contrast to the atmosphere outside—at that juncture, there was extensive violence on the streets and curfew outside, several of the civilian faces on view looked glum or burdened with anxiety over the affairs of state, and it was an open secret that there were bitter differences within the Cabinet.

President Jayewardene made it clear to me, in his on-the-record as well as off-the-record conversation, that while he was not underestimating the forces ranged against the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement and the bold attempt to resolve the ethnic conflict politically through this agreement, he was not overestimating them either.

Here is a sample of the responses in an interview that represented vintage JR, at his political, tactical and intellectual best:

**N. Ram:** Mr. President, could you give us your perspective on Indo-Sri Lanka relations today?

**President JR:** My attitude to India? That has never changed. I am a lover of India, a friend of its people and a follower of its greatest son.

**Q:** Are you happy with the results of this visit by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and with the discussions?

**A:** I am happy so far as the governments of the two countries are concerned. I am very unhappy with the way some of our people have behaved. A set of hooligans and thugs murdering people, causing other harm to individuals, property. That's not the way democratic people behave.

**Q:** What do you expect to happen in the next few days and weeks?

**A:** If those whom I call terrorists or separatists disarm, as the accord wishes them to do—genuinely, fully, without having to have recourse to arms or laws—the first steps to true friendship will begin. That is fundamental, essential. The army will go back to barracks.

**Q:** You can call it a process of demilitarisation of the situation?

**A:** Yes, if you like. A cessation of hostilities, not a ceasefire.

**Q:** Do you have a message for the Sri Lankan Tamils?

**A:** The message is: Forgive. I have forgiven them—if they lay down arms. Join the mainstream of political life and be elected into positions of power.

**Q:** Do you have any specific thought on what the moderates should do and what Mr. Prabakaran should do?

**A:** All should do the same thing.... Lay down arms. It is a primitive method. Prabakaran must change his mind. He must become a good democrat....

**Q:** Mr. Jayewardene, you have had very long experience in the politics and governance of this nation and also in international and regional relations. And surely you have instincts and certain perceptions that would be a guide to understanding the present.... It is a tangled situation so far as we can make it out. What is your own sense of the situation?

**A:** Ram (laughs), I am going to use your own words. I have to untangle the Gordian knot and to do that this agreement must be implemented—sincerely, fully, in all its aspects. I intend to do that. I want India, which is also a signatory, to do it—and to get the separat-

ist groups, violent and non-violent, to accept and follow it. I have no touch with them. If they lay down arms, I will be in touch with them. Those (on the Sinhala side) who are doing what they are doing are doing it largely through ignorance. And they are being inflamed by a Sinhalese terrorist group working among the Sinhalese people. They won't be able to do it if they understand the accord and see it implemented....

**Q:** And you are determined to see this through?

**A:** Democratically, yes. Right to the end, I'll go.... There will be no problems if we implement the agreement....

**Q:** The general impression is that it is a historic role you are playing now, but it could go either way....

**A:** It will go only one way. I'm sure of that. If, as I said, all those who are signatories adhere to the accord, implement it and get others who are necessary to support it. Let me say this to you. I will bring my whole Cabinet to Jaffna if this is implemented.... and if democracy is returned to the Northern and Eastern provinces. They can choose their leaders by vote.

August 8-21, 1987

## High grade input

**H**OW was the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement negotiated and clinched?

Many of the ideas, and certainly the guiding principles for a settlement, were available from the previous "good offices" endeavours of India. But there was one very major point of departure and this had to be cleared politically at the very top — by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. This was a departure from the role of "good offices" which had attempted to bring the two parties to the ethnic dispute together; narrow the understanding and communication gap, and to make them negotiate a peaceful, political settlement. This "good offices" role held for most of the period since 1983.

The change of India's role—from promoter to party to the settlement with a direct involvement in *guaranteeing* and *underwriting* its structure and framework and in *cooperating* in its implementation—cannot possibly be overestimated in a qualitative sense. It made all the difference to what appeared intractable. This reflected a major political decision taken by the Prime Minister, that be-

came a Cabinet decision and very quickly, state policy.

By all accounts and by every test of performance, the professional Foreign Office input into the exercise was high-grade during this sensitive period. High Commissioner J. N. Dixit played a leading role in building on the sound basis identified, in tying up the details, in getting over or round obstacles, and in getting the agreement in place, ready to sign, by July 29. Foreign Secretary K. P. S. Menon and his colleagues, working closely with the Prime Minister's office, provided solid encouragement and support to Dixit's endeavours and also the important element of professional coordination.

This bold but close-to-the-ground professional input, which has hardly been reported in the media in any substantive sense, forms a real contrast to the high-flying, compromising and eventually very negative role played by Romesh Bhandari when he was Foreign Secretary and even thereafter, in shaping India's policy towards the Tamil question in Sri Lanka. □

N.R.

# Sri Lankan sailor hits P.M. with butt of gun

## Rajiv ducks, escapes with minor injury

NEWS

From K. K. Katyal

COLOMBO, July 30.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, this morning escaped a determined bid on his life, as a Sri Lankan Navy sailor hit him with the butt of his gun during the inspection of a guard of honour—a part of the official sendoff on the eve of Mr. Gandhi's departure for Delhi.

What was a formal sendoff outside the Sri Lankan President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's official residence in the heart of the city took an ugly turn at a time and place, least expected for such an attempt. The Prime Minister suffered bruises on his head and shoulder and could have sustained a serious head injury, had he not ducked in a quick reflex action. As a result, the gun got deflected and the force of the blow was absorbed. Members of the Special Protection Group (SPG) on duty at the spot responded to the situation with remarkable alacrity. Some of them threw themselves around the Prime Minister in a protective ring. Others pinned down the assailant.

I'll probe it: JRJ

Reuter, PTL, UNI report:

The white-clad sailor was the third test in the front row of the honour guard that Mr. Gandhi inspected.

As Mr. Gandhi walked past, the man swung his assault rifle up over his shoulder with both hands and slammed it down on the Prime Minister's left shoulder. Mr. Gandhi halted briefly but did not stagger and was immediately grabbed and led away by securitymen.

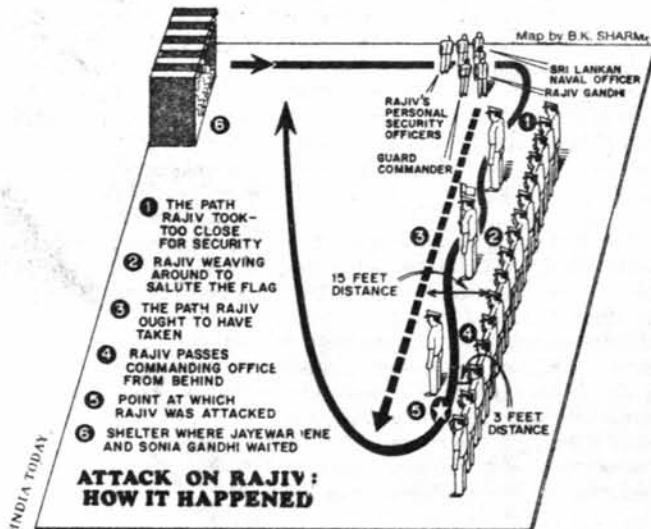
Mr. Jayewardene smilingly told reporters he thought the sailor was suffering from sunstroke "fainted" and fell on Mr. Gandhi. "I'll investigate it, I'll investigate it," he said.

The sailor looked defiant as he was grabbed by half-a-dozen uniformed police officers and plainclothes security agents and dragged away. He was pinned with his face against an iron railing and his hands were held behind his back before he was hustled away.

The curfew in Colombo, which was to be lifted at 11 a.m. today, was extended till tomorrow



The attacker collared.





## Sri Lanka: the truth according to Jayawardene

IN PARLIAMENT

**T**HE ADDRESS TO THE SRI LANKAN Parliament by President Jayawardene, at the commencement of its new session on 25th February, 1988, has a few intriguing statements which throw new light on the circumstances in which the governments of India and Sri Lanka signed the Agreement in Colombo on 29th July, 1987, under which India agreed to send its troops to Sri Lanka to fight Jayawardene's war against the Tamils. Says Mr. Jayawardene:

"On the 29th July, 1987 the Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and I signed in Colombo an Agreement to establish peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka..."

"On this day, the 29th July, in some parts of the Island, other than in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, rioting took place. Mobs converged on the city of Colombo from the direction of Kelaniya, Nugegoda and Panadura-Moratuwa. The security forces and the police were able to disperse them at Peliyagoda, Dehiwela Bridge, Kirillapone, Pamankade Bridge and Ayurvedic Hospital Junction, Borella. These mobs had committed a spate of violence in the outskirts of Colombo, before attempting to enter the city.

"Violence spread to other areas as well. The areas most affected were Matara, Galle, Hambantota, Kalutara, Mount Lavinia, Nugegoda, Kandy, Ratnapur and Polonnaruwa."

There are facts that were widely known at the time when these incidents occurred. However, Jayawardene then goes on to give statistics to explain the gravity of the situation that confronted him during this period. He says:

"(a) Total number of incidents in the country between 28.07.1987 and 02.08.1987. — 2,527

(b) Breakdown of incidents —

Murders — 16  
Injured — 40

Damage to Government/Corporation buildings — (42 Local Govt. and Asst. Government Agent's Offices, 47 Railway Stations/Tracks).

Culverts damaged — 529

Damage to Govt./Corporations/Private vehicles (including Ceylon Transport Board buses). — 1,005

(Over 500 Ceylon Transport Board buses damaged)

Damage to telegraph pylons and transformers. — 189

Robberies — 561

"The damage caused amounted to over Rs. 200 million."

According to Jayawardene:

"The JVP had clearly designed to unleash violence throughout the country, by exploiting a situation where large numbers from other political groups were to take to the streets, in order to stage demonstrations. They converted such crowds into violent mobs. In fact, the robbery of 311 shotguns by the JVP during this short

period, suggests that they had a larger and long-term objective in mind — the eventual capture of state power and destroying the democratic process."

To deal with this situation, Jayawardene says:

"The Government had to withdraw the security forces amounting to about 4500 from the North and East to meet this treat. Over 900 police personnel were also engaged on duty in Kandy on account the Esala Perahera."

And then he goes to make the most significant revelation:

"Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi came to my assistance by sending Indian Forces to the Jaffna Peninsula to relieve Sri Lanka Forces to come down to the South. As a result of this gesture I was able to bring to the troubled areas outside the North and the East sufficient security services to prevent further rioting and causing of damage to persons and property.

"I was advised to permanently strengthen the security services in the South and I did so. This necessitated that they be released from duties in the North and East."



The Rev. Maduluwawe Sobitha is a Buddhist monk to be watched. Regarded by many as a future political star of the Khomeini type, he leads the Maubima Surakime Vyaparaya (Protectors of the Motherland). An open enemy of the Rajiv-JR agreement.

# LTTE, EROS will not lay down arms

NEWS

MADRAS, July 31.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam today firmly declared that it would not lay down arms. The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) also announced that it would not hand over its weapons at the stipulated places announced by the Sri Lankan Government.

In a statement sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, through Maj. Gen. R. K. Singh by the LTTE's regional commander for Vavuniya, Mr. Ajit Mahatiya, the LTTE said it had taken a pledge to fight to the last breath to protect the freedom of the Tamil people. The LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabhakaran and other representatives, who went from their "region of control" to Delhi on the invitation of Mr. Gandhi, had not been able to contact the LTTE. "This action of the Government of India has made us lose faith in it," Mr. Mahatiya said in the statement.

**Consultation first:** He categorically ruled out any question of the LTTE handing over its weapons to anybody or surrendering until Mr. Prabhakaran and other representatives were flown back to Jaffna from Delhi and they consulted

the Tamil people to arrive at an acceptable solution.

Mr. Mahatiya said the LTTE would not respect the proposals agreed to by the Government of India and the Sri Lankan Government, for they had been chalked out without consulting the Tamil people and the LTTE, or eliciting their opinion. "We will not accept with folded arms such a genocide that is being imposed on our people today," he said.

"Hence, we will fight till our last breath any armed aggression or launching of any action in our area of control without our permission or consultation. We declare very firmly that if anybody tries to impose any proposal on us or commit aggression, it could happen only over our dead bodies. At the same time, we would welcome unarmed people who come with a spirit of friendship. We are not against the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi or the people of India. The continuation of the friendship with the Tamil people depends on the understanding of the Government of India," the LTTE's regional commander said.

Mr. Prabhakaran, leader of the LTTE was kept incommunicado in a New Delhi hotel. A demonstration in Holland demanding release of the leader.





Blocking the IPKF soldiers enroute,  
people of the Jaffna clamoured for the  
release of their leader





# Bringing LTTE around

REPORT

**The LTTE's announcement on August 4 that it would surrender arms and go along with the agreement was the result of much persuasion. Its initial negative stand had stemmed from worries over the safety and security of its cadres and the people during the implementation phase. MALINI PARTHASARATHY traces the delicate operation in Delhi.**



K. Gajendran

**At the Madras airport, on his way to New Delhi, Prabhakaran talking to reporters. With him is Kittu.**

**P**ERHAPS the most vivid indication that the long-awaited breakthrough in the protracted efforts to resolve the Sri Lankan Tamil crisis was in the making, was the arrival in the Indian capital of the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Velupillai Prabhakaran, for talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

As leader of the LTTE, which has taken on the major part of the Tamil defence against the offensive of the Sri Lankan security forces, and whose determined resistance, in cooperation with the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS), had ensured that the attempts to impose a military solution on the Tamil people would not succeed, Prabhakaran's cooperation was vital to the implementation of the proposed agreement.

On the morning of July 24, three Indian Air Force helicopters flew to Jaffna and brought the LTTE chief and his lieutenants to India. The ground for Prabhakaran's visit to New Delhi had already been laid by the talks that Hardip Singh Puri, First Secretary in the Indian High Commission, had with him in Jaffna a few days earlier. However it was clear from the comments of the LTTE leader in Madras en route to New Delhi that while he considered New Delhi's invitation to the LTTE "historical-

ly important" and felt that the Tamil struggle had reached a "decisive phase," his substantive assessment of the proposed settlement would have to await the conclusion of his talks in Delhi.

The LTTE leader made one point clear: the Sri Lankan armed forces should pull back to the pre-May 26 position when they launched the offensive on the Vadammarachchi region of the Jaffna peninsula. He indicated to reporters at the Madras airport that he had no clear idea of what was being proposed. Puri had conveyed an "urgent invitation to meet the Prime Minister" and had expressed the keenness of the Government of India on solving the problem. Prabhakaran's aide Yogi added that Puri had suggested that the two parties, Colombo and the LTTE, should come together.

The LTTE leader met the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, M. G. Ramachandran, before flying into Delhi that Friday afternoon. MGR had already been briefed by Indian Government officials on the proposed accord. A team of officials headed by the Foreign Secretary, K. P. S. Menon, had visited Madras on July 21 and, in an hour-long meeting with

the Chief Minister, explained to him the details of the negotiations between the Governments of India and Sri Lanka. The official team, which included Kuldeep Sahdev, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Hardip Puri, and Ronen Sen from the Prime Minister's office, met the Tamil groups, the TULF, EROS, EPRLF and PLOT, separately and asked them to study the "emerging suggestions."

The Tamil groups recognised that the latest Colombo proposals represented a conceptual advance in that the merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces was on the negotiating agenda, but were worried by the enabling provision of a referendum which, they said, would render the nature of the proposed merger conditional and possibly temporary. But all the groups indicated that the proposals showed definite promise. Said the TULF: "We are hopeful that this may lead to a final settlement."

As the focus shifted to New Delhi after the arrival of the LTTE leader, it became clear that the following days would be crucial in the attempt to clinch a settlement. But New Delhi was making little headway in its bid to con-

vince Prabakaran that the safety and security of the Tamil people would be taken care of under the accord.

The LTTE was clearly worried over the provision that envisaged a simultaneous cessation of hostilities, involving on the one hand the army's move-back to the pre-Vadamarachchi situation and on the other the disarming of the militants within a 72-hour time-frame. The LTTE leader expressed his confidence in the Government of India but said it was difficult to trust the Sri Lankan Government and be sure that the undisciplined Sri Lankan armed forces would not go on the rampage again against the civilian Tamil population. And once disarmed, it would be difficult for the militants, who had all along been the protectors of the Tamil people, to defend them from an onslaught. The substantive questions posed by the LTTE leader were: what would be the safety mechanism in the period of disarming and how would the cadres and the civilian population be protected in the phase when the militants are in the process of disarming and the army has not yet fully moved back? And after disarming, who will bear the responsibility of protecting the Tamil people should the Sri Lankan security forces resume their onslaught?

Like the other Tamil groups, the LTTE expressed its reservations about the provision for a referendum as one likely to render the merger of the two provinces conditional and possibly temporary.

The Government of India recognised sympathetically the LTTE's concerns and intensified its efforts to address the issues that had been raised. The Tamil Nadu Government, which had been playing a significant role in the efforts to resolve the crisis, liaising between New Delhi and the Tamil groups, was roped in. The State Chief Minister and the Food Minister, S. Ramachandran, flew into the capital at the instance of the Prime Minister on Sunday to exercise their influence in the effort to convince the LTTE leader.

But as the Government announced that the Prime Minister would be going to Colombo on Wednesday, July 29, obviously time was running out. And despite the combined efforts of the Government of India and the Tamil Nadu Government to bring Prabakaran around, little headway had been made. In fact the nadir appeared to have been reached on Monday night when the LTTE announced that it was rejecting the proposals.

A clearly angry Prabakaran announced that he had "been tricked." According to the LTTE, it had not been consulted on the agreement. When Puri came to Jaffna he had not made

clear that the agreement would be between the two Governments and that the LTTE would not be a party to it. In fact the LTTE had been given the impression that it would be asked to negotiate. Although Prabakaran subsequently retracted some of the sharply critical statements, the LTTE's reservations relating to the safety and security question remained a hard nut to crack.

Meanwhile the Government of India was in close touch with the other Tamil groups. The Prime Minister met the TULF Secretary-General, A. Amirthalingam, and his colleagues separately and the leaders of other groups jointly. While both the TULF and EROS accepted the proposals broadly, expressing reservations on some of the specifics like the referendum provision and the problems involved in disarming, the EPRLF, TELO and PLOT issued a statement extending support to the accord and attacking the LTTE for "not co-operating."

The Tamil Nadu Government was working hard to address the LTTE's problems. S. Ramachandran posed two questions sharply to the Indian Government: first, the safety and security of the cadres and the people in the initial phase of implementation of the accord and second, the precise political role of the Tamil groups in the agreement envisaged between the two Governments.

Ramachandran's mediation was making significant progress. The efforts to narrow the differences between the viewpoints of the LTTE and the Indian Government climaxed at a midnight meeting between the Prime Minister and the LTTE leader, hours before Rajiv was to leave for Colombo. At that 75-minute meeting, Rajiv listened sympathetically to the LTTE's points and assured it that the Government of India would come up with a practical safety-assuring proposition from the start of the implementation.

The Prime Minister asked the LTTE leader to stay on in the capital for further discussions on these issues. Evidently with this midnight meeting much of the tension evaporated as the gap had been significantly narrowed. And New Delhi's response to the LTTE fears was the proposal for an Indian peace-keeping force to supervise the process of cessation of hostilities. Another indication that the LTTE's reservations about the very short time-frame for disarming would be heeded came when President Jayewardene told a press conference on Wednesday that he was agreeable to giving more time for the process of cessation of hostilities.

While the Indian Government, understandably, drew much satisfaction from the fact that an agreement had been

signed and a chance for peace wrested from a four-year saga of turmoil and much pain, it did not allow the sense of jubilation to dilute the understanding that the realities of the implementation process lay ahead, and a significant part hinged on the cooperation of the LTTE and its leader who was waiting in Delhi to conclude the discussions.

Appreciating that the LTTE's fears had not been fully allayed, in the two days that followed the signing of the agreement, the Government of India, with the vital cooperation of the Tamil Nadu Government, particularly S. Ramachandran, resumed its efforts to remove them. As the Indian peace-keeping force was on the threshold of the Jaffna peninsula, the LTTE had last-minute doubts. Prabakaran met S. Ramachandran several times and the two went over the list of LTTE concerns, some of which appeared new, as for instance the claim that the LTTE had understood that it would be given charge of the peninsula in the interim period. But this was clearly at odds with the explicit provision in the agreement that the "same organisations and mechanisms of Government as used in the rest of the country would be in operation."

The LTTE leader is understood to have told the Tamil Nadu Food Minister that the regional commanders of his organisation wanted him back in Jaffna and to be present when the implementation process began. The LTTE apprehensions were not dismissed and in response it was pointed out to it that there had occurred a qualitative change in the Jaffna peninsula as a result of the induction of the peace-keeping force. Besides, the LTTE could accept the good faith of the agreement. The process of demilitarisation to which the LTTE fears of safety and security related, would be completed under the aegis of both India and Sri Lanka.

That the Indian Government's assurances were well taken was apparent from the fact that although Prabakaran indicated that he would take a final decision only after reaching Jaffna and consulting his regional commanders, the attitude and approach he displayed in New Delhi was positive. In the early hours of August 2, the LTTE chief was flown by an IAF aircraft back to his island home via Madras, where he met the Chief Minister.

The arrival of Prabakaran in Jaffna a day before the deadline stipulated in the agreement for the voluntary surrender of arms by the militants expired, augured well for the implementation of the agreement as it indicated that the LTTE was showing an inclination to accept the assurances of India and to go along with the process. August 8-21, 1987



**REPORT**

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's speech, in the company of MGR, to a mass audience on the Madras Marina has provided a popular summation of the features of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement and the exchange of letters between the Prime Minister of India and the President of Sri Lanka, and also a persuasive analysis of the character of the breakthrough and of the methodology that had been employed:

**On the political significance of the agreement in a wider sense:** "Every reasonable demand has been met and this is the time to stop fighting, stop the violence and stop the conflict; it is time to start building..... Now we have created a condition for an end to the violence, for an end to the needless suffering and for an end to all discrimination. Now the Tamils in Sri Lanka will continue to live as they lived there for hundreds of years as honoured and respected citizens enjoying all political

and civic rights on a footing of equality with all other Sri Lankans."

**On the attitude of the two adversarial camps in the ethnic conflict:** "The Sri Lankan Government has given us several assurances that it will not take advantage of the disarming of the militants. Before I went to Sri Lanka to sign the agreement, I talked with the militants and the moderate Tamils (from Sri Lanka)..... I had consultations with all the fighters for justice and equality in Sri Lanka. The militants had all understood, and they agreed with the agreement that we have signed."

**On the meaning of the devolution of power, and related aspects of the political package for the Sri Lankan Tamils:** "This agreement secures everything that the Sri Lankan Tamils have demanded, short of breaking Sri Lanka, and, in fact, it goes well beyond the initial demands of the Sri Lankan Tamils."

**On the substance of the autonomy that is to come to the North and East:**

"Under the agreement, approximately one third of Sri Lanka's territory will be made a single province, where the Tamils will have a clear majority. They will have regional autonomy, comparable to the State Governments in India.

This represents an immense advance on what has been asked for by the Tamils in Annexure C in 1983. It represents major concessions made by the Sri Lankan Government."

**On the current stage of the peace process:** "A stage has been set for a national reconciliation and we must do everything we can to assist in this task, in the process of reconciliation and rebuilding. There is nothing further to be gained by more violence and more killing."

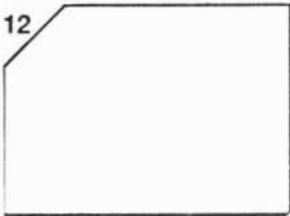
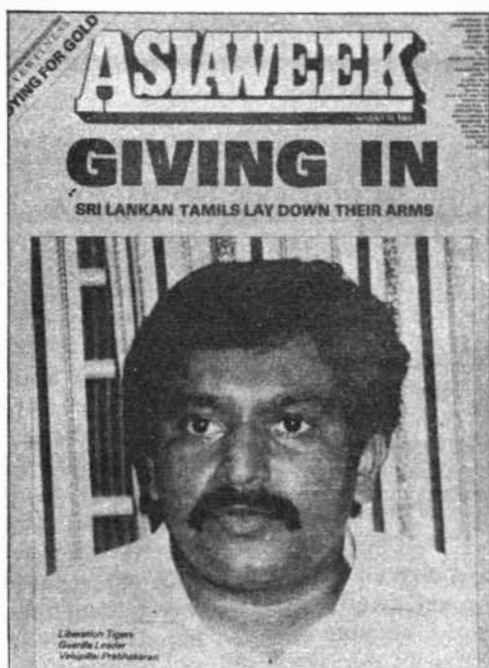
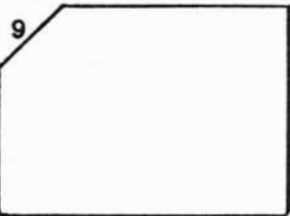
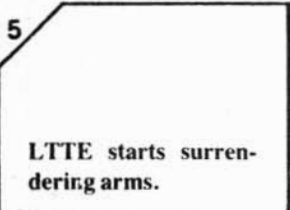
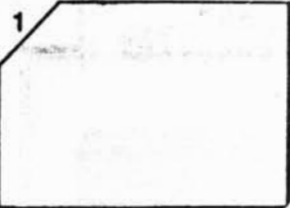
**On the possibility of extremists holding out and on Indian assurances:** "There should be no sympathy now for anyone who acts against this agreement, because anyone acting against this agreement will be acting against the interests of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Some of the militant groups have been a little apprehensive, perhaps a little worried about their personal security. They were also worried how they will fit into the future set-up. But I have reassured them that the agreement covers both the aspects very effectively and we will see that security and involvement in this rebuilding process is there for everyone" in the North and East of Sri Lanka."

**On the wider, security-related features of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement in an extended sense:** "This hostility opened up for others an opportunity to fish in troubled waters and cause problems in this part of the world..... Our security and strength lies in non-alignment. Certain outside presences in Sri Lanka were destabilising this commitment to non-alignment. This agreement not only brings to an end the hostilities but also brings peace, gives justice to minority communities in Sri Lanka, and also removes the opportunity for hostile forces to destabilise the region. It strengthens security and non-alignment in our region."

**On the content of the Rajiv-JR exchange of letters:** "We have seen the security problem in our region. We will see that such hostile forces are not allowed to come into our region. This exchange of letters ensures that forces prejudicial to India's interest will not be present on Sri Lankan soil. It also ensures that Sri Lankan ports, including Trincomalee, will not be given for military use if it is prejudicial to India's interest. It will also ensure that any broadcasting facility that is set up in Sri Lanka will not be used for military or intelligence purposes."

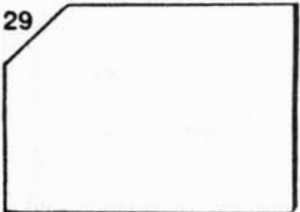
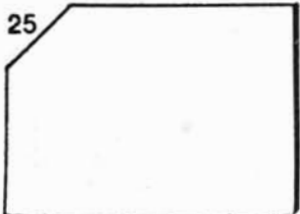
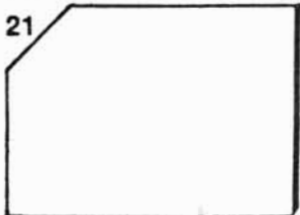
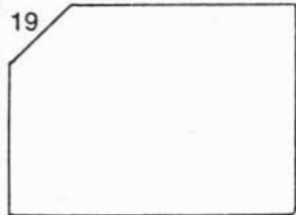
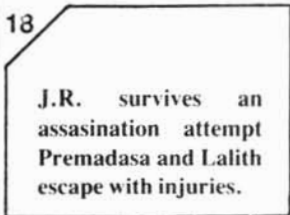
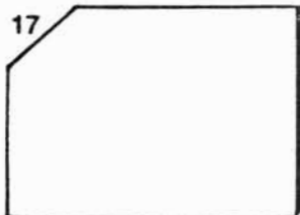
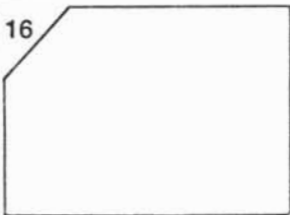
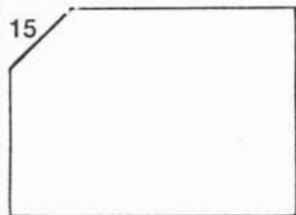
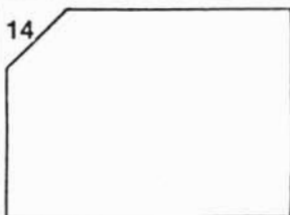
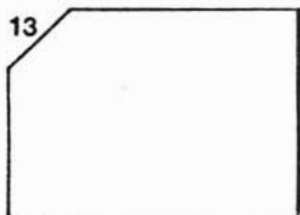






CHAPTER 2

1987



August



**Prabhakaran's public address at Jaffna (Suthumalai) on 4-8-87**

## Indo Sri Lanka Accord

**M**y beloved and esteemed people of Tamil Eelam,

Today there has taken place a tremendous turn in the history of our liberation struggle. This turn has come suddenly, in a way that has stunned us, and as if it were beyond our power to influence events.

Whether the consequences of this turn will be favourable to us, we shall have to wait and see.

You are aware that this Agreement, concluded suddenly and with great speed between India and Sri Lanka, without consulting our people and without consulting us, our people's representatives, is being implemented with expedition and urgency. Until I went to Delhi, I did not know anything about this Agreement. Saying that the Indian Prime Minister desired to see me, they invited me and took me quickly to Delhi. This Agreement was shown to us after I went there. There were several complications and several question marks in it. The doubt arose for us whether, as a result of this Agreement a permanent solution would be available to the problems of our people. Accordingly, we made it emphatically clear to the Indian Government that we were unable to accept this Agreement.

### Primary Concern

But the Indian Government stood unbudging on the point that whether we accepted or did

not accept the Agreement, it was determined to put it into effect. We were not taken by surprise by this stand of the Indian Government. This Agreement did not concern only the problem of the Tamils. This is primarily concerned with Indo-Sri Lanka relations. It also contains within itself the clauses for binding Sri Lanka within India's super-power orbit. It works out a way for preventing disruptionist and hostile foreign forces from gaining footholds in Sri Lanka. That is why the Indian Government showed such an extraordinary keenness in concluding this Agreement. However, at the same time, it happens to be an Agreement that determines the political future and fate of the people of Tamil Eelam. That is why we firmly objected to the conclusion of this Agreement without consultations with our people and without the seeking of our views. However, there is no point in our objecting to this. When a great power has decided to determine our political fate in a manner that is essentially beyond our control, what are we to do?

### Difficult to Digest

This Agreement directly affects our movement and our political goals and objectives. It affects the form and shape of our struggle. It also puts a stop to our armed struggle. If the mode of our struggle, brought to this stage over a fifteen year period through shedding blood through making sacrifices through staking achievements and through offering a great many lives, is to be dissolved or disbanded within a few days, it is naturally something we are unable to digest. This Agreement disarms us suddenly, without giving us time, without getting the consent of our fighters, without working out a guarantee for our people's safety and protection. Therefore we refused to surrender arms.

### India's assurances

Under such circumstances, India's Honorable Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, invited me for a discussion. I opened my mind and spoke to him of our concerns and our problems. I pointed out to the Indian Prime Minister the fact that I did not repose the slightest faith in the Sinhala racist government and did not believe that they were going to fulfill the implementation of this Agreement. I spoke to him about the question of our people's safety and protection and about guarantees for this. The Indian Prime Minister offered me certain assurances. He offered a guarantee for the



safety and protection of our people. I do have faith in the straightforwardness of the Indian Prime Minister and I do have faith in his assurances.

We do believe that India will not allow the racist Sri Lankan state to take once again to the road of genocide against the Tamils. It is only out of this faith that we decided to hand over our weapons to the Indian peace keeping force.

What ardent, immeasurable sacrifices we have made for the safety and protection of our people! There is no need here to elaborate on this theme. You, our beloved people, are fully aware of the character of our passion for our cause and our feelings of sacrifice. The weapons that we took up and deployed for your safety and protection, for your liberation, for your emancipation, we now entrust to the Indian Government.

### Transfer of responsibility

In taking from us our weapons – the one means of protection for Eelam Tamils – the Indian Government takes over from us the big responsibility of protecting our people. The handing over of arms only signifies the handing over, the transfer of this responsibility.

Were we not to hand over our weapons, we would be put in the calamitous circumstance of clashing with the Indian Army. We do not want this. We love India. We love the people of India. There is no question of our deploying our arms against Indian soldiers. The soldiers of the Indian Army are taking up the responsibility of

safeguarding and protecting us against our enemy. I wish very firmly to emphasise here that by virtue of our handing over our weapons to it the Indian Government should assume full responsibility for the life and security of every one of the Eelam Tamils.

We have no way other than to co-operate with this Indian endeavour. Let us offer them this opportunity. However, I do not think that as a result of this Agreement, there will be a permanent solution to the problem of the Tamils. The time is not very far off when the monster of Sinhala racism will devour this Agreement. I have unrelenting faith in the proposition that only a separate state of Tamil Eelam can offer a permanent solution of the problem of the people of Tamil Eelam. Let me make it clear to you here, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that I will continue to fight for the objective of attaining Tamil Eelam. The forms of struggle may change, but the objective or goal of our struggle is not going to change. If our cause is to triumph, it is vitally necessary that the wholehearted, the totally unified support of you, our people should always be with us.

The circumstance may arise for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to take part in the interim administration or to contest elections, keeping in view the interests of the people of Tamil Eelam. But I wish firmly to declare here that under no circumstances and at no point of time will I contest elections or accept the office of the Chief Minister.

The Liberation Tigers yearn for the motherland of Tamil Eelam.





# Pulling the Tigers' Teeth

*For the Tamils, a reluctant surrender of arms*

## REPORT

Only two days earlier, India had released the rebel leader from virtual house arrest in New Delhi after he promised to order his Tamil Tigers, Sri Lanka's largest insurgent group, to lay down their arms. Now, the bitterness of defeat visible in his eyes, Velupillai Prabhakaran stood before 70,000 Tamils at a temple on Sri Lanka's Jaffna Peninsula to make good on that pledge.

The Tigers would disarm, he told the throng, which was guarded by scores of armed insurgents, and leave the Tamil population in northern and eastern Sri Lanka under the protection of Indian troops. The crowd cheered, and Indian military officers sitting several yards from Prabhakaran looked visibly relieved. Then the stocky rebel leader offered a darker observation: "We do not accept this accord, but because India is a powerful country, we are unable to do anything about it. I don't think it will be a lasting solution."

On that pessimistic note, the pact signed two weeks ago by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan President Junius R. Jayewardene to bring to an end an increasingly bloody four-year insurgency on the island appeared to have taken hold—at least for the time being. New Delhi had delivered on its promise to assure that the Tigers would put down their weapons. It had also deployed 7,000 troops in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, home to most of the country's Tamil minority, to guarantee the truce. Offshore, Indian naval vessels patrolled the Palk Strait to cut off potential new arms shipments from Tigers based in India's Tamil Nadu state. The Sri Lanka government, for its part, withdrew many of its soldiers from the Jaffna area, announced the impending release of an estimated 4,000 Tamil prisoners and began planning for local rule in Tamil-dominated areas.

The end of the shooting, however, did not make for an end to discord. Prabhakaran made it clear that he was not about to abandon his dream of Eelam, an independent Tamil state. What action he might take toward that end—and in the

process disrupt the local-rule plan—remained a worrisome question in Colombo and New Delhi. Moreover, most Sinhalese, who represent 75% of the island's population, remained less than happy about Jayewardene's deal with India; two weeks ago antipact riots in Colombo left more than 70 people dead. The predominantly Buddhist Sinhalese were as distrustful as ever of India, which helped create the Tigers in the first place by training and arming them. The establishment of a lasting peace, said Neelan Tiruchelvam, a leading Tamil moderate, "will take an extraordinary effort on the part of both communities."

Last week Colombo and New Delhi were intent on proving that the pact—and the truce—was working. The day after Prabhakaran's speech the Indian army arranged for a ceremonial turnover of arms at Palali Air Base on the Jaffna Peninsula, the headquarters of the Indian forces on the island. Journalists were flown in from New Delhi, Madras and Colombo to watch the Tigers drop off six truckloads of weapons, a haul that contained everything from ancient single-shot rifles and rusty mortar shells to AK-47 and M-16 assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenades.

Indian and Sri Lankan officials even staged something of a surrender ceremony. In a dusty, cramped room at the air base terminal, one of Prabhakaran's lieutenants, who carries the nom de guerre of Yogi, handed over his pistol to Sri Lankan Defense Secretary Sepala Attiyagalle. The senior civil servant played his part: "Today," he said, "is a historic day for the future of Sri Lanka." Yogi looked glum and said nothing.

According to Major General Harkirat Singh, the commanding officer of the Indian peacekeeping forces, the weapons surrendered at Palali amounted to a "token" number; his men, he said, expected to collect more in the coming days. Many of the Tigers, however, were expected to hold on to their personal weapons. Indian army officers assumed that the turn-in



A rebel fighter on guard duty at the temple rally, above;

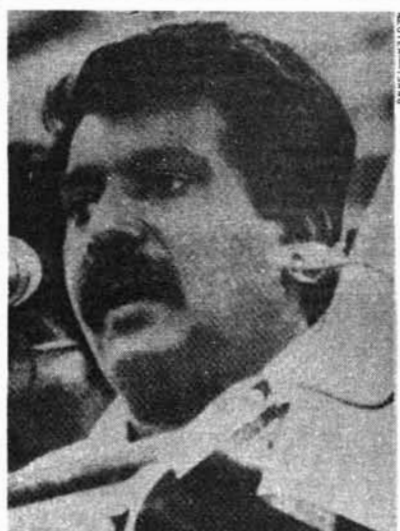
rate might be as low as 40%. Sri Lankan officials said that if the Tigers held back, the Indian forces would "comb out" hidden arms with raids and checkpoints.

At a press conference near Jaffna the day after his speech, Prabhakaran answered questions about the Tigers' future in tones of anger and derision. Said he: "It is obvious that we are doing things we don't want to do. So naturally I feel bitter." He sounded intent on eventually undoing the pact, by one means or another, and announced that he would not accept Colombo's offer of a leading role in the in-

terim administration of a new province incorporating the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka. Prabakaran also declined to participate in elections for a provincial council, a key feature of the local-rule proposal, although he explained that the Tigers' political wing, led by Yogi, would contest elections in the region that will probably be held later this year.

The Tigers' demands, Prabakaran insisted, had not changed: an independent Eelam state incorporating the northern and eastern regions. That goal put him at odds with the pact's provisions as well as Colombo's and New Delhi's desires. Would he renounce violence in pursuit of his aims? Prabakaran was asked. His answer: a clipped no.

One fear among middle-class Tamils is that the Tigers may attempt to dominate the balloting by threatening other Tamil groups to withdraw from the elections. The Tigers have attacked and decimated



rushed out of their houses to greet patrolling Indian soldiers. Residents everywhere on the peninsula filled in trenches that had been dug as protection against attacks by the Sri Lankan air force.

Life also returned to normal in Colombo, and Jayewardene appeared to be regaining some political ground. Two weeks ago there had been concern that his government might fall; last week there was new confidence. Said Gamini Dissanayake, a senior Cabinet minister: "There is absolutely no doubt that the legislation for the provincial councils will go through Parliament."

Sri Lankan troops were happy to see the fighting end and to depart from Jaffna, even if they did so on Indian air force planes put at their disposal. Said one Sri Lankan officer at Palali: "At least it's up to the Indians now to deal with the Tamils." But the powerful Indian presence, including two navy frigates in Co-



Prabakaran announces that his men will hand in their weapons; at Palali Air Base, Indian soldiers stand beside a lethal bounty

lombos harbor and a steady stream of heavy air force transports rumbling in and out of the Jaffna area, left many Sri Lankans uneasy. "Already they are starting to look like an invading force," said a schoolteacher in Jaffna. To Minister Dissanayake, by contrast, who had helped negotiate the truce agreement, "geopolitical realities" made India's role inevitable. Said he: "It amounts to a recognition that we live next to a very powerful and complex country."

—By Edward W. Desmond.  
Reported by Qadri Ismail and Ross H. Munro/  
Jaffna AUGUST 17, 1987

lion Tamils in the north and east, may find less support among their brethren than they seem to expect. At the temple rally, Prabakaran's declaration that the rebels would disarm brought wild cheers, while his more bellicose remarks were greeted by silence. When the Tigers tried to organize a shopkeepers' strike to protest against the pact two weeks ago, they succeeded only after ordering store shutters closed at gunpoint. Most of the inhabitants of the Jaffna area, in fact, seemed more than ready for peace—and delighted by the presence of the Indian army. Villagers

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# Cautious Optimism

REPORT

The post-accord scene offers hope as Jayewardene outfoxes opponents



THE walls of the arrival lounge at Colombo's plush international airport are plastered with alluring advertisements for the myriad casinos that dot the city, symbols of the gambling blood that surges through the capital's social veins. But the one Sinhalese who has taken the biggest gamble of all time is the country's ascetic-looking President Junius Richard Jayewardene. Now 81 and in the dusk of his protracted political life, JR as he is popularly known, has, in the face of daunting odds, staked everything on the one throw of the dice—the historic and unique accord he signed late last month with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

In gaming terms, Jayewardene's move would have been considered suicidal. The three-day riots that erupted in Colombo before the signing of the agreement were a violent expression of the widespread opposition to the accord by the majority Sinhalese population. But not for nothing do the Sinhalese call Jayewardene 'The Old Fox'. In just one week, he has seemingly succeeded in outmanoeuvring the two men who posed the greatest immediate challenge to the accord—his hardline anti-Indian Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, and the powerful Minister for National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali.

Premadasa, who telegraphed his opposition to the accord by absenting himself from the official receptions during Rajiv's visit, made his first public speech last week where he carefully avoided criticism of the deal and cautioned the people against using violence to voice their objections. Athulathmudali initially tried desperately to sink the accord. At the six-hour emergency Cabinet meeting which Indian High Commissioner J.N. Dixit was invited to address, Athulathmudali produced what he claimed were transcripts of wireless intercepts between the militants saying they would not surrender their arms. Dixit, convinced the Cabinet that the intercepts were forgeries and that the Indian Government would guarantee the arms surrender.



BHAWAN SINGH





Since then, the minister for national security, usually the one man in the Sri Lankan Cabinet most accessible to the press, has suddenly become unavailable. But significantly, in a televised broadcast after the accord he said that any opposition to the accord "should be through democratic means".

He has also been rattled by Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel's demands for his resignation. By indicating that the post of national security minister has been made redundant by the peace accord, Jayewardene, in an ironic twist of the knife, has hinted that Athulathmudali would be made minister for national reconstruction—a subtle reminder that the Old Fox has the undated resignation letters of all his ministers in his possession.

Obviously, the wily President has managed to neutralise them in a surprisingly short period. At the first Cabinet meeting after the signing of the accord, on August 5, Premadasa, to everybody's surprise, arrived in Jayewardene's car. The meeting itself was, in the words of de

Mel, "objective and extremely cordial". Says de Mel: "We were expecting some fireworks. But the only fireworks took place when I demanded the resignation of the national security minister for the total breakdown of national security during the riots. The rest of the meeting passed without any harsh words. There has been a subtle change in dissenting opinion."

**H**OW Jayewardene achieved that breakthrough, particularly with Premadasa, resides at the moment in the realm of speculation. Knowledgeable circles speak of the incriminating dossiers the leader has on his cabinet ministers. Whatever the reason, a major hurdle in the path to peace appears to have been removed. In a private conversation with a senior Indian official, the President reportedly said: "I am the captain of the ship and I am steering in a certain direction. If anybody wants to go in a different direction, they can take to the lifeboats."

But Jayewardene still has a tougher task ahead—to convince the Sinhalese population, smarting at what they perceive as a betrayal of their country's sovereignty. It is symbolised visibly by the

presence of the 6,000 armed Indian troops in the northern province and the two Indian naval frigates—bristling with weapons and radars—anchored opposite Colombo's Galle Face, the social meeting place for many of the capital's citizens. He has to persuade them that the accord will ultimately benefit the war-ravaged country and the Sri Lankan people.

Admits Lands Minister Gamini Disanayake, one of the key figures in the pre-accord negotiations: "The task now is to get through to the hardcore. There is a national psychosis that cannot be ignored. You can't expect to do that overnight. But already there are signs that the public is starting to realise the benefits." Jayewardene himself has appeared on national television on two successive days to point out that the choice now lies between stability and prosperity on one side and chaos and economic ruin on the other.

Even the threat from Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which had come out strongly against the agreement, has suddenly dissipated into Colombo's monsoon air. Bandaranaike has refused to talk to the press or issue any anti-accord statements after her initial

(Anticlockwise from left) Rajiv and Jayewardene after signing the accord; a LTTE mortar; surrendered arms at Jaffna



SHYAM TEKAWANI

outbursts, most notably in a strongly-worded letter to Rajiv in which she criticised the accord and the manner in which it was achieved. Says Dissanayake: "The SLFP has been left in the lurch."

Senior Sri Lankan cabinet ministers claim that opposition leaders have withdrawn from the anti-accord movement because of the changing public mood. "The average Sinhalese has accepted that it is now a fait accompli. They have seen that the Tamil militants are surrendering their arms and no killings have taken place. Once they realise that peace means prosperity, they will come around," says a senior official in Colombo. Adds Neelan Tiruchelvam, one of the most respected moderate TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) MPs: "After the surrender of arms, there has been a definite change in public opinion."

On the surface, it is logical to agree with de Mel when he says that "the worst is over". Jayewardene has clamped extended curfews in areas of potential trouble. Colombo's hyper-active social night life has come to an abrupt halt with a nine to six night curfew when army patrols have the streets to themselves. "The Government is on top of the situation," asserts Dissanayake. The press censorship currently in force is another inevitable step keeping in mind the more rabid Sinhalese newspapers that are capable of whipping

up chauvinist sentiments.

Control of the press has also ensured that extensive coverage was given to the arms surrender by the militants—considered a key factor in influencing Sinhalese opinion—and to statements by world leaders and governments in hailing the accord and its long-term benefits. A major

element in all this is the positive statements being publicised by solitary members of the Buddhist clergy. This community, because of the high esteem it enjoys among the Sinhalese, poses the greatest non-political threat to the accord.

"There is nobody in the armed forces—totally Sinhalese at the moment—who would dare fire at a Buddhist monk. They could certainly pose problems if they decided to mobilise and take to the streets like they did after the air-drop and during the pre-accord riots," says a top Sri Lankan official.

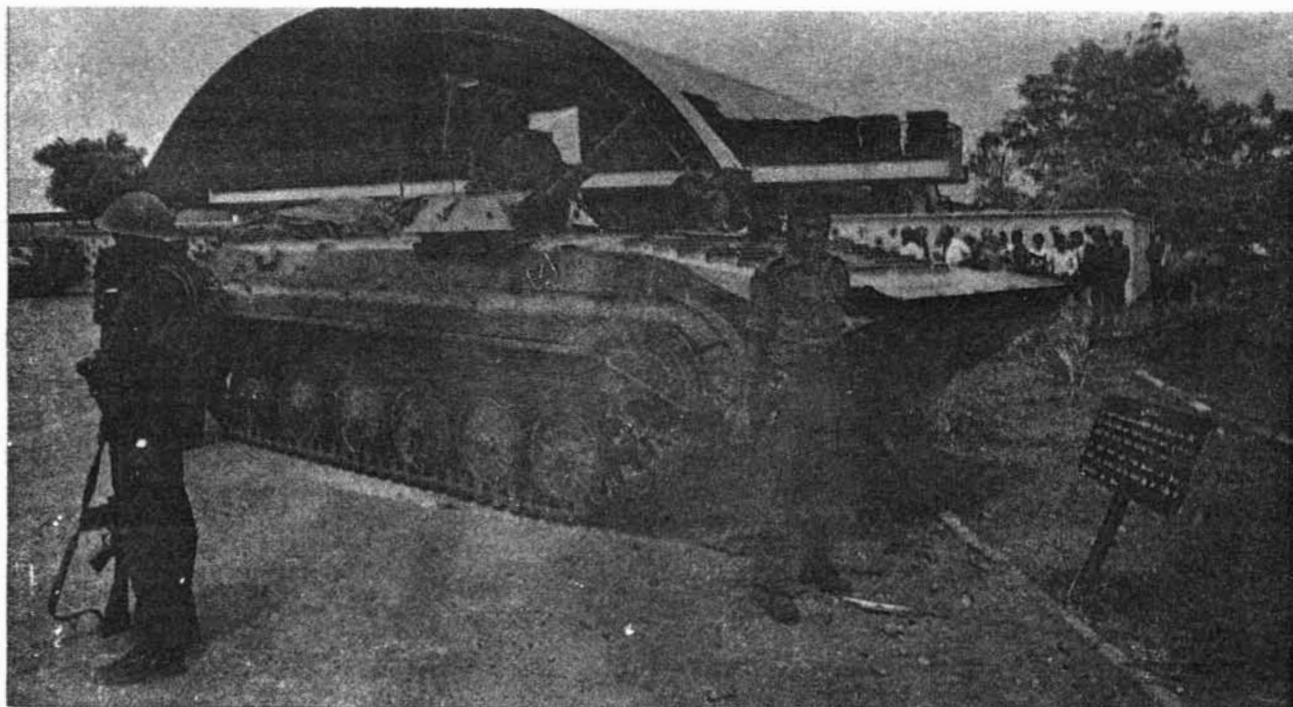
The danger, as a secret CID (Criminal Investigation Department) report on the riots and its origins points out, is of radical elements like the outlawed Janata Vimukti Perumuna (JVP) masquerading as monks. One monk who was arrested and named in the report, was in fact, a JVP activist. Security forces who raided his house in a Colombo suburb unearthed a cache of arms and ammunition.

Though Sri Lankan officials are playing down the threat posed by the JVP, it forms a potentially explosive issue. The success of the JVP-led insurrection in 1971 was precisely because it was able to mobilise Sinhalese youth in protest against "Indian expansionism". Today,

Map by B K SHARMA



An Indian army APC in Jaffna: delicate task



SHYAM TEKWANI

as the recent riots revealed, the campuses are ideal breeding grounds for a similar show of radical youth power. Most colleges have been closed or have functioned intermittently in the recent past, and the number of jobless youth has shot up because of the ethnic strife of the last four years. And, in campuses last fortnight,

there were once again rumbles of protest and posters condemning the "Indianisation of Sri Lanka".

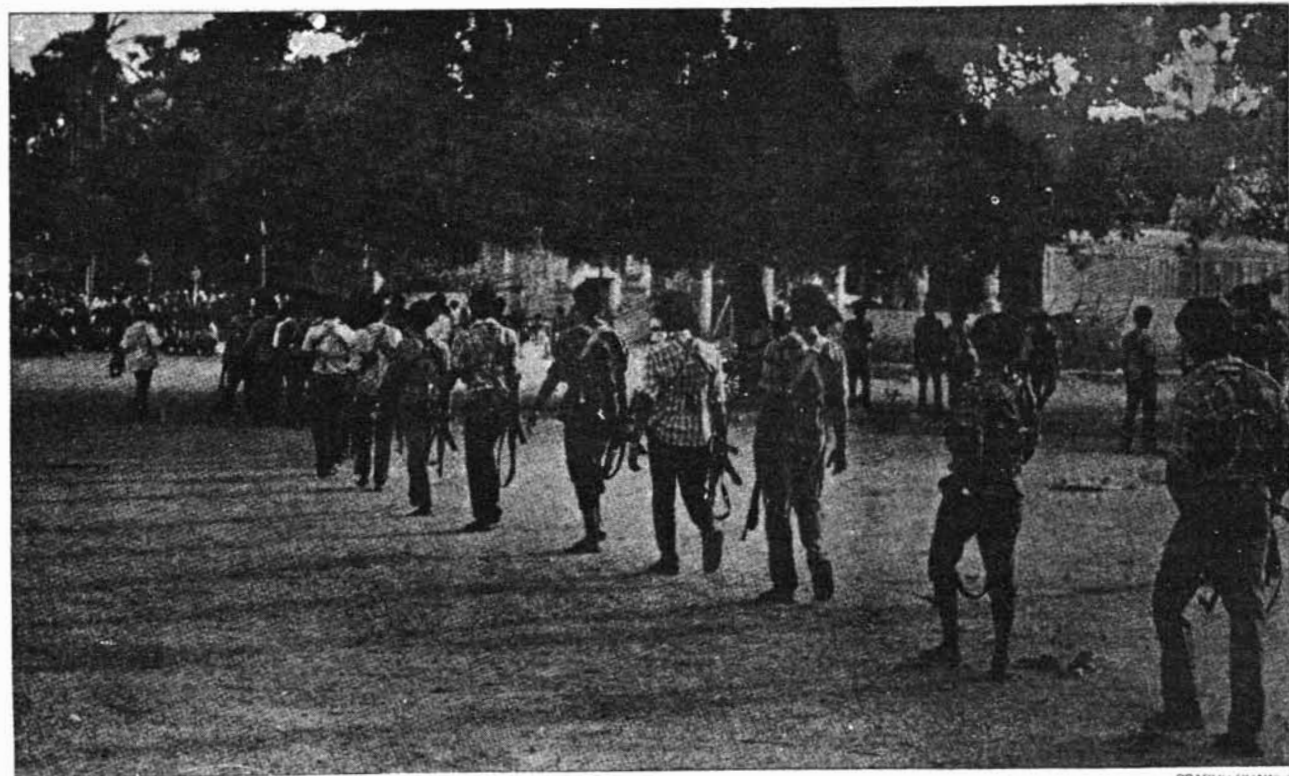
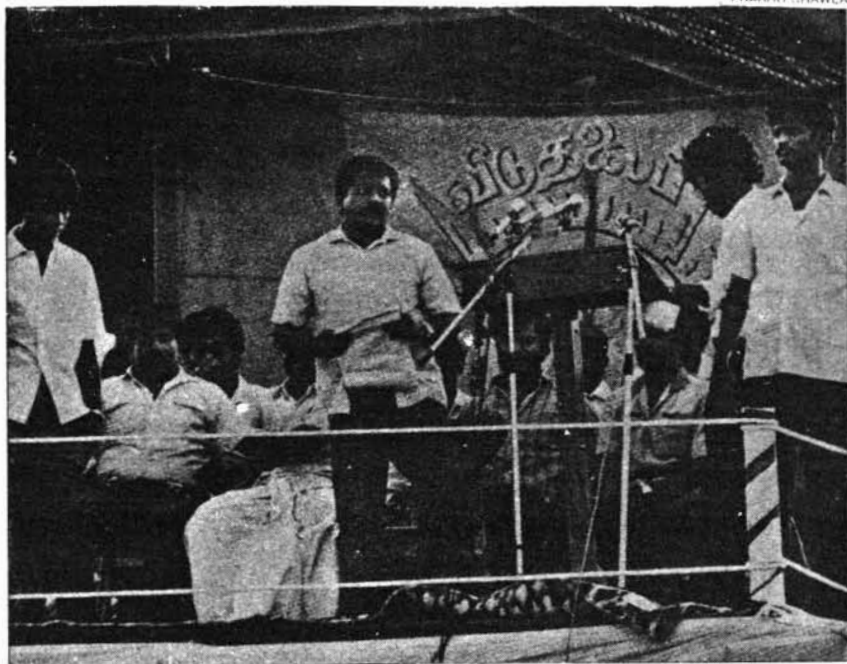
However, till now, the JVP has been confined to a relatively small area in the southern part of the island. Sri Lankan officials point out that with the Indian Army having moved in to the north, Sri

Lankan armed forces there have been ferried to the south by Indian Air Force transport aircraft to provide added security. But there is also the widely-acknowledged fact that the JVP has infiltrated certain sections of the armed forces and cannot be ignored as a major threat to the success of the accord.

Thus, it is more realistic to accept Tiruchelvam's post-accord assessment as being one of "cautious optimism". The Sri Lankan Legal Department is currently working on what could be the make-or-break issue for the future of the accord—its ratification in Parliament scheduled for next month. The SLFP is certain to stall proceedings by demanding that the motion be sent to the Supreme Court for examination, as the Constitution allows. The Cabinet, however, can insist that the Supreme Court give its decision within 48 hours, a decision likely to favour the introduction of the vote.

But the key question is whether a majority of the ruling party MPs will actually endorse the accord legislation which requires a two-third majority. Under the current numerical representation, if less than 30 out of the 169 ruling United National Party (UNP) members abstain or even vote against the peace accord, the

Pirabhakaran at his Jaffna meeting (left); and armed Tamil militants: uncertainty





## INTERVIEW

J.R. JAYEWARDENE

**"I have never mistrusted India"**

THE barricades and frequent security checks outside his private residence at Ward Place, Colombo's most exclusive residential area, symbolises the threat to his life. But there is little tension or fear inside the modest house where a confident Junius Richard Jayewardene, 81, the frail-looking President of Sri Lanka receives his guests. While conversing, he monitors the progress of the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord. As time for the TV news approaches, he ushers guests into the TV room so that he can watch the daily surrender of arms by the Tamil groups. The news over, he expresses satisfaction over the developments. For over a month, he has kept away from the media. In an exclusive interview with Senior Editor PRABHU CHAWLA, last fortnight, Jayewardene speaks about the role of the Indian Army and his domestic problems. Excerpts:

**Q. Till recently, you have been pursuing a military option against the Tamil militants. What made you change your strategy and sign an agreement with India?**

A. We were always for a political solution. But the terrorists never agreed to it. We knew we wouldn't be able to solve this problem except through a political dialogue. Now, they have also agreed. On our own part, we never gave up the political option. We had discussions at Thimpu, New Delhi, and Colombo and these discussions were not military discussions. But the terrorists never even looked at our documents.

**Q. Do you feel that India has played an important role in bringing the Tamil Tigers to the negotiating table?**

A. Till recently, India was playing the role of a mediator. Now, for the first time, India has discussed this problem directly with us. India's role in this whole problem has changed from a mere mediator to that of a participant.

**Q. Do you think that this pact would have come about if the Tigers had not been part of the dialogue?**

A. I have nothing to do with them. I have never seen Pirabhakaran.

**Q. Have you gained anything politically?**

A. One major gain is that terrorism is over. If the accord is sincerely implemented by these parties—the Indian

Government, the Sri Lankan authorities and the separatist groups—peace will return to the island. The violence is over.

**Q. Keeping in view the mistrust between the Indian Government and your government, do you think this accord will be implemented seriously?**

A. I never had mistrust in the Indian Government. In fact, I never had mistrust in the separatists. What is there to mistrust? They (the separatists) are for violence, they are for murder—what is the kind of mistrust you are talking about in this kind of situation. On the other hand, I have been accused of trusting everyone too much.

**Q. If you had trust in India, why didn't you sign a similar accord earlier?**

A. I don't have a reason myself for this. But the only explanation which I can possibly think of is that it is the first time that India is prepared to tackle this terrorism problem as an active partner with me.

**Q. If the accord has led to the end of violence in the north and east, then why has it not been welcomed by the Sinhalese?**

A. Violence never lasts long. It has now died down. There was some opposition to the accord in certain parts of the island. It was activated by the Sinhalese terrorists. During the opposition to the agreement, voiced by the Buddhist clergy and the SLFP, they found that the JVP was taking active interest in the violent activities. Others have backed out of the anti-accord agitation, but the JVP is still continuing.

**Q. Don't you think you will find it difficult to sustain this accord if your prime minister and minister for national security are opposed to it?**

A. In a democracy, you have these freedoms. But when I bring legisla-

tions for the accord to Parliament, they will have to support them or they have to leave. I have signed a treaty and, under the Constitution, I have the right to make treaties with any country. I needn't get cabinet support or approval for it. But when I have to go to the Parliament for legislative measures, they will all have to support them.

**Q. If they don't, what will you do?**

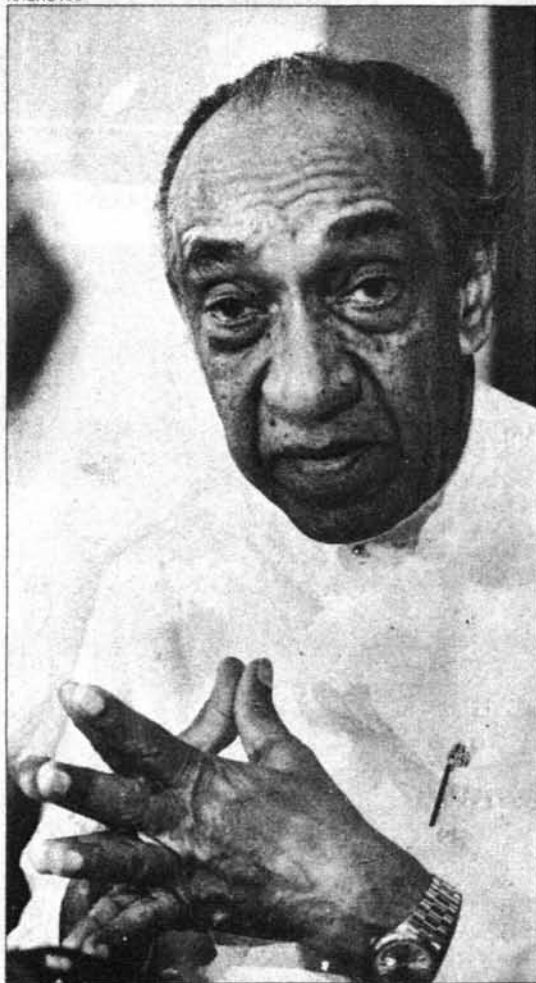
A. I will dissolve Parliament.

**Q. In the wake of opposition, how are you going to implement the accord?**

A. Most of it has already been implemented. The terrorists have surrendered arms. Laws are almost ready for the devolution of powers to the Provincial Council and subsequent elections. The referendum for the merger of the east with the north will take place. For all these, I need parliamentary approval. We will have interim administration for the north and east.

**Q. But how are you going to sell this**

RAGHU RAI



**accord to your people who consider it a total surrender?**

A. I will do it with propaganda in favour of the advantages of the accord. I will use all democratic means to convince the people that this accord is in the best interests of our country. This might be an issue for the next elections but it would have been completed by that time. I am not going to have referendum on this accord.

**Q. What are the economic gains?**

A. We have nothing to lose. Peace will return to the country which, in turn, will help in reviving economic activity.

**Q. Are you sure that the Sri Lankan people approve of Indian forces?**

A. That is immaterial. The only way they can question it is by votes. And that will be clear during the elections. There are ways, in the democracy, of seeking the people's support for one's actions as President. If we go to the people for every action, then the Government can't function. Unfortunately, the Opposition is not opposing this government by democratic means. They are resorting to violence and this should be suppressed.

**Q. What is the specific role given to the Indian peace-keeping forces?**

A. They are acting under my supervision and directions and they will carry out those instructions. They have to supervise the surrender of arms by the terrorists, maintain law and order with our troops. They have to take part in all peaceful operations.

**Q. Will they be present till the accord is fully implemented?**

A. Well, that will take a long time. Provincial elections will take place at the end of the year. Till normalcy is restored, not only the Indian but also our forces are necessary. But if there is peace, the forces are not necessary. We have enough troops of our own during peaceful times. I would like the Indian forces to remain as long as there is trouble in the north and east.

**Q. If you have Indian forces here, why are you asking for American military help?**

A. I have asked America, England and Pakistan for help.

**Q. What kind of help or assistance you have sought from them?**

A. Whatever help they can give. I didn't make any specific reservations. But we have not asked for any military help. They may offer us helicopters, spare parts. I don't need any military assistance but only material assistance

from friendly countries. And I have informed India about these as well. One reason for asking those countries for aid is to show the world that I have not only asked India for assistance, but others as well. Mrs Bandaranaike also received assistance from various countries for containing secessionists in 1971. She got MiGs from the USSR, helicopters from the US and aid from the UK and India. I have not done anything beyond that.

**Q. Since you are dependent on the West, both militarily and economically, don't you expect problems from them in implementing the accord?**

A. Sri Lanka does depend on the West for economic aid, and nothing else. But they can't influence our decisions. I am pro-West even now because there is democracy there. I am for democracy wherever it exists.

**Q. But why are you seeking help from anti-India countries like Pakistan and Israel? Will it not affect your relations with India as well?**

A. Earlier, I sought help from all of them. I couldn't have trained my people in India. They were training the terrorists.

**Q. How are you going to deal with JVP Weren't they crushed by Bandaranaike with foreign support?**

A. It is very difficult to give reasons for the revival of the JVP. Many people blame me for it. When I took over, I released a majority of their cadres and leaders. For over five years, they were quiet. And I was under the impression that they had accepted the democratic norm of behaviour. They contested the municipal and local elections. They contested the referendum, and lost in all these elections. But, in 1983, my security informed me that these people are again militarily active. They were preaching violence. I proscribed them. They had a hand in the 1983 riots in Colombo. Since then, they have been working underground, amassing a lot of support. I don't know how they've done this.

**Q. With all these problems, don't you feel exhausted at this age?**

A. They say the brain never gets tired, only the muscles get tired. I can switch off my powers of concentration. At the moment, I am thinking of you and nothing else. That is the way I am made. I can compartmentalise my problems.

**Q. Aren't you thinking of retiring from active politics now?**

A. My term will end in 1989. I can't re-contest without a referendum.

Government's motion will be defeated. Says Tiruchelvam: "A legislative reversal would clearly endanger the accord." Jayewardene has threatened to dissolve Parliament if that happens, but under that eventuality, it will be virtually impossible for the UNP to win a general election. Jayewardene, however, remains President till 1989.

But the voting issue is a double-edged sword. Most MPs of the UNP would go along with the accord only because they would prefer to avoid seeking re-election. The UNP last week celebrated its 10th year in power and the mood of the electorate is clearly for change. On the other hand, the main target of the politically-motivated rioters were ruling party MPs. One was killed and six others had their houses burnt. The mobs extracted pledges from the MPs that they would vote against the accord in Parliament.

JAYEWARDENE, though, is confident that he will swing the MPs on his side before the voting takes place (he also has the resignation of all UNP parliamentarians in his possession which he is capable of holding over their heads). Says de Mel: "During the riots, the MPs were without any protection at all. Now, with 2,500 additional troops moved to the south, they are all heavily guarded. Also, once the advantages of the accord become more apparent, they will be more fortified in their decision (to support the accord)."

The Jayewardene Government has to tread delicately in the weeks ahead with the specific objective of implementing the accord rapidly; convincing the Sinhalese public that the Indian armed forces are there at the express command of the Sri Lankan Government; allaying the deep-rooted suspicions of the Tamils and spelling out the concrete advantages of the agreement it has signed. The Government has moved rapidly on all these fronts. Last week, Jayewardene announced the setting up of an interim administration for the northern and eastern provinces. He also announced a general amnesty for the Tamil militants, many of whom have already been released from detention. He also stated that the Indian armed forces are likely to pull out in August, however impossible that may be to achieve.

On the economic front, de Mel has spelt out the advantages of the accord in relation to the cost of the war to Sri Lanka—an estimated Rs 15 billion in damages to property alone apart from its drain on the country's finances (which comes to 25 per cent of the annual domestic budget of Sri Lanka). And the



unemployment rate is around 17 percent.

Sri Lanka's major donors and the international financial institutions have already announced satisfaction at the accord and pledged an aid increase apart from emergency funds to get the economy back on the road to recovery. "We have already received offers of assistance and countries like the Netherlands that have frozen funds for projects over the last four years are now being asked to unfreeze them," says de Mel.

In fact, one of the key reasons for Jayewardene suddenly switching his stand and gambling on the accord was the lukewarm response from western countries, mainly the US and Britain, to his pleas for military aid and assistance. The US Administration made it clear that it would not do anything that would upset New Delhi and urged him to settle with the Tamils.

The Sri Lankan Government is hoping that once aid starts pouring in and key export-earners like tourism pick up, the boost to the economy—new projects, additional areas of employment, improved telecommunications, power generation, transport services, water supply and health services—will convince the public that the accord is in everybody's interest.

But there is considerable uncertainty and unease in the north and the path to peace is obviously still a rocky one. The initial euphoria over the arrival of the Indian peace-keeping force has died down and the sudden slow-down in the arms-surrender process by the militants could pose some major problems. "We have extended the deadline for the surrender but I don't foresee any problems," says Lt-General Harkirat Singh, general officer commanding of the Indian peace-keeping force.

But problems are already apparent. The tension between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the other militant groups is palpable and has led to some unforeseen snags. Last week, the LTTE announced that it would "be forced to reconsider the decision to lay down arms in view of the atrocities committed against our disarmed cadres by other Tamil militant groups". The LTTE claims that the other groups have not laid down arms on one pretext or another and have started killing and kidnapping LTTE members.

Meanwhile, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) had earlier suspended the surrender of arms in protest against the abduction of 13 of its members by the LTTE. It was only after the

## THE ACCORD

# Quiet Moves

IT was a triumph of planning, foresight and secrecy. The first faint ideas for the Colombo accord emerged this May. A crack team of hand-picked officials—including Foreign Secretary K.P.S. Menon, Intelligence Bureau Chief M.K. Narayanan and India's High Commissioner in Colombo J.N. Dixit—was set up. Its brief: design a solution within the framework of the Sri Lankan Constitution and bring the Tamil militants to the negotiating table.

All politicians, except Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran, were kept away. The team was organ-

used it to meet Pirabhakaran. It was a fruitful meeting. The militants conveyed that they were ready for talks.

A happy Dixit flew to New Delhi on June 27 to brief the foreign secretary and the prime minister. It was then decided to send another high powered emissary to Jayewardene. Dixit himself was picked for the sensitive assignment. On July 1 he met Jayewardene with the draft proposals. The door had been opened. Between July 1 and July 16, Dixit had 12 meetings with Jayewardene, during which all issues including the devolution of powers to the Provincial Council, withdrawal of the army from the north and surrender of arms, were discussed.

On July 16, in an unprecedented move, Dixit briefed the Sri Lankan Cabinet. The meeting was attended by 12 ministers, including Lalith Athulathmudali. For 45 minutes Dixit held forth, clearing mists of any doubts that the ministers might be entertaining. Next morning, Dixit submitted the revised draft to the President. It was cleared, subject to certain modifications and Dixit returned to New Delhi.

Between July 18 and July 20 a series of meetings of the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs were convened. Dixit, along with Menon, attended most of them. He then returned to Colombo with a final draft. Puri, at the same time, was meeting the seven commanders of the LTTE. And as Pirabhakaran insisted on meeting Rajiv before signing the document, he with his wife and two children were flown out of Jaffna to Trichy on July 24.

Meanwhile, Dixit received Jayewardene's green signal and dashed to New Delhi. But as MGR was also a major factor, Pirabhakaran was first taken to him. Later he was lodged in New Delhi's Ashok Hotel. For two days Dixit and Menon ironed out differences, before MGR and his Food Minister Ramachandran did some plain talking. And the final charming was done by the prime minister himself.

But all was not yet over. Dixit once again returned to Colombo to brief the Cabinet on July 27. Forty-eight hours later, the historic accord was signed.

—PRABHU CHAWLA in Colombo



Menon (left) and Dixit: main architects

ised in two groups: Menon negotiated with the militants while Dixit got in touch with Jayewardene via his trusted minister Gamini Dissanayake. Key officials in the prime minister's office monitored progress.

The first round failed. Both the militants and the Sri Lankan Government refused to budge from their earlier stand on the merger of the north with the east.

The moves were called off. But when the Sri Lankan Army launched a major offensive killing 1,000 people, pressure was mounted on India to intervene. Air dropping of relief supplies by India buttressed her position. In mid-June Dixit was summoned by Jayewardene to work out a peace formula. It was here that Dixit played a mastercard. He insisted that India be allowed to send relief to the northern and eastern provinces. The purpose: to use it as a cover to contact militants. Thus, when the first relief ship reached Jaffna on June 25, Hardeep Puri, a first secretary in the high commission,





**The LTTE's Yogi and General Harkirat Singh at the surrender ceremony: psychological moment**

Indian Army intervened that the abducted men were released. Clearly, the enmity between the other groups and the LTTE is as dangerous and deep-rooted as that between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. Indian Army officials in Jaffna also admit that it is highly unlikely that the militants will surrender all their arms. The Indian Army has been further hampered in its attempts to fan out into the eastern part of the island because of the heavily-mined areas around the army camps they have occupied.

In the face of the mounting tension between the militants, the biggest hurdle to the accord's durability could be the proposed referendum in the eastern province on a merger with the north scheduled, according to the terms of the accord, on or before December 31, 1988. Jayewardene himself has gone on record to say that he will personally campaign in the east against the merger.

The key to the merger issue currently lies with the Muslim population which forms 13 per cent of the population in the eastern province and can tilt the balance either way. The Muslims are being wooed by both sides but are likely to opt against the merger for fear of being swamped by the Tamils and losing their identity. "We are willing to offer them a rotation of the chief minister in the political set-up that emerges. There are other concessions we can make to ensure that they vote for the merger and still feel secure," says S. Soosaithahasan, MP for Mannar, the district closest to Tamil Nadu.

But on current indications, the Muslims will require a lot of wooing before they decide to vote for the merger. The crux of the entire issue is what will happen if they vote against the merger. Jayewardene and the Indian Government claim that the Tamil militant groups will have no choice but to accept the referendum result as being the will of the people. But Velupillai Pirabhakaran, the LTTE supremo, made his feelings clear at his Jaffna meeting last fortnight: "We do not accept this accord but because India is a powerful country we are unable to do anything about it. I don't think it will be a lasting solution."

**M**ORE significantly, he has subsequently stated that the LTTE's demands have not changed; an independent Eelam state incorporating the northern and eastern provinces. Asked if he would renounce violence in pursuit of his goal, his answer was an unqualified no. The fact that the Indian troops cannot overstay their welcome is another sticking point in the context of Pirabhakaran's views. People like Soosaithahasan, however express the hope that once the political process gets going in the north, the militants will change their attitude. "Once they acquire responsibility, they will change," he says.

But for that to happen much will

depend on the correct balance of diplomacy and pressure that the Indian Army can bring to bear on the militants. Dixit has been given full authority by South Block to handle the situation and advise the Indian Army as he sees fit. If he is given a free hand without the kind of interference that had aborted earlier Indian mediation efforts, he is capable of pulling it off. Not only is he extremely well-informed about the Sri Lankan scene, he has managed to establish an excellent rapport with Jayewardene over their occasional glasses of cognac together.

For New Delhi, the stake in ensuring the accord works couldn't be higher. The accord itself is a tacit acknowledgement by the Sri Lankan Government that India is the regional superpower and its sphere of influence over the region can no longer be denied. In the regional context, it is a repetition of the Monroe Doctrine, a forcible statement that any external forces prejudicial to India's interests cannot be allowed to swim in regional waters. That message will undoubtedly extend to the other countries in the region as well.

But in the context of the accord itself, much also depends on Jayewardene and how he plays his domestic cards in the crucial weeks ahead leading up to the parliamentary vote. Already Jayewardene and Rajiv have been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. If the accord fails, Sri Lanka is doomed. If it works, it will be the least they deserve.

AUGUST 31, 1987

—DILIP BOBB in Colombo



## Non-Tiger terror

FROM OUR SOUTH ASIA CORRESPONDENT

**H**AD President Junius Jayewardene been killed when he was attacked on August 18th in Sri Lanka's parliament building, his ministers would have fought bitterly over who should succeed him; and the peace agreement with the island's Tamil rebels might have been sunk. That did not happen, but what did was bad enough. Shots were fired and two grenades were thrown, a member of parliament was killed and the national security minister, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, was badly hurt.

The president is left wondering what the word "security" means in his country. The would-be assassin is thought to have had a job inside the building where the attack took place. According to some Sri Lankan and Indian politicians, the security forces themselves may have been infiltrated by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the wild-eyed group from the country's Sinhalese majority which is suspected of planning the assault.

The JVP consists mainly of unemployed young men who follow a particularly passionate form of Sinhalese chauvinism. They see the peace accord with the Tamils, which gives a lot of autonomy to the Northern and Eastern provinces, as a sell-out to the Tamil guerrillas whose ultimate aim is an independent state. The JVP has acquired weapons from friends in the army, and by raiding government armouries. In 1971 the organisation led an unsuccessful anti-government insurgency in which thousands of people were killed. However, a man claiming to belong to another group, the hitherto unknown Patriotic People's Movement, telephoned the BBC to claim responsibility for this week's attack.

Whoever did it, the implications are the same: the men of violence want to frighten Mr Jayewardene's colleagues into voting against the peace pact in September or October, when, the president says, he will put it to parliament. They may be disappointed. The early signs are that the president will be able to rally enough support to get the agreement approved. Many members of parliament are suspicious of the agreement but dislike the idea of violent opposition to it; and they are not keen to face the general election which might follow if they voted against their leader. Others are prepared simply to give the accord a chance, for a few months at least.

Such people might be won over to a yes vote if events in the Tamil north and east run smoothly. The main guerrilla group, the Tamil Tigers, is surrendering weapons in quantity. Other guerrillas have already done so. Nobody is keen to give an accurate count, but mortars, AK-47 rifles, grenades and ammunition have been handed over. That's the lot, say the Tigers. The Indians do not believe them, but the surrender of arms may be more than a gesture.

The Tigers' leaders are beginning to look and act like ordinary politicians. They wear ordinary clothes, earnestly face the press, and are now bargaining hard over an interim council to run the Northern and Eastern provinces until an election can be held. The Tigers are trying to keep a rival group, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front, off the council. The Front was reduced to around 100 men after the Tigers mauled it last year, but it has support in the Eastern province, where the Tigers are weak.

The Tamils want military protection. The Indian troops who moved into northern Sri Lanka after the agreement was signed are happy to give it to them now, but India says it would like its 9,000 men out of Sri Lanka by December. Mr Rajiv Gandhi will probably have to keep his soldiers there for longer than that. Sinhalese extremists are one reason. Another is next year's referendum, which will give the Eastern province, where the Tamils are less predominant, a chance to opt out of its provisional merger with the north. If the east votes to split away, as many Sri Lankans expect, it will revive many of the Tigers' grievances, and could mean a resumption of fighting. As one Indian commentator puts it, until the referendum is tackled the Sri Lankan peace accord will be plagued by built-in obsolescence.

AUGUST 22 1987

Conberra Times, 10.8.87.

## An old fox and a new bag of tricks.

From JOHN ELLIOTT, in London

**Q**UOTE: My own lack of intelligence, lack of foresight and courage were to blame. Thus Mr Junius Jayawardene, the 81-year-old president of Sri Lanka, explained his failure to avoid four years of escalating violence by reaching an earlier settlement with India on his island's Tamil ethnic crisis.

Displaying a bewildering mixture of humility, sharp wit, eccentricity and authority, Mr Jayawardene was sitting beside Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, when he offered this observation. The two men had just signed an historic agreement to end the dispute over Tamil demands for devolution, which has cost 6,000 lives in the past four years.

To achieve this peace deal Mr Jayawardene has conceded to India a controversial say in Sri Lanka's security affairs. He has also taken a major gamble with the political stability and internal security of his country, and reversed his own previous policy of seeking a military victory in advance of a peace settlement.

When asked what had happened in the past few weeks to make him change his mind, he would only say, "The combination of the stars and planets has changed."

A reference to history, rather than astrology, might have been more appropriate. In fact, he has had to come to terms with the fact that he is no Dutugemunu — the legendary Sinhalese prince who marched north 2000 years ago and defeated the Tamil king, Elara, at the holy Buddhist city of Anuradhapura. With India breathing threateningly down his neck, President Jayawardene had no such opportunity for heroics.

He needed a peace settlement so that he could relaunch the island's crumbling economy on to the free market path which he set out on 10 years ago.

This wily old politician is a man of far greater intelligence, acumen and skill than his sometimes bizarre performances in press conferences suggest.

# BONA FIDES OF SRI LANKAN LEADERS

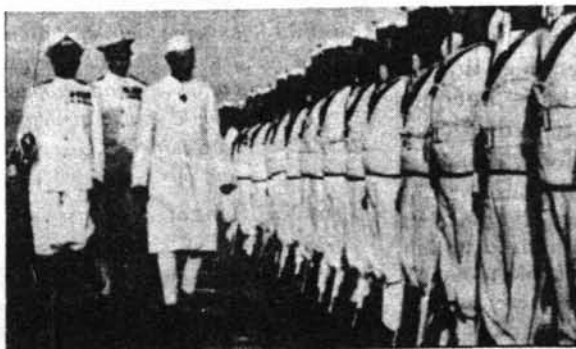
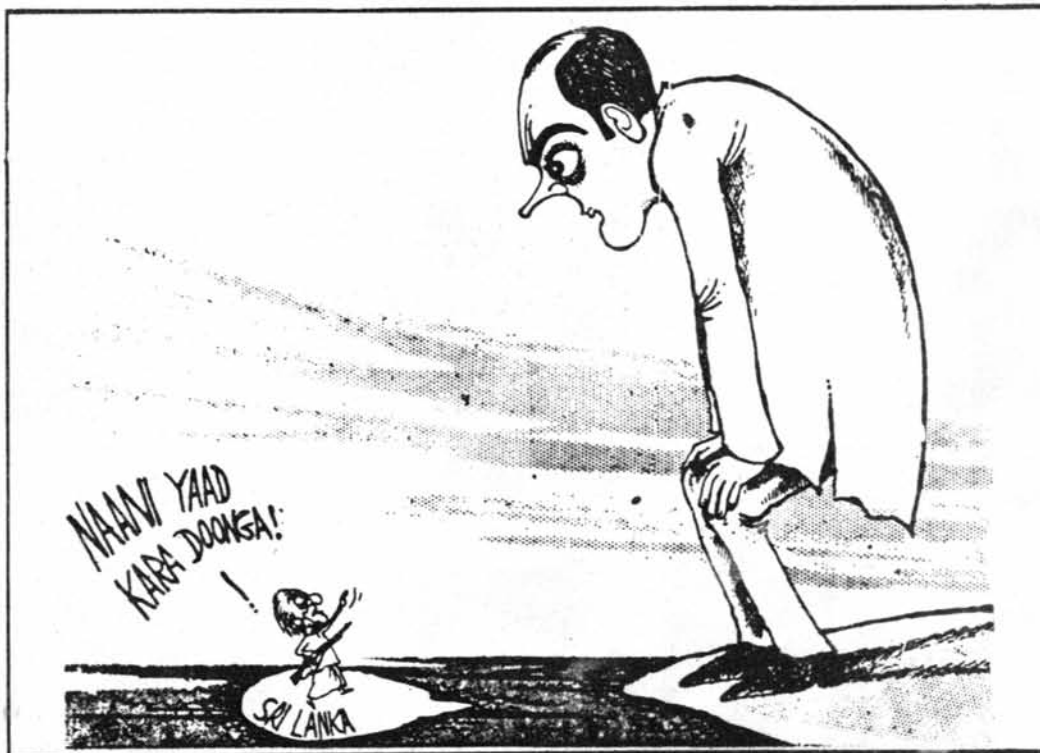
## A CONCERN SPANNING GENERATIONS

87 August

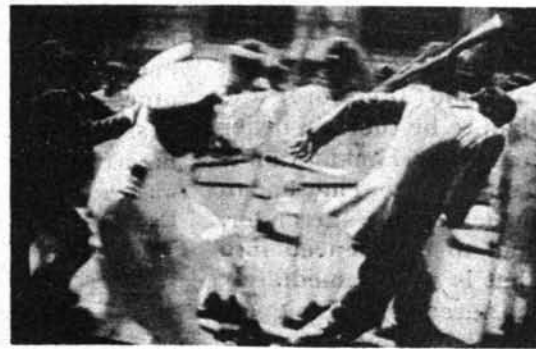


Sudhir Dar, The Hindustan Times, July 83.

Ravishankar, Indian Express 6.6.87



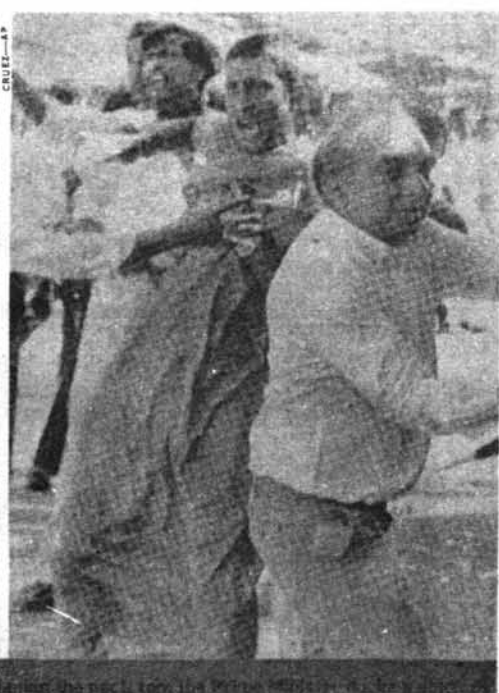
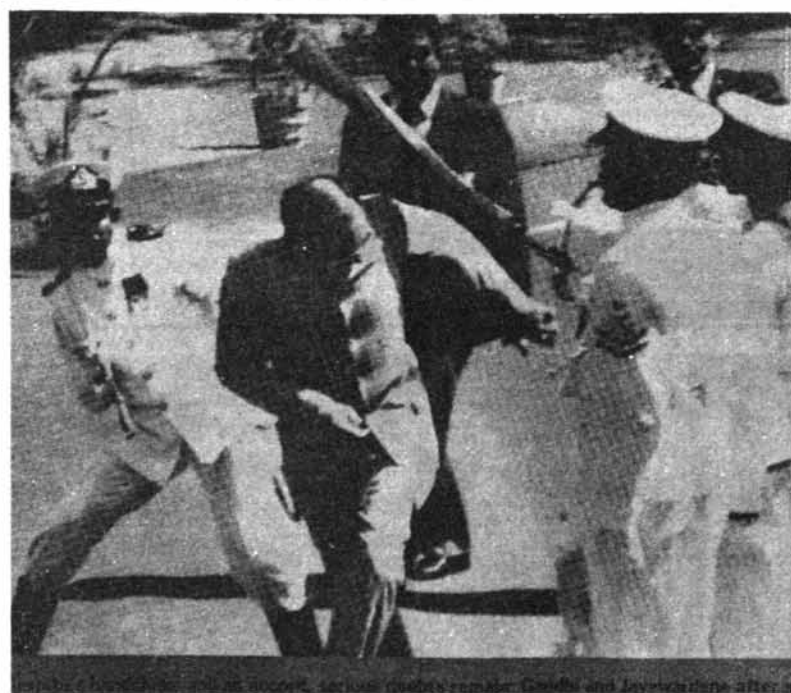
Nehru in 1954



Rajiv in 1987

Inspecting a Guard of Honour in Sri Lanka





...the ship's deck, and as a result, serious injuries remain. Smith and Layton are after starting the pack, too, the Marine Corps, to be a ...

AUGUST 10, 1987

## REPORT

# A Deal in Sri Lanka

*The key question: How long can it last?*

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was savoring a diplomatic breakthrough as he emerged from the President's House in the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo last week. The previous day he had joined Sri Lankan President Junius R. Jayewardene in signing an agreement, long sought by India, that held promise of ending a four-year-old insurgency in which more than 6,000 have been killed.

As the Prime Minister strode past the white-uniformed men of a Sri Lankan naval honor guard, one of the sailors suddenly broke ranks and swung at Gandhi with the butt of his rifle. The Prime Minister ducked and received only a glancing blow on the back of his neck and left shoulder. But if he escaped serious injury in the incident, for which the Sri Lankan government quickly apologized, the Prime Minister must have realized how much strife and distrust had been aroused by the pact he had just initialed—and how uncertain were its chances of success.

The agreement was worked out during three weeks of secret talks between New Delhi and Colombo. Its centerpiece was Jayewardene's concession of local rule in two regions heavily populated by Sri Lanka's Tamils, an ethnic minority comprising 12.5% of the country's 16 million people. In exchange, Gandhi, whose government has provided refuge and vital support to Tamil insurgents fighting the Colombo government, promised to ensure that the rebels would lay down their arms.

Gandhi's pledge was backed up the morning after the signing ceremony, when 3,000 Indian troops landed by air and sea on the Tamil-dominated Jaffna Peninsula in the north of the island. Their task: disarm the guerrillas and take up peacekeeping duties.

The Indian military's job will not be easy; indeed, a direct confrontation between the guerrillas and their former protectors may be inevitable. The Indian army's first contact with representatives of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the largest and most militant of the five rebel groups, ended in a standoff. A group

of 400 angry Tamils rocked the vehicle of the Indian commander, Major General Harkirat Singh, while yelling that the Tigers would not lay down their arms. A senior Tiger commander told TIME, "The Indians will have to cross our dead bodies to get these weapons." The Tigers' main complaint was that their leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, had been confined to a New Delhi hotel room because of his resistance to the pact, which he called a "stab in the back." But early this week, Prabhakaran was permitted to return to Jaffna after pledging that he would ask his commanders to lay down their arms.

As his aircraft descended toward Colombo at midweek, Gandhi could see that Jayewardene had serious problems of his own. Columns of black smoke rose over the capital as angry mobs, overwhelmingly from the Sinhalese majority, battled police and burned buses to protest the settlement. At least 70 people were killed last week as police and soldiers resorted to rifle fire to contain the rioting. In the protesters' eyes, Jayewardene, once their hero, had caved in to rebel demands and Indian pressure. "Let's be truthful," said one government official. "Ninety percent of the Sinhalese people are against us."

For all the controversy it has aroused, the accord offers benefits to both countries—if it holds up. For Sri Lanka, it could mean a return to peace after years of bloodshed and political turmoil; for India, success would promote its coveted image as the regional superpower. Said U.S. State Department Spokesman Charles Redman: "We applaud the statesmanlike efforts and perseverance of these courageous leaders in achieving this accord."

The potential gains are especially attractive to Gandhi, who is facing growing opposition at home. If the accord does not crumble, the Prime Minister will have not only enhanced India's image as a peacemaker but also extracted concessions from Colombo that amount to a compromising of Sri Lankan independence in the areas of defense and foreign affairs. The Indian initiative carries risks as well:



should the Tamil Tigers resist and drag the Indian peacekeeping forces into the insurgency, the enterprise could turn into a political calamity for Gandhi.

Jayewardene is taking an even bigger chance. His Prime Minister, Ranasinghe Premadasa, refused to attend the pact's signing and is actively speaking out against it. The military, 45,000-strong, backs the President, but foreign diplomats in Colombo believe the accord is seriously straining the loyalty of the lower ranks. The main opposition party and Buddhist monks, who form an influential force in Sinhalese society, were in the vanguard of the antigovernment demonstrations. Said Madihe Pannaseeha, chief priest of the Amarapura Chapter of Buddhists: "India's aim is the total subjugation of Sri Lanka. First of all, they will take the north and east. Then they will infiltrate the central provinces. Ultimately they will have the whole country."

**S**inhalese distrust of India runs deep. Over two millennia, Sri Lanka's Buddhist majority has fought back periodic invasions from Hindu India. Sri Lanka's Tamils are Hindus too, and the Sinhalese tend to regard them as India's natural allies. The current round of Tamil-Sinhalese conflict goes back to 1956, when the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, now the leading opposition group, assumed power in Colombo. In a burst of Sinhalese chauvinism, the party made Sinhala the sole official language and restricted job and educational opportunities for ethnic minorities, effectively reducing the Tamils to second-class citizens.

Though Jayewardene's United National Party eased the discrimination in 1977, bitter feelings remained. Tamil resentment erupted into sporadic violence. In July 1983 one of those incidents catapulted the country into war: after Tamil guerrillas ambushed and killed 13 Sri Lankan soldiers, enraged Sinhalese stampeded through Colombo and killed at least 600 Tamils. With that, a full-fledged Tamil insurgency was born.

The rebels' goal was a unified, independent state for Tamils in the island's Northern and Eastern provinces, though it was widely assumed that most would settle for an autonomous homeland. The 3,500-man Tigers, under the charismatic leadership of Prabhakaran, emerged as the most powerful insurgent group, dominating the Jaffna Peninsula. The Tigers' nationalist line proved more appealing to Tamils than the doctrinaire Marxism of other organizations; they also showed no reluctance to gun down competitors.

Outnumbered by the Sri Lankan military and poorly armed, the insurgents would not have gone far without assistance from India. Just 22 miles across the Palk Strait from northern Sri Lanka lies India's Tamil Nadu state, home of 55 million Indian Tamils. On an initially covert but increasingly visible basis, New Delhi

and the Tamil Nadu state government provided the rebel groups with weapons, training camps and staging areas. Even as it armed the guerrillas, India pressed the Jayewardene government to negotiate a settlement with the Tigers. New Delhi, however, did not endorse the Tigers' demand for independence, insisting instead that Colombo grant local rule.

Jayewardene refused. The Tigers dug in on the Jaffna Peninsula, from where they staged frequent raids and terrorist attacks into the south. During a single week in April, a car bomb in Colombo and a massacre in the Eastern Province claimed the lives of at least 240 civilians, nearly all of them Sinhalese. A month later the Sri Lankan military launched an all-out of-



fensive against the Tigers in the Jaffna area. India demanded that Colombo call off the action, then defied Sri Lankan sovereignty by sending air force cargo planes to parachute 22.5 tons of nonmilitary supplies into the Tamil areas.

At that point, according to Indian diplomats, Jayewardene saw the writing on the wall: he realized that India, with its superior military might, was determined to stop Colombo's efforts to defeat the Tamil rebels. Said a Western diplomat in Sri Lanka: "The military option was no longer viable. Direct talks with the militants, considering their adamancy, were not viable." Jayewardene's only way out was to negotiate with New Delhi.

In June and July, secret talks began through diplomatic intermediaries. Says Neelan Tiruchelvam, a leading Tamil moderate: "The Indian and Sri Lankan governments felt the only way it would work was to present Tamil and Sinhalese extremists with a fait accompli." Colombo agreed to New Delhi's proposal for Tamil local rule, while India acceded to Jayewardene's request that it impose the

settlement on the rebels—by force if need be. (Indian troops had helped Colombo once before, when they intervened briefly to put down an insurrection in 1971.) Asked at a news conference last week why he had not come up with such a proposal four years ago, Jayewardene, 80 and noted for his idiosyncratic remarks, drew gasps when he replied, "Lack of courage on my part, lack of intelligence on my part, lack of foresight on my part."

The terms of last week's agreement:

- ▶ Within 48 hours of the signing, a ceasefire to take effect throughout the country.
- ▶ Within 72 hours, rebel units to lay down their arms and Sri Lankan soldiers to return to barracks.
- ▶ Colombo to decree a general amnesty



for all Tamil rebels and to free all Tamil political prisoners.

▶ Colombo to declare that English and Tamil, in addition to Sinhala, be official languages.

▶ New Delhi to expel any Tamil advocating separatism or terrorism in Sri Lanka and to close down rebel camps in Tamil Nadu. Indian and Sri Lankan naval vessels to patrol the Palk Strait to interdict any supply shipments for the rebels.

▶ Colombo to create a unified, locally ruled province out of the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka. By the end of the year, residents of the new region would elect a governor, chief minister and a cabinet. Some 92% of the northern area's residents are Tamils; the comparative figure stands at just 40% in the eastern region. As a result, the agreement provides that easterners would decide by referendum next year whether to remain unified with the north. Most observers believe the easterners would opt out. The provision is unacceptable to the Tigers.

India took advantage of its strong position to pull Sri Lanka more closely into



its orbit. Jayewardene's pro-Western attitudes and laissez-faire economic policies have long irritated New Delhi, which describes itself as a nonaligned, socialist-leaning country and sees itself as the dominant force in South Asia. As part of the accord, Jayewardene agreed to deny military use of the naval base at Trincomalee and other Sri Lankan ports "in a manner prejudicial to India's interests" and promised that foreign broadcasting facilities in Sri Lanka would have no "military or intelligence purposes." The latter concession was prompted by Indian concerns about a Voice of America transmitter under construction near the west coast town of Puttalam, north of Colombo.

Moreover, Colombo said it would consult with India before bringing in "foreign military or intelligence personnel."

permission, an Indian air force helicopter flew to Jaffna a week ago to pick up the Tamil chieftain, who had not been informed of the peace proposal. The first stop was Madras, the Tamil Nadu capital, where Chief Minister Ramachandran tried but failed to cajole Prabhakaran into going along. Next, Prabhakaran was flown to New Delhi for three days of discussions. The Tiger leader continued to resist, arguing that his fighters would not be safe without their weapons once Indian forces departed. He insisted that the future of the Eastern Province could not be separated from that of the Northern.

As the talks grew heated, Prabhakaran described the deal as an "act of betrayal" and charged that he had been "tricked" into coming to New Delhi. "Let them take away our arms," he declared. "But

peared that a concession from Colombo was what brought about a change in Prabhakaran's attitude. Sri Lankan officials told Prabhakaran that he could have a leading role in an interim body administering the Eastern and Northern provinces until elections. He was also reportedly guaranteed the right to appoint a personal security force. Despite the apparent end to the impasse, observers in Colombo and New Delhi were unsure what would actually happen after Prabhakaran met with his men.

Jayewardene may have trouble keeping his part of the bargain. The day before he and Gandhi signed the pact, opposition leaders and Buddhist monks sparked violent antigovernment demonstrations. In front of Colombo's central rail station, Madoluwe Sobitha, a well-known monk,



Since 1984, Sri Lanka has relied on Israeli, Pakistani and other foreign experts to help combat the insurgency. Asked at a press conference whether Sri Lanka had moved closer to India, Jayewardene hesitated, then said softly, "We are free, and we will remain friends of India."

Winning concessions from Jayewardene was only part of Gandhi's task. If the peace plan was to succeed, he needed cooperation from Sri Lanka's Tamils and their supporters in India. Foremost among the backers were M.G. Ramachandran, Tamil Nadu's influential chief minister, and his pro-Tamil party, the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. Without Ramachandran's acquiescence, it would be difficult to clamp down on rebel activities in the state. To Gandhi's relief, Ramachandran consented, perhaps because the Tamil rebel groups have become something of a threat to law-and-order in Tamil Nadu.

The second, and much more difficult, job of persuasion centered on the Tigers. Gandhi's representatives approached Tiger Chief Prabhakaran. With Colombo's

the peacekeeping force proposed to be deployed will have to protect Tamil lives and property. When we are disarmed at the instance of India, India will be held responsible for atrocities against Tamils." Even a meeting with Gandhi failed to soothe the Tiger Chieftain. Placed under military guard, he sat out the pact signing in a room at the government-owned Ashok Hotel in New Delhi. Indian officials hinted that Prabhakaran would face exile if he did not have a change of heart.

Countering those pressures with an ultimatum of their own, the Tiger leadership and several smaller rebel groups announced that they would not lay down their arms until Prabhakaran returned to Jaffna. "Our friendship with India," said the Tiger statement, "depends on the Indian government's understanding of our basic issues."

Early this week, Prabhakaran appeared to give in. After promising that he would ask his fighters to put down their arms, New Delhi arranged for him to fly on an Indian air force plane to Jaffna, where he arrived Sunday afternoon. It ap-

told a crowd that Jayewardene was no different from Sri Lankan leaders who had "sold out" the country first to the Portuguese, later to the British. "There are only 24 hours left for us to do something about this," he declared. Before long, protesters were hurling stones at police, and several buses were torched. Outnumbered police killed several demonstrators. Protests spread around the country; Red Cliffs, Jayewardene's vacation home on the southern end of the island, was set on fire.

The next morning, two hours before Gandhi was due to arrive, the government declared a curfew across the island and deployed soldiers to keep demonstrators from approaching the presidential residence. In addition to holding back the angry crowds, senior police and military officers had their hands full trying to keep their own unhappy forces in line. Said one enlisted man: "I have been wearing this uniform nonstop for four days. But what use is it? I am unable to support my own people. This gun I have should be pointed in the other direction." Still, the security forces held, and Gandhi's car drove



through empty streets to the President's House, where he was welcomed by Jayewardene and Kandyan drummers in brilliant white-and-red uniforms.

Even in his own camp, Jayewardene faced trouble. While the pact was being initialed, Prime Minister Premadasa, who had boycotted the ceremony, was busy giving alms of yellow rice, curd, fruit and cake to Buddhist monks. He claimed he had not been involved in negotiating the deal with India. "I asked them not to sign this, even yesterday," he told the monks.

"There is terrorism in Sri Lanka only because India is backing it."

Since many in Jayewardene's ruling United National Party feel no different, the agreement stands a slim chance of winning ratification in Parliament. Mere identification with the document appeared to be dangerous; late in the week a U.N.P. deputy who had attended the signing ceremony was assassinated by a group of Sinhalese men; in response, Jayewardene granted U.N.P. deputies permission to carry weapons. Jayewardene has

vowed to dissolve Parliament and call new elections if there is no ratification. That threat may keep his party in line: given the widespread Sinhalese anger at Jayewardene, elections would probably be a disaster for U.N.P. deputies.

At the same time, Opposition Leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike, head of the centrist Sri Lanka Freedom Party and Prime Minister from 1960 to 1965 and from 1970 to 1977, supported last week's demonstrations. "From now on we will have to consult India on everything," she declared. Government censorship kept opposition statements out of the papers.

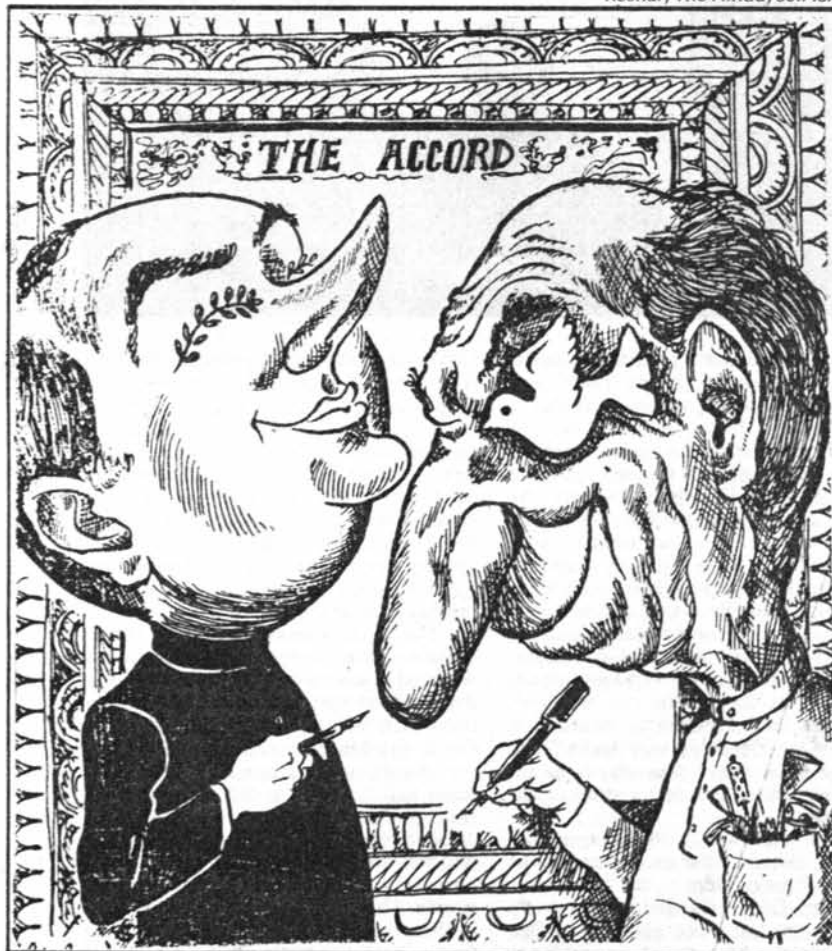
Jayewardene's best chance to rebuild his political position would be the success of the pact itself. Said Defense and National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali: "The key thing is the disarming of the separatists. A week from now, I want to be able to say India has done a, b, c and d. Then I can go to the people and make a plea for no more violence."

**A**s Indian forces arrived in the Jaffna area, comments by Jyotindra Nath Dixit, the Indian high commissioner in Colombo, heightened Sinhalese fears that India might be aiming at more than a temporary stay. When the troop deployment was announced, Defense Minister Athulathmudali explained that the units would be under Sri Lankan command. Sounding a bit like a proconsul, Dixit at first told a Colombo news conference that the Indian troops would answer to him; he later allowed, however, that Jayewardene was in ultimate control of the peacekeeping force. Asked how long they would remain, Dixit answered, "Whenever our troops have moved into a foreign territory since independence, they have left when the job was done." Countered Athulathmudali: "Indians have a timeless culture."

Even if the Indians plan to stay only long enough to disarm the Tigers, that may take longer than New Delhi or Colombo ever anticipated. The Indian commander in Sri Lanka, Major General Singh, met late last week with Kumarappa (a nom de guerre), the Tiger commander in Jaffna. Singh eventually persuaded Kumarappa to allow him to talk with local people. A few miles away, in the village of Tellippalai, the mob of 400 Tamils closed in on the general's car and began rocking it back and forth. The protesters chanted slogans declaring they wanted an independent Eelam and would never surrender their arms. "These people are diehards," Singh said later. "But I think we can deal with them."

After three days in Sri Lanka, the Indian peacekeeping brigade had yet to collect a single rifle from the Tamil Tigers. At the air base in Palali, on the Jaffna Peninsula, Indian planes and helicopters were arriving around the clock with crates of ammunition, mortars and heavy equipment. To all appearances, the Indian force had come to stay for a while. —By Edward W. Desmond. Reported by Qadri Ismail and Ross H. Munro/Colombo and K.K. Sharma/New Delhi

Keshar, The Hindu, 30.7.87





*At a time when the island of Sri Lanka is violently shaken by the winners' gratitude and the losers' wrath, we reproduce below an article that appeared in the Guardian (21 August 1987) in the wake of the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord, as it delineates how meticulously its author provisioned and portrayed the true nature of the accord.*

## THE INFAMOUS CONTRACT

*By a special correspondent*

### COMMENT

INDIA'S PACT with Sri Lanka is the most infamous contract imposed on a small country - short of military occupation - since the Munich Agreement of 1938. The island's ethnic conflict and her relations with India have drawn comparisons with many post-war situations. There are no more striking parallels, however, to the course of events in Sri Lanka than those which preceded the Sudeten-German crisis of the 1930s.

In 1938, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain described the situation in Czechoslovakia as "a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing." Those who did know the country - like Churchill - admired her "virile democracy" and her "will to live unmolested."

**Sri Lanka has been in the news the past four years - as Czechoslovakia in the late Thirties - because of an ethnic conflict exacerbated by a larger neighbour.**

So it is with Sri Lanka. Those who do know the country recognise that she is the only Third World nation to have exercised universal adult suffrage in free elections for an uninterrupted period of 55 years; that she has the highest literacy rate and the lowest infant mortality rate among the poorer countries, and an average life expectancy among her people (68 years) exceeded by few richer nations. Yet Sri Lanka has been in the news the past four years - as Czechoslovakia in the late Thirties - because of an ethnic conflict exacerbated by a larger neighbour.

There are real minority grievances in Sri Lanka - as there were in Czechoslovakia - but, as Churchill said, on behalf of the Czechs, they were "magnified and exploited" by the bigger power.

The charge of discrimination hangs oddly on a government which has appointed its Chief Justice, Attorney General and Police Chief from a minority numbering less than 13 per cent of the population; or in a country where, as with the Sudeten-Germans, that minority holds a proportionally larger share of jobs in the public and private sectors than the majority or other minorities.

Accusations of "genocide" against the Tamils in the Indian press matched the stridency of Goebbels's charges of "Czech terror in the Sudetenland" and these lies were disseminated - as they were then - by partisan propaganda machines abroad. It passed unnoticed that in a country considered unsafe for the Tamils more of them continued to live in the Sinhalese-speaking south than in their traditional "homelands."

Terrorist atrocities were dismissed as airy as the German press treated the excesses of the Sudeten-German uprising. The Sudetens, at least, had spared civilians; they did not engage in the premeditated butchery of priests, women and children.

By contrast, many Sinhalese households, at great personal risk, sheltered Tamil families who were dispossessed when hooligan mobs went on the rampage in July 1983; a far cry from the German reaction when Jews were attacked in 1938 during the Nazis' bloody "Kristallnacht." Yet the violence of 1983 was compared to that infamous episode in an orchestrated campaign to discredit the Sri Lankan government.

Konrad Henlein and his Sudeten Germans received arms and training from Himmler's SS. Those Tamil terrorists who were not trained in PLO camps ("What does Sri Lanka have against Israel?" asked Menachem Begin when told of their presence in the Shatilla camps) had their training in South India from where

flowed the arms and explosives for their operations. India did not turn a blind eye to such training, as is commonly supposed.

The Research Analysis Wing (RAW) of India's Foreign Ministry directed it with the same enthusiasm as the CIA organised the training of Nicaraguan contras.

Indian pressures for major concessions from Sri Lanka were not unlike those which forced the Czechs to go cap in hand to Berlin. In the past three years, Sri Lanka presented proposals for Tamil regional autonomy which the Indian government would scarcely consider for its own Sikh minority. Senior officials would journey to India to be questioned ("grilled" in the words of one veteran Indian correspondent) about them. Not once were they told what the Tamil separatists were prepared to concede.

Then, as it became clear that Sri Lankan forces had begun to make inroads into terrorists strongholds, there began the series of "messages" - the term Premier Gandhi himself used to describe the pressures exerted on Sri Lanka.

**It is known that in 1984 - shortly before her assassination - Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had ordered Indian troops to invade Sri Lanka.**

The abortive landing of unwanted supplies was followed by the violation of Sri Lanka's air space and a personal warning to President Jayawardene that India's patience was wearing thin. Like Czechoslovakia, Sri Lanka was under no illusions as to what that meant.

Indian military plans for the occupation of Sri Lanka had a much longer shelf life than "Case Green" - Hitler's



plan for the invasion of Czechoslovakia. It is known that in 1984 - shortly before her assassination - Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had ordered Indian troops to invade Sri Lanka. The operation was called off at the last moment only because of a resurgence of Sikh militancy.

The speed with which concessions were extracted from Sri Lanka, following Rajiv Gandhi's "messages", matched the rate at which President Benes of Czechoslovakia capitulated to Nazi demands. The domestic-political agreement could have been negotiated much earlier had India disavowed the Tamil militants and insisted on direct negotiations between the elected leader of the Tamils - A. Amirthalingam of the Tamil United Liberation Front - and President Jayawardene.

The Sri Lankan government had made it clear that everything was negotiable - short of a separate

Tamil state. The compromise would also have satisfied the Tamil moderates who wanted nothing more than the responsibility for law enforcement, land allocation, and education in the areas where Tamil-speaking people predominate. But it would not have satisfied India.

### **Rajiv Gandhi's diplomatic coup is even more spectacular than Hitler's at Munich.**

India wanted more than a political settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic problems. Her sponsorship of the Tamil militants was designed, like Hitler's support of Henlein, to advance interests in other areas. What she really wanted was the right to control Sri Lanka's foreign policy so that her regional geopolitical aims could be realised.

The Annexe to the Agreement does precisely that.

By insisting on prior consultation in Sri Lanka's future foreign relationships, India has effectively reduced Sri Lanka to the status of Sikkim and Bhutan whose external relations are controlled by New Delhi. By forcing what are, in effect, veto powers on the island's use of Trincomalee harbour, she has secured her long standing aim to safeguard her southern flank from unfriendly penetration.

Rajiv Gandhi's diplomatic coup is even more spectacular than Hitler's at Munich. He told a rally in Madras: "We have gained for the Tamils more than they had ever wanted." He might, justifiably, have added that the world applauds his role as "peacemaker." Hitler never had it that good; it was Chamberlain who was hailed as such at Munich.



Lt. Col. Harkirat Singh in jubilation over the surrender.



# We will fight for our political objective INTERVIEW

—V. Prabakaran

*V. Prabakaran, the LTTE leader, is a key player in the dramatic developments represented by the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement and its implementation. He was invited to New Delhi before the agreement was signed, raised apprehensions and objections, met Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi for a frank discussion of the situation and the problems, and returned to Jaffna in early August. On August 4, Prabakaran made a speech that drew wide attention: in it, he analysed the situation from the LTTE's standpoint, expressed his dissatisfaction with the agreement but also his closeness to India and said the LTTE would hand over arms basically because it "loves India" and did not want to clash with the Indian peace-keeping force. A week later, a FRONTLINE team comprising writer T. S. Subramanian and photographer D. Krishnan met him for this session in Jaffna. Soon after this, fresh Indian assurances led to the LTTE deciding to go ahead with the handing over of arms.*

**F**OR his first extended interview after returning to Jaffna from Tamil Nadu in January 1987, Velupillai Prabakaran, the Supreme Commander of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, meets representatives of FRONTLINE and THE HINDU in the second week of August in Jaffna. The interview, conducted in Tamil, lasts over an hour.

The LTTE leader looked cool and relaxed. He sets the ball rolling by suggesting that we should go to the Eastern province where the Sri Lankan soldiers, he alleges, are still harassing Tamil civilians.

**FRONTLINE:** There was a media story that when the Sri Lanka armed forces began their offensive against the Vadamarachchi region of the Jaffna peninsula on May 26, you were trapped in Velvettiturai and you managed to escape. Is this version true?

**Prabakaran** (smiling): I moved to Jaffna on the night of May 25. They began

the offensive the next day morning. They attacked Velvettiturai thinking that I was there.

**Q:** What is your assessment of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement? What are your apprehensions about it? You say there is a shortfall in relation to your expectations. What are the main areas of dissatisfaction?

**A:** As far as the agreement is concerned, they say that there will be a referendum in the Eastern Province even on the merger of the North and the East. Moreover, they say the referendum will be decided by a simple majority. It is not a question of the merger of the North and the East. It is our homeland. There is no question of any negotiation on this.

There are some further complications. It is an agreement between the Government of India and the Sri Lankan Government, as far as we are concerned..... In 1983, there were only a few Sri Lankan army camps in the North and the East. But now there are some 200 camps. The Sinhalese settlements could not be removed or dissolved without removing these army camps and, in fact, the camps 'legitimised' the Sinhala settlements. An important aspect (in the agreement) is that there is no room at all for the removal of the camps. To stop such settlements and prevent atrocities, the Indian Army should stay there.

But a strange thing is that there are no Indian Army camps beyond the Elephant Pass or Jaffna peninsula. But today, the Indian Army camps have been established at Kodikamam, Achuvelli, Palai, Vannankerni, Yakkachi junction, Thalayiadi coast, Pandatharippu and Kankesanthurai Light House. There is no need (for Indian Army camps) in these places, because there are no Sinhalese here. But the Indian Army has set up camps there.

We say the 200 (Sri Lankan) Army camps should be removed. But the Indian Army is establishing more camps. This itself has led to doubts and dissatisfaction among the people, at a beginning stage..... There is no atmos-

phere of safety for the refugees to return. Security and surveillance zones have not been lifted yet. The Indian Army camps have been established. This has led to dissatisfaction among the people. They came to the LTTE's office to give petitions and we told them to give the petitions to them (the Indian peace-keeping forces).

**Q:** You said the text of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement was not given to you.

**A:** They took away the copy. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene today says there will be a referendum. The bill has not been moved in the Parliament.

(At this point, Yogi, one of the political organisers of the LTTE, intervenes to say that there are "technical difficulties" in the passing of the bill. The Sri Lankan Government is not sure of getting the two-thirds majority required to pass it. "So, the changes in the constitution cannot take place," Yogi says).

**Prabakaran:** The question of cut-off points should be settled. The Government Agents say that people who had fled their places after 1983 could return. But people left their places even before 1983. There are two important aspects in this agreement. One is related to our homeland consisting of a unified North and East. The second is our land. Both are complicated problems, major complications. The agreement has not solved these two questions. This is the fundamental problem.

**Q:** What is your attitude towards the Government of India and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi?

**A:** Attitude?

**Q:** I mean your standpoint.....

**A:** As they took into consideration their own interests and hurriedly arrived at the agreement, they have not looked after the grievances of the people who have been affected for so long.

**Q:** How?

**A:** There are refugees in Mullaitivu. People are taking out processions. But before that, we have to lay down our arms. However, the people's problems have not been solved. The problem is that people must return to their land. To

facilitate that, the (Sri Lankan) Army camps should be removed. But the Indian Army is not prepared to remove the (Sri Lankan) Army camps and this will not bring about a solution. If this had been discussed before the agreement was arrived at, we would have laid down certain conditions. We would have said the army camps should be removed. But this has not taken place.

When we say the army camps should go back to the position that obtained on May 25, then why do they establish more Indian Army camps in Kodikamam? People are not able to go back first; the refugees are unable to return.

(At this point, Prabakaran asks his bodyguards to bring the Jaffna Tamil newspapers and says we should know the situation. He reads out the title of a local newspaper's editorial, "Nobel prize is calling.")

**Q:** Addressing the public meeting on the Sudumalai Amman temple grounds on August 4, you said you had a heart-to-heart discussion with Rajiv Gandhi. You also mentioned that he gave you some assurances and then you relented. What are the assurances?

**A:** Mr. Rajiv Gandhi gave the assurance that we, the Tamil people, will be protected in the North and East. But people are not able to return to the East.

The Indian Army has gone there but the Tamil people are not able to go there—because there is an increasing opposition from the Sinhalese Home Guards and the Sinhalese people. There are army camps there in individual houses, schools and cooperative stores. But the Indian Army has not been deployed in such places. The Ceylon Army has not been evacuated, the problem has not been solved. Another thing is the people's lack of faith arising out of the non-removal of the Ceylon Army. Even if the Indian Army goes, occupies such places and later vacates, the Sinhala army will come back. Further, we wouldn't have arms.

**Q:** What did Rajiv Gandhi say about the removal of 200 army camps?

**A:** We opposed the agreement on this point. Nobody was prepared to consider it.

**Q:** In Delhi?

**A:** Yes, in Delhi (firmly).

**Q:** In the future political set-up of the North and East, what is the role you envisage for the LTTE, once the laying down of arms is completed?

**A:** When we say political role, we have contacts with people at the organisational level and we are strengthening it. We are strengthening our organisation in the East also. We are already working with the people in Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts. This is not a dif-

ficult task.

**Q:** Is the LTTE strong in the East?

**A:** In the East our people are active even in areas where there are Sinhalese. When the people hoisted the LTTE flag at Mudur, they were shot dead. The Indian Army and the Government Agent wanted the flag to be removed. To that extent, people are conscious of things.

**Q:** Will you accept a multi-party, competitive political system? You said earlier that there should be a one-party democracy on the lines of Yugoslavia.

**A:** This is important and you should know our position. We have not achieved Tamil Eelam. I had expressed my views on a political set-up for Tamil Eelam. But there is no separate country now. This is an agreement imposed on us. In this (set-up) everyone is equal, everyone is the same. We will fight for our political objective. We will take the Eelam political objective in a sustained manner before our people.

What I said then was to be done after the establishment of our own State. But there cannot be any compatibility between one-party rule and what obtains now. What is taking place now is this. Sri Lanka and India have concluded an agreement. The Indian Army is here and is asking for our weapons. If we don't do that, we will have to fight the Indian army. To avert that, we accepted these arrangements, but we have not abandoned our political objective.

**Q:** There are conflicting or varying reports on what you said during the press conference you held in Jaffna on August 5. While one report said that you would not allow the "anti-social" militant groups to contest the elections, other reports said you would allow other groups to contest. Which is true?

**A:** Everybody will be allowed to contest elections. We will place our views before the people.

**Q:** What is the role you see for the TULF as the elected representatives of the people?

**A:** You are aware of what they did before. What do they know but the job of fighting elections? They will go back to fighting elections. We don't want power to pass into their hands—that is our intention and our stand. Let the people decide. They will contest elections. We will stand against them in the furtherance of our cause. The people will decide on whose side they will stand.

**Q:** At the Sudumalai public meeting, you said the LTTE would take to different forms of struggle. What are they? Will it be a mass-based struggle, a revolutionary party, a non-violent

struggle or will you take to armed struggle again?

**A:** We will resort to a mass-based struggle.

**Q:** But isn't LTTE a purely military organisation?

**A:** Today, the LTTE is a mass-based organisation. You would have noted our May Day rally. There is military rule here during the time of the rally. Military helicopters are firing from above. At the same time, the Sinhalese people in the South are not able to celebrate the May Day. In this kind of dangerous situation, if we are able to mobilise 200,000 people and take out a rally in the burning sun, it does mean we are a mass-based organisation. We have built up such a strength. If ours had been merely a militant organisation, people would not have attended the May Day rally in such a massive way.

**Q:** What is your attitude towards the Muslims in the East?

**A:** We don't look upon the Muslims as a separate category; we consider them an integral part of the Tamils. It is a question of people united by language and differentiated by religion.

(At this point, Yogi made a remark to the effect that it was the Sri Lankan Government which separated the Muslims from the other Tamils.)

**Q:** President Jayewardene has been appealing to the people in the East to vote against the merger in the referendum. What will you do if the Muslims vote against the merger?

**A:** We have not planned for that situation. It is something that is going to happen in the future. We can respond to the problem only at that stage.

**Q:** In a system where there are going to be elections—a competitive political structure—what are the problems you foresee?

**A:** We have already met such political competition. We are no strangers to such competition. Let the people decide ultimately whom they want. Let them choose for themselves a proper leadership to free themselves from this confusion.

**Q:** What will be the future of your cadres, estimated to number 5,000?

**A:** We will devise a proper plan for their future life. We will not abandon them. We will find a way out for them to continue their livelihood.

**Q:** In what way?

**A:** We will create job opportunities. Those who want to study will be allowed to study. We will arrange for them technical training. All of us will remain disciplined and create opportunities in a collective way.

**Q:** What was the reaction of your cadres to the agreement and to the proposition of handing over arms? Did they oppose the handing over of arms?



**A:** As far as the cadres are concerned, they have much faith in me personally. That is why they deferred to my word. But even today there is no protection. Dangers arise for us from the cadres of the other armed organisations and from the Sri Lankan Army.

**Q:** Was there any opposition?

**A:** As regards opposition, I myself was not willing. Then, imagine the feelings of the cadres. There is no security. So many cadres have died.

**Q:** What happens to the cyanide capsules that your men wear round their necks? Are they necessary when there are no arms?

**A:** I think the capsules are needed most, they are indispensable now. They are the only weapons for the cadres to protect themselves in the Eastern province from hoodlums, the rival groups and the Sinhala army. Not only that; they would continue to wear them in remembrance of those comrades who fought along with them and sacrificed their lives.

(At this point, Prabakaran asks Yogi whether he sports the cyanide capsule. Yogi pulls out the capsule tied to a string around his neck. It is made of white and black plastic. Prabakaran

**"I will fight till the last drop of my blood for the liberation of my motherland"**



also pulls out his capsule from under the collar of his shirt and shows it to us. When we ask him whether we can photograph him at this moment, he politely declines the proposition.)

**Q:** How do you feel when your fighters are killed? For example, you have named your son Charles Antony in memory of a loyal LTTE fighter who was killed in a clash with the Sri Lankan Army in July 1983.

**A:** As far as our feelings are concerned, we have been very deeply affected in our hearts. Having fought so much, having sacrificed so many lives and having lost 20,000 people ..... all this has been subordinated to India's strategic interests. Not only that, we the representatives of such martyrs, have not been properly respected.

Hence in this kind of situation ..... during the interim arrangement .... we feel that we want to demonstrate to the Government of India the support we have from the people. India has not given us our due. Without consulting us, they have arrived at an agreement. Hence, we would like to enter politics with the people's support and with the goal of Tamil Eelam. That will be the fitting reply.

**Q:** Today's Tamil papers in Jaffna quote an LTTE representative as saying the organisation would not fully surrender arms.

**A:** Yes, we made the statement. It is better to fight and die than surrender the weapons in an insecure environment and die on a mass scale! •

**Q:** What are the shaping influences on your life?

**A:** Ra. Su. Nallaperumal's serial "Kallukkul Eeram" ("It is wet inside the stone") published in *Kalki* magazine. I have read it five times. It revolves round the Indian freedom struggle. Mr. Nallaperumal balances the ahimsaic struggle and the armed struggle. Generally, I read anything on any freedom movement. I used to read books on Joan of Arc, Napoleon and so on. I was always interested in history. Shivaji was the first guerilla to have fought against the Mughal rule. When I was young, I always had a picture of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I used to keep his picture on my table when I used to study. I had written on my table, "I will fight till the last drop of my blood for the liberation of my motherland".

**FRONTLINE:** Thank you, Mr. Prabakaran. □ August 22-September 4, 1987



## INTERVIEW

**'Many loose ends'**

Interview with A.P. Venkateshwaran

**W**HEN THE WEEK approached A.P. Venkateshwaran, former foreign secretary, for his comments on the Indo-Sri Lankan accord, he said he was reluctant to speak about it because he had yet to study its full implications. Pressed for his reactions about the sudden reversal of the stand by President Jayewardene, he said: "President Jayewardene had opposed even much smaller concessions like those provided in annexure C only four years ago and had gone back on his own words. Agreements reached on one day would be gone back upon the next day." Despite his reluctance Venkateshwaran went on to talk about the recent developments. Excerpts:

**QUESTION:** What has happened now?

**ANSWER:** I cannot imagine that a great change of heart has taken place in this regard and can only assume that some factors have entered into the equation which we are as yet unaware of without any certainty.

*Do you think there had been pressure from and arm-twisting by India?*

To attribute the change to the air-drop exercise is not convincing to me. The chances are that certain internal factors have been responsible for President Jayewardene's volte-face

*What about the provisions of the accord?*

Going by what has been published and presuming that there are no confidential clauses to the agreement, I can only remark that there are many loose ends.

*Like which ones?*

First, we know that the constitutional package for greater autonomy of Sri Lankan Tamils in the accord still has a number of aspects to be decided upon. These gaps would prove very difficult later on to sort out. Secondly, the deadline set for surrender of arms by the militants would seem unworkable in practice.

Thirdly, from what President Jave-

wardene had himself told his party before signing the accord, he does not envisage the Eastern province to remain with the Northern province when the proposed referendum is held by the end of 1988. Are we then going for an accord with a built-in obsolescence? What happens thereafter?

Fourthly, according to the provisions in the accord, the Indian peace-keeping force is entirely dependent on the request of President Jayewardene and would cover only the Eastern and Northern provinces. What

**The dead line set for surrender of arms by militants would seem unworkable in practice.**

would happen if ethnic disturbances break out in other parts of Sri Lanka?

*You are referring to the start of the ethnic strife in Colombo four years ago.*

Precisely. And last but not the least, what is India's capacity to ensure peace-keeping outside its borders, particularly when India has enough problems within its own borders?

*What would happen to the basic question of human rights?*

Yes there is the danger that because the accord has been signed, whether it works or not, world attention will no longer be focused on what has been a question of human rights—the struggle of the Sri Lankan Tamils to win equal treatment as citizens of Sri Lanka.

*What is your final view of the accord?*

Now that the accord has been signed for better or for worse, let us hope that all concerned will do their



best to make it work and to restore peace to that troubled island.

*What about the violent Sinhala opposition to the accord?*

The boycott of the accord by powerful segments within the government of Sri Lanka and the strong opposition by Buddhist groups as evidenced by large-scale disturbances are a cause for concern. Let us only hope that the cure will not be worse than the disease.

*Should the accord have the sanction of the Sri Lankan Parliament?*

The accord is not yet a formal accord because it has not been ratified by the Sri Lankan Parliament. In our system, such ratification is not necessary. But the accord becomes formal only when the Sri Lankan Parliament ratifies it, as provided in the accord itself.

*How can we send troops to Sri Lanka before the Sri Lankan Parliament approves the accord?*

Yes, how are we sending the troops? Are we helping the Sri Lankan government to violate established norms?

*Would the accord produce more problems?*

It can create a serious ethnic crisis if Sinhalese anger is aroused against Tamils elsewhere, in Colombo and other areas.

*Would they not recognise the need for peace?*

I hope they would and in spite of all inhibitions, peace will return to Sri Lanka.

AUG. 9-15, 1987—T.V. KUNHI KRISHNAN



CHAPTER 3

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## An elusive peace in Sri Lanka

REPORT

**SRI LANKA** today begins in earnest negotiations with the World Bank and the IMF on a reconstruction program after four years of civil war. But it is still torn by dissension. On August 18, three weeks after President Jayewardene and Mr Gandhi signed the agreement which ended the Tamil insurgency, grenades clearly meant for the President were hurled into a Cabinet meeting room in Colombo. The grenades, almost certainly thrown by a disaffected Sinhalese, missed their target but killed one Cabinet minister and injured others.

The Indian-imposed solution to the Tamil problem underlined Sri Lanka's inability to deal with its most serious internal problem without outside assistance or direction. When that imposed solution gave rise to the new problem of a Sinhalese backlash, the sense of Sri Lankan impotence was reinforced. For the immediate task of tracking down those who attempted to kill President Jayewardene, Scotland Yard's help has been sought; for the continued protection of the President, an elite police commando group, British-trained

and under the control of the President's son, is said to stand ready to replace the normal security forces if necessary; and to strengthen Sri Lanka's capacity to counter the new terrorist threat, the US has at last sent the much-needed helicopter spare parts it had withheld when the main target was the Tamil insurgency in the north.

Compared with the Tamil threat, now fairly satisfactorily neutralised by the Gandhi-Jayewardene agreement, the threat from "Sinhalese terrorists" is serious indeed. The Tamils, before their surrender, employed terror, to be sure. But they also maintained the serious and difficult objective of controlling territory. They were able to maintain their position only because they also had genuine support from people living in the areas in which their writ ran. The Sinhalese terrorists have a much simpler objective. Resentful of the concessions given to the Tamils and angry with what they see as a surrender of sovereignty to India, they want to destroy the Gandhi-Jayewardene agreement by destroying its architect

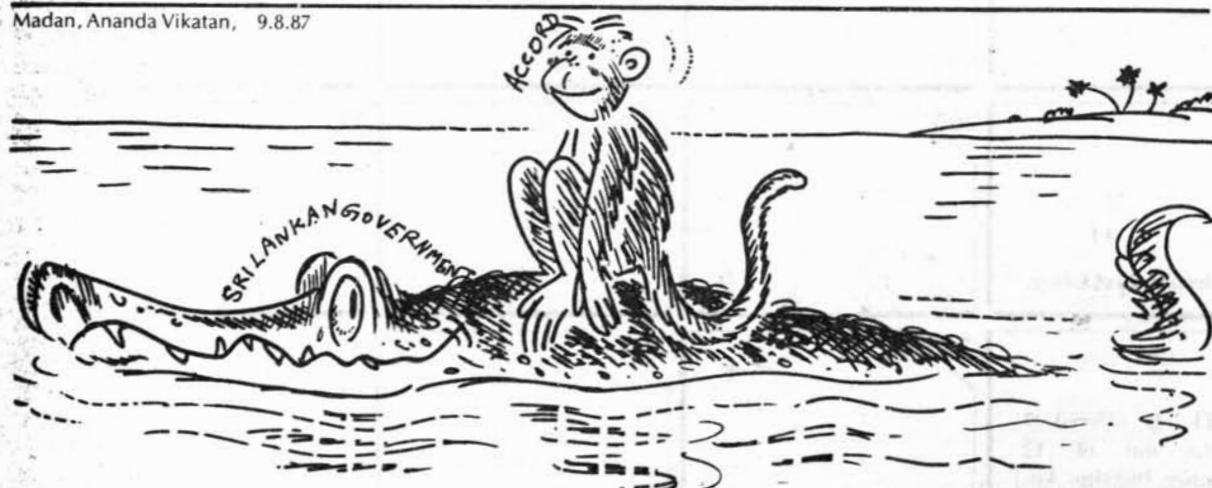
on the Sri Lanka side.

Assassination of the President would plunge Sri Lanka into chaos. In such a situation, the Sinhalese extremists, whether backed by communists or Buddhist priests, could not expect to take control. But they know that the Opposition, led by Mrs Bandaranaike, is committed to repudiate the Gandhi-Jayewardene agreement. That could sustain the terrorists' murderous determination. However, Mrs Bandaranaike, no matter how warmly she detests the agreement, can hardly be pleased at the prospect of seeing it overturned by terrorism. Apart from anything else, she has powerful personal reasons — her husband's assassination 28 years ago by Buddhist monks — to abhor the politics of violence.

Far from threatening the Gandhi-Jayewardene agreement, then, the tactics of the Sinhalese terrorists should in fact strengthen it. The terrorists must be isolated, not encouraged. However sincerely the Opposition might resist the experiment in power-sharing with the Tamils, it should not be tempted to think that it would easily benefit from every blow against that experiment. Peace in Sri Lanka has so far depended heavily on President Jayewardene. Now it depends as much on his political opponents, and their acceptance that the alternative to reconstruction is anarchy.

2.9.87

Madan, Ananda Vikatan, 9.8.87



SRI LANKA

# Coping with Peace

REPORT

## A return to normalcy but fears for the future



**ARO Hara, Aro Hara.** The devotees chanted as the deity of Lord Muruga was taken out of the 170-year-old Nallur Kandaswamy Temple and placed on the intricately carved chariot. The hail to the lord reached a crescendo. It was as if four years of pent up feelings were bursting out in a cathartic sigh of spiritual and emotional exhilaration.

It was August 23, the occasion of the car festival, and the most important day in the 25-day-long festival in the Jaffna peninsula's holiest temple. Never before had such a crowd been witnessed. Almost half the peninsula's population of 700,000 people had shown up—more than double the turnout in the preceding war-torn years.

It was after a long, long time that holy incense and not billowing black clouds of destruction was rising into the air. The people were exuberant, not cowering in terror. Every one was experiencing the delicious thrill of mobility and freedom, instead of tensely pricking a ear to detect the sound of aircraft and run for cover. The massive turnout and *joie de vivre* of the festival was the most touching tribute to the peace and security brought to war-ravaged Jaffna by the accord.

The leash of terror in the peninsula has, at last, snapped. In just two weeks, life is back to what it was before the July 1983 riots. There is no shortage of essential commodities. Refugees are returning home, bringing happy reconciliations. Many households are preparing to send their children to school and college when the term begins on August 31. And, as Jaffna businessman Sankaran Hariharan, whose annual turnover slumped from Sri Lankan Rs 60 lakh to Rs 50,000, said: "Business is picking up."

Yet the people suffer no delusions.

"We feel free and easy now, but we feel it's a temporary truce," remarks Varadaraja, a farmer of Allaipatti village who had migrated with his family to Jaffna to run a small shop. He now plans to go back to his 1.5 acre tobacco farm. A government servant expressed a similar sentiment: "This is only the start. We have got only half freedom. We wonder how long it will last." Trapped in a vicious cycle of violence, people are finding it psychologically difficult to believe that peace will last.

With the initial euphoria waning, as is inevitable, two crucial problems have emerged in the post-accord phase. Firstly,

as Jaffna Municipal Commissioner C.V.K. Sivaganam said: "Till now, the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) did the policing of our society. But now with their disarmament, there is a vacuum in discipline enforcement. Antisocial elements are beginning to exploit the situation and crime has gone up."

Second and most crucial, is the urgent need for reconstruction and rehabilitation. On June 6, two days after the Indian air drop, the Sri Lankan Army based in the Palali

camp devastated Valalai village in a brutal retaliatory attack. The house of Alagendra Raja, a small farmer, was attacked and set on fire. Raja's family, along with 15 other families, fled to seek refuge in a school in Chavakacheri. Two months later Raja returned to his village. But he is now penniless and homeless.

Anton Sudhakar, a fisherman of Gurunagar, was detained at the Boosa camp for ferrying TELO (Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation) members. The accord enabled his release and a joyous reunion with his family. However, two short weeks later, he faces grinding poverty. His electricity has been cut off for

non-payment of bills and his few possessions have been sold already. His boat has been impounded and he sees no way of earning a livelihood.

Rehabilitation is an aspect of the peace accord that demands urgent attention. For if neglected, the goodwill of the public can turn irreversibly. Peace can assuage tense minds, but cannot fill empty stomachs. During the horror-filled days of the carpet-bombing, the sole preoccupation was finding safe shelter. Now, with the chance to pick up the threads of life once again, people lack the means to buy food, to rebuild their homes or start business.

Indian officials in Colombo, aware of the problem, talk in terms of Indo-Sri Lankan joint economic cooperation to set up some large projects to solve the problem of unemployment in the north and east of the island. While this is essential, the most pressing need at present is to provide the basics—food, shelter, clothing and the tools of trade.

Only the LTTE has so far risen to the task of rehabilitation though it is constrained by limited resources. A new party reconstruction and rehabilitation wing has now focused on these activities. LTTE cadres have begun construction work in ghost towns and villages like Velvettithurai, Point Pedro, Valalai, Vasivilan and Urupiddy. Squads go about clearing debris, cutting timber and transporting other essential items in the northern province.

In fact, the LTTE cadres seem to have taken to civilian life quite easily. As Kanagamma Arumugam, a teacher of Hindu College in Chavakacheri, said: "The Tamil Tigers will have no problems adjusting to civilian life. They are used to a life of hardship and, in any case, they have been running a parallel government here for sometime."

Though the group's militant members still carry their cyanide capsules and feel "orphaned without arms", their discipline and fierce loyalty to leader V. Pirabhakaran has ensured their obedience to embrace civilian life. The change from living in secret jungle hideouts to the free bustling town area has been a marked one for most LTTE men. Yet, as Puliendran, the Tamil Tigers area commander in Trincomalee who took part in at least 500 guerrilla operations, explained, he had all through spent time cultivating paddy along with his military duties—thereby driving home the point that normal civic functions were very much a part of guerrilla existence.

There is no doubt that the LTTE holds complete sway in Jaffna. Even in Trinco-

Trapped in a vicious cycle of violence, people in the northern province are finding it psychologically difficult to believe that peace will last.

malee, the LTTE is the most popular group as the others have earned opprobrium for indulging in criminal activities and are also suspect as being fronts propped up by the Indian Government. But at the same time, there has developed an interesting shift in public perception when it comes to governance. The public recognises the sacrifices and the consistently disciplined behaviour of the LTTE. But they do not unreservedly accept it as their ruler. N. Manickam, an electrical superintendent of Urumterai, owes his life to a local LTTE leader who advised him on how to construct bunkers outside his house to survive the bombing. Yet, Manickam now says: "The LTTE deserve the top positions but none of their cadre have the education required to go with such posts."

On the other hand, though the more moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) commands less respect, it is recognised as having greater political maturity and experience. Echoing popular sentiment, Varadarajan, the small-time farmer, said: "We would like TULF and LTTE to share power. TULF has experience and LTTE has idealism. A combination would be in our best interests." But as matters stand, Pirabhakaran is more inclined to reward his cadre who have

sacrificed so much. At the same time he does recognise the need to field eminent public personalities to counter the general charge of the inexperience and lack of education of his men.

**P**IRABHAKARAN still firmly believes that with the accord, "the Tamils have become victims of India's geo-political interests". Understandably, the LTTE is resentful of the presence of the Indian Army, whom they see as usurpers of their role. What is worrying India, however, is the anti-Indian propaganda they have begun to indulge in. At regular political meetings organised by the group, they explain the accord as suiting only India's geo-political interests. While most Tamils want the Indian Army to stay on and some, in fact, even talk in terms of India starting a permanent Ceylon regiment, the LTTE has been pointing out the dangers of a prolonged stay of an "outside army". They take the line that "an army is an army" after all—insinuating the possibility of Indian soldiers misbehaving with the local girls among other things. Realising the havoc this can cause, Indian jawans have been sternly warned not to mix with the local people and to keep a low profile.

But that warning could apply to the Tamil militants as well. Barely had the ink dried on the accord when LTTE flags began mushrooming all over Trincomalee, Sri Lanka's once famous and now battered

#### Rebuilding homes in Jaffna: key issue

port-town. Predictably, the LTTE's red flag with its yellow emblem of a roaring tiger framed in a coat of arms was a red rag to the local Sinhalese. Trouble was sure to follow and it did—first on August 6 and then more dangerously, on August 24.

On August 6, a crowd of jubilant Tamils carrying LTTE flags and bursting crackers ran into an antagonistic Sinhalese crowd on the N.C. National Highway. In the fight that ensued a Tamil was killed. The Indian Army then instructed the Tamils that no flags were to be kept in public places and dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed.

The second incident occurred 18 days later in Madathady junction, on the outskirts of Trincomalee. Some Tamil taxi-drivers were gossiping idly under a huge tree, atop which two LTTE flags were fluttering gaily, when a group of Sinhalese arrived and demanded that the flag be taken down. The Tamil taxi-drivers re-

#### Accord Adjunct



● One of the unwritten—and unannounced—Indian imperatives behind the Indo-Sri Lanka accord was to break a budding military and commercial relationship between Colombo and Islamabad.

In the last few months, several Pakistani military advisers had been trooping into Colombo and Sri Lankan soldiers were being trained in

Pakistani camps.

But the new accord has given Pakistan's Colombo card a rude jolt. The military advisers have been sent back and in future Sri Lankan troops will be trained in India.

South Block has been quick to capitalise on the commercial vacuum created by Islamabad's over-confidence in its relationship with Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Government had asked Pakistan to supply anti-riot equipment like tear gas cannisters and rubber bullets. But Pakistan had failed to deliver even four months after the order was placed. Soon after the accord, Sri Lanka asked India if it could supply the same equipment. A foreign office request for speedy delivery was honoured within 24 hours.

Similarly, a Sri Lankan requirement for 500 buses to replace those burned during the pre-accord riots may now go to an Indian company, through the Indian Government and not to a Pakistan-based company as would have been the case earlier.



Ramamoorthy, Deccan Herald, 9.8.87





fused, saying provocatively, "your time is up, now it is our time". The fight snowballed, and before long there was heavy stone-throwing. At this point, a joint patrol of the Indian Army and Sri Lankan police chanced by. Persuasion and firing in the air did not work and finally the Indian Army had to open fire, injuring two Sinhalese.

The agitated Sinhalese rounded up the 60 home guards of the area and two hours later, at about 8 p.m., returned to Madathady. They ransacked and set ablaze the house of Kanapathi Pillai, a Tamil port worker. Anticipating trouble after the firing incident, the Pillai family had fortunately fled from their house and hidden in the Saraswathy cinema theater, in the Tamil dominated Sivan Koil which is located just behind Madathady. Gazing disconsolately at the charred remains of his house, Pillai said: "We had thought there would be peace after the accord. We are still so scared. We will feel secure only if the Indian Army sets up an outpost in Madathady."

But that would only be adding fuel to already inflamed Sinhalese passions. There is smouldering resentment to the Indian presence among the Sinhalese, stemming perhaps from a feeling of being threatened by the Indian Army. For, their position is now reversed—until now, the Sinhalese were the ones who had felt secure due to the presence of Sri Lankan home guards and security forces. Said

#### Pirabhakaran with aides: no illusions

Vimal Hewawithanrana, 33, a home guard of Vijithapura village, menacingly: "Your army fired at our people. Why should your army attack our people only?" And when asked about the burn-

ing of Pillai's house, Vimal's response was typical: "The Tamils burnt their houses themselves and simply put the blame on us." What is disturbing is the fact that the police had arrested Pillai's Tamil neighbour, Thanaraja, 27, for suspected arson when in reality, he too had fled to Sivan Koil at the time of the incident.

The situation in Madathady is now very tense, particularly because the Sri Lankan Government has, in the last two years settled several Sinhalese

families and home guards in the temple lands which adjoin the five temples nearby.

It was significant that neither the Tamil nor Sinhalese refugees in their camps at Clapenberg and Cod Bay in Trincomalee district felt safe enough to return to their villages. "We are dying to go back. But as long as the Sri Lankan Army camps are around, we do not feel safe to return," said K. Periathamby, a Tamil refugee from Muthur. Added E. Nageswaran, another refugee: "Now that the militants have been disarmed, we feel even more insecure." Visibly frightened and too insecure to even talk freely to an Indian, Sumana Seyana, a Sinhalese refugee from Podokattu vil-

**"If our people are attacked again, we will return to arms. We are prepared to start again, from scratch."**

V. PIRABHAKARAN

lage who returned to his camp after a recent trip to his village, says: "I am too scared to go back because when I went to my village a group of Tamil youths came and wamed me not to return." Declares another refugee: "I have no faith in the accord because there will still be violence." Even though they have to pay a price for it, the Tamils in Trincomalee are in no mood to bring down their flags. "It is about time our flag went up," says E. Rasalingam. "After all, we are putting it in our territory. All our suffering would have been in vain if we brought down our flag at this point."

In Sivan Koil, and other Tamil-dominated areas, the Tamils are somewhat heady with the breath of confidence and security they now feel due to the presence of the Indian Army. But unlike in the Jaffna Peninsula, which is solely populated by Tamils, any show of exuberance by the Tamils in Trincomalee, which has an equal number of Sinhalese and Muslims, can be gravely counter-productive. Sensing the growing hostility of the Sinhalese, joint patrols have been increased to five per locality daily, and no Indian Army jeep dare ventures out alone. Today, Trincomalee epitomises the tinderbox that Sri Lanka has become. Any event—be it assassination attempts or routine disputes—now have the potential to blow up the fragile accord.

The urgent need for rehabilitation in the battle-scarred areas cannot be over-emphasised. One fact that both India and Sri Lanka cannot afford to gloss over is that most Tamils believe the accord is only a truce and that a Tamil Eelam is finally the permanent solution. Father Singharaya, a Catholic priest who was released from the Welikada prison after the accord, is one of them. "After all that the Tamils have gone through, I feel Eelam is the only solution," he says. His view was endorsed by almost every single person spoken to in the peninsula.

Psychologically, it has become impossible for the Tamils to trust the Sri Lankan Government. Gently stroking his leopard cub Sita, Pirabhakaran said: "If our people are attacked again, we will return to arms. We are prepared to start all over again, from scratch." And Ramesh, 21, who is a second lieutenant in the LTTE hierarchy, agrees wholeheartedly: "My whole life is reverted to the recall to arms." The only way this attitude can be kept on a leash is by ensuring that rehabilitation and development quickly follow the newly-found peace on the island.

—ANITA PRATAP in Jaffna

## Fragile Frame

**T**HERE is a divine power that is keeping this accord alive," says the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo J.N. Dixit. He is not exaggerating. The accord would have been destroyed had Rajiv Gandhi not ducked in time on July 29 or had the grenades lobbed into the parliamentary hall on August 18 not bounced off President J.R. Jayewardene's table before exploding, killing one minister and injuring 16 others.

The blast revealed the chilling capacity of the anti-accord forces to infiltrate the nerve-centre of government. But miraculously the blast seems to have only strengthened the resolve of the President and his colleagues to push through the accord. M.D. Premaratne, deputy minister for sports, convalescing from back and leg injuries, said: "Of course I will support the accord. This is the last chance we have to solve this problem." Said the MP from Mannar in the deep south, S.K. Piyadasa whose house was attacked on July 29: "We won't be frightened. We cannot allow future generations to suffer for our cowardice."

The Patriotic People's Movement, believed to be a front organisation of the Janata Vimukti Permunu (jvp), claimed responsibility for the blast. Even though the police have arrested four employees of the parliament complex and interrogated 700 persons, they still cannot fathom how the grenades were smuggled into the complex, breaching the concentric rings of security. Frank Silva, DIG(CID) who is in charge of the investigations commented that "one of the grenades was Chinese and the other Singaporean, the kind that is imported into the country for military use". The jvp had conducted three raids in the last five months on military installations and escaped with arms including grenades. But as Neelan Tiruchelvam, ex-TULF MP pointed out "a few more nasty incidents like this and the UNP MPs will be gravely demoralised."

Admitting that it was an "inside job" Silva said "the threat is from within not from outside. That is a matter of real concern to us." There are many who believe that the accord has only shifted violence from the north to the south. In fact, contrary to foreign perceptions, riots in southern Lanka are to be "anti-Jayewardene and not anti-accord" to quote a prominent Buddhist priest, the Rt Rev Madihe Pannasiha Maha Nayaka Thera, 75, head of the Amarapura sect, because, as he says: "The public feel

that the President has trampled upon Sinhalese interests and pushed the accord through without prior intimation."

Luckily the blast did not throw the mechanics of accord implementation out of gear though it did slow it down. The Sri Lankan Government which was expected to lift the Emergency by mid-August could not do so. The Government was also slow in releasing Tamil prisoners—only 1,300 of the 5,700 detainees have been released so far. But the Tamil militants have also been tardy with their arms surrender. It is learnt that while the LTTE has surrendered 85 per cent of their lethal weapons, they have handed over only about 45 per cent of their small arms. It seems the LTTE is hiding a cache of firepower, wrapped in



**"The public feel the President has trampled upon Sinhalese interests and pushed the accord without prior intimation."**

NAYAKA THERA  
Amarapura sect head

polythene and buried underground, as a kind of safety valve should something happen to the accord.

The accord has thrown up two new problems which have to be urgently tackled. Firstly there is evidence of colonisation in Trincomalee by the Sri Lankan Government since the accord was signed. There have been reports of Sinhalese families being resettled in Kantalai, Selaipaiaru, Nilapali, Nilavali, Dehiwate, Sumithra, Allai and Alliolhuve in the district. Considering that the eastern province, which includes Trincomalee, is to vote for a merger with the Tamil-dominated northern province, the Tamils will naturally view this as an underhand way of ensuring that the majority vote will be against the merger. This is because the

Muslim and Sinhalese population together will far outnumber the Tamils in electoral terms. Secondly, the Indian Government has come to the conclusion that 37 of the 60 Sri Lankan Army camps in the east should be withdrawn to enable the refugees to return to their villages in safety and security.

The demilitarisation, the first phase of the accord, has gone off better than expected as have the moves for the setting up of the interim administrative council. Jayewardene had accepted all three Tamil names for the interim council suggested by Pirabhakaran. The council is expected to come into being very soon.

Simultaneously talks were held by constitutional experts on residual matters of devolution in Colombo and Delhi. It was not entirely smooth-sailing for according to an Indian official "Sri Lanka's understanding of the accord does not quite tally with ours." But at this juncture patience is the name of the game and Lands Minister Gamini Dissanayake said: "Surely the Tamils must have faith in the President who has staked his life for the accord." The drafting of the legislation is expected to be over in September after which it will be put before the Supreme Court to judge its constitutionality. It is then put before the Parliament for vote.

Both Sri Lankan and Indian officials do not expect any cross-voting as the UNP does not have a history of defections. Moreover, the President is comfortably placed—for a two-third majority he requires 113 votes. He has 141 MPs in the House of 168.

The only guarantee required is the physical safety of the President and his MPs. Despite many having received death threats, the UNP MPs are sitting ducks since none of them have been provided with even elementary security. Six weeks after the legislation is passed, the elections can take place for the setting up of the interim provincial council for the north and east.

There are, of course, a number of factors that could eventually dilute the accord, mainly the proposed referendum in the east for a merger with the northern province to which the Muslim population in the east holds the key. The accord provides for the referendum to be held by December 31, 1988, though Jayewardene has been given the option to postpone it if he wishes.

But there are still many stages to go through before that, each fraught with dangers that can sabotage the accord. As Dixit says, the accord could do with all the divine help it can get.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1987 —ANITA PRATAP in Colombo

# Tamil Tigers accuse Indian Intelligence

September 21, 1987

**JAFFNA** - The leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has accused an Indian intelligence agency, RAW, of stirring up inter-group violence in the north and east of Sri Lanka.

Velupillai Prabhakaran was responding to criticism levelled against the LTTE by a spokesman for the Indian External Affairs Ministry.

Prabhakaran said that the Indian Foreign Ministry office was fully aware of 'the sinister role played by RAW in training and arming anti-social elements for use against unarmed cadres of the LTTE'.

## Blamed

Prabhakaran also blamed the Indian intelligence agency for propping up as political leaders well-known criminals who had committed murders in both the Indian state of Tamil Nadu and Tamil Eelam.

The Tamil leader declared: 'While we lay down our arms, we place the responsibility of protecting our unarmed cadres on the government of India.'

'There was peace until the Three Star group and Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front re-entered Tamil areas with sophisticated weapons and unleashed violence against the LTTE and the innocent public.'

He alleged that those re-

sponsible had been trained and armed by RAW and sent to Tamil Eelam 'at a crucial time when we were co-operating with India in the process of disarmament.'

'These groups clashed among themselves and launched repressive killings against the LTTE, causing violence and bloodshed and severely disturbing the peace in the Tamil areas.'

'We blame RAW, an instrument of the Indian state, for the recent course of violence.'

Prabhakaran said he believed the Indian government had completely misinterpreted the reasons for a

hunger strike and civil disobedience campaign launched by the LTTE last week.

A Tamil leader in the Jaffna area, S. Theliban, is in the sixth day of a hunger strike, and two women schoolteachers in the fourth day.

## Picketing

Tamils in the north are also picketing and occupying government buildings.

The campaign was launched in protest at the fact that no interim government in the north and east has been constituted, as promised in the Indo-Sri Lankan deal.

The LTTE have said that

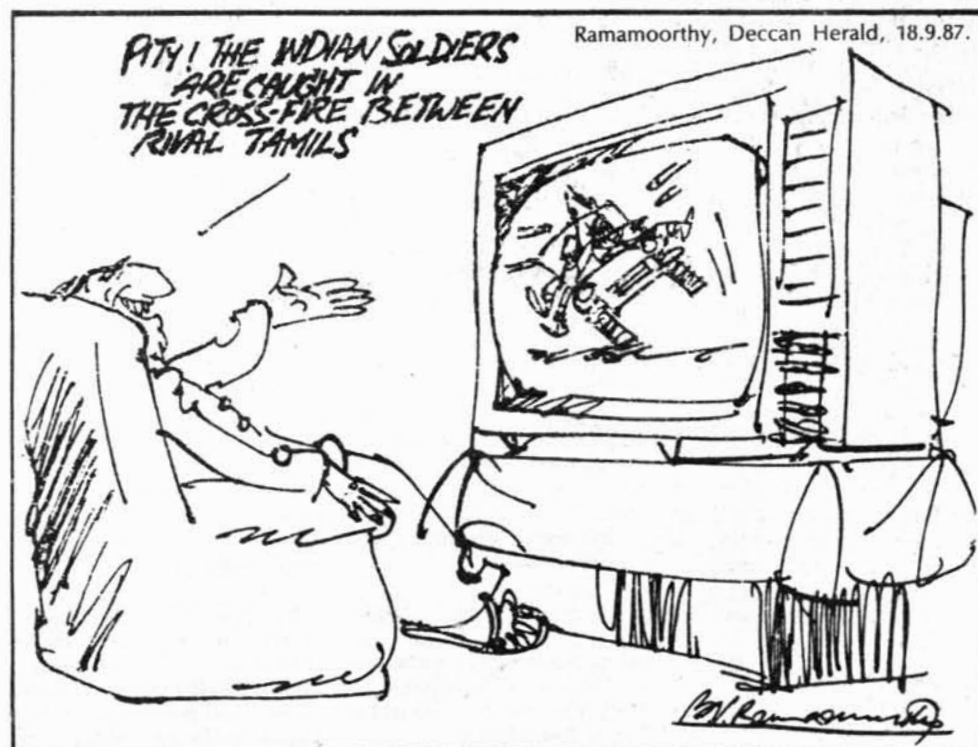
Sinhala colonisation of Tamil areas is continuing, that Tamil refugees are unable to return home because of a massive presence by the Sinhala Home Guard, police and army, that new police stations are being opened and prisoners not being released.

Prabhakaran said: 'We have put forward fair and just demands which should have been implemented according to the terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord.'

'Our struggle is not a campaign against India or against accord but the struggle to win our freedom, dignity and security.'

'The entire Tamil masses are behind us.'

Ramamoorthy, Deccan Herald, 18.9.87.





## EDITORIAL

## India to fight Jayawardene's war

**S**O R. GANDHI HAS ONE MORE ACCORD to his credit, this one of international dimensions. But like his earlier accords (of the domestic variety) this too will come unstuck before the ink on it has fully dried. Though R. Gandhi has been taking credit along with Jayawardene for producing the framework to end the civil war in Sri Lanka, the chances are that India will end up by fighting the war for Jayawardene's government.

All hush-hush about the accord notwithstanding, there are enough reasons to believe that it is not Gandhi-Jayawardene's baby, but the handiwork of the American-British-Jayawardene axis. The British and the Americans have their own reasons to see India embroiled in military conflict in Sri Lanka. They want Jayawardene to win. They want Sirimavo Bandaranaike to be contained. And they want India to bloody its hands in foreign territory and thus end its moralising. And with some luck, they want India to have its own Viet Nam.

Jayawardene wants to see the end of India's involvement on the side of the Sri Lankan Tamils by making her

close the guerilla/military training camps in Tamil Nadu and the supply of money and weapons to the Tigers. And more importantly he wants India to do what his own rag-tag army cannot: destroy the Tigers.

The Americans and British have been indulging in small flattery by dropping hints that Gandhi-Jayawardene are now in the queue for the Nobel Peace prize. A joke over which they laugh in private. But what does one do when you have an R. Gandhi who is willing to be made a sucker! Except that in this case he has landed the country in the worst foreign affairs mess in four decades.

An accord in Sri Lanka to be successful should have included during the negotiations the two most important parties to the dispute in Sri Lanka. The Tigers who are fighting a war, and Sirimavo Bandaranaike who has emerged as the most powerful leader of the Sinhala people. But that is not what the American-British-Jayawardene interests want. And we shall not have to wait for long to have the proof.

## BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

**MADRAS —** The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have categorically denied reports that they killed members of the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF).

Leaders of the Tigers said the reports, from an Indian news agency based in Colombo, were 'malicious fabrications to tarnish the image of our organisation'.

The UNI agency has been giving the Sri Lankan authorities ammunition to target the LTTE with lying reports of a power struggle within the Tamil Tigers based on 'caste differentiation'.

It has also alleged that the Tigers have clashed with Muslims in the east, that the LTTE runs torture camps and that it is seeking the support of a southern Indian political leader to launch an armed struggle for Tamil Eelam.

A communique in the name of S. Subramanian of

the LTTE Political Committee said these reports were 'baseless and far from the truth'.

Yesterday the Tamil Tigers launched a hunger strike in protest at the Sinhala colonisation of Tamil areas and against the introduction of the Sri Lankan police system in the north and east.

The 'fast until death' will be accompanied by mass picketing in front of government offices in the northern and eastern provinces.

A resolution passed by the LTTE high command in Jaffna regrets that the assurances given by the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the LTTE have not been fulfilled.

It points out that the Jayawardene regime is pressing ahead with Sinhalese colonisation even though the interim administration in the north and east has still to be formed.

While the Tamil refugees are not receiving cash aid, rehabilitation funds are being made freely available for Sinhalese families who are prepared to settle in the Tamil homeland.

The LTTE resolution stresses that many Tamil refugees are unable to return to their homes because of the threats made out to them by the Sinhala army, police and so-called Home Guard.

'More than 1½ months has elapsed since signing of the agreement between India and Sri Lanka and thousands of detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act have still not been released,' says the LTTE.

The resolution urged the Indian government to ensure an immediate halt to all forms of Sinhala colonisation of the Tamil homeland under the pretext of rehabilitation.

The LTTE wants plans to build a new police station covering the northern and eastern provinces to be shelved.

It is also insisting on the surrender of all arms under the proper supervision of the Indian peace-keeping force by so called Home Guards and commencement of the closure of all army and police camps situated in Tamil villages and

schools.

'The release of all those still in prison and detention camps under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.'

LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran has told the Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka that he will not call a halt to protests in the Jaffna peninsula if the Indian authorities deal with these grievances.

A sinister new threat to the Tigers emerged yesterday when the Indian government said it would consider ordering its troops to use force to recover weapons in the Jaffna peninsula.

Under the terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord, all weapons should have been handed in within 72 hours of the cease-fire which came into force seven weeks ago.

Some weapons were handed over, but many more were not. Now the Indian army may resort to force if a final appeal to the Tamils to surrender arms is ignored later this week.

Newsline (London), 16.9.87.

**S**ri Lankan Government in contravention of the Accord encouraged Sinhalese to found new colonies in the Trincomalee region, a traditional homeland of Tamils. RAW – the intelligence wing of India schemed and helped anti-social elements and dissidents from other militant groups to liquidate the Tigers. Since the Indian Government failed to keep the promises it made, LTTE's political wing leader for Jaffna Mr. Dhileepan went on fast unto death demanding the rights of the Tamils be safeguarded: People thronged in to support him.



**E**ight more persons in other regions followed the way of Mr. Dhileepan with the backing of the populace.



## Sri Lankan misadventure Another Bangladesh?

EDITORIAL

SOME TIME AGO, A TAMIL intellectual had said that the intra-Tamil rivalries in Sri Lanka would result in a worse bloodbath than the fight between the Sinhalese and Tamils. Also, he had said that if the Tamil extremists would get power, they would be more despotic and unscrupulous than the Jayewardene Government.

The first prophecy has come true. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the combined forces of the other groups (EPRLF, TELO and PLOTE) have already started a war of mutual annihilation. Gun-wielding youths of rival parties are on a killing spree, spraying bullets on suspected opponents, often innocents including women and children. In Mannar, Batticaloa and other Tamil towns, the streets were littered with dead bodies as a result of fighting between extremist groups. No one is responsible for law and order, as the Sri Lankan authorities do not wish to interfere in the fratricidal war. The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) have no mandate to curb the fighting, because they are there as intermediaries between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamils, to see that the Tamil extremists are unarmed. With that premise they entered Sri Lanka.

The Tamil militants have surrendered only a part of their arms. Now that fighting has broken out amongst them, there is no hope of surrender of more arms. In fact, they are blaming the Indian army for unarming them without giving them protection. As long as the Tamil extremists do not lay

down their arms, the Sri Lankan Government is not obliged to fulfil its part of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord.

Thus the accord that was arrived at with lightning speed by high pressure tactics is fast turning sour. The Sri Lankan authorities are happy that India is now made to hold the baby. The situation is such that the Indian army will have to fight the Tamil militants to discipline them.

India is badly caught in a trap of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's making. The Sri Lankan Tamils, who expected India to save them, have now turned bitter. They feel that India has conspired with Sri Lankan authorities to disarm them and make them powerless.

The Sri Lankan misadventure has turned out to be another Bangladesh for India, in which hundreds of crores of rupees of taxpayer's money was spent to earn another hostile neighbour. Now in Sri Lanka, thousands of our soldiers, whose services are much in need in India, are languishing, unsure of their role. Not many Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka have returned and thousands of them remain as our unwanted government guests. Above all, India has become suspect in the eyes of neighbours who resent our interference in Sri Lanka.

It is funny to see the Rajiv Government showing off the Indo-Sri Lankan accord as a great attainment and using it to refurbish its image tainted by the several defence scandals. In fact, the Accord has caused more economic and political damage to the country than all the scandals put together.



LIBERATION  
TIGERS  
GO GANDHIAN

Ramamoorthy, Deccan Herald, 25.9.87.

Ponnappa, Deccan Herald, 27.9.87.



Sudhir Dar, The Hindustan Times, 7.9.87.







Indian Ambassador for Sri Lanka Mr. J.N. Dixit rushed to Jaffna to persuade LTTE leadership to prevail upon Mr. Dhileepan to give up the fast. But his proposed guarantees to safeguard the interests of Tamils were hallow. The fast went on.



# The FEDERATION of TAMIL ASSOCIATIONS of the UNITED KINGDOM

His Excellency Rajiv Gandhi,

Your Excellency,

**THILEEBAN'S MARTYRDOM AND  
ESCALATING POLITICAL  
TENSIONS IN THE TAMIL  
HOMELANDS OF SRI-LANKA**

On Sunday, 20th September 1987, a mini-bus travelling from Jaffna to Colombo was stopped at a road-block in Paranthan and the passengers interrogated by four armed men who claimed themselves to belong to Tristar, a supposedly new militant organisation we, the Tamil people, have never experienced before. They were interrogated in order to identify if there were any LTTE cadre, threatened not to embark on journeys between Jaffna and Colombo, and eventually allowed to pass. About fifty yards from this incident stood four fully-armed Indian army personnel. This is the eye-witness account of a responsible member of our community who arrived in London this week. An earlier mini-bus carrying passengers was similarly stopped and a civilian employee of a bank was stabbed to death by these armed gunmen.

We are sure that your Excellency cannot be aware of this. Our suspicion is that there are some mischievous intermediary forces that stand between Tamil and Indian interest, and are engaged in the process of discrediting both. This confirms the earlier rumours which were reaching us (conveyed to your Excellency by our letter of 6th September 1987). It is clear to our mind that, if the activities of these intermediary forces, whoever they are, are allowed to gain momentum, they will tarnish both India and us alike.

The will of a people, who have taken arms after forty years of deliberation and struggle, cannot be overcome by the conditions that are being created in Sri-Lanka currently. This is not a struggle of disgruntled youths, but a struggle of a people where all sections of the community, including the intelligentsia, are intermingled with the thrust of

## LETTER

militancy and defiance. The Liberation Struggle has a firm ideological basis.

**THILEEBAN, A YOUTH WHO WOULD HAVE ENTERED THE UNIVERSITY, IS DEAD TODAY. HIS DEATH WAS HIS SUPREME AND SPIRITUAL SACRIFICE; EVOKING THE PRINCIPLE OF AHIMSA, HE HAS DEMONSTRATED THE WILL OF OUR PEOPLE TO STAND STEADFAST, REMINDING OUR PEOPLE OF THE DETERMINATION OF THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE SPEARHEADED BY MAHATMAJI. WE SALUTE HIM.**

Your Excellency, this Federation has always felt its duty to keep you informed, as we have done for the past three years. We have attempted, as far as humanly possible, to reflect the authentic feelings of a vast majority of our community. Reading through all our communications, one feels sad that the current events could not have occurred had our observations been taken seriously. It must not be said, your Excellency, that we as a group of responsible people have not brought to your notice, the realities that prevail among our people. **WE OWE THIS TO OUR COMMUNITY.** We are beginning to be uneasy that these observations are not presented to your Excellency in the proper light.

**WE WOULD BE DELIGHTED WITH AN AUDIENCE WITH YOUR EXCELLENCY,** and we would be willing to brief your officials of our knowledge of the current thinking of the Tamil expatriates in this country. We seek this as of **Utmost importance** for we feel it must never be said by your Excellency or the great people of India that we, as a responsible group of people, were unwilling to communicate the realities as we saw it for a rational solution that would have benefited our people and the people of India. 27th September 1987.

Yours sincerely,  
Dr. N. Satchithanathan,  
General Secretary.

Mr. M. Sivasithamparam,  
President,  
Mr. A. Amirthalingham,  
Secretary General,  
The T.U.L.F.,

Dear Sir,

**THILEEBAN'S MARTYRDOM AND  
THE CRISIS IN THE TAMIL  
HOMELANDS OF SRI-LANKA.**

The Indo - Sri-Lankan Accord was signed on 29th July 1987, and, as we understood this accord, the following elements should have been operational by now:

1. Colonisation of the Eastern province by Sinhalese settlers should have been terminated.
2. The Home Guards, the Sinhalese thugs and hoodlums, who threatened the Tamil villages with violence and murder causing the Tamils to flee, should have been disarmed and disbanded, for the Tamil villagers to return to their villages.



அமர்  
காந்தி  
அமர்  
தீபன்.

ஓர் இனம் மூற்றுக நன்க்கப்படுவதைப் பற்றி  
கொண்டிருப்பதைவிட நான் ஆயிரம்  
துகைகள் வந்திருக்கின்றன. வந்திருப்பேன்.  
அவமானத்தின் ஆழமான சாட்சியாக  
இருப்பதை விட கெளரவத்தை காப்பாற்ற  
நான் ஆயிரம் மடங்களைத் தான். மனதில் அமைதி  
இதனால் இனமொன்று தனித்து நிற்கவில்லை.  
MAHATMA GANDHI DECLARATION ON QUESTION OF THE USE  
OF VIOLENCE IN DEFENCE OF RIGHTS GUARANTY 15.12.1938.  
வேள்: காந்திஜியின் வழி நடப்பவர்கள்.

3. The Special Task Force, which augmented these notorious Home Guards are still operational in the Eastern province and their activity has not ceased.
4. Extra-judicial killings continue to occur (as reported by Amnesty International on 16th September 1987) in violation of the accord.
5. The release of Tamil detainees whom we all know were detained under very flimsy charges has not still fully occurred.
6. The enforcement of emergency regulations continues unabated in the North and Eastern provinces, in violation of this accord.

We expect the T.U.L.F. to do everything in its capacity to force the Indian and Sri-Lankan Governments to implement the accord properly without delay. This Federation feels a public statement on these matters will certainly help to diminish tensions in the North and Eastern provinces, and carry forward the aspirations of the Tamils, for which enormous sacrifices have been, and are being made by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The political maturity of the Thileeban, and his supreme spiritual sacrifice, should be augmented by the T.U.L.F. and its leadership.

It is a crucial time in the history of our people. The selflessness and dedication to serve our community is the demand of the time. We, for our part, will do everything in our power to keep the struggle of our people alive, and provide both moral and psychological support to the heroes of our time, who have exceeded all our expectations, and proved beyond doubt that this was not a struggle of disgruntled youths. The L.T.T.E., by its recent actions, has demonstrated enormous versatility in its capacity to act under enormous pressures. They have demonstrated beyond doubt the ability to make mature political decisions. We appeal to you, sir, the senior politicians of our time, to give the necessary support and augment our struggle forward. 27th September 1987.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. N. Satchithanathan,  
General Secretary.





## some progress amid strains

**It was a tricky situation in Sri Lanka. Clashes between Tamil militants, the LTTE's fast-unto-death campaign which resulted in the death of one of its leaders, and other incidents contributed to increasing strains between the LTTE and the Government of India. Amidst all these, there appeared hopes of a return to normality and further progress in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement.**

### REPORT

**T**HE death of 23-year-old Rasarah Parthipan, alias Thileepan, head of the propaganda wing of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), after 12 days of continuous fasting in Jaffna, may as well turn out to be an irony. A few hours after his death on September 26 "some progress" was reported at the talks at Palaly in the Jaffna Peninsula between the LTTE leader, V. Prabhakaran, and the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, J. N. Dixit, on the issue on which he had started his fast-unto-death—the LTTE's five-point charter of demands.

"We hope that the outcome would result in cooperation and return to normalcy, overcoming the present difficult situation," cautiously reacted Dixit at the end of the talks. Later, he returned to Colombo and apprised the Sri Lankan President, J. R. Jayewardene, of the trend of the talks. Prabhakaran also conferred with his regional commanders about the response of the Government of India and the Sri Lankan Government to the LTTE's demands.

There was widespread grief in the Tamil areas of the Northern and Eastern Provinces over the death of Thileepan, a gifted orator who had a yen for political propaganda. Thousands of people from the North and the East poured into Jaffna as the news of his death spread; black flags flew everywhere. Crowds of sobbing Tamils followed the body, covered with the red LTTE flag with the yellow Tiger emblem, when it was taken in a decorated van for the people to pay their homage. His last wish was that his body should be donated to the medical faculty of Jaffna University and the LTTE said it would be honoured.

The LTTE cadre moved in decisively to curb any spill-over violence. The Tigers put all State-owned buses in depots and guarded them. They also provided protection to Government institutions after there were attempts to set fire to them. In an appeal to the people,



Thileepan who fasted till death.... widespread grief.

Prabhakaran said: "All public properties are the properties of the people of Tamil Eelam, so the people should not destroy or damage them." Thileepan would have been 24 in two months. It was the first time in Sri Lanka's history that a person has fasted till death over a political demand. He did not even drink water during the 12-day fast.

In the preceding fortnight, despite the presence of the Indian peace-keeping force and the return of peace in the Tamil areas after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement on July 29,

violent clashes between the Tamil militant groups had seriously complicated the situation on the ground, posing a threat to peace itself. Clashes had also erupted between the Tamils and the Sinhalese in Trincomalee, and between the Tamils and Muslims in Amparai district. Besides, the Indian peace-keeping force opened fire on a crowd of Tamils which wanted to present a memorandum at one of its camps in Mannar district on September 23. One person died in that incident. The peace-keeping force again opened fire on September 27, a day after Thileepan's death, to disperse a crowd of Tamils at Kiran in Batticaloa district in the East.

The situation looks a little dangerous on the diplomatic turf as well. The relationship between the Government of India and the LTTE, the most powerful Tamil militant organisation, has perceptibly soured with the former taking a "get-tough" posture with the latter. At the core of the controversy is the LTTE's five-point charter of demands which include a halt to the Sinhalese colonisation of the Tamil areas, stopping of the reopening of Sri Lankan police stations till an interim administration is formed and disarming of the Sinhalese homeguards. There has been a big buildup in the Government of India's strong statements against the LTTE and the question is whether the LTTE will relent on its charter.

The five-hour talks that Dixit had with the LTTE leaders, including Prabhakaran, Ajit Mathaiya and A. S. Balasingham, at Palaly in the Jaffna Peninsula on September 23 were not very fruitful, with the LTTE refusing to call off its fast-unto-death campaign until its five demands were met. After the incident at Mannar on the same day, the Government of India warned the LTTE that the troops would be "compelled to respond with even stronger measures if violence is deliberately provoked by the LTTE."

Evidence of India's "get-tough" pos-

### Agitation off

Agreement was reached on September 28 on the LTTE's demand regarding the composition of the interim council for the North and the East in Sri Lanka following talks between its leader V. Prabhakaran and Indian High Commissioner, J. N. Dixit. The LTTE, consequently, announced withdrawal of its agitation.

On September 16, an official of the Ministry told reporters in Madras that the clashes were "a naked power struggle through the use of arms."

But in Jaffna, Prabakaran reiterated his charge that the RAW was behind the inter-group clashes and he accused India of setting in motion "a calculated false propaganda" against the LTTE.

ture with the LTTE surfaced first when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi held discussions with his Cabinet colleagues, officials and Tamil Nadu Food Minister S. Ramachandran separately in Delhi on September 14 after the fratricidal clashes between the LTTE and the Three Star group, comprising the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front, left about 60 militants dead.

Earlier, there was a mounting feeling among the LTTE leadership that the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), the Indian intelligence agency, was working against the LTTE and that the agency had armed PLOT, TELO, EPRLF and the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) and despatched these groups to the Tamil areas to liquidate the LTTE. Prabakaran later openly levelled the charge against the RAW. The LTTE's deputy leader, Ajit Mathaiya, also charged that "a certain force" was out to eliminate the LTTE and that "a special group, a special mission" had been set up to liquidate Prabakaran himself.

Other contretemps too have cropped up. The interim advisory council has not been formed; the Tamils have charged that the Sinhalese colonisation

in their areas is proceeding briskly; and the Sri Lankan Government has opened a few police stations in the Jaffna Peninsula.

The LTTE considered the last measure a red rag, for it felt it amounted to "bringing back the oppressive Sri Lankan police machinery which had unleashed atrocities against the Tamil people." Thus, the LTTE had a feeling of being let down by the Government of India which, it felt, was hedging on the assurances it gave to the organisation.

On September 13, the LTTE sent a copy of the text of a resolution to Dixit. A letter, signed by Prabakaran, stated that "our organisation has been compelled to adopt" the resolution and threatened that it "would be implemented unless the assurances sought for are given within 24 hours."

The resolution stated: "The LTTE, in defence of the freedoms of the Tamil people and the Tamil homeland, has decided to draw the attention of the people and the Government of India by launching a fast-unto-death (campaign) by its cadre and picketing of Government offices. The LTTE, however, will call off its fast-unto-death and picketing campaigns if the Indian Government would assure: 1. immediate stoppage of all forms of Sinhala colonisation of the Tamil homeland under the pretext of rehabilitation; 2. stoppage of the so-called rehabilitation work until the formation of the proposed interim government; 3. immediate suspension of opening of police stations in the Northern and Eastern Provinces; 4. surrender of all arms under the supervision of the In-

dian peace-keeping force by the so-called homeguards and commencement of the closure of all army and/or police camps situated in Tamil villages and schools; 5. release of all those still in prisons or detention camps under the Prevention of Terrorism Act."

After the expiry of the 24-hour deadline, Thileepan began his fast-unto-death on September 15 in front of the historic Nallur Murugan temple in Jaffna town, despite the Government of India's advice against it. Thousands of people gathered to watch the fast which three women also joined later. The commencement of the fast on September 15 and the LTTE's drive against PLOT, EPRLF and TELO two days earlier signalled the beginning of India's "get-tough" stance with the LTTE and there has been no let-up in it since then.

The efforts to implement the other provisions of the agreement, however continued. The third round of discussions in Colombo between the officials of the Government of India and the Sri Lankan Government from September 16 has made "considerable progress" on "residual matters" relating to the devolution of power to the provincial councils. In Madras the TULF has reached an agreement with a Muslim delegation from Sri Lanka on adequate safeguards to and sharing of power with the Muslims in the North and the East. The understanding also covers Muslims' entitlement to an adequate share of land in the North and the East and to employment and education. The Muslim delegation was led by Dr. Badiuddin Mohammed, a former Sri Lankan Education Minister.

The LTTE on its part has furnished its list of nominees to the interim advisory council though there may be delay in its formation. The formation of the council still bristles with difficulties as the LTTE has threatened to boycott it if the EPRLF is included. According to the LTTE's political committee member, L. Thilagar, the inclusion of the EPRLF would amount to "legitimising the anti-social elements." The LTTE is also reportedly against the inclusion of a Sinhalese representative in it. The council would consist of 10 members—five from the LTTE and one each from EROS, TULF, EPRLF, Muslims and the Sinhalese. The LTTE has submitted a list of 10 names including those of K. Padmanathan and K. Sivanandasundaram. The two have been suggested for the post of Chief Administrator. According to Thilagar, "We were told that the man proposed by us would be the Chief Administrator."

What exactly led to the standoff between the Government of India and the LTTE and what was the sequence of



By special arrangement

Jaffna demonstration in support of the LTTE's demands..... soured relations.



events behind it? Events began to move fast from September 13 when "fratricidal warfare" broke out between the LTTE and the Three Star group. A confrontation between the two sides was expected after the killing of 18 LTTE members by the other groups in August. But the immediate provocation was an ultimatum by two of PLOT's leaders, P. Manikkam Dasan and S. Castro. They challenged Prabakaran to subscribe to peace or "be prepared to face death". The LTTE threw the hat in the ring. In a drive launched simultaneously in Batticaloa and Amparai districts in the East and Mannar and Mullaitivu in the North, the LTTE killed 60 members of PLOT, EPRLF and TELO, most of them belonging to PLOT. The frontline leaders of PLOT, including R. R. Vasudeva, Jotheeswaran, Mendis and Bhavan, were killed.

The situation was grave enough for Rajiv Gandhi to hold discussions with his Cabinet members and officials on September 14. He also met Tamil Nadu Minister S. Ramachandran in the presence of the Minister of State for External Affairs, K. Natwar Singh.

Earlier, on the same day, an External Affairs Ministry spokesman, while briefing reporters in Delhi, took care not to blame any particular group. The development was not a setback to the agreement; but the clash could have been avoided if the residual arms, held by the militant groups, had been handed over, he remarked.

#### CHANGE IN TONE

There was, however, a distinct change in the tone of the statements of the spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry from the next day, September 15, when Thileepan of the LTTE began his fast in Jaffna. A new determination was evident in the Government of India to halt the internecine killings. While the IPKF had not exhausted the peaceful methods to handle the situation, it could not look on passively if the killings continued, it was stressed. On September 16, an official of the Ministry told reporters in Madras that the clashes were "a naked power struggle through the use of arms".

Meanwhile, the LTTE's programme of picketing of Government offices was in full swing in the North and the East. Its members and also the public forced the closure of the newly opened police stations at Pannai in Jaffna town and at Puloly and Velvettiturai in the Peninsula. Thileepan's condition was causing concern. Violence also erupted between Sinhalese and Tamils in Trincomalee on September 18 when the Tamils erected a road-block in support of the LTTE's picketing programme. The IPKF

and the Sri Lankan police had to intervene and five persons were killed when the Sri Lankan police opened fire to control the clash.

In Madras, an official of the External Affairs Ministry said the LTTE was "apprehensive about facing the people in free and fair elections." The LTTE's fasting campaign was only to divert attention from its killing of "100" Tamil people. Its "manoeuvres" were aimed at creating ill-will between the IPKF and the people in general, the official felt.

Soon Prabakaran himself joined the fray. Responding to the criticism of the spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, he said the Ministry was "fully aware of the sinister role played by the RAW in training and arming anti-social elements against the unarmed cadres of the LTTE." These groups were sent to "Tamil Eelam at a crucial time when we were cooperating with India in the process of disarmament," Prabakaran added. Even as he was making this accusation, the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Colombo, Nirupam Sen, met Ajit Mathaiya and Balasingham of the LTTE and requested them to call off the fasting campaign. But the LTTE turned down the suggestion.

#### STERN WARNING

After this, the Government of India issued a stern warning to the LTTE on September 20 that it would not brook any attempt to sabotage the agreement. "The killings of innocent Tamils which have taken place in Sri Lanka have been unfortunately largely engineered by the LTTE which, after the brutal killings, has now undertaken what it claims is a peaceful movement," said a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry. The issue of colonisation had been taken up with Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene, who had promised "remedial measures." Jayewardene had agreed to reopen the police stations and staff them with the Tamils. "The LTTE's accusation against the RAW was malicious and false, aimed at diverting attention from the brutal killings perpetrated by the LTTE," he observed.

But in Jaffna, Prabakaran reiterated his charge that the RAW was behind the inter-group clashes and he accused India of setting in motion "a calculated false propaganda" against the LTTE. He said Rajiv Gandhi had assured him that the interim Government would be set up after the handing over of the arms and that the LTTE would have a predominant role in it. "Barring EROS and the TULF, the other groups should not be given places in the inter-

im Government. The police force would be established by the interim Government of the LTTE.... The interim Government has not been constituted as yet in terms of the assurance. We insist that it be constituted in terms of the assurance given to us. It is the Indian Government which is delaying the formation of the interim Government by insisting on giving places to anti-social organisations," Prabakaran said.

To make matters worse, there was a fresh outbreak of clashes between PLOT and the LTTE. Seven PLOT members were killed in an early morning swoop on September 23 by the LTTE on a PLOT camp at Kalnattinakulam in Vavuniya district in the North. An Indian External Affairs Ministry spokesman condemned the attack. "This tragic and deliberate killing of fellow Tamils by the LTTE is contrary to their professions of commitment to the principles of Gandhian non-violence," he said. But the LTTE replied that the seven PLOT members were killed when its two splinter-factions clashed. Meanwhile, a fresh element in the Indian peace-keeping was introduced when 1,200 men of the Central Reserve Police Force arrived in the Jaffna Peninsula.

There was another incident on September 23 which contributed to the worsening of the relationship between the Indian Government and the LTTE. Tension surfaced when about 1,000 Tamils wanted to present a memorandum to the IPKF at Mannar. The IPKF opened fire to disperse the crowd. After the incident, the Government of India, in its strongest reaction to date, warned the LTTE on September 25 that it would be "compelled to respond with even stronger measures if violence is deliberately provoked by the LTTE." An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said the "entire incident was engineered, incited and arranged by the LTTE" using women and children. He accused the LTTE supporters of throwing stones while arrangements were being made to receive the memorandum.

When Dixit briefed Jayewardene on September 24 on his five-hour discussions with the LTTE leaders, the Sri Lankan President agreed to have discussions with the LTTE on its demands provided it publicly announced that it supported the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement.

The general hope is that the parties will sink the differences in the concept as well as the implementation of the agreement, will resile from any rigid position they might have taken and put into effect an interim governance of the North and the East. □

T. S. SUBRAMANIAN



## SRI LANKA

## Return to Violence

## Militant infighting threatens the recent accord



LESS than two months after Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene signed what was hailed as a historic pact in international relations, the Indo-

Sri Lankan accord is in grave danger of exploding in their faces. The current drama being played out in the Jaffna peninsula already has all the elements of a Shakespearean tragedy and the denouement could be even more disastrous.

The violent clashes between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and other Tamil militant groups have escalated alarmingly in the past month and threaten to render the accord meaningless and exposed the hollowness of the much-publicised arms surrender by the militants to the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). By all accounts, the militants are still armed to the teeth and weapons are being openly brandished once again. Jaffna's return to peace has been tragically short-lived.

More dangerous has been the inexplicably passive role of the IPKF, not just in ensuring that more arms were surrendered, but in failing to maintain peace between the warring Tamil factions. There are also growing accusations that it is favouring one group against the other. Thus the anti-India feeling among some Tamils now matches that of the Sinhalese and the IPKF could soon find itself trapped in a morass from which it will be hard to extricate itself.

The latest killing spree by the militants was sparked off by the Tigers in the eastern district of Batticaloa, where they allegedly chopped off the heads of Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) and Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) members. The toll: 75. Among the PLOTE members killed were R.R. Vasudeva, head of the political wing, and military head Jotheeswaran. The irony was that they were on their way to a peace meeting with the Tigers.

A day later, a group of armed LTTE men walked into a carpentry workshop in Vavuniya town and gunned down three suspected PLOTE sympathisers. The next evening, a fully-armed 15-member PLOTE gang headed for Vavuniya, apparently to

take revenge, but was intercepted by the IPKF, narrowly averting another bloodbath. The day after, however, the LTTE attacked the PLOTE camp at Kalnattiakulam village in Vavuniya district and gunned down an estimated 18 members. PLOTE quickly retaliated by killing two LTTE members and injuring two others.

Body of ENDLF member (below); and armed militant: increased bloodshed



Both sides naturally deny responsibility for triggering off the tension. Says Velupillai Pirabhakaran, the leader and supreme military commander of the LTTE: "Far from being responsible for the recent violence in Tamil-dominated areas, the Tigers have, in fact, been at the receiving end. The LTTE has been maintaining peace. The atmosphere was vitiated when groups like Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) and Tamil Eelam Liberation Army (TELA) re-entered the scene recently, armed with sophisticated weapons and began to use them against us. We surrendered our arms in the faith that the Indian peace keeping forces and Indian Government would protect the lives of the people of Tamil Eelam, but we have been sadly disillusioned." Pirabha-

Photographs by SHYAM TEJWANI

karan also accuses India's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of complicity. "RAW has trained and armed these groups and landed them on Eelam soil," he charged.

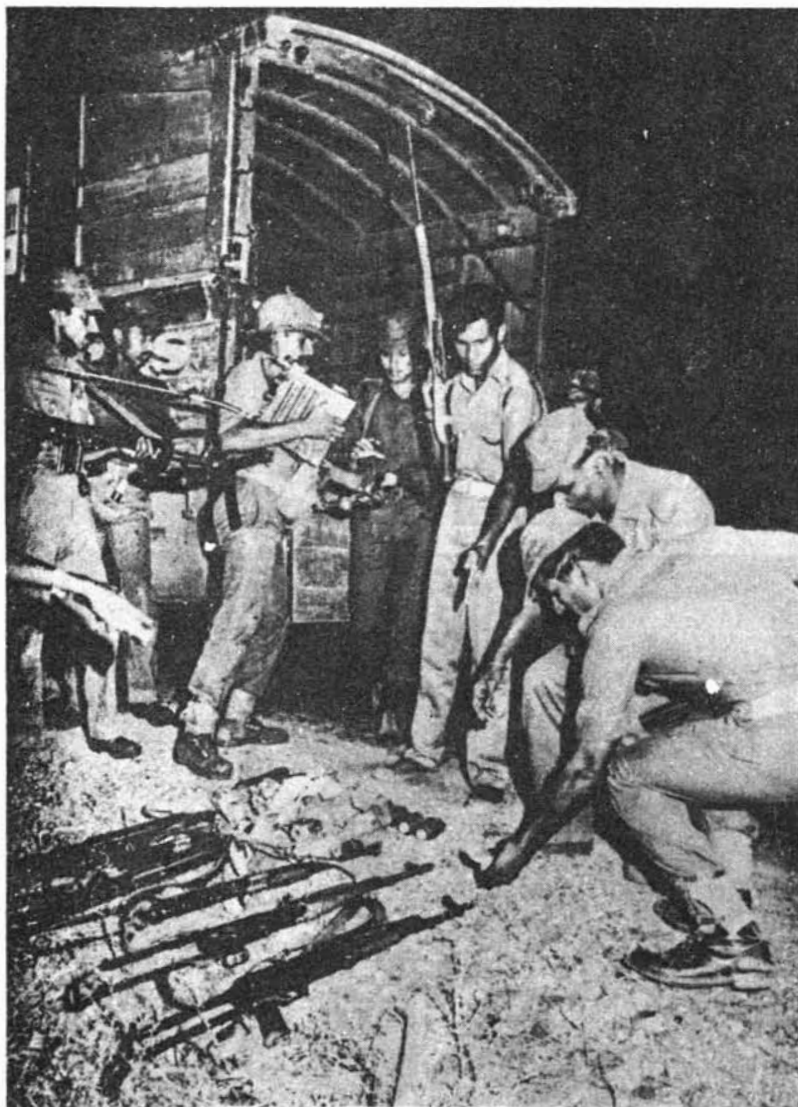
Other militant groups strongly contest the Tigers' claims. Said EPRLF spokesman L. Ketheeswaran: "Tamil Eelam is not the monopoly of the LTTE. And it is wrong to allege that the Government of India is siding with the anti-LTTE groups. Delhi seems to have recognised the dominant role of the Tigers in the north and the east, which is wrong. The Tigers have only held military power. The people are not with them."

But more than the deep-rooted bitterness between the groups, the infighting reveals that practically all the militant factions are still heavily-armed (a key

factor in the accord was the surrender of all arms by the militants). A senior Indian High Commission source in Colombo admitted last fortnight that "the militants still retain substantial quantities of arms". According to Sri Lankan Army sources, none of the groups have surrendered more than 15 per cent to 30 per cent of their weapons. ENDLF chief G. Rajan charged the LTTE with surrendering only around 15 per cent of its arms. The group appealed last fortnight to Rajiv Gandhi to return the arms it had surrendered in order to defend its cadres from the Tigers.

Disarming the militants is the issue that poses the greatest immediate threat.

#### IPKF and Sri Lankan Police examine seized PLOTE arms: new offensive



The accord clearly specified that the militants would surrender all their arms within 72 hours of its signing. That deadline was subsequently extended to a week, during which all the groups made symbolic surrenders. Then during the clashes in Vavuniya between LTTE and PLOTE, the IPKF intercepted a PLOTE lorry, on the outskirts of Vavuniya town. In the lorry was found a cache of three automatic rifles, three AK-47s, and 11 locally made grenades. In fact, PLOTE's Vavuniya Commander Manikkadasan openly declared last fortnight that they would not give up their arms so long as faced with a military threat from the LTTE.

What is most worrying, however, is the performance of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. The presence of 8,000 (15,000 unofficially) Indian soldiers is rapidly turning counter-productive. Most Tamils in the north accuse the Indian Army of being partial in its dealings with the different militant groups. INDIA TODAY certainly found them unusually friendly with the ENDLF, whose members are openly moving around in Paranthan and Killinochi with their AK-47s, rifles, and grenades while Indian soldiers look on. In the ENDLF camp in Killinochi, an Indian Army officer actually handed over to Rajan a grenade which the soldiers had been publicly forced to seize from an ENDLF cadre. In Killinochi and Paranthan, there were repeated complaints of ENDLF militants inspecting buses passing through for the presence of LTTE members, and extorting money from all the passengers while the Indian Army looked the other way.

The image of the IPKF—hailed as a saviour when it first arrived—has taken a further beating in the face of the LTTE's latest propaganda offensive. The high point of the offensive is the much-publicised fast unto death of its chief political organiser, Amirthalingam Thileepan, 23, at the famous Nallur Kandasamy temple in Jaffna town last fortnight to press a five-point charter of demands:

- ▶ release of the estimated 1,500 Tamil prisoners detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act;
- ▶ stoppage of Sinhala colonisation allegedly continuing in Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Amparai, and Mullaitivu;
- ▶ stoppage of all rehabilitation work until the formation of the interim government for the north and the east;
- ▶ withdrawal of the present programme of opening Sinhala police stations in the north and east;
- ▶ closure of all the military camps in schools and Tamil villages.

There were sympathetic fasts and

picketing of all government offices in the north and the east by LTTE cadres last fortnight. But the fast is also being used to whip up anti-India propaganda. Speaker after speaker at the fast site lashed out at India and Rajiv Gandhi, with no word about the Sri Lankan Government or the atrocities the Sri Lankan Army had unleashed on the Tamils.

The fact is that India first turned a blind eye to the fast, then sent Deputy High Commissioner Nirupam Sen to talk tough with LTTE leaders Anton Balasingham and Mahitiya Sree. The subsequent statement from Delhi dubbing it a red herring to divert attention from LTTE's attacks on rival militants, only served to accentuate anti-India sentiments.

Popular sympathy for Thileepan has become synonymous with public hatred of India. Said tea-stall owner Thamotharampillai Ramanandan: "The fights here between different militant groups were introduced only by the IPKF. The people of Tamil Eelam have supported India everywhere. But now India has let us down. After the exercise of its good offices for such a long time, India has taken us back to square one." Added K. Mahesan, professor of English at the Jaffna Hindu College: "We really cannot understand why India should encourage Tamil mili-

tant groups which had no stake at all in the liberation struggle." Rasiah Ilango, Thileepan's elder brother, was more forthright. Said he: "The Indian Army came in here as a friend and is staying on as an unwelcome outsider."

Last week, Thileepan died following the fast, leaving a question mark on the negotiations between the LTTE and the Indians. High commission sources in Colombo, however, were confident. Said one official: "Our finding is that the LTTE is not all that popular. Even if the LTTE's anti-India campaign continues, the IPKF should be able to handle the situation. Our immediate preoccupation is to disarm the militants to the extent possible, and to that end orders have now been issued to our army to even shoot to seize arms."

■

**The image of the  
Indian Peace Keeping  
Force—hailed first as a  
saviour—has suffered by  
charges that it is taking  
sides in the battle  
of the militants.**

But that is easier said than done. If the IPKF is a bad name in Jaffna, its reputation is not better in the east, especially Trincomalee. A satyagraha organised by LTTE sympathisers and released Tamil detenus in Trincomalee town last fortnight, turned into a blood-bath with the IPKF and the Sri Lankan Police being idle bystanders. The satyagrahis began to hold up buses carrying mostly Sinhalese passengers who gathered on the road. Soon after, Tamil and Sinhalese crowds began throwing stones. Then, grenades were lobbed at the Tamil side. In retaliation a Tamil militant began firing, killing Wilson Silva. Four Tamils were killed in the grenade attack, and 37 people—34 Tamils and three Sinhalese—injured. Said a Trincomalee Citizens Committee member: "This violence could have been avoided if the IPKF had promptly taken charge."

An Indian Army brigadier in the Tamil areas, who didn't want to be identified said: "If in the process of maintaining peace, we have kept up contacts with certain militant groups which kept in touch with us, we cannot be accused of partiality." But the explanation is facile. It was their responsibility to make sure that all the militants surrendered all

IPKF patrols Paranthan: passive role





their arms. And, with groups like the ENDLF openly flaunting arms, it is obvious that the IPKF is not doing its job. And now New Delhi has sent an additional battalion of the CRPF to aid the Indian Army. The CRPF is nowhere as disciplined as the Indian Army and with hostility between the local Tamil population and the IPKF on the rise, it could react more violently to any provocation.

The Tamils of Trincomalee are also furious about the reported settlement of 600 new Sinhalese families in the Allakantalai area of the district (there are 800 families now in place of the earlier 200), and they suspect the tacit connivance of Delhi in this. And India has also owned up to advising the Sri Lankan Government to open police stations in Tamil areas. Clari-

fied Nirupam Sen: "We advised Colombo to open police stations, not Sinhalese police stations. The police stations are expected to be staffed by both Tamils and Sinhalese, not to speak of Muslims."

But much of the current tension is directly linked to the delays in implementing key clauses of the accord. Complaints about opening of police stations staffed by Sinhalese and fresh Sinhalese colonisation have arisen out of the delay in forming the interim advisory council for the north and east. The LTTE complains that Delhi had first committed itself to the constitution of an interim government, now diluted to a council, and that they

The fasting Thileepan (below); and crowds to see him: emotional issue



would be assigned the dominant role in the interim set-up.

The hold-up here is that the composition of the council is proving to be an intractable problem. The LTTE does not want any other militant group apart from its ally, the Eelam Revolutionary Organisers, to be represented, though it is prepared to suffer the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). But the anti-LTTE Tamil militant groups have sought an equivalent combined strength, and no compromise seems possible.

There are hold-ups on other fronts too. Admits Sri Lankan Education Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe: "We still have to work out the programme of training teachers for the north and the east. We have appointed a special committee to work out a scheme of educational rehabilitation of militants and drop-outs by way of some post-school training in vocational and technical education. The committee is yet to complete its report."

Further, despite the promise of speedy rehabilitation of both Tamils and Sinhalese in the accord, most Tamils are yet to return to their homes. According to Sri Lankan Government sources, in Trincomalee district there were 3,000 displaced Tamils living in refugee camps at the time of signing the accord. Some 2,000 of them still languish in the different camps.

Despite the problems, there are still optimists around. Sri Lanka's Finance Minister Gamini Disanayake, one of the behind-the-scenes architects of the accord, is one. He told INDIA TODAY: "The accord symbolises the best compromise to a very tangled political and human crisis. The implementation is a somewhat slow process but it is happening. There is still enough time for provincial council elections to be held in December."

But the overall impression is that India has put its feet into quicksand. A cartoon in *The Island* newspaper last fortnight expressed the sentiments of the Sri Lankans: "Once upon a time there was a lion. One day a tiger came along and began to growl, demanding his share of the kill. Then the lion and the tiger roared and growled and began to fight. A jackal, watching the situation, stepped in and said: 'Why are you chaps trying to kill each other? I can solve your problem if you want.' (The lion is Sri Lanka, the tiger, the militants and the jackal, India). The jackal, in all his wisdom, solved the problem by dividing the kill and went away happily." Last month's developments in Sri Lanka amply proved that now it is certainly not the day of the jackal.


—S.H. VENKATRAMANI in Sri Lanka

1	2 Sinhala-Tamil clashes Sinhala mobs attack IPKF at Trincomalee.	3	4
5 India fails to avert Lankan attempt to air-lift LTTE Captives for interrogation. All attempt suicide by swallowing cyanide Regional Commanders Pulendran, Kuma rappa and 10 others die immediately.	6 LTTE executes 8 Lan- kan hostages in retalia- tion.	7 Violence erupts in east- ern province. 150 Sinhalese reported kil- led. J.R. threatens to withdraw IPKF.	8 Curfew in Jaffna. IPKF with shoot-at- sight order. Indian defence minister and army chief rush to Col- ombo.
	10 J.R. recalls amnesty. Wanted - Prabhaka- ran with a million rupees on his head. IPKF raids media and 'communication offices and LTTE camps.	11 IPKF launches massive offensive driving LTTE to defend their territory.	12 No-hold-bar attack on Jaffna. Mounting civil- ian casualties.

# CHAPTER 4

1987

## the heinous crimes of indian peace keeping

13	14	15	16
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25 Lakhs of people shel- tered in temples and schools in dehumanis- ing conditions for two weeks. IPKF enters Jaffna inflicting heavy civilian casualties.			28
29	30	31	

October



# Sri Lanka tells Indians to get tough

From Derek Brown  
in Galle, Sri Lanka

President Junius Jayawardene of Sri Lanka yesterday ordered the Indian peacekeeping troops in the eastern port of Trincomalee to restore law and order — or get out and leave the task to Sri Lankan security forces.

The brusque command was delivered to Lieutenant-General Depinder Singh, head of the force, at a top-level meeting to review the deteriorating situation on the island.

In the past five days, there have been widespread complaints by the Sinhalese minority in Trincomalee that Indian forces had done nothing to prevent a vicious campaign of

intimidation by the rebel Tamil Tigers.

At least 15 people have been murdered, 300 homes and other buildings burned down, and up to 3,000 Sinhalese and Muslims have been forced to flee their homes.

India has hit back by claiming that Sri Lankan armed forces, confined to barracks since the arrival of the Indian troops, have been involved in attacks on the Indians, including an incident last week in which a soldier was killed.

The anger and dismay of the country's Sinhalese majority was reflected in the harsh statement issued by President Jayawardene after his meeting with General Singh.

After the meeting, a presidential spokesman said General Singh had been ordered to work with the Sri Lankan security forces to restore order. "The President further said that if the peace force did not do that, he will direct the Indian troops to withdraw from there and the Sri Lankan security services and police will restore law and order."

## REPORT

Mr Nirupam Sen, the Indian deputy high commissioner blamed the deteriorating situation in Trincomalee at least partly on "elements of the Sri Lankan armed forces." According to him, it had been agreed to keep Sri Lankan units in barracks, while the Indians and local police continued joint patrols. But he said he did not recall that the withdrawal of the Indian troops was raised.

The President's spokesman said the Tamil Tigers — who should have given up their weapons early in August under the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord — had killed a Buddhist monk in Trincomalee on Saturday. He also said that the Sinhalese extremist group, the People's Liberation Front, JVP, was operating with the Tigers.

President Jayawardene, he said, had told the security meeting that his Government had fully carried out its part of the peace agreement, but he felt India was not doing so.

The statement added: "In Trincomalee, in particular, law and order has broken down."

Last night, General Singh and the Sri Lankan army chief, General Cyril Ranatunga, arrived in Trincomalee to direct operations. One of their first orders was that armed civilians were to be shot on sight.

The Indian High Commission disclosed details of a 90-minute exchange of fire between an engineers' unit and armed men at a roadblock outside Trincomalee on Saturday in which an Indian sapper was slightly wounded. Later, 15 men were arrested and handed over to the police.

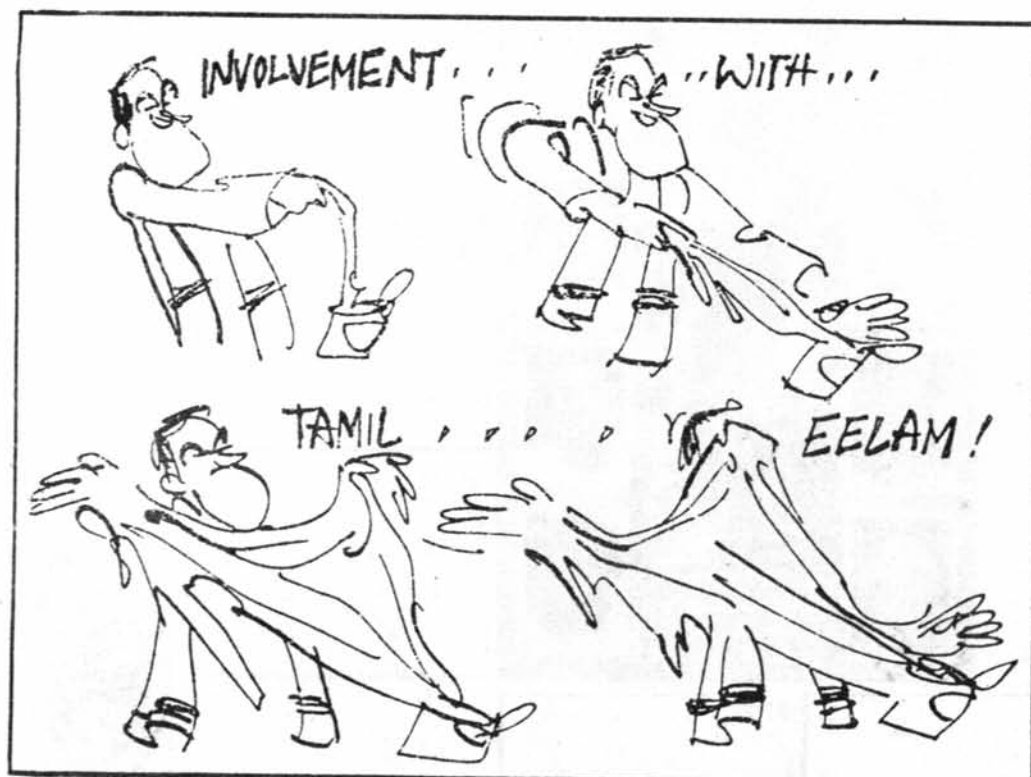
Local security forces reported that two JVP members were killed in a raid on an army post west of Trincomalee. The gang escaped with several guns.

Sri Lankan security officials are convinced that JVP cadres are cooperating with their arch-enemies, the Tamil Tigers, in a joint campaign to undermine the peace accord. But already the dramatic recent events in Trincomalee have shaken the accord to its foundations.

Sinhalese anger is building up about what is seen as a cynical Indian campaign to help the Tigers drive the minorities out of Eastern Province. If that happened, the way would be clear for the Tamils in the east to push through an amalgamation with Northern Province in next year's proposed referendum. That would mean, in Sinhalese eyes, victory for the separatists and the dismemberment of the country.



K. Lakshman, Times of India, 4.10.87



Ramamoorthy, Deccan Herald, 4.10.87



# A chain reaction

REPORT

**Even as peace seemed around the corner in Sri Lanka, in a totally unexpected twist to the complex situation, a full-scale military confrontation between the Indian Peace-keeping Force and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is on.**

**T. S. SUBRAMANIAN**  
traces the chain of developments which has taken the matter to a pass.

October 17-30, 1987

**A**NY hope that the announcement of the formation of an Interim Administrative Council (IAC) would bring firm peace to the Tamil-majority Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka has been quickly dashed by a chain of messy, bloody and catastrophic incidents since October 1.

In a totally unexpected twist to the situation, after the death of 12 key members of the LTTE (the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) who swallowed cyanide capsules following their detention by the Sri Lankan Navy, and the LTTE's "revenge killing" of about 150 Sinhalese civilians, a full-scale military confrontation erupted between the LTTE and the Indian Peace-keeping Force (IPKF) in the Northern Province, including the Jaffna peninsula. The confrontation has claimed the lives of scores of men of the LTTE and some of the IPKF. The Sri Lankan Radio asked the Tamil civilians in the Jaffna peninsula to gather at the checkpoints of the IPKF—a clear sign that the IPKF was determined to flush out and disarm the militants while trying to avoid civilian casualties. Curfew was also imposed on the Jaffna peninsula.

The high-profile visits of Defence Minister K. C. Pant, the Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. K. Sundarji, and the overall-in-charge of the IPKF, Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, to Colombo and their meetings with Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene were clearly intended to convey the message that the IPKF

meant business and that it was going to handle the situation in a no-nonsense fashion to bring back peace. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi also warned that the IPKF will act very firmly "to disarm the Tamil militants and restore normality in the North and the East."

The decision to send Pant to Colombo on October 9 was taken after Rajiv Gandhi's talk with Jayewardene on the hotline two days earlier. The intention was to reaffirm, at the political level, India's commitment under the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement and to reinforce the points made through diplomatic channels earlier.

The LTTE, which was on a strong wicket when the IAC was announced and was riding a sympathy wave when 12 of its members died after consuming cyanide, has already lost out politically, especially after its "revenge killing" of Sinhalese civilians. Jayewardene announced, with Pant seated next to him in Colombo, that the idea of an interim administration "is no more." He has also annulled the general amnesty given to the LTTE men and offered a reward of Rs. (Sri Lankan) 1 million for the capture of the LTTE leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran. Besides, he has said, the "LTTE is now a banned party and orders have been issued to close their camps and seize their arms."

Militarily also the chinks in the LTTE's armour have been exposed. The IPKF has easily unearthed a lot of its arms and ammunition in the East. More than 200 militants belonging to the LTTE, TELO (the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation), PLOT (the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam) and ENDLF (the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front) were detained by the IPKF without facing much of a resistance.

But the LTTE is putting up a tough fight in the Jaffna peninsula, its stronghold. A mini-battle erupted between the IPKF and the LTTE after the former destroyed with explosives the offices of two Tamil newspapers in Jaffna—*Eelamurasu* and *Murasoli*—on October 10. It also seized the radio broadcasting equipment of the LTTE and the installation of its television network "Nidharsanam." The LTTE alleged that the IPKF and the Sri Lankan armed forces were conducting "joint" house-to-house search operations in the Jaffna peninsula, a charge denied by the IPKF.

Meanwhile, there was no let-up in the barrage of strong statements by the Government of India against the LTTE.

While it publicly blamed the LTTE for the crisis, it withheld the clear evidence it had of elements within the Sri Lankan Government, especially National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, trying to scuttle the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement.

There are specific indications that it was Athulathmudali who engineered the process of deterioration by insisting that the 17 detained LTTE members be taken to Colombo for "interrogation" for "contravening immigration laws" and that Pulendran, one of them, be arraigned for the killing of Sinhalese in April last. Athulathmudali's contention was that the crime took place in the North-Central Province and that the general amnesty would be applicable only to the incidents in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Another disturbing development was the announcement by the Sri Lankan Government on October 11 that its troops had been moved to protect Sinhalese villages in the East. The announcement came after a broadcast by Jayewardene that the IPKF would not be allowed to enter these villages.

He said: "Today, the Sinhalese forces, the forces of the Sri Lankan Army, are there (Sinhalese villages in the East), protecting you. They have come there in the last few days. They have their camps near your villages and, as far as possible, you will be protected by the loyal forces of the Sri Lankan Army."

He affirmed that the Sri Lankan Government "will not let the Indian armed forces to come there," and they "can look after the Tamil areas.... so that



the main difficulty you have—that you are not protected by your own forces—will go in the next few hours.”

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has however said that the decision “is an open violation” of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. (Under the agreement the Sri Lankan troops should be confined to their barracks in the North and the East). The TULF has pointed out that most of the villages with Sinhalese settlers have many Tamil residents and Muslims as well and their lives would be endangered by the deployment of the Sri Lankan armed forces.

Official sources in New Delhi said they were not aware of any move to send the Sri Lankan Army units to the East.

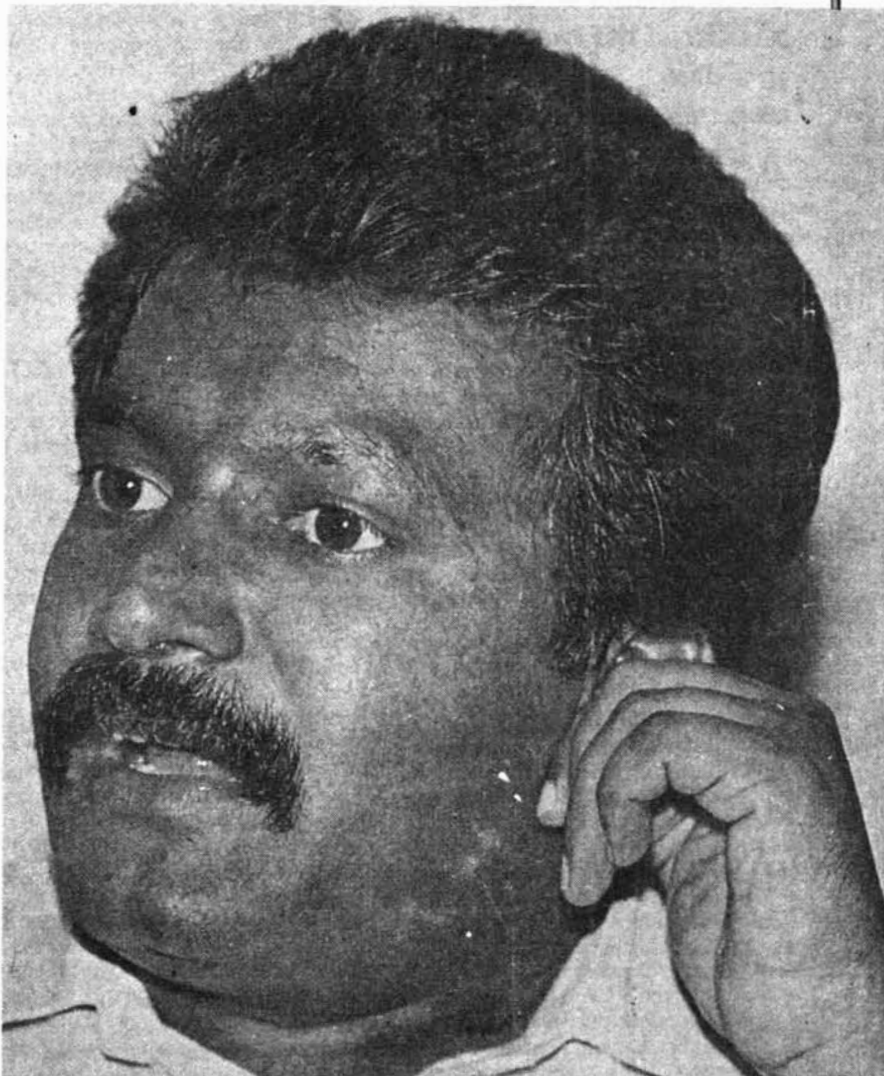
The entire process of deterioration began when the Sri Lankan Government started colonising parts of the Northern and Eastern Provinces with Sinhalese in a swift and well-organised way after the agreement was signed. It was apparent that Colombo had a major role in this, judging from the building material and finances made available to the Sinhalese settlers. Colonisation is indeed an emotive issue for the Tamils and one of the five demands over which the LTTE's propaganda chief Thileepan started his fast-unto-death on September 15 was a halt to the Sinhalese colonisation in the Tamil areas.

It looked as if Thileepan's death on September 26 after 12 days of fast would turn out to be a terrible irony, for a dramatic agreement was reached two days later on the formation of the IAC for the integrated Northern and Eastern Provinces. The agreement entailed painstaking triangular consultations between Jayewardene, the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, J. N. Dixit, and the LTTE leaders, with Dixit shuttling between Colombo and Jaffna. The breakthrough was achieved on September 28 after three days of marathon discussions on September 23, 26 and 28 between Dixit and LTTE leaders Prabakaran, A. S. Balasingham, Ajit Mathaiya, Yogi and Thilagar.

The LTTE was to be the central player in the IAC with seven of the 12 seats allotted to it, including the post of the Administrator-in-Council. The TULF was to have two seats, Sinhalese two and Muslims one, in addition to the LTTE's Muslim nominee. A television picture showed a smiling Prabakaran,



Maj. Gen. Harkirat Singh, General Officer Commanding of the Indian Peace-keeping Force, with Ajit Mathaiya, LTTE's regional commander for Vavuniya and No.2 in the hierarchy, and (centre) Kumarappa, the Jaffna regional commander who died after consuming cyanide.....



LTTE leader V. Prabakaran..... opting for a grave course.

Balasingham and Mathaiya, after the agreement was initialled at Palaly, indicating that they were happy with the way things went in their favour on the composition and powers of the IAC.

The next day, Jayewardene announced the constitution of the IAC: V. Sivagnanam, one of the LTTE's nominees, was to be the Administrator-in-Council, and six others of the LTTE—Ajit Mathaiya, Yogi, Roopan, Sriharan, Ravi and Al Haj Adam Lebbe Syed Mohammed—were to be members. R. Sampanthan and P. S. Soosaitathan would represent the TULF while Lionel Fernando, former Jaffna Government Agent, and Tissa Jayakody, former Sri Lankan Deputy High Commissioner in Madras, would be the Sinhalese representatives. The Muslim member was to be named later.

But an unexpected hitch developed within 24 hours. The LTTE reneged on Sivagnanam and demanded that another of its nominees, the former Assistant Government Agent for Trincomalee, N. Pathmanathan, be named the Administrator-in-Council. Sivagnanam also dropped out, saying he did not want to be the Administrator-in-Council. The LTTE moreover wanted Ravi and Sriharan replaced by Romesh and Sivanandasundaram. While Jayewardene conceded the latter request, he refused to replace Sivagnanam. Dixit then accused the LTTE of going back on the formal and written commitments it had given on joining the IAC and on furthering the process of normality in the North and the East. The deadlock was complete.

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman in Delhi characterised the LTTE's stand as "a complete breach of faith" and a deliberate attempt to obstruct the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. The LTTE's demand ran counter to the accord between the LTTE and Dixit, under which Jayewardene was to make a choice from the list of three names submitted by the LTTE for the post of the Administrator-in-Council, he said.

Why did the LTTE suddenly show a preference for Pathmanathan over Sivagnanam, though both were its nominees? The burden of the LTTE's explanation was that Pathmanathan was a man from the East and it wanted him to head the council because Colombo was trying to drive a wedge between the Tamils in the North and the East. It argued that Pathmanathan's name was first in the list it proposed for the council and when it was asked to suggest two more names for the post of the Administrator-in-Council, it proposed Sivanandasundaram and Sivagnanam as the second and third choices respectively. But Jayewardene

"deliberately" picked Sivagnanam, who hails from the North.

About India's accusation of breach of trust, Prabakaran said: "The IAC has not yet been set up as per the assurance given to us by the Government of India. Jayewardene does not want to appoint a man of our choice as the Administrator-in-Council. Our organisation wants to give greater representation to the people in the East. Jayewardene is afraid that this would make the people in the East turn in favour of the LTTE. This is the actual situation.

The Sinhala racist Government does not want the merger of the Tamils in the North and the East or the integration of Tamil nationalism. Jayewardene is adamant that he would not appoint Pathmanathan as the Administrator-in-Council. We have made clear the ulterior motive of Jayewardene to the Government of India. But India, instead of pressuring Jayewardene, applies pressure on us. It issues warnings (to us). It unleashes false propaganda and charges

that we have committed breach of trust," Prabakaran added.

But the fact remains that the LTTE did give a list of three names and Jayewardene chose only one among the three. The feeling among many Tamils seems to be that whatever misgivings the LTTE might have had with regard to the appointment of the Administrator-in-Council, it could have worked in closer cooperation with the Government of India in view of the strenuous efforts made by Dixit to achieve for the LTTE almost everything it wanted, including a unified administration for the North and the East, a pre-eminent position for it in the IAC (with no representation to the groups inimical to it) and an Administrator-in-Council from its list of names. The assessment is that in the overall context of the IAC having been announced in the manner in which the LTTE wanted it, the prudent thing for the LTTE would have been to participate in it and make it work.

★ ★ ★

If the deadlock over the appointment of the Administrator-in-Council was expected to be resolved by October 6, a bigger crisis was lurking in the background, which led to an entirely different course of events with so much of tragic bloodletting.

It began with the Sri Lankan Navy intercepting an LTTE boat on October 3 off Point Pedro in the Jaffna peninsula and arresting 17 members of the LTTE, some of them representing the top rung of its leadership. They included the Trincomalee regional commander, Pulendran, and the Jaffna regional commander, Kumarappa. Colombo accused them of smuggling arms while Kumarappa claimed that they were merely sailing to Vedaranyam in Tamil Nadu to bring back the LTTE's political documents from its closed office in Madras. He also said they were carrying only two automatic rifles—a G3 and an M16—for personal safety.

The men were handed over to the Sri Lankan Army which detained them at its camp at Palaly and the Sri Lankan Government announced that it would take them to Colombo for interrogation. Pulendran was indeed a "prize catch" for Colombo; it alleged that he had masterminded the killing of more than 100 Sinhalese, including about 70 soldiers on furlough, on April 17, 1987, Good Friday.

The LTTE appealed to the IPKF at Palaly to prevent the Sri Lankan Army from taking them to Colombo. In a message to the IPKF's Civil Liaison Officer, Brig. E. W. Fernandez, Prabakaran strongly objected to the detention of the 17 by the island's army and pointed



**Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, Overall Force Commander, IPKF..... down to brass tacks.**



out that his men had been given general amnesty. Hence, their detention violated the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. They had put out to sea like "any other ordinary fishermen" and they had not committed any illegal act. He argued that India and the IPKF were responsible for his men's safety after they had laid down their arms.

The next day, October 5, Prabarakan sent another message to Maj. Gen. Harkirat Singh, General Officer Commanding of the IPKF, through Ajit Mathaiya, demanding that the detained LTTE men should not be taken to Colombo under any circumstances. He said if they were taken to Colombo forcibly, they would destroy themselves by swallowing cyanide. (The LTTE fighters sport cyanide capsules around their neck, to be swallowed in the event of capture by the Sri Lankan armed forces). He warned that if that happened, the IPKF would be responsible for the consequences and the LTTE would not observe the cessation of hostilities and would not cooperate with the IPKF in establishing peace in the Tamil areas.

But the Sri Lankan Government brushed aside pleas from the IPKF not to take the LTTE men to Colombo. Around 5 p.m. on October 5, as they were in the process of being taken to a Sri Lankan Air Force plane going to Colombo, all of them swallowed cyanide capsules.

Twelve of them, including "Lt. Col." Kumarappa, "Lt. Col." Pulendran and "Maj." Abdulla and "Maj." Nalan died. The stockily built, 30-year-old Kumarappa had married a young woman from the East exactly a month earlier. The stylishly dressed Pulendran, who always talked in a rapid-fire manner, was 26 years old. The soft-spoken Nalan, always nattily dressed, was in his early thirties. The rest were in the age group 20-30. After the bodies were handed over to the LTTE, it said they bore "bayonet marks," indicating torture by the Sri Lankan Army. Pulendran's body had 10 bayonet marks on the neck and chest, the LTTE said. The IPKF said there were no torture marks when the bodies were handed over to the militant organization.

Prabarakan joined thousands of mourners in paying homage to them. Their bodies were draped in the red LTTE flag with the Tiger emblem and were arranged according to their rank in the LTTE's military hierarchy with Pulendran's body placed first followed by Kumarappa's and Abdulla's. Hundreds wept as they were cremated at Velvetiturai on the evening of October 8.

In Madras, the LTTE's former Jaffna commander, Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu, felt the Government of India

could have stopped the Sri Lankan Government from flying the LTTE men to Colombo. "Instead, the Government of India made the mistake of merely watching passively..... This is a painful matter. We did not oppose the agreement. The agreement had been violated by the death of our fighters. We did not commit any illegal act," he said. He added that six weeks earlier the LTTE had sought the IPKF's permission for the sea trip. Since the permission was neither given nor denied, they sailed out.

There was sympathy for the LTTE in Tamil Nadu following the death of the

munist Party of India (Marxist), have taken a clear stand that backs the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement against extremist intransigence, fixes the primary responsibility for the sharp deterioration in the situation on the LTTE and its vicious killing of innocent Sinhalese civilians, finds fault with the intransigent attitudes within the Sri Lankan Government which have contributed to the process of deterioration, and calls for vigilance against attempts, internal to Sri Lanka and external, to derail the agreement.

Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh has revealed that the IPKF had made serious and persistent efforts to persuade the Sri Lankan security forces and also the Sri



LTTE

Pulendran, LTTE's Trincomalee regional commander, one of the 12 men who died after consuming cyanide.

12 and the tragedy overshadowed the organisation's hedging on the issue of the Administrator in-Council. Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran, who was in the United States, stressed that there could be no acceptable reason for the arrest of the 17 LTTE members who were carrying only permitted personal arms or for the decision to fly them to Colombo. He pointed out that the Tigers had put down their arms and a general amnesty had been given to them. State Industries Minister K. Rajaram was stronger in his reaction: "It is a shame that the LTTE members, who had all received a general amnesty, could be arrested by the Sri Lankan Army."

The president of the Opposition Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, M. Karunanidhi, said the incident proved that Jayewardene had duped both the Government of India and the Tamil militants.

The Left parties, notably the Com-

Lankan Government not to take the LTTE men to Colombo. While Maj. Gen. Harkirat Singh tried to persuade the Sri Lankan security forces to release the LTTE men, or at least leave them in the custody of the IPKF at Palaly, Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh took it up with the Sri Lankan Government at the highest level. But Colombo would not agree and contended that these LTTE men had "violated" the laws of the land, including immigration laws.

The IPKF clearly anticipated a turn for the worse in the situation if the captured LTTE members were flown to Colombo for interrogation. And so it was: the LTTE launched massive reprisals on the Sinhalese, mostly civilians. On October 6 it executed eight Sri Lankan soldiers captured earlier in two attacks on the police quarters and the Jaffna telecommunication building at Pannai in Jaffna town. Next, it abducted and shot dead four Sinhalese em-

ployees of the Sri Lankan television "Rupavahini," waylaid as they were driving to their place of stay after dropping a Tamil employee at home. Two Sinhalese employees of the Kankesan-turai cement factory were also killed.

Then the LTTE unleashed a spurge of violence in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and slaughtered about 150 Sinhalese civilians, including women and children. LTTE men pounced on the Sinhalese civilians living amongst the Tamil hamlets in Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts. They ambushed a Batticaloa-Colombo train and set it ablaze after forcing the passengers out. They separated the Sinhalese passengers and peppered 40 of them with bullets. Some of the bodies were thrown into the burning compartments. LTTE men also halted a bus at Pahugula in Amparai district in the East and shot or hacked to death 20 Sinhalese. They stormed a farming village at Eravur in Batticaloa and shot 39 people. Seventeen more Sinhalese were raked with gunfire in Batticaloa. They surrounded two fishing villages in Trincomalee district and shot and hacked to death 27.

"It is clearly the work of the Tamil Tigers," Nimal De Silva, the Batticaloa Superintendent of Police said. Government Agent M. Anthony muthu described the situation in Batticaloa as "explosive" and he feared the Sri Lankan security forces would come out of their barracks, where they were confined after the agreement was signed, and attack the Tamils in retaliation.

The LTTE attacked some prominent Sinhalese civilians in Batticaloa including M. Sripala, a jewellery shop owner and a member of the local citizens' committee. He and another person were killed when the Tigers lobbed a bomb at his house. Sripala's wife was seriously injured. In Vavuniya district in the North, four Sinhalese civilians were shot at Pavatukulam and at Oddusudean in Mullaitivu district an army jeep was fired at.

On the third day, the vehicle in which Anthony muthu and Nimal De Silva, besides seven soliders, were travelling hit a landmine planted by the Tigers and all of them were killed. Two vehicles of the IPKF, one preceding and the other following the vehicle, had a miraculous escape. Two more mine blasts in Trincomalee and Amparai districts claimed the lives of six soliders.

In Tamil Nadu, the LTTE's killing of Sinhalese civilians seemed to have cancelled out the earlier sympathy. Clearly, public opinion was running against the Tigers. One reading was that the LTTE had walked into the trap engineered by Athulathmudali.

Specific information available with

the Government of India has established that Athulathmudali was behind the unexpected arrest of the 17 LTTE men and the decision to take them to Colombo for "interrogation." It was he who remained adamant on this in the face of the persistent attempts by the IPKF and the Indian High Commission in Colombo to get the men released. The recommendation of the Indian military professionals and diplomats was overruled, with tragic and horrifying consequences for the peace process.

The suspicion is that Athulathmudali, who played a major role in the earlier anti-Tamil military campaign by the Sri Lankan armed forces and who is a diehard opponent of the agreement, played a new game under the new circumstances. There is also evidence of backsliding by Colombo in the devolution of powers to the integrated Northern and Eastern Provincial Council. There is believed to be sympathy for Athulathmudali among the Sinhalese and the question is, what kind of comeback has he staged?

Even before the latest insensate orgy of bloodletting started, communal clashes between the Sinhalese and the Tamils had erupted in Trincomalee district. In the very first act of violence against the Tamils after the agreement, three Tamils observing fast in support of Thileepan's fast were killed in September.

On September 29 the Sinhalese also attacked the Tamils who were bursting crackers to celebrate the announcement on the IAC. Later Sinhalese hoodlums attacked Tamils at Mudcove and Madathuadi, just outside Trincomalee.

From October 1 there were four significant attacks on the IPKF in Trincomalee by the Sinhalese home guards, the police and civilians. On October 1, some people travelling in a van fired at an IPKF patrol. When the IPKF team chased and detained the van, it was found that there were seven Sinhalese home guards inside, armed with rifles issued by the China Bay police. There was firing again the next day at the IPKF from another vehicle in which one jawan lost his life. The vehicle was chased and was found parked in the compound of the Military Coordinating Authority in Trincomalee.

The same day a man in civilian clothes fired at an IPKF foot-patrol just outside Fort Frederick. When chased, he ran into the fort, at the entrance of which was a Sri Lankan Army camp.

On October 3, when the IPKF tried to clear a roadblock erected by the Sinhalese at the Fourth Mile post, there was firing from the crowd in which a Buddhist monk was killed and an IPKF sapper injured. Following this, com-

munal violence broke out at Kantalai, 60 km from Trincomalee town, and at Uppuveli, 10 km from Trincomalee.

The attacks by the Sinhalese on the IPKF and the communal clashes between the Tamils and the Sinhalese were serious enough for Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh to fly to Colombo and meet Jayewardene on October 4. Jayewardene "directed" him to work in close cooperation with Gen. Cyril Ranatunge, chief of the Joint Operations Command of the Sri Lankan armed forces, "to restore law and order immediately in Trincomalee town and district." Jayewardene was reported to have said that if the IPKF did not do so, he would "direct" it to withdraw from the area, deputing instead the Sri Lankan armed forces and the police. Though the Government of India denied any such threat, there was no denial from Colombo. The acting High Commissioner in Colombo then, Nirupom Sen, who participated in the high-level discussions, asserted that the situation in Trincomalee had "partially developed" due to elements in the Sinhalese forces firing at the IPKF and "we find it surprising."

According to information with the Government of India, the attacks on the IPKF in the Sinhalese areas suggested the hand of subversive and well-connected elements who were out to complicate the implementation of the peace plan.

One interpretation is that there is a deeper game, guided by some political elements in Colombo, to drive a wedge between the Eastern and Northern Provinces so that the promised merger does not take place. This would involve a more substantive role for the Sri Lankan armed forces in the Eastern Province and getting the IPKF embroiled with the LTTE in the North. It would also involve putting pressure on India to let the Sri Lankan Army come out of the barracks in the name of undertaking "joint" operations with the IPKF to save the agreement. (Along with the surrender of arms by the militants, the agreement provides for the Sri Lankan Army to be confined to the barracks).

It looks that at least part of the strategy has been successful. The IPKF has certainly been embroiled with the LTTE in the North, including the Jaffna peninsula. The IPKF's swift action in the Jaffna peninsula and its strong presence in the crisis area, the Eastern Province, is clearly meant to demonstrate to the LTTE and the subversive elements among the Sinhalese that the IPKF can act decisively and overpoweringly and that it would not put up with any more nonsense from anyone. □

## Tigers kill hostages in act of revenge

NEWS

REPORT

From Derek Brown  
in Colombo

The Tamil Tiger rebels yesterday signalled the resumption of their all-out campaign for independence by executing eight Sinhalese army hostages.

The soldiers, captured in March, were shot, and their bodies dumped in the bus stand at Jaffna, the rebels' main stronghold.

The brutal killings were ordered by the Tiger leadership in retaliation for the suicide of 12 of their members in Sri Lankan army custody on Monday.

The two sets of deaths have together brought the two-month-old Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord close to collapse.

The Tigers announced that they would no longer cooperate with Indian peacekeeping forces in the north and east of the island. Nor would they abide by any Sri Lankan law.

The dramatic worsening of the situation comes only a week after it seemed that the Tigers were finally prepared to settle for a political role in a semi-autonomous Tamil region. Now both the political and security elements of the accord are in tatters. The proposal for an interim council to run the north and east pending elections has disintegrated.

smuggling arms from India. They swallowed cyanide pills as they were being put on a flight to Colombo for further questioning.

The Tigers said yesterday that they had clearly warned that their men would take their own lives rather than be transferred to Colombo, where, it was claimed, they risked torture and death.

Indian sources yesterday confirmed that they had urged the Colombo Government at the highest level to think again about transferring the 17 suspects. The Indian warning apparently spelled out the risk to the Sri Lanka army hostages.

With the sudden eruption of violence, particularly in the north-east port of Trincomalee, the Tigers have shown that, two months after their supposed surrender of arms, they are still in business as a ruthless fighting force.

The Tigers put all the blame on the Colombo Government. They say that the 12 men who committed suicide, including two regional commanders, should have been covered by the general amnesty implicit in the peace accord.

The men were in a group of 17 Tigers picked up on Saturday from a fishing boat off the

northern coast while allegedly

But the renewed Tamil Tigers belligerence also includes the Indians themselves. Yesterday, they released the text of a letter from the leadership to the commander of the Indian peacekeeping force, Major General Harkirat Singh. Written a few hours before the mass suicide, it warned him that all cooperation would be withdrawn if the men came to any harm.

Such cooperation has not been greatly in evidence in recent weeks, with the Tigers apparently set on eliminating rival militant groups, attacking Sinhalese minorities in the east, and generally asserting their right to exclusive power in Tamil territory.

Now they have abandoned all pretence at being a party to the ceasefire, which was an essential feature of the July 29 pact. Three policemen and two Sinhalese businessmen were killed in the north yesterday. A Sri Lanka television crew is also missing, feared abducted or worse.

The fear now — or the hope for many Sinhalese — is that the Tigers are about to become embroiled in an all-out war with the 10,000 or more Indian soldiers and police in the country.

# LTTE men on the rampage

Colombo, Oct. 7 (Reuters): Tamil militants shattered Sri Lanka's fragile ethnic ceasefire on Wednesday in an explosion of violence that left nearly 160 civilians and soldiers dead, military and police sources said.

The hardline Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, angered by the suicide of 13 Tigers in Government custody, attacked a train and a bus, and several Sinhalese villages in the North and the East.

It was the worst violence to strike the island since India and Sri Lanka concluded their peace pact on July 29 to end the four-year-old Tamil separatist revolt, and prompted a flight of panicked Sinhalese from the Eastern province.

"The situation is extremely tra-

gic, volatile and dangerous. Tension is building up," Opposition leader Anura Bandaranaike told Parliament on Wednesday.

The Tigers set off a landmine under a military truck on Wednesday killing six soldiers, a military spokesman said. Ten soldiers were also wounded, three critically, in the blast at Vakarai in northern Polonnaruwa district.

The Tigers also attacked a train from Batticaloa to Colombo on Tuesday night, a military spokesman said. He said they forced the passengers out of the train at Valachenai and set 12 carriages ablaze. They then separated the Sinhalese from the rest and shot 40 of them dead. Some of the bodies were thrown into the burn-

ing carriages.

Tiger gunmen ambushed a bus at Pahugala in Eastern Amparai on Wednesday, killing 20 passengers, police said.

The militants stormed a farming village in Batticaloa district, killing 38 people while another rebel group attacked several Sinhalese homes in Batticaloa City killing 17 men, women and children, police said.

The Tigers raided two fishing villages in Trincomalee district and shot and hacked to death 27 men, women and children, and killed four people in an attack on a Sinhalese village near the northern city of Vavuniya on Wednesday morning, they said.



# SAVING THE ACCORD

Indian forces crack down on marauding LTTE men

REPORT

**I**T now looks doubtful whether Defence Minister K.C. Pant's frantic trip to Colombo can save the July 23 Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. And by Indian logic only that agreement can save the Sri Lankan nation.

In its anxiety to save both, India has, almost unknowingly, fallen into a trap set by the Sinhala hawks. It is no longer the mediator it was, but a participant in a civil war in a neighbouring country. The Indian peace-keeping forces are now finding themselves fighting a counter-insurgency war under the command of Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene.

Despite the numerous ceasefire violations and LTTE's obstinacy on the matter of surrender of arms, the situation was not so gloomy until late September. But the fast and death of A. Thileepan, head of the propaganda wing of LTTE, on September 26 suddenly brought in the gloom.

New Delhi then realised that it was impossible to reason with LTTE, unlike what it had always hoped. Thileepan's fast had been in support of a few basic demands: stoppage of all forms of Sinhala colonisation of Tamil homeland under the pretext of rehabilitation, stoppage of rehabilitation work until the formation of the interim government, stoppage of opening of new police stations in northern and eastern provinces, India-supervised surrender of arms by home guards, closure of all army and police camps in Tamil villages and schools, and release of all detained under Prevention of Terrorism Act.

All the while, LTTE had also been making a political demand: a larger participation in the proposed interim council. On September 27 Indian High Commissioner J.N. Dixit claimed to have achieved a breakthrough in his talks with LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran. LTTE agreed to participate in the council and it would have a larger say in it. Subsequently President Jayewardene announced the formation of the interim council. When LTTE demanded the

replacement of two of its nominees, Jayewardene agreed to that too.

But when LTTE demanded that the council's Chief Administrator C.V.K. Sivagnanam be replaced by N. Padmanabhan, Jayewardene thought enough was enough and said no. A frustrated Dixit accused LTTE of going back on its words.

Jayewardene could have carried Indian public opinion with him, but for a bizarre incident for which his troops were responsible. On October 3 LTTE Jaffna commander Kumaran alias

Kumarappa, Trincomalee leader Pulendiran and 15 others were captured by Lankan navy while they were sailing to Point Pedro coast. Even as LTTE leaders were discussing with Maj-Gen. Harkdrat Singh, chief of the Indian peace-keeping forces, for their release, the Lankan army authorities decided to take the men to Colombo.

For the Tamils, being taken to Colombo is equal to death. Twelve of the captured men, including Kumaran and Pulendiran, killed themselves by consuming cyanide. With that India suddenly found itself being accused of not having prevented their deaths.

LTTE promptly carried out a reprisal. Eight Lankan soldiers in LTTE custody were executed. That was also a notice to India that, since India had not been able to protect the LTTE cadre, LTTE would no longer abide by the ceasefire. On October 7, LTTE went on a rampage in the eastern and northern provinces killing nearly 150 Sinhalese.

One should not forget that it was an LTTE ambush of 13 Sri Lankan soldiers on July 23 that had sparked off the massacre of Tamils in the Sinhala-majority areas in 1983 and escalated the strife into a four-year war. The recent execution of Lankan soldiers in custody and the attacks on Sinhalese seem calculated to provoke a Sinhala backlash which would scuttle the agreement. LTTE knows full well that without realising the military component of the agreement (disengagement and disarming of the guerrillas), the political component (the interim council, elections to the council by 1987 end, and a referendum in the eastern province to ratify the merger of the two Tamil provinces by 1988 end) cannot be realised.

Meanwhile, President Jayewardene had directed the Indian forces to aid Lankan joint operations command in restoring law and order in Trincomalee where Tamil and Sinhalese civilians were killing each other. By the first weekend of October, the Indian forces were deeply involved in a counter-insurgency war. LTTE hideouts were



Provided the spark. Thileepan

Jayewardene wants India to deal with the hard-headed LTTE; he wants India to establish law and order; he wants India to take all the blame for the worsening of the situation.

... YOU NEEDN'T TELL ME TO PROTECT  
ONLY THE SINHALESE... SIR, I'VE ALWAYS  
BEEN A SINHALA SECURITY MINISTER...



Keshav, The Hindu, 13.10.87



Bogged down? IPKF personnel at Palalay air base

raided and several militants were arrested. There were also reports that Prabhakaran had been arrested, but until October 9 no confirmation on this arrived.

India can now squarely blame LTTE for having scuttled the agreement. Indeed, LTTE started all this by clashing with rival Tamil groups and alleging that was Research and Analysis Wing provoking the clashes for some reason. The specific charge was that the peace-keeping force was not really unbiased.

But blaming LTTE will hardly save the situation. Though its forces are theoretically under the command of the Lankan president, India can always exercise the option of withdrawing them. But that would only lead to the Sri Lankan army taking the role of the Indian forces. And that would be going back to the pre-agreement situation.

So far, President Jayewardene has succeeded in giving the impression that his role in implementing the agreement is limited to getting Sinhalese endorsement of it and delivering the political component. Securing the environment for all this is India's responsibility. Jayewardene has tried to underline this point in more than one way. He threatened to withdraw the Indian peace-keeping force from Trincomalee if it failed to maintain law and order there.

Later he asked Lt-Gen. Depinder Singh to take charge of the situation in the eastern province.

In other words, Jayewardene wants India to deliver the military component, even when Indian forces cannot act independently. He wants India to deal with the hard-headed LTTE; he wants India to establish law and order; he wants India to take all the blame for the worsening of the situation.

The basic mistake India committed was that it thought it could persuade LTTE to fall in line by presenting before it a fait accompli. It did not realise that it had lost the persuasive power the moment the LTTE leaders left the shores of Tamil Nadu for Jaffna a few months ago.

The Sinhalese public too can shirk

**The JVP graffiti on Colombo walls are a pointer to the grim future: "Death to the agreement and those who support it." JVP has infiltrated the army.**

responsibility by saying that the agreement was between two dignitaries and that there had been no national debate over it. Yet, so far the Sinhalese opposition to the agreement has been subdued. It could well be that they are waiting to see how it all works out. They do derive a pleasure from the sight of India, with its claims of self-righteousness, trying to reason with LTTE which is deaf to reasoning. Now the Sinhalese have all the more reason to say that the agreement is no solution to the conflict. And Jayewardene has cleverly cleared himself from all this blame.

The Janata Vimukti Perumana graffiti on Colombo walls are a pointer to the grim future: "Death to the agreement and those who support it." LTTE's strategy of driving the Sinhalese out of the east will have its echo in attacks on Tamils in the non-Tamil provinces including the plantation areas. The JVP's strength cannot be underestimated. It has even infiltrated the army.

Three years ago, there were shrill demands in India for a military intervention (like the one in Bangladesh) to solve the island's ethnic problem. Now the demand is for disarming LTTE on behalf of Sri Lanka. All this gives Jayewardene the pleasure of the last laugh.

OCT. 18-24, 1987 —MODERN



## IPKF will act very firmly, warns PM

NEW DELHI, Oct. 9

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, said today that the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) "will act very firmly" to disarm the Tamil militants and bring peace in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

In an interview to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Mr. Gandhi said if people were not willing to have peace and were indulging in violent acts when democratic and peaceful methods were available, then "we must act much more strongly and we are doing that."

He denied a suggestion that India was getting biased against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). He said India tried to pull the LTTE into the mainstream for a voluntary disarmament and help it, involve in the development process. "But certain things have happened which have not allowed that to happen."

Answering another question, the Prime Minister said it was wrong to think that by taking action against the LTTE, India would lose the confidence of the Tamil people. "I don't think it is right to equate Tamil people with the LTTE. These are two separate agencies," he added.

**Winning over was first option:** Why did the IPKF took over two months to act? Mr. Gandhi said "The first attempt in any such situation must be to try and win over the people because we are there at the request of the Sri Lankan Government. We have to see what is best for Sri Lanka in the long-term as all the people had to live together there in Sri Lanka. And if strong methods or measures were used then it makes it difficult for the future. So we try to pull everyone together to bring peace."

# IPKF swoops on militants' camps

NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 9.

Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, General Officer Commanding, Southern Command, told THE HINDU today that the Indian Peace-Keeping Force conducted raids on various camps of the Tamil militants in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka and seized arms and ammunition. Ninety-eight militants were taken into custody, said Gen. Depinder Singh, who is in overall charge of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. (Reports from Colombo put the number of arrests variously at 200 and 100).

Replying to a question on fresh reports from Colombo today that the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, Mr. V. Prabhakaran, had been arrested, he said: "Not to my knowledge."

Gen. Depinder Singh visited Trincomalee today and later returned to Madras.

According to Defence Ministry sources here, Trincomalee and Batticaloa are fast becoming normal. There was a mineblast on Friday morning in which a Sri Lanka army jeep was blown up killing two soldiers. Examination of these booby traps, which had claimed a large number of lives during the past three days, revealed a very high degree of technology sophistication and the explosion was electronically controlled. Such equipment were common place with terrorists in the West but had not been seen in this part of the world earlier.

UNI, Reuter, PTI report from Colombo:

The IPKF personnel raided the camps of the LTTE in the northern and eastern parts of the island, and of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) and the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) in Vavuniya, Mannar and Kilinochchi districts respectively.

Sources in Jaffna said the IPKF carried out search operations for hidden arms in the known LTTE strongholds of Achchuveli, Vavavilan, Telipallay, Karaveddy and Point Pedro in Jaffna peninsula during the curfew hours last night.

Six men believed to be connected with the landmine blast at Vandaramulai, in which 14 people were killed, had been arrested, according to Indian and Sri Lankan military sources in Colombo. These sources said the IPKF used mortar and small arms fire in the raids.

A Sri Lankan military source said the Indian troops fired mortars and small arms at least three camps of minor Tamil groups in Vavuniya, Mannar and Kilinochchi districts around dawn on Friday.

Sources in Sri Lanka said most of those arrested in the raids were from PLOT and TELO. Sri Lankan military officials said the troops, ordered to shoot armed militants on sight, encountered resistance in at least 15 camps. Two of the camps, they said, belonged to the LTTE.

**Two shot dead:** A spokesperson for the Indian High Commission in Colombo said the IPKF shot dead two Tamils and wounded five in separate incidents in the Eastern Province yesterday. The two were shot dead when they attempted to set fire to houses.

Life was normal in Jaffna town today as schools and shops opened and buses were operating. Reports said the LTTE is said to have closed down all its offices in Batticaloa district and its members had gone underground.

**Bus set ablaze:** Reports said militants waylaid a Batticaloa-Badulla bus at Pullumalai and set it ablaze with the lone Sinhalese passenger inside after ordering the Tamil passengers out.

**Number of soldiers:** The island Government told its parliament yesterday that the IPKF would be used only in the Northern and Eastern provinces. The Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Mr. Vincent Perera, replying to questions from the Opposition said there were in all 7988 Indian soldiers, including 23 officers in the island under the terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord.

Mr. Perera said the Sri Lankan Government was not meeting the travelling expenses of the IPKF nor providing vehicles and food for them. However, some vehicles had been loaned to them until they got their own, he added.

Ravi Shankar, Indian Express, 8.10.87





# IPKF seizes LTTE radio, TV stations

By SEEMA GUHA

NEWS

LTTE CLAIMS

The Times of India News Service

COLOMBO, October 10.

NINE Sinhalese were hacked to death at Kantale in Trincomalee district early this morning by Tamil militants. Six others were injured and have been admitted to the Anuradhapura hospital.

The Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) in Jaffna sealed the offices of "Elamurasu," the LTTE mouth-piece, and took over the presses of the pro-Tiger, "Murosoli" newspaper. The LTTE claimed that its presses were set on fire and all equipment destroyed in the raid. The television and radio transmission stations of the LTTE, which has so far been running its own special services, have also been seized and the personnel arrested.

These transmitters were broadcasting propaganda against India and the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement, and inciting ethnic violence. They were also being used by the LTTE to extol its violence against fellow Tamils in the northern and eastern provinces, the spokesman added.

According to UNI, India today doubled the strength of the IPKF and set up two tactical headquarters in the North and the East in a bid to curb the "violent elements" opposing the peace accord.

(Continuing their crackdown on various Tamil militant groups, the IPKF and the Lankan army arrested over 100 men in a pre-dawn swoop. The raids were conducted at Vadamarachchi, Avarankal, Achchuvelli, Valai, Putter and Neerveli.)

In Trincomalee, the IPKF destroyed 400 kg of explosives and grenades, seized from the militants. In the worst-affected Batticaloa district, the IPKF is helping the Sri Lankan police to conduct a house-to-house search for arms.

The LTTE has claimed that 10 Tigers have been killed by the IPKF and over a hundred of its men arrested in the Vadamarachchi area. There was no official confirmation of the deaths by the Indian high commission or the Sri Lankan army sources.

The earlier soft attitude adopted by India when the accent was on persuasion rather than the use of force has been altered to meet the new situation where the LTTE has openly repudiated its commitment to the Indo-Sri Lankan accord. India while aware of the problems of the Tamils and committed to ensuring a fair deal to them, cannot afford to allow the accord to be destroyed, considering that Indian security interests are closely tied to it.

Public opinion in Colombo, which had been vehemently against the presence of the Indian army on Sri Lankan soil, has since the massacres in the east, become more and more virulent. The question everyone asks is: "What are the Indians doing here when our people are being massacred?" Said Samantha Desilva a 28-year-old school teacher: "Are the IPKF here to ensure just the safety of the Tamils? Have they been instructed not to pay heed to the Sinhalese who are being killed?"

An editorial in the English newspaper, "The Island", published from Colombo titled, "We are gasping, Mr Pant", reads: "While the Sri Lanka government had met its responsibilities under the agreement, the so-called Indian peace keeping force has not done so. The failure to seize arms in the time stipulated in the accord, its apparent reluctance to do so, the failure to maintain peace in the north and the east and the 'passive resistance' to Tigers, who went on the rampage are clear instances of the failure of the IPKF in carrying out its fundamental responsibilities."

Even before 10th of Oct. '87, the IPKF surrounded an LTTE camp at Mullativu, took away all the things in the camp and blasted the camp with explosives.

In the early hours of 10.10.87, the IPKF entered the office of 2 Tamil dailies - *Elamurasu* and *Murasoli*, arrested the employees working there at bayonet points and blasted the printing machines and office buildings with bombs, thus destroying them completely.

On the same day the IPKF entered the T.V. Centre 'NIDHARSANAM' of the LTTE of Kokkuvil, seized and took away all the tele-casting equipments.

(The excuse that the IPKF gave for their action was that the broad-casting and tele-casting equipments were stealthily possessed by the LTTE and the printing presses were sealed because they were engaged in bringing out anti-Indian posters and pamphlets and inducing violence).

1. The LTTE was running its broad-casting and tele-casting services for many years. In fact many programmes, tele-casted on NIDHARSANAM were asked for, by the officials of the Indian govt. and televised over the Indian T.V. Net work.

In such a situation, all of a sudden without informing, the IPKF entered the Television centre, plundered and took away the equipments. This act of the IPKF against LTTE, is beyond reasonable limits.

2. *Elamurasu* and *Murasoli*, registered as newspapers with the Sri Lankan govt. were printed and published for many years. The blasting and destruction carried out by the IPKF in the offices of these newspapers is seriously viewed by the Eelam Tamils as an act to crumple their democratic rights.

At about 2.15 in the afternoon, the IPKF made an attempt, to advance by indiscriminately firing at the people at fort side, Koppai side, and Muthirai Junction side. Following this, the LTTE were forced to enter into a war of defence, to save the people as well as themselves. In a combined searching operation by the IPKF and the Sri Lankan army in the entire Jaffna Peninsula more than 100 civilians were arrested.

The IPKF engaged in a 'hunting' (the Tamil Tigers) operation in Vadamaratchi shot dead 10 civilian people.

## General's instructions

Before his return to India at the end of his two-day visit, the Chief of the Army Staff, General K. Sundarji, had issued detailed instructions to his field commanders to continue the operations against those indulging in violence or obstructing the implementation of the accord to remove any impression that India was going back on its commitments.

Gen. Sundarji and Lt. Gen. Cyril Ranatunga, General Officer Commanding-In-Chief of Sri Lanka's Joint Operations Command, finalised detailed plans to check the activities of violent elements, the sources said.

The sources said the IPKF had been posted in company strength to provide protection to all Sinhalese and Muslim villages in the east and extensive patrolling and communication facilities had been organised in all vulnerable areas to check violence.

The operations launched against Tamil militants, particularly against the LTTE on Thursday had already helped bring the situation in the north and east under control, the sources said.

The IPKF, braving electrically-charged wire fencing and sniping, had captured militants and weapons from four of the camps they raided in the north yesterday.

The IPKF, which has so far raided militants camps and bases mostly in the north, today went for the militant bases in eastern Trincomalee and Batticaloa. A 24-hour curfew was imposed in the two districts from 0600 hours this morning, as the IPKF continued its operations.

In Trincomalee district, the IPKF raided an LTTE camp this morning and recovered 400 kg of explosives and grenades and destroyed them.

# 120 militants killed in IPKF operations

NEWS

COLOMBO, Oct. 11.

At least 120 men of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and nine Indian personnel were killed as the Indian Peace-Keeping Force intensified operations against the militants in the curfew-bound Jaffna peninsula in north Sri Lanka early today.

The Indian force's biggest operation against the LTTE was launched shortly after the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation made repeated announcements at 0630 hours today, asking Jaffna residents to evacuate their houses and report at the IPKF checkpoints in the town.

## Simultaneous attacks

According to Indian military sources here, a fierce battle raged today between the IPKF and the LTTE after the Tamil militants launched a series of attacks on the force's positions in different parts of Jaffna.

They said the LTTE almost simultaneously attacked the IPKF positions at Tellipalai, Jaffna Fort, Navatkuli, Koppai North and Vadamarachchi. The militants used mortars, rocket propelled grenades and small arms in the offensive.

According to Sri Lankan security sources at Palaly in Jaffna peninsula, more than 120 Tamil militants died in the encounters with the Indian force since yesterday. They said their information was based on LTTE radio intercepts.

They said they could hear the sound of gunfire but did not know how the situation was in Jaffna town, about 20 km away, as they were confined to their camp. The IPKF had advised the people of certain areas of Jaffna to move to temples and schools to avoid civilian casualties during the operations.

## Operations intensified

According to the Defence Ministry sources in Madras, following the directions of Mr. Prabhakaran to the LTTE cadre to attack the personnel, vehicles and installations of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force, the IPKF (North) has in-

tensified its operations to unearth the surrendered weapons and flush out the terrorists.

The IPKF personnel entering Jaffna town in search of surrendered weapons in suspected localities were fired upon from buildings and rooftops with automatic weapons, mortars and rocket-launchers. Numerous booby-traps and mines with very heavy explosive-content had also been laid by the LTTE to hinder the IPKF progress. The militants fired indiscriminately, unleashing a wave of violence in the town. A large number of residents have left their houses and have taken shelter with the IPKF.

The IPKF is taking stern measures to combat the violence unleashed by the LTTE and over 60 militants have been killed in the last 24 hours. Two CRPF vehicles were also ambushed near Tellipalai and three jawans killed and eight injured. Six IPKF men lost their lives and 33 were injured in the operation.

Intensive patrolling and combing operations were conducted by the IPKF in the Eastern province. Some LTTE men, including David, one of the LTTE military leaders of Batticaloa sector, were apprehended. There was no major incident in Trincomalee and Batticaloa, the Defence Ministry sources added.

## Land-mine blast

The Sri Lankan news agency 'Lankapuvath' said two Indian soldiers were killed by a land-mine explosion in Jaffna this morning.

The official sources told Lankapuvath that clandestine radio hook-ups linking Colombo, Madras and Rameswaram had been exposed by the IPKF. A machine, which printed secret messages and operational plans to be distributed to the LTTE cadres, "has also been destroyed by the IPKF."

The IPKF operations are against "violent elements" opposing the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

Five bodies, believed to be those of LTTE men, were found between Navatkuli and Koppai North following the attacks on their positions.

Tamil sources, who requested anonymity, said Indian troops had fanned out in the entire Jaffna peninsula and were conducting house-to-house searches. The curfew clamped on the peninsula early yesterday will continue to remain in force.

## Arrests in the east

The Indian military sources further said operations were also on in the eastern Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts. In Batticaloa, 39 LTTE men, nine of them hardcore members, had been arrested. Six camps were raided.

In a raid on an LTTE camp at Punnacholai near Eravur, the IPKF arrested four LTTE men, including "Ravi" who was allegedly responsible for the spate of killings of Sinhalese in the area last week. Some arms were also recovered in the raid.

According to a Sri Lanka radio report Indian troops seized arms and ammunition in a massive quantity in Trincomalee district.

Curfew was lifted for four hours in Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts to enable the people to buy provisions.

## Attempt on Minister

Meanwhile the District Minister of Trincomalee, Mr. H. G. P. Nelson and two of his personal secretaries were critically wounded, when suspected members of the banned Janata Vimukti Peramuna hurled bombs.

Mr. Nelson, who represents Pollanaruwa in Parliament, was in his office in the morning with his secretaries, when the assailants stormed in and hurled the explosives, authoritative sources said. The three were hospitalised.

The sources said that on police advice Mr. Nelson had earlier cancelled his participation in the funeral three days back of a Sri Lankan soldier who died in LTTE captivity. The police said they had intelligence reports that the Sinhalese extremists could make an attempt on Mr. Nelson during the funeral. — UNI, PTI

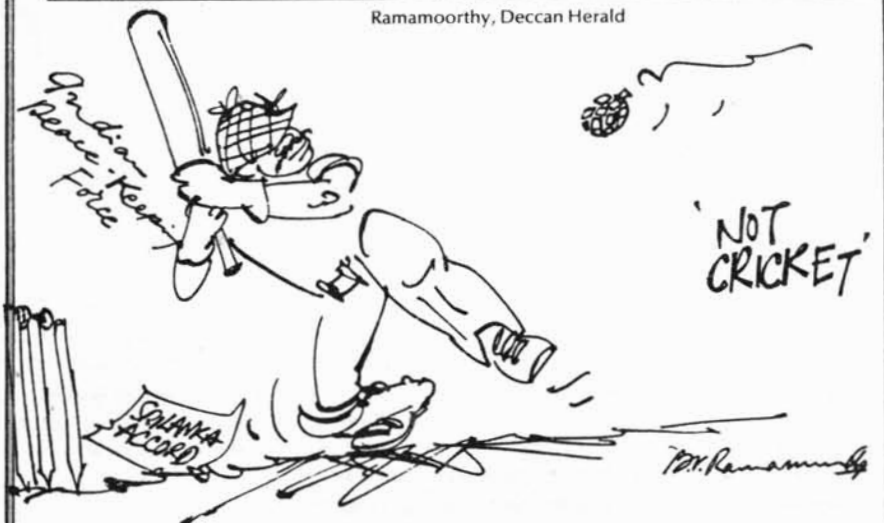
## LTTE CLAIMS

On the morning of 11.10.87, the shell thrown by the IPKF hit and blasted the 'Kailasapillaiyar' Temple. 12 innocent civilians were killed and 20 more got injured.

At Palai, the IPKF chased a van of the LTTE, but it could not be caught. This irritated and enraged the IPKF which on its way back shot down the people indiscriminately. 13 innocent civilians including 2 children were killed in this 'shooting spree' of the IPKF.

In the night, the IPKF started their operations in full swing, to take control of Jaffna. In the mid-night at about 1 o'clock a very large number of IPKF commandos were heli-dropped in the campus of the medical college of Jaffna University. In the fight that ensued between the IPKF and the LTTE, which lasted for more than 8 hours, not less than 40 soldiers of the IPKF were killed. The LTTE captured lots of arms from them including 20 SMC, 6 S.L.R., 3 L.M.G., 2 G.P.M. and one Rocket launcher. This enraged the IPKF which turned its anger upon the civilians and attacked the public. 30 civilians were killed and 250 were injured by this ruthless act.

Ramamoorthy, Deccan Herald



**AFFIDAVIT**

**ARIYAKUDDY VASANTHAMALAR** (24), Chankanai Sri Lanka.

During the Military Liberation Operation on and after 10.10.87 I and my grand father and grand mother sought refugee in the Murugamoorthy Kovil Refugee Camp, Chankanai.

On the morning of 22.10.87 a mortar shell fell in the premises of the temple and exploded.

At that time my grandfather was in the premises and one of the splinter hit my grandfather's backbone and profusely bleeding and some other refugees were also injured.

He was admitted to Chankanai Hospital where he was treated. His injury has not healed in spite of repeated medical attention.

Finally he died on 20.1.88.

My grandmother fell sick after my grandfather's demise. My father died and I was brought up by my grandfather.

Consequent to my grandfather's death and my grandmother's sickness, I have become destitute. Both myself and my grandmother were depending on my deceased grandfather for our sustenance.

*A. Vasanthamalar*

**CHRISTURASA RITAMMA** (36), 10 Central West Road, Gurunagar, Jaffna.

My late daughter Christurasa Kamalanayaki, aged 14 years was a student.

On the afternoon of 10.10.87 our locality was subjected to heavy firing and shelling. Fearing to remain at home the members of my family and I sought refuge in the Church of our Lady of the Rosary at Columbuthurai.

On 11.10.87 due to fear caused by shells which fell near the church we fled to the Hindu College at Columbuthurai.

As Indian army personnel were advancing towards the area through Maniamthoddam firing shells we fled to St. Patricks College on 14.10.87.

Consequent on the Gurunagar area being fired at from a helicopter we fled to Chundikuli Girls College on 17.10.87.

On the night of 20.10.87 the Chundikuli Girls' College was hit by shells. 5 persons who had sought refuge in the college were killed and about 40 were injured. Fearing to remain there we fled to the Nallur temple on the morning of 21.10.87.

On 22.10.87 seventy persons including our family members proceeded to Araly Jetty by lorry desiring to cross over to Saravanai in Kayts where we thought we would be safer.

The seventy passengers were crossing the Jaffna lagoon in 4 boats when at about 9 a.m. a helicopter attacked the four boats by firing. The attack lasting for about one hour.

My daughter Kamalanayaki and my father Mudiappu Christian, aged 69 were killed. I sustained a fracture above the wrist in my right hand while a bullet pierced through the flesh of my left hand. My right hand has still not healed. Two of my daughters, Sagayanayaki and Meera received injuries in their legs which have since healed.

As the boats reached Saravanai the dead and the injured were removed in vehicles by local residents to the Kayts Hospital.

On 22.10.87 at about 3 p.m. all who were seriously injured including myself were removed to the Moolai Hospital.

Consequent on the Moolai Hospital being attacked by a helicopter on 1.11.87 and several being killed I went to Sillalai and staying with a relation continued treatment at the Packianathan Private Hospital.

When I returned home on 12.11.87 I was informed by my husband that 18 persons including my daughter and father had been killed in the helicopter attack and that 13 bodies had been buried in the St. Mary's burial ground at Kayts on 22.10.87 while 5 bodies had been removed by relations and that one of the injured taken to Moolai had also succumbed to his injuries there and that his dead body had been buried in the Moolai Hospital premises.

On the day of the incident women had raised their hands in appeal and had also raised infants in the air in spite of which the helicopter attacks had continued. On the next day the Sri Lanka state radio announced that boats of terrorists had been attacked by a helicopter of Araly and capsized.



**DANIEL THEVAMATHURAM** (41)

50/2, Poomakal Veethy, Ariyalai, Jaffna.

I am a retired Govt. Servant.

My wife, children and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

My wife Thevamathuram Selvarani age 39 years was the Librarian attached to the Public Library, Chavakachcheri.

Indian Peace Keeping Force was engaged in confrontation with Tamil Militants on 10.10.87 at several points in the Peninsula.

Continuous curfew was imposed in the Peninsula and an announcement was made on the radio to take refugee at prescribed refugee camps.

My family and I sought refuge at the Temple at Kacheri Nallur on 12.10.87 as it was very close to my house.

On 22.10.87 morning my wife, children and I came home to remove some valuables from our house.

At this time a shell lobbed from the IPKF camp at Navatkuli fell on our house and exploded.

Shrapnels from the explosion killed my wife on the spot and injured my son Thevamathuram Sugir Nagendram age 9 years on his left leg.

The dead body of my wife was burnt the same day in our compound itself as tense situation prevailed. It was reported that IPKF was moving into our village.

After cremation I sought refuge at the Kanagaratnam Central College where first aid was given to my injured son.

My house too was damaged in this shell blast.

*D. Thevamathuram*



**GUNARATNAM THIRAVIAM** (30), Old Post Office Road, Chankani.

My late husband Thambithurai Gunaratnam, aged 29 years was employed as driver of a passenger van.

At 6.30 a.m. on 10.10.87 my late husband left in the van for Mullaitivu.

At about 8.00 p.m. on 11.10.87 I was informed by Peryathamby who was employed as the conductor in the van driven by my late husband.

That at about 4.30 p.m. on 11.10.87 when the van driven by my late husband was proceeding towards Nallur to drop some passengers from Mullaitivu the van had been fired at from a helicopter close to the Kailayapillai Temple in Jaffna.

That my husband was hit and killed instantly.



And that the dead body had been handed over at my father-in-law's house at Naval North.

I went to my father-in-law's house on the morning of 12.10.87.

The dead body had injuries on the neck and chest.

The dead body of my husband was cremated at Naval at 1 p.m. the same day.

I have no children.



JESUADIAN SIMION (42), Industrial Estate, Thoppu, Atchuvally.

The deceased person Gnanamani Arulraj, aged 18 years was my sister.

In the absence of our parents who are living in India my sister was living under my care and maintenance.

On 9.10.87 my sister Murugan Sebastiammah was admitted at the Jaffna General Hospital for a birth control operation.

My other sister Gnanamani Arulraj accompanied her.

On 10.10.87 military offensive was launched by the army.

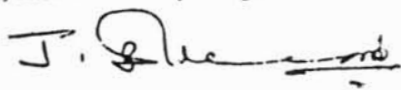
Due to the intense shelling I left Jaffna and went to Kilinochchi as a refugee.

I was informed on 22.11.87 that both my sisters were shot and killed by the army at Inuvil Mission Hospital on 22.10.87.

I learned that they went to the Inuvil Mission Hospital on 10.10.87 from Jaffna General Hospital as the latter hospital was without electricity.

I learned that the body of my sister Gnanamani along with my other sister Sebastiammah was buried inside the Hospital premises.

My sister's husband Arulraj deserted her four years ago.



Mrs. JEYALUXMI SELVARATNAM (58)

39, Vidanes Road, Chudikuli Jaffna.

My husband Thambipillai Selvaratnam age 63 years was a retired Staff Assistant attached to Post and Telecommunication Department.

My husband my unmarried daughter and I were living along with my married daughter in her house at the above said address.

Indian Peace Keeping Force in the Peninsular started firing shells towards the residential areas from 10.10.87.

On 20.10.87 at midnight shells were fired from the IPKF camps at Navatkuli towards our locality.

A shell fired from the above said camp at 0.15 hours fell in front of our house and exploded.

Shrapnel from this explosion struck my husband who had opened the door at that time injuring him on the hips.

The shrapnel which entered through the left hip found exit through the right hip.

He bled profusely and was removed to a Private Nursing Home. He succumbed to his injuries on the way to the Nursing Home.

Cremation took place on following day at 12 noon.



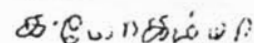
Mrs. KANDIAH YOGAMMAH (Widow) (44), Adiyapatha Veethy, No. 104, Nallur Jaffna.

Due to the IPKF liberation operation started in our area on 10.10.87 we immediately left our house and went to the refugee camp. While we were going on the road close to our house, there was a shell blast close to us, and my husband got a shell attack and he was removed to the Jaffna hospital and died on 13.10.87 in the hospital.

I have two children one is male and the other is female both are attending schools.

My husband Gunasingam Kandiah age 45 years and he was doing farming from the income he was maintaining my self and the two children. Other than his income there is no other source of income to support us.

Now we are undergoing severe hardships throughout.



Mrs. LEDCHUMIPILLAI KIDNAR (70) Valalai, Atchuvally.

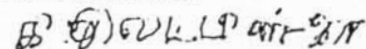
On 10.10.87 at about 11 a.m. when my late husband was standing in the court-yard of the house, a shell fell on the compound and blasted.

Shrapnels darting from the explosion struck him causing injuries on his right leg and right thigh.

He was attended to at the Thangam Dispensary Atchuvally from where he continued to receive treatment till he succumbed to his injuries on 3.1.88.

The funeral took place on 4.1.88 and the body was cremated at the Arasan Kaladdy crematorium.

My husband was 79 years old at the time of his demise.



NALLAMMAH SATHASIVAM (48)

3, Victoria Road, Jaffna.

My late husband Sinniah Sathasivam aged 49 years was a petty trader and had a stall in the Jaffna Town market.

From 10.10.87 the day confrontation between the IPKF and LTTE commenced there was fear and tension in the Jaffna Town and my late husband did not go to attend to his business from that day.

On 24.10.87 at about 2 p.m. when my husband was in the front section of our house continuous sounds of firing was heard.

When I went to the spot after the sounds of firing had ceased I found my husband fallen in a pool of blood.

Though he was conscious and groaning I could not remove him to the Jaffna hospital due to the presence of large numbers of Indian Servicemen on road.

As my husband was moved into the house he succumbed to his injuries.

He had a bullet injury on the right chest with an exit wound on his back.

Some others were also killed on Victoria Road on this day.

Due to the Violence that continued it was only on 26.10.87 that it was possible to remove his body for cremation at the Thundi cemetery with the approval of the IPKF.

I have two daughters aged 23 and 29 years and a son aged 17 who is a dumb. I have lost my husband our breadwinner.





**RAJESWARY SUNTHARALINGAM** (43), widow of Manikam Suntharalingam (43), Navindil, Karaveddy.

I am a housewife.

On 1st October 1987, my husband left home at about 4 p.m. in order to visit his mother who was residing at Alvai.

During this period, there was intermittent shelling coming from the direction of the Army Camp, Manthikai.

About 6 p.m. some member of the public brought home in a car my husband with bleeding injuries all over his body.

**I was informed that a shell lobbed from the Army Camp, Manthikai fell on the side of the road near my husband and exploded, causing serious injuries. My husband was returning home at the time of the incident.**

**Before admission to the hospital my husband succumbed to his injuries.**

My husband's body was cremated at the Karahavai North, crematorium on the 2nd of October 1987, after all funeral rites were performed.

**I have 3 dependent children aged 14 yrs, 9 yrs, and 7 yrs.**

**I have lost the only bread winner in my family.**

I have not yet received my pension.

*S. Rajeswary*

**RASIAH ARULNANTHINI** aged (13) Bharathy Lane, Off K.K.S. Road, Kondavil East, Kondavil.

The deceased person Rasiah Parasothy, aged 35 years was my mother.

My father left us and re-married two months ago.

At the moment we are living under the maintenance and care of my grandmother being my father's mother.

**On 10.10.87 a shell fell inside the kitchen and exploded.**

**My mother who was inside the kitchen at that time died on the spot.**

Her body was cremated at Karaikal Cemetery on the following day.

**I am the eldest child of our family and have three brothers and a sister.**

We are undergoing untold hardships.

Our aged grandmother who is looking after us does not have any income and struggling to maintain our large family.

Our father after his re-marriage does not contribute any money towards our maintenance.

*தி ராசியார் அருள்நாந்தினி*

**Mrs. RATNANAYAKI KATHIRAVELU** (52), 49/1, Kankesanthurai Road, Jaffna.

**I am the widow of the late Nagarajah Kathiravelu who died of starvation and dehydration when he was locked up in a room of the building into which the IPKF suddenly moved in for occupation on or about 10.10.87.**

My husband was a watcher attached to the stores housed at Kaithady of SAMACON, an engineering and contracting firm.

As my husband failed to turn up home for a long time I became disturbed. I was under the impression he would have taken refuge somewhere due to the prevailing military activities.

On or about 15.10.87 when the situation eased, my brother in law N. Loganathan visited my husband's work place at Kaithady but he was not found there.

On 22.12.87, Mr. Pavalanathan, an employee of SAMACON informed me that my husband was found lying unconscious in a room which was locked up and was forced open and that he had been admitted at the Teaching Hospital, Jaffna.

He died at the Hospital on 24.12.87.

The funeral took place on 25.12.87 and his body was cremated at the Viloondi Crematorium.

**I and my two children are now left without any support or financial assistance to maintain ourselves and for the upkeep of the family.**

**My 20 year old son, K. Sureshkumar is a polio-victim and he cannot walk. He moves about in a hand operated tri-cycle donated by the Jaffna Rotarians.**

**My 14 years old daughter is a student.**

I do not own a house or land and have no savings or financial resources to fall back upon.

*R. Kathiravel*



**REGNO MARIUS MAGRIS GOMEZ SHIRLEY** (22) 61, Our Lady of Miracle, Jaffna

The deceased person Thomas Neil Gomez Regno Marius Magris Gomez aged 26 years was my husband.

He was an employee of the Jaffna Municipal Council.

**On 10.10.87 at about 2.00 p.m. a shell launched by the Army fell inside our rented house and exploded.**

My husband sustained serious injuries and was rushed to the Jaffna General Hospital.

**He succumbed to his injuries at about 11.05 p.m.**

His body was entombed at St. Marys Church burial grounds on 12.10.87.

I have an infant son named Radley Charran aged 10 months.

After my husband's death I do not have any income and undergoing untold hardships.

*Shirley Gomez*





#### பெருவெள்ளம்

பற்றை வெட்டிப் பண்படுத்தி  
வாய்க்கால் வெட்டி  
வரம்பு கட்டி  
தண்ணீர் பாய்ச்சிச் சேர்த்து  
பசியோடு முளையெறிந்து  
பக்குவமாய் பயிராக்கி  
களையெடுத்துப் பசுளையிட்டு  
வேலிகட்டிக் காவலிருந்து  
விளைவெடுக்கும் வேளையிலே  
பாய்ந்து வந்த பெருவெள்ளம்  
பாழடித்தது  
பசித்திருந்த வயிறுகள்  
பற்றியெரிந்தன.  
காத்திருந்த கண்கள்  
நெருப்புதிர்ந்தன.  
— ஜீவன்





# **AFFIDAVIT**

Mrs. ROHINI NITHIYANANTHEESWARAN (21)  
Kerniyady Lane, Thirunelvely East, Thirunelvely.

My husband Thambiah Nithiyanantheeswaran age 27 years was a trader.

My husband, children and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

**Violence erupted in Jaffna on 10.10.87 Indian Peace Keeping Force confronted with the militants in several places in the Peninsula.**

**On 16.10.87 I was forced to fled from my house with my husband and children as shells lobbed at random from the IPKF camp at Kondavil Sri-Lanka Transport Board Depot fell in our locality.**

We took our valuables worths Rs 30,000/- in a suitcase and loaded in the van Rs 40,000/- cash was in my husband's possession at that time.

As there was very little fuel for our van my husband, the driver and two others left in our van to collect diesel oil.

They failed to return home for 3 days. I could not go out in search of him due to army atrocities in the area.

My cousin S. Ganeswaran who came home on 19.10.87 informed that my husband, the driver and the two others who accompanied them had been shot dead by IPKF personnel at Thirunelvely junction and the dead bodies burnt by them.

Our mini-van 40 Sri 3089 ELF which was badly damaged was removed by me from the IPKF camp at PunnalaiKadduwan on 3.1.88 damage estimated to Rs 25,000/-.

I have two daughters aged 5 and 3 years.

I am a young widow having lost all my savings and my husband the sole bread winner of our family.

*[Handwritten signature]*

SEBASTIRE XAVIER (63)  
9/3, 4th Cross Street, Gurunagar

I am a Fisherman.

**On 10.10.87 there was heavy shelling from Jaffna Fort Army camp the Indian Peace Keeping Force towards our residential area.**

Through fear I left home with my wife and daughter Imelda and 4 p.m. to St. Patricks College Jaffna and sought refuge there.

On 12.10.87 we took refuge in St. Mary's church and on shells falling in the church compound we moved Columbuthurai Central College on 13.10.87.

On getting to know that the Indian Peace Keeping Force was advancing and firing shells we then moved to Chundikuli Girls College on 16.10.87.

**On 20.10.87 while we were remaining in the above College a shell fired by the Indian Peace Keeping Force in adjoining room and exploded killing 3 of the refugees on the spot and injuring 15 others.**

The same night through fear I fled with my family and on to St. Mary's Cathedral shell falling in the Cathedral camp and we moved to Nallur Kandasamy temple on 21.10.87.

On 22.10.87 about 70 refugees including members of my family decided to go to Saravanai and proceeded in a lorry to Araly Jetty arriving there at about 8. a.m. where we arranged 4 boats.

When the boats were approaching the Saravanai at about 9 a.m. a Helicopter was seen hovering over the Jetty.

Suddenly the helicopter came very low and opened fire on boats which we were travelling and the firing went on for about one hour killing 12 innocent civilians including my wife Xavier Salamai (59) and grand-daughter Sulogini on the spot and injuring me on the chin.

When the helicopter left the area all 12 dead bodies including the dead body of my wife were taken Kayts cemetery buried at 6.30 p.m. the same day.

I was removed to Kayts Civil Hospital in a tractor and after the medical attention I was brought to Moolai Hospital the same day.

After being warded for 7 days and as there was continuous shell firing on the Moolai Hospital area I got myself discharged from the Moolai Hospital on 2.11.87 and came to Sillalai.

After being refugee for 4 days I went to Mandaitivu and from there I returned to my house at Gurunagar on 11.11.87.

The injury on my chin has not healed yet.

*[Handwritten signature]*

SEGU FARID ABDUL LATIFF BISRUL KAREEMA (27), 45 A.P.  
Lane, Moor Street, Jaffna.

The deceased Segu Farid Abdul Latiff aged 26 years was my husband.

He was working as a Salesman at a shop in Jaffna.

Due to the military offensive which started on 10.10.87 we went to my father place at Chavakachcheri on 20.10.87 with our infant child.

**On 27.10.87 at about 12.20 p.m. shell fired from a helicopter fell wide the house where we stayed and exploded injury my husband seriously.**

**He died three hours later on the same day.**

**I have a one year old daughter named A.L. Sarvana.**

I went to Minuvangoda with my mother and sister as refugees after my husband death to observe "Ithatha" there.

During our stay at Minuvangoda our hosue at Jaffna was looted and as a result I have sustained losses amounting to Rs. 35,000/-

My child and I have been deprived of the maintenance and support we received from my husband.

*[Handwritten signature]*

SELLATHURAI POOMATHEVI (20)  
Parathipuram, Kalasalai Road, Thirunelveli, Jaffna.

My late mother Sellathurai Subathirai aged 47 years was a widow having lost her husband 12 years ago.

There were constant sounds of firing and bomb blasts in our vicinity on the night of 10.10.87.

Fearing to remain at home accompanied by my mother and sister I fled to Puttur on 11.10.87 and having stayed there with a relative we went to the Madduvil Pandithalachchi Amman temple as refugees on 20.1.87.

We returned home on 1.11.87.

**On 4.11.87 being informed that IPKF were distributing food at the Thirunelveli junction accompanied by my mother I was proceeding towards the Thirunelveli junction.**

**As we got on to the Adlatham road my mother was hit by gunfire emanating from the direction of the Thirunelveli junction.**

**My mother fell on the ground with a gun shot injury on her stomach.**

She was rushed to the Abirami Clinic closeby where she was given first aid.

My mother succumbed to her injuries at about 12 noon the same day when being removed by bullock cart the Jaffna General Hospital.

My mothers dead body was cremated at 5 p.m. the same day at the Thirunelveli crematorium.

I and my sister Selvamalar are orphaned and unmarried.

I have one brother Balakrishnan who is a refugee in Germany.





The deceased are my father, Ilagupillai Sivagnanasundarampillai (65) my mother Sivagnanasundarampillai Sivapakiam (59) and my brother Sivagnanasundarampillai Sivaharan (32) a mechanic at Yarl Metal.

From 10.10.87 there were continuous IPKF movements along the Palali Road. On 16.10.87 I left home at about 4 p.m. for Vasavilan South to buy some milk.

On my return, a little distance away from our house, I was informed that IPKF had entered our house at 5 p.m. that day.

That continuous sounds of firing was heard from our house for some time.

Due to fear I did not go to our house that day.

Due to the indefinite curfew which was in force and as there were constant troop movements and firing in the area I could not go to our house till 25.10.87.

When I went to our house on 25.10.87 accompanied by some relatives I found my father Sivagnanasundarampillai, my mother Sivapakiam and my brother Sivaharan dead.

Their bodies were in a highly decomposed state.

With difficulty we collected the bodies and burnt them in our compound.

On the way we had seen four other dead bodies one of which was that of a woman on the road which were all in a highly decomposed state and beyond identification and being attacked by dogs and crows.

*S. Swanesu*



SOOSAIPILLAI ALPHONSUS (45)

51/2 Water Tank Road, Gurunagar, Jaffna.

My deceased daughter Alphonsus Amutha was 18 years of age.

From about 2.00 p.m. on 10.10.87 our locality was subjected to heavy shelling from the Jaffna Fort.

Fearing to remain at home, accompanied by my wife and children I fled to the St. Rock Cathedral situated at Beach Road, Gurunagar for refuge.

At about 8.30 a.m. on 12.10.87 when all of us were at the School adjoining the Cathedral my daughter Amutha standing near the entrance of a class room was hit by a shell which fell and burst close by causing a gaping injury on her stomach.

She was rushed immediately in a vehicle to the Holy Cross Hospital on Beach Road.

My daughter succumbed to her injuries at 10.30 a.m. the same day.

My daughter's body was buried at the St. Patrick's burial grounds at 2.30 p.m. the same day.

*S. Swanesu*



SUPPIAH SELLAMMAH (56), Kampanai, Tellipallai.

I am the mother of Suppiah Vishnu Mohan aged 19 years.

My late son Vishnu Mohan was employed in a factory turning out buckets and earned Rs. 600/- per month.

I was living in a rented house situated at the Kankesanthurai Road, Tellipallai.

On the night of 10.10.87 militant had attacked an IPKF truck on the Kankesanthurai Road at the point about half a kilometre away from our house.

At about 3 p.m. on 11.10.87 IPKF personnel moved along the Kankesanthurai Road firing at random.

**While we all fled to the rear of our home my son Vishnu Mohan who was behind us was hit by a bullet in the chest and was killed instantaneously.**

Due to curfew enforced from that day my son's dead body was buried in the Catholic Burial grounds close by on 12.10.87.

My husband deserted me in 1980.

I have one unmarried daughter aged 23 years.

Having lost the support and assistance of my son Vishnu Mohan I face grave hardships and appeal for assistance.

*S. Swanesu*



THILAGAVATHY SATHASIVAM (55) 58/2 Palaly Road, Kondavil.

The deceased Ramupillai Kanapathipillai, aged 85 years was my father. He was residing with us until the death took him away.

**Due to the October 1987 military offensive I sought refugee at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple with my husband and children on 10.10.87.**

My father who is very old was left behind at our residence as it was found difficult to take him along with us.

We used to take food for him daily.

On 14.10.87 my husband who took food for my father came and informed me that my father was injured on his leg when a shell exploded near our house.

My husband managed to bring my father to the Nallur Temple with the help of my relatives.

With the intention of going to Nainathievu we proceeded to Araly jetty carrying my father along with us.

**Due to the attack of passengers at Araly jetty we decided not to proceed further and stayed at Araly itself.**

**After the military offensive waned and the situation eased we returned to our residence.**

**My father expired on 10.12.1987.**

His cremation took place of Kondavil Cemetery on 12.12.87.

*S. Swanesu*



URUTHIRAN LALITHAMANI (18)

Arasady Road, Kondavil East, Kondavil.

My husband Gopalapillai Uruthiran age 24 years was a Labourer attached to the General Hospital, Jaffna.

My husband and I were living in our own house at the above said address prior to 10.10.87.

Shelling and firing from the Indian Peace Keeping Force camps in the Peninsula towards the residential areas started on 10.10.87 and hence through fear, my husband took me subsequently to his working Place-General Hospital, Jaffna and I remained there in a room.

**On 21.10.87 the IPKF entered the General Hospital, Jaffna and gunned down the innated including patients and Hospital staff.**

**My husband too was shot and killed on 21.10.87 by the IPKF when he was signed in official duties.**

**About 137 innocent people were killed on this date inside the General Hospital, Jaffna.**

The dead body of my husband along with other dead bodies were burnt after 3 days by the IPKF in the Hospital compound.

பெலிசேர் சேபமலா



VELICHORE SEBAMALAI (75)

20, Water Tank, Veethy Gurunagar, Jaffna.

I am a Painter.

My wife Sebamalai Arulammah aged 60 years, son Soosainathan and I are living with my married daughter Mrs. P. Mariyakorathy at the above said address.

The Indian Peace Keeping Force launched its military operations from 10.10.87 in and around our area.

Through fear my wife, children and I fled to St. Patrick's College, Jaffna and took shelter on 10.10.87.

While we were remaining in the above school premises along with a good number of refugees sound of explosions and gun-shots were heard closeby.

At about 3 p.m suddenly one such shell fired by the IPKF personnel fell into the school compound, near by wife Arulammah and exploded.

Shrapnel from the exploding shell struck my wife on the back of her head.

She bled profusely and fell down.

When the shell fire ceased she was removed to a private Practitioner Sellathurai who attended to her immediately.

I could not take her to the Jaffna General Hospital due to the continuous shelling in our area.

When my wife was under treatment in the above Privat Medical Home she succumbed to her injury at midnight 1.30 a.m on 22.10.87.

Burial took place at St. Mary's Burial Ground on 22.10.87 at 12.00 noon.

பெலிசேர் சேபமலா



Mrs. VIMALARAJAH POOMATHEVY (27)

Campus Lane, Kokuvil.

My husband, children, my unmarried sister Sellar Chandrakili age 34 years and I were living in our own house.

On 10.10.87 night Indian Peace Keeping Force Personnel were air dropped in the Jaffna campus premises.

People living around the campus fled to safer places.

My other family members and I too fled to Saratha Mahavidyalaya situated close by.

My sister Chandrakili refused to join us and remained at home.

On 2.11.87 when the situation improved, I returned home with my wife and children and found the burnt remains of a person inside the house. The National Identity Card and clothes of my sister were found close to this spot.

We were informed by our neighbours who called at home on their return on 2.11.87 that my sister Chandrakili had been shot and killed by the IPKF and that her dead body had been burnt by them with assistance of some people taken into custody in the area.

My sister Chandrakili who had returned from London had a lot of savings-jewelleries and other items.

All her belongings were robbed.

Mrs. YOGESWARY LIGUORY (35)

5, First Cross Street,

Gurunagar, Jaffna.

I am a Widow, having lost my husband Aloysius Liguory a Fisherman on 10.6.86 when the Sri-Lankan Army opened fire killing 30 fishermen including my husband engaged in fishing at Manaitivu.

My only son Liguory Rons aged 15 years two daughters aged 11 and 3 and I were living at the above said address.

On 10.10.87 the Indian Peace Keeping Force in occupation of the Jaffna Fort Army camp were engaged firing shells and gun-shots towards our area.

In panic my children and I fled to Colombuthurai at 4.30 p.m. and sought refuge.

On 13.10.87 at Colombuthurai shells started falling and through fear immediately I left to Pallikudah with my children by boat and found shelter there.

As my son Liguory Rons fell ill, I sent him with my sister Theresammah and brother-in-law in a fishing boat to Gurunagar on 15.10.87 to consult a Physician. They were accompanied by other relations of this trip.

On 17.10.87 to my surprise I received the shocking news that my son Liguory Rons, sister Theresammah and two other relations had been killed by helicopter fire on 15.10.87 when they were approaching the Gurunagar Jetty.

On receipt of this message I proceeded to Gurunagar cemetery on 16.10.87 at 2 p.m.

I was informed that my deceased son Rons had received gun shot injuries on the back of his head and abdomen.

யோகேஸ்வரி லிகுரி





# **AFFIDAVIT**

**ANNAPILLAI** widow of Rajasingham Chelliah (77), Kalaimahal Veethy, Thyiddy, Kankesanthurai.

The deceased are my daughter and grandson; (i) Daughter : Padmini Kanthakumaran (40). (ii) Grandson : Kanthakumaran Jeevith (6).

We were living at No 8 Clock Tower Road, Jaffna. On 11.11.87 there was shelling and shooting in our area. We took refuge at Nallur Temple.

On 21.10.87 my deceased daughter and grandson went to clock Tower road house from Nallur to cook food.

While they were there, they received gunshot injuries and died there.

I was worried as they did not return to the temple in the evening. I was told that a number of people around clock tower road died.

I could not go there immediately. I went there when the curfew was relaxed.

I found the decomposed bodies of my daughter and grandson. The bodies were burnt on 11.11.87.

*A. Chelliah*



**ARIYARATNAM THANGAMMAH** (62), Hospital Road, Chankanai East, Chankanai.

The deceased Ariyaratnam Thavarajah, aged 21 years was my son.

He was a Farm Labourer.

During October 1987 I was warded at the Jaffna General Hospital for an eye operation.

On 11.10.87 I was informed that my son was killed during a shell blast while working in a farm on 10.10.87.

I was also informed that his cremation took place at Vilavelli Cemetery on 10.10.87.

My husband is affected by paralysis and bedridden.

I have three daughters.

It was my late son who maintained and supported our family with the income.

After his demise we do not have any income and undergoing untold hardships.

*அ. சிவசுந்தரம்*



**KARTHIGESU THAVAKUMARAN** (37), Thurgai Amman Kovilady, Tellipalai.

The deceased Thavakumaran Prabakaran aged, 12 years was my son.

He was student of Saivapragasa Vidyalaya.

My son used to sleep in a madam near the Thurgai Amman Temple, as he was a member of the Hindu Youth Sangham run by the Temple authorities.

On 11.10.87 at about 7.00 p.m. he went as usual to the madam to spend the night.

At about 1.00 p.m. I was informed that my son was seriously injured when the madam was damaged by shell blast.

I also learned that he was taken to the Co-operative Hospital, Tellipalai immediately.

I rushed to the hospital and found my son in an unconscious state with a serious injury on the head.

He died without regaining his consciousness.

His cremation took place at Tellipalai cemetery on 12.10.87.

I have two surviving children.

*க. சிவசுந்தரம்*

**KATHIRAVELU SELVARASA** (25), Kopay.

My son the late Selvarasa Selvaruban died on the 11th day of October 1987 due to shelling by the army.

I had to meet his funeral rites having obtained loans from others.

I am not in a position to settle the debt as I am out of billet at present.

*ச. சிவசுந்தரம்*



**MARKANDU NESAM** (45), Market Lane, Tellipalai.

The deceased Nagamuthu Markandu, aged 48 years was my husband.

He was a casual labourer.

My husband was affected by paralysis and was bedridden for the last two and a half years.

On 11.10.87 the army was pounding our area with artillery and mortar shells.

At about 7.00 p.m. I fled from our house carrying my invalid husband with the help of my daughter and another woman.

Before we could proceed any further a shell fell near us and exploded spraying deadly shrapnels in all directions.

My husband was struck by shrapnel on his right leg and was bleeding profusely.

I was also injured during the blast.

We managed to take my injured husband to a house little distance from ours.

We could not get proper medical assistance immediately for my husband due to the situation prevailed during that period.

He expired on 20.12.87 despite the treatment given to him.

The cremation took place at Tellipalai cemetery on 20.12.87.

I have three children.

We do not have any income after my husband's death.

*Mrs M Nesam*



**RASATHURAI RASAPOOPATHY** (33), Sabapathypillay Veethy, Chunakam South, Chunakam.

The deceased Sinnatti Rasathurai, aged 43 years was my husband.

He was employed as a driver.

On 11.10.87 at about 6 a.m. a shell fell and exploded in our backyard spraying deadly shrapnels in all direction.

My husband was struck by the shrapnels and sustained injuries on his abdomen.

Immediately removed him to Manipay where he was treated by a private practitioner.

On 17.10.87 he was admitted at the Co-operative hospital Moolai.

He was discharged on 19.10.87 due to the tense situation at Moolai area.

He died on 21.2.88 despite the treatments given to him.

His cremation took place at Poovadai cemetery on 22.08.88.

I have four children.

My children and I have been deprived of the maintenance and support we received from my husband.

We do not have any income and undergoing untold hardships.

*இ. இராசசுந்தரம்*

**SANGARAPILLAI THILLIAMPALAM**, a widower, aged 67 years, 392 Navalar road, Kailasapillaiyare Kovilady, Jaffna.

I am a Government pensioner.

I was residing at the above address with my son T. Kathirgamadas, aged 32 years, daughter Mrs. Bavani Yoganathan, aged 29 years, son in law S.P. Yoganathan, aged 35 years, 2 grand sons aged 3 1/2 and 2 years and uncle N. Pasupathi a bachelor, aged 79 years.

On 11.10.87 the IPKF personnel stationed Jaffna Fort Army Camp launched an attack by firing shells and sophisticated guns in Jaffna and its suburbs.

On 11.10.87 at about 5.00 p.m. due to the heavy shell fire in our area all of us including my cousin Mrs. S. Sinnammah, nephew S. Maheswarakumar, and niece Miss. S. Nirmaladevi who took refuge in my house took shelter by lying flat on the floor of our house.

At this time three shells fired by the IPKF fell on our house and exploded with a terrible sound.

As a result of the shell explosion my son in law Yoganathan, uncle Pasupathi, cousin Mrs. Sinnammah and niece Nirmaladevi were killed instantaneously.

My son Kathirgamadas, daughter Mrs. Bavani Yoganathan and nephew Maheswarakumar received serious injuries.

My 2 little grand sons Ramanan and Ratheepan were also badly injured.

All the bodies of the dead and injured persons were removed by me to the General Hospital, Jaffna, with the assistance of some neighbours in a van at 7.00 p.m. when the shell attack ceased.

All injured were admitted to ward No.5 and 12 and subjected to surgery and the dead bodies were removed to the above hospital mortuary.

My son Kathirgamadas, daughter Bavani and nephew Maheswarakumar succumbed to their injuries the same day (11.10.87).

All the seven dead bodies were released and brought home on 12.10.87 after Post-Mortem and inquest.

Mass cremation of all the 7 bodies of the dead was held at Thundi cemetery on 13.10.87 at 11.00 a.m. In this incident my house too had been badly damaged.

The cruel and brutal acts of IPKF and unmerciful murder committed of my son, daughter and son in law has made my two grandsons orphans and this has forced me to carry the burden of looking after grandsons at this old age.



**MRS. SATHIYAWATHY NALLIAH** (51) Kalaimani Lane, Kaddaipirai, Kopay South, Kopay.

The deceased Thambiah Nalliah (70) is my husband. He was a Farmer.

On 11.10.87 at about 9 a.m. when my husband was seated on the front verandah of the house having his breakfast a mortar shell fired by the IPKF struck a coconut plant in the front compound and exploded.

Fragments from the exploding shell struck my husband on the neck just below the ear and he fell dead on the spot.

As there was continuous shelling on the area the dead body of my husband was cremated in a vacant piece of land close to my house.

My husband leaves behind myself and 3 sons aged 26 years, 23 years, 21 years of whom none are employed. We were entirely dependent on him.

My 3 sons are unable to engage in farming or any form of occupation as they run the risk of being arrested and held in detention by the IPKF.

*Handwritten signature*

**SATHIYANANEE**

Thirunelveli South, Campus 3rd Lane.

Molder of N.I.C. No. 3678222 Ov

My husband died in 1976.

After the death of my husband, I was living with my father Murugesu Sellappathurai (78) at the address given above.

On 11.10.87 there was shelling in our area, my children and I left our house and took refuge at Nallur temple.

My father did not want to leave the house saying that somebody must remain in the house.

On 22.10.87, my father received a gunshot injury while he was in the compound.

I could not go there immediately as the army was around the place.

When the situation eased, I went there and found decomposed body in the compound.

I cremated the body in the same spot.

I attach a copy of the death certificate No. 411.

Cause of death is given as Death due to profuse bleeding from injury caused by gun shot.

I am a widow with two children.

I was depending on my father after the death of my husband.

I have no means of living. Funeral expenses and other religious expenses were met by me. No one will oppose me to taking the money from the Government for the funeral expenses as my father was living with me.

*Handwritten signature*



**SELVARATNAM POORANAM** (45) Theatre Lane, Inuvil East, Inuvil.

The deceased Thambo Vairamuthu, (65) years was my father.

He was living with me until he met his tragic end.

On 11.10.87 we left our house and took refuge at the Sivagamiamman temple Inuvil due to the intermittent shelling by the army.

My father refused to accompany us and opted to stay at home.

After hearing that our house was shelled my husband went there.

He came and informed me that my father was found dead at our house with shell injuries.

His body was cremated at the Poovodai cemetery Inuvil on the same day.

*Handwritten signature*



**SELLAR ELIYATHAMBY**, born 1916-06-04, 1244 V, Variapulam, Chunakam.

I am the father of Eliyathamby Chandrakumar (24) who died on 11.10.87.

On 11.10.87 at about 5.00 p.m. my son went to the house of one Kumarasamy a neighbour to meet and speak to him about some business.

While my son was talking to Kumarasamy in the front compound of his house, a shell fell and exploded near the two of them.

Both my son and Kumarasamy were mutilated by the exploding shell.

My son's body was cremated the same night.

My wife and I were dependent on this son.  
I have two other children a boy and a girl, both married.  
My late son, a bachelor, was a Technician engaged in repairing Video decks etc.  
He used to earn about Rs.1,000/- a month and support me and my wife.

சி. பழனிவேல்



**SINNAPODIAN KANTHAN (65)**, Koilakandi, Kalthadi.  
The deceased Kanthan Markandu, aged 39 years.  
He was employed as a painter at the Jaffna General Hospital being a attached to the buildings department.  
My son left home on 11.10.87 at about 6 a.m. to his worksite at the hospital premises.  
He did not return home afterwards.  
As it was his practice for many days to stay continuously at his worksite I did not launch a search for him.  
Only after the 21.10.87 incident at the Jaffna General Hospital which resulted in a carnage I started to worry about his fate.  
Later I was informed that he was killed caught in the exchange of cross fire during the battle between the IPKF and the militants.  
I also came to know that his body was cremated inside the hospital compound immediately after his death.  
I have two daughters at home, one of them is unmarried and the other married but deserted by her husband ten years ago and is a mother of three children.  
It was my late son who maintained and supported our family.  
After his death we do not have any income.

சி. பழனிவேல்



**SUPPIAH SIVARAJAH (49)** Manjathadi, Kondavil West, Kondavil.  
The deceased person Kanthar Suppiah, aged 80 years was my father.  
He was a Farmer.  
Due to the intensive shelling we fled from our house and went to Chavakachcheri on 9.10.87.  
As my father was old and weak he opted to stay at home.  
About fifteen days later I was informed that my father was shot and killed by the army while he was inside our house on 16.10.87.  
I learned that his body was cremated by my uncle who discovered the body.  
My father was living under my care and maintenance until his death.  
My mother is living with me.  
My mother who is living with me is old and partially blind.

சி. பழனிவேல்



**VAIRAVAPILLAI THIRUNAVUKARASU (55)**, Karuhampanai, Keerimalai.  
The deceased Thirunavukarasu Sureshkumar, aged 16 years was my son.  
He was a student.  
On 11.10.87 at about 8 a.m. my son left home to attend a tuition class at Ambanai Tellippallai.

At about 10 a.m. I was informed that my son was shot and killed by the army at Ambanai.

His body was brought home immediately.

His cremation took place at Kopilavadai Cemetery at Tellippallai West on the same day itself.

I have 5 surviving children.

சி. பழனிவேல்



**Mrs. ALAGAMMAH SIVATHARMAM (47)**  
Urumpirai West, Urumpirai.

On 12.10.87 my husband Kandiah Sivatharmam (45) and son Sivatharmam Nirmalan (12) left home to attend to some work in our farm situated along Manipay Road.

At about 1.30 p.m when it was rumoured that the Indian Peace Keeping Force was approaching Urumpirai and gun fire was heard, I sought shelter with my other children at the Kandasamy temple.

While at the temple I came to know from refugees who sought shelter subsequently that my son S. Nirmalan had been shot by the IPKF and injured.

A little later I was informed that my husband had been taken away by IPKF when they left the area.

When I returned home around 4 p.m. when tension subsided I was informed that my son Nirmalan had succumbed to his injuries and that my husband had been shot dead.

Eye witnesses to this incident reported that my son was first shot at by IPKF personnel and injured and that he had succumbed to his injuries in a short while.

They also reported that IPKF who had taken into custody my husband Kathiran Apputhurai and Sinnathamby a labourer who was working under Apputhurai took away with them all three persons with the hands behind their backs.

When a search was made for the 3 persons after the IPKF had left the area K. Apputhurai was found injured with gun shot injuries and my husband and Sinnathamby dead about a quarter of a mile away.

The dead body of my husband bore gun shot injuries and it was evident that he had been shot dead by IPKF.

The dead bodies of my son Nirmalan and husband were brought home the same evening and cremated on 13.10.87 at Vemban cemetery.

My husband leaves behind myself and 7 other children of whom 6 are daughters and a son.

My husband was a farmer and to supplement his meagre earnings he did a retail trade in vegetables at the Urumpirai Market.

My children and I were entirely dependent on my husband's earnings.

சி. பழனிவேல்



**APPIAH RATNASINGHAN (44)**, 161/8 3rd Lane, Arasady Road, Nallur, Jaffna.

I am an employee at the Cement Corporation, Kankesanthurai.

On 12.10.87 at about 2.30 a.m. a shell crashed through our roof and exploded inside.

My daughter Sathiyabama aged 14 years was killed instantaneously after being struck by shrapnels.

I sustained multiple injuries and lost consciousness.



Only after 4 days I regained my consciousness and found myself at the General Hospital, Jaffna.

I sustained injuries on my scalp, compound fracture of my left upper arm and fracture of my right leg below the knee.

Skin grafting was done for my leg on 15.11.87.

I suffer from wrist drop of my left hand and also radial nerve palsy.

I am unable to do any work with my left hand as a result of the injury.

I suffer from loss of sight on my left eye as a result of my head injury.

I am unable to walk properly and find it difficult to walk any considerable distance.

I was initially warded at the Hospital from 12.10.87 to 15.11.87.

I was admitted at the Hospital several times after my initial discharge for complication.

**I am unable to work as before due to the injuries I sustained during the shell blast.**

A. Ratnesingam

GANESHAN PARAMESWARY (44) 19, Malarmagal Veethy, Ariyalai, Jaffna.

The deceased Ganeshan Mahendran, aged 21 years was my son.

On 12.10.87 at about 7 a.m. my son left home saying that he is going to Thirunelvely.

**At about 9 a.m. I was informed that my son was shot and killed by the army at Thirunelvely.**

His body was brought home amidst great difficulty at about 3 p.m. on the same day.

His body was cremated at the Thundi Cemetery on 13.10.87.

**I have two daughters and a son.**

My husband is an invalid and unemployed.

க. ப. ரத்னசிங்கம்

JAMALDEEN MUBEEN No. 54/21, Aththisoody Lane, Kandarmadam, Jaffna.

Myself and my cousin brother Shahul Hameed Musathic aged 20 came from Vidathaltheevu to Jaffna for the purpose of studying in the University of Jaffna. I joined the University on 6th August 1986 and my cousin-brother the said Musathic joined the University on 12th September 1987.

**On 12.10.87 during the IPKF Operation took place at Kokuvil area while shooting and shelling, a gun shot attacked the said Musathic and he died at the spot and his body was buried according to Muslim Religion at the Sinnappalivasalady burial ground, Jaffna.**

As his parents are at Vidathaltheevu and unable to come due to their old age I am affirming this declaration on his behalf and request the authority concerned to have sympathy on the dead person and to grant relief and redress to his parents who are residing at Ward No. 10, Vidathaltheevu, Mannar.

ச. முத்து

KUNDIAH SATCHITHANANTHAN (36) Station Road, Kondavil.

My father-in-law Sellappa Veerasingam (70) and was residing with me at the above address. My mother-in-law Mrs. Sivagnanam Veerasingam too is residing. She is under my care and protection.

On 12.10.87 at about 5 p.m on the Indian Peace Keeping Force approaching our residential firing mortar shells and sophisticated weapons I was forced to flee from home with my wife, children and mother-in-law.

My father-in-law S. Veerasingam however preferred to remain behind to look after our property.

My wife, children, mother-in-law and I stayed for the night with relations in their house situated 2 mile away.

**As it was found that the IPKF had moved out of the area the following morning, I returned home at about 7 a.m and found my father-in-law's dead body lying close to the gate.**

**The dead body of my father-in-law bore entry and exit bullet wounds on either side of the waist. It also had also cut injury on the left upper arm.**

The cremation took place at about 12 noon on 13.10.87.

3 others too had been shot dead similarly in this area on 12.10.87.

க. ப. ரத்னசிங்கம்

Mrs. LALITHA EDWARD SYLVESTER (35), Pechi Amman Kovilady, Point Pedro.

I am the widow of the deceased Michael Edward Sylvester who was shot dead by the Indian Forces on 12.10.87.

My husband Michael Edward Sylvester left home on 11.10.87 to visit his elder brother at Kankesanthurai.

**On 12.10.87 at about 10.00 a.m. when he was in his brothers house Indian Army personnel came into the house and took him out on the road.**

**He was made to stand on the road opposite the house and was fired at from point blank range.**

**He received severe gun shot injuries on his chest and fell dead on the spot.**

His body was buried at the Oorani Cemetery Kankesanthurai on 15.11.87.

My husband was 35 years old and was a businessman who earned an average monthly income of Rs. 1,500/-

Since my husband's death I and my child have been left with no financial assistance or support for our maintenance and existence.

ம. லலிதா

MAILVAGANAM SINNAPILLAI, (70), AGA Office Lane, Chunnakam.

The deceased person Mailvaganam Thanabalasingham, aged 43 years a bachelor was my son.

He was a casual labourer and was living with me in the house of my daughter Sivapragasam Thavamany.

**On 12.10.87 at about 6 a.m. a shell fell on our house and exploded.**

**My son was killed instantaneously after being struck by the shrapnels.**

Fearing further shelling we left the house and sought refuge at various temple.

My daughter's son-in-law returned to our house after seven days and cremated his body in a nearby field.

**O**n July 29, 1987 the prime minister of India and the President of Sri Lanka signed a historic accord. An accord which envisaged an end to hostilities between the Sri Lankan government and the local Tamil guerilla groups. An accord which sought to establish an interim government in the strife-torn Tamil provinces of the north and east, allowing these regions a degree of autonomy within the unitary Sri Lankan state. An accord which provided for a return to normalcy under the "benign" supervision of an Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). An accord which promised much but, in verity, achieved little.

For, today, the accord is in a shambles. The IPKF, far from maintaining peace, is at war with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), desperately trying to subjugate the Frankenstein monster run out of control.

And through all this, one individual has come out unscathed—Junius Richard Jayewardene, President of Sri Lanka.

At 82, Jayewardene is probably the oldest statesman in the world today after China's Deng Xiaoping. He entered active politics in 1944 as a United National Party (UNP) candidate for a by-election. Close family ties with Don Stephen Senanayake, the first prime minister of independent Sri Lanka, ensured Jayewardene a cabinet posting in the first UNP government in Sri Lanka in 1947.

Jayewardene held cabinet postings whenever the UNP was in power. And he was a prominent Opposition leader when the Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP) held the reins. During his long innings as a parliamentarian he proved an adept at manipulative politics. Until finally, in 1977, launching his campaign from a virulent anti-Tamil platform, he stormed to power, succeeding Sirimavo Bandaranaike as prime minister.

One of his first acts on assuming power was to neutralise Bandaranaike, whose SLFP had been reduced to a meagre eight seats compared to the UNP's 140 in Parliament.

Using his steam-roller majority to the fullest advantage, he levelled charges of corruption and misuse of power against Bandaranaike until she was finally stripped of her civic rights for a period of six years starting from 1980.

Even as Sirimavo Bandaranaike was being silenced effectively, Jayewardene took on his favourite whipping horse, the Tamils. He proved he was a master strategist when he won over his old friend



## THE OLD FOX

K P Sunil profiles Sri Lanka's wily President  
J R Jayewardene

and lone Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) member of Parliament, Thondaman, to cross over to the UNP. Thondaman, who represented the plantation Tamils, was made minister in charge of rural industries in 1978.

The move was designed to isolate the Tamils of the north from the plantation workers of the east though it underlined a paradoxical situation—the plantation Tamils of the east, who were only second class citizens of the island without even the right of franchise, could boast of a full-fledged cabinet minister to represent them!

Jayewardene's next task was to bridle the Tamils of the northern districts. Within a month of his assuming power on July 22, 1977 anti-Tamil riots had broken out in Sri Lanka, in which hundreds of Tamils died, with over a lakh rendered homeless refugees—an occurrence which gave a fillip to nascent Tamil militancy to assume the dimensions of a mass movement.

In July 1978, a new Constitution

was enacted which ushered in the presidential system of government to the island republic. Under the new Constitution, Jayewardene the prime minister became Jayewardene the President, armed with virtually dictatorial powers.

**O**nly a little earlier, on May 22, 1978, he had passed an act proscribing the newly emerging Tamil militant force, the LTTE, founded by Velupillai Pirabhakaran. On May 21, 1979 this was replaced by the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), which was passed as a "temporary measure" to quell the increasing activities of the Tamil guerilla forces.

The noose was further tightened around the Tamils by declaring a state of emergency in Tamil areas. The Sri Lankan army occupied Jaffna and other northern districts.

At this stage, Jayewardene's political career was approaching a crucial crossroads. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her SLFP had been effectively neutralised. But with

two years of his presidential term still to go, Jayewardene went to the people for a referendum. The issue placed before them was whether the people wanted a change of government and whether he could continue as President. The move was diabolical in its brilliance. Before Opposition politicians could realise what was happening, Jayewardene had ensured himself a further six years of uninterrupted power!

His triumph was followed by a fresh spell of violence. In December 1984 an all-party conference was convened in Colombo to go into the problems of the Tamils. A conference which turned out to be a fiasco in which all attempts at dialogue by the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) were frustrated.

This year saw Jayewardene in a precarious position. The stalemate over the Tamil issue continued. Violence in the country had not abated. Prolonged war had ruined the State economy with the defence budget going up by leaps and bounds. The prospect of economic disaster and the continuing spectre of civil war was alienating Jayewardene from his vote bank—the Sinhalese. Some of his own cabinet colleagues were nursing ambitions of replacing him at the helm. Jayewardene had to do something and do it fast, to prevent power from slipping from his hands and at the same time assuaging the feelings of the Sinhalese. Again, Jayewardene's instincts for survival came to the fore.

In what can only be termed a desperate bid, he entered into an agreement with the Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, under which a sizable contingent of the Indian army under the nomenclature of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), was stationed in Sri Lanka to supervise the establishment of peace and the surrender of arms at his invitation.

The decision to bring in the Indian army caused initial resentment amongst the Sinhalese. But the shrewdness of Jayewardene in requesting Indian help was brought home when the fight against the Tamils was taken over by the Indian army—albeit on different grounds—to bring about peace! India, which entered the Sri Lankan tangle as mediator has actually become an active participant in a desperate bid to uphold the accord.

In all this Jayewardene has lived up to his reputation. A reputation he has himself built—that of a boxer who aims for the face and punches the belly of the opponent! A reputation that spells for him success.

(Operation Pawan)

**CIVILIANS KILLED**

<b>JAFFNA PENINSULA</b>		<b>ALLAVEDDY</b>
Mangaykarasy		T. Uruthirajan
Ravichandra		K. Kugathan
Y. Cyni		N. Navaratnam
R.S. Rasu		A. Sivarajah
<b>Elilvathany</b>		<b>ATCHUVELY</b>
Selvaratnam		K. Thangammah
S. Nadarajah		B. Pathmaranee
K. Kugathas		G.P. Balasingam
Darmini		T. Pakianathan
Ponni		Atputhamalar
S. Viji		Thambu Navarajah
S. Murugupillai		Pongalan Kalistus
S. Anthonipillai		P. Ritammah
P. Muthuthamby		K. Collin
Thirunavukkarasu		P. Mahesan
Sellathurai		S. Sivanesan
Joseph Jesuthasan		M. Sathialingam
S. Sellammah		K. Thrumakulasingam
Subramaniam		<b>ARIALAI</b>
N. Daniel		B. Krishnaveeny
J.C. Stephen		T. Kanogammah
Sinnathamby		T. Jeyarani
Thavaneswaran		A. Ajantha
Kamaladas		K. Kethiswaran
G. Gunachandran		V. Thavamalar
Charles Mathews		S. Ambihalalan
S. Sivarajah		V. Yoganathan
R. Muthulingam		T. Selvarani
K. Krishnan		T. Peralatha
P. Perinpanathan		S. Shanmuganathan
J. Shanmugalingam		K. Sinnathamby
S. Sivaguru		P. Sinnamah
Ravichandra		S. Sivanesan

These pictures are taken from  
homage ads in Jaffna dailies

**CIVILIANS KILLED**

(Operation Pawan)



V. Thavarani 10.10.87



A. Damodaran Pillai 11.10.87



T. Manivannan 11.10.87



S. Padmanathan 11.10.87



S. Sivasithambaram 11.10.87



S. Veshnu Mohan 11.10.87



D. Dayan 12.10.87



Dhamika 12.10.87



M. Dhanabalasingam 12.10.87



Gandhi Amma 12.10.87



S. Ganeshnathan 12.10.87



N. Inbaraja 12.10.87



S. Jegatheewaran 12.10.87



Kanagamalar 12.10.87



I. Kribhakaran 12.10.87



S. Lionedasan 12.10.87



M.R. Mahendra 12.10.87



Padmavathi 12.10.87



# IPKF, LTTE locked in fierce battles

BATTLE FOR JAFFNA

NEWS

COLOMBO, Oct. 12.

Fierce fighting raged today in the northern Jaffna peninsula of Sri Lanka as the Indian forces armed with mortars and machineguns prepared to smash the last stronghold of Tamil militants, Indian military sources said.

The sources said the Indian Peace-Keeping Force had surrounded Jaffna, 300 km. north of here, and parachuted commandos in for a final assault on the town controlled by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

## Militants' claim

The LTTE claimed that its men had surrounded about 200 IPKF men air-dropped on the Jaffna University campus last night and that the besieged troops had called for reinforcements from their Navatkuli and Karainagar camps.

LTTE sources in Vavuniya, quoting reports received from Jaffna, said while 300 IPKF vehicles were proceeding from Karainagar to Jaffna town to "save" the para-dropped army men who had sought additional help, a large column of IPKF men were advancing on the town from the Navatkuli camp. A number of para-dropped men had been killed, the sources claimed.

Accusing the IPKF of behaving like an "occupation" army, the sources said the LTTE would continue its fight till they won their land.

About 2,000 militants were defending the town of about 150,000 people, firing AK-47 assault rifles and mortars from behind houses and using civilians as shields, said the Indian military sources, who were in Colombo and spoke on condition of anonymity.

The militants were reportedly laying mines in the streets of Jaffna to keep Indian soldiers bottled up in the old Dutch fort on the town's outskirts. The Indian soldiers were also coming under sniper fire.

Sri Lankan radio said the Indian troops were cordoning off and closing in on the militants. Heavy battles took place throughout last night especially around the fort which is near the LTTE's main base.

The radio said the militants attacked Jaffna Fort on Sunday night but were beaten off. "The Indian are going all out to smash the terrorist networks," it said.

## Stiff resistance

Sri Lankan military sources said the Indian troops were using heavy artillery and tanks against stiff resistance from the LTTE. Heavy house-to-house fighting was going on in Jaffna.

The sources said the LTTE men were using rocket-propelled grenades and heavy weapons to slow down the Indian advance. They said Indian officers were confident they would have Jaffna town under control within the next two days.

Jaffna has been under shoot-at-sight orders since Saturday. Restrictions were relaxed briefly to let the residents seek shelter at Indian-protected refugee centres.

## Difficult situation

"It is a very difficult situation. We are not fighting on a battlefield but among houses and civilians," said one Indian official.

"The crux of this thing is that the whole lot will be bottled up", he said. "We don't know how many days it will last. We have surrounded Jaffna on all sides".

The Indians are said to be facing logistic difficulties in defeating the Tigers, who have "resisted" implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to end the ethnic strife in the island. A radio message that was overheard indicated that the Indian troops were running low on fuel and 30 barrels of petrol were being flown from here to the embattled north.

According to unconfirmed reports reaching here, 18 men of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force were injured in a land-mine explosion at Kodikamam, about 15 km from Jaffna town either last night or early this morning. It is said that following the blast the IPKF used helicopter-gunships to strafe militants' concentrations.

Sri Lankan military sources, who also de-

manded anonymity, reported today that 250 militants died in the three-day fighting. They said the figure was based on intercepted militants' radio messages. Sri Lankan radio also said 250 militants were killed.

But Indian sources said they could not confirm the toll. "We are in the middle of a war situation. We don't know how many people have been killed," one Indian official said.

The death figures could not be verified because reporters have been blocked from reaching the battlefield. But travellers from the region yesterday said heavy fighting was under way.

A spokesperson for the Indian High Commission, Mrs. Lakshmi Puri, told newsmen this evening that 163 LTTE men had been killed in the fighting. She said 18 IPKF personnel lost their lives and 79 were injured.

She said the estimate of loss suffered by the LTTE was based on radio intercepts. The IPKF had recovered only 13 bodies, she said.

With the arrest of four LTTE men in operations today, the total number of those held in the Northern and Eastern provinces stood at about 260. However other reports quoting military sources said 400 militants had been captured in the past three days.

## Attacks in the East

An Indian official reached by telephone in eastern Sri Lanka said six Indian soldiers were wounded near the coastal city of Batticaloa as militants kept up sporadic attacks. But the officials, who insisted on anonymity, said the region was "completely under our control".

Curfew is still in force in the northern and eastern districts including Jaffna, Trincomalee, Mannar and Vavuniya.

A number of militants' bases in all these districts have been smashed with a large haul of arms, ammunition and explosives.

Naval surveillance along the coast in the north and east has been strengthened to prevent the militants from escaping —AP, PTI

## LTTE CLAIMS

In the fight that took place on 12.10.87 also, a large number of IPKF men were killed and in the IPKF's mortar and canon attack many civilians were killed. The IPKF stopped on the streets, many innocent civilians and ran over them the armoured tanks and jeeps, crushing their bodies to pulp. This inhuman and barbaric act of the Indian army has no parallel in the war history of the whole world. About 40 bodies thus crushed were lying on the streets; they could not be identified and the bodies could not even be removed from the streets for cremation or burial.

The Indian commandos, para-chute dropped in Jaffna University, to rescue the IPKF men captured by the LTTE, acted in the most atrocious manner. On their return, they were carrying only 12 dead-bodies.

The LTTE made arrangements with the Red Cross to hand over the dead-bodies of 29 Indian army men to the IPKF. But the officer of the Indian army, informed the LTTE, through the Jaffna govt. agent that under the prevailing situation it was not possible for him to take the

responsibility of receiving the dead-bodies of the Indian soldiers. Therefore the bodies were cremated there itself.

The parachute dropped Indian commandos ran back with a very bad defeat. At Urumbirai, in the civilian areas, the Indian army attacked indiscriminately, killing many innocent public, including 2 children and 2 elderly women.

On 12.10.87 alone, 104 civilians, wounded by shell attacks were admitted in the Jaffna Hospital. The IPKF men raped women in the most cruel manner and then killed them. Children were done to death in the most horrifying manner, in the very presence of their parents. Various parts of their bodies were damaged.

In Sudumalai, Urumbirai and Kokkuvil a large number of young women were abducted, raped and killed by the Indian army. 13 of the raped women, who escaped death were admitted in the hospitals.

The IPKF invited for TALKS the LTTE representative of Ambarai District to a temple in Poduvil in the Eastern Provinces. But when he arrived, the IPKF arrested and took him away.



# IPKF smashes LTTE bastion in Jaffna

NEWS

BATTLE FOR JAFFNA

COLOMBO, Oct. 13

The Indian Peace Keeping Force today smashed the strongholds of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Jaffna peninsula after three days of fierce fighting and together with the Sri Lankan forces stepped up Naval patrols to block Tamil militants from escaping or bringing weapons to their embattled bases.

Indian military sources said the IPKF met fierce resistance at many places but with the reinforcements airdropped yesterday overran the bases.

At least 26 Indian soldiers have been killed and more than 100 wounded, an Indian official said.

The military sources put the number of militants killed in the operations so far between 200 and 250.

A spokesperson for the Indian High Commission, Mrs. Lakshmi Puri, said the IPKF was advancing on the LTTE bastion from at least four directions today. The IPKF advanced towards the town along the Kankesanthurai-Chunnakam, Palay-Urumpirai, Koppai North-Navatkuli and the seaside axis, she told a press briefing.

The spokesperson said the IPKF had lost 27 of their men in the operations since Saturday while 141 others had been injured. She said the high casualty rate was due to the "conscious decision" taken by the Government of India not to undertake offensive air operations to provide cover to the advancing troops out of concern for civilian lives and properties.

An estimated 200 LTTE men had also been killed, she added.

## 'Vital difference'

When a western correspondent suggested that there was no difference between the Sri Lankan security operations in May last and the current operations by the IPKF, she said that there was a "vital difference".

"We are not using any offensive air power," she said. Besides the IPKF operations were only aimed at militant positions and strongholds and all precautions were being taken to ensure civilians were not harmed.

Mrs. Lakshmi Puri said the civilians were also aware of this and that was why a large number of them had collected at designated points in response to the IPKF appeal. She said more such centres had been declared open today.

"A number of civilians have been forced to participate in the LTTE campaign—she said. Civilians were being used for "carrying grenades, ammunition boxes and the dead," she added.

The Indian Military sources said that reinforce-

ments sought by the IPKF had joined the IPKF men air-dropped at Urumpirai, north of Jaffna, on Sunday night and the LTTE resistance in the area was overcome. The air-dropped IPKF men had come under concerted attacks by the LTTE and three soldiers were killed before the arrival of the reinforcements.

They said the LTTE was, by a "three-tier defence", using children, women and old people as "human shields" at gun-point while their men attacked the IPKF from behind. The IPKF had to move from building to building to clear some areas in Jaffna town.

Naval patrolling in the Palk Strait was intensified and orders issued to sink any "contact" moving in a suspicious manner or not responding when challenged, the sources said.

The reports said the IPKF shot dead 15 LTTE men near Vantharamalai in the Eastern Batticaloa district and recovered their weapons. They spoke of fierce fighting near Trincomalee district, but quoted security officials as saying that the LTTE men were "on the run" there. They added that the LTTE set fire to a State-owned bus.

The LTTE leader Mr. V. Prabhakaran, they said, had sent messages to his regional leaders outside the Jaffna peninsula to send more trained cadres to the North to resist the IPKF onslaught.

LTTE sources in the northern town claimed today that the bodies of 29 IPKF men were piled up near the demolished Buddhist temple of Naga Vinthara in the town. They claimed that only eight men of the LTTE had been killed in the fighting.

The sources alleged that the IPKF was resorting to continuous shelling and that shells had fallen at Mallakam, Kokkuvil, Koppai, Chunnakam Tellipalali and Jaffna town. One shell fell on a ward of the General Hospital, next to the Dental Institute.

The Tamil-language newspaper *Verakesari* said today that Mr. Prabhakaran had escaped from the peninsula and was in hiding in Madras. There was no official confirmation of it.

The Sri Lankan news agency, Lankapuvath, quoting official sources said three members of the Central Reserve Police Force were killed today in a land-mine explosion in Eastern Batticaloa town. It quoted the sources as having said that it was a "LTTE terrorist landmine".

According to the sources the vehicle in which the CRPF personnel were travelling was blown up and the dead included two jawans and one officer. Nearly 800 CRPF men were now inducted in the Eastern Sri Lanka to increase the offensive against the LTTE militants.—PTI, UNI and AFP.

## IPKF exercising restraint

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct. 13.

Jaffna town witnessed the fiercest fighting last night and today since the Indian Peace Keeping Force launched its operations against the LTTE on October 9. The External Affairs Ministry spokesman said 17 IPKF jawans had been killed in last night's operations and 97 wounded. Five paracommandos who were dropped yesterday near Jaffna are reported missing.

The spokesman said the advance of the IPKF forces, which have already overrun several LTTE strongholds, was being thwarted by a 'wall of human beings, mainly women and children' behind whom were LTTE snipers. The IPKF has had to exercise extreme caution in using its fire-power and in the bargain has had to suffer heavy casualties.

The spokesman said LTTE casualties were not known.

**IPKF vehicle blown-up:** In the Eastern Province, the IPKF has taken seven militants into custody after conducting cordon and search operations. One IPKF vehicle was blown up by a mine. According to the spokesman, the situation in the Trincomalee and Batticaloa areas is 'by and large under control but somewhat tense.'

Asked for his reaction to the DMK leader, Mr. Karunanidhi's reported statement that LTTE Chief, Mr. V. Prabhakaran, had offered to resume negotiations with the Government of India, the spokesman said nothing had been received from the LTTE or its leader. There was therefore no need for comment.

Meanwhile, there was subdued reaction in official circles to the Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa's allegations against India in his speech to the U.N. Assembly yesterday. It is well known that the Sri Lankan leader is anti-India and is bent upon wrecking the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement. Though the Indian representative at the UN, Mr. K. S. Rao has already countered the allegations suitably, it is believed that the matter would be taken up with the Sri Lankan Government at the highest level.

Since the shells fell and blasted in many parts of Jaffna town, a very large number of civilian population got killed. There were absolutely no movement of people on the streets.

In the small hours of 13.10.87, on the pretext of 'searching' for the 'militants', the IPKF have killed 60 innocent public, including babies in arms, children, elderly people and women. Every where, streets or houses, only dead bodies were strewn around. The bodies that were lying on the streets were all crushed to skins and bones by the military vehicles.

## LTTE CLAIMS

On 13.10.87, the Indian army from the Jaffna Fort Camp attacked the Jaffna medical college hospital with mortar shells. The building was damaged to a very great extent. Roofs were broken and blown off; medicines stored were damaged and destroyed. In the shell-attack, the residential house of the Catholic Bishop, in the campus of the St. Mary's Church in the hospital street, was also damaged.

**AFFIDAVIT**

**NAGALINGAM NAGESWARI (21)**

Ward - 7, Nainativu.

I lost my father 12 years ago. My mother died a year ago.

I moved out from my Nainativu Island home in December 1986 because I wanted to continue my advanced level education at Ramanathan College, Chunnakam.

My elder brother Nagalingam Jeevaratnam, 25 years was already a student at the Jaffna University and residing at No 24, Perampaddy Lane, Kokuvil.

I therefore took up residence with him from December 1986.

My brother was in the final year of the Bachelor of Commerce Degree Course.

From about 1 a.m. on 12.10.87 I and the rest of the household- My brother, Jeevaratnam, sister Anandagowri, Sarathathevi and the brother's children Kausala (7) and Manoharan (6) were kept awake owing to the sound of gun fire.

At about 5.30 a.m. the soldiers of the Indian Army entered the compound of our house.

The soldiers asked us to come out of the house with raised hands and sit in the compound of our house.

While the soldiers waited there we heard shells exploding nearby.

The soldiers perhaps frightened by the exploding turned their guns on us.

One of them shot dead my brother Jeevaratnam and my Nephew Manoharan (6).

My sisters Anandagowrie, Sarathathevi and niece Kausala (7) were injured by gun shots.

My sisters and niece were admitted to the Jaffna General Hospital.

My sisters were discharged from hospital after one month whereas my niece was discharged on 31.1.88.

*N. Nageswari*

**PUVENENTHIRAN YOGAMMAH (68)**

Pokanai, Urelu West, Urelu

My husband, I and five children of our family resided at the above address on 12.10.87 at about 4 P.M. Indian soldiers came in trucks to the area where we lived and asked us to raise our hands and come out of the house.

All the members of our family raised our hands and went out of our house.

We were asked to go and sit in the forage factory close to our house

While we were going towards the forage factory the IPKF soldiers fired at us.

My house and the house of a neighbour Thirunvukarasu were burnt down by the IPKF soldiers.

I had to leave my daughter when she fell and proceeded to the factory to which we were ordered to go.

At about 6 P.M. I returned to the spot where my daughter fell and found her dead.

My house and the house of a neighbour Thirunvukarasu were burnt down by the IPKF soldiers.

I have a death certificate No. 5240 in respect of my daughters death.

The cause of death of my daughter Miss Puvnenthiran Vanitha (12) as stated in the death certificate is fatal gun shot injuries.

*Y. Gnanabalan*

**RAJALINGAM VIJAYA (22), Urelu West, Urelu, Urumpirai.**

My husband Sellar Rajalingam, age 32 years was a Toddy Tapper.

My husband, only child and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

From 10.10.87 shells were being fired on the residential areas by the IPKF at Palaly Camp.

On 12.10.87 at about 10.00 a.m. IPKF personnel walked into our home and searched for militants and left our home.

While leaving our house they informed that they will not harm and they wanted us to stay in our house.

We came to know later that they have visited other houses in our locality and advised them also to stay in their houses.

At about 3.00 p.m. the same day another batch of IPKF personnel came to our house and called for the inmates.

My husband who was with me inside the house took the child and opened the door.

While opening the door, IPKF personnel opened fire and my husband received a gun shot in his chest and child sustained an injury in her right hand.

Both bled profusely and were removed to the General Hospital, Jaffna in a car with the assistance of our relatives.

On our way to the General Hospitals, Jaffna, my husband succumbed to his injuries.

The dead body was removed home and cremated the following day.

The right hand below the elbow of my child had been amputated.

I have lost my husband the sole breadwinner and thereby made destitute with my incapacitated daughter.

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**RASAMALAR RAJENDRAN (38), Potpathy Road, Kokuvil East, Kokuvil.**

The deceased person Philip Rajendram, aged 40 years was my husband.

He was a Mason.

On 12.10.87 due to the intensive military activity in our area my husband took us to the Nallur Kandasamy Temple.

Then on the same day he left for Chavakachcheri regarding some construction work.

He did not return afterwards.

Only after the situation eased and the military offensive waned I came to know that my husband was killed when the Chavakachcheri market came under rocket attack from a helicopter gunship on 27.10.87.

I learned that his body was buried by the army itself at the scene of incident.

I have five children.

After my husbands death who was our sole breadwinner we do not have any income and undergoing untold hardships.

*S. Srinivasan*

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**RASAPPU KANDIAH (52)**

Urumpirai West, Urumpirai.

My mother Rasappu Saraswathy age 67 years was living with me.

Indian Peace Keeping Force stationed at Punnalaikadduvan started firing shells towards the residential areas on 12.10.87.

Through fear my other family members and I fled to Kodikamam on 16.10.87 whereas my mother R. Saraswathy remained at home.

On 8.12.87 I returned home with my family and found a heap of ash in front of our house, I also found the National Identity Card close to this spot.

I was informed by K. Ponnann my neighbour that my mother was shot and killed by the IPKF personnel who had entered our house on 20.10.87.

*S. Srinivasan*



**RASARATHINAM SENTHILKUMARAN (20)**

Kamalasany Vidyalady, Madduvil North, Chavakachcheri.

The deceased Rasarathinam Maheswary age 43 years is my mother.

**On 12.10.87 at 5.30 a.m. as the shells fired by the army from Kanahan Puliyady Junction camp, which is 1/2 km. away, started falling in our area myself, my mother and my sister left out house and went to Madduvil Amman Kovil, which is 1/2 km. away.**

**At 6.30 a.m. we reached the Putthur - Chavakachcheri Road and at that time the army personnel started firing and my mother received a gunshot injury on her right thigh and she fell down.**

I immediately brought my mother to our house with the help of my neighbours and removed her to a private Nursing Home about 1 1/4 km. away. As there were no medical facilities available there and as at the Chavakachcheri General Hospital area army personnel were stationed I could not take my mother to the General Hospital and brought her back home.

When we reached home I heard that army personnel had already come to our area and at 10 a.m. we went to Vairavar Temple which is closeby.

On that day at 10 O'clock my mother died. At 1 p.m. we cremated her body in a land close to the temple.

My father had died long ago.

After my mother's death my brother 15 years and my sister 12 years and I are destitutes.



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**RASIAH SEGARAN (16), Power House Lane, Chunnakam.**

My late father Kanapathi Rasiah, aged 45 years and my late mother Rasiah Manomani, aged 37 years both earned a living as casual labourers.

At about 5 p.m. on 12.10.87 we were informed that IPKF were marching towards our village with several gun carriers.

28 persons in our village had collected together due to fear.

**IPKF who came to our village a little while later ordered all the 28 of us to move to an open space closely and were ordered to remain on our knees.**

**About half an hour later we were all fired at by IPKF from gun carriers.**

**8 persons were killed and 8 were injured in the firing.**

IPKF left the place at 6.30 p.m. that day.

While the injured were removed to the hospital the others fled from the place.

**It was only on 16.10.87 that I returned to our village along with others and found my father, mother and 6 others dead. We had not returned earlier due to fear.**

**The dead bodies were in a highly decomposed state and were all collected and burnt there itself.**

Along with my father Rasiah and mother Manomani the others killed are: Nannithamby Ranjini Devi aged 14 years; Muthan Kathiri aged 33 years; Muthusingam Pooranam, aged 33 years; Kanagan Selli aged, 60 years; Kalyhirgamanathan Sarojinidevi, aged 20 years; and Kathigamanathan Vimalanathan, aged 89 years.

Along with me, my two sisters Rasiah Kumudini, aged 13 years, Rasiah Amuthini, aged 6 years and my brother Rasiah Inakaran, aged 4 years the four of us are orphaned and are destitute.

I and my two sisters are students.

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**RATNAM RAJESWARAN (28)**

Kokila Veethy, Kondavil North, Kondavil.

I am a Cigar Roller.

Indian Peace Keeping Force started firing shells and gun shots at a random from their camps towards the residential areas.

My brother, two sisters and I left home on 12.10.87 to the refugee camp at Nallur Kandasamy temple as announced over the radio.

My mother Ratnam Sivapakiam a widow aged 49 years remained at home to look after our property.

**On 20.10.87 people from our village who arrived at the Nallur Kandasamy temple informed me that my mother had been killed in shell blast in our house on 18.10.87 and her dead body had been burnt by our relations at home as it could not be removed to the cemetery due to the continuous curfew.**

I collected the remains of my mother on my relation home after the curfew was lifted for short periods and performed the necessary religious rites.



● ● ●

**Miss. SANMUGANNATHAN SANMUGESWARI (25)**

Urelu West, old Post Office, Chunnakam.

**That during the military operation by the Army the Army personnel entered compromises on 12.10.1987 and killed by shooting my mother, Paramaswamy, and two sisters named, Kamaleswary and Sinthujn.**

**I sustained bullet injuries on my right arm wrist and on my right back.**

I was admitted at the Jaffna Teaching Hospital, on 13.10.1987 at Ward No. 8 and was looked after by my father in the hospital.

On 21.10.1987 shell fell on this Ward No. 8 of the Teaching Hospital, Jaffna and my father's left leg bone has been cracked by the explosion of the shell.

My father, Mylavaganam Sanmugannathan was admitted to Ward No. 14 for treatment and now he is sent to Ward No. 25 of the Jaffna Teaching Hospital.

The deaths of my mother and two sisters have been duly registered I am now discharged from the hospital, but 3 fingers on my right hand cannot be used. I am anything under the care of my uncle, V.S. Kanagalingam of 22, New Road, Athiady, Jaffna.

I make this affidavit as my father above named is still in hospital and cannot sign.

I pray for relief and assistance.



● ● ●

**Mrs. SELLATHAMBY PACKIVAM (39), Gandhiji Road, Kokuvil West, Kokuvil.**

The deceased my aunt Mrs. Parameswary Nadesu, aged 51 years is a widow. She was living under my care at the above said address.

As there were a military operation in our area by the IPKF I took refuge at the Kokuvil Hindu College Refugee Camp along with my family and aunt on 12.10.87.

**While remaining there on 25.10.87 shells fired by the IPKF fell on the school premises and exploded.**

**Shrapnel from the exploding shell killed my aunt Parameswary along with many others on the spot. She was seated on the school verandah at that time.**

All dead bodies including that of my aunt were buried on 26.10.87 morning at the above school compound.

SIVALINGAM VANAJA (32), Selvapuram South, Urumpirai.

The deceased person Sundaram Pari aged 60 years, widow was my mother.

She was living under my care and custody until her death.

On 12.10.87 I went to Madduvil with my husband and children for safety.

My mother went to a relations house at Raja Veethy, Kopay.

On 20.11.87 when we returned to Urumpirai.

**I learned that my mother was killed when the house of our relative was shelled on 20.10.87.**

I also learned that my mother's body was buried on the spot where she died.

சுவினா



SUPPIAH MUTTIAH (51), Kovil Thoddam, Kernidady, Kokuvil West, Kokuvil.

I am a casual labourer.

My wife, four children and I were living in our own house at the above address.

On 12.10.87 at about 2.00 p.m. shells were being fired towards our area.

Through fear, my family and I too fled to Murugamoorthy Temple which is close to our house.

There were about three thousand refugees in this Temple.

**On 25.10.87 IPKF advanced to our village and started firing gun shots and lobbed shells.**

**One of the shot fired by the IPKF struck on the head of my son Muttiah Ravikumar aged 25 years and he died on the spot.**

The dead body was removed and burnt by me with the help of the refugees on the same day in the land by the side of the Temple.

My deceased son was a casual labourer and he was helping me to maintain my family from his earnings.

சுபிதா



THAVAMANY VAIKUTHAVASAN (35), 3, Kailasapillayar Temple Veethy, Nallur.

The deceased Kanthasamy Selvamalar, aged 51 years, a widow was my mother.

**On 12.10.87 at around 5.30 p.m. our locality was subjected to an avalanche of shells.**

To escape the shells we ran into the nearby Kailasapillayar Temple.

**A shell crashed through the roof of the temple and exploded.**

**My mother was seriously injured in the blast.**

**My child and I also received injuries during the incident.**

We were taken to the Jaffna Teaching Hospital immediately by some good Samaritans.

**There my mother passed away at around 7.30 p.m. on the same day.**

Her body was taken to Uduvil and was cremated there on 13.10.87.

I am the only child of my mother having lost my father ten year ago.



THEDCHANAMOORTHY SIVARAJALINGAM (41)

87, Potpathy Road, Kokuvil East, Kokuvil.

I am an Investigating Officer in the Local Government Department.

My brother Thedchanamoorthy Thavarajalingam age 44 years a Health Supervisor, his wife Thavarajalingam Kanagamalar age 39 years, his sons Thavarajalingam Haran age 10, Thavarajalingam Gajendran 6 and his daughter Thavarajalingam Dharmika age 1 1/2 years were living in their own house at 24, Pirampadi Lane, Kokuvil.

On 12.10.87 morning heavy firing was heard in the direction of my brother's residential area.

I came to know that the Indian Peace Keeping Force personnel were in the area surrounding Pirampady lane.

**I was able to go to my brother's house only at about 7 a.m. on 13.10.87 where I found 5 dead bodies including that of my brother Thavarajalingam his wife Kanagamalar and their daughter Dharmika inside their house and 2 other dead bodies in the compound.**

**I also found my brother's two sons Haran and Gajendran and a Nephew Harshan (11) who was living with my brother's family hiding under the bed in a room.**

**My brother's son T. Gajendran and my nephew J. Harsan were found to be injured and bleeding.**

I removed the dead bodies of my brother, wife, his daughter and the injured Rajendran and Dharshan to the General Hospital, Jaffna the same day in a van.

The injured were admitted to the hospital and the dead bodies were removed after inquest, the same day and cremated at Kombayanmunel cemetery.

At present both my brother's sons Haran and Gajendran are in my care.

My brothers house also was subsequently damaged badly by shell firing.

சுவினா



VAIRAVAN NEELAN (40) Kaithadi Junction, Kaithadi.

The deceased Vairavan Sigappi, aged 60 years was my mother.

**On 12.10.87. the army was approaching our area.**

We fled from our house in fear and went to Nunavil leaving my mother at home.

After 3 months we returned to our house and found my mother was buried in a nearby field.

**I came to know she was shot and killed by the army after our departure.**

சுவினா

APPUDURAI THAVALINGAM (47) Urelu South Chunnakam.

The deceased Appudurai Lechumi aged 72 years, widow, was my mother. On 13.10.87 the army camped near our house and started shelling towards our direction and as a result we remained indoors.

On 18.10.87 at about 2 p.m. some soldiers came and knocked our door.

My mother went and opened the door.

She was shot immediately.

Then the soldiers stormed inside and fired at random killing three other and injuring one person.

We escaped through the back entrance.

Only after 16 days I managed to return to our house.

There I found my mother's skeleton.

Her remain were cremated at the Urelu cemetery on 4.11.87.

*Thavalingam*



EMMANUEL JOSEPH ANTONY, born 1910-01-18, 10 John Rajah Road, Atchuvely.

I am the husband of Mary Rita Atputhamalar Antony who died on 13.10.87.

On 13.10.87 at about 6.15 a.m. my said wife left home on the pillion of a motor cycle ridden by a relation of mine, Thambo Navarasa.

The said Thambo Navarasa had agreed to take my wife to Jaffna on his motor cycle as there was no other form of transport available due to the tension prevailing at that time.

My wife's purpose in coming to Jaffna was to search for our daughter Mrs Esmie R. Philips who was supposed to have fled Jaffna town in order to seek shelter at our house at Atchuvely.

On 14.10.87 my said daughter arrived home but my wife failed to turn up. The relation who took my wife on his motor cycle too did not return.

I and my relations started searching for my wife and made inquiries at hospitals.

On 21.10.87 we managed to trace the body of my wife among some dead bodies opposite the A.G.A's Office Kopay.

could not remove the body. It was subsequently burnt by the Indian Army.

I believe that my wife was shot by the IPKF while she was passing Kopay on the motor-cycle

*E. J. Anthony*



KANTHIAH LUXUMY (36) Punalai Kattuvan South, Punalai Kattuvan.

The deceased Murugan Mairasi, aged 55 a widow was my mother

My mother used to sleep in a cottage at our small farm about half mile from our house.

On 13.10.87 at about 9 a.m. I came to know that my mother was shot and killed by the army while she was at her cottage on the night of 12.10.87.

I went to the scene of incident with the permission of the army and found her body.

The army brought her body to our house in their jeep.

She was cremated on 13.10.87 at Kupilan cemetery.

*க. க. சிவசுந்தரம்*



MRS. KATPAGAMANY THAMOTHARAMPILLAI (61) at 'Siva Kudil', K.K.S. Road, Kokuvil.

I with my husband and deceased daughter Miss. Shuseela Thamotharampillai, left our home on 12.10.87 due to constant shell attack on our area and stayed with a relative in Kokuvil East.

At about 6 a.m. on 13.10.87 Indian Army light tanks moving on the road kept on firing when my daughter was struck by bullets causing severe injuries on her chest and right shoulder.

She was immediately taken and admitted at the Jaffna Teaching Hospital, where she succumbed to her injuries at about 8.30 a.m.

*க. க. சிவசுந்தரம்*



KOTTACHI SINNATHAMBY (54) Selvapuram, Urumpirai South, Urumpirai.

The deceased Pandari Sinnathamby (54) was my husband.

He was a Casual Labourer.

On 13.10.87 we left our house at Urumpirai and went to Puttur due to the escalating military offensive at Urumpirai.

My husband opted to stay in our house at Urumpirai.

On 2.11.87 I was informed by our neighbours that my husband was shot and killed by the army at Kopay North while he was on his way to see us.

I could not go to the scene of incident to recover his body due to the prevailing tension.

I do not know what happened to his body afterwards.

My eldest son Kunarasa is an invalid and unemployed.

After my husband's death we do not have any income and undergoing tremendous hardships.



KUMARASAMY THARUMALINGAM (50) 66/3, Palam Road, Jaffna.

I am a Retired Postmaster.

My wife, children and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

Indian Peace Keeping Force in the Jaffna Fort Army Camp fired shells around the Town at random and through fear, on 13.10.87 my family and I left Kalapoomy to Karainagar to stay with my brother-in-law.

On 5.11.87 at about 3.20 p.m. a helicopter gun ship and four bomber planes appeared over Kalapoomy.

Bomber planes, started bombing our area and one bomb fell on the house in which we were in occupation.

My eldest daughter T. Navaranjini (18) and 3 children and wife of my brother-in-law were killed in this bomb blast inside the house.

My wife T. Packiam aged 48 years too was injured in this incident.

All the five dead bodies were cremated the same day at 12.00 midnight at Karainagar.

My daughter T. Navaranjini was a student in G.C.E Advance Level class at Hindu Ladies College, Jaffna.



*Tharumalingam*



# LTTE seeks help to end fighting

NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 13.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has appealed to the DMK and other political parties in Tamil Nadu to help bring about a halt to the fighting in Jaffna and evolve a peaceful solution to the problem.

Three representatives of the LTTE—Mr. Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu, Mr. S. Subramaniam and Capt. Raheem—met the DMK President, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, at his residence this morning and handed over a letter to him from the LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabhakaran, seeking his cooperation to end the conflict.

The LTTE had been keeping away from the DMK for a long time and no love was lost between the leaders of these two organisations. In fact, at one time, Mr. Prabhakaran had rejected a cash relief of Rs. 50,000 offered by the DMK while the other militant organisations had accepted a similar offer. That being so, the LTTE representatives meeting the DMK leader in the present context of the developments in Jaffna is significant.

**DMK plans rallies:** Mr. Karunanidhi, later, announced that the DMK would hold rallies in Madras and other parts of the State on October 15 to press for a halt to the fighting in Jaffna and resumption of negotiations to end the problem.

The LTTE representatives also met the Dravida Kazhagam leader, Mr. K. Veeramani and the Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress President, Mr. P. Nedumaran today.

According to Mr. Kittu, they tried to meet the Tamil Nadu Food Minister, Mr. S. Ramachandran, last night and this morning but did not succeed. They, however, handed over a copy of Mr. Prabhakaran's letter to the security office at Mr. Ramachandran's residence with a request that it be delivered to him.

Mr. Karunanidhi told reporters that Mr. Prabhakaran, in his letter, had explained the emerging situation in Jaffna and sought the support of the DMK and the people of Tamil Nadu for his cause. Mr. Karunanidhi, however, declined to make the letter public.

The DMK leader said, "I asked the emissaries whether the LTTE would be prepared to get back to negotiations if the Indian Army stopped the fighting, and they replied that the LTTE would be ready to extend its cooperation to bring about amity."

Mr. Karunanidhi said in addition to the protest rallies on October 15, the DMK would hold meetings in the State on October 17 and 18 to condemn what he called, "the partisan attitude of the Government of India." He would be participating at a meeting in Madurai on October 18 while the party general secretary, Mr. K. Anbazhagan, would do so at a meeting at Coimbatore on the same day.

The DMK President was outspoken in his criticism of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord, the role of the Government of India and the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

In his view the agreement had flopped and the results were "disastrous", because in its implementation, the Government of India acted more in accordance with the wishes of the Sri Lankan Government.

**Centre blamed:** It was wrong on the part of the Sri Lankan Army to have arrested the LTTE men and the blame should be shared by the Indian Army also as it had "allowed" it, he said. As the Indian Peace Keeping Force "did not show interest" in preventing the attempts of the Sri Lankan Army to take the arrested men to Colombo, 13 LTTE men including Commanders Kumarappa and Pulendran committed suicide. "For the situation to develop like this, the Government of India is also responsible", he said.

If the Indian Peace Keeping Force had taken advance action to prevent the LTTE men being taken to Colombo, the subsequent clashes between the Tamils and Sinhalese which resulted in many deaths could have been averted, Mr. Karunanidhi said and charged the IPKF with not acting in a responsible manner.

"It is an unbearable cruelty that the Indian Army which went to Sri Lanka in the name of

restoring peace should attack and kill not only the LTTE fighters but also the Tamil population including children", Mr. Karunanidhi said. It was a matter of deep anguish for the people of Tamil Nadu that the Indian Army was "hand in glove with the Sri Lankan Army in destroying the Tamil Eelam race", he said.

**'Misunderstandings':** Talking to THE HINDU, Mr. Kittu appealed for an immediate halt to the fighting between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the LTTE. He said the "misunderstandings" between the IPKF and the LTTE should be resolved through a dialogue.

Mr. Kittu said the fighting had erupted in Jaffna after the arrest of 17 LTTE members by the Sri Lankan Government and the death of 12 of them (who swallowed cyanide capsules). "There should be an immediate ceasefire and the problem should be solved amicably. India is a big power with military might and it cannot be defeated. Now we have been forced to fight in self-defence".

Replying to a question on whether the LTTE was interested in a peaceful settlement of the problem, Mr. Kittu said, "Definitely." As to what the LTTE's next course of action would be, Mr. Kittu said there was no communication between Jaffna and Madras as the LTTE's communication sets in Madras had been seized and so he was not in a position to answer the question.

**Tamil Eelam team meets DMK chief:** A delegation of Tamil Eelam leaders, including Mr. M. K. Eelaventhana, TELF general secretary, Mr. S. C. Chandrasekaran, Coordinator, PROTEG, met Mr. Karunanidhi and other DMK leaders at the party office here in Teynampet today and sought their help in arresting the "deteriorating situation" in Jaffna.

## PM hopes Tamil militants will abide by peace accord

VANCOUVER, Oct. 13.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has expressed the hope that "even now" the Sri Lankan Tamil militants would come around and abide by the peace accord and lay down arms.

Otherwise, "hard solutions leave scars", Mr. Gandhi warned in an interview published today in the century-old Canadian newspaper *Globe and Mail*.

The Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka were shooting only to save themselves and to protect innocent civilian life, Mr. Gandhi said.

However, violators of curfew, imposed in troubled areas of Sri Lanka, "may be in trouble," Mr. Gandhi warned in the interview taken on the eve of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM). — PTI



Bhatlekhar, Weekly

# LTTE defence lines broken in Jaffna

NEWS

BATTLE FOR JAFFNA

COLOMBO, Oct. 14.

The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) tonight broke through the defence lines of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Jaffna town, according to Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation.

Immediately after breaking the LTTE siege, the IPKF personnel appealed to the militants to surrender, the Radio said. However, it is not immediately known whether the militants would heed the IPKF call, made through loudspeakers.

The IPKF achieved the breakthrough following a four-pronged attack. An infantry column broke through the LTTE siege, braving heavy rain and stiff resistance.

According to Indian military sources, the IPKF soldiers crossed the Navatkuli lagoon, east of Jaffna, last night and established a position one kilometre away from the heart of the town. They had also established complete control of the Koppai area after heavy fighting with the Tigers, the sources said.

Travellers from Jaffna, 300 km north of Colombo, said the militants had blown up two bridges outside the town, hindering the Indian advance. However Indian and Sri Lankan officials could not confirm the report. Indian authorities have refused to let reporters visit the battlefield.

## Battle toll

Sri Lanka's national news agency Lankapuvath quoted official sources to say that 280 LTTE men had been killed in the fighting since October 10, while the IPKF had lost 57 soldiers, including two officers, one of them a colonel.

A spokesman for the Indian High Commission told newsmen this evening that 30 IPKF personnel, who had been reported missing since yesterday, had now been categorised as killed, raising the total number of the men killed in the operation since Saturday to 57.

An LTTE spokesman in Batticaloa, quoting reports claimed to have been received from Jaf-

fna, said that 17 IPKF men in three trucks and two jeeps were captured by the group at Chitanken in Jaffna peninsula yesterday.

Lankapuvath reported that a major attack on the IPKF, the Sri Lanka Army and the police was repulsed in the northern district of Vavuniya late last night. There was no casualty among the security forces and the number of militants killed was not known.

Lankapuvath also said that the IPKF repulsed an attack on their Manressa camp, near the eastern Batticaloa town, last night. A curfew was imposed on the town this morning and search operations were being carried out, reports reaching here said.

A spokesman of the Jaffna Citizens Committee told local newspapers over telephone that the International Red Cross had been invited to visit Jaffna peninsula to study the plight of the civilians. Some had been killed and several injured in the fighting between the IPKF and the LTTE. There was no power supply to the town and the General Hospital had been closed. Food shortages were reported in the north and east due to the fighting and prolonged curfew.

Temples and hospitals had been damaged in shelling by the IPKF which also resorted to helicopter strafing for two hours this morning, the spokesman alleged.

However, the Indian High Commission spokesperson in Colombo said food despatches by India to Jaffna peninsula earlier were being given to the refugees. The IPKF was also arranging food and relief for them, but there was some distribution problem as some 375,000 people have moved into temples and schools as advised by the IPKF earlier.

Denying that IPKF helicopter gunships had strafed Jaffna town, the spokesperson said the whole operation could have been completed within 72 hours if the IPKF had used its full fire power. "In our anxiety to avoid civilian casualties we have had to take more than the normal amount of casualties."

The spokesperson said the joint patrolling of the Palk Strait and the island's north-eastern

and north-western coasts had been intensified, and the number of Indian ships doubled to discourage movement of armed men between the peninsula and south India. The IPKF destroyed one of the three boats which fired at their Valachenai camp in Batticaloa district. The occupants of the other two boats were believed injured and they retreated.

## Appeal for arms

Meanwhile, the State-owned *Daily Observer* reported today that the LTTE leadership was making desperate appeals for military hardware from across the Palk Strait. A Tiger radio message from Jaffna to Madras, intercepted around 11 p.m. last night called on the former Jaffna commander, Mr. Sathasivam Krishnakumar, to send arms to the LTTE, the daily said quoting reliable sources.

Lankapuvath said naval gunboats began patrolling the sea between Jaffna and Batticaloa to prevent ferrying of arms between these two points. This followed information that 'Karuna' and 'Dilip', two LTTE military leaders, planned to take a boat-load of arms to the coast of Batticaloa to strengthen the LTTE cadres there and to commence a series of attacks. According to information obtained from a radio intercept, the LTTE military leaders were scheduled to leave Jaffna late last night.

## Alert in Colombo

Security arrangements all over Colombo and its neighbourhood were strengthened in view of possible joint attacks by the LTTE and the Janata Vimukti Peramuna to create disturbances across the island. The Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, in his nation-wide broadcast on Monday, said that the Tamil and Sinhala extremist groups were in league to overthrow the Government, and to set up their own government.

The State-owned *Daily News* reported today the information that the Central Telecommunication Office in the heart of Colombo in Fort area might be a target of attack.—UNI, Reuter, AP, PTI

## LTTE CLAIMS

On 14.10.87, 15 IPKF men were killed in the land-mines attack of the LTTE, near Sambaltivu bridge in Thirumalai District.

At Uduvil, 15 women were raped and killed by the IPKF. Various parts of their bodies were bitten and marks are there. Blood-wounds were seen all over their bodies. Then the bodies were laid down and crushed under the wheels of the armoured vehicles, as a result the bodies got pressed like chappathis. The above accounts were given by those who happened to see them directly.

When after committing such dastardly crimes, the IPKF were returning in their armoured vehicles to their camps, the Liberation Tigers attacked them with land-mines. Their armoured vehicle was blown to pieces and all those who were in it got killed.

At Kiran in Batticaloa District, the LTTE intercepted the Indian army and attacked in which 3 men of the Indian

army died and 4 were injured.

To assist the Indian military, bomber planes, helicopters, and tanks were pressed into service. A very large number of Indian army men are involved in Jaffna besiege and attack. On 14.10.87 alone, 70 mortar-shells were thrown at Jaffna town by the Indian army. From the bomber planes and helicopters, attacks are made with 90 calibre and 50 calibre heavy machine guns. Bombs were also dropped from the planes.

Till 14.10.87, 21 soldiers of the IPKF were arrested by the LTTE. 40 S.L.R., more than 20 S.M.G. 2 rocket launchers, 1 car and 3 armoured vehicles were seized by the LTTE from them.

On 14.10.87, Hindu Ladies College, Jaffna was attacked by machine gunfire and rockets from helicopter gunships. One refugee, Mrs. Thandeswamy died. Two civilians injured.

**AFFIDAVIT**

KUNCHAN KANDIAH, a widower (73)  
Urumpirai West, Urumpirai.

My son Kandiah Eswaranathan aged 35 years a bachelor was residing with me.  
He was a farmer and I was solely dependent on him.

On 13.10.87 on the Indian Peace Keeping Force commencing its operations in  
Urumpirai my son K. Eswaranathan took me to Puttur and leaving me  
behind there returned to Urumpirai.

On 18.10.87 I came to know from people in my neighbourhood who arrived  
Puttur subsequently that my son K. Eswaranathan had been shot dead by  
IPKF personnel on 16.10.87 when he was on his way home from his uncle's  
house.

It was also reported that my son Eswaranathan's dead body could not be  
recovered as IPKF personnel had come into occupation of the area.

I was able to return to Urumpirai only in the early part of December 87 when  
conditions improved and curfew which was on for a continuous period was  
lifted for short periods.

A search for my son's dead body proved futile as I learnt that the IPKF had  
disposed of the dead bodies in the area.

*(Handwritten signature: K. Eswaranathan)*

● ● ●

KUNDUMANI SELLAMMAH (46) Karanthan Road, Urelu East,  
Urelu.

The deceased Aundumani Puvanendran, aged 17 years was my eldest son...  
He was a casual labourer.

On 13.10.87 the army was advancing through our village in the direction of  
Jaffna Town.

As they approached our area firing their guns we fled from our home in  
fear.

My son ran in another direction.

Later I came to know that my son was seriously wounded in a shell blast.

I was also informed that he was taken to the Jaffna General Hospital and  
was admitted.

Due to the disturbances I went to stay at Matuvil.

Only after one month I was able to visit my son at the hospital.

He underwent an operation and was discharged after 40 days.

He was readmitted at the hospital within three days of his discharge for  
complications.

He died on 1.11.88 despite treatments given to him.

His body was cremated at Urelu cemetery on the same day.

I have four surviving children.

One of my daughters named Rohini committed suicide after my son's  
death unable to withstand the mental agony.

My husband left us and is living with his sisters.

It was my son who bore the burden of looking after our family in absence  
of my irresponsible husband.

● ● ●

LOGAMBIKAI MANICKAVASAGAR (38), Ward No.  
6, Nainathievu.

The deceased Manickavasagar Sutharsan, aged 12 years was my son.

My late son was a year 7 student of Kokuvil Hindu College

He was boarded at No. 49, Station Road, Kokuvil.

On 13.10.87 at about 4 a.m. I was shocked to see my son's dead body  
which was brought from Jaffna to Nainathievu.

**I came to know that he died on 12.10.87 following a shell blast injury  
sustained while he was at the house where he was boarded on 11.10.87  
during the military offensive at Kokuvil.**

I also came to know that he was rushed with serious injuries to the Green  
Hospital, Manipay where he died on 12.10.87.

I have three surviving children.

My husband left for France recently where he is living as a refugee.

The loss of my son at this age is a heavy loss for us.

*(Handwritten signature: M. Logambigai)*

● ● ●

NAGAMMAH NAGAMUTHU (72) Kopay South, Kopay.

My husband Sinnathamby Nagamuthu, aged 75 years was a farmer. He  
was living with me at the above said address.

**I was forced to flee with my daughter's grand children to Puttur on  
13.10.87 as IPKF started lobbing shells from their camps towards the  
residential areas at Kopay.**

My husband however remained at home to look after our house and  
property.

**Mr. S. Yogalingam a relative of mine who came to Puttur on 19.10.87 as a  
refugee informed me that my husband had been pulled out of the house  
by IPKF personnel that morning and shot dead by the roadside.**

I could not return to Kopay to remove the dead body of my husband as  
there was continuous curfew for almost a month.

On 21.11.87 on returning to Kopay found a heap of ash on the roadside  
where, it was alleged, my husband had been shot.

On my return home I found that my house and all my belongings burnt.

I am now widow who lost all my belongings along with my husband, the  
sole bread-winner.

I have come to know that almost all persons who remained in their house  
when the IPKF entered Kopay were shot dead.

● ● ●

MISS. NALLATHAMBY BAVANI (24) New Chemmany Road,  
Ananthapuram, Kopay.

**Due to the IPKF started liberation operation in our area on 13th October  
1987 there was shelling in our area and my father got attacked by the  
shell blast and immediately brought to Jaffna General Hospital and  
died on the same day.**

My Father's name is Perumal Nallathamby age 53 years and doing farm  
work and from the income he was maintaining our family of three.  
Out of them one of my sister got married and gone abroad. My  
brother is in India as refugee. I have lost my mother about 5 years  
back.

I am the only dependent of my deceased father.

I am unmarried and staying with a relation of mine and undergoing severe  
hardships throughout after my father's death.

*(Handwritten signature: N. Bavani)*

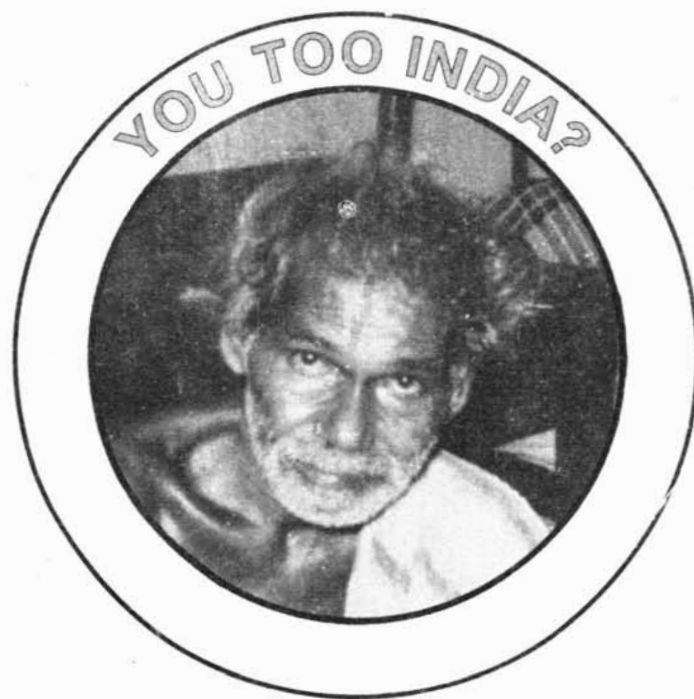
● ● ●

NALLIAH SARATHADEVI (56) No. 2, Vairavar Kovilady,  
Thirunelvely Colony.

The deceased Sinnathamby Nalliah, aged 65 years was my husband.

On 13.10.87 our area was pounded by mortar shells by the army.







வயல் வெளிகளிலும்  
 சந்தித் திருப்பங்களிலும்  
 உறைந்து போன சூத்தி,  
 உறைந்து போன விழிகள்.....  
 காலமும் நேரமும் காற்றும்  
 பெருமையும்  
 கடலோரப் பெருமணல் விரிப்பும்  
 இல்லாத ஓர் வெளியில்  
 மனித இருப்பை மறுத்துவிட்டுக்  
 சூத்தி படர்ந்து வருகிறது....







.....  
 தெருவில் மிணங்கள்  
 தூக்கி வீசப்பட்டிருந்தன.....  
 அவைகளின் உதிரத் தொடர்புகள்  
 அடித்துக் கதறி  
 ஓர் இனத்தின் கோலத்தை  
 தம் ஓலத்தில்  
 உரித்தாக்கிக் கொண்டன.  
 .....



**As we were preparing to vacate our house a shell fell within our compound and exploded.**

**My husband was killed instantaneously after being struck by the shrapnel. His cremation took place at the Thirunelvely cemetery on the same day itself.**

**I have two children.**

After my husband's death we are undergoing untold hardships.

நி. சிவசுப்பிரமணியம்

● ● ●

Mrs. SARVESWARY PULENDRAN (36)  
'Selvapavanam' Kokuvil West, Kokuvil.

My son Pulendran Janakan (8) was residing with my sister at Pirampady Lane, Kokuvil for the last 2 1/2 years.

On 13.10.87 at about 7.00 a.m. I came to know that my son P. Janakan had been shot dead along with my sister and children by the IPKF during their operations at Pirampady lane on 12.10.87 night.

I then left for Pirampady lane where I identified the dead body of my son amongst 9 bodies of my sister 2 children and those of tenants residing in the same premises.

I was informed by the people of that locality IPKF personnel had surrounded the area and fired at random. They had then entered the houses in the area and shot the occupants.

The dead body of my son P. Janakan was cremated along with the 8 other dead bodies at the Kokuvil cemetery on 13.10.87 itself.

P. Sarveswary

● ● ●

SEENIAR. SANTHIRAKUMARAN (34) Soorwatha, Chunnakam.

My wife Santhirakumaran, Easwary, aged 32, my children Santhirakumaran, Sureshkumar, aged 12, Santhirakumaran Rajakumari aged 8, Santhirakumaran Vijayakumaran aged 3 had been shot dead by the Armed forces near Chunnakam Power Station on 13.10.1987.

The untimely death of four members of my family caused me rude shock and now I am mentally and physically affected. After the death of my wife and children I am unable to do any hard work than before. My whole family has been eradicated and, I am left behind.

செனியார் சந்திரகுமார்

● ● ●

SINNAMMAH W/o Sellar Sinnathurai 25, Periyathambiran Kovilady, Van-North West, Jaffna

**I am the widow of late Sellar Sinnathurai who died under tragic circumstances having been attacked by an artillery shell on 13.10.87 and died subsequently owing to the injuries sustained by him on 8.2.88.**

On 13.10.87, he was on his way home after work and was struck by an artillery shell.

My beloved husband was earning his livelihood by working as a labourer and providing for the family.

Owing to my beloved husband's death, I, his widow is faced with much distress for my daily living as I do not have any other source of living.

SIVAPAKIYAM SIVASUBRAMANIAM (widow) of N. Sivasubramaniam (42) Veeramakaliamman Temple, Thevasthanam, Jaffna.

The deceased Sivalingam Inbamalar, aged 20 years was my daughter

On 13.10.87 due to the escalating military activity in Jaffna we decided to go to Kilinochi and boarded a van at Nallur.

**As the van was passing the Muthirichanthi a helicopter circling overhead opened fire at us.**

**My daughter was hit by a bullet on her neck.**

**She died immediately.**

After my daughter's death her husband who is unemployed left the children with me and went to live with his parents.

My husband the former chief priest of Veeramagaliamman Temple also passed away last year.

சிவபாகியம் சிவசுப்பிரமணியம்

● ● ●

THAVAMALAR MANMATHARAJAH (32)  
Urumpirai West, Urumpirai.

On 13.10.87, my husband Velautham Manmatharajah (34) my son M. Dinesh and I were forced to flee from our home when the Indian Peace Keeping Force commenced operations in Urumpirai.

We travelled to Sirupiddy, Madduvil and Neervely when these areas too were affected moved on.

On 29.10.87 on finding that the conditions were improving we decided to return home.

On 29.10.87 accompanied by my husband, son and several other relation we were on our way back.

I crossed the Palaly Road, close to Urumpirai Hindu College and as my husband and few others were attempting to cross the road IPKF stationed some distance away opened fire injuring my husband on the leg and also injuring Ponnar Balsingam and V. Annapooram two relatives of mine.

My husband was removed to Puttur Govt. Dispensary but had to be taken to Sirupiddy as no treatment was possible there under the conditions at that time.

My husband succumbed to his injuries the same evening and his dead body was cremated that day itself.

By the death of my husband, the sole bread winner of the family my child and I have become destitute.

த. சிவசுப்பிரமணியம்

● ● ●

Mrs THAVAMANI MARIMUTHU (55)  
Manipay North East, Manipay.

My husband Kuddiyar Marimuthu aged 69 years was a Retired Teacher.

My husband, my daughter Thayani her two children and I were residing at the above mentioned address.

On 13.10.87 the Indian Peace Keeping Force commencing its operations I was forced to leave my home with my family and take refuge at Naval Kurukkal Temple.

We then moved to the house of relations at Anaicoddai and subsequently arrived at the Hindu Ladies College Refugee Camp on 20.10.87.

On 30.10.87 at about 8 a.m. my husband K. Marimuthu left the Refugee Camp saying that he wanted to worship at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple and failed to return to the camp.

## U.S. supports Indian action in Sri Lanka

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14.

The U.S. State Department has said it backed the firm action taken by the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments to enforce the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement.

The Department said the peace accord offered "the best hope for lasting peace" in Sri Lanka.

"Unfortunately some Tamil militants have rejected the possibility for peace and reconciliation offered by this accord and resorted to continued violence which resulted in the deaths of more than 150 persons last week", a State Department spokesman told reporters.

"We commend the decision of the Governments of India and Sri Lanka to take firm and effective action against these militant groups", the spokesman added.

Meanwhile the House of Representatives' Asia-Pacific Sub-Committee endorsed without dissent and sent to the full House Foreign Affairs Committee the resolution declaring that the July 29 accord signed by the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, "represents the best hope of achieving a just and lasting solution to the ethnic conflict which has troubled Sri Lanka".

The Sub-Committee Chairman, Mr. Stephen Solarz, said the island's fate hung on the success of the July accord.

"If this agreement falls apart", Mr. Solarz said, "in a few years Sri Lanka may make Northern Ireland look like an oasis" of tranquility.

## 'Two major setbacks for IPKF'

NEWS

From D.B.S. Jeyaraj JAFFNA, Oct. 14.

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force, in a bid to cut off Jaffna town from the control of the LTTE, has suffered two setbacks at the hands of the Tigers.

A little after midnight on Monday, the Indian commandos were ferried by helicopters to an abandoned crematorium adjacent to the medical faculty complex of the Jaffna University. They were attacked by the Tigers from two directions. In the fighting, 29 Indian commandos and three Tigers died. One Indian soldier was captured alive.

This correspondent saw personally the dismembered Indian soldiers laid out in a row at Buddhist Naga Vihara in Jaffna. Twentynine bodies were also displayed. The bodies were later cremated by the Tigers themselves.

An LTTE spokesman told this correspondent that all efforts to establish contact with the IPKF headquarters at Palaly to hand over the bodies had failed. "Since the bodies were decaying, we had to cremate them," the spokes-

man said. Meanwhile, 22 other Indian commandos had escaped on foot to the neighbouring village of Kokkuvil.

According to militant sources the LTTE surrounded the areas to capture them alive. But, the IPKF brought armoured personnel carriers on the railway track and rescued them. The details of the IPKF men who escaped or were killed are not available. One unconfirmed report said nine commandos were killed.

In a separate incident at Thumbankerni, three km from Jaffna, the Indian forces proceeding from Karainagar naval base and the LTTE clashed. Seven persons were killed while another 17 Indian security personnel were captured alive.

The LTTE spokesman claimed that the Tigers had captured three trucks, more than 100 weapons and 22,000 rounds of ammunition from the Indian forces. More than 15 vehicles were also destroyed.

The Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. V. M. Panchalingam, and members of the Citizens' Committee of the area reported to have made official representation about the situation.

Preliminary reports suggest some damage to buildings and property including some sections of the Jaffna University, in the fighting.

# Prabakaran writes to Rajiv

MADRAS, Oct. 14.

The LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabakaran, has appealed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, "to call off the military offensive operation and resume negotiation with the LTTE to bring about peace, normalcy and ethnic harmony."

In a message to Mr. Gandhi from Jaffna and made available to the press at the LTTE office in Madras, the LTTE leader has charged that the military operation undertaken by the IPKF had escalated with a heavy toll of civilian casualties in the Jaffna peninsula.

The following is the text of the message dated October 14 from Mr. Prabakaran to the Prime Minister:

"Honourable Sir,—I wish to communicate with you once again because of the fast deteriorating situation in the Tamil areas with increased violence and destruction. The military offensive operation undertaken by the IPKF has escalated the conflict with a heavy toll of Tamil civilian casualties in the Jaffna peninsula. The indiscriminate mortar and artillery shelling and heavy aerial bombardment have resulted in the killing of more than 150 innocent civilians with nearly 500 injured. A large number of LTTE cadres have also been killed. The IPKF has also suffered heavy casualties. We have in our custody 18 men of the IPKF as prisoners of war.

Heavy fighting is continuing, rendering thousands of Tamil people refugees. The suffering of our people has further increased with an acute shortage of essential food supply and continuous round-the-clock curfew. It is a paradox of the great tragedy that the IPKF, which came to our homeland to ensure protection, peace and harmony, is engaged in a total war,

committing inhuman atrocities against our people.

On the morning of October 13, the IPKF commandos raided the residential area of Pirambadi in the suburb of Jaffna city and massacred 14 innocent Tamils including university students, women and children. What was more disturbing was the calculated attack on public institutions which provide vital service to the people. The IPKF members raided the office of two popular Tamil daily newspapers, *Eezhamurasu* and *Murasoli* on the same morning and blasted the printing machineries with explosives. On (October) 12th, Jaffna General Hospital, the only functioning hospital in the North, was heavily shelled by the IPKF from the Jaffna Fort.

Yesterday, the Jaffna University building was heavily damaged by aerial bombardment. The Indian Government's propaganda that it is not utilising heavy weapons and that there was no aerial attack is far from the truth. Our people are shocked and disturbed to note that the Sri Lankan Air Force planes and helicopters are operating only with Indian aircraft and helicopters in bombing and strafing the civilian targets. This constitutes a serious violation of the ceasefire accord.

We, therefore, request you to send a team of independent observers comprising representatives from international reporters, Amnesty International and Indian Opposition parties to impartially investigate our allegations. We also request you to allow members of the international press stationed in Colombo to visit the Jaffna peninsula. The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord gives the IPKF the mandate to maintain peace and protect civilian life. The IPKF has no legal

or moral authority to unleash an all-out war against a political movement, which has the solid backing of the Tamil people.

We wish to point out here that both the Governments of India and Sri Lanka recognised the pre-eminent position of the LTTE when it was asked to form an interim government. We also pledged to hand over the remaining weapons once an interim government was set up, with an adequate recruitive system of our people. But it was unfortunate that the Government of India has decided to take tragic military action against our political organisation, simply because of the incidence of violence in the Eastern Province. It was not master-minded by us. But there was a spontaneous fall-out from the killing of our Trincomalee regional commander, Mr. Pulendran and former Batticaloa commander, Mr. Kumarappa. We also warned of the consequences to Mr. Dixit and the Indian High Commissioner himself warned President J. R. Jayewardene of the possible repercussions.

Furthermore, it is uncharacteristic of a democratic country like India to superimpose its will at the point of gun on a people who have the democratic liberty to choose their political destiny. We have serious reservations about the accord. Yet, we pledged to cooperate with India to implement the agreement insofar as it is in the interest of the Tamils. Therefore, the offensive operation to liquidate the Tamil Tigers, who are none other than the true representatives of the people, is unfair and illegitimate. Therefore, I appeal to you once again to call off the military offensive operation and resume negotiations with the LTTE to bring about peace, normalcy and ethnic harmony.

V. Prabakaran, Leader, LTTE"



# More troops for assault on Jaffna

BATTLE FOR JAFFNA

NEWS

COLOMBO, Oct. 15.

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force today awaited reinforcements for a final assault on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam's stronghold in Jaffna town. Additional troops are being flown in from India.

Sources said that about 1,000 troops were being brought in to strengthen the rear of the advancing troops so that they were not left thin and vulnerable to attacks. About 6,000 IPKF men are engaged in the current operations.

The IPKF men who have advanced along the Navatkuli-Koppai axis and are at the eastern "doorsteps" of the town are also awaiting troops closing in from the other directions.

A senior Sri Lankan military official said Indian troops shelled Jaffna from the outskirts on Thursday to prepare for the assault. "The Indians are pounding the town with mortars and artillery. They're on the warpath", he said. However the Indian High Commission said it could not immediately confirm or deny the report. "We are not using heavy artillery if we can avoid it", a diplomat said.

## "They are in"

The official said the Indian troops late on Wednesday had punched through LTTE lines and entered the militants' stronghold.

"They are in, they have made it through", the high-ranking official said and added that an Indian armoured vehicle unit hammered through the well-fortified positions of the LTTE after approaching Jaffna from the east through the town of Navatkuli.

The official had no information on the progress of the other three armed units, one of which he had earlier said was held up about five kilometres north of Jaffna.

An Indian diplomat in Colombo said battles raged through the night and the Indians were making slow advances against the besieged militants who were fighting house-to-house.

Sources said the IPKF had consolidated its position at Urumpirai, north of the Jaffna University campus where the LTTE headquarters is located, after overcoming stiff resistance. It had lost two men in encounters last night.

The LTTE resistance in the town is expected to be overcome by Sunday, according to the sources. An estimated 2,500 armed LTTE men assisted by an equal number of "helpers", were resisting the IPKF advance.

The Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation said the LTTE was reinforcing its cadres in Jaffna for a "last ditch" fight. It said the LTTE had asked its cadres to converge in Jaffna for a "last fight". The militants were entrenched in civilian areas.

In Colombo, an Indian military official said heavy rain in Jaffna had hampered the Indians' advance "to some extent". He said sanitation facilities had broken down in the town and water and electricity services had failed.

The Sri Lankan news agency Lankapuvath said the IPKF was mopping up the LTTE elements elsewhere in the northern Jaffna peninsula, as it consolidated its position around Jaffna town.

According to the news agency, there was fighting last night at Palaly, where "terrorists" fired at the IPKF positions from houses in the vicinity. The terrorists also fired at a cement factory in the peninsula wounding a soldier.

## Mine blast

Meanwhile 20 members of the IPKF were killed and five wounded when the LTTE set off a landmine under the truck in which the Indians were travelling at Thannamunai, near the eastern Batticaloa town this morning.

Official sources said the IPKF men were going to bring provisions to their camp when they were blown up by the land-mine. The bodies of eight of the victims were ripped to pieces.

This has raised the total number of IPKF men dead in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka since October 10 to 77. An official spokesman said 380 militants had been killed so far.

Following the land-mine blast, the IPKF men traced an electric wire leading from the site to a spot from where cycle-tyre marks led them to a house about three kilometres away. A man suspected to have set off the mine was arrested from the house, but immediately some other houses in the vicinity were set on fire by unidentified men.

The arrested man took advantage of the confusion and escaped, but before he could get far he was shot dead along with an accomplice, the sources said.

However, sources close to the LTTE in Batticaloa alleged that the IPKF soldiers went on a rampage after the landmine blast, assaulting people and setting fire to houses, including the parish house. The priest was among those injured in the assault, they said.

## "Burnt alive"

According to Lankapuvath, in another incident in the Jaffna peninsula, five Indian soldiers were burnt alive. The agency did not specify when the incident took place. Official sources said they had intercepted a radio message from the LTTE which said "we are frying the Indians". It said blazing car-tyres were placed round the necks of the soldiers. The reports, however, could not be confirmed by the Indian High Commission.

Reports received here said two members of the Sri Lankan National Auxiliary Force and three civilians were killed in another land-mine blast at Kittuluttuwa in Trincomalee district.

At least 10 Sinhalese were killed, when armed "terrorists" today raided a farming village at Kantale in the eastern Trincomalee district, the national news agency Lankapuvath, reportedly quoting official sources.

The terrorists attacked two trucks carrying Sinhalese villagers and hacked to death 10 of them, Sri Lankan military sources said. —UNI, Reuter, PTI, UPI.



Ranga, India Abroad, 16.10.87

**AFFIDAVIT**

**GUNABALASINGHAM LEELAVATHY** (30), 106, Manipuri 3rd Cross, Colombuthurai.

The deceased person velupillai Guanbalasingham, aged 30 years was my husband.

He was a casual labourer.

On 15.10.87 my husband left home saying that he is going to Chavakachcheri to work in a construction site.

It is his usual practice to stay at the worksite for many days without returning home.

While he was at Chavakachcheri military offensive was launched in our area.

Fearing shells we sought refuge at the St. Patrick's College.

For more than a month I did not receive any message about my husband.

Later, I came to know that he was killed when the Chavakachcheri market came under rocket attack from a helicopter gunship on 27.10.87.

I learned that his body was cremated by the army itself.

My son Balendran is partially blind and remains at home.

I do not have any income and undergoing untold hardships.

சு. லீலாவதி

**KASIPILLAI RASADURAI** (50)

170, Rural Development Scheme, Thirunelveli, Jaffna.

I earn a living as a casual labourer.

My late daughter Rasadurai Rasasri aged 19 years supplemented my income by doing farm work on a casual basis.

On 15.10.87 as our village was subjected to heavy shelling we all fled to the St. Xavier's church at Thirunelveli East and sought refuge there.

When on 21.10.87 the surroundings of the church were also subjected to shell attacks we all fled to the Saddanathar temple at Nallur.

We returned home on 1.11.87.

On 28.11.87 when my daughter Rasasri was in the rear of our compound sounds of firing were heard and my daughter said IPKF were advancing.

Before she could enter the house more sounds of firing were heard and my daughter was hit and fell down with a gaping injury in her stomach.

I too received minor injuries on my hip and legs.

Due to the curfew that was in force till 8 a.m. and as motor vehicles were forbidden I was able to admit my daughter at the Jaffna General Hospital taking her by bullock cart only at 9.30 a.m. that day.

My daughter Rasasri succumbed to her injuries at 12.45 a.m. on 3.12.87.

Her dead body was brought home in a bullock cart and cremated at the Thirunelveli Hindu Crematorium the same day.

**MANONMANY**

62/7, Chemmany Road, Nanyannarkaddy, Jaffna.

On or about the 15th of October 87 on the IPKF commencing its military operations my daughters and I took refuge in the house of relatives at Karainagar.

My husband Vinasithamby Sinnah (65) however remained behind, to look after our house and property.

On our return home on 24.11.87 I was informed by my brother Arulampalam that my husband Sinniah had been shot dead by the IPKF on 17.11.87 when he was going along Adiyapatham Road and that his dead body had been disposed by the IPKF.

My husband was a Casual Labourer able to earn about Rs. 60/- per day which has been denied to us now.

My two daughters aged 26 years, 24 years and I were entirely dependent in the earnings of my husband I have no sons.

Both my daughters have a good knowledge in sewing and will be able to take orders if they are provided with the necessary equipments.

I have no other source of income to maintain the family.

சு. ப. லீலாவதி

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**PANIRAS SINNAMMA** 16, Small Bazaar Road, Jaffna.

On the 15th of October 1987 I was travelling by boat to bring my sister Theresammah, who was sick, to Jaffna from Palikudah for treatment.

When a helicopter attacked the boat with mortar shells and four of the inmates of the boat were killed.

I was severely injured on the back and chest, my daughter Poovah on the face.

ப. சின்னம்மா

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**Mrs. PONNAMMAH PATHTHAN VEERAN** (51)

Narayan Veethy, Kondavil East, Kondavil.

My husband Paththan Veeran aged 58 years is a Casual Labourer.

My two unmarried children and I were living together with my husband at the above said address.

On 15.10.87 there was heavy shelling by the Indian Peace Keeping Force stationed at C.T.B. Depot Kondavil towards our area.

On 16.10.87 when the shelling subsided at about 7 a.m. my husband went towards the cattle shed.

Suddenly shells fired by the IPKF started falling again and one such shell fell close to my husband and exploded.

Shrapnel from the explosion struck my husband on back and killing on the spot.

In panic leaving the dead body of my husband on the verandah and I fled to Nallur Temple with my two children.

At about 3.30 p.m. the dead body of my husband was brought to Nallur in a car by my relations and cremated at Columbuthurai Thundil Cemetery at about 6 p.m.

My late husband was the sole bread-winner of the family.

பி. பொன்னம்மா

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**RATNA THANGARAJAH** (48)

nearby Sri-Lanka Transport Board Depot, Kondavil East, Kondavil.

I am a Government School Teacher.

My wife, children and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

Indian Peace Keeping Force personnel who moved from Palaly to Kondavil along Palaly road came into occupation of the Sri-Lanka Transport Depot at Kondavil on 15.10.87 mid-night.

On 16.10.87 at about 1 a.m. a few IPKF personnel came to my house and ordered all of us to leave the house.

As we were leaving the house, the same IPKF personnel took us to the Palaly Road and kept us in detention at gun point till the following morning.

On 16.10.87 morning we were ordered to go to the Nallur Kandasamy temple refugee camp and we then left for Nallur.

At this juncture I noticed that my daughter T. Kethakumari age 17 years and my brother-in-law Kamalanathan aged 23 years missing.

None of our family members could go back home to find out the fate of the missing family members as the IPKF personnel were on the road pointing their guns towards us.

We were able to return home from the Nallur Temple Refugee camp only on 28.10.87 and found only the skeletons of my daughter Kethakumari and my brother-in-law Kamalanathan. Both were identified from the clothes worn by them.

I also noticed that my house and household goods had been damaged badly.

Cash Rs. 37,000/- and the jewellery worth Rs 1,00,000/- were found missing.



MRS. SARASWATHY GANESU (38), Pattawattai, Karanthan, Neervely.

The deceased Muttan Ganesu (40) was my husband.

On 15.10.87 at about 1.00 p.m. when I was at home with my husband and children a mortar shell fired by the IPKF fell in the rear compound and exploded.

My husband who was in the compound at the time was hit by fragments from the exploding shell and succumbed to his injuries almost immediately thereafter.

The dead body of my husband was cremated the same day evening.

My husband was a farmer.

My husband leaves behind myself and 5 children aged 9,8,6,4 and 2 years.

My husband was the sole breadwinner of the family and by his untimely demise we have lost the maintenance and support given by him.

க. சரஸ்வதி



SINNAPPODI KIDNAR (52)

residing opposite Mascons Farm, Urelu West, Urelu.

I am a casual labourer.

The deceased daughter Miss. Vasantha Kidnar aged 24 years is the third child in our family of 7 children.

On 15.10.87 at about 2.00 p.m. when it was raining heavily, the Indian Peace Keeping Force personnel from Palaly suddenly moved into our area and engaged in search operations.

After the IPKF group left the area at 4.00 p.m. another group of Indian troops entered our lane and started firing.

My daughter Vasantha who was seated on the Varandah received a severe bullet injury on her stomach and hip and died on the spot.

The dead body of my daughter was taken to the Urelu cemetery on 16.10.87 and cremated at about 10.00 a.m.

சின்னப்படி கிதார்



SINNATHURAI SATHASIVAM (55)

Koiyathoddam, Irupalai, Kopay

I am an Attendant attached to the General Hospital, Jaffna.

I am married and have 4 daughters and 4 sons.

There was heavy mortar shell fire in our area from 11.10.87 onwards as such the villagers were living under fear.

On 15.10.87 at 8.00 A.M. when my second son S. Sivakumar aged 27 years a bachelor employed as a vehicle driver left home to visit a former class teacher residing at Point Pedro road, Kopay which is situated about one mile away from my house.

At 8.30 a.m. I was informed by a relation who is also a neighbour of the above mentioned teacher that my son Sivakumar and the lady teacher were killed when a shell fired by the Indian Peace Keeping Force from Kopay Army Camp exploded.

I rushed to the spot in a Van and found that the dead body of my son Sivakumar was lying on the road near to the dead body of the Teacher.

I brought my son Sivakumar's dead body home in the van and cremated same in the evening at 4 p.m. at Kopay cemetery.

The daughter of the above deceased lady teacher who sustained fat injuries succumbed to her injuries while she was being transported in a van to the hospital by her father.

I also came to know that two shells fired by the IPKF fell close to my son Sivakumar and exploded killing my son on the spot.

The dead body of my son Sivakumar bore grievous injuries on his stomach and right hip and thigh.

ச. சிவகுமார்



Mrs. THURAI SINGAM SAROJA (40), Talachchan Thoppu, Kaithady.

Due to the IPKF started liberation operation in Vannar Ponnai area my husband's name Namasivayam Thuraisingam was shot and died on the spot. This happened on 15.10.1987.

My husband is a goldsmith and having four children out of them two boys and two girls. They are 18 years, 17 years, 16 years and 14 years respectively. All of them are school going.

Other than my husband's income there is no other income to maintain my family and I am undergoing severe hardships throughout.

தி. துரைசாமி



ANNAMMA, widow of the late Subramaniam Kailayanathan (55), Navaly Road, Anaicottai.

I am the mother of Kailayanathan Ganeshavel killed in shell-blast on 16.10.87.

On 16.10.87 while my son was standing in the Court-yard of the house, a shell fell in the compound and blasted at about 9 a.m.

I was inside the house and rushed out on hearing him groaning and went up to him.

I saw him fallen on the ground with severe bleeding injuries caused by shrapnels from the blast on his chest. He was unconscious and died within a few minutes.

His body was cremated on the road-side opposite my house at about 1 p.m. on the day.

My son was 25 years of age and was casual labourer who earned an average monthly income of Rs. 1000/-.

I lived and maintained myself solely on the earnings of my deceased son.

Since my son's death, I am struggling for existence without any financial assistance or support.

அ. அம்மா



CHELLIAH NAVARATNAM (48), Kalaivani Road, Kondavil North, Kondavil.

The deceased person Sinnathurai Sivasubramaniam, aged 59 years was my brother-in-law.

He was retired Director of Irrigation.

During the October 1987 military offensive I left our Kondavil residence and went to Inuvil.

**On 16.10.87 I was informed that my brother-in-law was shot and killed by the army along with my sister and son at Kondavil.**

Only on 21.11.87 I managed to visit my sister's house.

I found my brother-in-law's highly decomposed body lying in the compound.

I also found the bodies of my sister and her son lying there.

I cremated their bodies inside the home compound itself on 21.11.87.

My brother-in-law's parents died few years ago.

*C. Navaratnam*



CHELLIAH THURAIRAJAH (61)

Thiruchelvam lane, Palaly Road, Kondavil East, Kondavil.

My wife, my un-married daughter and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

My family and I sought refuge at Nallur Kandasamy Temple on 16.10.87 as Indian Peace Keeping Force lobbed shells continuously towards our locality from 12.10.87.

My married daughter who had given birth to a child on 13.10.87 too sought refuge at Nallur Kandasamy temple on 17.10.87.

Due to lack of facilities at the said temple, my family, married daughter, her baby and I sought refuge at the Chundikuly Girls School on 20.10.87 morning.

**On 20.10.87 night at 7 p.m. IPKF in Navatkuli camp started firing shells towards the Jaffna Town.**

One of such shell fell on the school building and exploded.

**Shrapnels from this explosion killed my un-married daughter T. Pathmaranee age 19 years on the spot.**

About 10 innocent tamils were killed in this incident and several had been injured.

**My daughter had injuries all over the body.**

The dead body of my daughter was buried in a land close to the said school on the 21st morning as curfew was on.

On 10.11.87, we returned home and found our house was damaged in shell ell firing and our belongings were badly damaged.

*C. Navaratnam*



KANDIAH NAGARATNAM, (58), No. 24, Rasavinthodam.

I am father of the late Nagaratnam Navaratnarajah killed in shell blast on 16.10.87.

**Due to constant shell fire and military activities in the area, my son Navaratnarajah left home at about 7.00 a.m. on 16.10.87 and was on his way to the Nallur Refugee Camp.**

While going on Hospital Road, a shell fell in proximity on the road and exploded.

**Shrapnels darting from the blast struck my son causing severe head injuries when he fell dead on the spot.**

On receipt of information I arrived at the scene to find my son lying dead in a pool of blood.

His body was cremated at the Thundy Crematorium on the same day at about 2.30 p.m.

**My son was 19 years old and was a student reading in the G.C.E. (O/L) class.**

*Th. Navaratnam*



LAWRENCE MARIAROSA, Koolavadi Lane, Anaicoddai.

My husband, I and five Children - 3 daughters and 2 sons - between the ages of 15 and 6 years lived at the above address along with my mother.

My husband was a businessman engaged in small trading.

On 16.10.87 I and the rest of our family members had to leave our house due to heavy shell fire in that area.

We moved on to Moothu Vinayagar Hindu Temple at Anaicoddai and took refugee there along with several other refugees.

On 18.10.87 my husband Murugesu Lawrence (53) left the temple, spent the night at home in order to see the house was secure from thieves.

Early in the morning on Monday 19.10.87 while I and the children were in the temple we heard the sound of continued gun fire around the temple.

**Shortly after the firing ceased the temple door was opened and some of the refugees went out and saw some civilians from the neighbourhood lying dead around the temple, and the IPKF personnel were about the place.**

My husband did not turn up on the morning on Monday 19.10.87. I thought he was prevented from visiting us due to the presence of IPKF personnel near the temple.

**On Tuesday 21.10.87 morning the refugees in the temple were able to go out as the IPKF had withdrawn.**

That morning only I discovered that my husband was dead and that his body was lying about 15 yards away from the temple.

**I was informed by Thalayasingam of Anaicoddai that my husband was shot dead by the IPKF on Monday 19.11.87 morning near where his body was lying.**

A mother and son were also shot dead about the same time. The dead mother and son were Thalayasingam's wife Aachipillai and son Siri, a postman.

**While Thalayasingam went to the rescue of his wife and son he saw my husband being shot by the IPKF.**



MAHESAN MEENACHI (56), widow, Maattu Clunkai, Moothavinayagar Kovilady, Anaicoddai.

The deceased Nagalingam Mahesan, aged 60 years was my husband. He was a casual labourer.

**On 16.10.87 about 5 p.m. shell launched by the army fell over the roof of our house and exploded.**

**My husband who was struck by a huge shrapnel on his stomach, died instantaneously.**

His cremation took place at Naval cemetery on 17.10.87.

After his death I do not have any income.

**My only son was also injured in the blast.**



Mrs. NAGESWARY RAJASINGAM (39)

Kalaivani Road, Annunkai, Kondavil North, Kondavil.

My mother-in-law Chelliah Archchipillai age 78 years, husband, my child and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

**Indian Peace Keeping Force who advanced to Sri-Lanka Transport Board Depot on 16.10.87 early morning entered into our house and shot and killed my mother-in-law and my husband.**

**My child and I managed to escape without any injury.**

**Through fear both of us took refuge at the Pootharayar temple which is close to my house.**

**I was able to return home only on 21.11.87 the day on which ceasefire was announced and found the skeletons of my mother-in-law and husband.**

**Both skeletons were burnt by me in our compound on 21.11.87.**

இந்தியப் படைகள்



RAJARATNAM RASAMANY (52) years, widow of Rajaratnam, Urelu East, Chunnakam.

The deceased Rajaratnam Lalinthi, aged 20 years was my daughter. She was a 1st year medical student.

**On 16.10.87 our area was subjected to intensive military operation.**

**At about 3 p.m. the army approached our house firing at random.**

**We ran out from our house fear.**

**The soldiers fired at us and my daughter was struck by a hail of bullets.**

**She died instantaneously.**

**We fled to our safety leaving her body where she was shot.**

**Only after eight days we were able to return to our house.**

**There we found her decomposed body.**

**We cremated her body at the Pokanai cemetery on the same day.**

**I have three unmarried daughters.**

தி. இராசா ராணி



Mrs. REASU KASUPATHY (55)

Palam Road, Vannarpannai North West, Anaicoddai.

I was living with my husband Ramu Erasu (60) and children at the above address.

**On 16.10.87 I was forced to seek shelter at the Kokuvil Hindu College due to the Indian Peace Keeping Force operation in our area.**

**On 25.10.87 evening the IPKF moved into the area surrounding the Kokuvil Hindu College and resorted to cannon fire and gun fire on the school premises. This continued till the next morning.**

**My husband Ramu Erasu (60) was hit by a bullet at about 5 a.m. on 26.10.87 and died on the spot.**

**The dead body of my husband was burnt by IPKF personnel in the school compound itself subsequently.**

My eldest son E. Nagarasa (31) remains a bachelor as he is a heart patient. He is unemployed due to the illness.

I have three other children a son and two daughters aged 20 and 16 all four children are unemployed. My children and I were solely dependent on my husband.

The untimely death of my husband is a big blow to me and my children.



THAMAR CHELVAM (75), Chulipuram Millady Sorkavalavu Pillayar Kovilady Kupilan, Erlalai.

The deceased person Arumugam Thamar, aged 75 years was my husband.

On 16.10.87 my husband left home saying that he is going to Chunnakam.

**At about 4 p.m. I was informed that my husband was shot and killed by the army while he was on his way to Chunnakam.**

His body was cremated on the following day at Kupilan.

தமர் செல்வம்



AROKIYAMMAH widow of the late Joseph Fernandez (56), Thikkampurai, Vasavilan.

I am the mother of the late Fernandez Nobert Jerome Sebamalai who was killed in Indian army firing on 17.10.87.

At about 10.00 a.m. on 17.10.87 my son left home to a shop in proximity to purchase provisions.

I heard the reports of gun firing after my son left home as there was delay in his return when I became nervous and went out in search of him.

**I saw my son lying dead on the road with severe head injuries. I was told he was shot dead by the Indian army.**

With the assistance of the people around, his body was brought home at about 12.30 p.m. on the day.

His body was buried in the Vasavilan Catholic Cemetery at about 10.00 a.m. in the morning on 18.10.87.

My late son Sebamalai was 27 years of age and was a trader earning a monthly income of Rs. 2,000/-. He was not married.

He was the family bread-winner who maintained me and my family of 5 members.

I and my family lived earlier in Colombo at Mutwal and had to flee our home during the July 1983 race riots. I lost all my belongings as the entire house was looted and were threatened of our lives and hence took refuge in Vasavilan.

அருகியம்மா



Mrs. DONAS PHILOMENA, 23/2, Central East Road, Jaffna.

**My son Thavachelvam (alias) Anton Luke, aged 24 years was hit by a shell blast on the 17th of October 1987.**

He sustained a compound fracture of the left thigh bone. He was admitted to the General Hospital on the same day and discharged on the 2nd of December 1987 and is still under treatment and bed ridden. This son was sole breadwinner of the family being the eldest.

**His father is sickly unable to work. I have eight (8) children to maintain. I am of very poor circumstances and need assistance.**

## REPORT

# Jaffna holds out as Indian troops' death toll rises

By David Wigg in Colombo

INDIAN forces were held up a mile outside Jaffna yesterday by stiff resistance from the Tamil Tigers and large numbers of civilians an Indian Government spokesman said. A landmine killed 20 soldiers.

She said 79 Indians had been killed in the fighting so far with another 17 missing after an ambush during a search operation. Some 260 Indians had been wounded.

The Tigers set off a remotely controlled landmine, killing 20 Indian soldiers in a lorry north of Batticaloa. Three Sri Lankan soldiers were killed and seven were wounded in another landmine explosion at Trincomalee Sri Lankan sources said.

## Red Cross appeal

Sri Lankan State radio claimed that five Indians captured by the Tigers were burned alive. The radio said that messages had been intercepted between Velupillai Prabhakaran the Tigers leaders and his area commanders which boasted that they were "frying" the Indians Indian official sources said they had no such reports.

The Indian spokesman said that 380 Tigers had been killed and she quoted an intercepted Tiger radio message which admitted that "a large number of cadres have been killed."

She described the fighting around Jaffna as "intermittent" with the Indians using mortar fire. Some Tiger positions were destroyed. There were plans to bring in more reinforcements, she added. Sri Lankan sources called the fighting "heavy".

The Red Cross has appealed for the safety of the vast civilian population. The Indians say they have flown in food medicines and tents, but admit that those actually inside Jaffna town are "having difficulties."

The halt in the Indian advance may have been because they underestimated the Tigers. Western diplomats said. If the Tigers decided to fight to the death then Jaffna might have to be flattened.

The Indians were not skilled in counter guerrilla warfare they said and seemed to be using conventional advances without any flanking movements apparently prepared for heavy losses.

The Tigers had had four years to prepare their defences and in some areas, had built trenches that ran for about 3,000 yards. They estimated that only about 10 percent of their weapons had been surrendered.

The Tamil people are industrious envoys said and this was reflected in the Tigers' discipline. They were well turned out and had clean weapons. One source reported how they rested their weapons on their feet, rather than on the dirty ground.

The dislocation of thousands of Tamils may result in some of them trying to flee to Britain and other countries. A British High Commission spokesman said that there had been no increase in visa applications; in fact, there was a seasonal decrease.

## Police airlift

Our New Delhi Correspondent writes: The Indian Government yesterday airlifted hundreds of heavily armed paramilitary Central Reserve Police from New Delhi and other northern states to reinforce the army contingents in Sri Lanka.

More than five Boeing 737 and Airbus jets belonging to Indian airlines were commandeered by the Government, disrupting timetables and leaving civilian passengers waiting.

16.10.87

## Cong(S) doubts over Indo-Sri Lanka accord

NEW DELHI, Oct. 14.

The Congress(S) working committee is sceptic about the usefulness of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord in laying the basis for a permanent solution of the ethnic conflict in the island. It is of the view that some provisions of the accord are loaded against India and certainly not satisfactory to Sri Lankan Tamils.

At a meeting here the CWC(S) adopted a resolution criticising the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, for signing 'an extra-ordinary agreement' with the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, overlooking all the sensitive parameters involved in the situation and imposing it on the Tamils.

Giving a resume of the CWC(S) meeting at a news conference here, the Congress(S) general secretary, Mr. K. P. Unnikrishnan, MP, said it was tragic that the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) should find itself pitted against the Sri Lankan Tamils. For 40 years India had tried to defend their interests but had now placed itself in a hostile position.

He expressed the hope that a deadline would be fixed for the earliest possible withdrawal of the IPKF so that the world would know that India "has no ambition or aspiration to play the role of a gendarme in the region" Any other course would mean the reversal of India's traditional foreign policy.

Mickey Patel, 15.10.87





## Jaffna Takes a Pounding REPORT

15.10.87

The battle for Jaffna had entered its second week, and Nallur Kandaswamy Temple was packed. More than 50,000 men, women and children in Jaffna City were crowded within its walls. It was Deepavali, the most auspicious day for Hindus in Sri Lanka. But none of the Hindu Tamils huddled in the temple were celebrating; all were fleeing pitched battles between Tamil guerillas and the advancing soldiers of the Indian Army. Rani Sivanayagam, 24, spent three days and nights in the shrine before she escaped the peninsula, reaching Colombo after a nightmarish journey over little-used jungle tracks, dodging army patrols and aerial strafing by helicopters. "There is no room to stand, let alone sleep," she reported. "Diarrhoea is widespread and there aren't any sanitation facilities. Only those with money or a relative nearby can have something to eat. That, too, is limited to a bowl of rice gruel a day." Like Sivanayagam, many of the 830,000 Tamils in Jaffna peninsula have taken refuge in similar designated centres or fled south to escape the cross-fire.

The battle began on Oct. 9, when Indian peacekeeping forces, in Sri Lanka to enforce the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement of July 29, mounted an offensive against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the largest and most powerful among several groups fighting for a Tamil homeland. The Tigers had earlier massacred more than 250 Sinhalese civilians in Eastern Province, and attacked an Indian convoy, in retaliation for the capture and suicide-deaths of more than a dozen Tiger guerillas. Since then, there has been no quarter given, and none asked.

India has vowed to continue until the Tigers surrender or are conquered. More than 20,000 of its soldiers are now on the island, about 8,000 of them in Jaffna peninsula. Many are crack border patrol troops, paratroopers or Gurkhas. The Indian High Commission in Colombo said at mid-week that more than 600 guerillas had been killed. On the Indian side, 127 soldiers were reported dead and 27 missing and presumed dead. Other sources said at least 40 Indian soldiers have succumbed to their injuries in hospitals in Madras.

Some sources suspect that more civilians have been killed than guerillas or soldiers. India has not supplied details of civilian casualties, and journalists are barred from the area. But a Tamil refugee from a village near Jaffna who reached Colombo last week said that the city was being shelled "24 hours a day." According to him, "the whole area looks as if a heavy cyclone has struck. Not many buildings are left." An independent group of twelve Sri Lankans, including Jaffna Hospital director P.S.

Nacchinakkiniyar and the city municipal commissioner C.V.K. Sivayanam, claimed about 700 civilians have died and more than 300 were wounded. "Even drinking water is scarce, and starvation deaths are imminent," they reported. Roman Catholic clergy in Jaffna reported that many died from indiscriminate shelling and strafing, although India denied using air cover in its assault.

Both sides have been accused of atrocities. Refugees who escaped to Vavuniya, 120 km south of Jaffna city, spoke of rape and murder. They claimed the Indians went on an orgy of violence after 30 soldiers were killed at Jaffna University. The Tigers had massacred the captured paratroopers and set their bodies afire. Another five captured Indian soldiers were burnt alive in Nallur temple.

The Indians claimed last week that they controlled three-quarters of the city



Indian tank: In for the long haul

centre, including the main bus stand and the general hospital. However, others on the scene reported that by Oct. 21 the advancing units were still half a kilometre away from the municipal limits, while soldiers camped at historic Jaffna fort had not broken out of the one kilometre security zone around the fort. "Their battle tanks are not made to withstand the 250 kg drum mines used by the LTTE," said a refugee. Three reporters who slipped into Jaffna last week said the Tigers were still in control there. "Their supply lines seem intact, and they move about freely," said one journalist.

The Indians admitted encountering "very heavy resistance" when they tried to capture the Tigers' main base in Urumparai village near Jaffna. After a final four-hour assault on the morning of Oct. 16, the Indians said they counted 110 dead

guerillas. At least 50 Indians were said to have died. These included 30 who rappelled down from a helicopter into the grounds of Jaffna University, 400 metres away. Their Russian M18 helicopter returned to Palalai airport on the northern coast riddled with bullets. Two accompanying choppers with 60 soldiers aboard veered off after seeing the intense ground fire.

The Tigers have asked for a ceasefire through various emissaries, including Tamil Nadu politician M. Karunanidhi. But India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has insisted that nothing short of "an unconditional surrender of all weapons, and total acceptance of the Indo-Lankan accord" will do. Tamil mediators have vainly tried to see Indian High Commissioner Jyotindra Nath Dixit, who is ill with malarial fever. "Without his approval, Delhi will not even hear of a ceasefire," one Tamil source told Asiaweek.

The Tigers seem divided over what course to take. "One [group] wants to surrender, while the other, led by [Tiger deputy Mahendraraja], wants to withdraw out of Jaffna while they can," an intelligence source privy to intercepted Tiger radio communication told Asiaweek. The Indians were exploiting the apparent dissent. On Oct. 21 they offered an amnesty, which did not include Tiger leaders, over the radio, loud hailer and through leaflets. "The Indians are encouraging a split within the LTTE," said a Sri Lankan military official. "The question is whether the cadres will take the bait." The Tigers were apparently awaiting orders from their commander, Velupillai Prabhakaran, who had been missing since the day after the Urumparai assault. He was said to have been directing the resistance from Nallur temple.

Even if the Indians wrest control of Jaffna, several thousand Tigers remain at large in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. New Delhi was apparently worried about a protracted struggle. Last week Maj.-Gen. Harkirat Singh, commander of the Indian troops, was relieved of his duties and recalled to Delhi. The Indian High Commission announced that the chief of Indian Military Intelligence had arrived in Jaffna on Thursday to take over command of the Indian forces. Lt.-Gen. Depinder Singh of the Indian Southern Command, who visited Jaffna and Colombo last Monday, was said to have revamped the command structure and issued orders to "speed up" the offensive. Promised Gandhi at a news conference in Washington last week: "The problem in Jaffna should not last more than a week, perhaps two weeks." Others were less optimistic. Given the breakdown of order in Jaffna, India may be in for a long haul. ■

# IPKF not going all out

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct 15.

Some more personnel of the Indian Peace-keeping Force were reported killed today as fighting continued to rage in the Jaffna peninsula of Sri Lanka. Delhi airport was closed to air traffic and commercial flights were cancelled or postponed during the day because more troops were rushed to Sri Lanka in civilian planes.

According to the External Affairs Ministry spokesman, three IPKF jawans lost their lives and six were wounded in the operations near Jaffna town. In a separate incident this morning in the Eastern Province 20 jawans were killed instantly when their transport was blown up in a land mine laid by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Four soldiers were badly injured.

The spokesman said it was difficult to give an accurate figure of LTTE casualties. However, an estimate of the LTTE losses since the operations began on October 9 has put the total at 380 militants killed.

Reports from Jaffna indicate that the LTTE is not conducting guerilla warfare as initially believed but attacking the IPKF from well prepared hideouts in heavily populated areas. The IPKF is under strict orders not to use heavy artillery and in the absence of air strikes, it is fighting with one hand tied behind its back. This has generated considerable frustration among IPKF ranks especially when casualties mounted. Western media reports that the LTTE was putting up a 'hard fight' and that the IPKF was finding it difficult to make progress towards Jaffna have been dismissed as 'ill informed.' It has been pointed out that if the IPKF was allowed to conduct the operations in the conventional sense the LTTE would have been neutralised in the first 48 hours.

The spokesman disclosed that some important LTTE leaders have either been captured or killed in the past few days of fighting. Mr. Devadasan and Mr. Karan Antony, the LTTE's mili-

tary wing leaders, were killed on October 11 near the Jaffna lagoon area. Mr. Subramanyam, the LTTE's officer-in-charge of operations, was also killed on October 13. Mr. David, the LTTE's political leader in Batticaloa district, was apprehended on October 11.

**Return of refugees:** Meanwhile at the diplomatic level the Government of India has urged the Sri Lankan Government to take up urgently the question of the early return of refugees to Sri Lanka. There are some 25,000 Sri Lankan refugees in camps and about a lakh outside. It has been pointed out that since Sinhala refugees who fled from their homes in the North and East have returned after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, conditions must be created for the return of the Sri Lankan Tamils also.

The spokesman declined to comment on the letter written by the LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabhakaran, to the Prime Minister and distributed by the LTTE office in Madras yesterday. He said there was no information on whether the letter had been received by the Indian Government.

**PTI reports:**

Defence sources here said the IPKF personnel now engaged in flushing out LTTE men from their strongholds in Jaffna town are only using light arms and have been debarred from mounting any airborne operation.

They said the LTTE had built fortifications on rooftops and groundfloors (akin to pill boxes) on the houses having a wide sweep of the main thoroughfares of the town. "It is extremely difficult to spot these defences unless you come under their hail of gunfire", the sources said.

The LTTE men were using heavy mortars and rockets and forcing people at gunpoint to form a "human shield" in front of them in utter disregard to the safety of innocent human beings.

The sources discounted as "exaggerated" the claims by the LTTE that 28 commandos had been killed after they were airdropped near the Jaffna Fort area before dawn on Monday.

## LTTE CLAIMS

On 15.10.87 shells fell and blasted even in places, where the Sinhala army could not have moved. In the most indiscriminate shell attack by the Indian army, a very large number of civilian people were killed and many were injured. Many of them are taking shelter on street sides and under the trees. The Indian army men have raped many women and the dead bodies of 11 women were found in a room. There were no dress on these dead bodies; some parts of these bodies were also cut off. Many of these dead bodies have the marks of human teeth (the raped and killed include elderly women too). The Indian army abducted 40 women, took them to their camps, raped them and then crushed them beyond identification under the wheels of their armoured vehicles.

A truck of the IPKF was proceeding from Thondamanaru camp in Vadammaratchi to Yakkarai. From Yakkarai pillaiyar temple which is at a distance of 500 metres from the camp, the LTTE attacked them with land-mines, all those in the truck (8 in number) got killed.

At Sandiveli in Batticaloa District, in the land-mine attack on the Indian army by the LTTE, 3 men of the IPKF were killed; 5 were injured and the truck by which they were going was thoroughly damaged.

The Indian army burnt-down 300 houses of the Tamil in Mayilamveli of Batticaloa District and they raped 25 innocent Tamil women who were in Sarvodaya. At the very same place, the LTTE attacked them with land-mines 24 men of the Indian army died on the spot; their truck and van was completely destroyed.

At Kiran, Valaichenai, Sandhiveli, Murakkottanchenai and Vadammoalai, the Indian army raped a large number of young girls. It also made them raked by undressing them and made them stand and walk nude thus disgracing and humiliating them in the most barbaric manner.

At Kokkatchicholai in its 'search' for militants, the Indian army had killed two innocent civilian.

The Indian army has plundered the residential houses of a large number of Tamils, including the house of Subramaniyam, Railway Station master of Murakkottanchenai and the proprietor of Sandhiveli Bakery, Ram and have taken away their jewels, currency and other valuable properties. From the house of the bakery proprietor they have taken Rs. 28,000 and 2 gold chains.

At about 2 p.m. the LTTE attacked the chained armoured vehicle of the IPKF, at a place between Thellipalai and Mallagam. The vehicle was blown-out beyond use. The LTTE took away parts of the armoured vehicle.

At about 5.30 p.m., in the land-mines attack at Murikandy, 6 soldiers of the Indian army were killed. At Chavakachcheri Pudukkatusandhy also, 6 Indian army men were killed.

On 14th and 15th when the IPKF men came out from the Navatkuzhi camp, the LTTE attacked them 6 times with claymore land-mines. The IPKF met with heavy losses and returned to the camp.

In the attack of 15.10.87, two members of the LTTE, James and Peris were killed.



DMK president M. Karunanidhi (in jeep, left) led his partymen who marched from Royapuram to Periyar Statue on Mount Road on Thursday, seeking a ceasefire by the IPKF in Sri Lanka. Express.



# Tigers use common sense to go on fighting

COLOMBO – Four years ago, one of the most sought-after books in the now destroyed Jaffna public library was a illustrated history of weapons, a work which proved invaluable for the Tamil Tigers, who went on to produce mortar bombs and even an 85mm gun, writes Bruce Pallang.

It is this sort of resourcefulness that is worrying the Indian army as they close in on the Tigers in Jaffna.

The Indian objective is to crush the Tigers completely, so they cannot pose a threat to the Indo-Lanka accord. But despite their youth and lack of training, the Tigers are a formidable force, as even their Sri Lankan army opponents will admit.

According to the latest Indian estimates, 380 Tigers have been killed in the past five days, – nearly a Quarter of their fighting force. Fatalities such as there would finish off most guerrilla armies, but there is no sign of the Tigers flagging.

In the past year they have tonight three set piece battles and on each occasion, when the situation turned against them, they disengaged in classic guerrilla style to fight another day. This time, they seem determined to resist to the last man.

"The Sri Lankan army always knew Jaffna town would be a difficult nut to crack. The Tigers are very capable of setting up their own defences after all they had four years to work out and improve them tactics," said one Western diplomat.

The Tigers' weaponry illustrates their supply problems but also their initiative. The preferred weapon is the Chinese made AK 47 but they also use British, Belgian and US rifles. Apart from their mortars,

their most feared home made weapon is a rifle grenade they call Stick – essentially a Molotov cocktail fired from a shotgun. They are also expert at setting booby traps and remote controlled mines. It was these that caused the most casualties to the Sri Lankan army in their May offensive.

## REPORT

The Tigers, who gained pre-eminence in the Tamil guerrilla movement through their ruthlessness, enforce rigid self-discipline within their ranks and adopt a puritanical morality, eschewing smoking, drinking and drugs. Their military ranking system is unique and promotions are usually based on personal bravery rather than military ability. Their willingness to take cyanide capsules rather than face capture is the result of the knowledge of strategy shared between officers and men.

Although they usually deny participation in massacres of Sinhalese civilians, there is no doubt they have practised terrorism.

By comparison, their Indian opponents are conventional itself, with the main forces comprised of the Punjab, Maharatta and Madras regiments. These are mechanised, with some tanks and spotter aircraft, but no combat plane support because of a reluctance to use such firepower in the heavily populated peninsula.

Indian tactics are also conventional – the "advance to contact" approach. Western sources believe it could be a liability for the Indians, and certainly the latest briefings show the Indians are not advancing as quickly as they expected. They say they are awaiting reinforcements.

The next week should tell whether they can wipe the Tigers out or whether they will face a festering guerrilla war with weekly casualties for months to come.

16.10.87

Bruce Pallang



Bhatlekar, Illustrated Weekly of India



BATTLE □ FOR □ JAFFNA

# OLD SCENARIOS

(Operation Pawan)

## CIVILIANS □ KILLED

## ANAI KODDAI

M.M. Lawrance

S. Mary Pathmarajini

I. Santhirasekaram

N. Vignarajah

M. Lawrance

M. Vimalarajah

N. Subramaniam

M. Kanagaratnam

S. Poorany

I. Sinnammah

S. Kuganantharajah

S. Nagarasa

S. Rajakumar

P. Ratnam

N. Raseepan

V. Venkadachalam

C. Vijayarajah

Nagar Rathinam

## CHUNNAKAM

N. Ranjiniheen

K. Selvi

K. Rasiah

R. Manonmany

K. Sarojadevi

K. Vimalanathan

Kugarasa

I. Letchumy

P. Sivalingam

M. Kanapathipilai

A. Sivagurunathan

N. Sinathurai

S. Easwary

S. Rajakumary

S. Sureskumar

S. Vijayakumar

S. Uthayakumar

U. Choromily

U. Theepa

Rasathurai

T. Anathakumar

I. Rasarithnam

S. Kumarasamy

K. Sanmugam

K. Balakrishna

Nadesu

Sarasingam

N. Sathunan

Kanagarayar

T. Thuraiyappah

T. Thanabalasingam

S. Jeyakantham

S. Prabaharan

S. Suthakaran

T. Suthakaran

T. Santhalingam

S. Rajakulaseenay

R. Kulamany

Sithihay Gayathary

T. Parpamma

S. Kanapathy

P. Muthulingam

Ponnammah Mathar

M. Nadarasa

V. Elumalainathan

A. Sundaramah

M. Pathmavathy

On Friday (9th October) Indian Defence Minister Pant met President Jayewardene in Colombo and assured him India would keep its part of the bargain and help to stamp out militant violence in the North and East President Jayewardene announced the LTTE was banned and the amnesty offered to its members revoked.

On Saturday the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) launched, Operation. Flush Out.

As a prelude, the IPKF raided the offices of two Tamil dailies – Eelamurasu and Murosoli – in the early hours of Saturday, a little before the curfew ended, arrested the employees and took them away. A few minutes later there were big blasts which damaged the equipment and offices of the two dailies. Around the same time the IPKF seized TV equipment belonging to the Tigers.

On Saturday, around noon, the IPKF moved out of the Jaffna Fort and up to 2nd Cross St Junction.

Then began the direct confrontation between the IPKF and the Tigers.

The exchange of gunfire was followed by intense shelling – the likes of which Jaffna has never heard before – from the Jaffna Fort. This continued throughout the night.

This was a replay of an old scenario familiar to Jaffna over the last few years.

A curfew was clamped down from 2 p.m. on Saturday till 6 a.m. on Tuesday (13th October).

The intense shelling continued on Sunday peaking, around 5 p.m. when several shells – including eardrum shattering artillery shells – fell near and around Kallosapillayar Kovil. One shell fell on a passenger van parked opposite the Kovil killing a man on the spot. A private medical clinic near the Kovil itself too was damaged. One shell fell near the office and printing establishment of the Tamil daily Uthayan.

On Monday morning (12th October) round about 10.15 a.m. helicopters which carried out a preliminary strafing dropped para-troops in a crematorium near the Medical Faculty of the Jaffna University.

They were encircled and a fierce battle broke out. Twenty nine Indian commandos were killed as they tried to enter the Medical Faculty Building.

Some commandos escaped and holed up in Pirambaddy Lane, Kokuvil, near the Jaffna Technical College.

On Monday evening, round about 5 p.m. Marchetti bombers circled the sky, but did not drop any bombs.

On Tuesday morning: a helicopter strafed several areas in the Jaffna Town at random; one person was killed at Mulhirasanthi Junction.

A while later, Marchetti bombers screamed overhead, dropping at least 20 bombs.

The result?

The Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics Blocks of the University of Jaffna were badly damaged.

The micro-computer complex housed in the Maths Block of the Jaffna University was given a severe shaking - up.

The Library, especially the South Asia Section, which has valuable books on India, was turned upside down, with all the books hurled to the floor.

A rescue operation was mounted to rescue the Indian para-troops.

Armoured vehicles came along rail tracks and the para-troopers were rescued

But at what cost?

At least forty people (including women and children) living down Pirambaddy Lane were killed.

Some of the bodies were literally pasted to the ground, heavy vehicles have been driven over them.

On Wednesday, militant sentry points were bombed. Shells fired from the Jaffna Fort severely damaged some premier business establishments down Mala Street, Jaffna.

The irony is that these establishments had carried out repair work at considerable expense after the IPKF landed here.

On Thursday morning, a helicopter shelled Jaffna Hindu Ladies College – killing a lady who had taken shelter there.

Jaffna Hindu Ladies College was one of the officially named places of refuge.

At 6 p.m. on Thursday, hell strafing killed 4 members of a family who had come from Pallikudah (near Mandaitivu, Jaffna) to seek medical treatment. They were killed at sea near Passaiyoor Jaffna. Five others were injured.

Their names : Trons (15), Mrs. Ilencicus Mellda (45), Henricus Maryln (17), Mrs. Benedict There-sammah (50).

Early on Friday morning, there was a tremendous explosion – it seemed as if the refugees at Nallur Kandawamy Temple had been bombed.

Fortunately no such thing happened.

Apparently, shells had been fired : they had hit a Vairavar Kovil in Thionevely.

As we go to press today (Friday) bombers fly menacingly overhead.

To (sum up) :

- Jaffna has so far never experienced such continuous, intense shelling

- The people of Jaffna have never felt such an intense sense of betrayal

- If the Tigers aren't here, we will be completely at the mercy of the enemy is a commonly expressed, sentiment

• The IPKF came to save us, why are they doing all this to us? Another common question.

These are some of the questions being fiercely discussed and wrangled over in Jaffna at the moment.

While these acrimonious discussions go on, the battle rages on.

Even as we write, bombers – Indian or Sri Lankan, who knows? – circle overhead, though they haven't dropped any bombs so far. The Tigers claim that they have knocked out 19 vehicles and have commandeered 5 IPKF vehicles.

They also claim that they have twenty (20) Indian Peace Keeping Force personnel (IPKF) in their custody.

One of them is reportedly from Tamil Nadu.

Today (Friday 16th October) the seventh day of the war, the people of Jaffna are more dazed than ever before.

They don't know, whether they are coming or going.

Or in which crematorium or graveyard they'll end up – anonymously.

As we go to press the SATURDAY REVIEW learns that over 130 weapons (assorted) and nearly 35,000 rounds of ammunition have been seized.

The militants casualties are not known: about 30-50 of them may have been killed, with about the same number injured.

The official figures of IPKF casualties (as at Friday morning), are 59 dead and 117 injured.

According to information available to the SATURDAY REVIEW, more than 100 civilians have been killed in Operation Flush-Out and at least 150 civilian injured.

At this point of time, for understandable reasons, we are not in a position to give exact facts and figures.

We hope to publish them in the forthcoming. Issues of SR, provided we can do so.



D.B.S. Jayaraj

COMMENT

# Many Myths Destroyed

Let us begin with a grand mother's tale. There lived a wicked man, a cruel tyrant. The people hated and cursed him.

Lying on his death-bed, he repented and called his son, "I have behaved badly, caused much hardship to the people and incurred their hatred: Promise me that through your actions, you will make amends thereby earning me a good name".

The son promised. After the father's death, the son started behaving atrociously. The cruelty and tyranny soon, exceeded the father's sins paled into insignificance when compared to the son's. The people of the village began to mutter "what a good man the father was, and what a bad man the son is". So the dutiful son fulfilled his promise and the father's name was cleared.

Ever since the Indian Peace Keeping Force shattered the short-lived Peace in Jaffna many myths are being destroyed. Starting with the media, there was a myth that only the state owned and controlled media. In the South distorted and blacked out news about the North. Now we find the Indian media's "See, here and speak no evil" campaign about the IPKF role here equally and perhaps more reprehensible.

The Sri Lanka Government silenced the independent media through methods like censorship, or a publication ban under the Emergency etc. The Indians have not only arrested journalists and employees of the "Eelamarasu" and "Murasoli" but have also destroyed machinery thereby rendering them ineffective.

Earlier we thought that civilian killing was a unique feature of the Sri Lankan Armed forces. The brutality displayed in the civilian massacre, at Thalayali and Pirambadi in Kokuvil by the Indian Forces has exploded that myth.

Shelling from military camps into heavily-populated civilian areas was done by Sinhala forces. There were appreciable intervals during the sporadic firing from various points in the Peninsula including the Fort is so intense that the people have no respite at all. Power has been disrupted. The hospital is malfunctioning. No official arrangements have been made for the refugees. The low-key activity that went on in earlier days is absent, with even small mercies being denied; more illusions are disintegrating.

Aerial bombardment and strafing we thought was the prerogative of the Sri Lankan Forces. Today we find it continuing. A hair-splitting argument could be made that it is the Sri Lankan forces who are operating the aircraft and artillery and therefore the Indian

(Operation Pawan)

## CIVILIANS KILLED

M. Sivanatharajah	Thuraiappah
K. Krishnapillai	Makinthan
S. Seenukuddy	Katheramalai
S. Sivakumaran	Sellar Sivapothan
K. Gnanaratnam	S. Ponnupillai
S. Tharmavathy	N. Sivapakiam
M. Ambalavanar	Mudisingarajah
S. Rasa	Gunaratnam
K. Krishnapillai	CHAVAKACHCHERI
P. Vijayarajah	K. Kaneshamoorthy
T. Sithamparam	S. Paranthaman
Sinnathurai	COLAMBAGAM
M. Mornuthu	S. Kanthasamy
Ratnam	P. Vasanthi
S. Rosa	CHANKANAI
K. Thambirajah	Santhirathevy
S. Sellapah	Kanagasoori
M. Kathiramalai	V. Appiah
V. Vallipillai	N. Navaratnam
S. Kumarasamy	CHUNDIKULI
S. Navaratnam	K. Shanmugam
K. Sathasivam	S. Ratnambal
K. Saravanai	EARLALAI
Sinnachchi	N. Paneerselvam
Selvarajah	S. Jegatheeswaran
Parathirajah	Pathmawathy
R. Arasaratnam	Karthigesu
Appathurai	Gunalakshmi
A. Kanthasamy	T. Mathavar
S. Kanthasamy	GURU NAGAR
M. Satheswaran	Manuel
S. Satheswaran	M. Christy
Nagan Mari Andu	X. Sarayaruban
Seeniyar	M. Rathnasabapathy

forces are not culpable. The moral and legal obligations placed on the IPKF to ensure the protection of the Tamils is a sacred trust tantamount to a Social Contract.

Whatever the antipathy New Delhi may have towards the Tigers, India's primary responsibility of safeguarding civilian life, limb and property cannot be discarded lightly. Also in the popular Tamil perception all violence being unleashed right now is attributed to the Indian and not the Sri Lankan forces.

The current situation is best described by the Tamil Proverb "Veliye payirai meyuthu". (The fence is eating the crop) and the emotions of the people is illustrated by the saying "Ventha Punnile vel" (Piercing the unhealed wound). The Tamil feeling of betrayal by India is very high.

Other myths being shattered are those like seeing India as a Saviour and a Protector of the Tamils, as a Power dedicated to ensure a just and honourable settlement for the Tamils. What is now clear to most Tamils is that India has secured her geo-political interests through the annexures of letters and not through the Accord.

The Peace Accord was expedited because of the domestic political compulsions on Rajiv Gandhi beleaguered by the Bofors Scandal and internal Congress dissensions.

It is now in the Indian interest to prop up a tottering J.R. regime to consolidate what it has achieved in terms of Indian Interests. Thus the Tamils will be short-changed once again with an imposed settlement that will fall far short of their legitimate aspirations. The LTTE which would be the most effective deterrent to this type of settlement and has manifested in the past virulent nationalism that has rocked the corridors of power in Delhi has to be destroyed.

This would appease racist elements in the South and strengthen J.R.'s hand. So the witch hunt for the Tigers is on.

The irony is that India which admonished Colombo time and again on the folly of waging war against a guerilla movement fighting for a national goal with a strong element of popular support is now committing the same error.

The political naivete of Rajiv Gandhi is saying that only "2000 Tigers are against the Accord" and foolish boast that the North and East have been joined together have been undermined by current events like the interim provisions in the draft Provincial Councils Act and the on-going hostilities in Jaffna.

The longer India prolongs this conflict situation in a bid to conflict situation in a bid to decimate the Tigers, the greater the sufferings of the people. People will be more alienated from India and the whole exercise will be counter productive like winning a battle and losing a war.

The analogy between the Sri Lankan forces and Indian forces does not mean the former is better than the later. If one is tweedledum, the other is tweedledee.

The crucial difference is that the average Tamil could understand the motivation and repression of the Sri Lankan forces who were from their point of view, fighting to preserve the territorial integrity of their country. That perception was understood but not condoned or accepted. But in the case of the Indian forces, it is a case of external power considered as a benign Protector and Saviour a power which nourished and nurtured the Tamil struggle, a power which came to salvage the 'Tamils after the ravages of Vadamarachy. When a Peace Keeping Force transform itself into an army of aggression and indulges in savagery, then the psychological impact cannot but be tremendous.

The shattering of myths was referred to earlier.

There is one myth that will never be shattered. It is the myth created in Colombo, now shared by New Delhi, that the Tamil people could be forced into accepting any settlement through force of arms.

The dogged determination displayed by the Tamils in the past for achieving equasistency of a 31 year old struggle, both non-violent and violent, bear testimony to this.

This is not idle rhetoric but a recently proved by the "blood, sweat, toil and tears" of our people. The sooner the reality is accepted, the greater are the chances of a lasting, honourable peace and end to the anguish and suffering.





# Does Rajiv realise he's riding a tiger?

COMMENT

An event that generated extraordinary euphoria, sweeping over the country, has in less than 70 days, turned into a subject matter of acute concern for the government and the nation. The fall-out of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement has become a rather frightening item in our foreign policy which will ultimately have its inevitable repercussions upon the political situation within the country as well.

When the agreement was signed in curfew-bound Colombo on the afternoon of July 29 by the President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India, there was a sense of relief that the bitter and bloody encounters between the Sri Lankan security forces and the Tamil militants in the north and east of the island would soon end, and with peace would open up the new road to orderly progress towards a set-up ensuring friendly coexistence between the ethnic groups. In that settlement, many in this country wondered if it was proper for the government of India to be a party to the accord which was meant to iron out differences and animosities between the confronting forces within Sri Lanka itself; but this misgiving was smothered by the belief that the ensuring of peace and projection of a possibility of settlement must be to the good of all concerned. For one thing, President Jayewardene, assailed from all sides for the fiasco of his administration's resort to military means coupled with the ruinous economic drain incurred in the Emergency, got a fresh lease of his political life. The accord itself was followed by the spontaneous visits to Jaffna by numerous groups and organisations, from practically all parts of Sri Lanka, as a token of solidarity between the Sinhalese and the Tamil-speaking people of the island. Hope that was shattered by violence seemed to return all over.

Why, in just about two months, has this relation evaporated, and

in its place has come the resumption of bloody conflict and confrontation? One's immediate impression is that while the July 29 accord was well-meant, it did not adequately take into account the strength of the forces ranged against it. Any realistic assessment of the balance of forces prevailing on July 29 would have brought out how fragile was the accord itself. The basic assumption was that the Indian side would be responsible for the good behaviour of the Tamil groups while at the same time prevent any Tamil-Sinhala clashes. The other assumption — more implicit than explicit — was that President Jayewardene, having had to face serious challenges from his political opponents as well as JVP extremists, would have the option of calling Indian armed forces if he felt necessary, for his personal protection and also of his regime.

As it has turned out, the hold of the Indian authorities on the Tamil militant groups, particularly the LTTE, was obviously inadequate and undependable — a far cry from the position in 1971 vis-a-vis the Mukti Bahini groups engaged in Bangladesh liberation war. This inadequacy was not overcome in the two months following the July 29 accord: even the laying down of arms by the Tamil militants could not be effected. Rather the LTTE leaders went their own way and the Indian diplomacy and administrative and peace-keeping activities were for sometime subsumed to the authoritarian postures of the LTTE leadership. This became evident during the negotiations for the formation of the proposed interim arrangements when to placate the LTTE, as many as seven out of 12 ministerial posts were offered to it, keeping out all the other militant groups, despite the fact that the LTTE was relatively weaker in the eastern provinces. Perhaps this molycodding of the LTTE leadership by the Indian authorities in the weeks following the accord led to its having an

Nikhil Chakravartty

inflated idea of its own strength and importance.

On the other side, president Jayewardene from the beginning presented a picture of a helpless chief who had no control over his own ministers on this crucial issue. Not only his Internal Security minister Lalith Athulathmudali but his Prime Minister, Premadasa, were quite conspicuously criticising the July 29 accord. Such divisions within the Cabinet naturally had its repercussions on the officialdom. Outside, Jayewardene's political adversary, Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her party, SLFP made no bones about their opposition to the accord, while the JVP extremists threatened large-scale terrorist action as marking their protest at this sell-out to Indian hegemonism. The large-scale disturbances at the times of the signing of the accord, the attempt on Rajiv Gandhi's life by a naval rating at the farewell guard of honour, as also the bomb blast in Parliament with the object of bumping off Jayewardene and his entire Cabinet — which fortunately did not go off as was planned — all these showed how untenable had become his own position. Thus the bringing in of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) at Jayewardene's specific request was a clever move to underwrite his own presidential tenure while at the same time, let India control and contain the Tamil militants and thereby get discredited in the eyes of the Tamil population both in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu.

The position that has emerged is that the Indian armed forces are being sucked into Sri Lanka to do Jayewardene's jobs and to protect him from his own extremist groups, while ensuring that India must control the Tamil militants. The question that arises is: should India with her own load of internal problems, send out her army to help pull Jayewardene's chestnuts out of the fire? If this state of things gets protracted, then one

might have to face strong local resentment in the Tamil circles for India having let loose repression on the Tamils, which is bound to have chain reaction in Tamil Nadu itself.

The balance of forces on the Sinhala side changed rapidly. While many among the Sinhalas welcomed the agreement as a cease-fire relief, their morale was low as the general impression was that the accord was a surrender to India which would now boss over Sri Lanka. Although political elements friendly to India have been trying to counter such a feeling the battle has not yet been won by them. Apart from JVP's terrorist violence, many within Jayewardene's camps itself took strong objection to the July 29 accord. Of these Lalith Atulathmudali is believed to be behind sending out agent provocateurs to the disturbed eastern province, where they helped to spread large-scale violence. At the same time the attempt to whisk off some captured LTTE leading personnel to Colombo from Jaffna led to their committing cyanide suicide. The orgy of violence against Sinhala that followed nearly killed the accord. And the prompt Indian response necessary to save the accord, would in the long run involve the Indian army personnel on a scale in Sri Lanka which might have a negative impact on all the neighbouring countries.

Even within India, these might well up strong reactions which need not be confined to Tamil Nadu alone. If, for instance, IPKF has to go in for large scale use of force to put down the Tamil militants, it is bound to be resented by Tamils not only in Sri Lanka but in India as well. Besides, if the IPKF in trying to convince Jayewardene gets more and more involved in the quicksand morass of Sri Lanka politics, then one would not be surprised if the government of India is faced with the outcry in India for the withdrawal of Indian armed forces from Sri Lanka. One only would keep one's fingers crossed so that such a contingency may not have to be faced.

Does Rajiv Gandhi realise that in Sri Lanka he is actually riding a tiger?

LAST WORD/RAJINDER PURI

SATIRE

## Accord Concord

**A**FTER India had signed the accord with Sri Lanka, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi described it as the most important agreement of the century. I was rather sceptical about that description. Now, however, I have changed my mind. Because everybody I have met is praising Rajiv Gandhi's policy in Sri Lanka. This is what people are saying.

Soviet diplomat: "We believe that Rajiv Gandhi's policy in Sri Lanka is simply wonderful. We believe that in the years to come it will prove to be the greatest boon to the Soviet Union because it will make us look good in Afghanistan..."

American diplomat: "I think that what is happening in Sri Lanka right now is absolutely great. It is indeed a great morale booster for the American people, who had earlier believed that American leaders were the only ones who were dumb enough to make a mistake like Vietnam..."

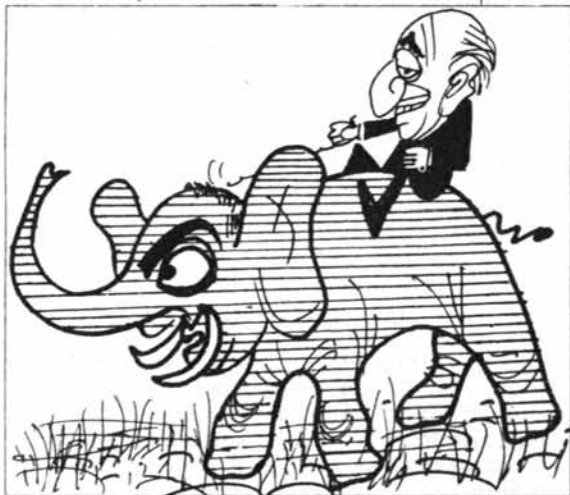
Sinhalese soldier: "The new arrangement is a great relief to us. Earlier, we had to shoot only the Tamils. But now we can shoot both the Tamils and the Indian troops and, better still, watch as they also shoot at each other..."

Tamil militant: "We are much better off than we were before, thanks to the accord. Earlier, we were shot by the brutal Sinhalese soldiers, now we are shot by the considerate Indian soldiers..."

Chinese diplomat: "We welcome the Indo-Sri Lankan accord as the start of a great new chapter in the affairs of Asia. We are therefore watching keenly the developments in Sri Lanka, and when the time is ripe we will certainly make our own contribution to the movement that has been started by Rajiv Gandhi—by striving for a similar accord in Arunachal..."

Pakistani diplomat: "Rajiv Gandhi has shown the way by his policy in Sri Lanka. As soon as President Zia-ul-Haq feels strong enough, we hope he will follow Rajiv Gandhi's footsteps by acting in Kashmir and Punjab..."

Sri Lankan diplomat: "Sri Lanka will be eternally grateful to Rajiv Gandhi for bailing President Jayewardene out what had become an impossible situation. Thank God, the people in our country have stopped abusing the Sri Lankan President. They now only abuse the Indian prime minister..."



Sikh militant: "Long live the Indo-Sri Lankan accord! Now at last our brothers in the south will appreciate why the Punjab accord had to fail..."

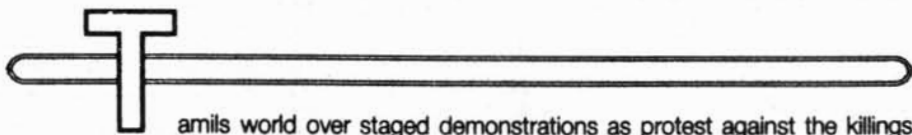
RSS leader: "Long live the accord—it is the first step towards Akhand Bharat..."

DMK leader: "Long live the accord—it is the first step towards Akhand Dravidistan..."

Eelam leader: "Long live the accord—it is the first step towards Akhand Eelam..."

Congress(I) leader: "The Indo-Sri Lankan accord was a fantastic piece of good work. Already, its benefits are visible—people have stopped talking about the mess on Bofors, they talk only of the mess in Sri Lanka..."

OCTOBER 11, 1987 •





# **AFFIDAVIT**

Mrs KALYANI SURIYA KUMAR (33)

N.I.C. No. 548652855 V. Kadduvan Tellipalai.

My father Veravagu Subramaniam (64) and my mother and sister were residing in my house at Kadduvan.

I am residing at the Chundickuly Girls College and visit my parents during the week end.

On the 17th of October 1987 I was at home with my parents.

At about 10.30 a.m. on this day IPKF personnel passing along the main road shot at my father V. Subramaniam who was drawing water from the well in our compound.

My father received a gun shot injury on the hip and the bullet pierced through leaving a gaping exit injury in the front.

My father who was taken to the Tellipalai Government Hospital was brought back, as the hospital was lacking all facilities due to the power cut.

There was no possibility of transferring him to Moolai Base hospital and no transport whatsoever was available due to the IPKF military operations.

My father succumbed to his injuries on 18.10.87 morning and his dead body was cremated the same day at the Tellipalai Cemetery.

An unmarried sister is living with me while my two brothers have gone abroad.

K. Somiyakumar



KANAPATHIPILLAI VAIRAMUTHU THALAYASINGAM (66)

Anaicoddai north, Anaicoddai.

I am a retired Forest Officer.

My family consisting of my wife, a daughter, 2 sons and I were living in the above said address.

From 17.10.87 onwards explosions and gun shots were heard intermittently in our area.

On 19.10.87 at about 6.00 a.m. my son Thalayasingam Sritharan aged 30 years a casual Postal employee left home to go to Mooththa Vinayakar Temple situated in our village as done every day for his morning prayer.

The same day at about 6.45 a.m. when I was at home I was informed by the neighbours that my son Sritharan was shot dead by the Indian Peace Keeping Force who moved into our village from Kalundai and the dead body was lying in a lane close to the above Temple.

My wife, daughter and I then rushed to the spot and found the dead body of my son Sritharan lying down face downwards on the ground with the gun shot injury on his back.

When we were attempting to remove the dead body of my son Sritharan suddenly my wife received gun shot injuries on her back and right lower leg. She died on the spot.

I too sustained a gun shot injury on my right foot whereas my daughter escaped unhurt.

Through fear I asked my daughter to run away from the scene and she did so. Few minutes later I returned home dragging my injured leg.

My neighbours were able to remove the dead bodies of my wife and son T. Sritharan only on 20.10.87 morning after the IPKF had left the area.

The cremation of the dead bodies of my wife and son took place at 12.00 noon at Anaicoddai cemetery the same day.

க.வ.தேவசுந்தரன்



Mrs. LEDCHUMY SINNARASA (42)

Mulli Lane, Anaicoddai, Jaffna.

On 17.10.87 on shells being lobbed on residential areas by the Indian Peace Keeping Force during its operations, my son Sinnarasa Nagarasa (21) took me and my other children to Jaffna Hindu College refugee camp.

Leaving us there my son S. Nagarasa left saying that he was going home to collect some food items.

At about 2.00 p.m. the same day Nagamuthu Chandiran a neighbour came to the Refugee Camp and informed me that my son S. Nagarasa had been shot dead by IPKF personnel and that his dead body was lying close to the old Police Station, Anaicoddai.

I could not get out of the Refugee Camp for several days due to the curfew and when I returned home I was informed that my relatives had attended to the burial of my son's dead body.

My husband deserted me 11 years back.

My son S. Nagarasa was a mason and his earnings went a long way to maintain our family.

செ-லட்சுமி



MRS. MAILVAGANAYAGAM SINNATHANGAM (50) Tellipalai East, Tellipalai.

I am a widow.

The deceased Mailvaganam Chandrasekar is my son.

He was 21 years old at the time of his death and was a bachelor.

On 17.10.87 there was heavy shell firing around our area.

At about 12.00 noon there was volley of shells near Thurkaiaimman Kovil. Some shrapnels fell on him and caused injuries in his abdomen.

He was bleeding and was rushed to Co-operative Hospital but he died on the way because of bleeding.

My late son was a Mason by occupation.

I was depending on him for my living.

மகிஷ் எந்திரவரன்



Mrs. SEETHALUXMY THANGARAJAH (67), Palaly Road, Kantharmadam, Jaffna.

Mr Appathurai Thangarajah, aged 60 years was my husband.

During the military operation by the IPKF in our area on 17.10.87 a shell fell on our house and blasted and my said late husband sustained severe injuries and started bleeding profusely. He was taken to the Govt. Hospital Jaffna. There he was given an injection and asked us to take him back home as the hospital was not functioning properly at that time.

My said late husband was given medical treatment at home as he was unable to move about until his death on 09.02.88.

I have lost my husband due to the military operation by the IPKF in our area and now I have lost my breadwinner.

Mrs S. Thangarajah



SIVARAJAH PARAMESWARY (42) Malaivembadi, Suthumalai North, Suthumalai.

The deceased Sivarajah Vigneswaran, aged 14 years was my son.

He was employed as a Cigar Roller.

On 17.10.87 we fled from our house due to shell fire and sought refuge at the Murugamoorthy Temple, Thavadi.

My son left us at about 5.00 p.m. saying that he is going back to our house to bring some necessary things.

He did not return afterwards.

On 18.10.87 at about 7.00 a.m. we went in search of him and found his dead body at Aladi Junction.

It bore gun-shot wounds.

We cremated his body on the spot on the same day.

I have seven surviving children.

My husband is an invalid.

It was my late son who bore the burden of supporting and maintaining our large family.

சுபந்ரெஸ்வரி



SORNALINGAM MANINARAN (34) Annai Illam, Urumpirai South, Urumpirai.

The deceased Thambipillai Sornalingam, aged 67 and Lechumipillai Sornalingam aged 57 were my parents.

On 17.10.87 IPKF was advancing through Manipay road from Urumpirai junction. As they were firing from the road in the direction of our house both my parents ran for shelter to a house situated behind ours.

Some soldiers who came from behind the house shot both my parents. They both died on the spot.

சீமன் மாரி



THAMBIRAJAH (45), Ananda Veethy, Manipay North, Manipay.

The deceased person Thambirajah Thabonithy, aged 24 years was my daughter.

Due to the military offensive we left our house and sought refuge at the Manipay Hindu College on 17.10.87.

On 18.11.87 at about 11.00 p.m. a shell fell inside the school building and exploded.

My daughter sustained an injury on her right hip region.

She was taken to the Co-operative Hospital, Moolai and later received treatment at various private dispensaries.

She succumbed to her injuries on 27.12.87.

The cremation took place at Pipili Cemetery on 28.12.87

I have six surviving children including five daughters.

My husband is a farmer remains at home due to Rheumatism and was recently treated for Hepatitis.

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ARUCHUNAN NALLAMMAH (37) Vidyasalaiady, Black Road, Chankanai.

The deceased Sinnapody Aruchunan, aged 45 is my husband. He was a farmer.

On 18.10.87 at about 5.30 p.m. my husband left the house and went out. At 6.30 p.m. there were sounds of bomb blast, and gun fire. Being afraid to stay at home my children and I left the house and took shelter at Vigneswara Vidyalyaya.

Next day on 19.10.87 at 6 a.m. my husbands elder brother's son Rasathurai came to the school and informed me that on 18.10.87 at 6 p.m. when my husband was near the Catholic Church IPKF personnel came that way on armoured carriers and started shooting. My husband received gun shot injuries and died on the spot.

Immediately my children and I with the help of Rasathurai and other neighbours cremated the dead body at the Hindu cemetery at 10 a.m. The body had 21 gun shot injuries.

I have 5 children, 3 males and 2 females. Females aged 17 and 14, males aged 16, 12 and 10.

My 17 year old daughter and I are compelled to cooly work and support our family other children are school going.

தி. நல்லம்மா



Mrs. ARUMUGAM RASAMMAH (63) Gnanavairavar Vēethy, Kondavil East, Kondavil.

I am a widow.

The deceased Arumugam Thavarajah, aged 22 years was my only child. He was a casual labourer and was earning about Rs 50/- per day.

On 18.10.87 there was an Army operation in our area.

In view of the Army Operations the people of the area were advised to take shelter in Nallur Kandasamy Kovil, Hindu College and other schools and the announcement went out from the IPKF authorities.

I along with my neighbours and the deceased son left our home on 18.10.87 to take refuge in Nallur Kandasamy Temple at Jaffna

Around 9.00 a.m. while fleeing to the above temple between Kondavil and Irupalai junction a shell fired by the IPKF close to my son and exploded.

Shrapnel from the explosion struck him in the stomach killing him on the spot.

The dead body of my son Thavarajah was cremated at 3.00 p.m. at Karaikkal cemetery Kondavil the same day.

My deceased son being the only bread winner of my family, his death is a big blow to me.



KANAGAR SELLATHURAI (72) 84, Stanley Road, Jaffna.

The deceased person Sellathurai Balachandran, aged 27 years was my son.

He was a student at the Madras University.

We received a message from my son that he is returning to Jaffna on a holiday.

The message arrived just before the October 87 military offensive commenced.

We could not send him a message in time asking him not to visit Jaffna.

On 18.10.87 afternoon I was informed that my son was killed in a shell blast at Muthirachanthi, Nallur.

I came to know that after arriving from India he travelled to Palai from where he rode to Jaffna in a bicycle.

I learned that after leaving his bicycle at Kalviankadu he was walking along Point Pedro Road when the shell blast took his life away.

His mutilated remains were cremated at the spot where he died on the same day.

I have an unmarried daughter named Anushya aged 22 years.

*b. ob no 12*

MARCELIN JOHNMARY (30)

"Kalvary" near St. Annes Church, Manipay.

My father Theo Marcelin age 63 years was the owner of the shop "St Annes Stores" at Anaicoddai.

I have a sister, married and living separately and a brother who sought refuge in India still living in India.

I have lost my mother long ago.

My father was living with me with my family at the above said address.

My father used to sleep in his shop during night for security purpose.

After he left to his shop at 7.40 p.m. on 18.10.87.

**I was informed that the Indian Peace Keeping Force stationed at the Alady junction Uduvil firing shells towards the residential areas and moving out of the camp.**

Through fear my family and I were in closed doors at home.

On 19.10.87 when firing of shells ceased, I went out in search of my father.

**I reached the shop at 7 a.m. on 19.10.87 and found that the shop damaged and my father was killed on his bed inside the shop in shell firing.**

The dead body of my father was shattered and I removed same and buried in the adjoining compound due to army actions.

After the burial, I with my family sought refuge at Myliddy.

I returned to Annaikoddai on 10.1.88 and found that the shop of my father was looted.

*b. ob no 12*

RAJALINGAM SELVI (20) widow of Madathadi, Irubalai, Kopay South.

The deceased Kanthiah Rajalingam aged 24 years was my husband.

He was a casual labourer.

**On 18.10.87 due to the military offensive my husband took us to Eluthu Madduval.**

On 20.10.87 at about 6 a.m. my husband left us saying that he is going back to our house at Irubalai promising to return as early as possible.

He did not return afterwards.

We launched a thorough search for him which proved futile.

We made inquiries at all army camps without success.

**After one month of his disappearance I came to know that he was shot and killed by the army at Kopay and that his body was disposed by the army itself.**

**I have two small children both infants.**

After my husband's death who was our sole bread-winner we do not have any income or support and struggling with untold hardships.

*b. ob no 12*

RAMANATHAN JEYASINGAM (42) of 36, St. Annes Road, Jaffna.

There was continuous shelling and firing of gunshots from IPKF army camps towards our area and our house, where 34 people stayed, too was severely damaged on 18.10.87.

**While we were travelling through Irupalai-Rajaviithy junction at 10.30 a.m. a shell fired from the IPKF army camp, Konaivil fell in front of our tractor and exploded with a terrible noise**

**Immediately the tractor was stopped, all of us jumped off the tractor trailer and ran towards Nallur as there was continuous shelling and firing in that area.**

**A shell fell close to us killing 4 persons including my eldest daughter Shobana aged 16 years.**

**All our belongings were destroyed by shell bombardment and burning.**

**After the random shelling ceased we were able to remove all four, bodies with the greatest difficulty to my relations house at Grausault road, Chundikuli.**

The burial of the body of my daughter Shobana took place on 20.10.87 at St. Mary's burial ground, Jaffna.

*b. ob no 12*

RAVEENDRAKUMAR VIGNESWARY (24), C/o K. Nadarajah Church Lane, Thavadi, Kokuvil.

The deceased Sellathurai Raveendrakumar, aged 27 years was my husband.

He was employed as a Cigar Roller.

On 18.10.87 at about 7.00 a.m. my husband left home saying that he is going to his mother's house at Urumboirai.

He did not return home afterwards.

Our search for him proved futile.

**Only after 3 months of his disappearance I came to know he died on 18.10.87 due to shock and blood loss following a shell blast.**

**I have a 3 year old son named Rajeevan.**

**I do not have any income after my husband's tragic death.**

SUPPAN RATNAM (58), 32, Muthamil Veethy, Koddadi.

The deceased person Iyan Suppan, aged 65 years was my husband.

He was a casual labourer.

On 18.10.87 at about 6.00 a.m. my husband left for work.

**At about 11.00 a.m. we fled from our residence as the army advanced into our locality.**

**On my way I saw my husband lifeless body lying on the roadside with gun-shot wounds.**

**I later learned that the army itself cremated his body at Vilundi Cemetery.**

Mrs. THAMBIPILLAI SINNAMMAH (67) 416, Navalar Road, Jaffna.

The deceased Kandiah Thambipillai (80) was my husband.

**My husband was admitted to General Hospital Jaffna on 18.10.87 with shell blast injuries he sustained on 16.10.87 when a mortar shell fell on our house and exploded injuring my husband and damaging the house.**

**My husband succumbed to his injuries on 1.12.87 while being a patient at the General Hospital Jaffna.**



Mrs. THAVAMANY RAJARATNAM (47)

Kalikovilady, Alaveddy North, Alaveddy.

My husband Ariyakuddy Rajaratnam age 53 years was a driver.

My husband was admitted to the General Hospital, Jaffna on 18.10.87 for an operation on his knee.

I was informed on 23.10.87 that the Indian Peace Keeping Force had entered the General Hospital, Jaffna on 21.10.87 gunned down over 137 innocent Tamils including Hospital staff, patients and visitors.

On hearing this news we were worried but I or any of our relatives could not go to the General Hospital, Jaffna as IPKF personnel were in occupation.

**Only on 15.11.87, my brother in law could visit the General Hospital Jaffna. He was informed by the Hospital authorities that my husband was one of the victims in the Hospital incident where IPKF killed 137 innocent Tamils and the dead bodies were burnt by the IPKF in the Hospital compound.**

I have 5 children by him all under 23 years.



VAIRAVAR SIVAKOLUNTHU (71), 206, 5th Cross, Manipuri,  
(Maniam Thottam).

The deceased Sivakolunthu Krishnamoorthy, aged 18 years was my son.  
He was employed as a Mason.

On 18.10.87 the army entered our village and arrested all the residents including us.

After we were released we sought refuge at the Kanagaratnam Madhya Maha Vidyalaya refugee camp Jaffna.

On 21.10.87 at about 12.00 noon my son left the refugee camp saying that he is going to Jaffna Town to purchase some provisions to prepare food.

He did not return afterwards.

We became highly worried about his non return.

We could not go out in search of him due to the prevailing tension and the curfew.

**Only after many days I came to know that my son was shot and killed by the army at the Hospital Road on 21.10.87.**

**I learned that his body was burnt by the army itself.**

**My wife died few years ago and I have five children.**

My son Balakanesh has become an invalid after being assaulted by the army in 1984.

எனது மகன் சிவகோலுந்து



YOVAMPILLAI THEVASAHAYAM (65)

No. 311, Tenth Cross Street, Maniyanthoddam, Columbuthurai, Jaffna.

Anton Rajkumar is my third son, aged twenty one years. On 18.10.87 my said son left for the Christ Church at Maniyanthoddam. On the same day, the Indian Peace Keeping Force had started its operations in the area. **On his way to church, my son, Anton Rajkumar was shot down by the IPKF soldiers. Subsequently, the curfew was in force for 21 days. Thereafter four days of the death of my beloved son, his body was removed from the spot where it was and buried on the sea beach, near-by.** This is the only son who provides for my living and that of my aged sickly wife. My elder son is married. Owing to the fatal death of my beloved son, Anton Rajkumar I and my wife (his mother) are under-going immense distress ever since his death. Therefore, I most humbly beg the Police to do the needful to enable me to get adequate compensation for the loss of my beloved son. Further, owing to the death of my beloved son, his two younger brothers and an elder un-married sister are also under-going immensedistress for a living.

யோவா. தேவசாயம்



ARUMUGAM NAGALINGAM (55)

Vannar Kovilady, Vasavilan.

My wife Nagalingam Rasamany (45) my children and I were residing at the above mentioned address.

**On 19.10.87 when my wife was in the house of a neighbour, Indian Peace Keeping Force personnel who approached that house opened fire injuring one of the male occupants of that house.**

The other occupants and my wife then sought shelter in the kitchen.

IPKF personnel then kicked open the kitchen door and on entering the kitchen opened fire killing one person and injuring 3 others including my wife.

My wife received gun shot injuries on the abdomen and waist.

As my wife could not be taken to a hospital due to the continued curfew and activities of the IPKF. She received treatment at home from a Private Medical Practitioner.

My wife succumbed to her injuries on 22.10.87.

The dead body of my wife was cremated at the Pillayan Kadu cemetery on 23.10.87.

அ. நாகலிங்கம்



FARID MOHAMED HANIFFA (33), 43, Shabi Nagar Araly Road,  
Jaffna.

The deceased Mohamed Haniffa Rahila aged 29 years was my wife.

**During the November 1987 military offensive I sought refuge at the Osmania College refugee camp, Jaffna along with my family.**

**On 19.10.1987 at about 3.10 p.m. I was standing outside the college compound when a shell crashed through the college roof.**

I rushed in and found my wife's mutilated body which was thrown outside the building due to the explosion.

My son also lost his right hand during the blast.

My wife's remains were buried at the Sinnapalli burial grounds on 20.10.87.

I have five children.

P. Farid Mohamed Haniffa



GNANESWARY THARMARAJAH (64), widow, 3rd Mile Post Lane,  
Kalviankadu, Jaffna.

The deceased Tharmarajah Sivakumar, aged 28 years was my son  
He was working as a Labourer.

**During the October 1987 military offensive I went to Vaddukoddai as our area was subjected to intense shelling by the army.**

On son-in-law an: my son refused to accompany us and opted to stay at our house at Kalviankadu.

**On 19.10.87 I was informed that my son was killed when a shell fell within our house compound and exploded.**

I came to know that my son-in-law managed to cremated his body in a nearby field with great difficulty.

I have two unmarried daughters at home.

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# LTTE bastion falls as IPKF forges ahead

NEWS

COLOMBO, Oct. 16.

In an overnight offensive, the Indian Peace-Keeping Force wrested a major stronghold of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam at Urumpirai and continued its advance on Jaffna town in north Sri Lanka today.

There was heavy fighting in the Urumpirai area north of the Jaffna University campus where the LTTE attacked the IPKF from houses and entrenched positions.

Urumpirai is one of the strongest fortifications of the militants. An Indian High Commission spokesman said Urumpirai on the Palaly-Urumpirai axis fell shortly after 0100 hours today.

On the Navatkuli sector also, the IPKF have now reached the municipal limits of Jaffna town and have taken control of the road and railway junction at Chemmaikulam. At least 16 LTTE militants were killed in the operation, the spokesman said.

The Chemmaikulam road and railway junction is the only exit point for the retreating LTTE men.

The High Commission spokesman said 111 militants were killed and 14 IPKF men injured in the battle for the LTTE stronghold.

(An AFP report quoting the spokesman said

127 militants were killed in fierce fighting for the control of Jaffna today. One Indian soldier was killed and 32 injured).

With this, 507 LTTE militants have been killed since the Indian army action began on October 10. Sources said the IPKF lost seven men in different engagements around the town last night taking to 86 the number of personnel killed so far.

## Desperate bid

The sources said the LTTE carried out a wave of attacks on the IPKF in a desperate bid to break out of encircled Jaffna town. It launched repeated attacks to re-take the Koppai area north east of the town which had been overrun by the IPKF on Wednesday night. The attacks were repulsed with heavy casualties on the LTTE side.

Meanwhile civilians were reported to be fleeing Jaffna on Friday as the Indian troops sought to tighten their stranglehold around the town.

Sri Lankan radio said people were streaming into refugee camps, clearing the way for an Indian assault against the militants who have dug in for a last-ditch stand.

## LTTE CLAIMS

On 16th, 10 young girls in Batticolao were raped by the IPKF men. Seven of them died; the condition of the other three is serious. Many wounds were there on the bodies of these raped women; some more women are missing. The IPKF set on fire and burnt down 200 houses of the Tamils, in this area. Following this, in the LTTE's severe attack on the IPKF, heavy losses were inflicted on the IPKF. In the encounter on the 16th, on LTTE's side captain Ashok of Velvettithurai met with a heroic death.

## Kittu told not to stir out of LTTE office

MADRAS, Oct. 16.

The LTTE's former Jaffna regional commander, Mr. Sathiasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu, has been told not to step out of the LTTE office in Indira Nagar here even though the police did not call it a "house-arrest".

The police informed Mr. Kittu this morning that he cannot go out of the office.

**MP arrested:** Meanwhile, a DMK M.P., Mr. V. Gopalaswamy, who went to the LTTE office and tried to meet Mr. Kittu in the afternoon, was arrested by the police.

The DMK President, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, strongly condemned the arrest of Mr. Gopalaswamy and the "house-arrest" of Mr. Kittu. He said that when Tamil Nadu was "agitated" over the Indian Peace-Keeping Force "attacking" the LTTE in Jaffna, the detention of Mr. Kittu and the arrest of Mr. Gopalaswamy showed the "vindictive attitude" of the Government of India and the Tamil Nadu Government.

PTI reports:

Meanwhile, Mr. Kittu told PTI that he had met the Tamil Nadu Food Minister, Mr. S. Ramachandran, twice to appeal to him to use his good offices to persuade the Centre to bring about a cessation of the IPKF operations.

He said the LTTE was aware that it could not fight a "war" against the IPKF and it had offered to negotiate on the full implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka peace agreement.

Asked if the LTTE would comply with India's condition that the group should surrender all its arms if the IPKF was to end its operations, Mr. Kittu said he had not received any "official word" on this so far. He, however, hastened to add that the LTTE could not accede to the demand for a "total surrender" of arms, for some might have to be kept for "personal security and protection of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka".

Denying reports that the LTTE men had burnt alive five Indian soldiers in the Jaffna peninsula, Mr. Kittu said 29 bodies of IPKF men found by the LTTE had been cremated, and none had been burnt to death.

Mr. Kittu said 21 IPKF men were under the LTTE's custody and it was willing to allow Indian mediamen to meet them. The injured among them were receiving medical aid, he added.

# Indian terms for truce

From Our Special correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct. 16.

As troops of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force tightened their noose around Jaffna town, the last stronghold of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, there has been a flurry of appeals for a ceasefire from the besieged militant leaders. The most significant clarification of the Indian position outlining the minimum terms for the cessation of hostilities was made available in Jaffna by the IPKF's Overall Force Commander, Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh today.

It has been made clear to the LTTE that—(A) it must immediately surrender all its arms, and (B) it must undertake to fully cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. These would be the minimum terms to bring about a halt to the IPKF's current operations. If these terms were accepted by the LTTE there could be negotiations on other matters.

Responding to this clarification of the Indian position, the LTTE Deputy Leader, Mr. Ajit Mathaiya said in a letter addressed "To whomsoever it may concern" that the LTTE would agree to a ceasefire and was ready to negotiate on all other matters. Gen. Depinder Singh made it clear that Mr. Mathaiya's letter does not meet the minimum Indian requirements. He has insisted on immediate surrender of all arms and an undertaking to abide fully by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. Once this was accomplished negotiations could take place in New Delhi.

The tough, no nonsense stand taken by the IPKF is a result of a series of broken promises by the LTTE and the going back on assurances given both orally and in writing. It may be recalled that the detailed agreed minutes of discussions signed on September 28 by Mr. H.

S. Puri, First Secretary (Political) and Mr. Ajit Mathaiya referred, inter alia, to the surrender of 'the remaining arms' excluding personal arms meant for the security of LTTE's leaders. What the Indian Army has faced and paid heavily for in terms of men and material since the beginning of operations on October 9 is now amply clear. There is little chance now that India will agree to a ceasefire or negotiations before the LTTE physically gives up all the arms in its possession. And this time the IPKF will insist on the surrender of personal arms as well.

**Major breakthroughs:** Meanwhile, an External Affairs Ministry spokesman gave details of two major breakthroughs in the fighting overnight. Military sources have described last night's advance as vital for the capture of Jaffna town. The LTTE stronghold in Urumpirai, on the northern outskirts of Jaffna, has been devastated with LTTE losses estimated to be upwards of 110 dead. One LTTE 'captain' and 22 militants have been captured. IPKF losses have been put at one killed and 32 wounded.

The other advance has been in Koppai North where the IPKF has finally repulsed attacks on its positions by LTTE militants for the past three days. The spokesman said that radio intercepts have indicated that the LTTE is in 'disarray' and their units have been immobilised in a number of places.

Answering questions, the spokesman said the LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabhakaran's letter appealing for a ceasefire has been received by the Prime Minister's office in the form of a telegram. He said the letter was no different from earlier communications which were circulated through some Tamil Nadu political leaders. He restated the Government's position, which is much the same as outlined by Gen. Depinder Singh to Mr. Mathaiya today in Jaffna.

## STATEMENT

*Statement Made to the I. P. K. F. on the Morning of 16th of October 1987 after the Bomb Blast at Thalayadi off Thannamunai on the 16th Morning of October 1987 by Mr. S. M. Leena, President, Citizens Committee, Eravur Pattu, Chenkaladi in the Presence of His Lordship The Bishop of Trincomalee.*

I was at mass when I heard a bomb blast at about 6.40 a.m. It was the 16th of October 1987. After mass I went home. About one and a half hour later two IPKF Jawans entered my daughter's house and I heard cries. I found my son-in-law who is a surveyer and my daughter in night dress being dragged out and assaulted. My other daughter and her children ran there and they were beaten. My wife was beaten and I was beaten and slapped on my face. We were ordered to go to the road. On the road there were rows of Jawans. They started beating us as we went to the place, where the people of the village were ordered together. I saw men, women and children being beaten and brought to the spot. Many had serious bleeding injuries. Many fainted. Petrol was poured on my wife's cloths. We were all ordered to squat on the middle of the road in the hot rising sun. I saw a dead body at the place where we were kept.

There was a doctor whom I requested to attend to the people who have fainted and who had bleeding injuries. He was very human and did a highly commendable first aid job. I tried to speak to a Jawan who appeared to be an officer to me in specks. He shot me down and he told me that fourteen of their men have been killed and that they would kill fourteen of us and rape all the women. I can identify the officer. Later I tried to speak to another officer who told me that we were all tigers and the women of the area are the people who harboured and helped the tigers and wanted me to speak to the people to give the names of the tigers and to give details of their whereabouts.

I told the people that I was ordered to say. They all were wailing and one woman came forward and said that she saw a person at the area of this place where the bomb blast

had taken place. She also said that this person was not from our village but the next village.

Then, Suresh, the tiger leader was brought to the spot blindfolded. His eyes were unfolded and he was ordered to point out the tigers from among the people huddled up there. He went round the crowd and after carefully looking at each one of them said that there was not even a single person among us who belong to the tiger group.

When the officer whom I later was informed as Major Madan called me and wanted me to tell the crowd to separate themselves into groups of men on one side and women on the other side. I got up and passed this information to the people huddled up there. At this time I saw the Parish Priest of our village also being in the crowd. I called him to come up to Major Madan and introduced the Priest to him as our Parish Priest. Then Major Madan apologised to him and asked me to tell the people to go back to their houses.

While we were squatting on the road I saw smoke. The village was burning, it appeared. I knew then that our houses were being set fire to. I saw some Jawans when I was being driven out of my house carrying cans. There was petrol inside because they poured petrol on my wife's cloths.

When we returned to our houses we saw many houses burning including the Mission House of the Parish Priest next to the Catholic church. People came crying to me and told me that glass windows, TV sets, Radios, Cabinets, Refrigerators, Furniture and many other valuables were broken into pieces. Some complained of thefts of cash and Jewellery. Two people were burned to death inside two houses. Their charred bodies were there. They were the bodies of two old and infirm persons.

One of the severely wounded named Ramanan died as a result of this and his body was handed over to relatives, however those who attended the funeral were assaulted. Another victim similarly died is confirmed. Eye witnesses will be produced if we are satisfied that a fair inquiry of the standing is assured.





# LETTER

Bishop House,

The Rev. Dr. Emilio Castro,  
General Secretary,  
World Council of Churches,  
P.O. Box. 66,  
150 Route De Ferney,  
1211 Geneva 20.  
SWITZERLAND.

Dear Dr. Castro,

First let me thank the W.C.C for taking note of the present plight of the Tamils on Sri Lanka and for releasing a statement a few days ago. We heard it over the B.B.C. you had rightly urged the Indian government to pursue a negotiated Political Settlement and not adopt the military approach. We are all very troubled and disturbed about the plight of our people and are afraid. The facts about the present Indian army operations are not getting through. A few days ago some leading citizens from the citizens' committee met here at Vaddukoddai and sent a memorandum to the Indian Prime Minister. I am listing some facts below based on that memorandum and other facts which I have been able to verify to the best of my ability.

1. The whole of Jaffna Peninsula is with out electricity for more than three weeks with all the consequences that follow from it.
2. There has been a perpetual 24 hours curfew in the peninsula from the 15th of October. It has been relaxed only for few hours a day during the last few days within the Jaffna municipal limits. This has meant serious problems for the wounded. The dead cannot be given a decent burial or cremation. People are unable to obtain their provisions. There is a standstill of all transport, all communications have been paralysed.
3. The Indian Force contrary to all public statements put out by the official media have engaged in indiscriminate shelling and aerial attacks. Atleast 500 civilians have been killed so far and about 2000 injured.

To mention a few instances :

- a). The Government Teaching Hospital in Jaffna was attacked by Indian army and one of the victims who escaped with serious injuries told us that atleast 200 were killed in the hospital. This included a few nurses and a few doctors.
- b). A refugee camp in Kokkuvil Hindu College was attacked and about 30 refugees were killed.
- c). Passengers at a Jetty in Araly trying to cross over to the Island, on the other side for safety were attacked by air and about 30 of them were killed.
- d). Hospitals including other govt. hospitals at Tellipalai and private hospitals have been shelled and forced to close down. Our own mission hospital at Manipay was shelled and one staff member was killed. There were more than 300 refugees at that time, in addition to the patients and the staff. The hospital remains closed for the last few weeks.
4. The indiscriminate shelling has led to nearly 400 thousand refugees within the peninsula. The homes they fled from have been damaged by shellings and often looted. Because of the curfew the N.G.Os including the churches which are trying to help are unable to get provisions for the refugee camp.
5. Since banks and post offices are closed there is an acute problem of money transaction.

All these will convince you that the innocent civilians are the victims of these operations. We do not believe justice and peace can be achieved through this. We trust international organisations can bring to bear their good influence to bring about a ceasefire immediately and urge the parties to work for a political solution.

I don't know I could have this posted since we have no postal services to Jaffna for the last few weeks. We continue to pray for peace with justice for all our people. Please share this letter with others on the W.C.C. staff, particularly Ninanp, Wesley and Preman.

I hope you can use your discretion in giving the publicity that can influence the Indian govt. to go for ceasefire and a political solution.

This letter will provide the explanation for my inability to attend the E.S.R. consultation. I am sorry I had to miss it. My presence here was essential. Please do mention this to Hurbert.

Yours very sincerely

Sd.....

D.J. AMBALAVANAR

Bishop House  
P.O. Box. No. 2  
Jaffna  
16.10.1987

To His Excellency  
The Prime Minister of India

To His Excellency  
The President of Srilanka

Your Excellencies,

We, the catholic clergy of Jaffna are puzzled and dismayed at the recent turn of events. The last week has seen the worst of the suffering of all our people. The indiscriminate shelling of entire area has caused the death of more than hundred civilians in their own home and rendered an unprecedented number injured. The hopes of the people have been damaged forcing them to flee with panic, seeking refuge in Churches, Temples and Schools. Though civilians were instructed to seek shelter in 3 specified places these very same places have been the target of shelling and injuring some of them. The hospitals and private Medical Centres are now crowded with the injured. A section of the Teaching Hospital of Jaffna has also been shelled. The supply of electricity has been cut off for the last one week in the entire peninsula and the supply of drinking water has therefore been disrupted. No fuel is available and the transport is at a stand still, thus causing a complete break down of the supply of essential food and medicines. The sanitary conditions in the city has deteriorated and there is an imminent danger of the spreading of infectious diseases. The complete ban on seafare has not only deprived the fishermen of their livelihood but has also isolated the dweller of the neighbouring tiny island from the rest of the peninsula. Even patients travelling by boat from one of the islands for emergency treatment have been strafed and killed. In this hour of utter desparation of our people we humbly appeal to you as the Signatories of Peace-Accord to seek immediate steps to stop the random shelling, assure the free flow of essential supplies and make all possible efforts to bring immediate ceasefire.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully

1. Rev. Fr. Illavi Jebanesan  
Dean, Jaffna District

2. Rev. Fr. S.A. Michael Samy  
Administrator, Jaffna Diocese

# "We can't endanger Tamils' interests" NEWS

From Our Staff Reporter

PONDICHERY, Oct. 16.

The Government of India "has the interests of Tamils at heart", the Defence Minister, Mr. K. C. Pant, said here today.

Referring to the developments in Sri Lanka, he said if the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam took action jeopardising the interests of the Tamils, "we have to see the larger interests of Tamils and cannot allow them to be endangered."

**Permanent guarantee:** Maintaining that civilians should never be casualties in Sri Lanka, the Defence Minister said it was the responsibility of everyone concerned to respond to the situation and see that the accord was given effect to so that a permanent guarantee could be given to safeguard the legitimate rights of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. For this purpose "our troops are in the island and some of these troops are shedding blood."

Mr. Pant said he would only appeal to all the parties in Tamil Nadu to look at the issue with clarity. He said that till recently some parties which were criticising the LTTE had now started agitations in its favour. He wondered if these parties were making political capital out of the "unfortunate" situation or whether they were interested in the welfare of the Tamils.

Our Madras Staff Reporter writes:

In Madras, Mr. Pant made a forceful plea to the LTTE to "consider the present situation and cooperate with the Indian Government to help implement fully the recently concluded Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement."

"I feel sad that the LTTE is not able to see the problem in its correct perspective as it should, and we still hope that the LTTE would lend its whole-hearted support to implement the agreement."

Mr. Pant, who was on his way to Delhi from Pondicherry, told reporters at the Madras airport that the Government was committed to implementing the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

"We have to see that the legitimate interests of all the Tamils in Sri Lanka and not of a single group alone are safeguarded". The Minister said the Indian Government had tried to restore peace after signing the historic agreement in strife-torn Sri Lanka.

Mr. Pant expressed his unhappiness over the LTTE's move to go back after agreeing to the details of the composition of the interim administration and the committee chosen for the purpose. The Indian Government had even agreed to change the name of the member suggested by the LTTE, he said.

The Minister was sad to note that innocent civilians were being used as "human shields" against the Indian Peace-Keeping Force. He said that "the responsibility for any civilian casualties will be the LTTE's" he added. "The Government of India and the IPKF do not bear any ill will against anyone or to particular Tamil groups. We are only trying to implement the agreement in full, and all Tamil groups, particularly the LTTE, should help in this direction."

## CIVILIANS KILLED

(Operation Pawan)



S. Prabhakaran 12.10.87



R. Raja Rajan 12.10.87



P. Sachidanandam 12.10.87



N. Suresh Kumar 12.10.87



Thavarasaingam 12.10.87



P. Muthuthambi 13.10.87



Miss. Susila 13.10.87



Miss. Annette 15.10.87



D. Navarathnam 16.10.87



R. Sivapathy 16.10.87



S. Swasankar 16.10.87



Sabapathy 17.10.87



I. Sahadevan 17.10.87



K.S. Sundaram 17.10.87



Kadikamanathan 18.10.87



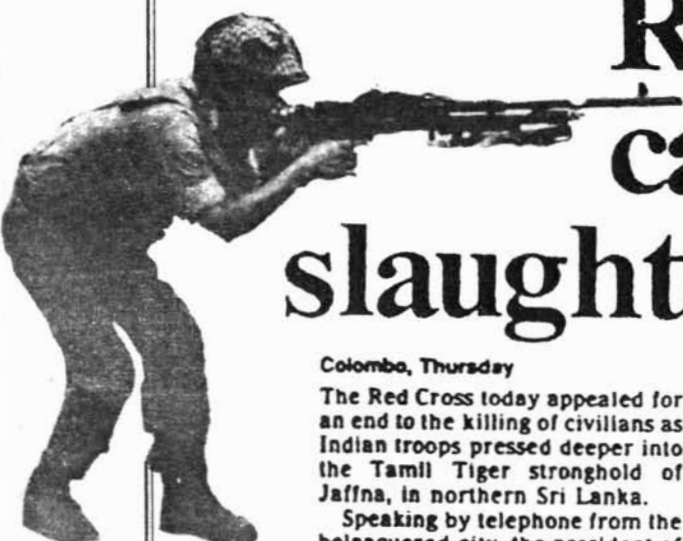
P. Srisakanderaja 18.10.87



D. Balachandran 19.10.87



C. Chokalingam 19.10.87



# Red Cross calls for end to slaughter of civilians

Colombo, Thursday

The Red Cross today appealed for an end to the killing of civilians as Indian troops pressed deeper into the Tamil Tiger stronghold of Jaffna, in northern Sri Lanka.

Speaking by telephone from the beleaguered city, the president of the Jaffna branch of the Red Cross, Mr Balasubramanian, said the killing of civilians, mainly by heavy shelling, must end. "We're not criticising anyone," he said, "we just want to save the community from perishing. The situation in Jaffna is worse than it's ever been. It's a slow process of death."

Another Jaffna source said by telephone that 76 bodies had been brought to the hospital since Saturday, when Indian troops launched an all-out campaign against Tamil separatist guerillas.

More than 320 wounded had also arrived, including 91 females and 18 children under the age of 10. About 70 per cent of the men were more than 40 years old, suggesting a high proportion of non-combatant casualties.

Jaffna, with 6000 Indian troops closing in, is without power, sanitation or effective medical care. The hospital has run out of oxygen, fuel for its generator, and

bandages. Surgeons, who did 166 operations on Monday alone, have been forced to stop work.

Food is running low in other parts of the Jaffna Peninsula, and unless supplies are sent in within the next few days the estimated 400,000 people who have taken refuge in designated schools, churches and Hindu temples will be in dire straits.

Mr Balasubramanian said he had appealed to the Sri Lankan Red Cross in Colombo to send food and medicine. He said food was running very short because no one could leave; traders could not get to the wholesalers, and shops in the bazaar had no food for sale.

The grim picture was confirmed by a contact who managed to make a brief telephone call yesterday to the capital. "The situation is worse than anyone can imagine," he said. "The impression that has been created among the people here is that the fighting is directed against the civilian population."

The Jaffna contact insisted that there had been steady shelling from the Old Dutch Fort to the west of the town centre, from where Indian forces have been making limited sorties against

heavily defended Tiger positions.

The Indian Army has been battling Tamil guerillas since last week, when Tamil militants went on the rampage after 13 Tigers committed suicide in police custody. The Indian troops, whose numbers have been boosted to about 15,000 in the past week, are in the country to enforce a peace accord signed by the Indian and Sri Lankan governments in July.

The Tamil Tigers today showed that they are still a force in other parts of the country. They exploded two land-mines within eight kilometres of Batticaloa, on the east coast. The first killed 20 Indian soldiers, taking the Indian death toll to 77. No details were available of casualties after the second land-mine explosion, but two members of the Tamil Tigers were shot after the first incident.

Farther north, in the Trincomalee district, a third land-mine killed three members of Sri Lanka's paramilitary home guards. To the east, 10 Sinhalese villagers were killed when two lorries were ambushed. Like the gruesome massacres a fortnight ago, this is also thought to have been the work of the Tamil Tigers.

— John Rette, Guardian

16.10.87



Mangasikarasi & Family 12.10.87



Swagurunathan & Family 17.10.87



# 'Hoodwinked', say Tamils

By TONY WRIGHT

The Indian Government had hoodwinked the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil population with its so-called peace-keeping force, according to Tamils who demonstrated in Canberra yesterday.

Tamil spokesmen said India's real reason in sending troops to Sri Lanka was to gain effective control of the Sri Lankan strategic deep-sea harbour of Trincomalee Port, and instead of protecting the interests of Tamils, the Indian troops were waging war on them.

More than 150 Tamils held a quiet demonstration outside Parliament House yesterday before marching to the Indian High Commission, where two of their representatives presented a petition calling on the Indian Government to allow the Red Cross access to Jaffna, where heavy fighting has been reported during the past few days, and to resume peace negotiations with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

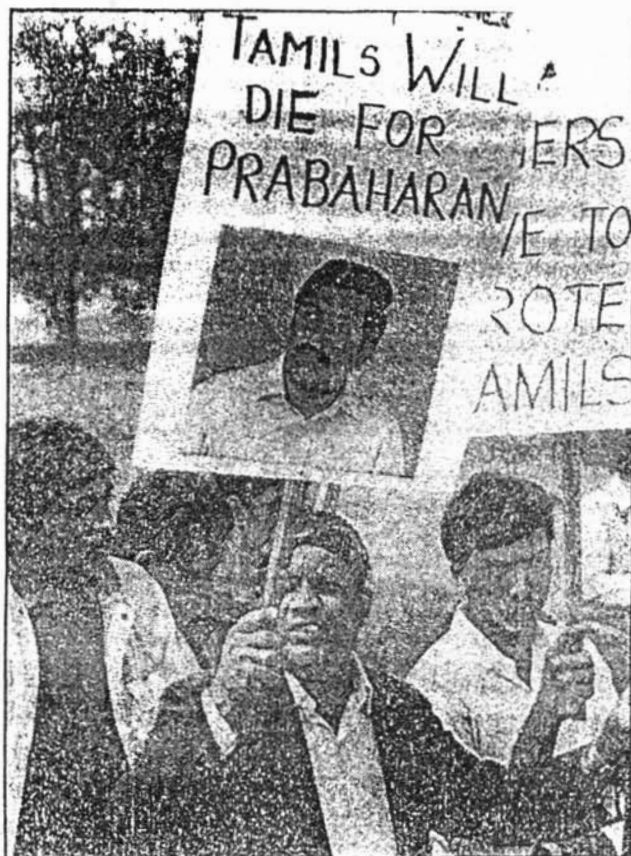
The representatives of the Australasian Federation of Tamil Organisations also presented a letter to the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, asking him to persuade the Indian Government

to halt the offensive against the Tamil Tigers and to negotiate with them; to permit immediate access by the Red Cross to the areas of conflict; and to grant access to foreign media correspondents "to secure complete and accurate information on developments in Sri Lanka". The letter to Mr Hayden alleged that "never in the history of human conflict have tanks and heavy artillery been used against so defenceless and battered a people as the Tamils of Jaffna".

A spokesman for the federation of Tamil associations, Mr K. Ravichandra, said reports he had received from Jaffna indicated that about 200 Tamils had been killed and 375,000 out of a population of 800,000 on the Jaffna Peninsula had been made homeless during recent attacks by the Indian force. "We have heard that 45,000 people are taking sanctuary in one temple alone," he said.

The secretary of the Eelam Tamil Association of Australasia, Mr Sureshan, said the international media had abandoned Jaffna after the Indian forces had arrived, in the belief that peace was being restored. The international media was getting a distorted picture from Indian sources, he said.

OCTOBER 16,



Picture: RICHARD BRIGGS

A Tamil protester wearing a black headband holds a placard aloft during yesterday's demonstration by more than 150 Tamils outside Parliament House and the Indian High Commission. The demonstrators presented a petition at the commission.

## CIVILIANS KILLED



Kathiravelu Sinnamma 24.10.87



S. Sivaradaraja, Neelamoga 24.10.87

SRI LANKA

# Tiger by the Tail

REPORT

## The Indian Army's offensive has dangerous overtones



IT is a sight familiar enough to India's border population. The skies awash with waves of lumbering troop carriers, the heavily-fortified camps below unloading tanks and armoured personnel carriers, troops in full battle dress on patrol, the distant thunder of gun-fire. But this time, there was one vital difference—the border was one that India's military strategists had never even considered in their operational plans, and the enemy happened to be people of the same ethnic blood.

Barely 10 weeks after Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene put their signatures to an accord designed to bring peace to the troubled island, India's role in that process has acquired alarming overtones. The 8,000-strong Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), originally sent in to police the peace between the Tamils and the Sinhalese, at first found itself a helpless spectator to a bloody internecine war between the Tamil groups that left over 150 dead. And

by last fortnight, in what is the ultimate irony, the IPKF was sucked into a full-scale battle against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the most dominant militant Tamil group in the island.

That could be an overture to a diplomatic and even military disaster. The fact that the Indian Army is now engaged in an open war with the LTTE—who they originally intended to protect—has all but destroyed the accord's legitimacy. More dangerous is the fact that the Indian Army could get bogged down in a Vietnam or Afghanistan-type misadventure.

The LTTE is the most heavily-armed, the most fiercely motivated and the most battle conditioned of the Tamil militant groups. It has fought a similar guerrilla war for the last four years against the Sri Lankan security forces and inflicted heavy casualties. It has a near-total support of the local population, amongst whom it can mix without detection. And, it is fighting on a familiar battlefield though, admittedly, against a superior and better-trained force.

The official death count after New

Delhi gave the green signal for the IPKF to launch an offensive against the Tigers, is an estimated 250 Tamil militants, mostly LTTE men, killed and 500 injured. On the other hand, 18 IPKF personnel lost their lives and 79 have been injured. But the fact that 300 people have died in three days of fighting is an alarming indicator.

In Jaffna, the Tigers used women citizens of the town to form a human shield in an effort to keep out the approaching Indian army. As the military action intensified, whole buildings were razed to the ground, window panes of houses and shops were smashed, doors broken and ajar, shops closed. There was indefinite curfew. Gunshots and the deafening sounds of intermittent explosions rent the air. Some 40,000 trembling residents huddled into schools, colleges, temples and public buildings.

The IPKF objective was to capture the LTTE leaders, seize their arms and demolish opposition to the accord. And the army tried to enter Jaffna town from three axes: the southwest, northwest and the west of the town. However, the initial assessment that the action would be over in five days was later revised to 10 days. The very fact that the IPKF strength in northern and eastern Sri Lanka was doubled to an official 16,000 (unofficial sources put it closer to 30,000) and supplemented with squadrons of tanks, APCs and even a battalion of para-commandos who were

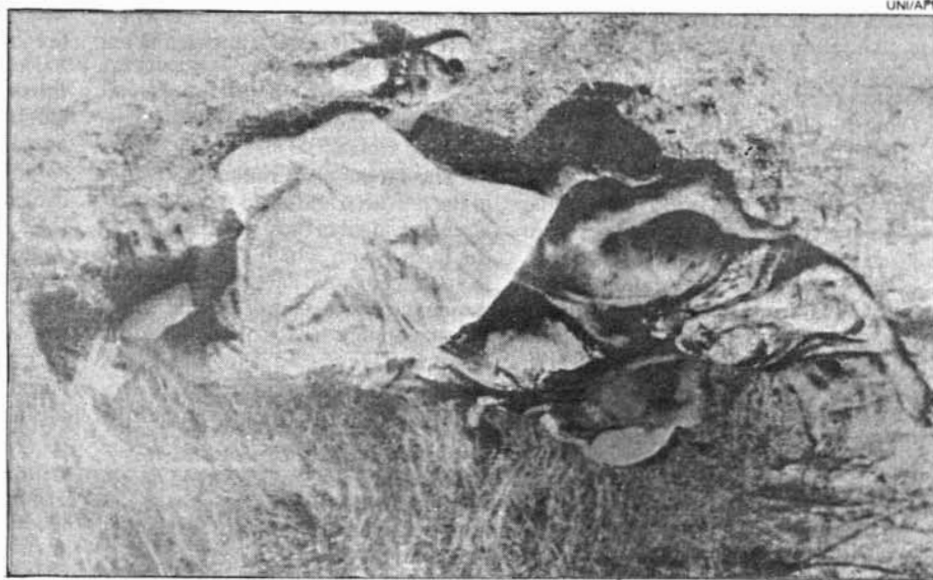
**Captured LTTE leaders killed themselves with cyanide, precipitating a crisis that resulted in the IPKF taking on the LTTE.**

Indian troops in Jaffna (left) and Tamil Tigers with cyanide capsules



Bodies of Sinhalese killed  
by LTTE militants in the  
eastern province

**The IPKF  
allowed the  
war between  
the militant  
factions to get  
out of control  
and failed to  
stop the mass  
killings.**



air-dropped over Jaffna, indicates that the IPKF has literally caught a tiger by the tail.

This unenviable situation is largely of its own making. It did nothing to ensure that the Tigers surrendered all their arms. The IPKF allowed the internecine war between the militant factions to get out of control and failed to stop the ensuing mass killing of Sinhalese and Tamil civilians. And now, it is faced with an invisible enemy who has heavily mined key areas

in Jaffna district.

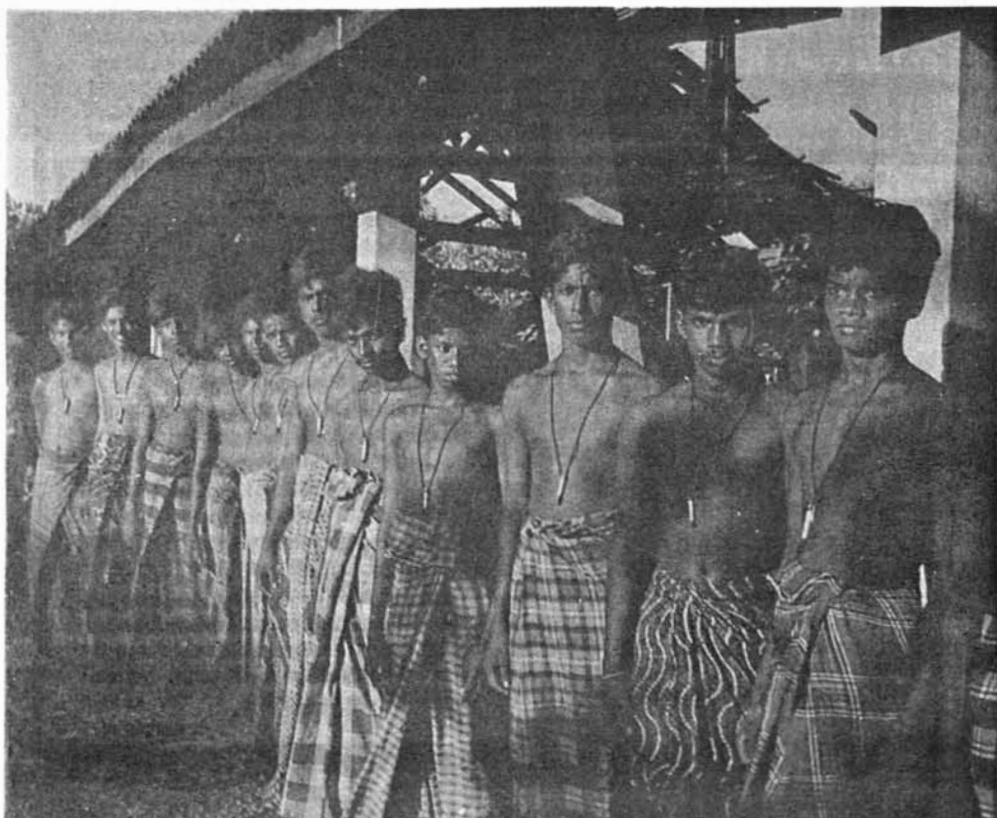
The situation was serious enough for Defence Minister K.C. Pant and Chief of Army Staff K. Sundarji to rush to Colombo last fortnight in a last-ditch effort to salvage the endangered accord. Sundarji issued detailed written instructions to his field commanders to disarm the militants, rout them out of their hide-outs and shoot at sight, if they resisted. Said Jyotindra Nath Dixit, India's high commissioner in

Colombo: "Our troops have fanned out to seize all arms in the possession of the Tamil militants."

Within three days of "full-fledged operations", some 500 suspected LTTE members have been taken into custody. Two ordnance factories of the Tigers were destroyed and arms as well as ammunition recovered. Over 400 kg of explosives that were unearthed in the eastern province have been destroyed. Moreover, the printing presses of two newspapers—*Eelamurasu* and *Murasoli*—which the Tamil Tigers were running in Jaffna, were also blown up by the IPKF.

The Indian action was not confined to Sri Lankan soil. In search and raid operations on LTTE offices launched simultaneously in Tamil Nadu, six powerful radio transmitters were seized in an attempt to break their communications network. The IPKF is now engaged in a concentrated manhunt for senior LTTE leaders: military commander Velupillai Pirabhakaran, seen by India as the arch villain endangering the accord and on whose head Jayewardene has put a price of Rs 1 million. T. Yogi of the group's political wing, A.S. Balasingham, ideologue and spokesman, and five other hardcore leaders. But that will not be easily accomplished. The LTTE leaders have many hide-outs in the peninsula which they switch and can count on the

Photographs by SHYAM TEKWANI





locals to give them sanctuary.

The onerous nature of that objective is already in evidence. At Pooneryn, south of the Elephant Pass which connects the Jaffna peninsula with the rest of the island, a land-mine explosion critically injured three Indian soldiers. Three Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel and two soldiers were killed in LTTE attacks on Indian patrols, in the first two days of the Indian Army's 'operation arms seizure'. Seven CRPF personnel and 10 soldiers were also injured in the pitched battle where heavy Indian artillery was deployed. And three paratroopers were shot dead during the para-drop over Jaffna Fort. A Sri Lankan government source said the Tigers also managed to take five Indian soldiers into custody and hacked them to death. Dead Indian paratroopers' bodies were publicly displayed in the town.

Meanwhile, Pirabhakaran has remained elusive. From his Jaffna hide-out, he sent a message to Rajiv Gandhi via his Madras office, asking him to stop the Indian Army offensive. "The offensive of your army directed against us violates the peace agreement and can cause grave consequences," the message stated. Separate messages went out also to the Tamil Nadu chief minister M.G. Ramachandran and DMK President M. Karunanidhi. Fumed an Indian High Commission official: "Pirabhakaran is now trying to dabble in Tamil Nadu's politics for his nefarious ends."

Having taken a stand in the face of mounting criticism from the Jayewardene Government, it is unlikely the offensive will be called off. But it is a battle that will be difficult to win since it now involves virtually the entire Tamil population in Sri Lanka. Says Vettivelu Yogeswaran, former Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) MP from Jaffna: "How can the Indian Army be sure that everybody it has killed is a militant? It will be difficult for the Indian security forces to prove that." Added Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam, a leading Colombo lawyer and also a former TULF MP: "The action of the IPKF in launching its military offensive

against the LTTE is a set-back to the whole peace process. It is alienating significant sections of the Tamil population, because a large section of the Tamil population had emotionally identified itself with the Tigers."

The danger of alienating the Tamils in the northern and eastern provinces is already evident in their sullen mood and the hatred with which they now view the IPKF. Lamented Father Chandra Fernando, vice-president of the Batticaloa Citizens Committee: "The Indian Army seems to have started going the way of the Sri Lankan Army. We plan to seriously complain to Indian authorities

near Nallur in Jaffna, in an exchange of fire between IPKF personnel and the Tigers. Only eight Tigers were killed in the shoot-out. This should give an idea about the increased proportion of civilian killings."

Indian Army sources vehemently denied allegations of civilian killings in their search operations or retaliation against LTTE attacks. Said a top IPKF army officer: "We always remember that we are fighting insurgents in a foreign country, so we take the utmost care not to harm a single civilian." Argued an Indian High Commission official: "People in Sri Lanka who criti-

Sundarji and IPKF commanders discuss strategy in Jaffna

**In Jaffna, Sundarji issued instructions to disarm the militants, rout them out of their hide-outs, and shoot at sight if they resisted.**



about the activities of the IPKF."

The current operation, however, has been quickly put under wraps. Communications between Colombo and Jaffna have been cut and all transport heading north is being stopped and turned back.

The IPKF is obviously worried about civilian casualties. But in their current operations, that will be virtually impossible to avoid. Sri Lankan Tamils, who have managed to reach Colombo from central Vavuniya and surrounding areas, are narrating stories of acute civilian suffering in the north. Said a 50-year-old Jaffna Tamil businessman, who managed to escape from the peninsula to Colombo after the battle outbreak: "Fourteen innocent Tamil people were killed outside the Kailasa Pilliar Koil

cise us for not achieving total arms surrender by the militants within the deadline stipulated in the accord, should remember that the Sri Lankan Army has unsuccessfully fought the militants for four years. How can the IPKF seize all their arms within a specific time frame?"

The Indian reaction came in the wake of charges by Jayewardene and others in his Government that while Colombo had fulfilled its commitments under the accord (phased release of Tamil detenus, introduction of the Provincial Council Bill and its reference to the Supreme Court), Indian soldiers had not satisfied the prerequisite of achieving total arms surrender by the militants. Jayewardene has, in fact, warned that if the Indian soldiers did not do so,

they will be asked to quit—a move within his powers under the accord.

But if much of Jayewardene's recent statements are populist-aimed, there is now no denying that New Delhi had miscalculated badly by becoming signatory to an accord which the Tigers had always denounced and then, by not ensuring the surrender of all Tamil militant arms within 72 hours of the signing of the accord, as enjoined under the agreement. The current situation offers tailor-made fodder for the opponents of the accord who are becoming more vocal in their criticism. Says Anura Bandaranaike, leader of the Opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party in Parliament: "The Indian Army is like the Trojan horse. We accepted them and expected them to bring peace, and they then started watching as our people were butchered. President Jayewardene has appealed to the Indians to do their duty or quit. But they won't quit. They have come here to stay. They won't take the President's orders."

Dinesh Gunawardene, MP and leader of the Mahajana Ekasath Peramuna, which opposed the accord, protests: "The so-called peace accord has failed to bring about cessation of hostilities. Only some arms were surrendered and the so-called peace-keeping force failed miserably to protect the Sinhalese, Muslims, and Tamils." Further, Jayewardene now says that he will not allow the crucial merger of the northern and eastern provinces till the militants are totally disarmed.

But that is obviously going to be an onerous task. The Tigers have made a mockery of the IPKF in the eastern province by massacring an estimated 200 civilians, mostly Sinhalese, under the very nose of the soldiers. The Tigers have also reportedly terrorised and chased out entire Sinhalese colonies, and an estimated 10,000 Sinhalese have been rendered homeless in the eastern provinces, many of whom have started arriving in Colombo. They have also killed prominent Tamils like the Batticaloa government agent M. Anthonimuthu. Said Father Fernando: "The IPKF cannot escape the blame for allowing large-scale civilian massacre by the Tigers." Said Sri Lanka's Education Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe: "Sinhalese people have genuine misgivings about the IPKF having been an idle bystander when Tamil terrorists attacked Sinhalese civilians in a series of incidents in Trincomalee."

The large-scale civilian massacre by the LTTE was a sequel to the IPKF bungle in allowing the Sri Lankan Government to try and transport 17 LTTE members—

intercepted by the Sri Lankan Navy off Point Pedro, in a boat reportedly stacked with arms and ammunition—to Colombo for trial. The 17 Tigers, who included Jaffna regional commander Kumarappa and Trincomalee commander Pulendran, were being detained by the Sri Lankan forces in Palaly.

**T**HE Tigers, however, had threatened grave consequences if the men were taken to Colombo, where they feared they would be tortured or killed. The Indian authorities could have stopped the transfer and Dixit apparently tried to convince Jayewardene but failed. The result was tragic—all 17 detenus consumed cyanide. Twelve, including Kumarappa and Pulendran died, while the other five were in intensive care at the IPKF hospital in Palaly.

In fact, New Delhi's dealing with the Tigers has been a series of grievous blunders, specially in the last month. It underestimated the exponential propaganda effect of Amrithalingam Thileepan's fast in September, in Jaffna. And neither was it aware that the LTTE command structure was being weighted in favour of military commanders, with the political leadership being sidelined. Kadavul, Naresh and Tommy, all politically conscious leaders of the Tigers in Batticaloa, have left the LTTE in the last one year, and recently, Francis, the politically mature LTTE leader from the district, was replaced by Suresh. Karuna, who was till recently a personal bodyguard of Pirabhakaran, has become LTTE's military commander for Batticaloa. In fact, Karuna's appointment was made after the signing of the accord, clearly implying that the Tigers had not given up their military ambitions.

That the Tigers hadn't changed their stripes was equally evident from the breakdown of negotiations between them and Dixit on the composition of the interim administrative council (IAC) for the north and the east. Jayewardene, under Dixit's persuasion, went out of the way to accommodate the LTTE in the composition of the 12-member IAC. He selected the chairman of the council, C.V.K. Sivagnanam, from the panel of three names (two from the north and one from the east) submitted by the LTTE. He gave the LTTE six more seats in the IAC. The six members were selected from a panel of nine names (seven from the north, two from the east) given by the Tigers. And he conceded the Tigers' demand that no other Tamil militant group would find a place in the council. He also agreed that one of the two Muslim representatives would be an LTTE

nominee.

But still the Tigers reneged, under the pretext that the President had created the impression that they represented only the north, in the names he had selected. But the panel of names submitted for consideration by the Tigers had itself spoken of the group's northern bias. So when Sivagnanam backed out of the chairmanship, the Tigers insisted only N. Pathmanabhan, former assistant government agent in the east, should replace him.

Faced with this intransigence, the decision was taken to launch the offensive against the Tigers, first between Rajiv Gandhi and Jayewardene on the telephone, and later during Pant's visit. Jayewardene announced that the LTTE had been outlawed and there is now a suggestion from the Sri Lankan side to announce another interim council that will exclude the Tigers and give more representation to the other militant groups which have supported the accord.

But substantial sections of the Sri Lankan Tamil population are of the opinion that no settlement that excludes the Tigers would work. Said a Jaffna Tamil citizen, who left for Colombo after the outbreak of hostilities: "The Tigers perhaps wouldn't be able to hold out for long against the Indian Army. But defeating them militarily wouldn't be the solution. You will have to talk them into agreeing."

Kittu told INDIA TODAY last fortnight: "We hoped a situation wouldn't arise in which we would have to clash with the Indian Army. But the blame should be on the IPKF that such a situation has arisen now. We are for the accord, although we doubt the Sri Lankan Government's sincerity in implementing it. We, however, certainly want an understanding with the IPKF."

But the voice of the moderates is being drowned in the gun-fire that echoed through Jaffna last fortnight. Added to that is the ominous rumble of Indian tanks—with reinforced treads to counter the effect of the land-mines strewn all over the area—that have been brought in to augment the already awesome arsenal of firepower in the peninsula.

IPKF sources say that their orders are to go all out, at least for the next week or two, to ensure that the militants are disarmed and key leaders of the LTTE apprehended. But India's decision to go in for a military short-cut rather than a mixture of the carrot and the stick, could yet prove to be its biggest bungle in a situation where there have already been too many.

—S.H. VENKATRAMANI in Colombo



# INDIA'S NEW ROLE IN LANKA

## Visions Of Cyprus And Vietnam

SUNANDA K. DATTA-RAY

OCTOBER 18, 1987

COMMENT

AS Jaffna's defences crumble and an obliging Commonwealth prepares to bestow respectability on a peace pact that needs a war to keep just its memory alive, Sri Lanka's plight evokes the tragedy of two other countries: Cyprus and Vietnam.

Tiny Cyprus, not more than 3,600 square miles, is formally a single republic whose independence, territorial integrity and security are assured by a treaty of guarantee signed by Britain, Greece and Turkey. But Nicosia's writ does not run in the break-away fragment that calls itself the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". And if India takes its responsibility "to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka" more seriously than the signatories to the Cypriot treaty, we might be presented right on our doorstep with the running sore of another Vietnam, probably to run for much longer than the original's 12 years, and with the renewed danger of a fall-out of hostilities in this country.

But for all that India's Defence Minister and Chief of the Army Staff flew out to Colombo as they might have to Kohima at the height of the Naga insurrection, the problem is not our's. Belying the true purpose of India's exercise in mediatory diplomacy, as set out in Rajiv Gandhi's letter attached to the July 29 agreement, Sri Lanka is not yet the 26th State of the Union. In spite of the Prime Minister's defensive reiteration of Colombo's explicit invitation to send troops, and notwithstanding the fulsome praise that a hard-pressed Junius Jayewardene feels obliged to shower on the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement, the challenge of a secessionist Eelam is no more this country's

responsibility than the Khalistan revolt is Pakistan's.

### PROTEGES

What does concern us is the extraordinary volte face that our Government has performed, as a result of which it is bogged down today in a foreign civil war, defending a President whom it accused of vacillation and bad faith until only the other day and attacking a people whom it regarded as friendly proteges until just as recently. While Tamils charge India with betrayal and the Sinhalese gloat over the IPKF's grim predicament, Mr Gandhi stands accused of himself pursuing the precise military solution that he was so quick to condemn when attempted by Mr Jayewardene.

The official explanation that New Delhi could not refuse to send troops when demanded by Colombo will not wash for clause 2.16 (c) of the agreement would never have been included if such military intervention had not been contemplated right from the start. It is also specious to plead that the LTTE invited military reprisal by prevaricating over nominations to the Interim Council since Mr Jayewardene's conduct in this respect has been almost as devious.

In any case, all the allegations of terrorism, adventurism, dishonesty and whatever that New Delhi's propaganda machine has suddenly started to churn out against the LTTE would have been just as valid four years ago at the start of the conflict. They could also justifiably have been voiced later when India looked on passively while the LTTE butchered its political rivals, and more recently, when Colombo was sharply warned

not to think of bombing the guerrilla strongholds.

Not only has India always condoned Velupillai Pirabakaran's many outrages but the Indian forces turned a blind eye when the LTTE made a mockery of the arms surrender ritual. Even as India claimed that "70 per cent" of arms including all heavy weapons, had been given up, and only small arms retained for personal use, there

were reports of the LTTE using "mortars, rocket-propelled grenades, rocket launchers, mines with very heavy explosive content" etc. At the same time, the foreign Press more plausibly pointed out that only about 20 per cent of the cache had been handed over, even this consisting mainly of easily replaced home-made mortars. Nor could the Indian authorities in Sri Lanka have been unaware of the reported brisk sale of polythene and vaseline as the Tamil guerrillas wrapped and buried the bulk of their more deadly weapons.

The only explanation for ignoring all this seems to be that up to a point it suited New Delhi's strategy to encourage the Eelam rebels and exert additional pressure through them, on the Government in Colombo. Tamil Nadu's internal politics may have been a further complication, but the haste with which the Chief Minister followed New Delhi in dropping the LTTE suggests that M. G. Ramachandran's line may not have been so defiantly independent after all. Indeed, the political exploitation of cross border terrorism—of which Sri Lanka complained bitterly at Saarc's inaugural summit in Dhaka—is borne out by the favours shown to the Tamil terrorists until Colombo's capitulation to India's



regional demands made them redundant.

The precedent for the strategy was set on the small stage of Sikkim way back in 1949 when New Delhi's local representative pressured a most reluctant ruler, Sir Tashi Namgyal, to appoint as his Prime Minister an Indian protégé called Tashi Tsering who had launched an agitation for popular Government. Two weeks later Dr B. V. Keskar, then Deputy Minister for External Affairs, appeared in Gangtok and agreed to Tsering's dismissal on condition Sir Tashi accepted an Indian Dewan and a draft treaty.

The tactic was repeated a few years later in another Himalayan kingdom when the Nepali Congress was allowed to take up arms against the recalcitrant Ranas but forced to abjure violence as soon as King Tribhuvan was won over. By the time he died, B. P. Koirala was among New Delhi's most severe critics, bitter with the realization that India's espousal of democracy in Nepal was strictly determined by its relations with the reigning king.

Many years later, Morarji Desai was quite prepared to bundle Kader Siddiqui, the Tiger of Tangail, back to Bangladesh and certain death as a feature of his rapprochement with Ziaur Rahman.

Such fluctuations hold a sombre lesson for the region's embattled minorities, Tamil, Chakma, Sindhi and Pakhtoon. They can expect sympathy but not support until New Delhi is moved by its own reasons to discipline the Government against which they are engaged. Indeed, the Shanti Bahini already complains of having been abandoned because of Mr Gandhi's improved relations with General Ershad. It follows that when neighbouring rulers feel threatened by domestic pressures they have the option of enlisting India's help, and that no question of principle will inhibit the latter, providing the price is right. The military assistance given to Mrs Bandaranaike in 1971 to put down the JVP rebellion made sense, there-

fore, in the light of her democratic socialist republic's alignment with India on most global issues.

Not that all our neighbours are equally inclined to take advantage of this standing offer. Mrs Bandaranaike's successor certainly did not until it was made clear to him that flirting with Pakistan, China, Israel and the West would only further antagonize India without solving his problem at home. Faced with not dissimilar difficulties, Pakistan has tried to remove itself from India's orbit, creating a role that makes it indispensable to the USA's global calculations and ensures American assistance in coping with domestic or regional challenges.

But it may be inferred from three subcontinental wars that when it comes to the crunch, neither the USA nor China will intervene in South Asia, a supposition that has been strengthened by American benevolence towards India's assumption of the rôle of *primus inter pares*, if not more. Finally, Nepal's peace zone theory may be seen as another, if more modest, means of trying to evade the implications of India's regional supremacy.

The question is now of only academic interest to Mr Jayewardene for having fully endorsed the first four points of Mr Gandhi's letter of July 29, he can claim to have bought the Indian Army's protection against the Eelam insurrection. It may be suggested at the same time that since India has obtained *de facto* control over Sri Lanka's defence and the substance of its foreign policy, it has no qualms about turning its back on yesterday's protégé, shelling the town over which it so recently dropped food supplies in a dramatic gesture of compassion, liquidating Tamil terrorist organizations and forcing Tamil civilians back into the straitjacket of a unitary State with only the symbols of regional autonomy.

## ACCORD

But though a nation's permanent interests justify much, the

moot question is whether the accord in whose defence India is fighting a bloody war in Jaffna will ever be implemented. The eastern province's Tamil minority—only 46 per cent—does not augur well for merger, the referendum can be postponed and the extent of devolution of power and scope of administrative arrangements have not been worked out. It is by no means certain either that the Sri Lankan Parliament will ratify the necessary legislative measures, or that Mr Jayewardene, harried by the JVP, betrayed by the armed forces rank and file, denounced by the Buddhist clergy and sabotaged by his UNP colleagues, will survive in office long enough to carry out his part of the compact with India.

Fighting with its back to the wall, the LTTE has given notice that the fall of Jaffna will not be the end of the struggle for Eelam. The conflict has again underlined that the island holds two notions, as distinct from each other as when Dutthagamani vanquished Elara in the epic battle between Sinhalese and Tamil, and communal reconciliation may be as impossible as in Cyprus. The rejection of Mr Pirabhakaran's last overture confirms that Mr Gandhi meant business when he spoke of a "more aggressive role" for Indian troops, which reinforces the nightmare vision of Vietnam.

The implications of the letters exchanged when the peace pact was signed were discussed in these columns on August 2-3 with the caution that India had, in effect, succeeded in imposing a variant of the Monroe doctrine on Sri Lanka to start with, but probably extending to all South Asia. But there was nothing to suggest then that India would so soon be called upon to take up a military challenge that would have provoked an immediate international outcry, if both powers had not been Asian. The entanglement in Jaffna is the price of regional hegemony: playing the superpower is not an easy rôle, not even in a subcontinental fish-bowl and the rewards are by no means assured.

The Sri Lankan accord was supposed to usher tranquillity to the battle-scarred island republic.

What it has done instead is bog down the Indian army in a savage no-win situation. Over one hundred soldiers have already perished in this war of attrition.

Jaswant Singh, MP, criticises the Gandhi government's perceptions and policies on Sri Lanka.

## COMMENT

JASWANT SINGH

# TRAGIC HASTE

NOVEMBER 1, 1987

**A**t the time of writing this piece, October 19, the 'military' situation in Sri Lanka, particularly Jaffna, is clear only upto a point. We have already committed about two divisions of troops in that country, blocked Jaffna harbour, enhanced our naval presence in the Palk straits and arranged for all the necessary IAF transport in addition to that provided by Indian Airlines. This situation is as near to 'war' as any since 1971.

For the first time in our history, we are engaged in combat on a foreign soil without any open declaration of hostilities. Our troops, *for the first time ever* are under the political directions of a foreign government. Even though the conditions are military, our troops are being employed in almost a policing role, for reimposing law and order. Against local forces of incipient secession, whom we had ourselves, until recently, sheltered, armed, trained and encouraged.

Our armed forces are yet again engaged in finding a military answer to gross political failures. It is ironic that those very elements of Sri Lankan society (the Tamils), whose aspirations and welfare we had made our cause are the ones that we are now fighting: that similar efforts made by the Sri Lankan forces had drawn our impotent ire earlier, is doubly ironic.

In all this is contained a most profound statement on the failures of our statecraft, of our handling of the situation, of our government's conceptualisation and conduct of foreign policy, of its ability to conceive, define and protect India's national interests.

The most unforgivable aspect then is the casual manner in which our government has committed our soldiers to battle in a foreign land.

For what have they laid down their lives and are still dying in Sri Lanka? For which overriding national interest? Are we in the process of resolving any issues? Or have we compounded them? Have we, by this action, furthered the nation's good? Or harmed it, ensured tranquillity at home, in the neighbourhood or created condi-

tions for a 'Lebanonisation' of the region?

To date, we have already suffered about 400 casualties. More than a hundred soldiers are dead, an undisclosed number missing. The domestic polity of Tamil Nadu has been thrown into a new and unpredictable ferment.

For the second time in the recent past, political elements from within the country are turning in parochial criticism against our own army. And all this when Jaffna, the stronghold of the LTTE, has only just been militarily invested.

Our forces have only now moved in for that most exacting and ugliest bit of combat; fighting in built up areas. That these street battles would take a murderous toll, not just of us, but also of the 'captive' civilian population and property, is obvious. What is not is why our government has chosen this precise moment to talk of 'cease-fires'. Such talk is politically, militarily, psychologically and morally damaging, especially when time is not on our side.

What our army is now doing ought to have been completed in the first 72 hours of the signing of the agreement, in July itself. What conditional cease-fire is our prime minister now talking about?

**L**et us briefly and quickly recollect what we had set out to do on July 29. The preamble to the agreement (and intervening in Parliament, on a debate on the subject I had even then remarked upon our government's superstitious jettisoning of the debased word 'accord') speaks of the 'utmost importance (of) nurturing, intensifying and strengthening the traditional friendship of India and Sri Lanka'.

A schedule was announced for this purpose: hostilities to end within 48 hours, surrender of arms by Tamil militants, withdrawal of Sri Lankan forces to pre-May 1987 positions within 72 hours, amnesty, release of prisoners etc by August 15—and so much else which now has the taste of sawdust.

When our government was asked in Parliament to elaborate on the progress of 'surrender of arms'

we were then casually informed, '70 per cent of it is complete'. 'Delays,' languidly explained the minister, 'do after all, take place'. It is that casual approach which has already taken over a hundred Indian soldiers' lives. And all those arms, where are those 70 per cent 'surrendered' arms now?

Yet, in early August, all this was described by our prime minister with characteristic immodesty, as 'the agreement of the century'. Either that statement was total public deception or it was complete self-deception, and on a prodigious scale. Little wonder, therefore, that our reactions ought now to be so stunned and so incoherent.

The mess that we find ourselves in in Sri Lanka, is a classic example of thought following action instead of preceding it.

Did our prime minister really believe what he said then? If he did, then he must be an uncommonly unthinking, man. If he did not and yet said what he did, then that is unforgivable. Not only because it demonstrates, yet again, that our prime minister has no understanding of where he is leading the nation. More so because the words that he uttered then exemplify how he has become a hostage to self-bewitching persuasions.

The question that all policy makers must routinely address themselves to is not merely 'what needs to be done' but 'how is it to be done'. This holds as more particularly true in the field of foreign affairs.

Mistakes by a government in the conduct of its domestic policy, though exacting a price, are remediable from within. Not so the errors of diplomacy and international relations. They invariably take a more grievous toll.

That is precisely why in the field of international relations it is not good policy to take decisions without thought or merely on the basis of what needs to be done: not, at least, until it is quite clear as to how that is going to be done, and successfully. Individuals might fail or might not. Nations cannot. They must always, eventually, only succeed; or a whole people perish.

And what the President of Sri Lanka did, our prime minister did

as well. He formulated a policy in respect of Sri Lanka, presumably entirely in his own head or within a closed coterie and launched our nation on the parlous path of 'peace-keeping' in a conflict of ancient origins. An accord, not between the Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan government; an agreement between the governments of India and Sri Lanka, as if they were the real disputants.

Our prime minister decided on a major new foreign policy and security commitment, the viability of which had never even had a chance for consideration by those responsible for its execution, leave alone a detailed examination of its various implications. What its costs were likely to be, how long all this might take and most vital, what would be the minimum requirements of governmental policy directions before we committed our armed forces to this bog of ethnic and social divides. All this, presumably, was treated as nagging detail in that heady moment of 'history'.

**Y**et another horrible apprehension haunts me: have we been lured into a trap, partly set, but largely of our own making? It is especially important to establish whether, when our government decided to undertake this assignment, it did so for itself; for a cause, or because others had put up a bait for us to snap at.

Let us take the unworthy fears first: was there (or was there not) a ruse, on the part of Sri Lanka or anybody else? All those overstated and repeatedly announced fears about the presence of Mossad; that anxiety over an improbable-sounding firm of British mercenaries, Keeni-Meeni; darkly hinted suggestions about presence of Pak interests etc. Were they all real?

Even if they were, did they amount to as much a threat to our national interests as is the present bogging down of the Indian army in that island? Are we not, therefore, to conclude that our prime minister's precipitate bid at resolving an intractable ethnic divide is but a ludicrous example of rising thoughtlessly to the bait.

Then, apprehensions that our government acted for itself, not the cause. There has always existed comment, now, as earlier, that the prime minister acted with the kind of haste that he did because he desperately wanted relief from the constant hammering on the Bofors issue. That he wanted to demonstrate 'success', somewhere, anyhow. And that is precisely why he commissioned a major public relations exercise in early August, following the accord: the 'agreement of the century'; 'an unexcelled example of diplomatic wisdom' etc.

As Congress president he instituted special publicity cells within the party to propagate the virtues of the agreement. He remained curiously unwarned even when a Sri Lankan rating assaulted him during a guard of honour. Parliament was thereafter promptly adjourned to enable congressmen to welcome him home, where at Palam he attributed his welcome escape not to providence, but to his hitherto undemonstrated natural 'agility'. Whereafter, in pique, he refused to meet Opposition leaders because, as he said, 'If they had no time to share in national glory,' then he had 'no time for them.'

But if, while working for the national good, there was even the slightest element of personal political interest, then the whole was bound to get sullied: as it has demonstrably done now.

Sri Lanka is not an Indian colony. It is unlikely to willingly become our protectorate, whatever paper any Sri Lankan government might sign, as an agreement or otherwise. Here is what the Sri Lankan President had to say on the subject in August, after signing the agreement:

There are charges that these (letters) are tantamount to surrender of sovereignty.

Whatever needs legislation will have to be within our Constitution. The courts interpret it. If they reject anything, we can't go ahead with it. The letters have nothing to do with constitutional procedure in Parliament. You can only, if I may say so, take away from our independence by laws, not by words....



**T**he essence of the above is that agreements will always be as binding as the people's subscription to them. If the Sinhala do not accept what has been signed, or if the Tamils question the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement; or if it has the inherent fragility of an individual's life-span, then it is not an agreement. It is a trick. And surely, no one can ask Indian soldiers to die for the sake of perpetuating trickery.

The cause, then, of Sri Lanka is more easily stated than attained: a united, peaceful and friendly Sri Lanka that recognises India's primacy in the region and does not act in a manner that would affect our security interests. How much of this has been attained, is indeed, attainable, or is likely to be attained through the present means employed? Of course, what we need is a flowering southern neighbour, not one that is in torment.

Are we, therefore, resolving Sri Lanka's torment by our presence or are we, in fact, compounding not just our own difficulties, but also theirs? Without any authorisation of Parliament (admittedly, not a

constitutional requirement), we have placed our armed forces in the unenviable position of being the targets (real and metaphorical) of everyone in Sri Lanka (and partly in India as well).

Theoretically, we went there as saviours, applauded initially at least by the Tamils. Now, we are questioned by all segments of Sri Lankan society, Sinhala and Tamil alike. Are we to count this too as an achievement? What great national purpose has been served by this astute conduct of diplomacy? If it were security interests that propelled us to take the action that we did, then how has our nation's security environment improved by creating a potential Lebanon on our peripheries; by our southern frontiers being activated for the first time since the advent of imperial Portuguese in these waters?

Of course, execution of policy will always be attended by risks, and such risks as follow intelligible and well-constructed policy must always be accepted by any nation. But what of risks without following any policy at all? ■



Sudhir Dar, Hindustan Times

**Bodies of Gandhi's troops on display: with the casualty count the highest since the 1971 war against Pakistan, the Prime Minister faced political risks**



**LETTER**Jaffna  
17-10-87

*His Excellency J.R. Jayawardene*  
*President of the Socialist Republic of*  
*Sri Lanka.*

Your Excellency,

We, the senior public servants of Jaffna being heads of the government departments wish to bring to your kind notice that the situation in Jaffna has tremendously deteriorated from Saturday 10th October 1987, the date on which the IPKF commenced its operations and activities with the blasting of the two independent newspapers "Eelamurasu" and "Murasoli" both registered newspapers. It has resulted in the collapse of all activities in Jaffna and the normal life has totally failed.

We would like to state below some of the main subjects which we consider as absolutely urgent.

**1. BOMBING AND KILLING :**

There is an intermittent and continuous shelling from the permanent army camps at Fort and Navatkuli and the temporary camps established by the IPKF at Kopay, Urumbirai, Maruthanamadam and Manipay etc. Other than this there has been aerial bombardment for two or three days and strafing from helicopters.

**2. CIVILIAN DEATHS AND INJURIES :**

As the result of indiscriminate bombing, shelling and aerial strafing almost 700 innocent civilians are believed to have died and death in the Jaffna Hospital alone is 76. In many instances people have carried out cremations at the respective positions due to non-availability of transport. Many people have been admitted to the Jaffna Hospital and surgical operations have been carried out for more than 300 injured persons.

**3. REFUGEE CAMPS :**

With the commencement of operations, the places where refugees have been asked to stay are mainly Jaffna Hindu College, Nallur Kandasamy Temple and Jaffna Hindu Ladies College for a population of 350,000 people in the entire area. These 3 places can only accommodate 3% of the population referred to. The refugees who have taken shelter in these camps have suffered deaths by aerial bombardment and artillery shelling. It appears that IPKF is expecting the people of Jaffna to face death at their houses or to go to camps and face death or to move out of the entire area. It is impossible to expect the people of Jaffna to find accommodation elsewhere. Several people have collected themselves in Temples and Churches and their lives are in danger due to the shellings and bombings. Apart from that several people have suffered injuries inflicted mainly by the IPKF and murders committed by IPKF.

**4. ELECTRICITY :**

The entire Jaffna district has no electricity supply from 11.10.1987. Even though the Ceylon Electricity Board personnel can restore the supply, they are unable to do so as the IPKF is not permitting the movement of them to attend to the defect. The effect of non availability of electricity to the society can well be imagined and need not be stated.

**5. WATER SUPPLY :**

Drinking water supply to the municipal area and the domestic water supply system have also failed.

**6. FOOD SUPPLY :**

The food supply situation is very grave. The people are on the verge of starvation due to non-availability of essential food items.

Eventhough rice is available it cannot be transported to the areas where it is needed due to the total road block of the IPKF. As the result of bombing and shelling the traders have been forced to close the shops and flee for security reasons. Flour is not available but if transport arrangements are available this can be brought, if these are done there would be no necessity to bring the food from outside or even to airdrop food parcels.

**7. FUEL :**

There is an acute shortage of fuel and the situation can well be imagined. Even mobility is totally affected due to the fuel shortages.

**8. DRUG (MEDICINE) SUPPLY :**

In spite of the fact that there are heavy admissions in the Jaffna district, especially the Teaching Hospital Jaffna, the drug supply has almost failed and there is a possibility of death figure increasing for want of drugs and other treatment materials. It may also be mentioned that there is the risk of the operation theatre failing due to the stand by generators failing for want of fuel and Oxygen cylinders non-availability.

**9. EDUCATION :**

The total education system in the area has come to stand still and all the educational institutions from the Jaffna University down to the primary school remain closed. The biggest tragedy and grave injury inflicted on education tremendous and heavy damages have been caused to the buildings of the University of Jaffna due to the shelling and bombing. It is needless to say that the closures would have very considerable effect on the present younger generation.

**10. CURFEW :**

Great difficulties are caused due to the continued curfew and even the time out information being not available to the public due to the failure of TV and Radio network, due to the electricity failure. This has denied the essential services to all of us.

**11. HEALTH HAZARD :**

The scavenging and drainage services has come to a stand still. And the maintenance of sanitary conditions of the refugee camps have developed into a major problem for want of electricity and water supply. It is strongly feared that there will be an outbreak of epidemic diseases. We as responsible public servants are compelled to appeal to your Excellency to intervene in this matter and enable us, as public servants to perform our duties for the people of Jaffna. We would like to emphasise the fact that any failure can lead to several adverse effects for which as head of state your Excellency and the government would not like to be party to it.

Thanking you,

Yours respectively,  
Sd.....

Dr. P.S. Natchinarkiniyar  
Director, General Hospital, Jaffna.

Mr. S. Kanagaratnam  
Chairman NRIB

Dr. M.S. Arasanathan  
Registrar, Health Department

Mr. M. Manikavasagar  
AGA., Jaffna

Mr. R. Jeganathan  
ACCD, Jaffna.

Mr. C.V.K. Sivagnanam  
Municipal Commissioner

Mr. M.N. Manzoor  
Regional Director of Education

Mr. C. Panchalingam  
G.A. Jaffna

Mr. S.M. Setukavalar  
D.S. Postal Department, Jaffna

Mr. Ganeshanathan  
D.P.S. Municipality, Jaffna

Mr. Sarkunam  
ASP, Jaffna

Dr. Sivagnanasundram  
Dean of Medical Faculty, Jaffna

# The Indian Empire meets its Waterloo

Anthony Hartley  
on how history has  
caught up with Mr. Gandhi

REPORT



'India is no longer  
in a position to  
rebut racism in  
Pretoria'

AS INDIAN TROOPS fought their way into Jaffna, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, was pitching into South Africa and Colonel Rabuka at the Commonwealth Conference. Events in Sri Lanka were not allowed to disturb his high moral tone. There was nothing to show that here was the leader of a country over-extended abroad and riven by dissension at home.

In the good old days of Nehru things were different. The moralising was there, but it was accompanied by more efficiently conducted power politics designed to assure continued power to the Congress party and expand India's influence in Asia. Kashmir was secured, Goa invaded, Pakistan split into two States - all with the very best of motives. Indian supremacy in the sub-continent seemed to have come about by sleight of hand with none of the disagreeable episodes that usually attend imperial expansion. Nehru left his successors an Indian Raj modelled on its British predecessor and liberally anointed with cant.

Now the moment of reckoning has arrived. Mr. Gandhi has been taken for what promises, to be a dangerous ride on a Tamil Tiger. After conniving for years at the build-up of Tamil guerillas in the north of Sri Lanka, India finds itself pledged to suppress them. Jaffna, which the Sri Lankan security forces were unable to take, is now being stormed by the Indian Army with heavy losses on both sides. History produces these uncomfortable ironies, but the outcome is one which New Delhi should have foreseen.

Yet it must all have looked so easy to Mr. Gandhi. Intervention in Sri Lanka to protect the Tamils seemed likely to raise his prestige at home and abroad. The agreement with President Junius Jayawardene and the dispatch of Indian troops to Sri Lanka looked like a diplomatic triumph which would ensure the extension of Indian influence. It also had the effect of diverting attention from the deadly Sikh dissidence in the Punjab.

But this was to reckon without the Tamil Tigers. The djinni of linguistic nationalism once released is not so easily put back in the bottle. Men who believe that power comes out of the barrel of a gun are reluctant to surrender it. Oddly enough, they come to enjoy killing people. The Tigers do not merely want independence for the Tamil areas in north and east Sri Lanka. They also aim to roll back Sinhalese settlement through terror and massacre.

The result is that India, honourably carrying out its agreement with President Jayawardene, find itself landed with the responsibility for maintaining law and order in a large part of Sri Lanka for an indefinite period. Moreover, President Jayawardene is only just managing to contain Sinhalese anger at the killings carried out by the Tigers. Were the agreement to collapse, then Indian would be faced with the alternative either of fighting both sides or of withdrawing from Sri Lanka in humiliating circumstances. No doubt the corpses of Jaffna have already lost Mr. Gandhi the vote in Tamil Nadu.

At the same time Indian security forces are trying to stifle the terrorist movement in Punjab which cost Indira Gandhi her life. Mr. Gandhi's agreement with the moderate Sikh party Akali

Dal, whose leader was assassinated shortly afterwards, has not satisfied those who demand a Sikh State (Khalistan). Nor is the Punjab the only part of India where religious or linguistic disturbances have taken place. The latest such incident was in the area around Darjeeling where Gorkhali nationalists are demanding their own autonomous State.

As if these internal tensions were not enough. Mr. Gandhi has inherited from his grandfather the enmity of India's two most powerful neighbours. Indians now claim that Pakistan has been encouraging Sikh extremists, and there has been renewed fighting between Indian and Pakistani troops on the glaciers north of Kashmir. With China there is still a frontier dispute which led to clashes during 1986.

This number of foreign commitments and internal upheavals are too great a burden for a country whose economic policies area failure and where poverty has actually worsened over the last 20 years. The fact is that history has caught up with India. Determined to dominate its own region, while stoutly preaching the gospel of anti-imperialism to others, it has been arrogant with its neighbours and often oppressive with its own minorities. The rancours and suspicions of neighbouring States are an inheritance from a period when India dictate its own solution to any dispute.

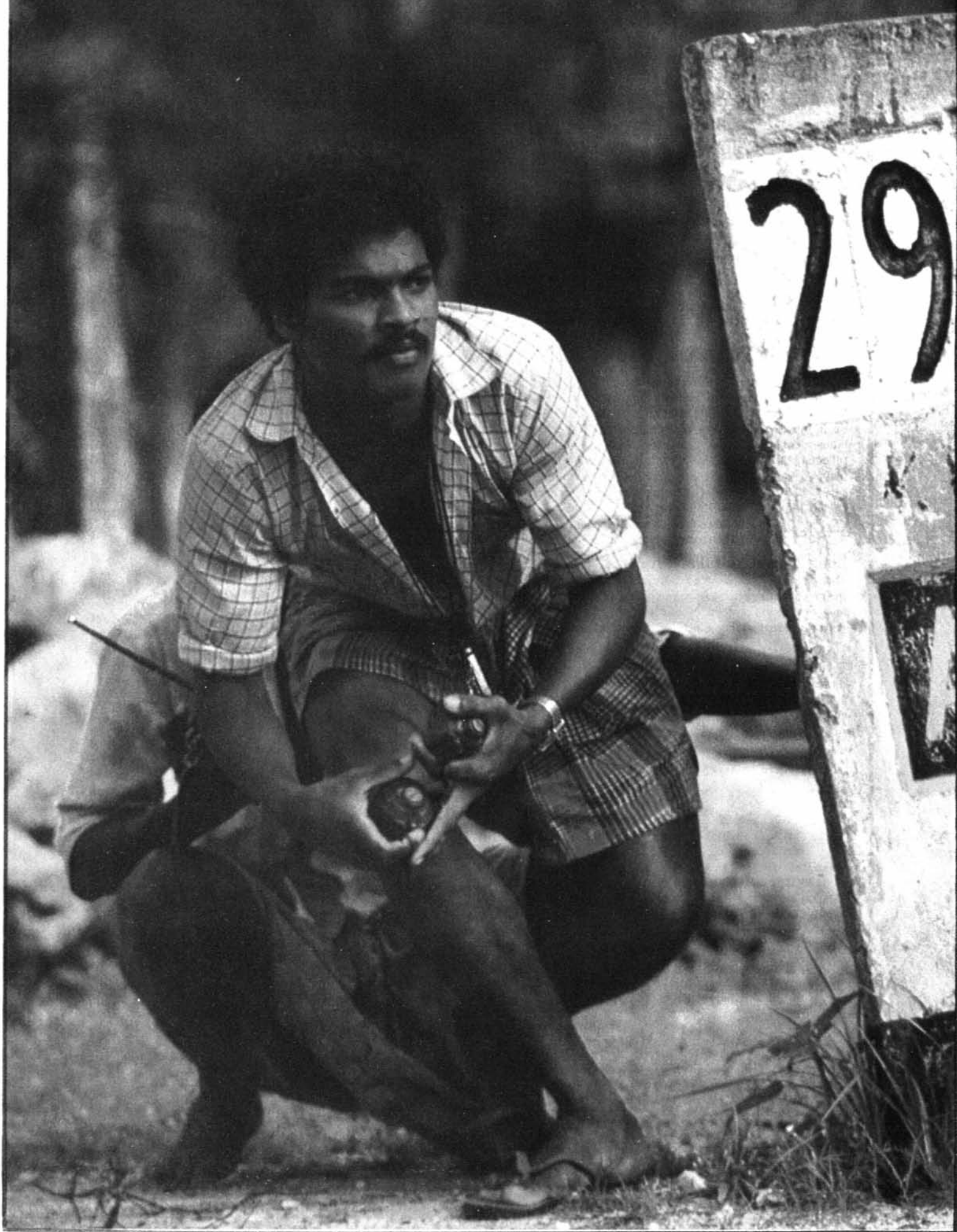
At home the cracks which have begun to appear in the Indian union are the result of years of inefficient Congress rule, which has imposed on the country a smothering bureaucracy, whose policies were based on the precepts of Kingsley Martins's New Statesman. The new nationalism which India has encouraged at the expense of Western States, is a contagious disease. No wonder that regional and ethnic groups in India should be bitten by the bug. Against the centrifugal forces that are pulling India apart stand the Indian Army and the heirs to the old Indian Civil Service. Will they be enough to hold the country together?

It is an irony that Mr. Gandhi should have to pay the price for Congress's mistakes. For he has been more conciliatory than his predecessors and perhaps deserves his annual bursts of rhetoric at Commonwealth Conferences more than they did. His plunge into Sri Lanka was probably taken with excellent intentions. But he has involved himself in an expensive and dangerous adventure, and it is hard to see how he can get out of it without a disastrous loss of political prestige. Reading the riot act to South Africa and Fiji will not do much to improve matters. India, over-extended to rebuke reform in Pretoria or offer its protection to the Indians of Fiji.

For years India preached international morality, while reaching out to impose its will upon its neighbours. Indian influence loomed large; Indian self-righteousness even larger. Now its imperium is dickety, and the moralising that camouflaged its expansion sounds empty indeed. Pecksniff is at the end of its tether and of his cant. Whether Mr. Gandhi likes it or not, he will have to recognise that he can no longer play the lead part in a theatre foreign policy. There is nothing like a Tamil Tiger to concentrate the mind.

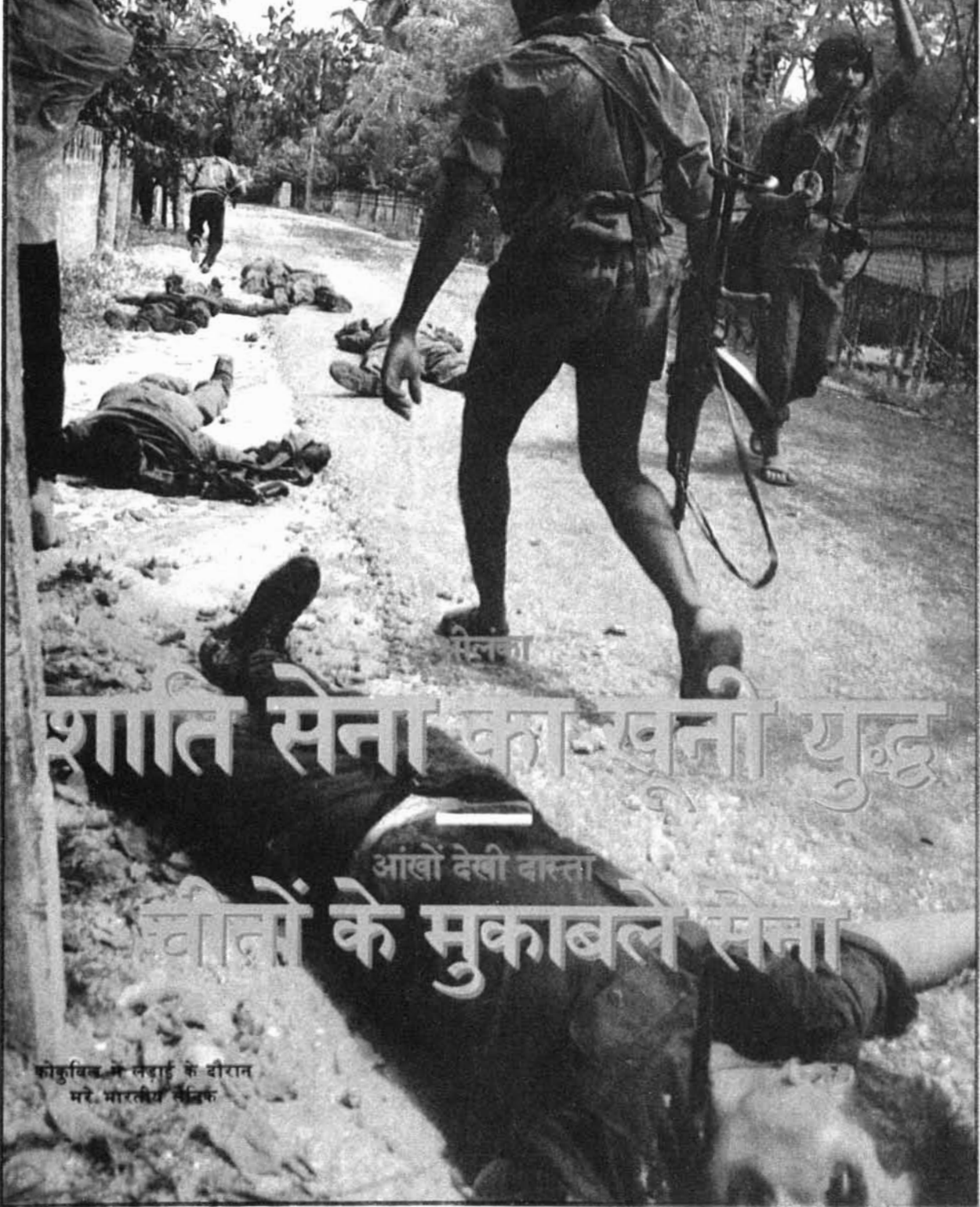






# इंडिया टुडे

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सिलंगा

## शाति सेना का खूनी युद्ध

आंखों देली दास्ता

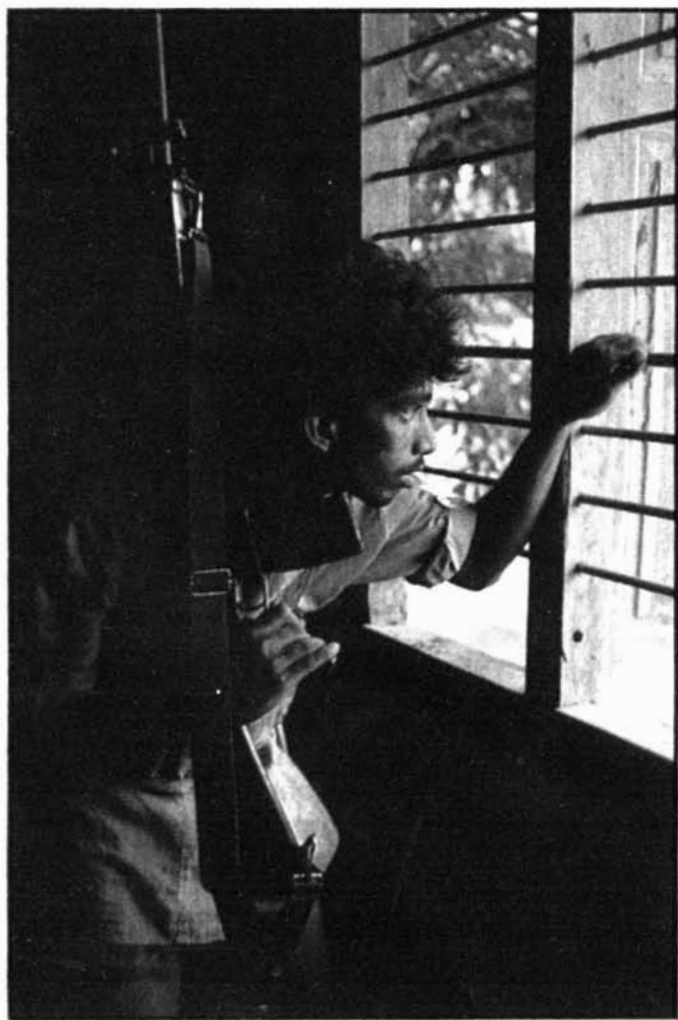
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मरे भारतीय सैनिक

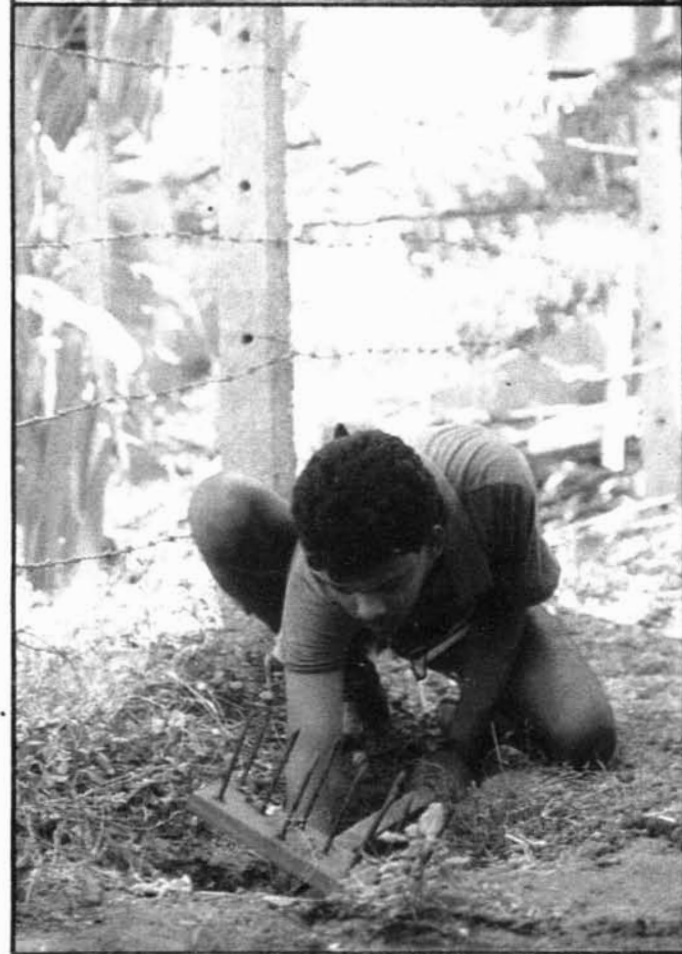
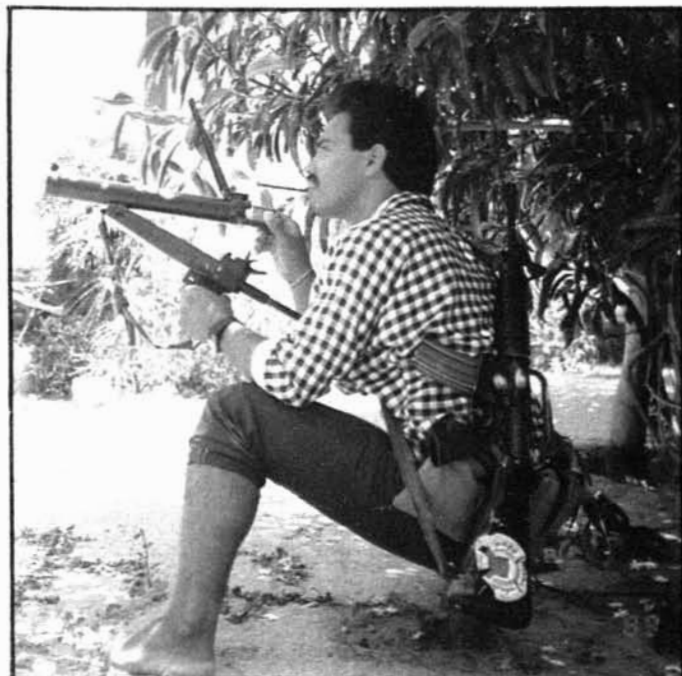


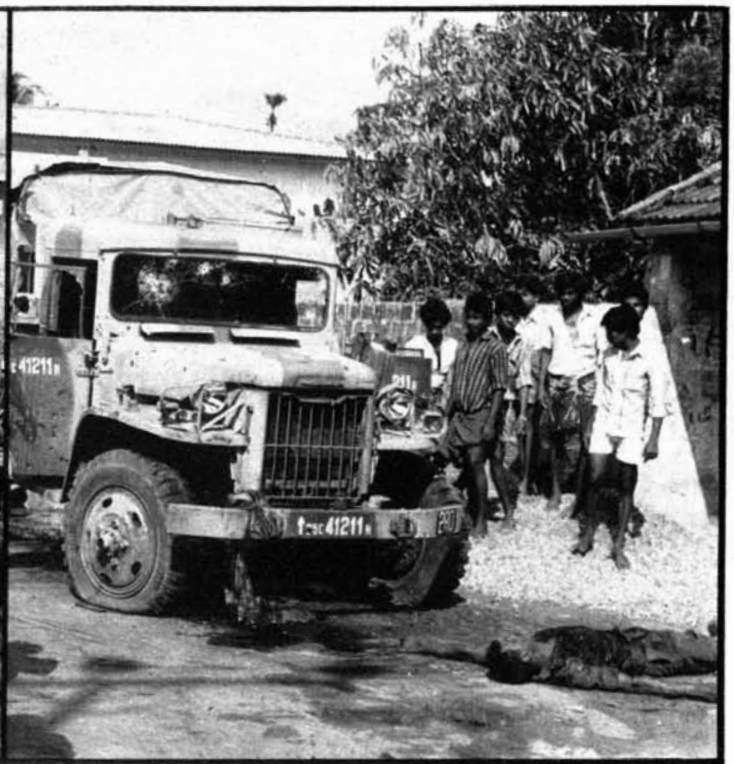












# Jaffna blacked out as IPKF closes in

NEWS

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct. 17

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force has positioned itself around Jaffna town and is poised for a final assault on the last stronghold of the LTTE militants in Sri Lanka. An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said a column of the IPKF was barely two km of the town from the north and west, while another was already on the eastern fringes.

Giving details of the military action in the past 24 hours, the spokesman said that on the Navatakuli axis in the east, the IPKF captured Arialai in a heliborne raid. Twenty LTTE militants were reported killed and the IPKF seized control of a huge arms and ammunition dump in the area.

However, the LTTE launched another attack on Kopai North which was captured yesterday by the IPKF. The spokesman said the attack was repulsed, without giving details of the casualties. The LTTE had attacked this position thrice earlier, before the IPKF wrested control. This and Urumparai (also captured yesterday) are vital approaches to Jaffna from the north-east.

From the west, the IPKF's pincer advanced further south of Manipai and was close to Milestone 3, the spokesman said.

## No response yet

Although reports from Jaffna indicate that conditions in the town are desperate - there is an acute food shortage and the electricity supply has been cut off - the LTTE has not yet responded positively to the minimum terms for the cessation of hostilities spelt out by Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh in Jaffna and the spokesman in Delhi yesterday. They had made it clear that an unconditional surrender of arms by the militants and an unreserved undertaking that the LTTE would cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord were necessary before the current operations of the IPKF could be called off.

But a mood of increasing desperation among the militants was evident. Reports reaching here from Jaffna have said that the LTTE militants have been going to the outskirts of the town in the past few days and explaining the situation to the populace thus. They said the LTTE never wanted to take on a powerful army like India's, but they were committed to defending the interests of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. What would they (the people) like them to do, the LTTE cadres asked. This has been interpreted as seeking a way out of the present predicament, but nothing is known of the peoples' reaction to the rhetorical appeal. However, going by the military situation and the IPKF's total control of all approaches to Jaffna town, the LTTE leaders may not have much choice in the matter soon.

Reuters, UNI, PTI report from Colombo:

The IPKF has advanced further towards the heart of Jaffna town from four different directions, leaving at least 515 Tamil militants dead so far and capturing more areas from the LTTE.

Jaffna was blacked out as the Indian troops closed in on the town, Sri Lanka radio said.

The radio said power supplies to the town had

been cut to neutralise electrical booby traps and bombs designed to explode at the press of a switch.

All exit points were under Indian control and the militants were trapped, with their firepower fast diminishing, military analysts said.

A spokesman for the Indian High Commission said as many as 101 Indian personnel have been killed so far. Most of the IPKF casualties were from landmine explosions and booby traps laid by the LTTE in Jaffna peninsula and in the Eastern Province. As many as 25 Indian soldiers are missing.

The spokesman said the IPKF which had already captured some 500 to 1000 metres of the Jaffna fort, were now strengthening their positions by putting up road blocks and sending out probing operations to locate the LTTE positions, especially on the eastern part of the town. House-to-house clearing operations are also on.

On the Kankesanthurai-Jaffna sector, the Indian troops have moved further down Manipai, about one kilometre at a place called Uvarakulam, and are now about half kilometre away from Jaffna town on this sector.

On the Palaly-Jaffna axis, the spokesman said in Urumparai, which the IPKF captured early yesterday in one of the toughest battles killing at least 111 LTTE men, the consolidation process was going on despite sniping fire by the retreating militants. Six more LTTE elements were killed in the vicinity of Urumparai during the past 24 hours, as the IPKF repulsed intermittent attacks by the fleeing militants.

On the Navatkuli flank where the IPKF has already reached the municipal limits of Jaffna town, the Indian soldiers are maintaining their forward movement and pushing into the town. Heavy fighting is raging inside the municipal limits. The LTTE, according to the spokesman, was directing its fire heavily from built-up areas, houses, tree-tops, where it had set up "machans".

The militants have positioned themselves in rocket launching pits, and long bunkers, fortified with bricks and sand bags. Some of these bunkers are as long as 40 feet. The bunkers are set up in front of houses most of which are encircled with barbed wires. This is done to have the houses with people inside as protective shields, the spokesman added.

The Sri Lankan radio said a secret LTTE document detailing sabotage attacks and raids against targets in Batticaloa was found on a militant leader captured on Friday.

The spokesman said that of the five militants arrested in Batticaloa yesterday, two were believed to be hardcore members. One LTTE member, Sashi Kumar, committed suicide by swallowing a cyanide capsule after the landmine blast on Wednesday, he said quoting delayed reports.

A 32-member Indian Red Cross team, flown to the Palaly headquarters of the IPKF would fan out in the peninsula under IPKF escort and oversee the distribution of relief supplies to displaced people, he said. A Sri Lankan Red Cross team is already in Palaly.

Civilians began streaming out of Jaffna yesterday, telling of serious shortages of food, water and medicine and alleging indiscriminate shelling of the city by Indian troops.

Ponnappa, Deccan Herald.





# IPKF enters Jaffna, takes parts of town

BATTLE □ FOR □ JAFFNA

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct 18.

Although the Indian Peace Keeping Force has entered and captured some points in Jaffna town, the LTTE militants seem to be re-grouping and attacking positions they had lost earlier.

The External Affairs Ministry spokesman said today that the Jaffna bus stand was under the control of the IPKF. But the siege of Jaffna Fort by the LTTE had not been broken. The spokesman said two columns of IPKF troops were making rapid progress from the eastern and western approaches to the town and were 'now poised to link up with the besieged Jaffna Fort.'

Once that happened, the spokesman said, the LTTE would have 'no option but to surrender' and to give in their caches of arms, ammunition and explosives. Currently, the LTTE was engaged in a 'desperate' bid to move more arms and ammunition into Jaffna by boat from hidden caches in the Jaffna lagoon. However, Indian naval boats were 'hindering' their clandestine moves, the spokesman said.

## Counter-attacks

Fierce fighting continues in the northern and eastern approaches. The LTTE has launched counter-attacks in Urumparai and Kopai North, two positions captured by the IPKF in the last two days. Along the Navatkuli axis in the east, the IPKF is engaged in heavy fighting in built-up areas of Jaffna town.

The spokesman said that over 1,000 civilians had approached the IPKF to rescue them from what they described the jaws of death. The IPKF was making arrangements for their evacuation.

In the past 24 hours, the IPKF has suffered 13 killed, 39 injured and one soldier was missing. No details of LTTE casualties were given. In the Urumparai area one Infantry Combat Vehicle (ICV) of the IPKF was blown up by a mine. There was no report of violence from the Trincomalee and Batticaloa sectors where the situation was under control, the spokesman said.

Another appeal for a ceasefire was made by the LTTE deputy leader, Mr Ajit Mathaiya today. It was conveyed to the IPKF by the Jaffna chapter of the Sri Lankan Red Cross. The IPKF has repeated its earlier position, namely, that an unconditional surrender of arms by the militants and an unreserved undertaking that the LTTE would cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement were necessary before the current operations could be called off.

As the IPKF operations entered the second week with the complete ground encirclement of Jaffna, observers here are intrigued by the persistent and desperate attempts by the LTTE to recapture Kopai North. Over 100 militants were killed in fighting two days ago when the IPKF wrested control of the area from the LTTE. Ever since, it has continued its attack on IPKF positions with more casualties.

## Not so bad

Not much importance is being attached to the continuing siege of Jaffna Fort where some

IPKF units have been isolated since the beginning of operations. Apart from regular helicopter supply drops, the fort is linked by causeway to positions in the rear which are under IPKF control. The fort is heavily mined by the LTTE in front and once the IPKF pincers from the east and west link up, the Indians are expected to use tracked vehicles like tanks and BMPs to get past the mines.

Travellers who have managed to leave Jaffna in the past three days give a less desperate picture of conditions in the town than generally believed. Though there are food shortages, it is nowhere near depletion. Also most of the buildings have not been damaged, a clear proof of the IPKF's restraint in using heavy artillery and air power.

Meanwhile, it is said that over 100 personnel of the Indian Red Cross are being sent to Jaffna tomorrow to supervise the distribution of medical and food supplies. These supplies are currently being loaded on to the ship Island Glory at Madras port which will sail for Kankesanthurai tomorrow.

PTI, UNI, report:

During the briefing, while referring to the capture of the bus stand, the spokesman did not clarify whether it was the old or the new bus stand. While the old one is on the outskirts of the town, the new one is well inside it. He said an ammunition dump had also been captured. The pressure along the northern approaches astride Urumparai and Kopai North was being maintained.

A Defence Ministry spokesman said that in a major breakthrough the IPKF today captured a

## LTTE CLAIMS

On the 17th, in the encounters at Kallimadai Veli 36 men of the IPKF were killed. The Liberation Tigers captured many rifles, including one G.P.M.G and more than 10,000 bullets. In the fierce fight at Kopai one mortar and 6 shells were captured by the LTTE.

In Urumbirai region, the IPKF's indiscriminate attack has completely destroyed the plantain-fields and other crops. The IPKF drove its chained armoured vehicles through these fields and destroyed them. They also abducted 14 young girls. The LTTE which is fighting fiercely against the IPKF, is fighting only with the weapons they have captured from the IPKF.

The IPKF attacked the Tamils in Kiran Kommandurai, Sambalveli, and Chithadi villages of the Eastern Province and burnt-down more than 50 houses of the Tamils. The LTTE engaged itself in fierce battle against the IPKF. At Kallumunai in the counter-attack of the LTTE, 24 soldiers of the Indian army were killed. The LTTE captured 3 L.M.G. magazine full of bullets.

On 17th night, at Urumbirai, 16 young girls were abducted by the IPKF.

headquarters of the LTTE at Kopai North. It also captured an ammunition dump and recovered over a tonne of explosives.

On the main Kankesanthurai-Jaffna axis, Indian troops were consolidating positions at Inuvil. The IPKF had also launched patrolling of LTTE strongholds in the eastern Trincomalee district where a dusk-to-dawn curfew was in force.

The spokesman said the troops had smashed through heavily fortified bunkers on the eastern perimeter and were locked in heavy fighting along narrow roads and alleys in Jaffna's congested western outskirts. The IPKF advanced on fiercely-defended bunkers, rocket and mortar emplacements under sniper fire from LTTE fighters hidden in surrounding trees.

"Progress is slow because the troops are meeting heavy resistance and also because they are not using all the firepower at their command out of consideration for the civilians".

## Using only one hand

The IPKF was fighting with "one hand tied behind its back", he added. "This is being done at a great cost to us and at the cost of prolonging the whole operation".

"The militants have built bunkers in front of houses. When the bunkers are attacked, they retreat into the houses and attack the troops from inside." The LTTE was using hit-and-run tactics, at the same time attacking from built-up positions and from behind human shields.

The official declined to say what kind of armoured was used. He said earlier that on certain operations armoured cars had been used against selected targets. The official said that the offensive would not be halted until the LTTE surrendered all its weapons.

He said that during the past two days, between 1,500 and 2,000 additional troops had been flown into the peninsula, increasing the strength of the IPKF in Jaffna alone to 8,000.



# IPKF moving in on five axes NEWS

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI Oct. 19

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force further tightened its hold over Jaffna city today when at 2.20 p.m., a linkup was effected between an Indian brigade group from the Manipal side advancing 15 km. from their positions and a group of para-commandos and Mahar Regiment soldiers advancing out of the Jaffna Fort. With this linkup, the coastal zone from Navanthurai to the Fort, past the Infectious Diseases Hospital has come under the control of the IPKF.

The IPKF control of the area cuts off the LTTE inside the city from its supply bases on the islands of the Jaffna Lagoon. Tonight another IPKF column is expected to move from the eastern side of Jaffna to link up with the forces in the Jaffna Fort. With these actions, the town hall, the bus stand in front of the fort, the post office and the microwave tower have been wrested from LTTE control. Sources said that the post office building was heavily booby trapped and it would be some time before it could be cleared.

**Next objective:** In the actions planned for the next 24 hours, the IPKF will attempt to establish control over the Jaffna General Hospital and preparations are already under way to bring in oxygen cylinders, portable electric generators and other equipment and medicines to assist the Jaffna citizens. The IPKF will also attempt to establish contact with large groups of civilians who are attempting to reach secure areas. Last night, one attempt by a group of 1,000 civilians was foiled by firing from LTTE positions.

The IPKF is moving in on the heart of Jaffna city on five axes, the Kankasanturai-Jaffna road, through the Palali-Chunnakam-Urumparai road, via Manipal and the west coast road, via Kopai and lastly along the western coastal approaches. Though more than four brigades have been committed for the operation, the actual fighting is carried out by some 2,000 Indian soldiers fighting approximately 2,500

LTTE cadres who are entrenched in well sited and established positions. The rest of the Indian force is committed to the task of logistics and ensuring the security of the roads already opened up.

**Formidable defences:** In the terrain which consists of an almost continuous rows of houses along the roads leading to the city proper, the LTTE over the years has built up a formidable three or four-tiered defence system facing the approaches from Palali, Kankasanturai and Chavakcheri. The houses, mostly one or two storeyed, stand in small compounds. The LTTE has constructed an elaborate defensive line which involves deep bunkers in compounds linked with tunnels/trenches with the houses which have sandbagged and loopholed strongpoints on their upper floors.

The IPKF has so far been fighting with virtually no heavy weapon. They have used some 105mm field guns but only in a direct fire role, i.e., on targets visible to the gunners and therefore clearly identified strongpoints. The IPKF has now a huge mosaic aerial photo of Jaffna with a resolution sufficient to identify each house and it shows that little damage has been caused by the IPKF action. It is to be noted that Jaffna suffered considerable damage in May this year through the aerial action of the Sri Lankan Air Force. Sources say the photo reveals that there are not too many refugees in the Nallur Kandaswamy temple or in the General Hospital area.

**More bitter action likely:** The IPKF is quite confident that its assessment of the damage will be borne out by independent observers. They are ready to fly the media to the area as soon as the situation stabilises. However, given the self-imposed constraints on the IPKF it may still be a few days before this happens. In fact, the heart of the city, which is more heavily built up, will see more bitter actions unless the LTTE accepts the offer made by India to lay down arms.

Details of yesterday's battle to open the eastern coastal road are now available. A com-

pany of Mahars moved up to Milestone 2 on the road on the night of the 17th and a linkup was planned with a brigade swinging down from Manipal. The company had to face over 24 hours of attacks by LTTE fighters and lost two young officers in a gallant action. The company held out, supplied by an air-drop of ammunition till the brigade linked up at 5.30 a.m. today to push forward to meet a force emerging from the fort. This action cuts off the LTTE from their caches and supply centres in the lagoon islands. The draught in parts of the lagoon is just a little over 1 ft. And there is an acute shortage of craft to patrol it. In fact, just over five craft are currently available of which four belong to the Sri Lankan Navy.

Details are also available of the action fought around Kopai North where the LTTE launched as many as six attacks on Indian positions and lost over 100 fighters. The IPKF was somewhat puzzled by the ferocity of the attacks and the reasons for the action were realised only after an IPKF attack led by a few tanks captured the positions. Kopai North was not only a training ground for the LTTE but had a big ammunition and explosives dump.

Yesterday, near Kopai South, the IPKF also discovered three garages equipped with machine tools and found that they had captured a major LTTE facility for manufacturing mines, mortar shells and mortar barrels. In this action, the IPKF lost its seniormost officer so far, a colonel who was killed in a mine explosion while conducting a reconnaissance. So far the IPKF has lost 120-130 men including a Colonel, two Lt. Colonels and 13 other officers.

**No word on Prabakaran:** No details are available on the whereabouts of the LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabakaran. IPKF radio intercepts have not been able to ascertain his whereabouts. However, it is known that following the first attack on the university campus where the IPKF had its biggest losses so far, the LTTE leader had indicated that he was sending his last message and responsibility for actions were being given over to the various regional commanders.

## LTTE CLAIMS

On 18th at about 3 o'clock in the evening, the IPKF attacked the civilian residences at Koppai with chained armoured vehicles. The LTTE faced them with R.P.G. and land mines. One chained armoured vehicle was completely destroyed. At a place called Chandinipai, a chained armoured car of the IPKF was destroyed by the LTTE. The IPKF could not face the attack of the LTTE and therefore withdrew. The LTTE took one G.P.M.G. and large cache of arms from the IPKF.

In the fight that took place on 18.10.87 Alan, Jana and Viji of the LTTE died. At Anaikottai region of Manipoy, in a three hours fight, Indian army has used more than 125 L.M. artillery shells. 9 civilians were killed in this, and nearly a hundred people were injured. The houses and properties of many people were damaged to a very great extent. The shell thrown by the IPKF near the Pillaiyar Temple at Manipoy, hit the temple and blasted, damaging it thoroughly. Many people who had taken shelter in the temple were seriously wounded.

In the fierce battle at Koppai the LTTE destroyed with rocket launchers 5 A.P.C. armoured vehicles of the IPKF. The LTTE spoiled the attempt of the IPKF to advance from Navanthurai to Jaffna. The IPKF's attempts to move out from the Jaffna Fort was also spoiled by the LTTE.



# We prefer cyanide to surrender: LTTE

NEWS

COLOMBO, Oct. 19.

Indian troops battled inside the Sri Lankan City of Jaffna on Monday but the ferocious Tamil Tigers' opposition in bullet-pitted alleys slowed their advance.

Refugees fleeing Jaffna spoke of bullets spattering around the city's mud and wattle houses as the Indian troops sought to tighten an arc of steel around the outnumbered Tamil militants opposing the Indo-Sri Lankan peace pact.

"We'd rather kill ourselves by taking cyanide than surrender. But we will take some of them with us first", a sarong-clad commander of the Tigers said in central Sri Lanka.

He spoke as 20 militants shouldering gleaming automatic rifles loaded a supply truck bound for fellow LTTE men in Jaffna, where non-combatants are short of food and water after 10 days of fighting.

Electricity has been cut off for three days and the Indian and Sri Lankan Red Cross teams are visiting areas of the city to assess the damage.

An Indian official reported fierce mortar and machine gun duels just inside the city's perimeter as two groups of Indian soldiers who fought their way inside the municipal zone on Sunday for the first time tried to reach the city centre.

Another column was advancing from a shell-scarred Sri Lankan army-held fort in the port. A fourth and fifth group outside the city to the north were advancing against strong opposition from the LTTE fighters.

India flew in 2,000 more troops on Sunday to join the 6,000 police and troops seeking to disarm the Tigers and implement the pact.

Independent confirmation of the fighting is not available as reporters are barred from visiting the Jaffna peninsula.

"It's human nature to exaggerate your side's advances, but I think the Indian account of movements on the ground, as far as it goes, is accurate," the diplomat said.

"I think the fighting will go on for at least another week."

Refugees have spoken of sporadic artillery shelling and some air attacks by the Indian Peace Keeping Force. The Indian High Commission has denied that air offensive power is being used and said artillery is being fired "very sparingly."

"Our hands are being tied behind our backs", a commission spokeswoman said on Sunday. The Indian troops could not use their full firepower for fear of harming the estimated 1,30,000 civilians remaining in the port.

**Manhunt for Prabhakaran:** Meanwhile, the troops launched a manhunt to capture the LTTE supreme commander, Mr. V. Prabhakaran, in a bid to crush the fierce resistance to India's offensive aimed at disarming Tamil rebels, Indian sources said.

The troops had smashed a rebel headquarters on the outskirts of Jaffna on Sunday and destroyed an estimated one tonne of high explosives as they pursued their search for the LTTE leader.

It was not immediately clear whether Mr. Prabhakaran, widely believed to be holed up in Jaffna and directing the resistance, was wanted dead or alive.

The 33-year-old LTTE supremo, with a price of Rs. 1 million (Sri Lanka) on his head, leads an estimated 2,500 armed militants and has said that he will never be captured alive.

"The LTTE keeps shifting its headquarters and important leaders. We know of at least six such places. Part of the Indian offensive is to capture Prabhakaran," said an Indian source.

Mr. Prabhakaran "is directly responsible for rejecting the peace accord and the attacks on rival militants and Sinhalese civilians," the Indian source said. — Reuter & AFP

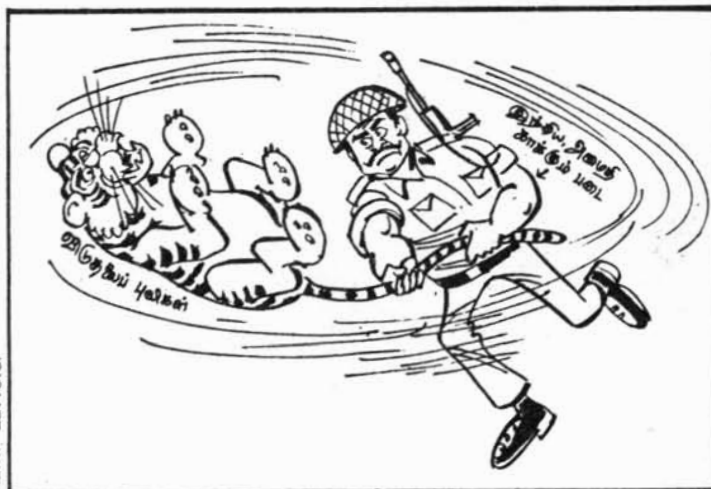
**LTTE letter to P.M.:** The following is the text of the letter (issued by the U.K. branch of the LTTE) from Mr. G. Mahendrarajah, Deputy Leader of the LTTE, to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Dear Prime Minister,  
"I, Mr. G. Mahendrarajah, Deputy Leader of the LTTE, agree on behalf of the LTTE (1) to handing over of arms and working out of the accord in accordance with the decision arrived between the LTTE and the Government of India on the 28th September 1987 at Palaly; (2) an immediate ceasefire; (3) negotiate on all other matters"

Thanking You,  
Yours faithfully and sincerely,  
(signed)  
G. Mahendrarajah.



Kalki 25.10.87





# Commandos break out of Jaffna Fort

BATTLE □ FOR □ JAFFNA

NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 19.

A commando group of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force today broke out of the Jaffna Fort and linked up with columns advancing along the coastal road.

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry told reporters that in a major development, the force, after clearing the mine fields laid by the LTTE outside Jaffna Fort, established control on the south-western outskirts of Jaffna. But during this movement forward, it met heavy resistance from the LTTE, including small arms, machinegun and mortar fire.

The IPKF advance, he said, continued on various fronts. On the Navatkuli-Jaffna axis, there was a two-pronged movement forward. Troops had established positions on a railroad junction on the outskirts of Jaffna.

The IPKF continued to move forward, consolidating its position in the Kopai North sector where it broke through yesterday. It recovered one tonne of ammunition and also captured a factory where mines and booby traps were being manufactured. The entire area around Kopai North had been cleared. The existence of the factory explained the LTTE's attack with booby traps.

The peace-keeping force was also moving towards Jaffna on the Kankasanturai-Jaffna and Palaly-Jaffna axis. The spokesman said that in certain sectors the IPKF had used mechanised infantry formations. Replying to a question, he said that this involved the use of armoured personnel carriers. However, he clarified that a conscious decision had been taken by the Government of India not to use air power. "We have not used air power thus far."

In many areas the IPKF had suffered heavy casualties because of its decision not to use air power. "We are very particular not to cause any damage to property or cause injury to civilians," he said.

The significance of today's operation, was that the IPKF had secured one particular portion of Jaffna town.

The spokesman said the IPKF today provided assistance to refugees fleeing from the LTTE's hold in the Navatkuli and Urumpirai areas. "This assistance has been provided in the midst of fire and personal risk..."

Meanwhile, the engineering units of the IPKF were engaged in the reconstruction of roads and bridges damaged by the LTTE in the face of the IPKF's advance.

Answering a question on the LTTE's reported rejection of the precondition to surrender all its arms, for a cease-fire, the spokesman said "we are going through an on-going process," but he reiterated that the LTTE should lay down all its arms, as required under the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement. "We would also like to have from them an unequivocal commitment to the implementation of the agreement."

He explained that the basic political objective was to disarm the militant groups holding arms in violation of the agreement, so that peace could be restored and the Tamils could live in safety and security in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The IPKF would ensure that.

The peace-keeping force, he asserted, was not running a military operation against the

LTTE but was only trying to implement the agreement. To achieve this basic objective, peace and tranquility were essential. This could not be obtained as long as the LTTE was in possession of arms in violation of the agreement. "While the LTTE was piously negotiating with the Government of India, it was also engaged in the manufacture of booby traps." The Government of India remained firmly committed to securing what was provided under the agreement, including devolution of power.

Narrating the sequence of events since the signing of the accord to the present confrontation, the spokesman said the Government of India had met all the demands of the LTTE. But at every stage it seemed to suffer from fear of the electoral process. "They got psychologically adjusted to the bullet rather than the ballot.... We want them to change from the use of bullet to the acceptance of the ballot."

Even in the formation of the Interim Administrative Council, for which there was no provision in the agreement, every conceivable LTTE demand was met. It wanted a majority of seats in the proposed council. It said one of the Muslims from among their list should be selected. It urged that one of its nominees should be the Administrator-in-Council. It also wanted the rehabilitation of its cadres in the special police force and clearly defined powers for the Council. All these were met. He said under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement the militant groups should lay down their arms within a period of 72 hours. Unfortunately, this did not happen.

The LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabhakaran told Maj. Gen. Harkirat Singh, GOC, IPKF that he was unable to hand over personal arms held by the LTTE leaders because of threats from rival groups. From 1986 till the beginning of this year, the LTTE had killed over 340 fellow Tamil militants. The demand of the LTTE to keep personal arms for the security of its leaders was conceded, but it was asked to hand over heavy arms and equipment, to which Mr. Prabhakaran agreed.

Subsequently, the Government of India held detailed negotiations with the LTTE to persuade it to refrain from violence and to make it a part of the democratic process. There was, however, no positive response. And clashes erupted between the LTTE and the other groups.

One of the LTTE leaders, Thileepan, went on a fast unto death to press the group's five-point charter of demands. Then came the announcement on the Interim Administrative Council. This was followed by the Sri Lankan Navy's capture of the LTTE boat with 17 members on board.

He admitted that it was not a wise move on Colombo's part to insist on taking the captured men to Colombo. As a sequel to 12 of its men committing suicide by swallowing cyanide, the LTTE went on a rampage, killing 300 Sinhalese civilians. The Sri Lankan Army was under tremendous pressure to come out of barracks to protect the Sinhalese. There was also a move to get the Sri Lanka's Special Task Force into action again. The Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, was under great pressure to act in that direction as 20,000 Sinhalese refugees had fled to Colombo. It was then that the Government of India decided to go into the root cause of all this violence. It was found out that the possession of arms by individual groups in violation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was responsible for this.

"We had come to the conclusion that Mr. Prabhakaran while ostensibly claiming that the arms with them were for personal protection of the LTTE leaders was in fact determined to use them for purposes other than personal protection.... We decided then that if anything is done in violation of law by Tamil militant groups, we will act."

Asked about the messages received so far from the LTTE, the spokesman said that they did not meet the basic requirement of laying down of arms so that the Agreement could be implemented.





**NAGALINGAM MUTHULINGAM (50)** Urumpirai North, Urumpirai.

The deceased Nagalingam Ponnammah, age 65 years was my wife.

**On 19.10.87 at around 11 a.m. advancing soldiers entered our house and opened fire killing my wife and injuring three others.**

We cremated her body on 20.10.87.

**I have two unmarried daughters.**

*Handwritten signature in Tamil script.*

**NAGALINGAM SATHANANDHAN, 40** Swamiar Road, Columbuturai.

I am the son of the late Ledchumypillai Nagalingam, 78 who died on 19.10.87 as a result of a shell attack.

My aged mother preferred to stay at home in Kondavil.

Almost every day thereafter I went to look after the needs of my aged mother.

On one such visit on 19.10.87 when I went home at about 9.30 a.m. I found my mother dead.

**A shell had fallen in the compound of my house breaking three coconuts trees. Shells fragments were strewn about the house.**

My mother was lying on bed, dead without any injury, obviously died of shock from the shell blast.

My mother's body was cremated the same day at the crematorium nearby.

My mother was living with me for the last 16 years and was supported by me.

**I have three married sisters and no brothers.**

**NALLIAH NALLAPILLAI (52),** Puthur East, Puthur.

The deceased person Thinaharpillai Nalliah, aged 65 years was my husband.

He was employed as a tea maker in a tea shop.

On 19.10.87 at about 5 p.m. my husband left home saying that he is going to the tea shop in Jaffna.

He used to stay at the teashop for many days at a stretch without taking leave.

On 21.10.87 at about 8.30 a.m. I left for Matuvil with my two children as our village was subjected to heavy shelling.

We stayed at a relation's home at Matuvil for three months.

From Matuvil I sent many messages to my husband requesting money through people who were going to Jaffna town and Matuvil.

I did not receive any reply from my husband.

Then I personally visited Jaffna town and inquired at the shop where he was employed.

**I was informed that my husband was killed when a shell fell and exploded in the tea shop on 21.0.87.**

I learned that his body was cremated by the employer on the same day itself.

I have an unmarried daughter, named Vasanthamalar aged 22 years.

After my husband's death we do not have any income or support.

*Handwritten signature in Tamil script.*

**NAVASOTHY,** daughter of Sinnappu Sokkalingam (26), unmarried. Somasundaram Road, Anaikottai.

I am the elder of two children both daughters of the late Sinnappu Sokkalingam and late Rasamma Sokkalingam.

I am an orphan.

My mother, the deceased Rasamma Sokkalingam left home at about 10.00 a.m. on 19.10.87 to fetch water from a well in a paddyfield about 150 yards away.

On the day (19.10.87) there was troop movement and gun firing in the area of Anaikottai.

My mother did not return home. Although we feared something untoward had happened to our mother, we could not go out in search of her through fear of the forces who were moving about. However, my father went in search of her at about 3.00 p.m. and he too failed to return home.

**On 20.10.87 when the IPKF had moved away and when we realised it was safe to go out, we went in search of our parents at about 6.00 a.m. in the morning. I found my mother Rasamma lying dead near the well with severe head injuries and her skull having been shattered.**

Her dead body was taken to my cousin's house as troops had already taken position near my house.

The dead body of my mother Rasamma Sokkalingam was removed in a motor van along with the corpse of my deceased father and was cremated in the Pippili Crematorium at Manipay at about 1.00 p.m. on 20.10.87.

**RAJADURAI CHANDRA (38),** Virali Amman Kovilady, Kokuvil West, Kokuvil.

The deceased Vellayan Nagalingam, aged 65 years was my father.

He was a casual Labourer.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at the Virali Amman Temple, Kokuvil.**

On 19.10.87 at about 3.00 p.m. my father went back to our house to have his meals.

At about 4.00 p.m. I also returned to our house.

**There I found our house damaged by shell explosion.**

**Inside I found my father's dead body which bore shell wounds. .**

**We cremated his body on the same day at Kompayan Manel cemetery.**

**I have seven children.**

**It was my father who maintained and supported us after my husband's desertion.**

**After his death we do not have any income and undergoing severe hardship.**

*Handwritten signature in Tamil script.*

**RATNAM PRABHA (18),** Ist Lane, Pillayar Koviladi, Anaikodai.

The deceased Nagamuthu Ratnam, aged 50 years was my father.

I lost my mother 8 years ago and since living with my father along with my brother and two sisters.

**During the October military offensive we took refuge at Hindu Ladies College refugee camp Jaffna.**

My father left us on 19.10.87 saying that he wanted to buy provisions.

He did not return afterwards.



**On the third day of his disappearance I was informed that he was shot and killed by the army near Anaikoddai junction.**

His body was buried the public near hte spot where it was found.

**I have two younger sisters and one brother.**

We are rendered orphans after our loving father's tragic death.

We have been deprived of the support we received from our father.

We do not have any help or income after our father's death.

As a result we are undergoing tremendous hardships.

*[Handwritten signature]*

**SELVARAJAH PERINETHAMMAH (55) Suryaveli, Navanthurai.**

The deceased Selvarajah Ranjan, aged 32 years was my son.

He was a businessman.

On 19.10.87 at about 6.30 a.m. my son left home in his bicycle.

After he left there was intensive shelling by the army directed at our area.

We left our residence and sought refuge at the Hindu Ladies College, refugee camp.

I was informed on 21.10.87 that my son was shot and killed at Ottumadam junction.

**I came to know that his body was burnt by the army after he was shot.**

I have a daughter and two sons.

**One of my daughter's daughter named Niranjini aged 6 months is also staying with me.**

**My husband deserted me long ago.**

**It was my late son who maintained and supported us.**

After his death we do not have any income.

I am an invalid and due to a defect I am unable to talk.

*[Handwritten signature]*

**SHAKUNTHALADEVI THURAIRAJAH (44) )**

Somasunderam Road, Moothanar Kovilady.

My late husband Thurairajah, aged 55 years was a Mechanic who worked at a motor servicing garage at Koolarady.

On 19.10.87 my husband, as usual, left home at 9 a.m. for work at the garage.

**He was shot dead by the force near the garage.**

**He received a severe head-injury and other injuries on his legs.**

His dead-body was cremated on the following day (20.10.87) at about 2 p.m

The death of my husband was reported to the registrar of Deaths Manipay who registered the death under No. 6187.

My husband earned an average monthly income of Rs. 1500/-.

I have no income or support to maintain my family including my aged parents - one is bed-ridden and other is blind who are dependent on me. I have one child a girl of 14 years.

**SINNAPPUSIVALINGAM (46), 687/24, Manipay Road, Oddumadam, Jaffna.**

The deceased person Sinnappu Annaluxumy, aged 26 years was my sister.

She was a deaf-mute and was living under my care and maintenance until her death, as I was her eldest brother.

**On 19.10.87 due to the heavy shelling we sought refuge at the Navalur School refugee camp.**

**On 24.10.87 the army entered the refugee camp and opened fire at random.**

**My sister was struck by a hail of bullets and died on the spot along with my mother who was also gunned down.**

**Several other refugees were killed and injured during the shooting spree.**

My sisters body was cremated by the army on the same day itself inside the school premises.

*[Handwritten signature]*

**THAMBIAH SATKUNAM (40)**

Palaivalavu, A.V. Road, Ariyalai Jaffna.

I am working in the Multi-Purpose co-operative Society in my village.

My wife, children and I were living in a rented house at Ariyalai.

**On 19.10.87 Indian Peace Keeping Force advanced from the Navatkuli camp lobbing shells towards our village.**

**Through fear we decided to take refuge at the Kanagaratnam central college.**

**At about 7.30 a.m my family and I moved out of our house. when moving towards the gate a shell fired from the IPKF fell close to us in our compound and exploded.**

**Shrpanel from the explosion struck my son Satkunam Sathiyapperiyan age 4 years on the nock and he died on the spot.**

**I too was injured in this incident.**

The dead body of my son was buried on 20.10.87.

**THAMBIMUTHU SARASWATHY (57) Urumpirai South, Urumpirai.**

I am the wife of Karthigesu Thambimuthu aged 70 years who was arrested by the IPKF on 19.10.87 and whose whereabouts since then is not known inspite of efforts made to ascertain same.

Due to the military offensive I left home with members of my family on 12.10.87 and sought refuge at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple.

My aged husband was left behind as he was too weak to move.

**I came to know through the neighbour, one Sellathurai that my husband was arrested by the IPKF along with about 15 others of the locality and kept confined in a house in the neighbourhood belonging to one Sabaratnam since 19.10.87.**

I learned that my husband and the others were continued to be detained by the IPKF at the said house although some of them were released on the second day.

Only on 5.11.87 I was able to return to our house which was partially burnt with most of the movables.

**I do not know what happened to my husband.**

My son went to the Jaffna secretariat and handed over a written appeal to the Rehabilitation ministry official regarding my missing father,

My son informed me that my husband's named was not among the 34 names read out at the secretariat.

**I came to know that the inquiries made by my son at the Kondavil army camp about my husband failed to yield any positive result.**

*[Handwritten signature]*

VELAUTHAM THAYANANTHAN (21) Sivan Veethy, Urumpirai East, Urumpirai.

My father deserted my mother seven years back.

Our family consists of my mother 2 brothers and 6 sisters and myself. We were residing at the above address.

After my father deserted our family our relations were assisting our family in a great way for our upkeep.

**On 19.10.87 there was heavy shelling and firing of sophisticated guns in and around our village by the IPKF.**

We remained behind in the house through fear unable to move out.

**On 20.10.87 at 6.30 a.m. to our surprise about 15 armed IPKF personnel entered our compound.**

No sooner they entered our compound they started cutting the fence and engaged in damaging the house.

Through fear I ran into the shrine room and my mother and sisters with my younger brother got excited but were getting ready to run away.

Within a few seconds my mother along with my sisters and brothers started running through the back door of my house.

**At this time one of the IPKF personnel threw a hand grenade on the rear verandah and it exploded.**

**Following this explosion IPKF personnel were engaged in firing at random.**

When the firing ceased and the IPKF left the house I came out from the shrine room at about 8 a.m. and found that my mother V. Maheswary age 45 and sister V. Manoranjitham aged 14 dead.

My other sisters and brothers escaped death and they were found in the neighbouring house.

The dead body of my mother and sister had severe injuries on their chest and stomach and minor injuries all over body.

On 21.10.87 we removed the dead body of my mother and sister to Atchuvally in a tractor. A tense situation prevailed in Urumpirai.

Cremation took place the same day at 4 p.m. at Atchuvally cemetery.

**In this incident a neighbour was also killed by the IPKF.**

VELAYUTHAM RATHINAM (49) Suthumalai North, Manipay.

The deceased person Arumugam Rasammah, aged 67 years, a widow was my mother.

She was living under my care and maintenance until her death.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at Suthumalai Enjadi Vairavar Temple.**

My mother refused to leave the house and preferred to stay back.

**On 19.10.87 at about 10.00 a.m. I was informed that my aged mother was shot and killed by the army while she was seated in the verandah of our house on 18.10.87.**

On hearing the news I rushed to our house where I found her lifeless body lying in the verandah.

Her body was cremated in a nearby empty field on 20.10.87.

IYANKAN THILLACHCHI (54)

Selvapuram, Urumpirai South, Urumpirai.

The deceased Kathiran Iyankan age 71 years (Labourer) was my husband.

On 20.10.87 morning at 8.00 a.m. my husband left home for work.

**On 20.10.87 at about 9.30 a.m. a friend of my husband came home and**

**informed me that my husband was found dead in a field at Urumpirai South about 150 yards from our house.**

**On 20.10.87 at about 10.00 a.m. the people of the area brought the dead body to home. The body had two gun shot injuries on the stomach side.**

On 20.10.87 the body was cremated at Vempan cemetery.

I have one daughter Selvamalar (17) Cooly, not married. When my husband was alive I got an income of Rs. 700/- per month; Now I get only Rs 200/- per month. Now I am unemployed.

The death certificate No. 5237 in respect of my husband's death is attached.

KATHIRAVELU ARUNTHAVAMALAR (42), widow, "Thavagiri", Kopay South, Kopay.

The deceased child Kathiravelu Rosaiya, aged 17 years was my daughter.

She was a G.C.E. (O/L) student at the Hindu Ladies College.

Due to the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at the Kopay Veerapathirar Temple.

**On 20.10.87. army approached our Temple and fired at random through the Temple window.**

**My daughter who was struck by fusillade of bullets died on the spot.**

Three other refugees also perished in the incident.

My daughter's body was cremated on the third day of her death

I have five surviving children.

Mrs. KAMALAMBIKAI KARUPPIAH (42)  
70, Kannathiddy Road, Jaffna.

My four children, my husband and I were residing at the above address.

Due to the military operations of the IPKF my husband children and I were forced to seek shelter at Navalar School on 20.10.87. This school is situated 200 yards from our house.

**On 24.10.87 the IPKF which was approaching Jaffna along K.K.S. road suddenly entered the Navalar School refugee camp and opened fire at random.**

**17 innocent refugees including my husband Sivalingam Karuppiyah (58) were shot dead in this instance.**

Several others were also injured by the gunfire of the IPKF.

**The dead bodies of the 17 victims were burnt by IPKF in the school compound itself on 25.10.87.**

On 27.11.87 the refugees were permitted to leave the refugee camp.

My children and I then took refuge in the Jaffna Hindu College refugee camp where we remained for about 10 days.

I have 4 children, 3 sons aged 26 years, 19 years and 4 years and a daughter 13 years. The last three children are attending school.

My eldest son Ravindran (26) has a speech defect and thereby unemployed.

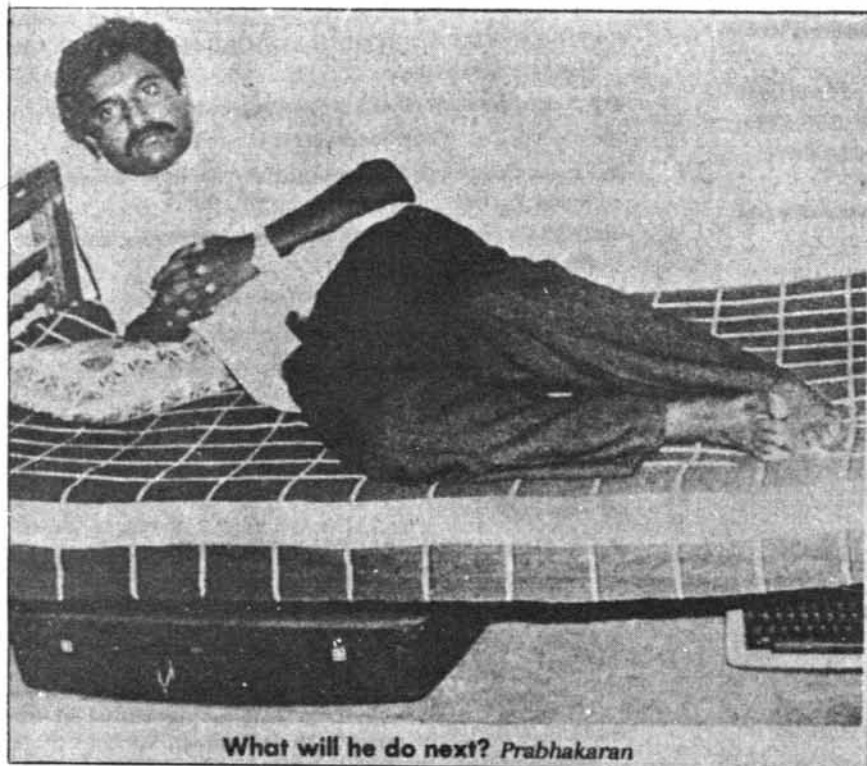
My husband was a carpenter and was able to earn about Rs. 60/- or more per day.

My children and I have now lost the maintenance and support of my husband the sole bread winner of the family.

# A ruthless leader

He would rather die than give up

PROFILE



What will he do next? Prabhakaran

**W**HATEVER be the ultimate fate of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, its stocky, ruthless but brilliant leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, will definitely find a place in the history of Sri Lanka, more so, in that of its Tamils. None would have even dreamt that the 16-year-old student, who joined the Tamil Students Organisation (TSO) in 1970 would one day be seen as 'the protector of the Tamils' and 'a self-confessed murderer with a million rupee prize on his head, as JRU recently dubbed him.

In early 1982, when he first surfaced in Madras following a shoot-out with rival Tamil group leaders, he was a quiet, hungry-looking, observant man, heading the Tamil New Tigers, an outfit he formed on breaking away from the TSO. Then, he had only few hundred youth and had a paltry cache of arms. Today, LTTE is said to be about 4,000-strong, and is a tough, highly-motivated

fighting force.

Born on November 26, 1954, in Velvettithurai a smugglers' haunt in northern Sri Lanka, and claiming to have been inspired by Subhas Chandra Bose and Bhagat Singh, Prabhakaran's was a calculating and ruthless climb to the top. He had quit his Tamil Tigers over differences with its leader, went back to TSO, which had then become TELO, crossed over to Madras and then regrouped his colleagues to start LTTE. He came to be known as *Thambi* (younger brother), since he was the youngest Tamil militant leader.

In Madras, he was seldom seen in public. But he built up LTTE, which to be among the frontline groups in a short span of time. Said to be a self-taught fighter, Prabhakaran's top cadres got expert guerrilla training abroad. He also motivated Tamils living abroad to fund his movement. Such was its financial strength that LTTE came to



have some of the best weapons for guerrilla warfare.

However, other groups like TELO and EPRLF, while growing in strength, seemed to have incensed him. Prabhakaran, who neither sought advice nor liked his authority challenged, antagonised some of his own seniors, who quit LTTE. Stories abound that he had passed death sentences on his opponents; of youth bumped off. Such were his murderous intentions that, in 1986, on his initiative, LTTE destroyed TELO and its promising leader Sri Sabaratnam on the island. With that bloody action LTTE came to be considered the sole militant voice.

With sophisticated weaponry and organised cadre—so highly motivated that they are prepared to swallow cyanide capsules hung around every Tiger's neck, when captured—Prabhakaran had ensured that even at the peace talks by India, LTTE was given prime importance. And he has till date refused to give up his call for Eelam, a separate Tamil state in Sri Lanka. Though he owed a great deal to India for the growth of LTTE, and proclaimed 'we love India' after the Indo-Sri Lanka accord was signed and the Tigers agreed to lay down their arms, Prabhakaran distanced himself from the accord and backed out suddenly from the interim council after agreeing to it. It seemed that a man who commanded power with a gun was just not prepared to take on the political role. A fascist who spouted patriotism.

Deciding to fight India must be his biggest mistake, though an unconditional surrender is unlikely by Prabhakaran. He may rather die fighting. Ironically, the Tamils still need LTTE and Prabhakaran in their midst. But if history is any guide, the Prabhakarans have rarely stayed on till the end.

OCT. 25-31,

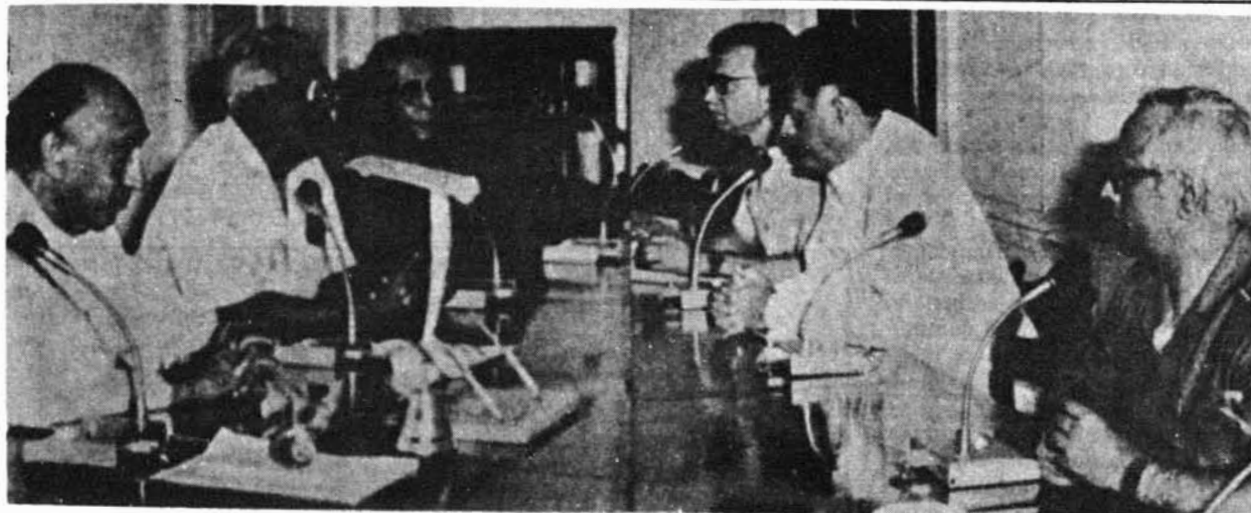
—VINCENT D'SOUZA



# An amateurish approach

Indian policy has been lacking in coherence

COMMENT



**Cracking strategy.** High Commissioner Dixit and Defence Minister Pant (right) with Jayewardene (left)

It was June 4. The Indian Relief Flotilla flying the Red Cross flag destined for Jaffna with relief supplies was turned back the day before by Sri Lanka. Five AN-32s laden with 25 tonnes of food and medicines took off from Bangalore. The commander of the lead AN-32 told the control tower at the Colombo airport. "This is Operation Eagle...escorted by four Mirage-2000s,...entering your air space in a few minutes."

There was no response. Headlines next morning hailed it as a great act of solidarity with the Tamil people of battle-ravaged Jaffna peninsula. But there was a message for Sri Lanka President J.R. Jayewardene. If India could violate Sri Lanka's air space, albeit on a mission of mercy, it would well drop bombs on the island, with impunity. And in four months, early in October, India was paratropping commandos, not in support of the Tamil guerrillas but to combat them. It was a full circle.

India's official approach to Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict has been ad hoc, discontinuous and disjointed. The responses have lacked consistency and coherence.

In the wake of the July 1983 Sinhala

backlash against the Tamils followed by heightened Tamil guerrilla activity, when President Jayewardene appealed to countries in south Asia and outside for help fearing an invasion, India propounded its own Monroe doctrine. Where its interests were involved, India had to be consulted on any outside help in the event of a threat to the regime and any outside help should be with India's consent and participation.

On August 1, 1983 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told the south Asian regional cooperation meeting of foreign ministers: "Ours is a troubled region. Most of our countries are multi-racial and multi-religious. It would be idle to pretend that we are not affected by what happens elsewhere," and adding for good measure: "India is not just another country."

Mrs Gandhi followed up this message by organising help to the Madras-based Tamil militant groups. True she did not support the demand for Tamil Eelam but she did not denounce it either. The ambiguity aimed at heightening the uncertainty for Sri Lanka so that the Tamils could wrest some concessions through India's political medi-

ation. India's own Tamil opinion and the leverage the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran had in New Delhi were crucial factors here.

But after the failure of India's political initiatives guerrilla activity was moving into a higher gear. The uncertainties caused by the assassination of Mrs Gandhi until Rajiv Gandhi legitimised his succession, winning the December 1984 elections, and the absence of M.G. Ramachandran from the immediate scene (he was undergoing treatment in the United States) emboldened Colombo into a strident stance. The Tamil groups thought India would intervene militarily to check the drift to disaster.

What followed was something else. India began soft-peddalling its Tamil cause. Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari was most acceptable to Colombo while Indira Gandhi's special envoy G. Parthasarathy was anathema. Bhandari rushed to Colombo in March 1985 to reassure Jayewardene that with Indira Gandhi ended India's old Sri Lanka policy. India had begun equating Sri Lankan state terror against the Tamils with the defensive violence of the

guerrillas and would not admit that it was a genocide of the Tamils.

The screw began tightening on the Tamil groups in Madras. Their camps were ordered shut. Ferrying of men and material across the Palk Strait became difficult for them. The groups were bludgeoned into attending the talks at Thimpu to seek a negotiated settlement. Following that Tamil leaders were deported from India. All this helped Sri Lanka to build up its military muscle for a final assault on the Tamil strongholds.

Rajiv Gandhi had clearly spoken out against Tamil Eelam but more galling to the Tamils was the marginal support he extended to Colombo even as his government was playing off moderate Tamil groups against the militants and at times one militant group against the other. M.G. Ramachandran's commitment to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam balanced New Delhi's ill-concealed hostility to it.

By the end of 1986, Jayewardene was desperate and wanted India to bail him out through a political solution. And the crackdown on LTTE and other groups in Madras was in response to his appeals. Velupillai Prabhakaran,

**India is fighting the war against the Tamils where Jayewardene had left it off. But what if he reneges on the accord?**

flown to Bangalore during the SAARC summit in November 1986, was told to come to terms. If he did not, the US seventh fleet might intervene in Sri Lanka, he was warned but LTTE did not succumb to the bogey.

The crackdown on his organisation, seizure of its arms and wireless equipment convinced him that India could not be relied upon. Prabhakaran quietly slipped into Jaffna to direct a new phase of the military campaign. LTTE's announcement about proclaiming Eelam state from January 1 made Jayewardene order a fuel embargo on and economic blockade of Jaffna and a sim-

ilar operation, on a lower scale, in the eastern province.

When LTTE lost out in Vadamarchi and the Sri Lankan forces had closed in on Jaffna city and all that remained was the final, decisive assault to take it, the high political cost seemed to inhibit Jayewardene. The June 4 air drop mission was largely to dispel Indian Tamil feeling that India was not doing anything to save Jaffna from the assault which would have meant thousands of civilian casualties.

Bhandari had retired and it was A.P. Venkateswaran in the foreign office but India's deliberate equivocation had already damaged the Sri Lankan Tamil cause. Weeks before the July 29 agree-

ment followed because it was reluctant to clash with the Indian peace-keeping force.

The tenuous ceasefire ended on October 6 and India is fighting the war against Tamils where Jayewardene had left it off. South Block in New Delhi maintains that India was trying a political solution in Sri Lanka and that LTTE's violence overtook the political discussions. India does not contemplate any new political initiative. It is determined to implement the accord (its commitment limited to securing a disengagement and a corollary to it, disarming LTTE) even if the new political set-up to emerge excludes LTTE.

Rajiv Gandhi has been saying that



**Will It be honoured? The signing of the accord**

ment, result of quiet negotiations, New Delhi was buzzing with reports that Colombo had been told that India did not mind the military liquidation of LTTE. Bhandari, now the convener of the Congress party's foreign policy planning cell, is known to have conveyed this message to National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali.

The agreement did not take the Tamils groups into confidence. Not LTTE at least. While orchestrated Indian media reports suggested that Prabhakaran, brought to New Delhi for discussions, had accepted the agreement to be signed and only a few details regarding surrender of arms were to be settled, he went to Jaffna and told a huge meeting on August 4 that Indian leaders told him that they would go ahead with the agreement whether he supported it or not. And LTTE's token gesture of laying down arms on August 5 (which it refused to call surrender)

India has plans for all contingencies. LTTE's frustration and intransigence in its anxiety to scuttle the accord is a part of the reality. It was never a party to this in the first place. But what if Jayewardene, under Sinhalese opposition now snowballing, reneges on the agreement? LTTE would then have been militarily liquidated. The other groups would have been disarmed. If India is asked to pack up, and if Sinhala forces in Tamil areas, now confined to the barracks, resume their role, it would be back to square one.

Sri Lankan Tamil opinion may not forgive India for that. And Indian Tamil opinion might not quite endorse it. All due to South Block's rudderless policy shaped by enthusiastic amateurs ostensibly to secure India's strategic interests in the region. But the agreement cannot survive in parts. It stands or collapses as a whole.

OCT. 25-31, 1987

—MODEM

## LETTER

## LTTE are not 'terrorists'

Sir, — Indian military power is superior to LTTE's in Jaffna. But one shouldn't forget that the LTTE took up arms only to protect its people from total annihilation. They are not terrorists. They are patriotic young men raised in good families and who took up arms only as a last resort. They are not mercenaries; they are fighting for their people and their soil.

Remember the long struggle of non-violence by Chelvanayakam and the TULF. Were they given any consideration by the racist Sinhalese government? Given the record of the Sinhalese government, only the militants can protect the people of Eelam.

If the IPKF accomplishes what it wants to accomplish, what awaits the Eelam Tamils? Surely, when all is over and when Jayewardene wants, the IPKF will have to leave Sri Lanka. Who then stands guarantee for the safety of these poor people? The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka appears to be a deep one; it cannot be papered over by forced peace-keeping measures.

It would be good for the IPKF to immediately cease fire and think of finding a lasting and a permanent solution for all the troubles of the hapless people of Eelam.

G.V. SANKAR  
No.3, Periyalwar St.  
East Tambaram, Madras-600 059  
Indian Express

Sir — It is now clear that it was the Sri Lankan Government which was the first to violate the accord, by its arrest and taking away of the 17 LTTE men — instead of handing them over to the IPKF — and all the rest that followed.

The Tamils have given their sweat and blood for the economic development of Sri Lanka. In return they have received discrimination and neglect from successive Governments. Prolonged deprivation has turned some of the ordinary civilians into militants. That the militants and citizens are not two separate groups can be seen from the fact that IPKF had to carry its search and seizure operations against LTTE right into the households of the civilians in Jaffna.

An inter-Governmental Accord to solve what the Indian Government itself until recently called an "internal matter of Sri Lanka" is a contradiction of sorts. All the problems can be traced to lack of adequate consultation and convincing of the LTTE on the one hand and Mr. Jayewardene's inability to carry with him his Prime Minister and National Security Minister on the other.

Y. Ranganathan, Bangalore

Sir — It is unfortunate that most of your readers replying to your editorial comments on the Sri Lankan issue have tended to blame either mildly or strongly the LTTE for fighting against the IPKF.

The LTTE has been clearly provoked and trapped in furtherance of a sinister scheme politically to discredit it and physically eliminate it so that it would not hereafter be reckoned with as an important group which had indeed made a supreme sacrifice. One wonders whether the Indian Government was a willing party to the scheme of discrediting and decimating the LTTE.

The Tamils all over the world feel sorry that the Indian Government has played into the snare laid to it by the shrewd Lankan President. The Tigers' escape route to Tamil Nadu is almost closed now. This time Mr. Jayewardene is likely to win in his plan to defeat the LTTE.

India too does have the excuse of obligation arising from the agreement signed with the Sri Lankan Government. But India should stop killing the Tigers. The Tigers were well within their right to request the Sri Lankan President to change the choice of Chief of interim administration sought to be set up. There again the President wanted to gain some political advantage by choosing the person from North instead of from East which the LTTE thought would take place.

P. Padmanabhan, Somanur  
(Coimbatore Dist.)

Sir, — While no one would dispute the fact that the present accord is the best the Sri Lankan Tamils would have ever thought of, one cannot also deny that the Indian Government has miserably failed in its role. Will the Government of India ponder over what actually went wrong with the accord, now in a mess?

When 17 of the LTTE members were captured by the Sri Lankan Navy and they were about to be taken to Colombo for further interrogation and trial, the Indian Government did not take effective steps to prevent that disastrous course the Sri Lankan Government was taking. The Indian Government's version that it tried its best and still could not succeed in its efforts would convince nobody.

If the IPKF can now effectively function against the erring militants, would it not have exerted some such political pressure on the Sri Lankan Government? Had they done it the present situation could have been completely avoided.

S. Suganendiram, Srirangam

Sir, — India's military action against the Sri Lankan Tamils is deplorable. It is unprecedented.

Looking at our policy on Sri Lanka one remembers sadly the words in "Alice in Wonderland".

"I am mad, everybody is mad."

What a topsy turvy world!"

B. Gomathi, New Delhi

(Operation Pawan)

## CIVILIANS KILLED

## GURU NAGAR

A. Theresama	IRUPALAI
P. Jesurajan	J. Kriston
S. Antonipillai	S. Sivakumar
P. Jayatheswaran	Rasaratnam
M. Bastiampillai	Velappan
M. Bastiampillai	M. Thuraisingam
Caatherine	S. Sasirega
A. Gregory	A. Rathinam
S. Monicamma	T. Nalliah
Concy	INUVIL
Robina	Ramupillai
Cousala	M. Ganesh
Augustine	K. Kandasamy
Emelda	R. Panchanathan
P.M. Sulogini	Tharmalingam
Salompillai	T. Vijayan
J. Virgini	K. Alagaratnam
S. Alponus	S. Mangalarajah
P.M. Theresammah	K. Paramanathan
E. Jeyarajah	V. Kumarasamy
K. Victor	S. Selvaratnam
S. Chandran	R. Annammah
M.M. Millis Gita	V. Jesupalan
B. Theresammah	R. Krupiah
Ligori	Kaligar Rasiah
E. Morin	S. Satkunam
Christy	S. Balasubramaniam
Amalanayaki	N. Sellathurai
Anthony Croos	T. Sivapatham
B. Jeya Margaret	JAFFNA
Emelda Mariathas	S.K. Ponniah
Mariathas Sulogini	R. Marones Goms
Salomaipillai Xavier	T. Maniannan
S. Chandran	Edwin Camilus

The Hindu.



# Indian People

COMMENT

LTFA, Trichy

## Killing Force

### Current Status of Eelam Tamils and Indian Factor

The Tamil people of Sri Lanka who were hitherto subjected to state sponsored terrorist activities by the Sinhala chauvinistic government are now at the receiving end of much graver forms of ruthless atrocities meted out by the Government of India. Even the Sinhala Government is ashamed at the cold blooded murders of civilians, raping of women and large scale devastation of life and property committed by the Indian Forces.

### Peace Accord and Compulsions

At the inception, the people hoped that this much publicized peace and accord would bring them peace & harmony. At that instant apparently they failed to realize that the ulterior objective was to satisfy Indiann interests of Regional Supremacy. This accord was constituted without consulting the Tamils or their accredited representatives namely the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Therefore it does not comply with natural law of justice to force the Tamils to accept this accord. Infact the accord should have been made by both Sri Lankan government. Even then as a mark of goodwill and respect to India, the LTTE agreed to co-operate in the implementation of the accord. They agreed to entrust the very weapons which were collected in the battlefields after expending blood and sweat and much valued lives of their cadres and even handed over the weapons in two batches in great numbers. It must be emphasized that this handing over took place only after a guarantee offered by the government of India for the life of the leaders and cadres of LTTE.

### Who Breached the Accord?

There have been a number of instances, which goes to prove that the Sri Lankan government, ironically the co-signatory of the accord was hell-bent to breach the accord since the day the State sponsored colonisation of traditional Tamil homeland, opening up the Sinhala dominant police stations in the Tamil areas, and despite the 12 day fast unto death by Thileepan to highlight the breaching of the accord by the Sri Lankan government and lethargy of Indian diplomats

and agents over it and arresting of 17 LTTE men by Sri Lankan navy, who are supposed to keep away from patrolling, open declaration of withdrawal of general amnesty, the situation which forced the 12 LTTE men including the leaders Pulendran and Kumarappa to consume cyanide are clear instances of the breach of the accord by Sri Lankan government. International community at large got no doubt that the J.R. Jeyawardene government is engaged in cunning manoeuvres to twist the accord. Nevertheless the Indian government, which sponsored the accord and guaranteed the safety and security of Tamil people chose to be a silent spectator of the events.

### Indian Intervention

The events that followed the death of leaders Pulendran and Kumarappa were spontaneous and not different from the kind of events that happened in Delhi and other parts of India on the murder of Indira Gandhi. However India capitalised on these events and launched a full scale war against the Tamils was heralded by the bombing of the two Tamil dailies by the names *Murasoli* & *Eelamurasu* published from Jaffna. This action to silence the voice of Tamils and throttle the freedom of speech & expression by the greatest democracy of the world cherishing Gandhian ideals shook the civilised world.

### Peace Keeping Force assumes the role of Occupation Army

The Indian forces which came into Sri Lanka to implement a so called unique accord with no historic parallel, assumed a new role of military oppresstoric parallel to Peace keeping forces becoming a party in the conflict, that even launching an offensive against the grieved lot to protect whose interest they first came in.

Indian troops unleashed heavy artillery, and caused large scale destruction of life and property and captured Jaffna, which by then appeared a ghost city with none bothered to clear the streets littered with decomposing corpses.

In this brutal war over 2000 civilians lost their lives and double that number got injured, hundreds of women were raped

and done to death. Over 50,000 people were compelled to desert their homes and seek safer places. Crores of rupee worth of property was destroyed. Continuous and indiscriminate launching of mortars and shells destroyed among other things temples, churches, mosques, schools, hospitals, libraries, commercial centres, factories and even officially recognised refugee camps. There were also instances of air attack and helicopter strafing by the Indian troops. Even the building of Jaffna University and certain sections of the Jaffna hospital which was spared in the onslaught by the Sri Lankan soldiers were damaged by the Indian attack.

### Jaffna in the grip of Indian Peace Keeping Force

In effect a Military regime was set up in Jaffna. Whatever is uttered by the Indian Commanders becomes the rule of law. Curfew enforcements and relaxations were made as to suit the whims and fancies of the soldiers and never as proclaimed in the radio and mass media. Starvation and epidemics have gripped the Tamils. Large extents of farms and paddy lands have been already destroyed by the Sri Lankan forces. Today thousands of Jaffna Tamils live in make-shift camps and survive on a starvation diet of forage and yams. The Jaffna peninsula has never suffered as this by famine in the recorded history.

The injured are unable to seek medical treatment because most of the hospital and medical institutions are rendered inaction by the military offensive by the Indian forces. Number of deaths have occurred for want of medicines, medical equipment or doctors and para medical staff. The day Indian army moved into Jaffna hospital they shot and murdered in cold blood 3 doctors, 3 nurses and over 100 patients receiving treatment. All norms of civilised behaviour was forgotten in this mission by the Indian soldiers.

### Indian March to the East.

Indian troops march to the east was recorded as a blood stained chapter in the history of Sri Lanka. Indian army marched into Palathady mosque in Valaichenai, a town 30 km from Batticaloa and opened a barrage of fire on the muslim devotees gathered there which included women and children. 13 Islamic Community at large went on to prove that in comparison to Indian army the Sri Lankan trigger happy soldiers were only moderates.

**Our point of view**

In spite of these extreme situations of brutality and ruthless murder, rape and acts of intimidation by the Indian army, the LTTE is ready and willing to start peaceful negotiations with the Indian government and settle the impending issues.

LTTE activists are not murder hungry extremists but are freedom fighters who took to arms in order to safeguard the freedom of the people and to assure them dignified living with safety and security in their traditional homelands. They are highly motivated and are committed to sacrifice their lives and all earthly belongings towards this noble cause.

Indian army seems to be keen on taking over the arms LTTE is holding, rather than guarantying the safety of the Tamil people, despite the fact the LTTE is clinging on to the arms merely to safeguard the Tamil people and not for any other purposes.

Even at this juncture, if the Indian army is ready to return to the barracks, where they were before launching of the offensive on the 10th October 87, if they assure to do so, on condition that India is responsible for the safety and security of LTTE leaders and cadres and the Tamil people at large, the LTTE has informed the Government of India their willingness and readiness to surrender all the arms. It is deplorable that Indian Government has not accepted this and continue on the war path, with scant respect of the life and freedom of the Tamil people.

**Crucial message to all Tamilians**

Our dear brethren in Tamil Nadu! Blood is thicker than water. You are here in great numbers, to the tune of 60 millions. How long are you going to peacefully watch your own brothers and sisters getting butchered 30 kilometers across the Palk Straight. The time has come for you all to raise up in the name of solidarity of our race and protect the lives of innocent Tamilians.

Indian Union government is definitely watching the mood and reaction of Tamilians in Tamil Nadu. You cannot afford to be lethargic any longer. Raise your voice in the name of race solidarity, human civilisation and freedom of peaceful existence. Help to stop the annihilation of your race.

**TIME IS UP FOR ALL TAMILIANS TO RISE UP.**

**LETTER****Lanka Quagmire**

19.10.87

Sir, — The article by Mr Praful Bidwai, "Way Out of Lanka Quagmire" (October 5), does not make sense to anyone who has been following the events in Sri Lanka.

If Mr V Prabhakaran, the LTTE chief is as bad as made out by Mr Bidwai, one wonders why our Prime Minister had him brought to Delhi and gave him enough assurances in person to satisfy him. One would like to think that our Prime Minister would have nothing to do with the associate of a "notorious criminal" and the like of a Pol Pot.

At the time the rebels surrendered their arms in Sri Lanka, the LTTE slogan was, "We Love India". If now their feelings are different, sufficiently good reasons must exist, not the least being the death of Mr Thileepan. The LTTE leadership probably innocently believed that the inheritors of the Mahatma's doctrine would respond correctly. One wonders whether the IPKF could have done it at the time, without inviting greater complications. It would have been wise to concede the LTTE's demands in time to save Thileepan. They were conceded anyway.

Mr Bidwai speaks of democracy, little realising that in the whole episode, neither Sri Lanka nor India has given a thought to this ideal. They have been governed only by

their self-interest. Why should there be so much opposition to meeting the demands of the LTTE, after they have been assured of a "predominant" role? The LTTE can fulfil its role only if given a free hand. We refuse to concede the same thing to the Sri Lankan Tamils. Neither the Sinhala people nor Indians have the right to be in the homeland of the Tamils in Sri Lanka as masters, dictating terms.

Mr Bidwai's attempt to depict the LTTE as murderers and smugglers may serve certain vested interests, but is at variance with the spirit shown by our own government, beginning with the airdropping of essential supplies to a besieged population. Our own freedom was earned not by non-violent satyagraha alone, but also by the contributions made by our revolutionaries, the Indian National Army and the mutineers of the RIN.

The LTTE deserve nothing but admiration. They have waged a war of independence, dwarfing even the leadership and resistance of the people of Bangladesh, and demonstrated to the world the mettle of the Tamils of Sri Lanka as second to none. Mr Bidwai has no right to blame them for their ruthlessness, for they had, and have, to face ruthless situations. Acts on India's part which will make it more difficult for the Tamils to gain self-government can only bring discredit to India.

E. R. PANIKKAR

Bombay.

The Times of India

Protesting against IPKF - Tamil Nadu



## INDIA'S REGIONAL ROLE

EDITORIAL

OCT 19

The Indian army is fighting in Sri Lanka. Its objective is to flush out units of the Tamil guerrilla group, the Tigers, capture their arms stores and enforce compliance with the terms of the July peace accord fashioned by Prime Minister Gandhi and President Jayewardene to end the island's communal conflict. So far the battle has raged for nine days, and looks set to continue. Indeed, the Indians have said they will "overcome all the elements obstructing the agreement using all the force at our command".

This represents an important shift in India's response to the Sri Lankan crisis. Traditionally, the Indian government, with its 50 million Tamils in the South, has in effect supported the Sri Lankan Tamils. However, although the presence of the Indian peace keeping force was intended to reassure the Tamils of Indian protection and the Sri Lankan army's compliance with the accord, its mandate included the disarming of Tamil guerrilla groups. In this more neutral role the Indians have identified the Tigers as the principal obstruction to peace. Now, in undertaking the task of neutralizing them, they have — both in Tamil and Sinhalese eyes — moved away from their earlier position of protector and are taking the role of honest broker in Sri Lanka's conflict.

This change in India's attitude, has significant implications, both military and political. Militarily, the Indian army is now committed to a policy of destroying the Tigers' power. This means that the Indians are fighting an anti-guerrilla war, in a foreign country, and are determined to win it. It also means that there will be further casualties, possibly several hundred more, and many will be Indian.

Many people will question this strategy. After all civilian lives are involved and there

will be a measure of wanton destruction. But for how long could the Tigers have been allowed to sabotage the July peace treaty? How many more Sinhalese massacres could have been condoned? And how much longer could the Indians have stood by as the Sri Lankan feud tore the island apart?

The political messages from northern Sri Lanka are, if anything, most important of all. For President Jayewardene there is a warning behind the military action. If the Indians will no longer tolerate the Tigers' obstructionist policies, it can be safely assumed that neither will they be patient with Sinhalese opposition. Now that he has taken to arms to enforce Tamil compliance Mr Gandhi cannot simply sit back if the Sri Lankan cabinet or parliament fails to ratify the accord or to fulfil its role under its terms. To that extent the Indian army has limited President Jayewardene's room for manoeuvre.

There are also lessons for India's other neighbours. By taking decisive action against the Tigers the Indian government has made clear that its sympathy and support for neighbouring secessionist movements is limited. Mr Gandhi will not countenance a second Bangladesh in South Asia. By the same token India is also prepared to exert itself to solve the region's ethnic problems.

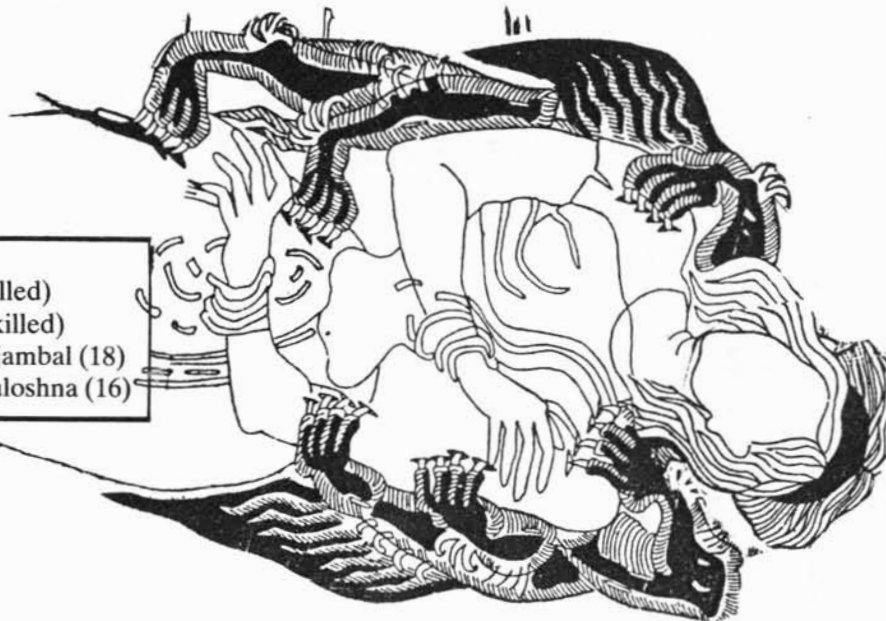
Yet there is also a need for caution. In Sri Lanka a more assertive Indian foreign policy appears to have been born. If this simply restricts itself to obtaining recognition of the country's pre-eminent role in the region it will be acceptable. But if it becomes a cloak for Indian intervention in other countries' affairs it could disguise a form of sub-continental imperialism which must be checked. Sri Lanka could be the testing ground for such wider Indian ambitions.





# RAPE

12.10.87	Pirambady lane/Jaffna	15 women
14.10.87	Kokuvil/Jaffna	9 girls (then killed)
14.10.87	Uduvil/Jaffna	15 girls (then killed)
15.10.87	Batticoloa	Miss. S. Vanajambal (18)
15.10.87	Batticoloa	Miss S. Rajasuloshna (16)



Date	Previous history - Present symptoms - Diagnosis and Treatment	Referral	Referral Date
10.30 AM 17/10/87	Rajasuloshana - 16 y. H/o - being raped by IPKF soldier at 7.30 AM 15/10/87. O/E:- No abrasion or laceration or condition on face, trunk N.H:- Menarche at 15 months C/S:- JR. NO (N) ASP:- 11/10/87. R/S:- No bite marks in the chest or over the breast A/S:- Flat abd. S. Rajasuloshana	Inform Police	

Date	Previous history - Present symptoms - Diagnosis and Treatment	Referral	Referral Date
10.15 AM 17/10/87	Vanajambal - 18 y. H/o being raped by IPKF soldier at 7.30 AM on 15/10/87. O/E:- No abrasion / laceration / condition over the face breast limbs C/S:- JR. NO (N) S. Vanajambal	Inform Police	



# 'Jaffna capture may not end battle'

NEWS

COLOMBO, Oct. 20.

The military operation by the Indian Peace-Keeping Force in northeastern Sri Lanka has now reached its final stages with only a tightening of the noose around Jaffna required for bringing about the fall of the last bastion of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

However, political observers here are sceptical if the capture of Jaffna will signal the end of India's battle against the LTTE. They say it might mark the beginning of India's lingering involvement in Sri Lanka's blood-letting ethnic tangle.

"Guerillas, with their commitment, rightly or wrongly, are never obliterated, they spawn and proliferate", the analysts said.

The Tigers, following their reversal in the straight battle against the mighty Indian army, might take recourse to classical guerilla warfare providing nagging trouble to the Indian Army, as they earlier did to the Sri Lankan armed forces, the analysts said.

Asked if the captured areas in the Jaffna peninsula had been "pacified", an Indian diplomat said, "In a guerilla situation it is difficult to say that areas taken in are pacified."

The LTTE, still rigid, not surrendering arms and reluctant to accept the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement in full, might spread out in the jungles and in difficult areas of lagoons and creeks to carry on their protracted struggle, inviting more and more of the Indian army to be engaged in hit-and-run battles.

Already the IPKF has been strengthened in the past few days by over 2,000 and there have been reports of further reinforcements.

**JVP active:** The southern extremist elements, spearheaded by the proscribed, pro-Sinhala Janatha Vimukti Peramuna, which led the insurgency in 1971, have been active again since the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement.

The JVP, apart from killing or injuring ruling United National Party members in the southern districts, has raided Sri Lankan Army camps in the deep south and is engaged in a drive to collect weapons by various means.

The Sri Lankan President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, himself has said the JVP and Tamil extremists have established links and that both are determined to overthrow the Government and set up one of their own.

The fact remains that various forces in Sri Lanka both national and international, are at work and there are wheels within wheels in this confusingly volatile ethnic situation.

The "strait-jacket" solution to the Tamil problem provided by the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement will be put to a severe test while dealing with the emerging scenario that has new dimensions of formidable proportions.

Political observers say international forces, which appear to be applauding the agreement, are not too happy with India's emergence as a regional superpower, which the agreement accepts. These countries too have a stake in seeking its failure.

Forces inside the country, spearheaded by the main opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party of the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, certain influential sections of the Buddhist clergy, and a cross section of the Sinhalese population, including some members of the ruling UNP, have never accepted the agreement gracefully.

**Anti-India sentiment:** An anti-India scenario is being created by constantly criticising the presence of the IPKF and the fact of its being "armed to the teeth". Such criticism will gain momentum in the coming days, observers say.

The "injured" self-respect and national honour of the Sinhalese, allegations that the IPKF first "sided" with the militants and that they were taking too much time to finish off their job in Jaffna are being bandied about freely, to fan the flames of the anti-India sentiment, they said.

In an interview to the English daily *Island* on Sunday, Mrs. Bandaranaike said ".....reports do not indicate any overwhelming success by the IPKF. I did not think that one of the biggest armies in the world would run into so much difficulties against terrorists, who in the estimation of Mr. Dixit (Indian High Commissioner) himself had only 30 per cent of their weapons."

The former Prime Minister also expressed strong doubts about the Indian Army leaving the country soon. "Now that the Indians have launched an offensive in the north and many Indians have died, they will not leave without getting what they came here for", she said.

She said: "Almost three months have gone by since the agreement was signed and Indian soldiers are still here. That does not augur too well for the country. What is most intriguing and dangerous about their presence is the equipment they have brought down. They have brought with them armoured cars, anti-aircraft guns, field guns and powerful tanks, according to information we have."

All this propaganda is "literally swallowed" by large cross sections of the Sinhala population, the observers say. — PTI.

## DMK threatens rail roko stir

MADRAS, Oct. 20.

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam will launch a 24-hour "rail roko" agitation on October 24 "if the Indian Government does not pay heed to the appeal of the people of Tamil Nadu and stop army action in Jaffna", in Sri Lanka.

A decision to this effect was taken by the administrative committee of the DMK, which met here today, the party president, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, presiding.

A resolution condemned the Indian army's attack on Sri Lankan Tamils and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, "despite the LTTE expressing its willingness for talks several times" and said it was aimed at "annihilating the Tamil race".

## An appeal from the IPKF

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Jaffna,

1. We are here to bring peace and normalcy for you which the ill motivated LTTE are causing impediments in the way, as they are power hungry. The posture of ruthless violence adopted by the LTTE top leaders is only designed to suit their own vested interests. The Peace Keeping Force has tried all means to make the LTTE see reason but in turn the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was attacked.

2. Men, women and children are being used as shield by the LTTE leaders to minimise their own casualties at the cost of peace loving and innocent Tamil citizens. Young boys and girls are treacherously being coerced by the LTTE for laying mines as also indulging in sneak attacks on the IPKF. This is in utter disregard for their lives.

3. The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), in order to avoid casualties to civil population, has been launching their operations with utmost care. Despite our best endeavour the Tamil population is still suffering avoidable casualties which are entirely due to the intransigent attitude of the LTTE leadership.

4. We know the hardship you are facing due to lack of basic necessities of life. We request you to make the LTTE stop their violence and back the accord which will bring peace to Jaffna and elsewhere in Sri Lanka. You can easily do this as we know that you all want peace and you want to live in tranquility with your near and dear ones. You also want your children to go to schools and grow up as dignified and honourable citizens. Therefore, there is no reason for you to ruin your life and your children's future for the LTTE leaders who have so far brought nothing but agony and misery to you all.

5. The IPKF appeals to the Tamil population to break off with the LTTE leadership and come over to the check points and camps indicated by the IPKF to avoid any further casualties and also to enable us to provide the basic necessities which you have been denied by the intransigence of the LTTE. The IPKF's presence in Jaffna is solely for the benefit of the Tamil population and sacrifices are being made by the IPKF to ensure an honourable and dignified life for your tomorrow.

# LTTE escape routes to lagoon sealed

BATTLE FOR JAFFNA

NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 20.

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force has sealed the escape routes of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to the Jaffna lagoon after its units moved out of the Jaffna Fort yesterday and firmly established its control on the coastal road of the town.

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry told reporters here that the IPKF had also advanced along the Navatkuli-Jaffna axis and established firm positions astride the railway line. This move also effectively sealed all exits from Jaffna on the Navatkuli-Jaffna axis.

Meanwhile, Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, Overall Force Commander, IPKF, flew into Jaffna this morning in the wake of advances made by the IPKF towards the heart of Jaffna.

The spokesman also said the IPKF had consolidated its positions along three axes, viz Kankasanturai-Jaffna, Palaly-Jaffna and Velvetturai-Koppai North, and was poised for further advances towards the centre of Jaffna. All illegal movement across the Palk Strait had also been effectively sealed by the Indian Navy.

In these operations, the Peace-Keeping Force had taken all possible care and precaution to avoid civilian casualties including its use of fire-power. "For this reason, the advances have been made in a measured and careful manner," the spokesman said. The IPKF had also helped more civilians to move out to safer locations and it was arranging for medical assistance and food supply to those who sought its assistance.

## Vague 'offer'

He termed "vague" the LTTE deputy leader, Mr. Mathaiya's conditional offer to Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh to surrender its arms.

"Mr. Mathaiya's message is vague," the spokesman said. "For the Tamils to live in peace and security, all arms in the possession of all groups should be handed over. Mr. Mathaiya's message does not meet this."

Asked whether India had then rejected Mr. Mathaiya's offer, he said, "From what I said, it must be self-evident". He stressed that the political objective of the current exercise was to disarm the militants.

"The fact remains that as of today, all the militant groups other than the LTTE have welcomed and agreed to abide by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. All these militant groups have laid down their arms. These militant groups and the TULF have called upon the LTTE to lay down its arms. This conclusively proves that the LTTE, by its actions, stands politically isolated in the Northern and Eastern provinces", he said.

The External Affairs Ministry spokesman dismissed as "totally false and baseless" the allegations that there had been heavy civilian casualties in the clashes between the LTTE and IPKF. Civilians were not killed even in the cross-fire. He pointed out that the IPKF had been calling upon the people to come out of Jaffna and that it would give them assistance.

On reports that there was starvation in Jaffna, he said it was the LTTE which had bottled up people inside Jaffna, and not the IPKF. The LTTE was using the civilians as human-shields. "I have never known a Tiger taking cover behind a lamb", he said.

Replying to allegations that the IPKF had raped women in Jaffna, the spokesman said, "This allegation is false, preposterous and mischievous. It is an absolute case of disinformation. Otherwise, people will not come out to be fed by the IPKF."

Answering a question on the observation (about a month ago) of Mr. J. N. Dixit, Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, that the LTTE had laid down 70 per cent of its arms, the spokesman said the LTTE obviously possessed more arms than was assessed in that context.

## 'Bid to kill social worker'

He regretted that the LTTE attempted yesterday to kill Mr. Sam Thambimuthu, a prominent

social worker in Batticaloa district, "who played a stellar role in protecting the rights of the Tamils in the Eastern province." He said this was the second attempt of the LTTE on Mr. Thambimuthu. "We strongly condemn this action of the LTTE and regard it as yet another manifestation of its attempt to establish its political hegemony through force, coercion and terrorism."

The spokesman also referred to the incident yesterday in Batticaloa when a remote-controlled landmine set off by the LTTE blew up a bus, killing 41 Tamil civilians and one Indian soldier. "This is an instance of the LTTE's total disregard for the lives of innocent Tamil civilians," he added.

Answering a query on why reporters were not being allowed to go to Jaffna to report the situation firsthand, the spokesman said, "First, this is not a war situation. We are not at war with anybody. We have mounted an operation with the objective of implementing the agreement. Given the indiscriminate way in which the LTTE fires and lays mines, it (going to Jaffna) is at your risk. We don't want unnecessary casualties."

## Bunkers destroyed

Our Special Correspondent reports from New Delhi

In the Navatkuli-Kolumpurai-Jaffna Fort axis, the IPKF has destroyed 30 concrete bunkers, one explosive dump and a workshop of the LTTE, according to the External Affairs Ministry spokesman. Demolition charges that had been laid by the LTTE on 10 culverts had been defused and 42 claymore mines along with 65 bombs have been recovered by the IPKF.

Reacting to some media reports that an official of the LTTE organisation had sent a note to Indian and Sri Lankan officials, offering to meet the Indian demand for an unconditional surrender but India had not responded, the spokesman characterised such reports as 'misleading' and said that they appeared to be 'deliberate disinformation spread by the LTTE.'

## LTTE CLAIMS

On 20.10.87, at Kondavil, 3 A.P.C. armoured vehicles of the Indian army were destroyed by the rocket attacks of the LTTE.

In the fight at Arali, all the weapons including A.P.C. armoured vehicle, one jeep and a cannon artillery of the IPKF were captured by the LTTE. Besides 2 soldiers of the IPKF were also arrested. At Koppai, in LTTE's Pasuka rocket launcher attack, 2 tanks of the IPKF were completely destroyed. Two Indian made 50 caliber rifles and 3000 bullets were also seized by the LTTE.

On their way from Palali to Urumbirai the IPKF shot dead 10 innocent civilians. The Indian army on its way from Anaithurai to Kallundaiveli shot dead more than 20 civilians.

In the evening at about 3 'o clock, in the Pannai

region, near the fort camp, 3 Sri Lankan Bomber planes dropped bombs and attacked the public. Many of them died and a very large number got injured.

At Anaikottai 19 civilians killed.

The conditions of the Jaffna town are deteriorating, day after day, in the most cruellest shell attack on the Indian army, which is worse than that of the Sri Lankan army. As a result innocent public are undergoing untold sufferings. Even those who had originally taken refuge at Nallur Kandaswamy Temple, have started moving out. More than 500 shells are thrown at, every day. In such an attack people are wounded to a large extent. Many people suffer for want of food and shelter.

AT 'Karaitivu' firings from helicopter, killed 2 public besides wounding 2 of them.



**AFFIDAVIT**

MURUGAN ARULNAYAGI (22), Kappanpulam, Punnalaikattuwan North.

The deceased person Kanapathy Murugan, aged 62 years was my father. He was a casual labourer.

On 20.10.87. at about 8 a.m. my father left for work.

At about 9 a.m. I was informed that my father was shot and killed by the army when he tried to run away after seeing them.

I came to know that there was a confrontation took place between the army and the militants in the area at the time of my father's death.

His body was brought home only on the third day and cremated at the Vilankan Cemetery.

My mother was shot and killed by the Sri Lankan security forces in 1987 early part.

I have two brothers who are younger to me.

After my father's death we are undergoing untold hardship.

My brother Singarasan (12) was forced to abandon his studies after his father's death and now working as a labourer to maintain our family.

MUTHUKUMAR PAVALAMALAR (38) "Thavagiri", Kopay South, Kopay.

The deceased child Muthukumar Illankeeran, aged 10 years was my son.

Due to the October 1987 military offensive we sought refugee at the Kopay Veerapathirar Temple.

On 20.10.87 at about 1.30 p.m. army fired through the Temple window.

My son was struck down by a bullet and died on the spot.

Three other persons were also killed in the incident.

Only on the third day we managed to cremate his body in an empty field.

NAGALINGAM SINNAPPU (58) Asari Lane, Kopay North, Kopay.

My father named Vattan Nagalingam, aged 75, Worker was staying with me at the above address.

Due to the spate of violence in October 1987, my father the above-named fell a victim to shell blast and succumbed to the injuries sustained by the same on 20.10.87 at Kopay.

I have 5 children and my late father has been maintaining me and my children prior to his death.

POOMANI KRISHNAPILLAI (55), Pilliyar Koviladi, Kavanthan Road, Urelu East, Urelu.

The deceased Krishnapillai Chandrakumar, aged 22 years was my son. He was a casual labourer.

Due to the October 1987 military offensive we left our house at Urelu and took refuge at Matuvil.

On 20.10.87 my son left us saying that he was going to Urelu to inspect our house.

At about 4 p.m. I was informed by a person who accompanied my son to Urelu that my son was shot and injured by the army at Urelu.

I also came to know that he was admitted at the Pointpedro Base Hospital Manthiki.

I rushed to the hospital immediately.

He died on 21.10.87.

I have two unmarried daughters at home.

My husband is unemployed and an invalid.

It was my son who maintained our family through his hard work.

After his death we do not have any income.

RAMALINGAM PUVENESWARAN (46) Kaithady North, Kaithady.

The deceased Suppar Sinnathamby, aged 80 years was my paternal grandfather.

My grandfather was employed as a watcher in a house at Navatkuli.

On 20.10.87 I was informed that my grandfather was shot and killed by the army while he was at the house where he was working as a watcher on 16.10.87.

I also came to know that the body was disposed by the army itself.

Mrs. RASAMMAH PONNAMPALAM (78) Urumpirai South, Urumpirai.

The deceased Mrs. Pancharatnam Pushparani (51) is my daughter.

My daughter Pancharatnam Puhparani was one of the several persons shot dead at Urumpirai on 20.10.87 during the IPKF operations.

Her husband too was shot dead on this day.

I am watching the interests of my daughter's family in Jaffna as her 3 children are married and the youngest son P. Manorathan the only unmarried child has since left the Island.

SINNAMMAH POOTHAPILLAI (54), Karanthan Road, Urelu East, Chunakam.

The deceased Elayavan Ramu, aged 65 years was my father.

He was a casual Labourer.

On 20.10.87 as the army approached our house firing their rifles we fled from our house through fear.

While he was accompanying us my father was shot and killed by the army about quarter mile from our house.

We fled from the scene of incident leaving my dead father at the spot where he was killed.

After about one month I returned to our village to find only my fathers skeleton remains lying at the same place where he was shot.

As my husband is an invalid and unemployed it was my father who supported my family.

I have six children at home.

THAIYALNAYAKI PONNUTHURAI (35), Suthumalai South, Manipay.

My father and I were living with my married sister at the above address.

My father Velauthar Ponnuthurai, was maintaining a cigar industry at the above address.

Due to the IPKF operation in our locality the family of my sister and I sought refuge in Madduvil Chavakachcheri on 20.10.87.

My father remained at home to look after the house and property.

We returned home on 10.12.87 when situation improved and found the skeleton of my father in our compound.

Same was burnt in our compound on 10.12.87 evening.

I am a spinster and I was fully dependent on the earnings of my deceased father.

I have no savings, no house of my own and no other source of income.

P. Thaiyalnaki

VEERAGATHIPILLAI THANKARASA

Point Pedre Road, Kankasanturai.

That on 11.10.87 when the Indian army started firing at our area, I was alarmed and sent my son, Babisingam, to fetch my daughter, Pusparani, who was a student of the Ramanathan College at Maruthanamadam, as a boarder.

That my son did not return home for nearly a week and I began searching for him. I heard from a person in Point Pedre that he was warded at the Manthikai Government Hospital, with injuries on his legs, caused by gun-fire.

That I went to the Manthikai Hospital on 20.10.87, cycling through lanes and by-ways and saw my son warded there. My son told me that when he was approaching Maruthanamadam to meet his sister, the Indian Army fired at him and that he was injured on his legs.

That my son, Babisingam, told me that he was helped by a friend from Atchuvu who carried him on his pedal-cycle, gave him First-Aid treatment at his house and took him to the Manthikai Government Hospital. He could not be taken to the Jaffna General Hospital or to the District Hospital at Tellipalai, as they were not functioning due to military operations.

That my son, Babisingam, died at the Manthikai Government Hospital on 17.11.87 due to wounds turning gangreneous, as there were no medical staff to dress the wounds owing to military operations in the area.

That on 11.10.87, I along with my family, fled away from my house which is situated near the sea-beach, close to the Yarl Cinema theatre. my mechanised fishing boat had been destroyed and they were in smithereens. The outboard motor and the fishing nets and allied accessories, too, were found missing. The damage and loss suffered by me is roughly Rs One hundred thousand (Rs. 100,000/-) I think that my boat had been destroyed by the Indian Army. I also think that the outboard motor, nets and other allied accessories, have been destroyed by the Indian soldiers, as no one else could have gone there without their knowledge.

ச. அனந்தசுந்தரன்

CHELLIAH THIRUNAVUKKARASU (41), 8, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Jaffna.

The deceased is my sister, Chelliah Kamala Ambikai age 52 years.

On 21.10.87 my sister was living in the address given above.

We heard about the shelling and shooting around the house where my sister was living on 21.10.87.

We were worried about her safety; but we could not go there as the curfew was on.

When the curfew was lifted, we visited the house and found the decomposed body of my sister. The body was burnt there on 11.11.87.

I may be given some assistance.

C. Thirunavukkarasu

EMMANUEL MARIAROSE THAVARANI (39), C/O. Gunaratnam 5/1, Press Road, Chundickuly, Jaffna.

The deceased person Chelliah Ceciliya Thangammah, aged 77 years was my mother.

During the night of 21.10.87 our locality was subjected to intense shell fire. We fled from our house in fear.

As my mother was running from our house she was injured on a shell blast.

She was admitted at the Holy Cross Health Centre, Jaffna.

She succumbed to her injuries on 12.11.87.

Her body was buried at St. Mary's burial ground, Jaffna.

She was living under my care and maintenance until her death.

E maniarose Thavarani

JACOB MARIACHI (60) 82, Manipuri 3rd Cross Colombuthurai.

The deceased person Neekilan Jacob, aged 67 years was my husband.

He was a Fisherman.

On 21.10.87 at about 6.30 a.m. my husband left home for fishing.

At about 2.00 p.m. I was informed that my husband was shot and killed by the army while he was engaged in fishing.

I later learned that his body was buried at the Navatkuli Catholic burial ground.

I have an unmarried daughter named Mary Meninje, aged 29 years.

After my husband's death I do not have any income.

மே - மரியன்

Mrs. JOSEPH CYRIL BRIDGETTE (60)

138/1, Kondady Road, Gurunagar, Jaffna.

There was shelling and firing of sophisticated weapons in and around our area on 20.10.87.

Through fear my husband, children and I sought refuge at St. Patrick's College Jaffna.

On 21.10.87 while we were at the above school shells fired by the Indian Peace Keeping Force from all directions started falling in the St. Patricks College school compound.

One such shell fell close to us and exploded.

Shrapnel from the shell explosion struck my husband on both his legs causing severe injuries and he bled profusely.

When the shelling ceased my husband was removed to Jaffna Holy Cross Private Hospital in a car where he was admitted at about 5 p.m.

While under treatment he succumbed to his injuries the same night.

The dead body of my husband was brought to St Patricks College refuge camp from the hospital on 22.10.87 and burial took place at St. Mary's Cathedral Cemetery at 10.00 a.m.

On this date 4 people were killed and several others including my grand-daughter Maristella, aged 14 years injured in this incident.

The untimely death of my husband is a great loss to me and I have become a destitute.

ச. சிறீமதி

Mrs. KANMANY, widow of the late Sivalai Gunaratnam (45) 188/2, Kasturiar Road, Jaffna.

**I am the widow of the late Sivalai Gunaratnam killed in army firing on 21.10.87.**

My husband left home at about 2 p.m. on 21.10.87 to the Jaffna Teaching hospital for medical attention on a cycle with a friend of his.

**While he was on the road opposite the out-patients Dept. of the hospital there was heavy firing from the hospital buildings and premises.**

**My husband was hit by bullets when he fell dead on the spot.**

**The dead body of my husband along with several other dead bodies of persons killed were heaped up on the road opposite the O.P.D. and given a mass cremation.**

My husband was a Govt pensioner.

**I and my five children were dependent on him.**



LOPPU SAVERIMUTHU (73), 172 (368), Main Street, Jaffna.

The deceased Patrick Saverimuthu, aged 18 years was my son.

He was an advanced level student of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna.

**On 21.10.87 our area was subjected to intense shelling by the army.**

At about 3.00 p.m. I left my home and sought refuge at the St. Mary's Cathedral.

It was my late son who took me to the Cathedral.

After leaving me at the Cathedral he left promising to return without delay.

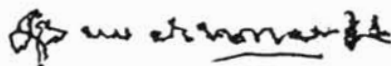
**At about 6.30 p.m. I was informed that my son seriously injured when a shell like object fell near him and exploded while he was on his way to the Cathedral.**

The incident took place at the Press Road.

I also came to know that he died while he was being taken to the Anaipanthi Dispensary.

His remains were buried at the St. Mary's Cathedral burial grounds.

I have an unmarried daughter Gnanamani aged 35 years.



MANUEL DONAS (45), No. 15/2, Fifth Cross Street, (near water tank) Gurunagar, Jaffna.

On 10.10.87 as our locality was subjected to heavy shelling from the Jaffna Fort, accompanied by my wife and children, I fled to the St. Patricks College for safety.

On 21.10.87 when shells fell on the College premises causing injuries to several, we fled to the Nallur Kandasamy Temple.

On 22.10.87 about 70 refugees of Nallur left at 7 a.m. in a lorry for the Araly Jetty.

At about 9 a.m. 70 in boats in which we were crossing the lagoon Saravanai were fired at by a helicopter, the attack lasting for about one hour.

**The right of my son Donas Hamilton aged 5 years was shattered by a bullet. Several others including my wife were also injured. 13 persons were killed instantaneously.**

My son was rushed to the Kayts Hospital was transferred along with other injured persons to the Moolai Hospital at 2.30 p.m. the same day.

**On 24.10.87 my son's right leg was amputated above the knee.**

**On 1.11.87 after the Moolai Hospital was started by a helicopter I removed my son to Sillalai and continued the treatment at private hospital there and returned home with my son on 8.11.87.**

Mrs. MARIAMMA KURUSUMUTHU (56), Uyarapulam Anaicoddai.

The deceased Kurusumuthu John Peter is my son.

**My son K. John Peter (24) was a monthly paid casual labourer attached to the General Hospital Jaffna.**

**My son K. John Peter who was on duty at the General Hospital Jaffna on 21.10.87 was shot dead when the hospital was stormed by the IPKF.**

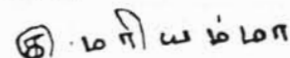
**Over a hundred employees, patients and visitors were shot dead in this incident.**

**The dead bodies were burnt by the hospital authorities on the instructions of the IPKF.**

My husband who is now 67 years has poor vision and cannot work.

My husband, my son Darwin (18) a student, unmarried daughter Rajeswary (25) and I entirely depended on the earnings of my son K. John Peter.

By the death of my son K. John Peter the sole bread winner of the family we have been put into good inconvenience.



S. MICHELLE (70)

15, St Patrick's Road, Jaffna.

I am (a) the wife of the late Sinnathurai Sellarasa (52) and (b) the mother of Rosaline (21) both died on 21.10.87 opposite the Jaffna General Hospital.

On 21.10.87 at about 3.30 p.m. my husband went to St Patrick's College, Jaffna to prepare for the rest of the family to go and stay there as refugees.

While my husband was there a shell fell in the backyard of our premises at St Patrick's Road.

I immediately got hold of my 18 year old son who was born disabled and rushed to St Patricks to join my husband and my other son who were already there.

When I went to St Patrick's my husband inquired as to where our daughter Rosaline was.

I said I did not know where she was.

**My husband went home at once and found my daughter lying injured in the back compound of our house.**

As I learnt later my husband removed my injured daughter in a car belonging to one Nadarajah to the Jaffna General Hospital.

My husband did not return. I or any of my relations could not go towards the Jaffna Hospital to search for my husband and daughter due to a state of tension in that area.

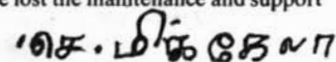
On or about 26.10.87 I and my husband's brother, Arumaiturai went to look for my husband and daughter.

**We found the car in which my husband removed my daughter in a burnt state.**

**The burnt car was lying on Hospital Road opposite the Hospital and near the burnt down Jaffna Cooperative Store building.**

**We found skulls and bones and remnants of the clothing worn by my husband and daughter.**

I and my surviving two minor children have lost the maintenance and support we received from my late husband.





**NADARAJAH RAVINDRAKUMAR**  
Sinnakoviltheru, Kopay South, Kopay.

That my mother Pushparanee Widow of Nadarajah was shot dead on the 21st Day of October 1987 by IPKF at my home at Sinnakoviltheru, Kopay South, Kopay and her death was registered in certificate of death bearing No: 5115.

That I have suffered mentally and financially by the death of my mother.

That I have no source of income to maintain me and my two sisters.

I pray that I be paid reasonable compensation for the death of my mother.



**NADESAPILLAI POOMANY** (51), widow, C/o Dilka Bakery, Irupalai, Kopay South, Kopay.

The deceased person Nadesapillai Arulchandradas, aged 17 years was my son.

He was an employee of the Dilka Bakery, Irupalai.

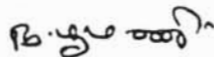
On 21.10.87 at about 10.00 a.m. we fled from our residence as the army advanced towards our locality.

My son was left behind at the Bakery.

Only on the fourth day we learned that he was shot and killed by the army while he was in the Bakery on 21.10.87.

We only recovered his skeletal remains which we cremated at the Irupalai Cemetery.

I have a daughter named Jeyanthi aged 16 years.



**PONNAMPALAM NADARAJAH** (69)

NIC No. 47 231 2065 V. 111/4, Convent Road, Jaffna.

I am a Chauffeur. I have been employed as such by Markandu Thiagarajah of Stanley Road, Ariyakulam, Jaffna.

I used to drive the motor car bearing registration number 4SRI 1989 an Austin A 40 Farina model.

On 21.10.87 at about 2 p.m. I drove the said car for my employer, Mr Thiagarajah who wanted to go to St Patrick's Road on some business.

The occupants of the car besides me as driven were Mr Markandu Thiagarajah and his son Mathiarasan, about 14 years of age.

When we were driving past the main gate of St Patrick's playground at St Patrick's Road we were stopped by some people who appealed to us to take some injured people to hospital.

The injured persons were three girls who were struck by shell fragments.

The three injured girls were carried into the car. Two men, one of whose name was Selvarasa and who were close relatives of the girls too got into the car.

I drove the car with the said 7 occupants towards the Jaffna General Hospital.

As the car was about to cross the junction of Hospital Road, Clock Tower Road, Junction, IPKF soldiers who were standing on Clock Tower Road turn off started shooting at the car driven by me.

I stopped the car immediately at a point where it was about to cross the said junction. I was also hit by the bullets fired by the IPKF soldiers.

I was hit on my head, face on my shoulder and legs.

I managed to open the door and sit on the ground near the foot of a tree standing in the middle of the Hospital Road.

After a while I crossed the other half of the carriage-way of Hospital Road and left over the Hospital parapet wall and entered the Hospital premises.

When I was hit, I also noticed that bullets were striking the other 7 occupants of the car. The time would have been 2.30 p.m.

I was attended to at the hospital and I was lying as an in-patient at ward No. 25.

I was got readied to be taken to the operating theatre at about 3.30 p.m. when there was further shooting by the IPKF inside the hospital premises.

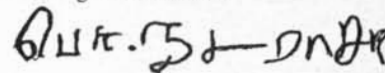
I was told by a young doctor to remain in the hospital overnight and to leave the hospital during the early hours as it was not safe for patients to remain in the hospital as the IPKF was shooting and killing even hospital staff.

Early the next morning, that is on 22.10.87 I looked towards the car I had left on Hospital Road.

It was smouldering at that time.

I left the hospital premises and went to Moolai Hospital for further treatment.

I am yet not fully cured though I was discharged on 31.10.87.



**RAMALINGAM KESAVAN**, Maravanpulo, Chavakachcheri.

That my elder brother Ramalingam Suhumar who was working as a labourer at General Hospital, Jaffna was shot dead on 21.10.87 at General Hospital premises and his body was cremated in the Jaffna Gen. Hospital premises.

I pray that the monthly salary due to my deceased brother for the month of October 1987 be paid to me.

**RAMASAMY MUNIANDY KANTHAN** (47), Troup Estate, Talawakele, vakele.

I am the brother of the deceased Ramaswamy Rajaratnam alias Ramiah (37).

My brother R. Rajaratnam alias Ramiah was a bachelor and was employed in Dinesh Bake House, Manipay for the last 7 years.

My brother R. Rajaratnam alias Ramiah who was a patient in ward 16 of General Hospital, Jaffna was one of the several persons killed when the Hospital was stormed by the IPKF on 21.10.87 during its operations.

Our father died several years ago.

Our mother who is alive is residing with me at Troup Estate, Talawakele.

My mother and unmarried sister Kamalam (35) were dependent on my brother R. Rajaratnam alias Ramiah.



**RASAMMAH SORNALINGAM** (60), Arasady, Kopay North, Kopay.

I am the mother of Sornalingam Nithiananthan aged 34 years who died on 21.10.87.

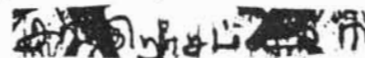
He was a Farmer.

On 21.10.87 a shell fell inside our hosue and exploded.

My son was killed on the spot.

His body was cremated at the spot after three days.

I have six sons.



# NEWS Next phase of IPKF operations very arduous

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI Oct. 20.

The IPKF today consolidated its positions around the Jaffna city without any significant action being reported last night. Sources indicate that Indian casualties in the last 24 hours have been eight soldiers wounded.

In the western waterfront area, the brigade which had effected the linkup with the forces from the Fort yesterday moved over a kilometre inland. Similarly there was movement in the other four axes as well. By tomorrow morning, the IPKF hopes to advance its ring further south from the north and north-east roughly along the east-west roads linking Manipai, Chitumalai, Kondavil and South Kopai. This will leave an area roughly seven square km under the control of the LTTE in the Jaffna city proper.

The eastern waterfront area, from the Jaffna Fort to Kalumputurai West is still not under the IPKF control and is the one area that affords the LTTE access to the lagoon and its bases and arms caches on the lagoon islands, as well as to the rest of the northern province. The IPKF will also move to seal this by a movement similar to the one carried out yesterday on the Navanturai side.

Meanwhile, the Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. K. Sundarji, who has been closely monitoring the operations, visited Jaffna today to check on the arrangements for the next phase of operations which are likely to be extremely arduous and are likely to result in a complex situation which would involve the IPKF in isolating the LTTE cadre from the 350,000 civilians in Jaffna city proper.

**Lack of personnel:** The IPKF is now moving in a slow and deliberate pace so as to avoid taking needless casualties as well as inflicting them on civilians who are trapped in the cross-fire. The biggest problem being faced by the IPKF is the lack of adequate personnel to police the areas it has already wrested from LTTE control, as well as logistical problems in maintaining the 2 Division force in Sri Lanka. The Indian Army has a northern orientation with major deployments, bases and supply depots over 3,000 km from the area they are currently fighting in. The continuously built-up area cannot be completely secured from small groups of LTTE personnel infiltrating to plant mines and booby traps even after the lead IPKF forces have passed through and then detonating them when supplies and ammunition are being ferried. In fact, the bulk of the IPKF losses have been attributed to mine blasts.

**Radio detonation:** The mines are proving devastatingly effective though in terms of technology they may be simple. The LTTE, however, is using radio detonation techniques which enable remote control detonation. Simply put, a barrel of liquid explosive or 30-40 kg. of plastic explosive is buried underground and a 100-metre fuse connects it to a radio switch which in turn can be detonated by an observer who may be watching the IPKF vehicle 500 metres away from a roof-top or some such place. This technique allows the LTTE to allow five, six or even ten trucks to pass by before setting off the explosion under a truck carrying the maximum men.

The radio switches are an expensive item of ordnance and there is some speculation as to the source of the supply. Intelligence sources say the LTTE received a major shipment of arms about a month ago which included AK-47 assault rifles, RPG-7 anti-tank rockets, explosives and detonators.

**Oct. 12 action:** Details are now available of the action on the night of October 12 when 29 Indian soldiers were killed and one was taken prisoner in a commando raid in the Jaffna University area. The raid was carried out by a group of para-commandos ferried to a landing ground by helicopter. The paras were accompanied by a company of Sikh Light Infantry jawans who were to hold the landing ground while the commandos completed their task which was the destruction of an LTTE communications centre in the university. Unfortunately, in the darkness, the Sikh LI jawans were put down on a clear ground some two km, away from their intended landing zone. The commandos came under fire even while landing and lost eight men while they were still to disembark. However, they did land and complete their task. But, the Sikh LI jawans were trapped in a heavily built-up area and though surrounded they fought valiantly for almost 24 hours before being overwhelmed by superior forces. The fact that 29 of them died and only one was taken prisoner indicates the tenacity of their action. The para-commandos managed to fight their way to the Kokkuvil village area from where they were rescued.

IPKF sources denied reports that LTTE personnel had burnt Indian soldiers alive. They said that the reports were baseless and designed to create a sense of hatred between the IPKF and the LTTE. They said the IPKF would as per its traditions carry out its role in a professional and dispassionate fashion.

## 40 LTTE men held in Batticaloa

COLOMBO, Oct. 20.

Forty liberation Tiger militants were captured in eastern Batticaloa last night and in the early hours of this morning during the current round-the-clock intensive cordoning and search operations by the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Sri Lankan police in the whole of Batticaloa district.

**Search for woman fighter:** At the seaside resort Kalkudah, the police said the Indian and Sri Lankan security forces were today hunting for a woman Tamil militant suspected of planting the landmine. The hunt was centred on Kalla, a fighter in the LTTE.

The LTTE fields dozens of trained woman combatants known in Tamil as "freedom birds."

The police said residents told them that shortly before the blast, Kalla had been seen in the area where the landmine went off.

A Sri Lankan military spokesman in Colombo said the toll had risen to 42. Twentyfour of the bus passengers and two IPKF members were wounded the police said.

A second landmine blast killed three Indian soldiers near Kiran, just outside Batticaloa, on Monday, residents said, but this could not be confirmed by officials. — PTI, & AFP



# India Reports a Troop Breakthrough Into Tamils' Main City in Sri Lanka

REPORT

By Barbara Crossette  
New York Times Service

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka — India said Monday night that its troops had broken into the center of the northern Sri Lankan city of Jaffna after a 10-day military campaign against an ethnic Tamil guerrilla army it had pledged to disarm.

There was no independent confirmation of the report, which was issued in New Delhi. An official Indian government spokesman in Tamil Nadu said Indian troops were continuing to advance on Jaffna, but he said nothing about their being in the center of the city.

Another Indian official in Tamil Nadu, elaborating on the report from New Delhi, said Indian commandos based in Jaffna Fort had linked up with a column of troops advancing from the northwest of the city along a coastal road. The campaign, which began on Oct. 9, may have already cost 700 civilian lives, local government administrators said in a message Monday.

At the same time, Indian forces have stepped up operations around the eastern ports of Trincomalee and Batticaloa. Some 300 to 400 Indian troops came ashore Sunday night on Kallaidy Beach at Batticaloa, residents of the area said Monday in telephone interviews.

Police officers in the area told Reuters that Tamil militants, trying to blow up an Indian convoy at Kalkudah, north of Batticaloa, had instead destroyed a civilian bus, killing 40 people.

Fighting is still apparently going on in the city of Jaffna, the historical center of Sri Lanka's Tamils. An Indian government spokesman called it a "mopping up" operation, but Jaffna residents said the town was in a state of near collapse, with casualties high and damage severe.

None of the reports could be verified because Indian troops have prohibited journalists from visiting their areas of operation. On Monday, the daily news briefing at the Indian High Commission in Colombo was canceled without explanation.

Fourteen prominent civil servants in Jaffna sent a message to the Sri Lankan president, Junius R. Jayawardene, on Monday saying that the situation was worsening and asking him to intervene with the Indians on behalf of Jaffna's residents.

The letter, a copy of which was sent to Virakesari, the Colombo-based independent Tamil-language newspaper, said there had been "indescribable bombing and shelling and aerial strafing" in which "almost 700 innocent civilians have died."

Some of these local administrators had been tacit supporters of the guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam; most had been critical of the Sri Lankan government when it was trying to subdue the militants, earlier this year.

Relations between local Tamil people and the Indian force appear to be rapidly worsening throughout Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka, where the soldiers are deployed. India says it has 14,000 troops in Sri Lanka, but unofficial estimates in Colombo and in New Delhi put the figure at 20,000 to 25,000.

The Tamils are far outnumbered on the island as a whole by ethnic Sinhalese, who also dominate the government and the armed forces, but they are most numerous in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The Tamils are mostly Hindu and the Sinhalese are primarily Buddhist, but there are Christians in both groups.

The Indians, once public advocates of the Tamil cause and critics of the Sri Lankan government, were at first welcomed as peacekeepers who would underwrite a July 29 accord designed to end a four-year-old guerrilla war and bring Tamil militants into the political process in newly created autonomous areas in the north and east.

Now, Tamil neighborhoods are daily reporting acts of violence against civilians by Indian troops searching for guerrillas or their sympathizers.

Troops from the Indian Army and commandos of the Central Police Reserve Force have refused to estimate civilian casualties in Jaffna, the base of the Tigers.

But residents fleeing the city all speak of the killing of men, women and children as the Indians advanced on the town with armored personnel carriers and tanks, razing buildings along the route.

Jaffna's telephones are cut off, and there is no electricity and little food. Many residents have fled to temples or schools, or are trying to escape the peninsula altogether.

25.10.87  
There were persistent rumors on Monday that the leader of the Liberation Tigers, Velupillai Prabhakaran, was hiding among 25,000 to 40,000 Jaffna residents who are said to be crowded into the historic Nallur temple.

Tamils in Colombo, who besiege new arrivals from the north, have heard that Mr. Prabhakaran, still a hero to many, has sent a message to the Indians warning that if they come for him, thousands of Tamil civilians around him would die.

There were also reports Monday that the Tigers had made another appeal for a cease-fire, but that the Indians had not found their terms acceptable.

**P**eople flee out for life.



In the Eastern Province, independent information is easier to obtain because telephone links are still good, and there are active citizens committees looking after local interests.

In Batticaloa, reports are emerging daily about Indian revenge attacks on the Tamil village of Saturagunda after an Indian Army convoy hit a land mine, killing 20 to 25 troops.

Separately, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said Monday that India would not withdraw soldiers from Sri Lanka as long as its government permitted the troops to remain.

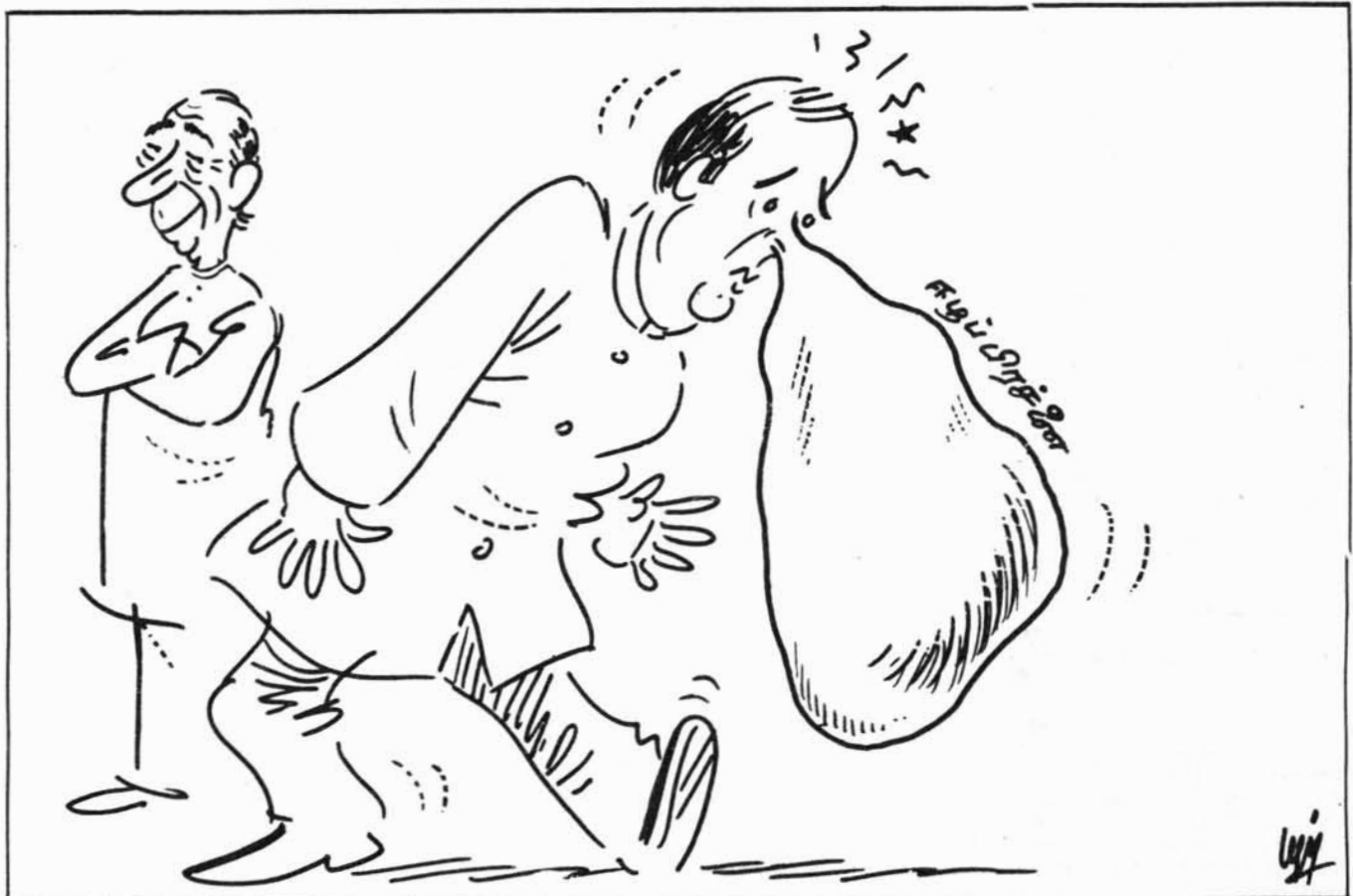




DAVID LEVINE / New York Review of Books



TIN SANG / South Vietnam





## A friend in need sets the Sri Lankans wondering

REPORT

From Bruce Palling in Colombo

The day after the Indian army lost nearly 30 paratroopers in the fighting against Tamil Tiger guerrillas in the Jaffna peninsula, the "thought for the day" in the government-controlled *Ceylon Daily News* was: "Those who in quarrels interpose, must often wipe a bloody nose."

Among many Sri Lankans — both minority Tamil and majority Sinhalese — there was a sense of grim satisfaction that at last the Indians had been forced to realise that the Tigers would not listen to them any more than they heeded the Sri Lankan government.

Although the full-scale war in northern Sri Lanka between India and the Tamil Tigers is proof that the Indian mean business in their dealings with the separatists, there is nevertheless a profound mistrust of India's motives for sending nearly 20,000 soldiers here.

No Sri Lanka believes that India is here simply to make good neighbourly gestures; indeed, life fine print in July's peace accord makes it clear that Sri Lanka had to sacrifice some of its independence for the Indians to come at all. The government had to agree not to allow foreign countries to establish radio transmitters here, let alone military bases.

The view most widely held by many Sinhalese is that India is after the magnificent Trincomalee harbour in the east. They speculate that as Trincomalee is in the eastern province of the proposed autonomous Tamil homeland, India will demand it in return for past help to the separatists.

To rub in their power, the Indian Navy rather tactlessly stationed two frigates almost within hailing distance of Colombo — ostensibly to protect Indians living here, but more likely as a show of strength to any dissidents thinking of overthrowing President Junius Jayewardene. This led to the only sign of humorous graffiti from the extremist Sinhalese JVP movement — "Jayewardene Go Home".

There are good historical reasons for the unease, since tiny Sri Lanka, with its 16 million people, is smaller than most of India's states. In the past 2,000 years there have been several attempts at invasion from India and the crack regiment in the Sri Lankan army, the Gemunu Watch, was named after the Second Century Sinhalese king who repelled a Tamil invasion from southern India.

The Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Ranasinghe Premadasa, has been the most hostile member of the government towards the accord and is particularly critical of the presence of Indian

forces. Earlier this month, when he addressed the UN General Assembly, he accused the Indians of turning a blind eye to the Tiger training camps and bases in India's southern Tamil Nadu state.

Fears of being swallowed up by India even permeate the newspapers' astrology columns and have led to a bizarre situation where some Sinhalese feel proud of the Tigers' ability to hold the vastly superior Indian force at bay for so long. One of the most anti Tiger cabinet ministers told me that the Indians should realise they were not fighting tribesmen in the northeast jungles of India — but Sri Lankans!

While the fighting prowess of the Tigers may have impressed some Sri Lankans, the extent of the military action by the Indians has led to Tamil disquiet. "We gave the Indians a good welcome into the peninsula; everyone was friendly we thought they were our saviours," a Tamil businessman said. "Now they are being ostracised... they are killing a lot of innocent people."

The government controlled newspapers are trying to assuage hostility towards the Indians. Newspapers whose cartoons until recently portrayed the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, wearing a tiger's tail, are now trying to calm down the disquiet felt by the Sinhalese towards their neighbour.

Yesterday's editorial in the *Daily News* pointed out that "enlightened self-interest demands that the Sri Lankan people do what they can to ensure that the Indian action in Jaffna succeeds. One thing that can be done is refrain from beating the anti-Indian drum that is too often audible in the country today."

The Indian ban on correspondents — both local and foreign — from going to Jaffna rankles with Sri Lankans who see it as a foreign power dictating to them where they can go in their own country. The *Island* newspaper commented sarcastically that "great powers, especially democracies, permit journalists to cover the operations of their armies. Those aspiring to such status are also expected to follow similar procedures."

President Jayewardene is fully aware of the local reaction to the Indian forces, but whether he can get them out depends on the Indian's success in eliminating the Tigers. If the guerrillas decide to melt away in Jaffna, it is possible that the Indians will stay well beyond their allotted 15 months.

Perhaps the most ominous comment was made by a Tamil businessman who fled from the peninsula last week. "It is becoming something like Northern Ireland; the Tigers will go underground and then pop up all over the place." If events unfold in this manner, the Indians may be here a great deal longer than either the Sinhalese or the Tamils bargained for — with unpredictable results for both communities.

21.10.87

(Operation Pawan)

CIVILIANS KILLED

Jaffna

Nagappan Pasupathy	M. Slogini
P. Joganandan	P. Sambapillai
T. Bhavani	M. Xavier
T. Kathirkamadas	Cyril
Maheswarakumar	Lugesammah
Selvamalar	A. Roxini Prasilda
S. Kamalam	S. Rajadurai
P. Thamirasa	R. Queen
D. Thayan	S. Thamiah
A. Kandiyah	Renuga Selvaraja
A. Vijayasingam	Markandu
P. Maheswary	P. Navaratnam
P. Thangarany	S. Patrick
S. Saraswathy	C. Thayan
Puvirajasingam	C.P. Mahalingam
K. Balasingam	E.I. Jeyamala
Rathinam	E. Chaitra
K. Thirunavukkarasu	S. Nalini
M. Thanaludchumy	S.P. Alfred
A. Thangeswary	M. Christian
P.J. Marium	E.S. Emmanuel
P.J. Therasa	Pastampillai
P.J. Jeyakumari	S. SEnathirajah
S. Selvarajah	M.J. Quinton
A. Victor	T. Saraswathy
R. Selvaratnam	S. Sellathurai
P. Navaratnam	T. Uthayasooryan
A. Noielkine	P. Nageswaran
Xavier Naepolian	E. Benedict Mathews
K. Jesuratnam	K. Narayan
G. Mariyanayagam	V. Soosapillai
Jeyarasa	V. Sinnathurai
E. Thamba	J. Antonypillai
M. Mandhari	Solastine

**A**s the Tigers put up fierce resistance, Indian infantry was unable to advance towards Jaffna. The Indian Air Force was brought in to the help of the infantry. With the result the innocent civilians were bombarded.







# Casualties mount as Tamils put up fierce resistance

REPORT

THE INDIAN army was meeting stiff resistance from Tamil Tigers guerrillas in fierce house-to-house fighting yesterday, as reports circulated in Colombo that the Indian commander leading the assault on Jaffna had been replaced because of incompetence.

Both sides were said to be taking heavy casualties. The Indian high commission said only one Indian soldier had died in the past 24 hours but military sources say the figure is considerably higher and that both sides are taking heavy casualties.

Sri Lankan military sources reported that the Indian Chief of Army Staff, General Sunderji, along with the head of Southern Command, Lieutenant General Depinder Singh, flew into Jaffna Peninsula yesterday for urgent consultations.

There are unconfirmed reports that Major General Harikirt Singh, the Indian commanding the Indian force in the peninsula, has been removed from operational command because of his unsatisfactory performance. Diplomats said his position as commander was "in a state of suspended animation".

The Indian high commission denied the reports but added that the General was no longer in the country. A spokeswoman said: "operations have reached a certain stage of finality in Jaffna, so he has been called back to India for consultations."

Reports from New Delhi say Lieutenant General K. S. Hajuria, from the Directorate of Military Intelligence, went to Jaffna last week and reorganised the military command. He brought in additional units from the 22nd and 36th army divisions. India says it has fewer than 15,000 troops in Sri Lanka, but Sri Lankan military officials say the figure tops 25,000.

The spokeswoman in Colombo said the Indian peace-keeping

From Bruce Palling  
in Colombo  
22.10.87

force had moved forward overall and that most main public buildings around the Jaffna Fort area had been captured and combed for mines and booby traps. However, from yesterday's briefing, it was unclear exactly where the main Indian columns were. Every indication suggested they were still mostly on the outskirts of the town.

The spokeswoman said the Indian forces had not entered nor touched Jaffna Hospital. But a report from a local correspondent, who recently returned from the Jaffna Peninsula, said it was hit at least seven times earlier this week.

Meanwhile, pamphlets have been distributed in Jaffna signed by the Tamil Tiger leader, V. Prabhakaran, saying that the guerrillas would never surrender and would fight to the last man. The leaflets claim that only 34 Tigers have been killed in the 12 days of fighting in the peninsula. Official Indian figures, based on "body counts", say that 607 Tigers have been killed.

Reports from refugees arriving in Colombo suggest that the majority of the deaths are in fact civilians and that total Tiger deaths are no more than 50. India refuses to give civilian casualties but admits they are inevitable because of the nature of the fighting.

Jaffna residents are still leaving the besieged city, which is dangerously low on food and other essential supplies. The Indians say the Tigers are trying to keep the civilians in Jaffna but refugee reports do not confirm this. There is some speculation that many Tigers may have slipped through the Indian military cordon with the civilians. The Indian spokeswoman conceded that this was possible, as guards were checking

only for weapons and were not worried about identity.

The Indian forces were broadcasting amnesty appeals to any Tiger cadres who surrendered their weapons and agreed to abide by the peace accord signed with Sri Lanka in July.

These followed radio intercepts which the Indians said showed a split in the movement, with some Tigers preferring to surrender rather than fight to the death. The amnesty does not apply to the Tigers' leaders.

Ronnie de Mel, Sri Lanka's Finance Minister and a leading supporter of the July agreement, said yesterday that he would not rule out the Tigers coming back into the political process if they gave up their weapons and agreed to the conditions of the peace accord. He said: "I would support anything that ensures a lasting peace."

He told *The Independent*: "I would always negotiate with the real representatives of the Tamil people — my difficulty is that it is not easy to identify who they are in the present conditions. If it is the Tigers, it would be useful to talk with them as it is useless to talk with stooges or puppets. That type of set-up never lasts."

He emphasised that these were his own views but added: "I don't think they are very far from the government." Other cabinet ministers, notably the Minister for National Security, Lalith Athulathumudula, have said privately that they want to exclude the Tigers totally from the interim provincial councils to be established under the terms of the peace agreement.

Mr de Mel said he did not think that President Junius Jayewardene really meant it when he said at a recent press conference that the Tigers were now outlaws and a proscribed organisation.

"You must never judge a situation by what people say in the heat of the moment," he said.

# **AFFIDAVIT**

Mrs. RAJALEDCHUMY JESUTHASAN (33), 36/3A New Road, Koiyathoddam, Jaffna.

My husband Christopher Jesuthasan alias Christopher Ariyaratnam (45) was a salesman attached to Marketing Department, Jaffna.

My husband, 3 sons and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

IPKF stationed at Navatkuli advanced up to Kachcheri Jaffna on 21.10.87 firing shells towards the residential areas.

Through fear my family and I sought refuge at my sister's house which is next to our compound.

On 21.10.87 one of the shells fired by the IPKF in occupation of the Kachcheri at 4.30 p.m. fell on my sister's house and exploded.

Shrapnels from this explosion killed my husband, my son Jesuthasan Jeyakumar, age 15 years my sister Mrs. Nadesan Vijayaluxmy who was in an advanced stage of pregnancy.

My sons Jesuthasan Rajkumar, age 12 years and Jesuthasan Vijakumar, age 6 years, my sister's husband K. Nadesan, my sister's daughter N. Vanmathy and I were injured in this blast.

The injured including myself were removed to the Holy cross medical centre, a private nursing home and admitted for treatment.

I came to know that the dead bodies were removed by my brother the following morning and burnt at Thundi cemetery.

On 28.10.87, my injured son J. Rajkumar and I were transferred to the General Hospital, Jaffna for surgery.

The 3rd toe of the right leg of my son was amputated at the General Hospital, Jaffna.

My left leg below the knee badly shattered and I am still hospitalized.



RASAMMA SHANMUGANATHAN (43), Nallur Cross Road, Jaffna.

I am the widow of the late Gunaratnam Shanmuganathan who was killed in shell-blast on 21.10.87.

My late husband who was a vegetable vendor at the Kalviyankadu market left home at about 7 a.m. on 21.10.87 for his usual business at the market.

At about 11 a.m. on the day a shell fell in the market square and exploded.

A shrapnel darting from the explosion struck my husband's neck causing a grievous injury.

On hearing of the mishap I rushed to the market to find my husband lying dead in a pool of blood.

His body was brought home and the funeral took place on 22.10.87. The body was cremated at the Chemmany crematorium.

My husband earned an average monthly income of Rs. 1500/-

Since my husband's death I and my children are left with no support or financial assistance for our existence and maintenance.

I have no financial resources or savings to fall back upon and in the circumstances I look forward for financial or other forms of assistances for the maintenance and up-keep of the family.

I have four children and all four are school-going. The eldest is 17 years of age and the youngest is 10.



ச. கி. ராஜகமலா

RASU THIYAGARAJAH (43), No. 35, Kanagaratnam Road, Ariyalai.

My son by the name of Thiyagarajah Piragalathan, aged 18 years (eighteen years) was an employee of a private firm. On the 21st day of October 1987 at about 5 p.m. a shell bomb suddenly came and fell on the road and my son T. Piragalathan became a victim of the shell bomb. He died on the spot.

His body was burned at the Thundy cemetery, Colombo.

ச. கி. ராஜகமலா



SANTHANAM SELVARAJAH (22)

Ward No. 1, Nilaveli, presently of Selva Refugee camp 322 Temple Road, Nallur, Jaffna.

My parents, brothers, sisters and I were forced to leave Trincomalee in 1985 due to the atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan army and take refuge in Jaffna.

My mother is presently staying with one of my brothers in Colombo.

My father Sebastian Santhanam (80) brother S. Saverinayagam, sister Theresa Mary and I were living at the Selva Refugee camp.

On 21.10.87 when my father S. Santhanam was bathing at the well in the compound of the house occupied by us, a gun shot struck him on the back and he fell down unconscious. At this moment IPKF personnel were firing at random from the direction of Kaliankadu.

My father was immediately removed to Nallai Atheenam First Aid Centre where his wounds were dressed. He could not be removed to General Hospital Jaffna as curfew was in force and IPKF personnel were all over the area.

On my father's condition deteriorating he was admitted to General Hospital, Jaffna on 16.12.87 where he succumbed to his injuries at 6 a.m on 19.12.87.

The dead body of my father was released the same day at 10 a.m and buried the same evening at St. Mary's burial Grounds, Jaffna.



Mrs. SARASWATHY RASU

23/3, Martyn Road, Jaffna.

N.I.C. 306840894V

I am the widow of the deceased Kandiah Rasu, age 65 years. Watcher.

My husband was working as a watcher in a firewood depot at Martyn Road.

As there was shelling from the Jaffna Fort, I took shelter at the Jaffna Convent.

My husband was at the firewood depot.

On the 21st of October, there was heavy shelling and a shell had fallen in the Firewood depot.

The shell blast was so great that the body was in pieces.

On the 22nd morning, he did not come to the convent.

I went to the Firewood depot to see him.

The hut in which he usually sleeps had fallen down. I pulled the roof and saw my husband's body in pieces.

The body was burnt in the same compound as it could not be taken as whole body.



ச. கி. ராஜகமலா

**SARAH-RAJINI DHARMARAJ (36), "Malar Vasam", Ponnalai, Chulipuram.**

I am the deponent above named.

The deceased person Leslie Joshua Dharmaraj, aged 50 years was my husband.

He was Lecturer at the Jaffna College.

**During the October 1987 military offensive our area was pounded by mortar and artillery shells.**

As shells fell and exploded near our house at Kòkuvil where we were residing at the time.

I pleaded with my husband to leave the house but he blatantly refused saying that we will be shot if we leave our house.

As the shelling and cross fire grew intense on 21.10.87 I got excited and fled from the house leaving my husband who refused to accompany me.

I reached Jaffna Town and stayed with an uncle of mine.

**As Jaffna town was subjected to intense military offensive I went to Ponnalai.**

**Due to the curfew and the tension prevailed during that period I could not go to Kòkuvil to find out what happened to my husband.**

Only on 7.11.87 I returned back to Kòkuvil alone.

**When I reached my house I found it damaged by shelling and all the things looted.**

There was no sign of my husband inside the house or in the vicinity.

I got permission from an army office and searched all the camps in the area without success.

**Later, I came to know that my husband was killed on 26.10.87 caught in a shell blast at Kòkuvil.**

His body was not recovered and in all possibility burnt by the army itself.

I do not have any children.

I am residing with my parents after my husband's death.

*S.R. Dharmaraj*



**SELLADURAI POOPALASINGAM**

Kulukandy Road, Kopay South, Kopay.

My mother Packiam aged 55 years was under my care, custody and maintenance.

**During the military operations of the Indian Peace Keeping Force my mother was shot dead on the 21st day of October, 1987.**

The funeral expenses of my mother and other religious ceremonies were conducted by me out of my own expenses and yet to be done.

I am the only son to my parents and my sisters are married.

I am the sole heir of the deceased Packiam and I am entitled to receive the compensation.

I indemnify the authorities concerned from all liabilities.

My mother's death was duly registered under No. 5322.

My mother's full sister Kanmany too was in my care and custody and she too died by shelling on 17.10.87 and her funeral too was done by me and I am entitled to claim compensation. I indemnify the authorities in this matter also.

*SELLADURAI POOPALASINGAM*



**SELVARAJAH NAGESWARY (52)**

168, Kasturir Road, Jaffna.

My husband Kandiah Selvarajah was a Hospital Overseer attached to the Government Teaching Hospital, Jaffna.

On 21.10.87 he left home for work at about 6.30 p.m.

The same day about noon I myself went to the same hospital to get an insulin injection as I am diabetic.

As I entered the hospital premises I found the hospital staff and patients in a state of fright.

Mortar fire was being directed towards the hospital.

Outdoor patients, hospital employees and visitors were among people who were advised to take shelter in the hall of the ground floor of the administration section.

My husband and I and my son, Udayakumar who brought me from home to the hospital were in the said hall together with several people taking refuge there.

Even around 4 p.m. the people who sought shelter there were still there with us.

**About the same time Indian Armed soldiers in Uniform came to the road side entrance of the said hall and started firing at the crowd seeking shelter in the hall.**

**All the people immediately lay down on the ground. But I saw that my husband and some others were hit by gun fire.**

**My husband fell down bleeding. I receded backwards but I was hit by a grenade thrown from the direction where the Indian soldiers stood.**

**Shortly afterwards I managed to crawl where my husband fell and found him lifeless.**

The dead, wounded and others who were not injured were still in the hall the next day till about 10 or 11 a.m.

The hospital authorities called out the people about 11 a.m. on 22.10.87 to come out.

As I was injured I was admitted to ward No. 4 and remained there till 5.11.87.

The dead bodies including that of my husband were still there in the hall.

My husband's body was shown to me and my son Udayakumar on 23.10.87 for the purpose of identification before the corpses were burnt en masse on the rubbish heap of the hospital premises on the same day as told by my son Udayakumar.

I have only one child a son Udayakumar aged 22 years.



**SHANMUGALINGAM LOGANAYAGI (37), Murugan Veethy, Urumpirai East, Urumpirai.**

The deceased Vaithilingam Shanmugalingam aged 49 years was my husband.

He was employed as an Ambulance Driver at the Jaffna General Hospital.

**During the October 1987 military offensive our house was subjected to shelling and caught fire.**

I fled to the Jaffna town along with my children and stayed with my husband in his quarters at the Jaffna General Hospital.

On 21.10.87 my husband remained inside the Overseers office with my two children.

I stayed inside the X-Ray room with my other two children.

All around the hospital I heard gunfire and shell fire.

**As the army entered the hospital premises and started to fire at random at everyone in sight I remained inside the X-Ray room.**



Then the army entered the X-Ray room and started the firing and hurling grenades inside.

We miraculously escaped the shooting.

Only on the second day at about 5 p.m. I went to the overseers office room when I found my husband's lifeless body.

His body was cremated inside the hospital premises on the 23.10.87.

Later I came to know that my second and fourth sons who were with my husband when the shooting started left the hospital immediately after the shooting.

My fourth son Satishkumar was also injured in the shooting and was carried by his brother to the Anaipanthi Hospital

I have four sons

L. Shanmugalingo

● ● ●

SINNATHAM, JY RITAMMA (39)

NIC NO 48 570 5023X, 36/2, St Patrick's Road, Jaffna.

I am the widow of the late Gnanapragasam Mariyanayagam who died on 21.10.87.

From about the first week of October, 1987 the area in which we lived was subject to heavy shell attack.

All the people in the area used to spend the nights at St Patrick's College and return to their homes briefly during the day to prepare meals and to attend to other needs.

On 21.10.87 around 2.30 p.m. a shell fell and burst in the neighbourhood injuring several persons.

About 3 p.m. a van was arranged to take the injured persons to hospital. Some helpers were required. My husband volunteered to go with the injured.

In the said van there were in all 14 persons consisting of injured persons, driver and helpers.

My husband did not return that day nor was there any news about the others.

I learnt later that it was dangerous to go towards the Jaffna General Hospital.

Nine days later, my husband's brother, Ravindran went in search of my husband. He came and told me that the particular van in which my husband went was found burnt on Hospital Road, opposite the main gate of the Jaffna General Hospital.

He further said that only bones and parts of skeletons were found in the shell of the particular van.

Death certificate NO 1177 was issued in respect of my husband, Gnanapragasam Mariyanayagam's death giving place of death as opposite the Jaffna Teaching Hospital and cause of death - gun shot wounds - body not recovered.

I have four minor children - Vasanthi (f) (17), Gnanasekaram (m) (13), Chandramohan (m) (16) and an infant of 4 months.

I and my four children have lost the maintenance and support which we received from my late husband who worked as a labourer.

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Mrs. SULOANADEVI

MAHALINGAM (41)

Sivakula Veethy, Urumpirai South, Urumpirai.

The deceased Mahalingam Lingeswaran (13) is my eldest son.

My son M. Lingeswaran was a student in Grade 6 of the Jaffna Hindu College.

I fled from home with my children on the Indian Peace Keeping Force commencing its operations in Urumpirai.

On 21.10.87 my son M. Lingeswaran who returned home to collect some essential items was shot dead by the IPKF when he was crossing the Palaly Road at Urumpirai South.

The dead body of my son was burnt by the people in the locality.

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THANGAVELU INDRANI (37)

Kadaichchami Kovil Street, Jaffna.

The deceased is my son Thangavelu Soundararajan aged 6 years.

At about 10.20 a.m. on 21.10.87 when our locality was subjected to heavy cannon fire, accompanied by my children and neighbours I fled to the Kadaichchami Temple close by for refuge.

Suddenly the Temple was hit by several bombs, smoke and dust enveloped the whole place.

When the dust subsided I observed my son Soundararajan and several others injured.

The injured were rushed to the Jaffna General Hospital.

My son Soundararajan succumbed to his injuries at the hospital the same day and his body was also buried in the Hospital premises.

When bombs fell on the temple my brother and sister Kumarasamy Purusoththaman and Kumarasamy Mahaledchumy were killed instantaneously.

சு.சிந்திரா ராஜா

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VAIRAMUTHU PONNIAH (64), 77/5, Ananthan Vadali Road, Colombothurai.

The deceased person Ponniah Navarathasingham, aged 31 years a bachelor was my son.

He was employed as a mason.

On 21.10.87 at 1 p.m. my son left our house saying that he is going to draw drinking water from the Temple well.

He did not return home afterwards.

Due to the shelling I could not go out in search of him.

Only on the following day I went out and saw my son's lifeless body.

It bore shell inflicted wounds.

On 22.10.87 his body was cremated at Thundu cemetery.

I have three unmarried daughters.

My son was our sole bread winner and after his death we do not have any income.

வ.விராமுது பண்ணா

● ● ●

VARIRAVANATHAN RATHINAM (52), 23, B.A. Thamby Lane, Jaffna.

The deceased Vairawanathan Nageswary, aged 18 years was my only daughter.

On 21.10.87 we decided to go to Punguduthievu due to the intense military offensive in Jaffna.

We set out from our house and were proceeding along the K.K.S. Road.

At about 10 a.m. a shell fell near my daughter and exploded.

My daughter died instantaneously in the blast.

Her body was mutilated beyond recognition and we left it in the spot where it happened.

We later learned that her remain were cremated by the army.

Inquest into death did not take place due to the tension prevailed during those days.

The loss of my daughter at her prime affected me so much that I was bedridden for the last four months and not still to recover completely.

வ. கந்தி கந்தி

● ● ●

VELUPILLAI KANDIAH (65)

Antonia Street, Thirunagar, Kilinochchi.

My son Kandiah Vetharaniam (27) was a Casual Labourer attached to General Hospital Jaffna.

On or about the 10th of November 87, I was informed by another employee of the General Hospital, Jaffna that my son had been shot dead by the IPKF on 21.10.87 in an incident that had taken place there.

On my enquiries at the G.H. at Jaffna his death was confirmed.

It was reported that the dead bodies of all the persons killed in that incident had been burnt in the hospital premises on 23.10.87.

My wife, his aunt a widow and I were entirely dependent on my son K. Vethnaraniam who was bachelor.

க. வெதநரனியம்

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BASTIAMPILLAI SURENTHIRAN (27)

645/7 Beach Road, Jaffna.

On mortar shells being fired on our residential areas all members of my family moved to St. Patricks College for shelter on 21.10.87.

At 2.45 p.m. the same day a mortar shell which fell in the ST. Patricks College compound injuring 10 people including my sisters Neele Vijayanthi and Mala Bastiampillai who were removed to General Hospital Jaffna, in a van.

On 22.10.87 at 6.30 a.m. my father T.P. Bastiampillai (64) my mother Mrs. A. Bastiampillai (60) and cousin Satheus Yogenthiran left for the General Hospital to look into the requirements of my sisters who were hospitalised.

My mother, father and cousin Satheus Yogenthiran failed to return home.

The blood spotted bicycle of my father with bullet marks was found by me on 30.10.87 at the near entrance of the hospital.

I have made a thorough search for my father, mother and cousin to find out whether they had been arrested or had fled elsewhere but my search proved futile.

It was reported that the Indian Peace Keeping Force had shot dead over 100 persons including Hospital staff, patients and visitors in the General Hospital, Jaffna on 22.10.87 and that the dead bodies had been burnt three days later in the hospital compound.

I believe that my mother, father and cousin too were amongst those shot dead by the IPKF on this date.

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EHAMPARAM GNANAMMAH (62) Courts Lane, Kodikamam

The deceased person Appapillai Ehamparam, aged 56 years was my husband.

He was employed as a Production Foreman at Sugar Factory, Kantalai.

On 22.10.87 at about 6.00 a.m. my husband left for his mother's house at Eluthumadduval.

As he did not return home that day we went in search of him to Eluthumadduval.

There we were informed that he was shot and killed during a crossfire which took place between the army and the militants on the previous day.

His body was found buried at Eluthumadduval.

I identified the body as of my husband.

His body was exhumed and cremated on 24.10.87.

I have two unmarried daughters.

After my husband's death we are undergoing untold hardships.

செ. காமலதேவியார்

● ● ●

Mrs. KAMALATHEVY (41)

21/5, Wymann Road, Jaffna.

I am the holder of National Identity Card No. 475511557v.

Late Sinniah Pararajasingam is my husband and he was an employee of the Jaffna Municipal Council. While the deceased my husband was looking after the house, my four children and myself went to Karainagar for safety of our lives fearing the shelling and bombing all over the places. At Karainagar we heard that my husband was struck by a Shell Fire and died on 22.10.87 at the Naval Cultural Hall in Naval Road, Jaffna.

When I was able to return, I came with my children and heard that the body of my dead husband had been burnt - cremated - on the road side the next day.

I brought this to the notice of the Grama sevaka and have also obtained a Death Certificate.

My late husband was the only bread-winner of the family of 5 of us and we are now struggling to live, without him and due to his untimely death we are all driven to utter poverty.

I submit this affidavit to vouch the death my husband and also seek relief and assistance from the authorities for my four children and I to live.

● ● ●

KANAGAR SELLATHURAI (72) 84, Stanly Road, Jaffna.

The deceased person Sellathurai Rasammah, aged 62 years was my wife.

On 22.10.87 at about 9.30 a.m. and avalanche of shells fell in rapid succession all around our house and exploded.

A large shell shrapnel darting from a nearby explosion crashed through the roof and struck my wife on her back.

She died on the spot after sustaining a grievous injury.

Her body was taken immediately after her death by my son in a bullock cart to Thundi Cemetery amid great difficulties and cremated there.

I have a daughter named Anusuya, aged 22 years.

க. கனகசெல்வன்

● ● ●

Mrs. KANDIAH NAGAMMAH, widow (56), Tirunelvely East, Tirunelvely.

On 22.10.87 when the IPKF started the liberation operation in our area at Tirunelvely there was a shell blast and my husband got a severe attack and taken immediately to the General Hospital and died immediately on 22.10.87. Later we removed my husband's dead body and cremated in our place.

My husband's name in Sinnay Kandiah, age 60 years doing farm work and maintain my 2 children and myself.

WE LIKE PEACE  
BY TALKS  
NOT BY INDIAN  
TANKS AND  
ARMOURCARS







attle tanks on their way to Meenambakkam on Wednesday for being airlifted to Jaffna. Photo by George Francis, Scorp News.

## NEWS

### Tamil refugees observe fast, demand IPKF withdrawal

MADRAS, Oct. 20.

About 1,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees, including 350 women from Chingleput and Thanjavur refugee camps today observed a 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. fast in front of the Madras University on Kamarajar Salai demanding immediate stoppage of IPKF offensive against the LTTE in Jaffna.

Before dispersing they adopted a resolution urging the Government of India not to send back the Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka until the proposed interim administrative council was entrusted in the hands of Tamils and complete normality was restored that would ensure safety to their lives and property.

Mr. T. R. P. Nathan, president, Eelam Tamil Refugees Manram, who led the fasting refugees, said if the Government of India did not direct the IPKF to ceasefire within two days, all the refugees stationed in various camps in Tamil Nadu would commence a fast unto death.

A group of students from various city colleges participated in a day long fast near Kuralagam protesting against the IPKF offensive and its withdrawal from Sri Lanka.



# IPKF control of Jaffna imminent

BATTLE □ FOR □ JAFFNA

NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 22.

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force in Jaffna has taken control of the town's market, bus stand and the General Hospital.

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman told reporters here today that while an IPKF column from the east had taken control of the Jaffna Government Agent's Residency, the Secretariat and the railway station, the column from the west had further advanced and taken control of the market, bus stand and the hospital. Both these columns were very close to meeting each other and their taking control of the entire nerve-centre of Jaffna was imminent.

The spokesman conceded that the IPKF did encounter resistance from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam near the Government Agent's Residency and the hospital. The LTTE men, from inside the hospital, fired on the IPKF column but the control of the hospital passed into the IPKF's hands.

The IPKF had also made significant advances on the Velvettiturai-Koppai axis towards Jaffna and the Palaly-Jaffna axis and was reaching the northern entrances to Jaffna on both these fronts. But it had not reached the Jaffna University yet. The IPKF's advance had been measured so that civilian casualties and damage to buildings were minimal, he said.

## Appeal to lay down arms

Meanwhile, the air units of the IPKF dropped leaflets today over Jaffna, containing an appeal from the Government of India to the LTTE cadres to lay down arms. The appeal said: "We appeal to all cadres of the LTTE to hand over their arms to the IPKF in the interests of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka. Those militants who hand over their arms will be provided full security and protection by the IPKF. They will also be granted full amnesty in terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, which will enable them to participate freely in the democratic political process in Sri Lanka and live with honour and dignity on the island."

The spokesman said the appeal had been made following clear indications from wireless intercepts that the LTTE cadres wanted to hand over their arms. "The term 'surrender' (of arms) is not in keeping with the dignity of the situation," he said.

Answering a question whether such an appeal would be made to the LTTE leaders, the External Affairs Ministry spokesman said if the Government of India received an offer from the LTTE leaders to lay down their arms, express their willingness to participate in the democratic political process and also support the agreement, the Government of India would take it up with the Sri Lankan Government.

He said there were indications that the LTTE cadres would like to lay down their arms but

were uncertain of doing so because of their apprehension about the future. The appeal was primarily to assure them that they would be offered amnesty. The offer had been agreed to by the Sri Lankan Government. "It is our sincere hope that the cadres of the LTTE will respond positively to our appeal so that peace can be restored," he said.

The IPKF today intercepted two wireless messages from the LTTE. While the first message ordered its cadres to open fire with mortar-shells between Karan and Regal cinema, the second intercept said families should be used for carrying ammunition and also that women and children should be used as human-shields.

On reports that the civilian casualties in Jaffna were high, the spokesman pointed to conflicting reports. The LTTE had said in London that 200 civilians had been killed. The church leaders in Jaffna put the toll at 100. But other organisations estimated that 60 people were killed.

The spokesman said India would help the citizens of Jaffna rebuild their houses. Answering a question, he said this was independent of the World Bank aid. "This is bilateral."

## Food supply despite firing

Our Special Correspondent reports from New Delhi:

The spokesman said the LTTE militants today fired at IPKF helicopters dropping food supplies to people sheltering in the Nallur Kandam temple, the Hindu Women's College and some other areas of Jaffna town. The firing, however, did not 'deter' the helicopters which successfully dropped 2000 food packets in two sorties.

Giving details of the operations in the past 24 hours, the spokesman said two IPKF soldiers were killed and four wounded.

The spokesman said that the IPKF had sent Army medical teams along with medical supplies to attend to the sick and wounded in the Jaffna hospital. Efforts were also being made to restore electricity to the town.

According to LTTE radio intercepts, the LTTE seemed to be 'in utter disarray and also continues to show utter disregard for the loss of innocent Tamil civilian lives.'

The spokesman said intelligence reports indicated that there was a division in the ranks of the LTTE. "Some groups have come to realise that senseless violence will achieve little," the spokesman said. He cited a radio intercept which said they (an LTTE group) should not bank on a particular sector anymore as 'they are now concerned more about their future'.

## Navy joins operation

UNI & PTI report from Colombo:

The Indian Navy for the first time took part in the operations today as the IPKF flushed

out Tamil militants from more buildings in Jaffna town after a fierce fighting.

An Indian High Commission spokesman said the navy attacked the jetty in the LTTE stronghold of Gurunagar, west of the town, and destroyed a number of LTTE supply boats after landing "special groups" on the edge of the jetty.

The supply boats, according to Sri Lankan radio, numbering 14, were kept ready to ferry out LTTE leaders. The Indian High Commission spokesman said the IPKF was now in full command of the areas south of the railway line in Jaffna town and the offensive thrust was going up from the Jaffna fort sector as columns of the advancing Indian troops were moving down on the town from various flanks.

Many important landmarks and buildings in and around the hospital area, apart from the town hall, clock tower, Veerashigham hall and Regal theatre, taken over yesterday were now under control of the IPKF.

The Indian troops, according to the spokesman, finally linked up the forces in the Jaffna fort this morning and the cordon was completed. Although the LTTE continued to engage the IPKF at all stages and offered fierce resistance, the IPKF was moving forward.

The spokesman described the link-up between the IPKF columns from Navatkuli and the Jaffna fort as a "major advance" and said it was 'critical' to the overall operational strategy. As the IPKF advanced along the Navatkuli axis, the LTTE had resorted to using women and children as shields to attack them from behind.

The IPKF troops which secured Kopay south yesterday had moved very close to the Nallur temple, on the outskirts of the town where about 40,000 people had reportedly taken refuge. An aerial reconnaissance showed that many of the refugees were taking shelter elsewhere. They were leaving the temple despite the LTTE's attempts to prevent them in order to use them as a cover for their attacks, he said.

Quoting official sources, the official national news agency, Lankapuvath, said the IPKF took control of the LTTE's office behind the Government Hospital.

The agency quoted sources as having said the Kankesanthurai-Palay road was opened up by the IPKF after they had cleared the route through Kottadi.

According to the sources, street fighting was going on the Kandy road in eastern Jaffna, concentrating point of the IPKF offensive.

Meanwhile, a Tamil was murdered by "terrorists" for being an informer at Akkaraipattu in the eastern province. His mutilated body was found by the security forces, the news agency said.



# Plea for resumption of talks with LTTE

NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 22.

A public meeting convened by the DMK in support of the Sri Lanka Tamils today adopted a resolution demanding immediate cessation of hostilities between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Jaffna and other areas of the island and the resumption of negotiations with the LTTE to arrive at a solution "acceptable to the Tamils".

The resolution said the solution should bring an end to the ethnic problem and safeguard the interests of the Sri Lanka Tamils. It expressed the view that the Rajiv-Jayewardene agreement, "which was signed against the wishes of the major Tamil groups of Sri Lanka, should not be used to annihilate and humiliate the valiant Tamil fighters, whom the Jayewardene Government itself could not suppress all these years through its own army, supported by mercenaries from abroad".

It said the large-scale military operations launched by the IPKF had resulted in extensive loss of life of not only Tamil militants, but also the civilian population and IPKF personnel.

**'Tragic drama':** Moving the resolution, the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, called for an immediate ceasefire in Jaffna and wanted India to involve the LTTE also in a round table discussion to sort out the problem and implement the agreement.

"The drama that is being played out in the Jaffna peninsula has assumed tragic intensity and may produce disastrous consequences", he said, adding that it was an unbelievable spectacle of the IPKF mounting a violent offensive against the LTTE. "A task that could not be accomplished by the Sri Lankan armed forces has been achieved by the IPKF".

Punctuating his emotional speech with illustrations from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, Mr. Rama Rao said what was happening in Sri Lanka was unfortunate and preventable. The orgy of violence and bloodshed, the spate of mass suicides and homicides witnessed in Sri Lanka are both a terrific challenge and an inescapable responsibility of the Government of India. He pledged the full support of his Telugu Desam party to the cause of the Sri Lanka Tamils.

**'All India protest':** Speaking on the resolution, the DMK president, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, cautioned the Government of India that the patience of the Tamils was running out and it was high time a ceasefire was ordered in Jaffna and the annihilation of the Tamils stopped.

"Since all our appeals during the past 15



days have gone unheeded, it is time to warn the Prime Minister that unless he cried halt to the attack on the militants and civilians in the island, we will have to launch an all-India protest and struggle to save the Sri Lanka Tamils" he said.

Condemning what he called a "mischievous campaign" against the LTTE over All India Radio and Doordarshan, Mr. Karunanidhi demanded the democratic right of voicing his protest through the same medium. "If they enlist people to support the military offensive in Jaffna, we must be allowed to condemn it", he said. Otherwise, the DMK would be constrained to symbolically destroy a radio and a television set in public to register its protest, he added.

Mr. Upendra, leader of the Telugu Desam Parliamentary Party, criticised the Government of India for signing an "impractical" agreement without letting the Sri Lankan Tamils sign it themselves and be just a witness. "If the IPKF cannot implement the agreement, let it withdraw and let them solve the internal matter".

Mr. Upendra said there was no point in blaming the Indian Army because it was only doing a task assigned to it. "We have always condemned the use of the army for such embarrassing jobs as in the Golen Temple and now in Sri Lanka, because it affects the popularity and image of the armed forces".

The Lok Dal (A) president, Mr. Ajit Singh, said he had come to demonstrate that the north was behind Tamil Nadu in support of the suffering Sri Lanka Tamils. "It is a shame that India should keep quiet when Mr. Jayewardene and his Government do not implement the agreement at all, but launch an offensive against the LTTE for voicing its fears and reservations".

**'Eelam only answer':** Mr. Subramaniam Swami, Lok Dal general secretary, urged the DMK to unify all the forces in the country to fight for the rights of the Sri Lanka Tamils, and said Eelam would be the only answer to their problems and suffering.

Welcoming the gathering, the DMK general secretary, Mr. K. Anbazhagan, wondered what would happen if Sri Lanka asked the IPKF to leave the island after wiping out the LTTE. "Whom will you talk to or hand over the administration if the true representatives are killed?", he asked, and appealed to India to show the same humane approach to the Sri Lanka Tamils as it did to the ethnic sufferers in South Africa or the PLO.

## LTTE wants security guaranteed

MADRAS, Oct. 22.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has appealed to the international community to plead with the Government of India to stop the hostilities in Jaffna, which resulted in a large number of civilian casualties.

In an appeal from Jaffna routed through its U.K. branch and received here by telex, the LTTE said it would give up arms and support the Indian Government's effort to implement the peace accord "if the security of our people and ourselves are guaranteed by the Indian Government".

The Jaffna peninsula, the LTTE alleged, was at present the target of a combined military attack by the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Sri Lankan armed forces. The attack started on October 10, was continuing unabated. It was evident, the LTTE claimed, from the operation in the last few days that the Indian army, under the name of the IPKF, was killing innocent civilians in large numbers and was carrying out a war of destruction.

More than 3,50,000 people had been rendered homeless and taken refuge in various places. The continuous curfew had brought all human activities to a standstill, and because of non-availability of food, the people were on the brink of starvation. The electricity cut had not only brought darkness but even water supply had been affected.

The LTTE claimed it had captured alive 20 soldiers of the Indian army and they were being treated "very well". It would release them if India stopped the hostilities.

"We have always been for a ceasefire and talks, however India is adamant that it will go on with the war", the appeal signed by Mr. G. Mahendraraja, deputy leader of the LTTE, alleged.





(Operation Pawan)

# CIVILIANS KILLED

## JAFFNA

Jacob Thevathas	Jeyalaxmy
Y. Philomina	Arunasalam
P. John Mary	Santhasegaram
S. Siva	Rajaratnam
S. Jeyakumar	Thiruchelvam
S. Ramachandran	Rasarathinam
S. Antom	K. Tharmalingam
Pakialedchumy	K. Kopalakrishnan
S. Koruthan Vallai	R. Prabakaran
S. Velupillai	K. Manoharan
Olevich Anton	T. Thavarasalingam
Mathimalar	T. Kanagampikai
Saraswathy	T. Tharshini
Gladys Masriasingam	N. Jeevaratnam
K. Valli	T. Susheela

S. Jeyaseelan	Nagar Veerasingam
N. Sathivelu	Soosapillai Mathew
Arokianathan	N. Ponnar
S. Joseph	Samuel Navarasa
Mohamed	M. Uthayakumar
F. Asathurai	S. Manikam
M. Duncan	N. Veerasingam

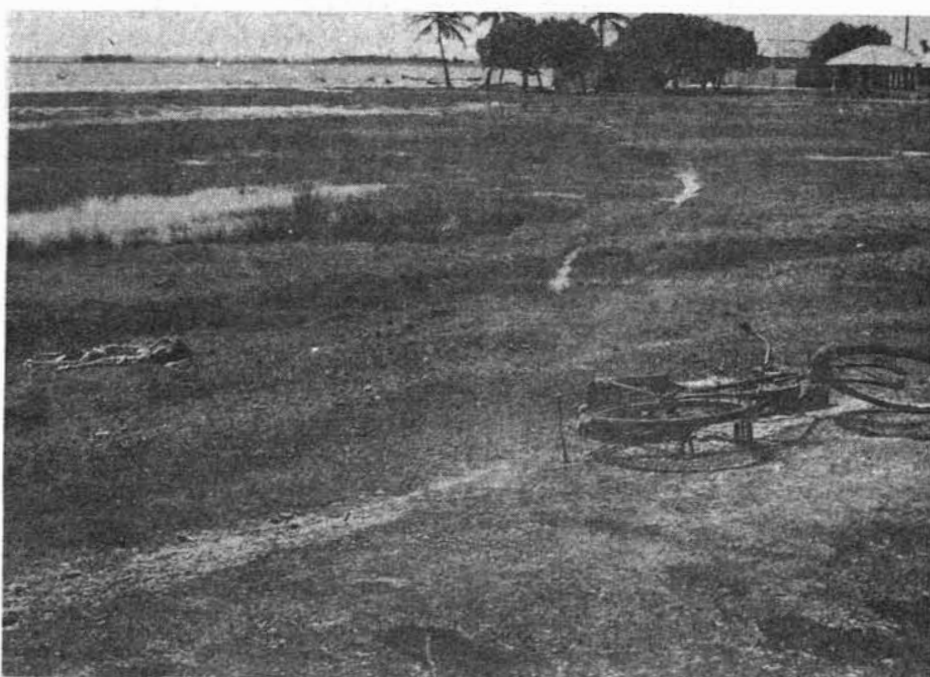
## KOKUVIL

Velayuthapillai	N. Ponnar
Pasathurai	N. Nadarasa
Nadarajah	M. Uthayakumar
Kantha	T. Selvanandini
V. Kumarasamy	T. Navaneetharan
Pavalathinam	Santhirasegram
Rajaratnam	Selliah Nageswary
Alagaratham	S. Velayuthapillai
Thamotharampillai	A. Thangeswari
Kanapathipillai	A. Satkunarajah
Sachithananthan	A. Sathiyarajah



Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, GOC-in-C Southern Command, talking to IPKF jawans at a location in Jaffna area in northern Sri Lanka.

Endless tragedy. The fate of a cyclist! The decomposed body of a civilian victim on the ground.



# LTTE CLAIMS

On the morning of 21.10.87, when the IPKF, tried to come out of the Jaffna fort camp, the LTTE attacked them and killed atleast 10 members of the IPKF. L.M.G. and S.M.G. weapons were also seized from them. In the shell attacks of the Indian army, from Jaffna Fort camp, some shells fell and bursted at Sundikuli Women's College, killing 7 people who had taken refuge there. 40 people were injured. Five more persons, living in the houses adjoining the college were also killed in the shell attack.

In IPKF's shell attack, 10 people who took refuge inside Inuvil Amman temple were killed. 28 of them were badly injured.

In Jaffna town, 3 bomber planes were engaged in dropping the bombs and in this more than 100 innocent civilians were killed.

Since the IPKF has surrounded the Jaffna hospital, people are unable to take the injured persons for treatment into the hospital. Those who are inside already with wounds and injuries are dying without medical facilities. Most of the doctors, nurses and other employees of the hospital are leaving the hospital, out of fear and panic: dead bodies are all strewn around inside as well as outside the hospital, with no one to care. It is a pathetic and horrible sight to see these dead bodies being eaten away by stray dogs and crows. The once, beautiful city of Jaffna now stinks death. Every where, it is only dilapidation and destruction. In the shell attack on the 21st alone 100 civilians were injured.

The Jaffna peninsula has been affected very badly, in an unprecedented manner. On 21-10-87 alone, more than 700 mortar shells were used by the IPKF. Because of this, the people of Jaffna were seriously affected. It is simply impossible for them even to carry and remove the injured and the dead. Dead bodies are all strewn on the street. Those who were wounded are also slowly dying for want of medical attention. Since a fierce fight is going on near Jaffna Hospital doctors and nurses are not able to get into the hospital. Lakhs of public in Jaffna peninsula have been rendered homeless and have become refugees.

Liberation Tigers are engaged in a fierce fight, stalling or following the advancements of the IPKF. The suicidal squad (black-tigers) of the Tigers are engaged in a fierce battle against the special commandos of the Indian army thus stalling them from leaving their fort-camp.

In the night 5 doctors were shot dead by the Indian army, that entered the Jaffna hospital from fort camp; they have raped nine nurses. 150 patients and 200 civilians who had taken refuge in the hospital were also killed in a cruel manner by the IPKF. A doctor who escaped with injuries in the gun fire, gave this informations and it was confirmed by the mother of a 2 year old boy. She had admitted her son in the hospital, but when both of them incurred gunfire injuries, she left the hospital with her child and is now staying in a refugee camp, without any medical assistance. Jaffna hospital has now turned into a vast-grave yard. Many of them died because of continuous bleeding from their wound and many more are slowly dying.

In Kiran of Batticolao District, one person was shot dead by the IPKF.

More than half the population (the total population is 8,30,000) of Jaffna has been rendered homeless, following

the fierce fight between the IPKF and LTTE. They have taken shelter in the refugee camps and these informations were given by the govt. officials. There is a very bad scarcity of 'food-stuff'. People are suffering for want of food and there is the imminent danger of people dying of hunger and starvation. Since the fight is going-on on a large-scale, distribution of food has become a great problem. The Indian officials have also accepted this. There are complaints about the non-supply of food in the refugees camps. No steps have been taken so far to redress the grievances of the people who have lost their hearth and home.

On the night of 21.10.87, the central part of Jaffna was attacked with more than 300 bombs that were thrown continuously. The dead and the injured were not removed; the bodies are still lying there. More than 22 injured persons have been admitted in a private hospital. But neither doctors nor medicines were available to save them. Many of them die for want of medical assistance, to stop over-bleeding. In the attack on the 21st alone, more than 250 innocent people including children, women and the aged were killed.

30 men of the IPKF entered Nalamkattai in Mannar district. These men entered the house of an aged woman and raped her two daughters. They tied many others to posts and have whipped them. Those who escaped narrated these horrifying incidents. Nothing is known about the people captured by the Indian army.

The Indian army entered the Jaffna hospital on Wednesday (21st) night and killed many people including doctors, nurses and patients. The hospital's ambulance driver, his wife, his two sons aged 9 and 14 years and a daughter were there in the hospital at the time of attack. And the following is the gist of the account given by the 14 years old boy who escaped death by jumping over the compound wall of the hospital, with his brother. (He narrated these things to a doctor).

'Many patients were shot dead. My father was also shot-down and killed in front of my eyes. My mother and sister were dragged away by the Indian army men and I do not know what has happened of them. My younger brother got injured in the bullet fire. I was lying down like dead with the dead bodies and so could see what all things were taking place within my vicinity. The doctors and nurses of the hospital were made to stand in line and were asked to raise-up their hands. They were taken to the X-ray room. From there, gun-shots and loud-cries were heard. When these sounds stopped, I could see many patients lying dead in heaps, on the way to the X-ray rooms. Their eyes were blind-folded. At another place, heaps of dead bodies, in white uniform were seen by me. These were the bodies of the doctors and nurses. I carried my wounded brother and escaped by jumping over the compound wall.'

The refugees took shelter in Navalar cultural building in Navalar street. A shell fell on the building on 22.10.87 at about 6 p.m. six refugees were killed by the shell blasting. At 4 p.m. the same day, a shell hit a residential houses at Rsavin Thottam, killing 4 members of the same family.

(Operation Pawan)

## CIVILIANS KILLED

### JAFFNA

Mariathas	Lottie Peteson
Asheervatham	Amalathas
Aseervatham	Ritamamah
Stephen	Christie
Sivagnanavadivel	A. Gnanapragasam
Navin Quintus	P. Sinnathamby
Thurairajah	Mathimalar
Esthaky	Uthayasoorian
Antonypillai	T. Mathuraseela
Rakumamah Ummah	R. Paikianathan
Gino Charles	K. Rajah
Suventhiran	C. Thurairajah
Innasian	P. Suthakaran
Michel Cecilia	M. Annaratnam
Mohanathas	A. Frothoran
V. Vijayakumar	S. Sinnathurai
A. Michael	K. Kandiah
Selvam Vincent	K. Rass
J. S. Nicholas	J. Nadarajah
Philomena	S. Ranjithkumar
M. Thiyarajah	G.L. Alexander
P. Nadarajah	G. Sanmuganathan
Moshon, Ilayan	Abraham Thomas
Jesuthas Lucia	S. Pradeep
Benedict	S. Siyamala
Gnanithas	S. Vijaya
Marmuthu	Sivarajah
Genoa	S. Sayikobillai
Sebastiampillai	S. Tharsan
Sivarasa	V. Annammah
Karunan	M. Kamalam
Gregory	P. Sellathurai
Anandarajah	S. Sinnathurai
Sydney William	R. Puckianathan

# **AFFIDAVIT**

KANTHIAH KULASINGHAM (48), Illankai Nayagi Amman Koviladi, Kalviankadu.

The deceased Kanthiah Asaipillai, aged 85 years widow, was my mother. During the October 1987 military offensive we left our house and sought refuge at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple and thereafter we proceed of Kayts.

My aged mother defiantly refused to accompany us and opted to stay at our house at Kalviankadu.

**While we were at Velanai I was informed that mother was killed in a shell blast while she was on her way to the Nallur Temple on 22.10.87.**

I came to know that her body was cremated at the spot where it was found by the same persons who took pain to inform me about her demise.

*Handwritten signature*



LOURTHAMMA wife of Thevasagayam Annaratnam (39), 60/2, Solomon Lane, Koyathodam, Jaffna.

I am the sister of the late Joseph Antonypillai Rajaratnam killed in gun-fire on 22.10.87.

My late brother was unmarried and lived with me and was looked after by me.

On 20.10.87 due to the belligerent situation prevailing in the area, I and my family including my late brother left out home and took refuge in St. Antony's Church Pasyoor.

**On 22.10.87 there was shell fire directed on to the church area and some shells fell on the church and exploded.**

My late brother Rajaratnam through fear ran from the church premises towards Maniar Thoddam and on the way he was shot dead by the Forces.

His dead body was recovered from the drain on the road-side near the spot on 27.10.87.

My late brother Rajaratnam was 60 years old and was unmarried and lived with me. He was looked after by me.

My brother was a casual labourer who earned an average monthly income of Rs. 1000/-.

My husband is sickly and is not a regular wage-earner.

*Handwritten signature*



NADARAJAH PONNAMMAH (54), 82, Rural Development Scheme (Colony), Kopay South, Kopay.

The deceased person Ariyacutty Nadarajah, aged 64 years was my husband.

He was a Cigar roller.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple.**

My husband refused to accompany us and opted to stay back to guard the house.

On 22.10.87 I returned home to prepare some meals.

**I was chocked to find my husband's lifeless body lying in the backyard.**

His body bore shell blast injuries.

**I learned that he was killed by a shell on 21.10.87.**

His body was cremated on 22.10.87 at Thirunelvly Cemetery.

**I have two unmarried daughters and three sons and three sons.**



*Handwritten signature*

POOPATHY PULENDRARAJAH (43), 54, New Chemmany Street, Jaffna.

I am the Nephew of the late Miss. Ganeshamudaliyar Pravapathy killed in Indian army firing.

My late aunt Miss. G. Pravapathy was a spinister aged 75 years and she was looked after and maintained by me.

**On 22.10.87 when my aunt was alone at home sea'ed in an out-hut while I and my family were away, Indian troops who were on our road, entered the premises.**

**She was gunned down and the hut was set ablaze by the Forces.**

Her partially charred body was found with gun shot injuries.

Her body was cremated in the open land within the premises of the house on 23.10.87.

*Handwritten signature*



RAVEENDRAN THILAGAWATHY (34), Vanniasingham Lane, Thavadly North, Thavadly.

The deceased person Rasiah Raveendran, aged 34years was my husband. He was a businessman.

**Due to the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at the Hindu Ladies College, Jaffna.**

On 22.10.87 at about 10.00 a.m. my husband left us saying that he is going to our house at Anaicodai to inspect its condition.

**At about 5.00 p.m. I was informed that my husband was killed in a shell explosion at Manipay Road while he was on his way to Anaicodai.**

**His body was cremated by the army itself.**

**I have four children.**

My children and I have been deprived of the maintenance and support we received from my husband.

*Handwritten signature*



SEMPOTSOTHY KARUNAILINGAM (55), Atchuvvely North, Atchuvvely.

I was residing at the above mentioned address with my wife Karunailingam Seethalakshmy (45) daughter Karunailingam Sumathy (23) and son Karunailingam Sumanan (17).

On 22.10.87 where it was found unsafe to remain in our house due to mortar shell fired by IPKF falling in our residential area I decided to leave for the Atchuvvely Pillayar temple at about 6 p.m.

When I was proceeding to the temple with my wife and children accompanied by my tenants who were occupying an annex and had walked about 100 yards from my house several shells fell in the area of which one very close to us.

**My wife K. Seethalakshmy and daughter Sumathy and Ratnam Nagaswamy (13) a tenant were killed on the spot and my son K. Sumanan and I were injured.**

I sustained a compound fracture on the right elbow.

With the help of people from that locality I got the dead bodies of my wife and daughter removed to a vacant house and there sent my son K. Sumanan for help.

On 23.10.87 morning the dead bodies of my wife and daughter and R. Nageswary were taken home with the help of relatives and cremated the same afternoon.



I was taken to Chavachcheri Govt. Hospital on 23.10.87. As facilities were lacking at this hospital for proper treatment. I was transferred of Manthikai Government Hospital on 24.10.87 morning.

**I have lost my wife and only daughter in this unfortunate incident where the IPKF has acted savagely by firing shells on residential areas indiscriminately.**

My wife sustained gaping injuries on her chest and abdomen while my daughter was hit by shrapnel on the back of her head.

● ● ●  
SIVARAJAH MANJULA (26), C/O V.S. Nadarajha, Velathoppu Kalviankadu, Jaffna.

The deceased Govindapillai Sivarajah aged 30 years was my husband. He was a casual labourer.

**During the October 87 military offensive I along with my daughter and mother left our house and sought refuge at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple.**

My husband opted to stay at home and used to visit us often at the temple.

**On 22.10.87 I was informed that my husband was killed in a shell blast at Kalviankadu market while he was on his way to the Nallur temple on the same day.**

Due to the prevailing situation I could not go to the place where he died, to recover his body.

I do not know what happened to his body afterwards.

I have a daughter Girija aged 5 years.

We do not have any income or support after my husband's death and undergoing severe hardships.

சிலவர்களுடன்

● ● ●  
THIRUNAVUKARASU NAGULESWARY (44), 17, Navalady Vannarpannai, Jaffna.

The deceased Saravanamuthu Thirunavukarasu, aged 54 years was my husband.

He was farmer.

**On 22.10.87 our area was the target of intense shell fire.**

At about 12 noon a shell fell inside our backyard and exploded.

A large shrapnel broke through the roof tiles and struck my husband on his leg.

**The injury was severe and my husband died immediately due to excessive bleeding.**

His body was cremated at the Kombayan Manal cemetery on the same day itself.

**I have four unmarried daughters and a son.**

My children and I have been deprived of the maintenance and support we received from my husband.

We do not have any income and undergoing untold hardships.

தி. ந. குமாரவேலு

● ● ●  
THIVIYARATNAVEL VIMALA (46), 75, Martin Road, Jaffna.

The deceased person Thiviyaratnavel Mathivathani, aged 17 years was my daughter.

She was a student at the Holy Family Convent Jaffna.

On 22.10.87 our area was the target of intense shelling.

**At about 10 a.m. a shell fell and exploded near our house.**

Through fear we fled from the house.

As we were running from our house a shell fell on the road side and exploded.

**My daughter died instantaneously after being struck by a shrapnel darting from the explosion.**

We cremated her body on the following day at Kombayan Manal cemetery.

**I have two daughters.**

P. V. Vimala

● ● ●  
UTHAYARANI widow of Rasiah Mohanadas, Moothavinayagar Lane, Nallur, Jaffna.

**My husband Rasiah Mohanadas died on the 22nd day of October 1987, during the military operation by the IPKF at Kachcheri Nallur Road, Jaffna and his death was due to injuries caused by shell blast.**

My husband the abovesaid Mohanadas was working a labourer and he was the sole bread winner of my family.

I have no source of income to maintain me and my children.

பெ. உதயாணி

● ● ●  
KANDIAH SIVAKOLUNTHU (75), widow, Variapulam, Chunakam.

The deceased person Ramu Kandiah, aged 85 years was my husband.

He was a Farmer.

On 23.10.1987 at about 12.00 midnight my husband went out to answer a call of nature.

Then we heard a report of a gun.

**As our house was without any compound and situated by the road side, soldiers who were moving about outside on seeing my husband fired at him killing him instantaneously.**

After the army left the place my daughter who went outside found his dead body.

His body was cremated at Chunakam Kothialady cemetery on the following day.

க. சிவகொலுந்து.

● ● ●  
KANDIAH SIVALINGAMOORTHY

231, Saddanathar Road, Nallur.

NIC No. 423232595 V.

The deceased Sundaram Navaratnam is my father-in-law 52 years and was living with me.

**On the 23rd of October as there was shelling towards our area, we left our house and took refuge at the Nallur temple.**

After 10 days, my family went to a house at Eachchamoddai road and stayed with our relations.

The deceased went to Nallur to see our house.

He was living at Nallur as the tension eased.

**On 11.11.87 while he was going to a shop to buy some provisions he received a gun shot injury and died on the spot.**

**A neighbour of ours at Nallur came to Eachchamoddai and informed us that my father in law received a gun shot and he died.**

**The body bore injuries on the chest and thigh.**

The body was cremated by me on the same day 11.11.87.

I attach a copy of the death certificate No. 464 of 30.1.88.

Cause of death; Death due to profuse bleeding from injury caused by gun shot.

*W. Muthulingam*  
5/2/88

● ● ●  
NANNITHAMBY RATNAM (44), Power Station Road, Chunakam South, Chunakam.

The deceased Ranjinidevi Nannithamby, aged 14 years was my daughter.

She was a student at Ramanathan College, Marathanamadam.

On 23.10.87 the army was advancing through Palaly Road, towards Jaffna.

At around 3.00 p.m. the army came to our residence.

The opened fire killing eight people on the spot and causing injuries to a few including me.

My daughter also died in the incident.

Her body was cremated at a nearby field on 26.10.87.

I have two sons at home.

My husband was also injured in the incident and is unable to walk.

● ● ●  
SEENION MUTHULINGAM (38), Power House Road, Chunakam South, Chunakam.

The deceased Muthulingam Pooranam age 38 years was my wife.

On 23.10.87 the army came to our residence.

On seeing us they opened fire killing eight person on the spot.

My wife was also shot and killed during the incident.

She was buried in a nearby field on 27.10.87.

I am undergoing severe mental pain due to my loving wife's untimely death.

● ● ●  
SELVARANI SATHANANTHAN (27) years. Vettalaikerniady, Kokuvil West, Kokuvil.

The deceased Muthulingam Sathananthan (28) is my husband.

My husband, 2 children and I were residing at the above address.

At about 12.00 noon on 23.10.87, when shells started falling in our residential area, my husband requested me and my children to leave the house and run towards a coconut plantation for safety saying that he would follow.

As he failed to arrive and the helicopter which was dropping explosives had left I went in search of my husband at about 1.00 p.m.

I found my husband fallen dead in a pool of blood close to the rear entrance.

Our house too had been damaged by shell blasts.

It was evident that my husband had been killed when he was hit by fragments from the exploding shells as he was leaving the house.

My husband, the sole bread winner, was a retail dealer in vegetables.

My husband leaves behind myself and 2 children aged 9 years and 6 years.

*6. 08.01.2000*

SITHAN NANNIAN (50), Power Station Road, Chunakam South, ● Chunakam.

The deceased Selvi Kanaki, widow, aged 65 years was my sister-in-law.

After her husband who died few years ago she became one of my dependents.

On 23.10.87 while we were in our house the army came there.

On seeing us they opened fire killing eight persons on the spot.

My sister-in-law was also shot and killed during the incident.

Her body was also buried in a nearby field on 26.10.87.

● ● ●  
VALLIPURAM SELVARANEE (52), Arasady, Kopay North, Kopay. The deceased person Sabapathipillai Vallipuram, aged 62 years was my husband.

He was a Blacksmith.

On 23.10.87 at about 10.00 a.m. my husband left for Anaicoddai on a private matter.

As he did not return home that day we became highly worried and mounted a search for him.

For many days we did not receive any information about him.

A week later I was informed that he was killed in a shell explosion at Anaicoddai.

His body was not recovered.

I have four children.

My children and I have been deprived of the maintenance and support we received from my husband.

*உ. வெ. சிவசுந்தரம்*

● ● ●  
AARUPILLAI SANGARALINGAM, (46) Kumarakoddam, Kondavil.

I am a farmer.

My wife, three daughters and I were living in our house at the above said address.

Indian Peace Keeping Force who came into occupation of the Sri-Lanka Transport Board Depot in Kondavil started lobbing shells towards our locality in random on 24.10.87.

All residents in our locality fled to the closest temples. My wife, children and I too run to Neddilippai Pillayar Temple.

On our way to temple, a shell fired from the above camp fell close to us and exploded.

I was thrown off and when I got up I found my wife Sangaralingam Saraswathy 44 and daughter Sangaraliagam Kayenthini 24 in pools of blood.

When I went close to my wife and daughter, I noticed that both my wife and daughter were dead. They had injuries all over their bodies.

My other two daughters escaped injury.

Dead bodies of my wife and daughter Kayenthini were removed and burnt in a land close by on the same day, as there was heavy shelling towards our area on this date.

More than 6 persons were killed and several injured in this incident.

Indian Peace Keeping Forces who came to our locality on 13.11.87 after an incident in which two IPKF personnel were killed set fire to my house and tobacco in my house worth Rs. 75,000/-

*ச. சிவசுந்தரம்*  
75  
● ● ●

**ARASARATNAM SELVAVATHY (43)**, Kalikovilady, Thirunelvely.  
The deceased Sivaguru Annammah aged, 78 years was my grand mother being my father's mother.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at the Pathirakali Kovil which is situated across the road from our house.**

My grandmother stayed at home due to old age.

**On 24.10.87 at about 9 a.m. army arrived at the Temple and Cannon charged.**

After they left I went back to our house where I found my grand mother suffering from an injury on her neck which was caused by the shell shrapnel.

**I came to know she received the injury during the army cannon fire.**

**She succumbed to her injuries on 6.11.87.**

Her body was cremated on Chembatu cemetery on 7.11.87.

She was living under my care and maintenance till her death.

A. Selvavathy



**ARULAPPU THOMAS (23)** 36, St. Mary's Road, off 1st Cross Street, Navanthurai.

**One to the October, 1987 military offensive I sought refuge at the Navalar School.**

**On 24.10.87 as we thought it is safe to leave the camp and returned home.**

At about 1.00 p.m. I returned to the Navalar School to remove some of our possession which we left there.

**As I approached the school I was fired upon by some soldiers who were lying down on the road side away from my view.**

**I sustained an injury on my right upper thigh.**

I left the scene bleeding heavily from the wound.

On the following day I was admitted at the Co-operative Hospital, Moolai.

On 10.11.87 I was admitted at the Jaffna General Hospital.

I was discharged on 7.12.87.

I am a fisherman and after the incident remain at home unable to do any work.

**I feel frequent numbness and unable to walk far or lift any heavy objects as it gives excruciating pain.**

**I have four unmarried sisters of marriageable age.**

**My father is an invalid.**

We do not have any income after the incident.



**GURUSAMY RASAMMAH (50)**, 54/16, Oadai Lane, Jaffna.

The deceased persons Kulasegarampillai Thanaluxumy, aged 58 years a widow was my elder sister.

She was living with me until she met her tragic end.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at the Navalar School refugee camp Vannarpannai.**

**On 24.10.87 at about 2.00 p.m. the army fired at the refugees in the school killing and injuring many persons which resulted in a carnage.**

**My sister was also among the persons shot and killed by the army.**

Her body was cremated by the army itself inside the school premises.

She was living under my care and maintenance after her husband's death two years ago.

கு. ர. ராமமா

**KULASINGHAM SELVARANEE (42)**, Vanniasingham Veethy, Thavady North, Kokuvil.

The deceased person Rasanayagam Kulasingham, age 47 years was my husband.

He was a cigar-roller.

**Due to the October 1987 military offensive we sought refugee at the Jaffna Hindu College refugee camp.**

On 24.10.87 at about 10 a.m. my husband left us saying that he is going to our house to inspect its condition.

He did not return afterwards.

**On the following day at about 10 a.m. I was informed that my husband was killed in a shell blast at Arukal madam.**

His body was not recovered by us but cremated by the army itself.

I have five children.

கு. செல்வரணி



**PONNUTHURAI RANI, (36)** Kerniyady, Kokuvil West, Kokuvil.

Late Mr. Appathurai Ponnuthurai was my legal husband.

We have five children namely Miss. P. Thanaluxmy (13), Miss. P. Pushpamalar (12), Mas. P. Kirupakaran (8), Miss. P. Gowri (6), and Mas. P. Jayaruban (2).

My husband above named was an employee of a bakery named 'Sutha' situated at Kerniyady.

On 24.10.87 while my husband was carrying bread for delivery, he was shot dead by the IPKF. He died instantaneously. His body could not be removed and we came to understand that his body was burnt at the roadside by the IPKF.

I am widowed with five children without any source of income for sustenance. I, therefore, pray that I am paid reasonable compensation to bring up my poor, fatherless children.

பெருமாள்



**MUTHUKUMARU PARASAKTHY (63)**, Kerniadi, Kokuvil West, Kokuvil.

The deceased person Sinnathamby Muthucumaru, aged 60 years was my husband.

He was a Cigar roller.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at the Hindu Ladies College refugee camp.**

On 24.10.87 my husband left the camp saying that he is going back to our house to bring some coconuts.

He did not return afterwards.

We could not go on search of him due to the tense situation prevailed during the period.

**Later I came to know that he was shot and killed by the army at Alady Arukal Madam on 24.10.87.**

His body was cremated by the army itself.

I have two unmarried daughters.

சு. ப. ப. ப. ப. ப.





# South Jaffna out of LTTE grip NEWS

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct. 23

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) operating on the Navatkuli axis met up with a force moving out of the Fort and established complete control over the Jaffna Railway Station at 11 a.m. today. With this action, the IPKF's eastern and western axes have linked up liberating the southern Jaffna city from the LTTE control. Though the IPKF reached positions near the station two days ago, the last 500 metres was bitterly contested. Now just one area, Gurunagar, between Jaffna Jetty No. 1 and Kalumputurai West, remains under militant control in this southern waterfront area.

A wireless intercept of the LTTE indicated that the militants had been asked to 'pack up' and move to the jetty for possible transhipment across the lagoon. Two days ago, the Indian Navy personnel began dragging operations on the lagoon to locate possible caches of arms.

**Militants in temple:** The LTTE resistance was continuing in a roughly 10 to 12 sq. km. area which includes the Tirunelveli area, the University, the Nallur temple and Kokkuvil. The IPKF sources say that some semblance of 'law and order' has now been restored in Clock Tower, Regal and the Townhall areas. While pressure was being maintained on the LTTE on the Kondavil axis, another column operating from South Kopai moved south-westwards down the road to a multiple road-junction, one kilometre west of the Nallur Kandaswamy temple. The IPKF sources feel that the militants have mingled with the refugees in the temple and intend to offer resistance using the temple as a hideout. This belief stems from the fact that the IPKF helicopters dropping food packets in the temple area yesterday and today were fired upon by the LTTE militants from the area. Similar fire was drawn by helicopters dropping food packets in the Men's Hindu College and the

Women's Hindu College the second day running today.

**Hospital made functional:** The IPKF has got the Jaffna General Hospital fully functional today by sending in two surgical teams. They also provided two tons of medical supplies and diesel to get the electricity generators functioning to restart electric supply to the hospital. The medical team which entered the hospital first yesterday, unaccompanied by combat personnel, met a horrifying sight. Some 360 patients were being looked after by just two doctors and three nurses. Bodies of patients who had died due to lack of care were decomposing. Having helped cremate the bodies, the medical team swung into action providing relief to the patients who are also being supplied with food.

However, the medical team was told by patients that some LTTE personnel were masquerading as patients. As a result, an infantry company was sent to guard the hospital.

**Engineering help:** The IPKF engineers have restored the distribution and transmission system of the Chunnakam power house destroyed by the LTTE while retreating from there. In addition, construction and engineering personnel have also been inducted into the IPKF to repair the damage done by the LTTE firing and to help people repair their destroyed or damaged houses.

In another action today, the IPKF seized a big arms cache in the Batticaloa area. The cache included assault rifles, heavy machine guns, anti-tank rockets some 29 in number and quantities of explosives and mines. The IPKF personnel have also moved to seal off the routes leading out of the city to prevent the escape of the trapped militants. Yesterday and today, some LTTE cadres attempting to escape were detained at Achchaveli area and at the ferry linking Arali South with Velanai island in the lag-

oon. There are no clear estimates of the LTTE personnel still inside the IPKF encirclement, but the IPKF sources emphasised that they were still confronting stiff LTTE fire in the encircled area.

**Arms ready for shipment:** Intelligence sources say that militant representatives in Singapore have secured another supply of arms and explosives for shipment to Sri Lanka. They are, however, unable to charter a ship to carry the shipment. Earlier, a bogus shipping line run by the LTTE out of Singapore possessing two ships was used for the task, but the two ships have since been sold off for as yet unknown reasons. Three weeks before the final confrontation with the IPKF, the LTTE had received a shipment of arms including AK-47 assault rifles, RPG-7 anti-tank rockets and explosives for making mines. According to sources, this points to the fact that the LTTE had decided sometime in September or even earlier to scuttle the accord.

**IPKF toll 133:** The most recent casualty figures available indicate that so far 133 IPKF personnel have laid down their lives including 16 officers. The IPKF estimates that 659 LTTE personnel have been killed. These figures have been compiled from LTTE radio intercepts and in fact just about 20 per cent of this figure have been checked out physically by the IPKF.

Radio intercepts are providing the IPKF a considerable amount of information on the LTTE. However, the problem of locating high frequency transmission makes it difficult to pinpoint the 12 to 15 sets still operating. Some intercepts reveal a sense of desperation such as asking for militants to use shield of women and children to avoid IPKF retaliation.

Another intercept made when Indian medical personnel entered the Jaffna Hospital unaccompanied by combat troops said, "Let's have some fun and fire some mortars to scare away the Indian troops." Yet another intercept pointed to the fact that there was some dissension in the militant ranks. It said: "Tell all members to sign (possibly some document enjoining them to fight on). All those not signing will be punished."

**IPKF personnel showing the damaged church built in 1706 and portions of Jaffna Fort shelled by the LTTE during earlier hostilities.**



## LTTE CLAIMS

**O**n the 21st October 87, at noon, the IPKF stormed into the Jaffna Teaching Hospital and shot dead three doctors and nearly hundred indoor patients who were receiving treatment. Ten nurses were brutally raped and gunned to death. Some of the medical internees were arrested and killed.

**O**n the 22nd October 87, thirtyfive passengers were killed and many injured when a helicopter gunship unleashed rocket mortar on a group of passengers assembled at Aralithurai Jetty used for travelling to the nearby islands.

**O**n the 24th October 87, two young women were raped and killed by 13 men of the IPKF in the presence of their mothers at Sangupitty. When IPKF opened cannon fire at a refugee camp established at Kokkuvil Hindu College, 40 innocent people were killed and 80 injured. The other refugees were commanded to cut trenches and the corpses buried there unceremoniously.

# IPKF operations will continue

NEWS

From V. Jayanth

Jaffna, Oct. 23

Even as the battering of mortars, the exchange of fire between the LTTE and the IPKF and the blasting of booby traps continued today, a press party from Madras was taken to Jaffna to see for themselves the *modus operandi* of the IPKF and the restraint with which they conducted the operations.

## Pressure stepped up

The press party spent six hours in the town, in the Fort, in the surrounding areas and at the Palaly headquarters of the IPKF. Just as we left the town, the IPKF stepped up pressure on the militants to "neutralise" another of their strongholds just behind the battered Town Hall.

From the Fort, we saw what remains of the Central Telegraph Office and the adjoining Rupavahini establishment, the Veerasingham multi-storeyed hall, the Regal cinema, the main post office, the shattered library and the Town Hall — which have all been heavily shelled and damaged by the LTTE in the past. The significance of the IPKF taking control of these landmarks in the town stems from their strategic location and from the effective military use to which the LTTE put it.

It was from these points that the LTTE had reportedly launched the offensive against the IPKF, positioned at the Fort.

Today, the LTTE, whose presence in the town was still reckoned as "sizeable", has been pushed to the north and east and was engaged in sniping operations from Gurunagar, behind the Town Hall area.

As Brig. Manjit Singh explained the "linking operations" to the presspersons, the boom of shells and sniping guns was heard distinctly. "That's the LTTE's AK 47 rifle. The finishing noise is peculiar," he noted.

Characteristically, the militants had set a maze of land mines and booby traps on the road from the Fort to their positions. With curfew in force, there was no semblance of human activity in this part of the town.

## Different kind of war

As Brig. Kulwant Singh, the officiating GOC of the IPKF now, put it: "It is a different kind of a war, with fighters in civil dress mixing up with the people."

All commanders of the IPKF were categorical in asserting that the loss of innocent civilian lives was "minimal." "If we have taken so much time and care in this operation, it is because of the restraint and a conscious decision not to kill civilians or damage buildings" was the point emphasised.

## Restraint

Brig. Kulwant Singh explained that the casualties of the IPKF were rather high because of this restraint. "You will also see that the ratio of officers and other ranks killed is also high, because we have asked the officers to lead and ensure that no civilians are killed and no property damaged."

We landed at the Palaly airfield around 11 a.m. and after a detailed briefing by the officiating GOC, went to the field hospital of the IPKF. Three wounded soldiers were being transhipped and two others lay in bed, unable to speak—both suffering from a blast of a land-

mine. Sukumaran, one of the injured, had a blast on his face, left hand and left leg.

We then took off in an IAF helicopter for an aerial survey. The IPKF officers made it clear that there could be no low-flying because the operations were still going on and no risk could be taken.

The intention of the officers was to show what had happened and what could have in such an operation. We were flown over the Vadamarachi area to see the extensive damage inflicted by the Sri Lankan armed forces during their offensive, but flying at an altitude of 800 metres only specs of the gaping holes in roofs could be seen.

There was not much we could see in Jaffna and the damage to the buildings had been inflicted even earlier. The Jaffna University area was still not within IPKF control and the hospital was declared "risky" to reach because of the road mines. "The LTTE has shelled the hospital and left only a day or two before we reached there. It is now under our control and functioning normally," the IPKF officers said.

The Jaffna operations have not ended, but the "mopping up operations" are nearing completion. "It is by no means the end, when we have full control of Jaffna, because many LTTE groups have gone out of the town," we were told.

How do the Indian soldiers, particularly the Tamils, feel about fighting the Tamil militants and killing them? "We see it as another assignment. After all, the police and other authorities in Tamil Nadu have to act and punish offenders or criminals. If the LTTE opposes India, we have to deal with them too," a couple of Tamil soldiers positioned at the Jaffna Fort responded.

# LTTE shells hospital

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct. 23.

The LTTE has begun firing at the Jaffna General Hospital after it was taken by the IPKF yesterday. According to an External Affairs Ministry spokesperson, the LTTE is continuing to direct its fire towards the hospital 'unmindful of the safety of the patients and the medical staff'.

The spokesperson said the LTTE was firing from the hospital at the IPKF when the hospital was under its control. The IPKF did not return the fire as it wanted to avoid damage and casualties. After the hospital was captured, the LTTE sent radio messages calling for heavy mortar fire around the boundary wall of the hospital. The spokesperson did not give casualty figures but said the IPKF doctors were attending to the sick and wounded in the hospital.

Consolidating position

The IPKF was now in the process of consolidating its 'commanding position'

which it had established in Jaffna city following the link-up of the IPKF's eastern and western columns. Last night it secured the area around the Vambadi Girls School. This morning a heavily booby-trapped and large LTTE ammunition dump measuring 100 sq.ft. was captured.

The remaining LTTE positions in Jaffna city were being subjected to 'pressure from all directions'. All escape routes had been sealed, it was stated.

Heavy rain today prevented the airdropping of food packets around the Nallur temple and other areas of Jaffna city. Yesterday the IPKF had airdropped 2000 food packets despite encountering LTTE ground fire.

In the Batticaloa area, a mine explosion killed three IPKF soldiers. A large cache of arms and ammunition has been captured by the IPKF. It included 22 rifles, three heavy machine guns, two rocket launchers, and two mortars.

## Rs. 30 million a day being spent on IPKF

COLOMBO, Oct. 23.

India spends Rs. 30 million a day to maintain its Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka, a Cabinet Minister told the Sri Lankan Parliament yesterday.

Winding up the debate on a motion (which was passed by 106 to four votes) for the extension of Emergency by another month, the Minister of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, said the IPKF came here on the invitation of the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to "disarm the terrorists and hand over the arms to the Sri Lankan Army".

The Minister said the current situation in Jaffna was the result of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam going back on its word. If the IPKF was not there, it was the Sri Lankan soldiers who would have got killed.

He said he would discuss with the Indian High Commissioner the question of allowing Sri Lankan and foreign media personnel to visit Jaffna to cover the developments.—UNI



# Prelude to the ongoing war

## REPORT

D. B. S. Jeyaraj, THE HINDU's Correspondent in Sri Lanka, who was in Jaffna for ten days during the thick of the fighting between the IPKF and the LTTE, provides his account of a traumatic experience. Jeyaraj left Jaffna on October 20 and arrived in Colombo the next day.

COLOMBO, Oct. 23.

The uneasy peace that Jaffna had been enjoying since the signing of the Indo-Lanka accord on July 29 was shattered on Saturday, October 10, in the early hours of the morning. Two Tamil newspapers published from Jaffna were "sealed" by the Indian Peace-Keeping Force. The employees, including journalists, were arrested after which the printing equipment and office premises were blasted by explosives. This was the prelude to the ongoing war that broke out between the Indian forces and the Tamil militant group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, that afternoon. The brief respite the people of Jaffna enjoyed was over.

I was staying at a friend's residence in Nallur, once the ancient capital of the Jaffna kingdom and now within the municipal limits. The Jaffna and Nallur divisions have a population of 159,469 out of the overall Jaffna district figure of 831,112 (1981 census figures). With the outbreak of hostilities, the IPKF launched a multi-pronged offensive. The Indian Forces were approaching Jaffna from five directions. At the outset, a common feeling prevalent was that the Indian forces would not harm the civilians. It was felt that the Indians would isolate and alienate the Tigers from the Tamil community at large. Soon those hopes evaporated. Intermitent shelling from camps and sporadic aerial attacks were experienced.

Using a bicycle—the popular mode of conveyance in Jaffna—I was able to travel within urban Jaffna and several rural areas. At times, when the exchange of fire between both sides intensified, movement was curtailed. Yet I was able to visit areas after the firing ceased. On a few occasions, I was in the combat zone and was able to see at first-hand certain aspects of the fighting.

The Tigers soon reverted to their familiar style of placing landmines on the approach roads and commencing attacks on Indian convoys. A substantial portion of the Indian losses was due to this. Another Tiger strategy was to allow the Indian forces to advance to a point after offering token resistance and then use by-lanes, footpaths and so on—thereby getting to the rear of the Indian troops. The LTTE used familiarity with the terrain to its advantage and attacked the Indians in pincer-like movements.

On the Indian side, the initial attempts seemed to be a series of sorties from different directions, aimed at wearing down the Tigers and above all exhausting the limited LTTE firepower. Also, Indian movements seemed restrained by some reluctance to get involved in thick fighting. I was able to see this phenomenon on two occasions at Kallundai on the outskirts of Jaffna and Kopay, 8 km from Jaffna.

During ten days of fighting, during which period I was in Jaffna, the civilian casualty figures compiled independently by me were 192 killed, 485 injured (of whom 326 were hospitalised).

Jaffna is literally in the dark as the power supply has been cut off. An indefinite curfew, extending to several days at a stretch, has been imposed. Road and rail transport to and from the peninsula has been severely curtailed. Food-stocks are rather scarce as a result. No mail or newspapers are delivered. The only channel of information is the radio. Ironically, the All-India Radio broadcasts—the most popular in Jaffna in the past—have suffered in credibility.

The Jaffna teaching hospital was severely hampered by the power cut and operated under considerable hardship.

## Over 3 lakh displaced

Over 300,000 people are totally or partially displaced. Most residents in the advance line of the IPKF troops have vacated their homes and moved into areas relatively safe from violence. Most of them have put up with friends and relatives or schools and places of worship. There is also heavy migration to the south of the peninsula from where many people trickle out to the mainland via the ferry.

One consequence of the whole conflict has been the psychological impact caused in the minds of the Tamil people. India was seen as the protector and saviour of the Tamil people and "Mother India" was seen to have nourished and nurtured the Tamil struggle. Although most Tamils realised that India was acting only in its self-interest, few thought that Indian troops would be involved in fighting with the LTTE. This emotional trauma is something which can be gauged only qualitatively.

One disturbing episode was reported from Kokuvil, a village 3 km away from Jaffna. Earlier Indian commandoes were heli-dropped at night at an abandoned crematorium behind the Jaffna University complex. The objective was to secure the LTTE base camp in front of the university. The Tigers were lying in ambush and the elite troops were attacked in three directions. Twenty-nine Indians were killed and one was captured. Some commandoes escaped into Kokuvil. While the Tigers were trying to surround and capture the troops, a rescue mission was undertaken by the Indian forces. Track-armoured cars were mounted on the rail-tracks and brought to Kokuvil. The allegation was that while escaping, the Indian troops caused the death of 40 civilians along a lane named "pirambadi" and that seven bodies were run over by heavy vehicles.

I was able to interview several residents and also visit the area. All of them—from grown-ups to children—alleged that Indian troops had killed the civilians. With this incident, the popular Tamil perception became hostile in my observation.

The LTTE's deputy leader, Mahendrarajah alias "Mahattaya," is directing the field military operations. When I asked him about ceasing hostilities, he said the LTTE had no objection to an immediate cease-fire. The Tigers were not prepared to surrender their arms unconditionally. A phased out surrender of weapons was possible subject to negotiations and a communication to this effect had been conveyed to India. If New Delhi was willing to act on this, the abating of violence was possible, he indicated.



## THE INDEPENDENT

(London) titling thus to the same story

# Massacre shatters image of peace- keepers

D.B.S. Jeyaraj

23 October 1987



# "The war is still going on"

REPORT

From T. S. Subramanian

Jaffna, Oct. 23.

"The war is still going on. We are in Jaffna town. We still have to wrap it up. Sniping goes on. Along with the war, we are also carrying out civic action. The first place we went to was the Jaffna General Hospital. It was still under fire. Our men walked through ambushes and booby-traps and reached the Jaffna General Hospital to give medicines to the sick... Their (the LTTE's) presence is sizable but some of them have gone out of Jaffna."

These words from Brig. Kulwant Singh, Officiating GOC, IPKF, sum up the situation in Jaffna town. A team of reporters who were taken to Jaffna Fort today saw for themselves the constant sniper fire from the LTTE, the booby-traps exploding at a distance and the hazards under which the Indian Peace-Keeping Force had to toil to avoid civilian casualties.

Briefing reporters at Palaly airfield in the Jaffna peninsula, Brig. Kulwant Singh said, "Today, we (IPKF) are in Jaffna town and we have surrounded it. As far as Jaffna town is concerned, we are holding the railway station, the General Hospital, the Town Hall and all that matters. As far as the outskirts are concerned, we are blocking all ways out. We are surrounding Jaffna on every axis." The IPKF's eastern and western columns linked up at the Jaffna railway station last night, thus providing it the key to the nerve-centre of the city.

"Sophisticated arms": But during its thrust towards Jaffna, the IPKF came across "very sophisticated weapons" from the LTTE including electronically operated mines and communication equipment. "Their technology of using explosives is very advanced and very akin to the western countries. We have not seen such acquisition in the eastern countries," he said. The IPKF's progress itself had been constrained because of the built-up areas, the LTTE's tactic of using civilians as human-shields etc. Besides, the IPKF was not using heavy weapons or air-power.

He pointed out that the IPKF had so far lost 12 officers, nine junior commissioned officers and 132 men belonging to other ranks. There were 23 wounded officers, 44 JCOs and 471 other ranks. Four JCOs and 43 other ranks were missing. "This type of casualties do not occur in a war in such a short span

of time," the IPKF had lost so many men because of the stiff resistance from the LTTE and the bold action of the IPKF.

**Neutral zone:** A sharp drizzle greeted the reporters as they landed at the Palaly airfield. Replying to a question on whether the rain in the Jaffna peninsula in the last few days had hindered the operations of the IPKF, Brig. Kulwant Singh said the rain posed a hindrance only to the vehicular movement. The IPKF had declared the General Hospital a neutral-zone and the troops had been told not to go inside. But the LTTE had shelled the hospital causing a hole in its roof, he said.

On when he expected the operation to be over, the Officiating GOC, replied that it was difficult to give a date at this stage. He could not estimate the civilian casualties because they were used as human-shields.

Answering a question on the IPKF firing a number of mortar-shells from the Jaffna Fort into the town on Wednesday, he said the IPKF had fired small-calibre mortar-shells from the Jaffna Fort but it did not do so unnecessarily.

**Prabakaran's movements:** Asked whether the IPKF knew about the movements of the LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabakaran, he said that Mr. Prabakaran kept moving and did not stay in one place. The IPKF was trying to find out his whereabouts.

The reporters were also taken to the 17th century Dutch-built Jaffna Fort. The stillness pervading this ancient fort was constantly fractured by reports of sniper-fire, hardly 300 metres away from where the reporters stood. From the ramparts of the fort, the reporters could see the burnt-out Veerasingham Memorial Hall, the clock tower, the Town Hall, the Library Hall and a stadium overgrown with weeds. All these had come under the control of the IPKF. But the LTTE men were still holding out on the First Cross and Second Cross Streets.

**Link-up operations:** At the Fort, Brig. Manjit Singh, who commanded the western column that linked up with the eastern column to bring the nerve-centre of Jaffna under the IPKF's control, said the IPKF lost 10 men in the link-up operations. His column, originating from Chunnagam and Udduvil, had linked up with the Jaffna Fort garrison on October 19. Thereafter, the garrison was "harassed" by the LTTE. Then, his brigade broke out of the Jaffna Fort, proceeded on the coastal road and established

a link with the eastern column last night at the Jaffna railway station.

Answering a question, he said there was a mixed reaction from the people in Jaffna to the IPKF because "the LTTE has achieved a certain amount of success in maligning the IPKF." He had visited two markets in the town and all the shops were intact. There had been no plundering or looting.

Lt. Col. U. V. S. Dahiya exhibited to presspersons various types of mines used by the LTTE to counter the advance of the IPKF. They included improvised Claymore mines with iron filings, pipes filled with gelatine, buckets filled with explosives and "Bangalore-torpedoes." He said the LTTE connected explosives to the power-mains in the houses and the IPKF had removed a number of such explosives. When the main electricity supply was switched off, PVC pipes loaded with batteries were used to ignite the charges, he said.

**Helicopters hit:** Group Captain Dhillon spoke about the logistics support given by the Indian Air Force to the IPKF in ferrying food supplies, medicines and evacuation of the injured. He said that six IAF helicopters had been hit by ground-fire from the LTTE. Four of them suffered extensive damage. One helicopter was hit in the Koppai North. But no crew was injured.

At the end of the visit, an External Affairs Ministry official said the IPKF was using minimal force with maximum care to avoid endangering civilians' lives or damaging property. If the IPKF were to use full force with battle tanks and air-power, the operation would have been over quite some time earlier. The objective of the operation was the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement by disarming the militants.

The official said the Government of India believed that the Tamils in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka should live in safety and dignity and that they should take part in the democratic political process once the task of disarming the militants was completed. He added that the "LTTE has been in contact with us through various channels." He was confident that once the LTTE handed over its arms, peace would be restored.

It is expected that the IPKF's mopping up operations in Jaffna town will take another week.

Madan, Anandavikatan, 25.10.87

அருமையான போர்!... இதோ, இந்திய தளபதியைப் பிரதமரின் கைகளில்... சபாநாயகர்... இந்தியப் படைகள் தாவி... பதிலாக... புலிகள் இயந்திரத் துப்பாக்கிகளால்... சுடுகிறார்கள்... ஆனால் இந்திய வீரர்கள் இன்னும்... அதோ, கன்னட மொழியில் 'டமா' என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள்... இந்திய படைகள் கைவிடுகிறது... அடே... இந்திய மொழிகாட்டர்கள் அந்து விட்டன... பஸ்!...



SRI LANKA

# The Battle for Jaffna

REPORT

*Indian troops step up their assault on the Tigers' stronghold* OCTOBER 26, 1987

**S**logging their way through heavy rains, 6,000 Indian troops surrounded Jaffna town in northern Sri Lanka last week and launched a four-pronged assault backed by artillery, tanks and helicopter gunships. Resisting them every step of the way were about 2,000 guerrillas from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the rebel group that has led a four-year struggle to gain an independent homeland for the West Virginia-size island's Tamil minority. Tens of thousands of terrified civilians were caught in the middle of the fighting. Most of them abandoned their homes and huddled in temples and schools as food supplies grew scarce and shells continued to explode around them. By week's end Indian officials acknowledged that 86 of their troops had died and 260 had been injured. The Indians claimed to have killed some 500 Tigers, but the guerrillas charged that most of the dead were Tamil civilians.

Many innocent victims were caught in the cross fire at Jaffna. With journalists and other independent observers barred from the town, the exact number of non-combatant deaths was impossible to verify. A doctor at Jaffna Hospital claimed there were 76 bodies in that facility and at least 100 more scattered in the streets outside, but it was not clear whether they were civilians or rebels. Tiger spokesmen charged that the Indians had killed more than 250 civilians and accused Gandhi's troops of wholesale rape and murder. The Tigers' own ruthlessness meanwhile, was demonstrated in the eastern province, where they murdered a total of 21 Sinhalese civilians in two separate attacks and killed 20 Indian soldiers in a land-mine explosion.

Indian diplomats did not deny that civilian casualties had taken place in Jaffna, but blamed them mostly on the rebels' tactic of using the local Tamil population as human "shields." That charge was confirmed by a 19-year-old from Jaffna town who had taken refuge in the Nallur Hindu temple on the eastern edge of the town. He told TIME that the Tigers were seizing young men, arming them and forcing them to advance against the Indians.

"These people don't know anything about a gun," said the youth. "They are just being killed." He added, however, that the Indian mortar fire was causing "much damage" in the town and was "killing more civilians than Tigers."

The Indians found themselves in an ironic situation. Last spring Gandhi had bitterly criticized a Sri Lankan army offensive against the Jaffna-based rebels and even parachuted food supplies into the area to demonstrate his concern for the suffering civilians. Now his own troops were shelling the city. Scoffed a Sri Lankan army colonel: "When we did that, the Indians called it genocide."

That was not the only irony. The Indians were fighting against a group that had long enjoyed Indian support. Since 1983, the Tigers and other separatist organizations had been allowed to set up bases and receive supplies in Tamil Nadu, the southern Indian state that has a large population of ethnic Tamils. But Prabhakaran's refusal to cooperate with the peace process—and the Tigers' latest burst of violence—has eroded his support even among Indian Tamils.

From a tactical point of view, Prabhakaran's actions were baffling. The peace plan had promised the Tamils local rule in the regions where they predominate. The rebel leader had extracted a further concession that would have allowed his group to control the interim administration. Why had he sacrificed such tangible political gains and provoked a military confrontation that could only lead to his destruction?

A widely held view was that Prabhakaran had "lost control" of himself, as one Sri Lankan official put it, following his comrades' group suicide. Others speculated that, on the contrary, he had told his men to take cyanide in order to make martyrs of them and spark a general revolt among the Tamil population. According to this scenario, he had hoped the resulting unrest would topple the Jayewardene government and perhaps pave the way for full Tamil independence.

In any case, Prabhakaran apparently had not expected his former Indian benefactors to move against him. That was a

serious miscalculation. "He thought he could push us around and get away with anything," said an Indian diplomat. "He made the mistake of not realizing that what is at stake now is nothing less than the credibility of the Indian state."

The Indian offensive in Sri Lanka also poses substantial political risks for Gandhi, whose administration is faced with serious regional unrest and opposition charges of corruption at home. Already, Indian army casualties have reached their highest level since the 1971 war with Pakistan. Should Gandhi become involved in a protracted guerrilla war in Sri Lanka, his own hold on power could be threatened.

The current course is similarly fraught with political danger for Jayewardene. The 81-year-old leader, who survived an August assassination attempt, has been sharply criticized by some Sinhalese leaders for allowing India such a substantial role in Sri Lanka's affairs. "This is the first time in the history of our country that our civilians are being killed by outsiders," said Lakshman Jayakody, an opposition member of Parliament. "The repercussions will be grave. After this, Indians will have greater and greater control over Sri Lanka, and this will result in a never-ending animosity between the two countries."

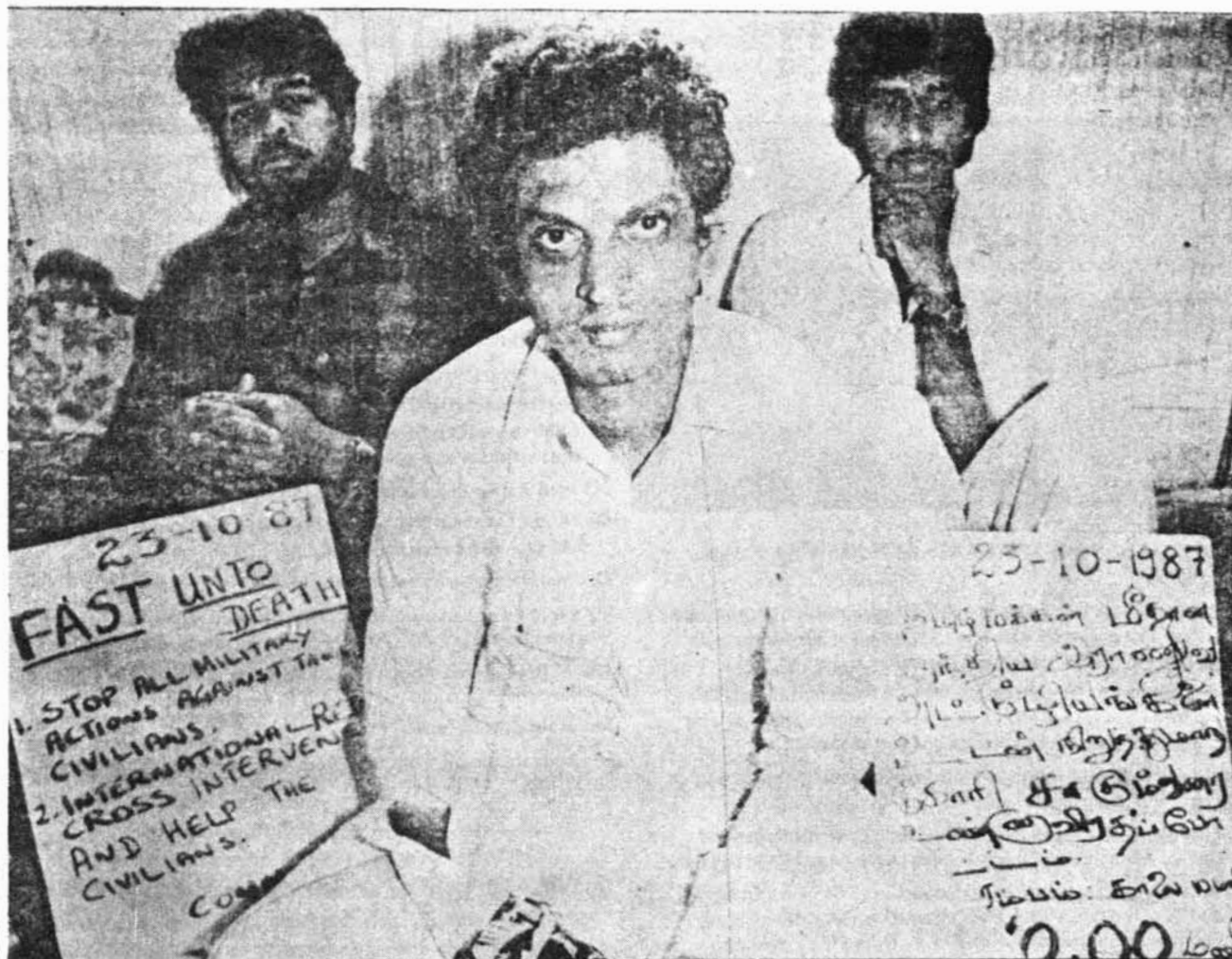
Others, however, see India's action against the hated Tigers as a military necessity that could ultimately help stabilize the country. Observed Sinhalese Journalist Gyrika Perusinghe: "If the Indians can finish Prabhakaran and then resettle all the Sinhala refugees who were chased out, Jayewardene may just be able to pull things through."

As the Indians tightened their grip on Jaffna last week, Prabhakaran appealed to Gandhi for a cease-fire to "negotiate matters." Gandhi, however, had apparently stopped listening. Instead, he sent some 1,000 Indian reinforcements to the island in preparation for a final assault. Prabhakaran showed every sign of resisting to the end. But as a Sri Lankan intelligence officer observed with satisfaction, it will be "only a matter of time before the Indians smash him."

—By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Qadri Ismail/Colombo and Ross H. Munro/New Delhi



Jawans of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force combing areas for LTTE militants.



Tamils on hunger strike in London yesterday. Left to right: E Pulendran, T. Seelan and N. Mohan



# A F F I D A V I T

RAJASEKERAM SELVAMALAR, born 1943-02-03, 267, Navalai Road, Jaffna.

I am the widow of the late Sinnathambo Rajasekaram (68) who die on 24.10.87.

My husband left home on 24.10.87 and joined the family of the late Senathirajah Sirivaratharajah to go by car to Kilinochchi.

The said car was fired on by the IPKF near Thirunelveli Junction at about 10.30 a.m. on 24.10.87.

All the occupants of the car save a child died as a result of the shooting my husband too died.

My late husband was a farmer, in receipt of an income of Rs. 700/- P.M. I was dependant on my late husband.

I have no children.



RAKKAN SELVARATNAM (26) Urumpirai South, Selvapuram.

The deceased Selvaratnam Dalini, aged one and half year.

On 24.10.87 at about 9.a.m the army was advancing through our village firing and cannon charging from the tanks.

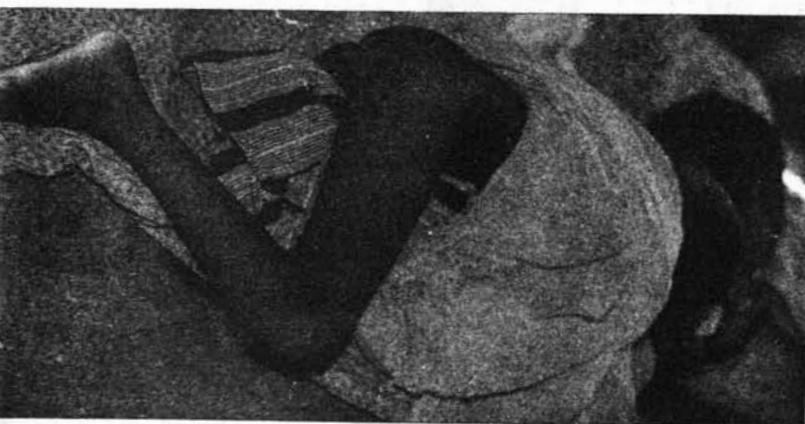
We become highly excited and decided to go to Mattuvil.

As we were getting ready my infant daughter along with my mother who was carrying her were struck down by bullet.

My daughter and mother died on the spot.

We buried my daughter's body at Vemban cemetery at Urumpirai.

*R. Selvaratnam*



SENATHIRAJAH VIGNESWARAN, born 25.07.51, 267, Navalai Road, Jaffna.

I am the brother of the late Senathirajah Sirivaratharajah (38) who died on 24.10.87 along with his wife Mrs. Neelambikai Sirivaratharajah, his son Tharson (6) and daughter Tharmalla (3).

My late brother and his family were permanent residents in England and came to Sri Lanka on 5.10.87 to see Kandiah Senathirajah (69), my father who was a patient at a private hospital in Jaffna.

After visiting his father at Jaffna, my late brother with his family wanted to set back to Kilinochchi 40 miles to the south of Jaffna.

My late brother and his family members travelled by a hiring car and were passed at the Nallur Hindu Temple check point by the IPKF on 24.10.87.

The car and its occupants were further checked at Adipatham road, Temple road junction at about 10.30 a.m. by the IPKF soldiers manning the check point.

When the car had gone 100 yards on Rajaveethi (road) that is the off road connecting Temple road, it was shot at repeatedly by the soldiers who had allowed it to pass a little while earlier.

The occupants in the said car besides my brother, his wife and Mrs. Kathiravelu and my sister Mrs. Rajani Ravindran (30) and my uncle Sinnathambi Rajasekaram (68), master Sirivaratharajah Krishan I year 6 months and the driver of the car whose name I do not know.

Of this driver and other occupants, only the driver and the last mentioned child escaped with injuries, the rest died.

The IPKF soldiers had later examined the car and found the driver had escaped, all others were dead except for the small child which was crying.

The injured child was taken by the IPKF soldiers and handed over to the Refugee Camp at Sattanathar Hindu Temple at Nallur.

The child was later claimed by me when I heard about the incident and the recovery of the child from the ill fated car.

The refugees at the said Temple from where I claimed the child a week later told me that the IPKF soldiers had admitted that they had inadvertently shot and killed the rest of the members of the family of the child.

Further that the child be given to any next of kin who might claim it.

The same refugees told me that the car together with the dead occupants was burnt by the IPKF.

On or about 1.11.87 with the permission of the IPKF I went and viewed the burnt out shell of the car.

Some people who lived in the area told me that partially burnt bodies were found inside the car and that they had them properly disposed of.

I am the only brother of the late Mr. Sirivaratharajah living in Sri Lanka. I am bringing up the sole surviving child of my late brother.



SINNATHAMBY PERAMPALAM KANDASAMY (60), at No. 58, Milk Board Road, Thirunelveli.

The deceased person Perampalam Ponnammah, aged 76 years a widow was my mother.

She was living under my care and maintenance until her death.

During the October 1987 military offensive I along with my wife and children sought refuge at the pathirakali Kovil which is actually situated in the next compound of our house.

My aged mother opted to stay in the house due to her old age.

On 24.10.87 at about 3.00 p.m. a shell fell on the Temple Kopuram (tower) and exploded damaging it badly.

Our house was also damaged in the blast.

My mother who was inside the house sustained injuries on her right leg and right hip caused by the shrapnels darting from the explosion.

Due to the extreme tension prevailed during that period as well as due to the curfew we could not take her to the Hospital.

She expired on 26.10.87.

Her body was cremated at the Chempattu Cemetery, Thirunelveli on 27.10.87.

*S. P. Kandasamy*



SINNAN THAMBIPILLAI, 41, of Tirunelvely East, Thirunelvely.  
The deceased person Thambipillai Seetha, aged 40 years was my wife.  
On 24.10.87 we left our residence due to military offensive and were going towards jaffna Ladies College refugee camp.

Near the Ayanar Temple, Vannarpannai at about 3.00 p.m. we were fired upon by the army who were about 200 yards away from the road.

My wife who sustained injuries died instantaneously.

In fear we fled from the place.

Only on the third day I managed to return to the scene of incident.

I found that her body was already cremated at the spot where she was shot.

I have an adopted son named Sashikumar, aged 13 years.

*S. Thambipillai*

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SINNATHURAI PAKIAM, a widow (72), 165, Navalar Road, Jaffna.  
The deceased is my husband, age 76 years. He was a C.T.B. driver.

After 10.10.87 due to the military operation in Jaffna, fearing to stay at home on 18.10.87 we went and took refuge at Navalar School. About 800 people took refuge there.

On 24.10.87 in the morning several shell fired continuously from Kokuvil started falling and bursting in our area. At 3 O' clock army personnel who came along the K.K.S. Road towards Jaffna all of a sudden entered the school where we were staying for safety.

Having entered there they fired gunshots and my husband died at the spot 14 others also died at the spot.

About 500 army personnel surrounded the school building and they did not allow us to cremate the dead bodies.

On the following day i.e. on 25.10.87 at 7 a.m. those army personnel burnt the dead bodies outside the school building.

About 15 persons sustained injuries in that incident and they too were not allowed to take treatment for three days.

I was solely depending on my husband, and now after his death there is no one to look after me.

*S. Pakiam*

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SINNATHURAI SEEVARATNAM (36)  
Kumarakoddam, Kondavil.

I am a Farmer.

My wife, children and I were living in our own house at the above said address.

Indian Peace Keeping Force which came into occupation of the Sri Lanka Transport Board Depot in Kondavil started lobbing shells towards our locality at indiscriminately on 24.10.87.

All residents in our locality fled to the closest temples. My wife, children and I too ran to Neddilippai Pillayar Temple.

On our way to temple, a shell fired from the above said camp fell close to us and exploded when we were running through a lane.

All of us were thrown off and when I got up, I found my son Seevaratnam Aruran age 7 years fallen in a pool of blood along with five others.

When I went to lift my son, I observed that my son was dead.

Besides my son my wife Seevaratnam Sarojinidevi age 33 years and daughter Seevaratnam Mathanika age 12 years were injured in their arm and leg respectively.

The dead body of my son was removed and burnt in a land close by the same day as there was heavy shelling in our areas.

About six innocent persons were killed and several injured in this incident.

*S. Sivakolunthu*

● ● ●

SIVAKOLUNTHU RASAMMAH (70), Rajaveethy, Kopay South, Kopay.

The deceased Thambipillai Sivakolunthu, aged 85 years was my husband.

During the October 1987 military offensive we took refuge at the Nallur Murugan temple.

My husband refused to accompany us and preferred to stay at home.

On 24.10.87 a relative who came to the temple informed me that my husband was killed in a shell blast while he was at our house on 20.10.87.

He also informed in that he cremated my husband's body within our house compound itself due to prevailing tension.

I am totally blind and unable to move around without assistance.

● ● ●

MISS. SUGANTHIE GANGADHARAN (22), 51/1, Kannathiddy Street, Jaffna.

I am the sister of the late Gangadharan Rajeswaran killed in gun fire on 24.10.87.

As there was constant shell fire on the area, my brother G. Rajeswaran, left home and took refuge at the Navalar High School, Jaffna on 18.10.87.

On 24.10.87 the advancing Indian Forces surrounded the Navalar High School at about 1.00 p.m. and opened random fire.

Later, troops entered the School premises when my late brother waited with raised hands.

However, a soldier fired at him despite his entreaties with folded arms, when he received fatal gunshot injuries on his chest. He fell dead on the spot.

The dead body of my brother along with several others killed in firing was cremated within the School premises on the same day (24.10.87) at about 4.00 p.m. by the Indian Forces.

My brother was employed at a photographic studio in Jaffna and was in receipt of a salary of Rs. 1200/- per mensem.

I am orphan having lost both my parents while young and I was maintained and looked after by my late brother.

I have no other brother or sister.

Since the death of my brother I am left with no support or maintenance for my living and existence.

I have given up my studies and am on the look out for a job to earn a living.

*G. Suganthie*

● ● ●

MRS. VASUKI KADIRGAMANATHAN (31) at 36, Sivan - Pannai Road, Koddady, Jaffna.

I am the widow of the late Arulampalam Kadirgamanathan, who was killed in Army firing on 24.10. 87.

I was away in India at the time.

As there was constant shell fire on Koddady from 10.10.87 and as advised over the Radio, my husband for his safety and security left the house and took refuge at Navalar High School and opened fire.

On 24.10.87 while he was in the school premises, the advancing Indian Forces surrounded the school and opened fire.

**He was struck by bullets in the random firing opened by the Forces. He received fatal head injuries and fell on the spot and died without any medical attention.**

The dead body of my husband was cremated within the school premises along with several other dead bodies in a mass cremation on 25.10.87.

My late husband was in textile business earning and average monthly income of Rs. 2000/-

**Subsequent to the death of my husband, I and my five dependent children who are all school going are left with no financial assistance or support for our maintenance. Besides, I have no financial resources or reserves to fallback upon.**



● ● ●

VELLAYAN SINNAMMAH (55) Parayam Pulam, Karaveddy East, Karaveddy.

The deceased person Vellayan Sothithas aged 29 years was my son.

He was a Farmer.

On 24.10.87 at about 9.00 a.m. my son left home to buy some onions at Puloly.

**At about 3.00 p.m. I was informed that my son was shot and killed by the army at Puloly.**

His body was brought home and cremated at Verkali Cemetery on the same day itself.

I have three children.

வெ. சின்னம்மா

● ● ●

ABRAHAM YOGAMMAH (74), Bharathy Lane, Nayanmarkadu.

The deceased John Abraham, aged 70 years was my husband.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we took refuge at the St. John's Church, Nallur.**

On 25.10.87 at about 8.00 a.m. my husband left the Church saying that he is going to Urumpirai in search of our son and his family.

**I came to know that he was shot and killed at Raja Veethy at Kopay South.**

His body was not recovered.

ஆ. யோகம்மா

● ● ●

Mrs. AMIRTHALINGAN THAVARANEE, Kokuvil East, Kokuvil.

I have been living at the above address along with my husband and three children.

Due to the eruption of violence in our area in October 1987, we all got displaced from my home and sought shelter at the Kokuvil Temple.

**My husband, Kanapathipillai Amirthalingam, aged 33 fell a victim to gun shots by the forces on 25.10.1987 and succumbed to the injuries.**

His body was cremated at Kokuvil East Crematorium.

**I am now left with 3 children as a destitute.**

● ● ●

ARASARATNAM SELVAVATHY (43), Kalikovilady, Thirunelvely.

The deceased Sivaguru Annammah, aged 78 years was my grandmother being my father's mother.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we sought refuge at the Pathirakali Kovil which is situated across the road from our house.**

My grand mother stayed at home due to old age.

**on 24.10.87 at about 9.00 a.m. army arrived at the Temple and Cannon charged.**

**After they left I went back to our house where I found my grandmother suffering from an injury on her neck which was caused by the shell shrapnel.**

I came to know she received the injury during the army cannon fire.

**She succumbed to her injuries on 6.11.87.**

Her body was cremated on Chembatu Cemetery on 7.11.87.

She was living under my care and maintenance until her death.

A. Selvavathy

● ● ●

Mrs. KAMALATHEVI MUTHU KUNABALASINGAM Erlalai East, Erlalai.

I am the affirmant above named, holder of N.I.C. No. 505802560 V.

The deceased is my daughter Pathmasiri 9 years.

The deceased daughter and another daughter of mine went to my sister's house at Kokuvil and was there.

They were at Kokuvil and because of heavy shelling, they took refuge at Kokuvil Hindu College.

**On 25.10.87 while my children were at the college, there was shooting and shelling around the area.**

**One shell fell close to my children and exploded.**

**My two daughters received severe injuries and one died at the spot (name Pathmasiri).**

The other daughter who was injured was removed to the Hospital at Chankan and was treated.

She was treated for the injury on her neck.

The deceased daughter's body was buried at Kokuvil Hindu College grounds.

● ● ●

KANTHIAH RAJARATNAM (50) Iveni Punnalaikattuvan North, Punnalaikattuvan.

The deceased Kanthiah Nallammah, aged 74 years widow was my mother.

She was residing with me until she met her tragic end.

**On 25.10.87 at about 4.p.m. soldiers who came to our house arrested me along with my brother and sisters and took on to their camp.**

My aged mother was left alone in the home.

At about 6.p.m when I returned home after being released by the army.

**I found my mothers lifeless body lying inside our house**

**She bore gunshot wounds on her stomach.**

She was cremated on the same day within our compound.



● ● ●



**MURUGAN SINNAMMAH (43)** Inuvil Theatre Lane, Inuvil East, Inuvil

The deceased Kathiran Sinnakutty, widow, aged 75 years was my mother-in-law.

**On 25.10.87, Inuvil was subjected to severe shell attack.**

As shells started falling near our residence we fled from our house.

As we ran, a shell fell near my mother-in-law and exploded killing her on the spot.

She was cremated on the same day at Inuvil Poorodai cemetery.

She was living with us before her death.



**NANNY THAMBIMUTHU (56)** Urumpirai West, Urumpirai.

**During the month of October 1987, there was heavy shelling and firing in our area due to the intensive military operations by the IPKF.**

**On 25.10.87, my wife named Thambimuthu Rasammah sustained shell blast injuries, during the abovesaid operation, and was immediately admitted to the Government General Hospital, Jaffna where she was pronounced dead.**

I am sickly person and cannot do any work. I am suffering from Asthma I have no income whatsoever.

It was my late wife who did house to house work and earned sufficient income to maintain me, my two children and herself.

At present we are in great difficulties financially.



**PACKIYAM SELLATHAMBY (39)** Kokuvil West.

The deceased Mrs. Thiraviam Sellar, aged 53 years is my mother.

She was a widow and was living with me at the above said address.

Due to the IPKF severe military operation in our area my family and I along with my mother and aunt sought refuge at Kokuvil Hindu College Refugee Camp on 12.10.87.

**At about 10.00 a.m. on 25.10.87 shells fired by the IPKF fell into the above school premise and exploded killing my mother Thiraviam along with several others on the spot.**

**Her dead body was buried along with other dead bodies the following day morning in the above school compound by the refugees who were remaining there.**



**PARAMESWARAN INDRADEVI (37)** 24/3, Sivapragasam Road, Jaffna.

The deceased Ganesh Parameswaran, aged 45 years is my husband. He was a Cigar Roller.

**On 25.10.87, at 10 a.m. my husband left for work to Kokuvil distance of 9 kilometres in a bicycle, didnot return back.**

Next day on 26.10.87 at about 8.00 a.m. my uncle K. Sellathurai informed me that he saw my husband's dead body near Kokuvil Hindu College and he had buried the body at Kokuvil Hindu College grounds.

**I was also informed that my husband had been killed in a shell explosion.**

**I have 2 children to support.**

**RUKMANIDEVY, widow of Kandiah Shanmugaratnam (41)** "Shanti Vasa" Kopay South, Kopay.

I am the daughter of Thillayar Arumugam who was killed in army firing on 25.10.87.

**On 25.10.87 at about 3 p.m. my father Thillayar Arumugam Nachchimar Kovil Road was hit by bullets when IPKF opened fire on some youths going on the road.**

**He dropped dead on the spot having received a severe chest injury.**

His body was cremated on the roadside near the spot where he lay dead without being taken home due to the tense situation that prevented.

My father was a cigar maker who carried an average monthly income of Rs. 1000/-.

**I am a widow with three children two of whom are school going and we were all maintained and looked after by my late father.**

Since my father's death I have been denied ther maintenance and support I received from him.



**SARASWATHY, widow of Suntharabalan (30), 29, Aseervathappar-Veedhi, Nallur, Jaffna.**

I am the legal wife of my late husband, Arumugam Suntharabalan.

**My late husband Arumugam Suntharabalan died on shell-attack on the 25th day of October 1987 at Kachcheri Nallur Road.**

**He was doing business and supported us - 5 members in the family.**

His death is a great blow to us, as he was the sole bread-winner in the family.

I do sewing work to maintain the family to some extent, to prevent them from starvation.



**SEENIVASAGAM DEVARAJAH (55), Pathirakali Kovil Lane, Thavady South, Kokuvil.**

I am the son-in-law of the late Mrs. Thangammah Ponnudurai, killed in the shell blast.

The late Mrs. P. Thangammah lived with me and was maintained and looked after by me.

She was 70 years and her husband predeceased her.

**On 25.10.87 at about 8.00 a.m. in the morning when my mother-in-law was seated at the entrance to the kitchen a shell fell on the house and exploded.**

Shrapnels darting from the blast struck her causing severe injuries. She bled profusely and due to the curfew in force and the prevailing tense situation no medical attention was provided.

**She succumbed to her injuries in the evening on 25.10.87**

Her dead body was buried in the compound of my house on the same day at about 6.00 p.m.





'Civilian casualties during such operations are unavoidable' says Depinkar Singh, Commander-in-chief, IPKF.



..tamil corpse becomes meat for dog.

# Nallur temple under IPKF

NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 24.

The advancing units of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) from the north have reached and established control in the area around Nallur Kandaswami Temple in Jaffna.

One column of the IPKF entered the University campus this afternoon. It is now engaged in clearing the area of LTTE resistance.

A spokesperson of the External Affairs Ministry told reporters here that the head priest of the Nallur temple was contacted this morning and he had been assured of food supplies and medical assistance to about 20,000 people camping in and around the temple.

## No major resistance

There was no major resistance from the LTTE there, but the approach roads were all heavily mined. This had created problems in moving the supplies. The IPKF was clearing these mines. "The food supplies and medical assistance have since been moved by road from Palaly. The supplies flown from Madras are being airdropped," the spokesperson said. There were a few instances of sniper fire. One reason why the supplies from helicopters were airdropped from certain heights was the sniper fire.

## Leaflets airdropped

The spokesperson said that the IPKF had also airdropped leaflets to the people in the entire Jaffna area to assure and advise them that they could come to the nearest IPKF post for any urgent medical assistance. The leaflets made it clear that such assistance would also be provided to LTTE cadres who might have been wounded. Three tonnes of medical equipment and supplies had been moved into the Jaffna General Hospital yesterday and today.

The relief ship Island Glory, which left Madras port yesterday, was expected to reach Jaffna later this evening. Arrangements had been made for unloading the supplies. A six-member Indian Red Cross team had also been flown in to assist the relief operations.

The spokesperson could not say whether the advancing columns of the IPKF had reached the base camp of the LTTE opposite the University campus. But "they have entered the University campus."

The IPKF had established control over Gurunagar area, west of the fort, some spots in the east like St. Mary's Church, St. Patrick's College and also Subash Hotel. A major portion of northern Jaffna was still under the control of the LTTE and southern Jaffna with the IPKF. "We have entered the northern approaches to Jaffna."

Asked whether it could be claimed that the back of the LTTE resistance had now been broken, the spokesperson said that any such claim would be propaganda. "I would like to be factual."

## TV programmes

Answering a question, the spokesperson stated that the Government of India had plans to relay TV programmes for Indian troops in Jaffna. For this purpose, the Sri Lanka Government's permission had been obtained.

An LTTE message intercepted had claimed that the "Jaffna hospital had been attacked, 1000 people killed and all the nurses raped. Please tell the press." The External Ministry spokesperson dismissed the contents of the LTTE message quite contemptuously.

## LTTE commander killed

Our Delhi Special Correspondent reports:

Citing an LTTE radio intercept, the External Affairs Ministry spokesperson said that Mr. Santosham, the LTTE's regional commander of Jaffna, has been killed along with 60 LTTE cadres. The IPKF's losses in the last 24 hours has been three killed and five wounded.

A brigade group of the IPKF advancing down the road from Kopai South surrounded the Nallur Kandaswami temple today. The force established contact with the head priest of the temple and ascertained that 20,000 refugees are present in the premises of this most famous shrine in Jaffna. The people have been staying there under conditions of great privation and steps have been taken to provide food and medical assistance to them over land instead of airdrops as before. It may be recalled that in the past two days the IPKF carried out airdrops of food packets to refugees gathered in the temple and came under small arms fire from the LTTE militants.

A large cache of ammunition and explosives was discovered in the Residency area. The cache comprising nearly three truck-loads of Claymore mines, 81mm and 3' mortar shells, gelignite, gunpowder and fuses and electrical cable were booby-trapped and a single detonation would have blown up the Residency and the Kutcheri complex had it not been defused.

Last night, the Gurunagar area was also wrested from the LTTE control though the latter did not offer any resistance. It is believed that the LTTE had planned to evacuate some of their forces from the jetty there but raids by para commandos on the nights of 22nd and 23rd had resulted in the destruction of some 18 LTTE boats and the plan had to be abandoned. The forces operating along the eastern waterfront therefore have now effected a link-up with a column from Esplanade and 4th Cross Road side. Now the entire waterfront is under the IPKF control.

The IPKF sources said that militants when captured were not taking recourse to the cyanide capsules carried by them. On October 22, for example, two militants were captured with their capsules intact after they attempted to down an IPKF helicopter in the Acheveli area with an RPG-7 rocket.

PTI reports from Colombo:

The entire Jaffna town, except for a 0.5-km area, has come under the control of the IPKF after 16 days of fierce fighting with the LTTE, reports here tonight said.

This half-a-kilometre area had not fallen into the IPKF hands "because this small strip is thickly populated," the Sri Lankan National News Agency, Lankapuvath, reported, quoting the Indian Army top brass as having said.

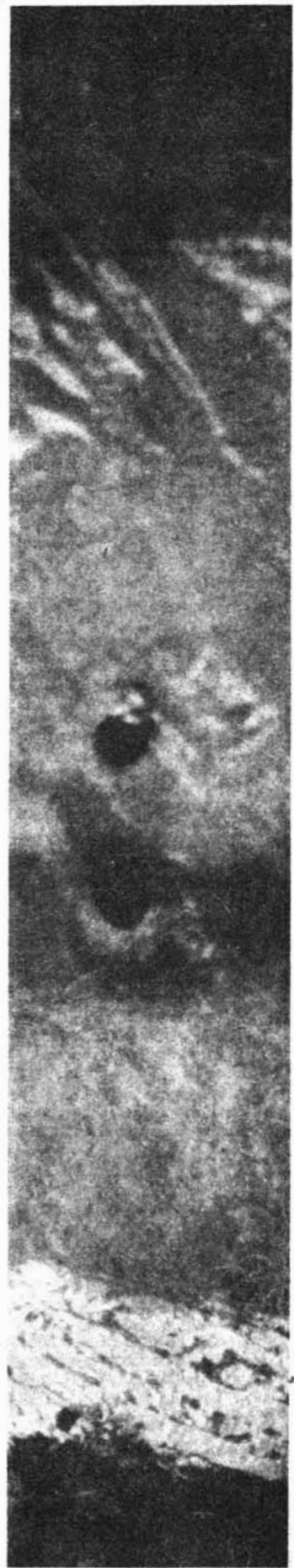
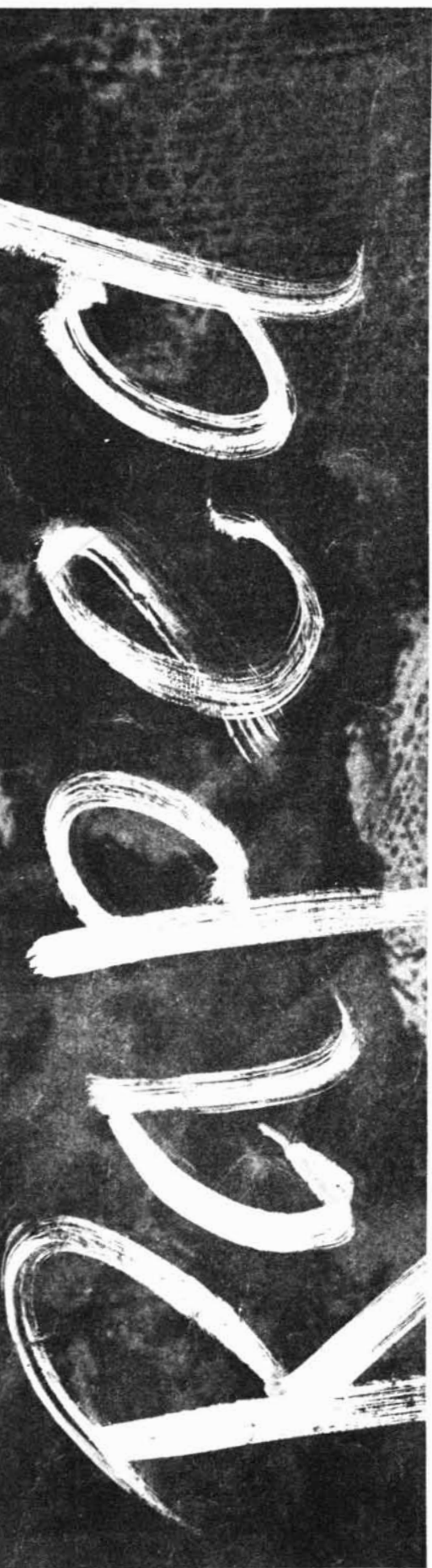
(Operation Pawan)

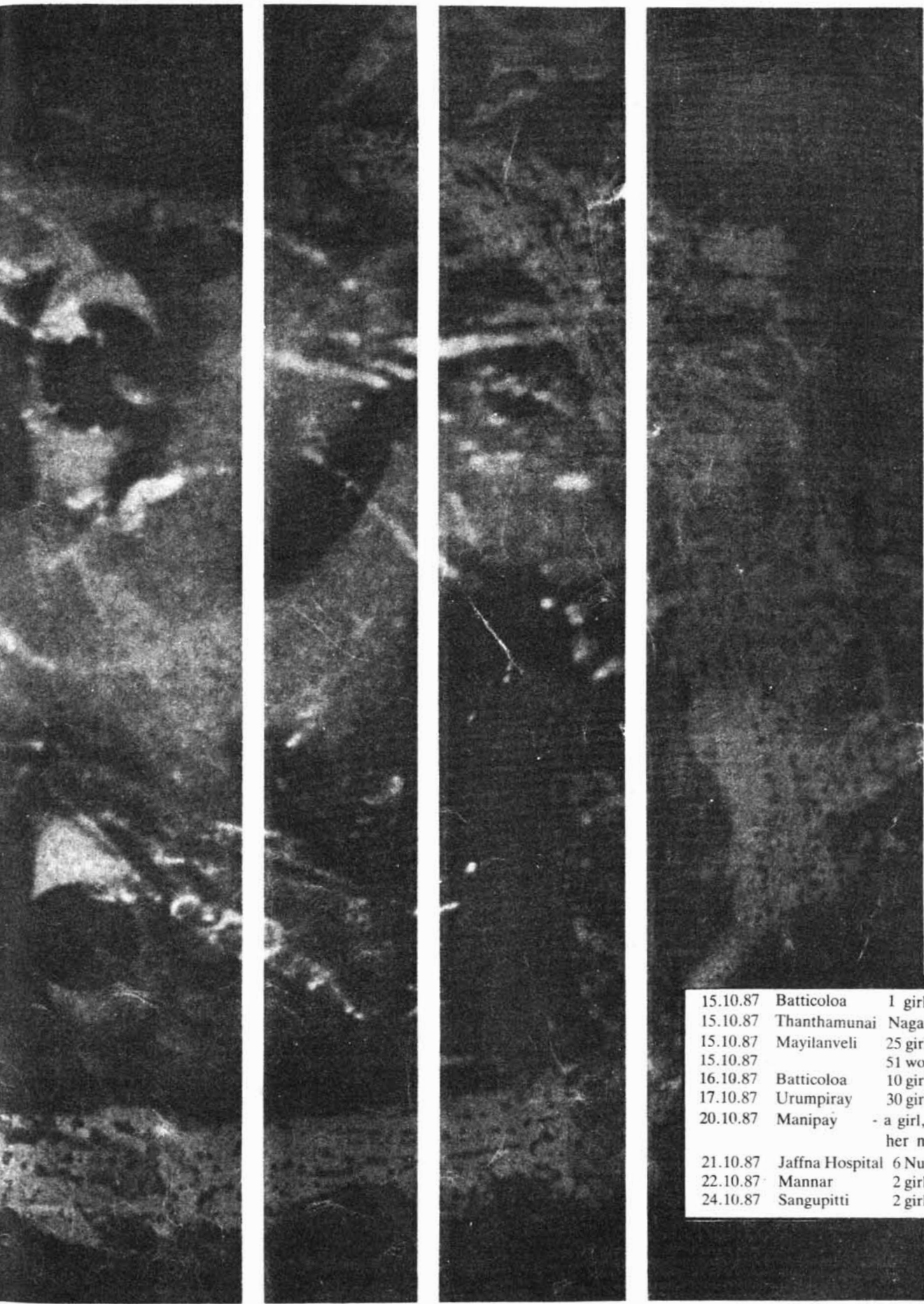
## CIVILIANS KILLED

### KOKUVIL

A. Sivalingam	
A. Frank	M. Subramaniam
B. Shanrany	M. Sellappathurai
C. Nageswari	M. Rasaratnam
K. Kavitha	M. Annaiah
K. Iynkanan	N. Bavani
K. Balasubramaniam	N. Sarasu
K. Selvaratnam	N. Jeevaratnam
K. Sinnathurai	N. Nadarajan
K. Shanmugam	N. Sivalingam
K. Ariyaratnam	N. Rathinam
K. Muthuthurai	N. Sothini
K. Sathithanandam	N. Sellappah
K. Sinnarasa	N. Sinniah
K. Chellan	N. Veerasingam
K. Poomani	N. Vijeratnam
K. Parameswaran	N. Pakiyam
K. Annamah	N. Sellammah
K. Saravanai	N. Krishna
K. Mandharan	N. Nalini
K. Ponnar	N. Thuraiamy
K. Kobalakrishnan	N. Mangaleswaran
K. Sukumar	P. Rathinam
K. Thambirajah	P. Rajeswari
K. Thangarathinam	P. Punithavathy
K. Ramalingam	P. Nanthakumar
K. Kandiah	P. Selvaratnam
K. Mahes Kumar	P. Nagalingam
L. Thasan	P. Balasingam
M. Neelakanthan	Nadarajah
M. Kanesan	P. Kumarasamy
M. Uthayakumar	P. Kandiah
M. Satkumaran	R. Mahendra
M. Seethai	R. Subathira







15.10.87	Batticoloa	1 girl
15.10.87	Thanthamunai	Naganuma and 24 women
15.10.87	Mayilanveli	25 girls
15.10.87		51 women
16.10.87	Batticoloa	10 girls
17.10.87	Urumpiray	30 girls were abducted
20.10.87	Manipay	- a girl, another girl and her mother.
21.10.87	Jaffna Hospital	6 Nurses
22.10.87	Mannar	2 girls
24.10.87	Sangupitti	2 girls (then killed)

# Murderous minuet's toll of horror

## Families tell of rapes and killings

REPORT

25 OCTOBER 1987

**PETER HILLMORE,**  
first British  
newspaperman into  
Jaffna, reports on the  
Tamil Tigers' desperate  
bid to halt the Indian  
onslaught.

THE WOMAN lay on the filthy hospital bed covered in grey, soiled bandages. She was shaking uncontrollably and seemed incapable of lifting her hands to brush away the flies that settled on her face.

But her shaking and the dry tears did not come from physical pain. The doctor explained that Indian troops had stormed into her house and shot dead her husband and her three children. The children were aged 10, five and two.

Her neighbour in the hospital was also her neighbour in Jaffna. This woman had a bullet wound in her leg: she told me that the troops had kicked her door down, shouting 'Why haven't you all left?' and then shot dead her mother and father.

There had been no man in the house who could have been a Tamil Tiger, she insisted. Further down the crowded hospital ward, two little boys were lying on the same bed, both with shrapnel wounds. The nine-year-old seemed too shocked and bewildered to explain what had happened to him. The four-year-old was too

young.

However tempting, it is always difficult to take atrocity stories at face value, as entirely believable. The Tigers are as prone to fanciful propaganda claims as the Indian High Commission in Colombo. The Tigers have said that Indian troops shot doctors and patients as well as raping nurses when they entered Jaffna hospital last week; the Indians have said the Tigers shot the doctors.

But I know personally that Indian claims that there is no indiscriminate shelling on the peninsula are untrue. The village where photographer John Reardon and myself spent our first night was shelled as we slept and six houses were destroyed. The route we had used to cross into the Peninsula, a route normally used by farmers, was strafed by a helicopter gunship. I saw some of the casualties.

A government agent from Jaffna, appointed by the Sri Lankan Government, told me that last Monday he had counted about 600 shells falling on the town. One hit a coconut palm, which fell onto a girls college and crushed six refugees to death. He said that his superior had told the Indian commander that he was writing a letter accusing the Indians of killing him. There was then a lull in the shelling.

I met a badly beaten-up 14-year-old boy who haltingly told of an alleged massacre he had seen. He said he had been rounded up

with other people and had seen Gurkha soldiers attempting to rape three Tamil girls. They were stopped, but later he saw about 10 dead bodies, including those of naked girls.

He was brought to see us by the Tigers and there is by its very nature, no way of verifying his horrible story.

But there is some independent evidence of another alleged rape incident in the battle for the Eastern province of Sri Lanka, where a doctor has said that three girls were attacked. After vehemently denying that the incident could have taken place, the Indian High Commission has now started an inquiry.

I visited one of the refugee camps on the peninsula and spoke at random to some of the 10,000 refugees who were sheltering there. Although it is only about 15 miles from Jaffna, many had taken three or four days to get there as the overloaded lorries, tractors and even bullock carts had avoided the troops.

It is the accretion of facts, the accumulation of details, that gave the overall picture disturbing credibility.

They talked of random shelling, even in areas away from the actual fighting there were frequent stories of helicopters firing on people in the streets below.

A bewildered 74-year-old man produced a crumpled piece of paper showing he was officially released from Indian custody.

'The Indians arrested me when I was working in the

fields,' he said through an interpreter, 'and beat me up, demanding to know where the Tigers were. I told them I was just a farmer, but they wouldn't believe me.'

None of the refugees said they had received any of the food parcels the Indians claimed to be dropping. 'They are not dropping food parcels, a man said, grabbing me as I walked past and insisting that I wrote it down. They are dropping bombs.'

The world's fourth largest army, which now has 15,000 troops in Sri Lanka, is being resisted by a guerrilla force that never amounted to more than 2,500. Even the most fanatical Tiger admits they will eventually be defeated or wiped out if some acceptable ceasefire is not worked out. 'We are fighting for our dignity,' said the Tigers' political chief, but they are causing innumerable problems to the Indian juggernaut.

The Indians at Elephant Pass have taken two weeks to advance a mere 30 miles westwards. The Tigers know the terrain and have the support of the local population.

The West may sometimes think of the Tigers as a murderous bunch of terrorists who murder innocent Sinhalese, but the Tamils see them as a bulwark against a Sinhalese majority who have attacked them for years, and against the Indians who have been attacking them for weeks.



'Who will protect us from the Indians when the Tiger boys are killed?' one old woman asked me. The Indian peace-keeping force may have thought it was acting as a policeman, but it is regarded as an invader.

Given the disparity between the two sides, it is a curiously leisurely-looking war. When we travelled to the 'front,' it had the formality of a murderous minuet. A day earlier, the Indians had captured a village in the morning, but the Tigers had won it back in the evening. This morning it was the Indians' turn to try again.

I travelled on the back of a motorbike and the driver would constantly ask locals the exact way, as if to a village fête.

At precisely nine o'clock the Indians started things with some salvos of mortars. Some landed dangerously close, so we lay in a rice field. I gave the driver a cigarette and he asked me about London. Only the body of a dead Indian, from the previous day's battles, looked out of place.

After a few minutes the Tigers opened up with assorted machine guns and grenades and then everything went quiet again. As if it were a tea break the 12 young Tigers who were fighting the Indian army gave us coconuts to eat, while villagers then took the opportunity to return to check on what damage the earlier Indian victory had inflicted.

The dozen Tigers, in spite of the cyanide capsules they wore round the neck, reverted to being 12 shy teenagers. They looked at the array of photographic equipment hanging from John Reardon's neck with the same mixture of awe and incomprehension as we looked at the weaponry hanging from theirs.

(Operation Pawan)

**CIVILIANS KILLED****KOKUVIL**

R. Rajasuri	S. Sivanathan
R. Kailasapillai	S. Kulendran
R. Sivamani	S. Veerasingam
R. Seevarathinam	T. Kumarasamy
R. Thayabarasundary	T. Kanagamalr
R. Sathyabama	T. Tharmika
S. Inthiran	T. Malichumy
S. Sellathurai	T. Mohan
S. Mahalingam	T. Kunabalasingam
S. Sathiyarajah	T. Thavarasalingam
S. Subarathinam	V. Nagamani
S. Manikaratnam	V. Shanmugalingam
S. Jeyakumar	V. Muththiah
S. Nandakumaran	V. Sinnapillai
S. Kandasamy	V. Kasipillai
S. Arumugam	V. Shanmugam
S. Muththan	V. Krishnasamy
S. Nagendrarajah	V. Lingaratnam
S. Annammah	V. Geetha
S. Saravathiyammah	V. Suhanya
S. Sithamparam	V. Navratnam
S. Subramaniam	V. Mangayatkarsi
S. Ratnam	V. Paramanathan
S. parasakthi	V. Somasundaram
S. Sundaresan	V. Kandiah
S. Maheswaran	S. Naguleswary
S. Kanapathipillai	K.M. Avarayamudali
S. Nageswari	P. Shanmuganathan
S. Santhirakumar	A. Subramaniam
S. Sachchithanandam	B. Achchimuthu
S. Somasundaram	Ushanathan
S. Nadarasu	Sathiakumar
S. Kaththy	G. Jeyarajah
S. Sivabalasingam	K. Kasilingam

**CIVILIANS KILLED**

(Operation Pawan)



S. Jothilingam 19.10.87



V. Mathiabaranam 19.10.87



S. Nataraja 19.10.87



S. Navaratnam 19.10.87



C. Rajamma 19.10.87



K. Rajendran 19.10.87



S. Sakthivel 19.10.87



K. Sathiyaseelan 19.10.87



S. Chelliah 20.10.87



V.K. Dharmalingam 20.10.87



S. Elango 20.10.87



B. Jagananda Raja 20.10.87



Mrs. Jayalakshmi 20.10.87



S.N. Kandiah 20.10.87



Mrs. V. Maheswari 20.10.87



K. Namachiyayam 20.10.87



T. Nataraja 20.10.87



V. Navaratnam 20.10.87

# It will take — Indians years..

REPORT

By Ben Barber  
in the Jaffna Peninsula

Anton Balasingham said the Tigers would not use their cyanide capsules to commit suicide - although over 200 have already done so since 1975 to avoid interrogation after capture - but would slip away to fight a guerrilla war if they lose the Jaffna city fight.

"We can still hold on - we have the weapons," said the former information officer for the British High Commission in Colombo.

"If they are bent on crushing or physically liquidating the movement then we will fight a guerrilla war in the north and east, our tentacles are spread out.

"It will take years and years for the Indian government to round us all up."

Although Indian diplomats, who have barred reporters from visits to the peninsula, claim they have killed 640 fighters of LTTEs since Oct. 10, and lost 130 Indian troops, Balasingham said LTTE lost only 43 and killed over 400 Indian soldiers. They said over 400 civilians have been killed.

At Mandikal hospital the staff said over 50 wounded Tigers have been admitted. Ten lay on beds in one ward, their dark torsos naked in the heat and wearing the checkered sarong cloths all Tamil men wear. Two touched their hands across the space between their beds, singing a quiet song. Another, code named "Radha", said

he was shot a few days earlier in Jaffna fighting house to house.

"There are so many Indians," he said in a semi-delirious state.

Wednesday a tour bus, driven in the narrow, winding streets with a white flag like hundred of civilian buses defying the 24 hours curfew since Oct. 10 stopped near reporters and their Tiger guides.

Inside were about 20 young men, all smiling and sweaty, holding a variety of automatic assault rifles. They had come from heavy fighting around Kopay north junction.

At first glance they seemed to be civilians. Their morale seemed extraordinarily high.

During 24 hours on the peninsula, driving to Chavakachcheri, Atchaveli, Puttur and other towns on the fringes of the Indian battle lines, not a single Indian soldier was seen. The entire area is under Tiger control.

"We have every street landmined," said Jastia, 23 a senior Tiger fighter with a bandage covering a neck wound. He was shot in the Jaffna University battle last week in which 29 Gurkhas were gunned down after a helicopter deployment into an ambush.

Remote controlled mines are used so Tigers and civilians can move at will but Indians will be attacked.

"Although the cutoff of electricity had curtailed Medical services, food preservation and other civilians uses, Ti-

gers say they have generators to power their weapons workshop producing rocket propelled grenades and mines.

But since the range of their rockets is short they cannot reach inside Palaly air base.

At Neeraveli reporters were pushed under trees and inside houses as helicopters circled overhead, probably radioing targeting information for the shuddering mortar blasts heard moments later. One and a half miles away at Kopay, 100 Tigers have been fighting for 10 days, killing 90 Indians and destroying nine vehicles with landmines said Jastia.

As the mortar explosions seem to come closer the Tigers rush the journalists into a van and cruise the labyrinth of narrow lanes, framed by walls of palm leaf fencing.

After several attempts to enter the city Jastia said Indian troops had cut off the last open roadway into the center. Reporters were taken to a supporters' house for the night which was extremely dark with no electricity, no moon and an overcast sky.

Next morning reporters wandered in the lanes there and other areas where local people obviously are aware of Tamil bases and voice support for the Boys. Some fighters are 15 to 16 especially newly trained Tigers.

"Close to 1,000 girls" are fighters say the Tigers, one is 'Dharsha', (all Tigers have code names), 22, who wears the double braids and

cyanide capsule proudly.

"We want to be free citizens of a Tamil Eelam" she said.

The increasing reports of Indian violence against civilians - especially those of fighting age, may increase Tiger recruits.

Arunanthi Kamaleswaran, 14 told reporters he was beaten with sticks on his arms and legs by Indians after he tried to prevent the rape of three Tamil girls Tuesday at Urumpirai.

"The soldiers stopped us and said you smile when (Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran calls you but you cry when we call you."

After herding several civilians together the soldiers - said to be Nepali Gurkhas - striped the three girls and tried to rape them said the boy.

Three other Tamil boys who tried to stop the rape were shot and killed, he said. "We said they are our sisters," he said.

"Kamaleswaran, speaking convincingly and without hesitation repeated several times his description of the events. He said there were six other bodies at the site, four of them women around 18 who were naked. The Indians placed tyres on top of the bodies and set fire to them he said.

"Even your Tamil women have taken up arms against us - already we have shot five of them", the Indians were reported to have said. 25.10.87

# LTTE leader terms India aggressor

NEWS

COLOMBO, OCT. 25.

A top leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has dubbed India the aggressor and alleged that the present conflict was thrust on Tamil militants by Indians.

In a lengthy interview published in the English daily, *The Island* here today, the LTTE deputy leader, Mr. G. Mahendrarajah, alias Mahathiya, said "We are very small when compared to India. But this is our country, we know every inch of our land, we fought the Sinhalese because we wanted to be free."

"After all, Sinhalese and we, belong to this island. But who are the Indians to come and dictate terms to us? They are aggressors," Mr. Mahathiya said asked whether a small organisation like the Tigers or the Tamil people can withstand India.

The LTTE deputy leader, who is now understood to be directing the militants' fight with the Indian army in the peninsula, said "after all, even the Sri Lankan forces were stronger than us. But that did not stop us from fighting."

**Not opposed to talks:** When asked how long can they go and what about negotiations, Mr. Mahendrarajah said "we will continue our struggle as long as we can. We are not opposed to negotiations. But it must be with a new set of negotiators."

Following are excerpts from the interview: Do you hope to continue? India will not allow any more fresh arms supply to the LTTE. When your fire power diminishes what will you do?

"We have a strategy. Now we are fighting face to face like two armies. We will fight hard to hold every inch of our land. The next step will be to allow the Indians to advance a certain distance.

**Suicide missions:** "Then we will use foot-

## LTTE CLAIMS

On 25.10.87 the IPKF's bomber planes attacked Sangupitti, in the early hours of the day, and dropped innumerable bombs. A "Teleka" van and a lorry caught fire and were completely destroyed. In this 3 men, Maruthapillai, Anthoni pillai of Poonagari, and Thavarasa of Vadiyadi were killed. Vedanandam of Poonagari, Sudha, Mahadeva of Neerveli South, Sivaprakasam of Urumbirai South and Sivalingam of Poonagari Durga were all injured seriously.

Shells fell in Kokkuvil Technical College. 25 refugees killed. 60 injured.

In the morning at about 9 o'clock, when the Indian army set on its mission, the Liberation Tigers attacked them with claymore. Four soldiers of the Indian army were killed on the spot.

At 10.30 in the morning, the LTTE's camp at Manalaru in Trincomalee, was besieged by the Indian army. They burnt down a house of the LTTE and some other houses nearby. No loss was incurred by the LTTE in this incident.

At Thavadi and Kokkuvil, in the attack of the LTTE on Indian War Tanks, two tanks were completely destroyed. One L.M.G. and some automatic rifles were captured by the Indian army. Fierce battle took place at Kulappitti, Kokkuvil and Jaffna University.

At 3.30 in the evening, Indian army started moving from Marudanamadam towards Jaffna and fired with cannons at peoples' crowd and refugees camps. In the attack of the Indian army at Kokkuvil technical institute, more than 25 persons, who were staying there as refugees were killed. More than 60 people were injured.

paths and by-lanes and get beyond them and attack them. The third step will be to start the suicide missions. Hundreds of our members have voluntarily taken the 'Black Tiger Oath' (suicide oath squad). We will not take cyanide and die simply. We will take some of the enemies with us.

"At a given point — cannot say when — we will all go underground and continue to wage a guerilla campaign. There will never be normalcy in our areas. You asked about our arms supply."

"We are confident that despite all the blockades imposed by India, we can get enough arms to continue a guerilla campaign. There will never be a civilian administration in our areas," Mr. Mahathiya said. — PTI

## Pet cub is killed, 'Tiger' elusive

MADRAS, Oct. 25.

The pet leopard cub of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) chief, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, was shot dead by soldiers of the Indian Peace-keeping Force (IPKF) two days ago, when their offensive over the Jaffna city was stepped up, according to official sources here.

But Mr. Prabhakaran himself remained elusive despite the search mounted for him by the Indian commanders.

The sources said the cub was shot dead when it came out of a children's park near the Nallur Kandaswamy Temple. —UNI

## Blast in Indian chancery

COLOMBO, Oct. 25.

A big explosion in the office of the Assistant High Commissioner of India in the heart of the hill district town, Kandy, in the early hours of this morning, caused extensive damage to the chancery building, located on Rajapihilla Mawath (Road).

The explosion which caused vibrations in Kandy, 115 km. north-east of Colombo, occurred around 2.35 a.m.

"Fortunately, there were no casualties," the Assistant High Commissioner, Mr. R. P. Dua told PTI over trunk telephone from Kandy.

The High Commissioner, Mr. J. N. Dixit, rushed to Kandy on receiving news of the blast. He told Indian reporters, after returning from Kandy, that the blast was caused by a plastic device containing some 20-kg. of explosives. The Sri Lankan President had expressed concern over the incident.

The bomb was either triggered off by a remote-controlled radio device or a pre-timed contraption, Mr. Dixit said.

Police suspect that members of the proscribed Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) are involved in the attack. A suspected JVP supporter, who used to reside near the chancery building, was missing since this morning, they said. Extensive hunt is on for those behind the blast.

—PTI, UNI

(Operation Pawan)

## CIVILIANS KILLED

### KOKKUVIL

S. Mahadevan	S. Pararajasingam
S. Sivagurunathan	J. Ponnammah
S. Visaladchumi	T. Tharmalingam
K. Somasundaram	T. Kanagamalar
S. Suppah	T. Kanagampihai
K. Nadarasingam	T. Thuraijiah
K. Markandu	A. Mahatheva
L. Padmavathy	Amirthalingam
M. Sudarasan	A. Gopalakrishnan
Manobalasingham	B. Aachimuthu
M. Ratnam	B. Kethanjeli
M. Arunachalam	G. Jeyaraj
N. Ponniah	G. Satkunanandan
N. Navaneethakrishnan	K. Rajaratnam
P. Suhnadevi	K. Sivanathan
R. Krubakaran	K. Sakkalingam
R. Sinnathurai	K. Somasundaram
R. Kengatharan	K. Thangarajah
R. Pathunarajah	Kanapathy Suppar
R. Leelavathy	Kandaiya Kasingam
S. Sraswathy	Kandaiya Mahadevan
S. Sarveswara Ruby	K. Sinnathankachi
S. Kumar	K. Sivagurunathan
S. Sellammah	K. Sivalingam
S. Ramasamy	K. Ponnachi
S. Velauthampillai	K. Visalachi
S. Hudson	K. Kandasamy
S. Suppah	K. Maheswary
S. Thiagarasa	K. Iyathurai
S. Shanmugalingam	K. Nagarajah
S. Pradeep	K. Narasingam
S. Shyamala	K. Thiagarajah
S. Vijitha	Nageswary
S. Selvanayagam	Markandu





## தமிழர்! விழ்த்தெழு!



பஞ்சாயன் பயங்கரத்தையும்  
வன்முறையையும் ஒழித்த  
திறன்ல்லா மத்திய அரசே!  
ஈழங்கேட்டு போராடும் வீரப்புல்களை  
ஒக்கரும் பயங்கரவாதம் ஏன்?  
சண்டை போடுவது தான்  
சமாதானப் படையின் இலக்கா?  
சீறு பான்மை வீரர் இனத்தை  
அழிப்பதுதான் அமைதப் படையின்  
அர்த்தமா?

நம்மனத்திற்கே கேடு விளைவிக்கும்  
மத்திய அரசிற்கு நம் எதிர்ப்புக்களைக்  
குறையும் எம்மலையென

வெடித்தெழுடும்!

எதிர்ப்புக்கள் இடி ஒலியாய் எழுந்து -  
தமிழர் இன உணர்வு பேரொலியாய்  
சுடர் விடும்!

இவன்: 13வதுவட்ட த.மு.க. இளைஞரன்.



People of Tamil Nadu spontaneously held massive demonstrations against the killing of their brethren in Tamil Eelam by the IPKF. The political parties joined together and conducted a general strike in condemnation, which was a great success. Life in Tamil Nadu came to a standstill during the strike. Posters everywhere condemned the army reprisals. D.K. leader Mr. Veeramani was beaten up by the police during a demonstration.



## LETTER

25th October 1987.

Citizens' Committee  
VaddukkodaiMr. Rajiv Gandhi  
Prime Minister of India.

Respected Sir,

We, the citizens of Jaffna now displaced from our houses and have taken temporary abode at Vaddukkodai along with the citizens of Vaddukkodai, wish to bring before you the following for your kind consideration and immediate action. The military offensive launched by the IPKF on 10th October 1987 to apprehend the LTTE has caused much damage and hardship to the civilian population of Jaffna peninsula.

The curfew imposed on 15th October 1987 has not yet, to our knowledge, been lifted. This we consider the most intense in any country where the curfew has continued without any interruption for such a long spell. The power supply to the peninsula was terminated on the 10th October 1987 and has so far not been restored. This too we consider unprecedented. This has resulted in untold hardships to the community in the form of paralysing work in hospitals, acute shortage of energy, light and storage facilities etc. The offensive itself has taken a heavy toll of civilian life and destruction to public and private property. The All India Radio and Sri Lankan Broad Casting are spreading false propaganda saying that civilian targets were not hit by shelling or bombing. But even hospitals, schools, temples and churches were not spared for which we are eye witnesses and victims in consequence to indiscriminate shelling and also in response to IPKF request to leave the houses, several lakhs of people (about 4 lakhs) have vacated their houses and have taken refuge in various schools, temples and churches. Conditions in all refugee camps are far from satisfactory. Sufficient food is not available and contribution from both government and voluntary organisations has been very negligible. Sanitary conditions are very poor and are made worse by the prevailing weather and powercut.

Total absence of medical facilities, especially to the old, expectant mothers lead to great risks. Due to the stoppage of transport to and from Colombo some of the commodities including essentials have come to dangerously low levels. Even local production of food items has not been possible due to the prevailing conditions and displacements of persons. As banks and other monetary institutions remain closed, people are faced with an acute problem. There is a severe hardship arising out of the situation with the complete lack of any administrative authority. The IPKF originally advised the people of Jaffna to go into the Nallur Temple and to other leading schools in the vicinity of Jaffna. But subsequently those who sought asylum in the Nallur Temple were asked to leave for safer places. But no indication was given as to where they should go, leaving the refugees in a state of confusion. People living in other areas have been asked to go to the IPKF camps. But again no indication has been given where these camps are located. All in all normal civilian life in the Jaffna peninsula has during past two weeks come to a grinding halt. Transport, banks etc. have all ceased to function and the degree of uncertainty is high. It would not be far too correct to say that we are on the edge of destruction, an experience Jaffna has been never subjected to before. We appeal to you Sir, very humbly to halt the operation and call for an immediate ceasefire - a precondition to bring back any sort of normalcy.

We remain sir,

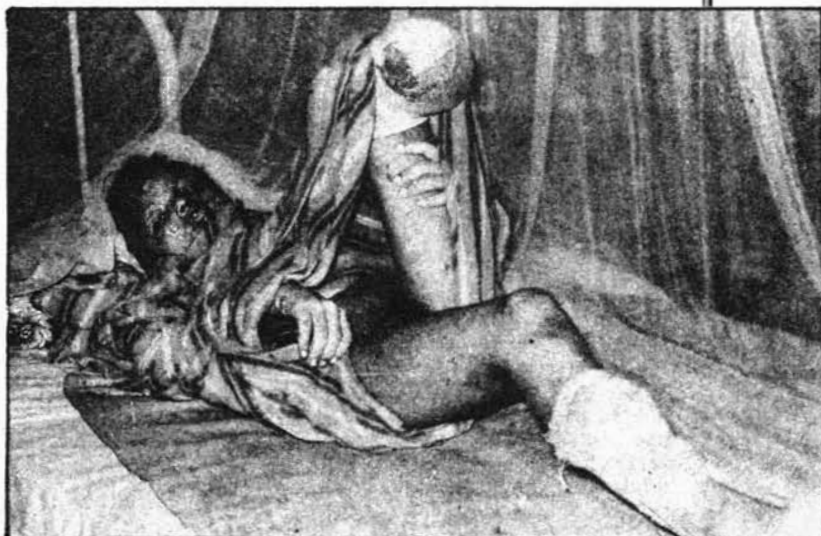
Yours faithfully,  
Citizens of Vaddukkodai and  
Citizens of Jaffna now residing at Vaddukkodai

## Annexure:

We give below definite instances where either civilian institutions or where civilian themselves have been target to IPKF operations.

1. a) The Green Memorial Hospital of the American mission was subjected to heavy Shelling.  
b) which led not only to the killing of a woman employee but also to the complete closure of the Hospital.
2. At the General Teaching Hospital, Jaffna, the director has testified that the IPKF personnel led two doctors and a few nurses out of the hospitals. Later they were found dead with gun shot injuries. An ambulance driver was also shot dead.
3. The government hospital at Tellipallai was a target of indiscriminate shelling which has forced the hospital to close down.
4. The experience at the MCLEOD Hospital, Inuvil, another leading American Mission Hospital has been the same. The hospital at present is occupied by the IPKF.
5. Hindu Ladies College, Jaffna, one of the schools assigned by IPKF for refugees was hit by shells. One woman was killed and several others injured.
6. Osmania College, Jaffna, a leading Muslim School was also subjected to the same treatment, killing atleast 4 school boys, among the refugees there.
7. Chundikkuli Girls High School, another prominent girls school in Jaffna was also a target of shelling resulting in atleast four deaths.
8. A boat load of civilians crossing a small water stretch leaving to the Island situated in the western side of the peninsula was shot at from a helicopter and atleast 35 people perished. Several others were seriously wounded. It should be mentioned here that these people embarked on this journey to take shelter on the Island, on the official advice given by certain IPKF officials. We would like to reiterate that these are incidents which have verified from these relatively remote corner of Jaffna. We are quite certain that any more incidents of this nature that occurs throughout the peninsula which we hope that it will, will come to light in due course.

Signed: 1) N. Sivagnanam  
President, Citizens' Committee Vaddukkodai,  
and 27 other citizens.



## Tigers pledge to fight on

**JAFFNA** - The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have pledged to continue to resist the Indian army and wage the armed struggle for national liberation.

'You are aware of the fact that the Indian and Sri Lankan governments have joined together against the Liberation Tigers,' the liberation movement said in a statement at the weekend.

The statement, addressed to the Tamil masses, said: 'The radio stations of both countries have been broadcasting false propaganda to tarnish our image and to confuse our people while the Tamil people's media has been destroyed by the Indian Peace-Keeping Force and silenced.'

'In this situation we have a duty to explain the true position to our people.'

The statement poses a number of questions and then sets out to answer them in detail.

Why did the government of India persuade the Sri Lankan government to recognise our movement, only to turn around and wage war against us?

'What is the current situation in the war? What is the casualty level suffered by our peoples? Will the Indian government continue its war against us? What view do the people of Tamil Nadu and the rest of India take on this war?'

'What are the international implications of this war?'

The statement says the deaths of Tamil martyrs - one leader during a hunger strike, two commanders who took cyanide after their boat was captured by the Sri Lankan army, and

12 others who took cyanide after being captured must be avenged.

'We can never forgive those responsible for murdering our comrades as a part of the conspiracy to weaken our leadership.'

### Crime

'We hold both the Jayewardene regime and the Indian government responsible for this crime as respectively the instigators and co-conspirators.'

'India never had the genuine aspirations of the Tamil people at heart.'

It was after these deaths that the LTTE had started to lose faith in the Indian government.

'We are not involved in any of these killings.'

'This foolish war against the liberation Tigers is being conducted to appease Jayewardene and his Sinhala racist regime.'

The statement says India's motivation was to protect its regional and global interests.

'The Indo-Sri Lanka accord served to bolster India's international position and so it is determined to tenaciously cling on to it.'

'If this accord is to survive, India must ensure the political survival of Jayewardene. It must bow to his demands.'

'Because of their one-sided position, the interests of the Tamil Eelam people were thrown to the wind.'

It was in this context that the war against the LTTE was waged, says the statement. Unlike the Gandhi regime in India, the Tigers have no ulterior motives 'separate from or above those of our people'.

### Warn

The Tigers warn that the Indians are trying to destroy their organisation in order to then impose the puppet Tamil United Liberation Front on the Tamil masses. This bourgeois parliamentary group has col-

laborated with the Jayewardene regime all along.

But the Indians' attempts to crush the liberation struggle have come to nothing.

'Rather than giving up our arms and dying as slaves, we decided to fight for truth and justice.'

'Our leader Prabhakaran declared that we would rather die on our feet than live on our knees.'

'If necessary, we will fall as martyrs in our people's struggle, but we will never go as lambs to the slaughter.'

'With this belief we took a firm decision to resist. India tried to encircle Jaffna and massacre our people but our fighters bravely confronted them.'

'From numerous battlefields came reports of our fighters' heroism.'

Faced with the LTTE's determination, Indian soldiers had turned and fled, said the statement.

'The defeat inflicted on an army comparable to that of a superpower surprised the entire world. Fierce battles raged for many days.'

'India wanted to capture Jaffna quickly but we frustrated and foiled their plans.'

'The Indian forces used various kinds of weapons guns and fighter bombers. They even called in the Sri Lankan air force.'

The Indian-inspired war is directed not only at the Tigers but the whole Tamil nation and people, the statement explained. It is aimed at destroying the Tamil right to self-determination 'by crushing the organisation that our people see as embodying their rights and aspirations'.

In the ten days of war preceding the statement, 200 innocent civilians had been killed. More than 950 had been injured. Many girls had been raped, hundreds of homes destroyed, thousands of people made into refugees. Hospitals, schools, places of culture

and learning had all suffered extensive damage.

### Shelled

Newspaper offices, the Jaffna General Hospital and Jaffna University had all been shelled from the ground and bombed from the air.

'You are aware of the atrocities committed against our people by the Sri Lankan government in the past. But the Indian atrocities are even more shocking.'

'More than 100 Indian soldiers have already fallen victim to their own war. We are currently holding 20 Indian prisoners of war.'

'In the last ten days of war, 40 of our comrades are prepared to lay down their lives.'

'Our leader Velupillai Prabhakaran has sincerely explained this to the Indian leaders and it is our hope that they will come to their senses and call off their unjust war.'

The statement says that there have been strong protests against the war in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu, including from the leader of the opposition DMK party.

'We are also receiving increasing reports of protest mounted by other opposition parties in India.'

'Justice and truth are sure to come, in the end, whilst India will have to bow its head in shame before the world.'

The LTTE leadership urge the Tamil people: 'At this critical moment in the history of our struggle, do not be afraid or confused.'

### Forward

'We confidently look forward to your continued support as our freedom fighters give their lives to defend the self-respect of our people and to win our freedom.'

'Your continued support is a rock that can never be shattered and no force on earth can crush us. Long Live Tamil Eelam.'





The voice of Tamils against  
IPKF atrocities continues to protest.



# **AFFIDAVIT**

Mrs. SELVARANJITHAM BALAKUMAR (34), 89, Poompuhar, Ariyalai, Jaffna.

On 25.10.87 my husband Nadarasa Balakumar (30) was killed in a shell explosion close to the Jaffna Kachcheri where he was on his way to collect money due to him.

The dead body of my husband was removed by us on 26.10.87 and cremated at Thundi Cemetry, Colombuthurai at about 4.00 p.m.

My husband a building Mason was the sole bread winner of the family.

He leaves behind myself and 3 children aged 9 years, 7 years, and 1 1/2 years.

We have no other source of income and by the loss of my husband my children and I have lost the maintenance and support given by him.

மதவசம் செலவழித்தேன்

● ● ●

SENTHIL RATNAM (29), Nayanmar Veethy, Nallur, Jaffna.

My wife Kamalawathy wife of Ratnam died on the 25th day of October 1987 at Jaffna and her death was due to injuries caused by shell blast during the military operation by the IPKF in the Jaffna peninsula.

My late wife the above said Kamalawathy was working as a Tailor and she was the sole bread winner of my family.

My wife died when she went to purchase things for her tailoring work.

I am doing petty business and I have no other source of income to maintain my family.

செ. கமலா வதியை

● ● ●

THANABALASINGHAM RAJESWARI (23) Anna veethy off Palaly Road, Vasavilan.

The deceased person Kanthan Thanabalasingham, aged 30 years was my husband.

He was engaged in farming at Udayarkattu in Mullaithievu district.

On 25.10.87 my husband left our farm house at Udayar Kattu saying that he is going to Kaithady to his sister's house.

On 1.11.87 I was informed that my husband was shot and killed by the army 27.10.87 at Kaithadi.

His sister Selvarajah Sivamany informed me that my husband visited her residence at Kaithady on 25.10.87 and left for Palaly on 27.10.87 at about 7 a.m. promising to return on the following day.

I learned from his sister that after his failure to return as promised she mounted a search for him.

I came to know that his body was found at the Kopay bridge with gunshot wounds and identified as that of my husband through his identify card.

It was found in half buried state.

It was left in the same state.

I have a daughter named Bharshiga aged 3 years

After my husband's death we are undergoing untold hardships and do not have any income or support.

செ. கமலா வதியை

● ● ●

VEERAGATHY LETCHUMY (30), Pechchi Ammal Kovilady Navaladi Lane, Vannarpannai.

The deceased Sinnatti Veeragathy, age 35 years was my husband.

He was a casual Labourer.

On 25.10.87 our area was subjected to heavy shelling by the army.

My husband was talking to my cousin at his house which is adjoining to our house.

At about 10.00 a.m. a shell fell within the compound and exploded spraying shrapnels in all directions.

My husband died on the spot after being struck by the flying shrapnels.

I was with him when the shell exploded.

My cousin was also killed in the above incident.

I have four children.

My children and I have been deprived of the maintenance and support received from my husband.

செ. கமலா வதியை

● ● ●

CHANDRARASA BABY (Widow) (42) Inkaran Veethy, Suthumalai South.

Due to the IPKF started liberation operation in our area on 26.10.1987 while my husband was coming by bicycle on the road at Suthumalai Junction there was a shell came closer to my husband and got blasted and my husband got the attack of the shell pieces and immediately brought to Jaffna General Hospital and died after admission.

My husband's name is Ratnam Chandrarasa. age 46 was doing business and maintaining myself and two daughters aged 16 years and 13 years. Both are attending schools.

I was fully depending from my husband's income now after his death I and my two daughters are undergoing severe hardships throughout. Even to the funeral expenses I have borrowed money from my neighbours and spent it. Other than my deceased husband's income there is no other income.

செ. கமலா வதியை

● ● ●

Mrs EASWARY VALLI (48), Kanpola Veethy, Karaveddy.

My daughter named Miss. Atputhamalar Valli, aged 20 years was attacked by shell blast at Jaffna on 26.10.87 and immediately taken to Jaffna hospital and died on 26.10.87.

She visited one of her relations in Tirunelvely by that time she came to take the bus from Jaffna, on her way she got the attack of the shell blast on 26.10.87. This happened during the Liberation operation by the IPKF.

She was doing labour work and helping me to maintain my 5 children. We belong to a very poor family.

After my daughter's death we are undergoing untold hardships throughout.

● ● ●

KASIPILLAI RUDRA (59), 115/1 Arasady Road, Kandermadam, Jaffna.

The deceased Rudra Dinendra, aged 17 years was my son.

He was a G.C.E. (O/L) student at Jaffna Hindu College.

During the October 87 military offensive we left home and took refuge at the Nallur Murugan Temple.

On 26.10.87 at about 12.00 noon I was informed that my son was shot and killed by the army near the Nallur Temple where we were taking shelter at that time.

His body was cremated at an empty field near the Temple on the same day itself.

● ● ●

Mrs. KUDDIYAN KANAGAMMAH (widow) (68), Near Milking Centre, Tirunelvely East, Tirunelvely.

Due to the IPKF started liberation operation in our area on 26.10.87 we immediately left our house and while going to the temple, there was a shell blast close to us, and my husband Kanthan Kuddiyan got the attack and I immediately brought to the Jaffna General Hospital, he died immediately inside the hospital and we removed the dead body.

My late husband's age is 70 years, doing labour work and I have one daughter who is not married. My husband is the bread winner of my family of two.

Other than my husband there is no other source of income to maintain me and my aged daughter and suffering a lot for the last one year.

சு-கனகம்மா லா



KANDIAH RASAMMAH (59) Thalayadi West, Thirunelvely.

The deceased person Kannapathy Suppar, aged 75 years was my father. He was living with us until fate took him away.

Due to the October 1987 military offensive I fled to Vaddukodai with my two daughters.

My father and my husband refused to accompany us and opted to stay behind to look after our house and property.

On 2.11.87 I was informed that my father and my husband were both killed on 26.10.87 in a shell blast while they were going towards the Thirunelvely Sivan Temple with the intention of taking refuge.

I came to know that their bodies were cremated by some person who discovered their bodies in a barren field on 27.10.87.

க-கனகம்மா லா



KASIPILLAI RUDRA (59), 115/i, Arasady Road, Kanderamadam, Jaffna.

The deceased Rudra Dinendra, aged 17 years was my son.

He was a G.C.E. (O/L) student at Jaffna Hindu College.

During the October 1987 military offensive we left home and took refuge at the Nallur Murugan Temple.

On 26.10.87 at about 12.00 noon I was informed that my son was shot and killed by the army near the Nallur Temple where we were taking shelter at that time.

His body was cremated at an empty field near the Temple on the same day itself.



MURUGESU MEENACHI (55) 36, Arasady Road, Jaffna.

The deceased person Sadaiyar Murugesu aged 60 years was my husband. He was a vegetable vendor and was our only bread winner.

On 26.10.87 at about 6.00 a.m. my husband left for Chavakachcheri market where he was engaged in selling vegetables.

For the next few weeks we did not receive any news from him.

After he left we were driven out from our house and sought refuge at Jaffna Hindu College refugee camp.

After 15 days I was informed that my husband was killed when the Chavakachcheri Town was subjected to rocket attack from a helicopter gunship on 27.10.87.

I learned that his body was cremated on the spot where he perished.

I have three children at home.

I am an invalid as a result of a malaria fever.

சு-மீனாட்சி லா



Mrs MUTHULINGAM PONNAMMAH (widow) (57), Ariyalai West, Jaffna.

My husband's name, Muthiyah Muthulingam aged 60 years being a business man. I have three children.

While my husband was at home with us due to the IPKF. Liberation operation in our area there was a shell came and blast in our compound and my husband got severely injured and immediately brought to Jaffna hospital. This happened on 26.10.87 and died in the hospital on the same day.

Later we brought the dead and cremated in our place.

I have borrowed money from my neighbours and spent for the funeral and other incidental expenses. Now they are worrying me to repay their loan.

Now we are undergoing severe hardships throughout after my husband died. Other than my husband's income there is not other income to support my family.

சு-மீனாட்சி லா



NADARAJAH INTHIRANEE, Pathirakali Lane, Vannarponnai West, Jaffna.

I have been living at the above address along with my mother.

My father died a few years back.

Due to the eruption of violence in our area in October 1987, I got displaced from my home and sought refuge at Pathiraly Temple for fear of our lives.

While we were inmates of the said refugee camp, my mother named Nadarajah Manonmany, aged 60 years fell a victim to a shell blast and succumbed to the injuries caused by the same on 26.10.87.

My deceased mother was engaged in handicraft and maintained me out of her earnings.

After her demise, I am left a destitute with no one to look after me.

சு-நடராஜா இந்திரானி லா



NAMASIVAYAGAM ARUNASALAM (67), Kondavil West, Kondavil.

The deceased person Arunasalam Tharmarajah, aged 37 years, bachelor was my son.

He was a Cigar roller.

On 26.10.87 we left the Nallur Murugan Temple where we sought refuge and were proceeding towards a relations house near the Iyanar Temple.

At about 4.00 p.m. as we were going along Sivapragasam Road, Vannarponnai some soldiers fired at us.

My son was cut down by a fusillade of bullets.

He died on the spot.

His body was cremated at the road side.



**I have an unmarried daughter named Thavamany aged 23 years.**

I met with an accident few years ago and sustained injury on my hand and leg as a result I remain at home.

It was my late son who maintained and supported our family with his income.

13 அகிலை உயல்



**SABARATNAM NAGARATNAM (55), 32/7, Mariammat Lane, Thirunelvely, Jaffna.**

Late Mrs. Angusapalan Ketheeswary, aged 39 years, was my daughter-in-law. She was married to my son Mr. Sabaratnam Angusapalan, who is in abroad.

**On 1987.10.26 since there was a dangerous situation prevailing at Thirumelvely area consequent to continuous shelling, ariel bombardments and shooting, my daughter-in-law was forced to leave her home at the above address with her three children. She wanted to go to Nainativu for safety and with this intension, she was passing through Kokuvil area.**

**At the Puthu Road, Kokuvil West while she was passing that way, she received fatal injuries by gun shot and died on the spot due to profuse bleeding.**

**The poor motherless and helpless three, children are in my custody since the death of their mother.**

8 சாபுதேவியம்



**SINNATHURAI PANCHALINGAM (40), Nanthavil West Lane, Thavady, Kokuvil.**

The deceased Annalingam Kamaladevi, age 33 years, is my sister.

There was shell firing in our area on 13.10.87 so we decided to go to Kokuvil Hindu College for safety which is about 500 meters from our house.

**On 26.10.87 when we were at Kokuvil Hindu Primary School, the army started firing from Kokuvil Junction and my sister Kamaladevi was injured on her neck and died at the spot, 3 others refugees were also killed in this incident.**

We left the dead body of my sister and took refuge at the Kokuvil Hindu College.

Already 30 person were killed at the Kokuvil Hindu College and the dead bodies were cremated on 1-11-87 by the army personnel.

We stayed at the Kokuvil Hindu College for 25 days and then stayed at Nallur Temple for 20 days and then returned home. When we were at Kokuvil for 25 days from 1.11.87.

My sister had 1 daughter named Nanthakumari (13) a student.

My sister's husband Annalingam died due to illness.

Now Nandakumari is being looked after by me.



**Mrs. SINNIAH SELVARAJAH NAVARATNAM (Widow) (44), Suthumalai South, Manipay.**

**My husband late Mr. Sinniah Selvarajah was attacked by shell when the IPKF started liberation and operation took place at Suthumalai on 26.10.87. Immediately we took him to Jaffna Hospital, where he died on the same day.**

I have only one son who is about 16 years old and studying. After my husband's death we are undergoing severe hardships throughout.

Also I wish to inform you that we both were depending on the deceased husband income. He was doing business. He is 45 years old. Other than my husband's income there is no other income to maintain my son and myself.

68 1318 79 51 0074



**SOOSAIPILLAI THRESAMMAH (60), 5, Navalar Road, Navanthurai Jaffna.**

The deceased Anthony muthu Soosaipillai, aged 65 years was my husband.

He was a fisherman.

During the October 1987 military offensive we left our home at Navanthurai and sought refuge at Navali.

**On 26.10.87. at about 8 a.m. my husband left us saying that he is going to Navanthurai to look for our grandson who was arrested by the army few days ago.**

**He did not return afterwards.**

Due to the prevailing tension I could not mount a search for my husband.

**On the fifth day of his disappearance I came to know that he was killed at Ottumadam due to shell blast on 26.10.87.**

I also came to know that his body was disposed by the army.

After my husband's death I do not have any income or support.

ச. சிவசுப்பிரமணியம்



**AGINUS SUBRAMANIAM (40), 2, Vellantheru, Koddady, Jaffna.**

The deceased person Kutty Subramaniam, aged 45 years was my husband.

He was a casual labourer.

On 27.10.87 at about 9.00 a.m. my husband left for work in his bicycle.

As he did not return home at that day I became highly worried.

**On the following day I came to know that he was shot and killed by the army at Manipay Road on the previous day.**

His body was cremated at the Vellantheru off Manipay Road itself.

**I have three children**

My children and I have been deprived of the maintenance and support we received from my husband and undergoing untold hardships.

S. அகிலை



**KANAGU SORUBARANI (31), "Sri Vel Bhavanam" Puthur East, Puthur.**

The deceased Kanagu Ponnu, aged 57 years was my mother.

On 27.10.87 at about 9.30 a.m. my mother left home saying that she is going to the Chavakachcheri Market to buy a sewing machine.

**At about 5.30 p.m. I was informed that my mother was killed when the Chavakachcheri market was attacked by helicopter few hours earlier that day.**

I came to know that she was rushed to Chavakachcheri Hospital with serious injuries where she died.

Her body was brought home on 28.10.87.

The cremation took place at Puthur East cemetery on the same day.

**I have one brother K. Sritharan aged 26 years a student.**

My mother's brother's two children are also living with us after being deserted by their father.

**My father also died 16 days after my mother's death.**

I do not have any income after my parent's death.

K. Soryanarum



**MURUGESU RAJANAYAGAM (57),** Vedantha Madam, Madduvil.

The deceased child Rajanayagam Arunthavarajah, aged 13 years was my son.

He was a student at Paranthan Maha Vidyalaya.

**On 27.10.87 fearing military reprisals I decided to go to Paranthan along with my son.**

**At about 11.00 p.m. we were going through the Kandy Road in a bicycle.**

**Suddenly I heard shots and my son was hit by bullets and fell down.**

**He died on the spot.**

I left his body where he fell and fled from the scene.

**I came to know later that he was buried by the army itself.**

I have a son named Pathmarajah aged 16 years.

*[Handwritten signature]*



**MUTHU PONNUTHURAI. (62)**

Anbuvalipuram, Trincomalee. presently 65, Sivan Street, Trincomalee.

My wife, children and I came to Jaffna as refugees in 1986, and we were at the Neervely M.P.C.S Union Refugee camp.

After a six months stay in Neervely leaving my wife Mrs. Maheswary Ponnuthurai (49) daughters P. Manjuladevi (28) P. Kamaleswary (10) behind I returned to Trincomalee.

**In mid November I came to know that about 16 passengers of a van bound for Trincomalee including all family members of a Brahmin Priest were shot dead by India Peace Keeping Force Personnel on 27.10.87.**

**It is only in the latter part of December 87, that I came to know that my wife and daughters Manjuladevi and Maheswary too had been killed in the incident mentioned.**

I then came to Nunavil, Chavakachcheri and made inquiries from people known to me, who informed me that my wife and 2 daughters had left with several others in a van bound for Trincomalee on 27.10.87 night.

And that the van had been fired upon when passing the market by IPKF personnel killing 16 passengers including my wife and 2 daughters and injuring several others.

I was also informed that the dead bodies had been buried on the orders of the IPKF opposite Dee-bergs College.

Q - எவ்வாறு தீர்மானம்



**NAGAMUTHU LUXUMY (71),** Kalthiddy Lane. Kokuvil.

The deceased person Varavi Nagamuthu, aged 81 years was my husband.

**On 15.10.87 we sought refuge at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple due to the intermittent shelling in our area.**

On 27.10.87 at about 9.00 a.m. my husband left the Temple saying that he is going to Kokuvil to inspect our house.

He did not return afterwards.

**On the following day one Nadarajah came and informed me that my husband was shot and killed by the army at Aladi junction, Oddumadam while he was on his way to Kokuvil.**

His body was not recovered.

I have an unmarried daughter Vimaladevy, aged 29 years.



**PONNAN PARI (60),** Selvapuram, Urumpirai South, Urumpirai.

The deceased Ponnann Tharmalingam, aged 22 years a bachelor was my son.

He was a Casual Labourer.

**During the October 1987 military offensive we left our house at Urumpirai and sought refuge at the Bethol Sabai at Nallur.**

On 27.10.87 at about 9 a.m. my son left us saying that he is going to Urumpirai to inspect our house.

**At about 12 noon I was informed that my son was shot and killed by the army at Urumpirai.**

At about 5.30 p.m. on the same day I went to the scene of incident and recovered the body and buried it with the help of my relatives.

Due to the tension prevailed during the period inquest did not take place.

My husband is and invalid and suffering from paralysis.

It was my late son who looked after us.

After his death we do not have any income or support.



**THANGAVADIVAL ANANTHASAMY (54),** Matuvil South, Chavakachcheri.

The deceased Ananthasamy Arunthavasivanesan, aged 25 years, a bachelor was my son.

He was employed as a mini-bus driver.

On 27.10.87 at about 6 a.m. my son left home as usual for his job.

**At about 6 p.m. I came to know that my son was critically injured when the Chavakachcheri market and bus stand came under helicopter shell attack which resulted in carnage.**

**I was also informed that my son was admitted at the Pointpedro base Hospital at Mantiki where he died on the same day at about 8 p.m.**

Due to the prevailing situation I could not go to the hospital immediately.

Only on 29.10.87 I managed to bring his body home.

His body was cremated at Kuchapitty cemetery on 29.10.87.

It was my late son who supported my family with the income.

His death is a great loss to us.

*[Handwritten signature]*



**THURAIAMMAH** wife of Sellathurai, Kellavil Lane, Suthumalai South, Manipay.

Due to fear of shelling we sought shelter at Thavady Pathirakali Kovil Refugees camp on 20th October, 1987.

**On the 27th October 1987 my daughter Sellathurai Latha died due to bleeding as a result of shell attack in the camp.**

My daughter's body recovered and identified by me and Vaithi Krishnar of Kellavil Lane, Suthumalai South, Manipay on the same day.

My daughter's body was buried near refugees camp at Thavady.

Consequent to my daughter's irreparable loss, I was shocked and have not recovered from the above shock. Since her death, I am ill and under treatment.

*[Handwritten signature]*





**T**HE LTTE's 31-year-old deputy leader, G. Mahendraraja alias Mahatiya, is currently directing field operations in the battle with the Indian Peace-Keeping Force. He gave a formal interview to D. B. S. Jeyaraj THE HINDU's Colombo Correspondent, at Jaffna before the outbreak of hostilities. Mahatiya was associated with the LTTE's political wing leader Dilip Yogi, and political adviser, A. S. Balasingham, during the interview. The interview was subsequently updated in separate meetings with Mahatiya.

The picture has changed in some essential respects after these interviews, but the text provides insights into the LTTE leadership's thinking, mode of presentation and attitudes. D. B. S. Jeyaraj was taken into custody by the Sri Lankan police authorities in Colombo after the publication of his interview with Mahatiya in a Colombo-based daily.

**THE HINDU:** What is your opinion and assessment of the current conflict with the Indian forces? Can the LTTE afford to take on the military might of a power like India?

**Mahatiya:** This was not a fight we wanted. Our leader told high Indian officials in New Delhi that we did not want to fight India, but that we would do so if necessary. Prabakaran also announced to our people in Suthumalai that India was now responsible for the security of our people and that we were laying down arms because we love India and did not want to fight India. Now we are fighting India because we have no choice. The conflict was thrust upon us.

**Q:** How? Why did you not have a choice?

**A:** Ever since the accord was signed, India was, in a subtle manner, encouraging forces hostile to us. Eighteen of our members were killed by groups like PLOT, TELO, ENDLF, etc. The Indians brought these fellows here and they were operating in close proximity to Indian camps. Despite repeated representations, the IPKF did not act. Finally, we took some action. In the same way India did not act properly with us in implementing provisions of the accord. All our objections were not taken notice of. India was acting like J. R. Jayewardene's agent! They tried to destroy us by taking our arms by force. Before that, they let us down very badly on issues like the interim administration and the release of our arrested leaders like Pulendran and Kumaran. When we realised that they were trying to destroy us, we resisted. We had to fight in self-defence.

**Q:** But India is a big country. It is con-

# A view from—the Tigers

## INTERVIEW

sidered the fourth largest power. Can a small organisation like the Tigers or the Tamil people withstand India?

### Aggressors

**A:** Certainly we are very small when compared with India. But this is our country. We know every inch of our land. We fought the Sinhalese because we wanted to be free. After all, the Sinhalese and we belong to this island. But who are the Indians to come and dictate terms to us? They are aggressors. Do you expect the Tigers to accept this situation meekly? After all, even the Sri Lankan forces were stronger than us, but that did not stop us from fighting! Let the Indians also learn the lesson from us. We are prepared to die. But we will do so with honour. Like America in Vietnam, Russia in Afghanistan, India will learn its lesson from us. Even if we all die, the Indians will lose a big number.

**Q:** But the Indians, with their large population, can afford to lose men. Can your organisation do so? Also are you not being defeatist by saying you are prepared to die?

**A:** I said we are prepared to die only as an indication of our sincerity to our cause. You see the cyanide capsules we carry. From an ordinary member, even leaders like Pulendran and Kumaran will swallow them if necessary. But we will not commit suicide like fools. We will continue our struggle. As you said, India can lose a lot of people and not feel the impact. But we will create a situation where India will have to bring more and more men and arms and equipment to suppress the Tamil people. The true nature of the Indian armed forces will be exposed. Many civilian massacres will take place. India's hypocrisy about Mahatma Gandhi's principles will be exposed. India, a great nation, is struggling to kill the aspirations of a small people like us! The whole world will laugh at India. You are talking about the impossibility of fighting India. At the moment, it is a question of self-respect, honour and national dignity. We cannot give in or surrender like that to anyone—even the Indians. Look at the Sandinistas of Nicaragua. They are followers of a person who died so many years ago. Like that, our struggle will continue generation after generation even if we all die. But our future generations will not be able to accuse our generation of having betrayed them by accepting Indian aggression.

**Q:** But how do you hope to continue? India will not allow any fresh arms supply to the LTTE. When your firepower diminishes, what will you do?

**A:** We have a strategy. Now we are fighting face to face like two armies. We will fight hard to hold every inch of our land. The next step will be to allow the Indians to advance a certain distance. Then we will use footpaths and by-lanes and get behind them and attack them. The third step will be to start suicide missions. Hundreds of our members have voluntarily taken the Black

Tiger oath (suicide squad oath). We will not take cyanide and die simply. We will take some of the enemy with us. At a given point, I can't say when, we will all go underground and continue to wage a guerilla campaign. There will never be normalcy in our areas. You asked about our arms supply. We are confident that despite all the blockades imposed by India, we can get enough arms to continue a guerilla campaign. There will never be a civilian administration in our areas!

**Q:** But how long can the people take it? How long can they suffer? Is there no way to achieve a peaceful settlement? Is your position intransigent?

**A:** We are not intransigent. We care for the people. That is why we are fighting. The people know this. Otherwise, we could have accepted the interim administration on JF's terms, found jobs for our boys, and led an easy life. Or we could have accepted Indian authority, as the TULF and some other groups have done shamelessly. But we have self-respect. We have genuine concern for the people. If, at any stage, the people genuinely want us to stop, we will end everything. It is the people who matter. It is they who sustain us, support us. But I must show you something. (He shows the text of the correspondence between the IPKF and the LTTE). Now you can understand that despite our stand the Indians are determined to crush us. They do not want a compromise. So we have to go on. We have no choice.

**Q:** In your estimate, what is the exact military position?

**A:** Up to now (October 18), the Indian forces have over 300 casualties. Of these, more than half are dead. We have captured 23 Indian soldiers alive. We have destroyed 21 vehicles including armoured personnel carriers. We have seized five Indian vehicles. We have also captured more than 150 weapons from the Indians including bazookas, mortars, Bren guns, LMG's, SMG's, SLR's, etc. And over 35,000 rounds of ammunition. On our side, we have lost 43 persons so far. This includes five women fighters. Also seven of these died when our own landmine exploded accidentally. Three of our girls were captured by the Indians at Kopay. A little more than 50 of our members are injured. But mostly civilians have been affected in the shelling and bombing.

**Q:** What do you expect to do with the Indians you have captured?

**A:** We will treat them as prisoners of war. We have not taken any decision about them.

**Q:** Are there Gurkhas fighting?

**A:** We have not seen them so far. But there is a feeling that they are here. The Sikhs are fighting here. So are Maharattas, Rajputs and Tamils. So let the Gurkhas also come! Isn't it funny the Sikhs are fighting for a separate State in India, here they are trying to kill us. The Gurkhas want a separate



homeland in India, but they will kill us here in our homeland.

### Tamils fighting Tamils

**Q:** Don't you think it is ironical that Tamils are fighting Tamils?

**A:** Most of the Tamils fighting here are not from Tamil Nadu. They are from other States. They have no Tamil feeling. But the fight going on now is not a Tamil versus Tamil fight. It is the Indian army against the people of Eelam.

**Q:** Don't you think that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has succeeded in driving a wedge between you all and the Indians?

**A:** At the moment, yes.

**Q:** Have you not played into his hands and precipitated matters?

**A:** We were forced into this position. Instead of being systematically undermined by India, we decided to confront them. We have now exposed the true nature of India. Our people thought that India was genuinely helping the Tamils. They thought the Indian army was here to protect them and welcomed them at first. Now they see the true picture. They understand that they have been betrayed by India. Even if we are destroyed, we will die honourably with the pride that we fought the second largest army in the world. But J.R. may think he has succeeded now. Actually he has committed a blunder by inviting the Indian army. They will not go away. After they finish with the Tamils, they will turn against the Sinhalese. Indian public opinion, particularly Tamil Nadu, will demand this.

**Q:** Many people are amazed at how the LTTE has stood up to the Indian army so far. How was this possible?

**A:** Well, the Indians underestimated our strength and capacity. They were overconfident at the start. Then we know the terrain. They are aliens. They are an army trained for some other type of fighting. Even though we are fighting directly, we are using a lot of guerilla tactics which they can't cope with. In some cases, they are just trying to get us to waste ammunition by advancing and retreating. Then, again, we are the cyanide capsule guerillas. How can those people who were buying electrical goods and TV decks in Jaffna have the same courage we have? They have never tasted urban guerilla warfare before.

**Q:** Some people say that the Indians are reaping what they sowed by training you?

**A:** (Acts angry) How can you of all people, say this? You know the history of our movement. It was these other groups who are shamelessly licking India's feet who are trained by India. We only got the help of some Indian Tamil army officers at the start on a private basis. Afterwards we trained here in our own areas. That is why, with all the backing of India, these groups can't dislodge us there!

### Puzzling aspect

**Q:** Another aspect puzzling people is how the LTTE lost in Vadamarachchi compared with the fight you are putting up now?

**A:** We never lost in Vadamarachchi. We tactically withdrew and resumed guerilla tactics like the Nelliady attack.

**Q:** The killing of Sinhala civilians in the North and East by the Tigers after the taking

of cyanide by Pulendiran and others has created a bad impression about your movement. Today, the whole world may think that India is justified in destroying you all because of your activities. What do you think?

**A:** The world must realise that India is killing Tamil people and not the Tigers. The LTTE did not kill the Sinhala civilians.

**Q:** Who killed them?

**A:** We do not know. It may be the other groups.

**Q:** But you are the dominant group.

**A:** We deny killing them.

**Q:** What about the eight soldiers in your custody? Who killed them?

**A:** That we did. We accept it.

**Q:** But did you not have a moral responsibility to safeguard prisoners in your custody?

**A:** When the Indians and Sri Lankans deliberately created conditions that led to the suicide of our cadres, that moral responsibility came to an end. When the amnesty given to us was not honoured, we also do not have to follow these formalities.

**Q:** What was the background to the incident?

**A:** Well, the Indians promised to get the 17 people released. For two days J.R. did not take any action. We were allowed to supply meals and talk to them. On Monday we were told that after Dixit meets J.R. our boys would be released. They promised us that they would never be taken to Colombo. Suddenly they told us that J.R. was not listening to Dixit and they could not do anything in the matter. They withdrew the IPKF guards. Our boys took cyanide. They had warned the forces earlier that they would do so if taken to Colombo. The Indians were supposed to protect us. We were supposed to have got an amnesty. But they could not do anything to help us. Tomorrow, my leader Prabhakaran and I may be arrested as "poultry thieves". The Indians will say they are helpless. What angers us most is that the Indians tried to bargain with us. They said our boys will be released if we accepted the accord and interim council.

**Q:** The positive image built up by the fast-unto-death of Thileepan boosted the LTTE. Have you not lost it now by the violence? Why did you drop the Gandhian way of struggle?

**A:** Thileepan's fast was a different strategy adopted under different conditions. If Dixit had taken prompt action, Thileepan's death could have been avoided. But India has shown us that non-violent protests do not work. Mahatma Gandhi will have no success with Rajiv Gandhi! The LTTE is not worried about image building.

**Q:** You are accused of going back on guarantees given by you on the interim administration. Could you explain your side of the picture?

**A:** Some months ago, when Mr. Pathmanathan was in jail, we gave three names—Messrs Sivagnanasunderam, Thillainathan and Sivagnanam to be chief administrator. This was given to Mr. S. Ramachandran, the (Tamil Nadu) Minister. Later when Mr. Pathmanathan was released, we gave a second list substituting Mr. Pathmanathan for Mr. Thillainathan. This was given to Kuldip Sahadev on 18-9-87. We indicated that our pre-

ference was for Pathmanathan. In talks with Dixit, we were told to submit 15 names for the council. We did so but we told him clearly that we wanted the first six on the list. The six persons were myself, Yogi, Ruban, Kasi Anandan, Romesh and Kamaldeen. Now the first two, Yogi and I, are from Jaffna. The other four are from the East. Ruban is from Trinco, Kasi Anandan and Romesh are from Batticaloa. Kamaldeen is from the Amparai district. The LTTE has a clear policy of giving weightage to the East to avoid charges of Jaffna domination. Also Dixit said Mr. Jayewardene cannot appoint Mr. Pathmanathan and suggested that Mr. Sivagnanam was more acceptable. We agreed at that stage.

But when the council was appointed, we found that both Batticaloa names were dropped. We were very angry and felt that this was deliberately done to divide the North and East. We protested. At the same time, Mr. Sivagnanam declined for personal reasons.

At this point of time we felt that Mr. Pathmanathan who is from Batticaloa should be made administrator to dispel the hurt feelings of Batticaloa. We also wanted both Kasi Anandan and Romesh. Later Dixit told us that Mr. Jayewardene would not accept Pathmanathan. India did not want Kasi Anandan because he had made anti-Indian speeches in Jaffna, said Dixit. This angered us. If we could not appoint our nominees to the interim council because India did not like one of them, then what kind of administration is that? So we took up a rigid position and refused to compromise.

### Publishing tapes

**Q:** But now India puts the blame on you and threatens to publish the transcripts of tapes?

**A:** What can we do? We are fighters. Politicians and diplomats are clever in saying untruths. India will threaten to publish the tapes but they will never do it. We have also got tapes. It is 15 hours long. Now the time is not suitable. Later on, we will give them to you. Listen to them and judge for yourself.

**Q:** Whom do you blame, Mr. Dixit or Mr. Jayewardene?

**A:** We have no direct dealings with Mr. Jayewardene. We trusted the Indian guarantees. So we blame Mr. Dixit.

**Q:** Are you prepared to face elections? Some say you are afraid that you will lose and that is why you are sabotaging the provincial councils.

**A:** We have just set up a people's front. We had no time for political work. The people are with us. They know about us. When elections become necessary, the people will support us.

**Q:** Finally what do you think of the future? How long can you go on? What about negotiations?

**A:** We will continue our struggle as long as we can. We are not opposed to negotiations. But it must be with a new set of negotiators. Mr. Dixit and Mr. Puri are unacceptable.

**Q:** How can you demand that from India? It is their official matter.

**A:** Yes. But then why did Mr. Rajiv Gandhi replace Mr. G. Parthasarathy with Mr. Bhandari? Because of Sri Lanka's objections. So it can be done here too if New Delhi is genuine.

# Jaffna taken: LTTE leaders flee city

BATTLE □ FOR □ JAFFNA

NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 25.

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force has virtually taken control of Jaffna town and the LTTE leaders and cadres have fled their strongholds. The IPKF has cleared Jaffna town, except for a small area of one sq. km. around the Hindu College.

"There is no organised resistance left ... Organised resistance has crumbled," an External Affairs Ministry spokesman told reporters here today. Last night, the IPKF took control of the LTTE headquarters opposite the Jaffna University. According to information received from people gathered round the Nallur Kandaswamy temple and elsewhere, the LTTE leaders and cadres had fled Jaffna. "All efforts to free Jaffna from the LTTE's armed control has been virtually completed," the spokesman said.

"We have to carefully assess how many LTTE cadres have left their arms and run away. There might be LTTE cadres hiding within the city," he added. "When you are being sniped at, you cannot go into every house. It will be dealt with. It will be a routine matter."

## Relief being moved in

The attention had now shifted to moving relief supplies for the people. "We are moving the relief supplies as fast as we can," the spokesman stressed.

Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, Overall Commander, IPKF, flew into Jaffna this morning, accompanied by Maj. Gen. C. A. Barretto, Chief Engineer, Southern Command. The objective of the visit was quickly to clear the roads of mines laid by the LTTE to restore free movement. The roads had been extensively mined and an IPKF truck carrying relief supplies to the people around the Nallur temple was damaged in a landmine blast this morning.

IPKF units distributing food to people around the temple were also fired at last night. Despite the problem of moving relief supplies because of landmines, the IPKF was ferrying food both by air and by road, the External Affairs Ministry spokesman said. "There are 80,000 people in various camps to whom we are reaching out."

The LTTE had damaged the high tension wires and the IPKF had established contact with the Sri Lankan Government through the Indian High Commission in Colombo and urged that engineers be sent to restore the power lines. The Jaffna General Hospital was now functioning and a Lieutenant Colonel belonging to the IPKF was looking after the hospital. Three tonnes of medical supplies had been sent to the hospital. The assistance of the Red Cross would also be enlisted.

Replying to a question whether he expected any diplomatic initiative to get under way since

the IPKF had virtually taken control of Jaffna town, the spokesman replied, "It is up to them (LTTE). The amnesty offer is absolutely on for the (LTTE) cadres."

He added that the Sikh Regiment had carried out the operations around the Jaffna University area. The Gorkha Regiment, who are "devout people" had been posted around the Nallur Kandaswamy temple. There was the Madras Regiment around the Navatkuli area.

## UNI reports:

The spokesman said that in the last 24 hours the IPKF suffered four killed and three wounded.

## UNI reports from Colombo:

Indian military sources said at least 18 IPKF personnel, taken captive by the LTTE, were also believed to have been taken to the Nallur temple, apparently to deter the IPKF from storming it. There were still about 12,000 refugees in the temple compound and a majority of them were being held against their will by the LTTE. There were reports that a large number of militants have taken shelter in the temple behind the refugees for a last ditch battle.

An Indian High Commission spokesman said that in the eastern Navatkuli sector, the IPKF had captured an estimated five tonnes of ammunition and explosives from a single LTTE dump.

# Prabakaran may be in Point Pedro

From Manoj Joshi

JAFFNA, Oct. 25.

With the IPKF gaining effective control over the whole of Jaffna city, the Commander of the Brigade conducting the operations in the area to the west of the railway line announced here to a group of visiting presspersons from New Delhi that the entire Municipal city limits had come under the effective control of the IPKF.

However, the visiting presspersons heard sounds of explosions and small arms fire in the city and smoke billowing on the horizon. Senior IPKF officers told presspersons that the bulk of the explosions were in fact mines being detonated by the IPKF engineers, since all the areas so far taken over had been heavily mined and booby trapped. Some small arms fire was of course to be heard.

**Touched off by obduracy:** Speaking to the presspersons this morning at Palaly, Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, Overall Commander of the IPKF and GOC in Chief of the Southern Command said that the entire action was touched off by the obduracy of the LTTE visible in the first week of October.

On October 9, the LTTE commenced its hostilities by attacking the patrol of the First Maratha Light Infantry near the fort area and another of the IPKF camps. Up till then the possibility of their attack was not considered in a military sense. The IPKF had never really thought that they would ever enter into hostilities with the LTTE. At that time, the force level of the IPKF in Jaffna was just one Brigade and the require-

ment was to proceed to Jaffna city quickly and not allow it to become an LTTE bastion. This one Brigade was far too small for the requirement of the IPKF since it was still on the ground.

The LTTE had an armed cadre which had taken strong defensive measures in the interim period, like laying mines and setting up booby traps. Therefore the progress of the IPKF was initially very slow and limited till the reinforcements came in from the Trincomalee, Batticaloa areas and also from India.

**"Clearing will take time":** Gen. Depinder Singh said that the process of "clearing up" would take a little time. "I cannot be specific. All I can say is it will take time." Despite closing all escape routes this process had been done slowly as per the advance of the IPKF. In the last few days, before the closure some infiltration had taken place and this was indicated through radio intercepts, Gen. Depinder Singh said.

He said in response to a question that never in his life had he encountered mines and booby traps with such high explosive contents as here. He said the major weaponry used by the LTTE, besides homemade mortars, comprised AK-47 rifles and G-3 automatic rifles along with mines and booby traps which in fact were lethal.

In response to a question, Gen. Depinder Singh said that there was no reliable information on the whereabouts of Mr. V. Prabakaran. "I think he probably left few days after the operations and that he may be in the Point Pedro area."

"I cannot see him being inside the city. After five or six days of fighting", General Depinder Singh said, "it would have been clear to the LTTE that they had to either stay and fight to the last man or the last cyanide pill or leave a certain minimum number to stay inside and the rest exfiltrate out. I suspect that the bulk would be exfiltrated by now. It is my wild guess that 1,000 to 1,200 of LTTE cadres would have got out."

He told the correspondents that the total fire power options were not even considered. It would have been much quicker and there would have been far fewer casualties for the IPKF and many more civilians casualties. He explained that the IPKF's task there was not to fight any enemy. "We are here taking certain actions against occupancy", he added.

**Civilian casualties:** In response to a question, the General said so far the IPKF had not taken up any accounting of the civilian casualties. However, he said he had put certain people on the task to gather the information from refugees and other people. Since the IPKF had, however, taken extreme precautions to ensure no civilian casualties resulted, one of these was to send officers and the JCO to be upfront in any action. He said that "I cannot deny that there would be no casualties."

In response to a question as to whether he could say that Jaffna had fallen, the General said "if you mean when you could drive through all parts of the city safely that would mean a lot of time since it would take time to defuse the mines and the booby traps and to take care of sniper fire."



These kids have a unhindered ride on the desolate platform of Madras Egmore station as train services were suspended for 24

hours in view of DMK's "rail roko" plan to protest against IPKF action in Sri Lanka. An EXPRESS photo by V. Ramaswamy

25.10.87







IPKF drive into gain control over Jaffna. .... the armed .....the armless.



**Escaped rebel leaders may regroup  
to launch fresh guerrilla offensive**

## India poised for victory REPORT

From Derek Brown Oct 26  
in Colombo

Indian forces are poised for victory over the Tamil Tiger defenders of Jaffna in the northern peninsula of Sri Lanka as rebel forces slipped past advancing troops and escaped.

"The bulk, left, no question," the commander of the Indian forces said yesterday to foreign journalists allowed into the city that had been the Tigers' stronghold for two years.

Lieutenant-General Depinder Singh's rough estimate of the number who escaped north of Colombo was 1,000 to 1,200.

But the Indians have taken heavy casualties in the 15-day battle. The latest official figure is 159 killed, with 555 wounded and 38 missing.

None of the leading Tigers have been killed or captured. There is every indication that the remaining rebels will regroup and reopen an offensive.

Meanwhile, horror stories from refugees and others trapped in the fighting zone have multiplied. The few reporters who have managed to breach the tight Indian controls on access to the Jaffna peninsula have brought back detailed accounts of indiscriminate artillery fire, strafing from Sri Lankan helicopter gunships, and other atrocities committed by the advancing troops.

The Indians stoutly deny all such allegations. They are now sufficiently confident of ultimate victory to have allowed two parties of reporters to visit Jaffna at the weekend.

The reporters were taken to the old Dutch fort, where they heard the evidence of continuing fighting: sniper fire, sporadic shelling, and mortar exchanges.

But the new Indian commander in the peninsula, Major General A.S. Kalkat, told them: "We control the metropolitan part of the city. The final battle

is over." The "final battle" apparently referred to the Tigers' ferocious response to the initial Indian attacks, when the rebels stood their ground and defended carefully prepared bunkers and trenches.

The fighting has since entered a new phase, with the Tigers reverting to ambushes, sniping, and landmines; techniques in which they have proved a deadly efficiency.

Reporters and refugees from the north agree that the rebels, far from defeated or even demoralised, remain highly organised and determined to resist the Indian occupying forces.

On both sides, it is now tacitly accepted that Jaffna is a prestige, rather than practical, prize. The Tigers have said they will defend it to the last man, and the Indians seem about to prove the emptiness of that boast.

But there is ample evidence that the rebels are capable of a psychological as well as tactical shift to guerrilla warfare in other Tamil areas, including a huge swathe of northern Sri Lanka beyond the Jaffna peninsula.

On Thursday, one of the key escape and supply routes of the Tamil Tigers, the ferry over the lagoon separating Jaffna from the rest of Northern Province, was abruptly cut by Indian troops backed by Sri Lankan helicopters. Refugees spoke of indiscriminate firing from the air, which killed one person and wounded several more.

But by Saturday, the Indian troops had pulled out of the southern shore of the lagoon. The road leading to the ferry was almost deserted.

One young Tiger volunteer cradling an assault rifle, with a companion carrying a walkie talkie radio, provided the only evidence of a war that has already claimed hundreds of lives and looks increasingly to be developing into a bloody stalemate.

# Siege over, focus on succour to Jaffna

BATTLE □ FOR □ JAFFNA

## NEWS

MADRAS, Oct. 26

With the collapse of the organised resistance of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and establishment of the Indian Peace Keeping Force's control over Jaffna, the focus is now on relief measures which have started in earnest, according to an External Affairs Ministry spokesman here today.

He told presspersons that a team of IAS officers and other civilian advisers would leave for Jaffna shortly to work with the IPKF in providing relief measures to the people. They would help restore normality and assist the local administration.

## TNEB engineers in Jaffna

Four engineers including two from the Tamil Nadu Electricity Board—a superintending engineer and an executive engineer—flew into Jaffna today to study measures needed to restore power supply in the town. High priority is being given to re-erection of high tension wires damaged by the LTTE and it will be done in phases.

Four medical teams of four members each from the Indian Red Cross also landed in Jaffna today. They will attend to the immediate needs of the people around the Nallur Kandaswamy temple.

The Indian vessel "Island Glory" is unloading relief supplies at the Kankasanturai port and the goods have started moving into Jaffna.

The IPKF yesterday distributed 15 tonnes of food packets to the people around the Nallur temple, the Jaffna University and Navatkuli areas.

The spokesman said the highest attention was being paid in New Delhi to restoring normal civilian life in Jaffna. "Our primary emphasis is on opening a line of communication to feed them (the people) and give them medical assist-

ance," the spokesman said. "We are now looking at the welfare of the people."

The general mood of the people in Jaffna was one of relief. They were emerging from a situation of siege they were in for almost four years.

To another query, the spokesman said that Jaffna has always been a symbol of the LTTE's extra-constitutional authority, which has been removed. Qualitatively, it is a different political situation. They (LTTE) no longer exercise armed control. They have fled. The LTTE men, while fleeing, had ransacked a number of houses on the outskirts of Jaffna, he said.

The IPKF had captured a number of LTTE militants and many other LTTE men were also killed. "To that extent, they have been disarmed." In Navatkuli, one of the LTTE's arms dumps was discovered. The existence of the dump was reported to the IPKF by one of the civilians there.

The spokesman said the "contact continues" with the LTTE even after the "Tigers" had fled.

Replying to a newsperson, the spokesman said Maj. Gen. Harkirat Singh, GOC, IPKF, met Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, Overall Force Commander, IPKF, today in Madras, after the former's consultations in Delhi. Maj. Gen. Harkirat Singh is expected to be back in Palaly in the Jaffna peninsula in a day or two.

## Nallur temple priest hands over three jawans

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct. 26.

Three jawans of the Mahar Regiment were handed over to the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) by the priest of the Nallur Kandaswamy temple in Jaffna. It is not known where or when they were captured by the LTTE, but

47 soldiers are officially listed as "missing in action." The IPKF has been liaising with the Nallur temple priest who has been helping in the distribution of IPKF relief supplies.

In a last ditch stand, the LTTE today fired on the IPKF from some buildings in the Kokkuvil area. The buildings have been surrounded by the IPKF and it is believed that the area is one of the LTTE's last bastions.

**Mopping up operation:** An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said here today that the IPKF was now engaged in "mopping-up operations" in Jaffna city to eliminate sporadic fire from snipers. It is also clearing the city of the extensive mines and booby traps laid by the LTTE. Yesterday, the IPKF lost five jawans and 28 were wounded, mostly from mine blasts. The spokesman said 20 LTTE militants had been killed in the last 24 hours.

IPKF helicopters were fired upon while dropping food packets for the refugees in the Nallur temple area. There are 56,000 refugees at 15 locations, the largest concentration being in the Nallur temple and the Hindu College. Sniper fire was directed at the IPKF from buildings around the temple.

The spokesman said the LTTE seemed "bent upon" impeding the IPKF's relief and rehabilitation efforts started on a massive scale. "After having lost their bastions in Jaffna, the LTTE hierarchy is desperately trying to keep the civilian population under its coercive domination."

UNI reports from Jaffna:

Brig. Manjit Singh, Commander of the IPKF at the Jaffna municipal area, ruled out house-to-house searches in this town of 1.5 million people as this could antagonise the local population against the IPKF. He said even the chief priest of the Nallur temple had confessed that his son was an LTTE member.

## DMK protest

Madras, Oct. 26: DMK President M. Karunanidhi on Monday night broke a television and a radio set as a token protest against what he alleged was the disinformation campaign by the Centre on the Eelam issue.

Addressing a public meeting at Purasawalkam on the eve of the DMK's picketing of Central Government offices in the City on Tuesday, Mr. Karunanidhi charged the Centre with suppressing the Sri Lankan Tamil militants.

Mr. Karunanidhi said the DMK agitation was not politically motivated, but only to highlight the plight of the Lankan Tamils.

DMK MPs V. Gopalaswami, N. V. N. Somu and party leaders K. Anbazhagan, S. J. Sadiq Pasha and Manjil Manoharan also spoke.



DMK Chief M. Karunanidhi with the TV set he broke as a token protest on Monday night. Express

# Pak., Israeli arms seized by IPKF

NEWS

JAFFNA, Oct. 26.

Large quantities of arms with Pakistani and Israeli markings have been seized from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) militants by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).

IPKF officers told this to visiting reporters who were taken round the war ravaged town. The arms included heavy mortars, grenades, medium machineguns and the highly rated Uzi machine carbines.

Though the IPKF announced a successful conclusion of "Operation Pawan" to dislodge the entrenched LTTE from Jaffna, some remnant LTTE cadres continue to be held up in the town, particularly in their stronghold near the famous Nallur Kandaswamy Temple, the university area and in some pockets in the eastern part of the town.

IPKF sources said though the whole of Jaffna and eastern Trincomalee areas were highly patrolled, there were reports of a recent landing of a large arms consignment by sea.

The sources, citing intelligence reports, said last fortnight the LTTE took delivery of 700 heavy calibre weapons in the eastern province.

The sources said the arms were obviously smuggled in by sea. There were reports in the past of the LTTE owning two ocean going vessels which were used to smuggle in arms following clandestine purchases in South East Asia.

The sources said that after a tipoff last week,

the Indian Navy and Sri Lankan patrols had scared off a vessel which was trying to sneak into Sri Lankan waters.—PTI

**1000 may have died:** At least a thousand people, troops, militants and civilians are estimated to have died in the battle for Jaffna. Even as the IPKF said it had gained "effective control" over the municipal limits of the town yesterday, a mine-blast killed the 150th member of the force.

The worst casualties suffered by the IPKF was in the commando raid on the telecommunication centre of the LTTE on the Jaffna University campus on the night of October 12. A company of support troops, landed in the wrong clearing, was surrounded by the LTTE. After holding out for 24 hours, their ammunition ran out and 29 of them were killed.

**LTTE loses 700:** The LTTE has lost 700 of its men, according to compilations by the IPKF of intercepted radio messages although no physical verification has been made.

Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, Overall Commander of the IPKF, said the army had no count of civilian casualties. The LTTE claimed through its London offices yesterday that the toll was as high as 200.

More conservative estimates by church authorities put the figure at half that and army officers here say it is a reliable figure.

## LTTE CLAIMS

On 26.10.87 in the morning at about 10 'o clock, at Ponnalai bridge, Indian helicopters, attacked with new types of rocket mortars on the people who have lost their all and were leaving their hearth and home as refugees. The Indian helicopters threw 5 rocket mortars. Five innocent civilians, including a boy were killed and 15 were wounded. Two of them lost their legs and two mini buses were destroyed.

In the fierce battle, that brokeout in the morning at Kokkuvil Junction and Parameswara Junction, between the LTTE and the Indian army, the Liberation Tigers captured 2 R.M.G., 4 S.L.R., 4 S.M.G. and one pasuka rocket launcher from the Indian army.

At Kokkuvil Junction when the LTTE attacked a military truck mounted with cannon, it was completely destroyed. All those in the vehicle were also killed on the spot.

At Peraru in Trincomalee District, the LTTE camp was surrounded and attacked by the Sinhala army. This took place at about 11 a.m. There was no loss of weapons on the side of the LTTE.

Shells fell on Subramaniam ashram Alaveddy 12 refugees died. Number of others injured.

**IPKF IN JAFFNA:** Above left: Brigadier Manjit Singh, Commander of the IPKF in the Jaffna municipal area, keeping himself fully informed of the current operations. Indian Express





# Can IPKF win over the Tamils?

By VASUKI RAO

Express News Service

**Jaffna, Oct. 26:** Although the Peace-Keeping Force has virtually won the battle of Jaffna against the LTTE, India appears to have lost the support of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

This is the impression one got during a brief visit to Jaffna on Sunday and even briefer chats with some Tamils at the General Hospital here.

As you fly over Jaffna you see only a vast expanse of greenery upto the horizon, coconut trees rising majestically above them, and the Indian Ocean constantly kissing the coastline. The sky was heavily overcast and rain peppered the island in sudden bursts. There is no fear of drought here.

However, this picture of idyllic bliss was rudely shattered as we landed at Palaly airfield outside Jaffna. The airfield was ringed by gun emplacements of the IPKF, and the only activity around was of the Indian army and air force.

**A ghost town:** Jaffna is a ghost town with its soul shattered. All buildings have been heavily damaged in the LTTE's quarrels with the Sri Lankan army and the IPKF. Because of the curfew, not a soul was in sight — not even stray dogs. The only sound we heard was the groan of army vehicles, the clatter of air force helicopters, and the caws of crows. These were punctuated by sudden bursts of machine-gun fire, and loud explosions as army engineers destroyed the mines.

It was only at the hospital that a group of visiting Delhi journalists saw civilians for the first time. A young Tamil in his twenties alleged that his shop was bombed by an IAF aircraft. However, at the airfield the only aircraft seen were helicopters and transport planes of the IAF even though fighting was still raging in parts of the town. An old man came out of a ward holding his grandson and alleged that his daughter and several other members of the family were killed in Indian shelling. These chats gave the distinct impression that the IPKF pre-

sence is resented.

**NEWS**

Senior army officials said that when the hostilities between the IPKF and LTTE began on Oct. 9, more than 90 per cent of the Jaffna population backed the militants and provided logistic support. This support is still evident, officials said. LTTE snipers have mingled with the population and fire or dart out to lay mines to hit the IPKF.

**Gloomy outlook:** It is this support and its homeground that enabled the LTTE to fight the might of the Indian army. But what should worry the Indian people is the possibility of the Indian armed forces getting stuck in Sri Lanka for a long period of counter insurgency operations. This will be particularly watched with interest by both Pakistan and China, whose borders with India need constant vigil.

Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, GOC-in-C, Southern Command, said that from the middle of September the LTTE began a campaign to malign the IPKF. It discouraged the civilians from using IPKF medical facilities. It spread rumours of rape and torture. "The LTTE's public relations was excellent," Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh said. "The people easily swallow such stories, and denials are not effective." However, he claimed that the civilian attitude was changing. Some people had offered to take the IPKF to hidden LTTE arms caches.

Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh said he believed that the bulk of the LTTE cadre had escaped from Jaffna after the IPKF operation began. The army commander said his guess was that this number could range from 1000 to 1200, and conceded that even one guerilla could give a lot of trouble. Among those who escaped early in the operations was LTTE chief V. Prabhakaran, who was last reported to have been seen at Point Pedro in the northwest.

The LTTE has given a good fight to the IPKF. Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh said the Pakistanis would have been envious if they had seen the LTTE fortifications

in Jaffna. "I have never in my entire service encountered the amount of explosive content that the LTTE deployed here," he said.

The LTTE has been buying arms from the Singapore market. It received a shipload of 700 weapons in September. It has been using Chinese and Israeli rifles, and Pakistani ammunition. Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh categorically denied that any Indian arms were found with LTTE.

According to army estimates, 600 LTTE militants plus supporters have been killed in the present operations. Other estimates of civilian casualties vary from 60 to 200 dead.

Why is the IPKF concentrating on Jaffna? An official of the Indian External Affairs Ministry said the LTTE had been running the town, it was a state within a state. So its capture would send an important signal both to the people and the LTTE cadre that the rule of armed might would not now be tolerated.

**A faint hope:** The Indian Government still appears to be hoping that Mr. Prabhakaran will change his mind and come to terms, even though he has made it clear while taking on the Indian army that he will not.

The External Affairs Ministry official said if Prabhakaran lays down arms and supports the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, the Indian Government will take up with the Sri Lankan Government any proposal he makes for consideration.

Even if the IPKF does not get involved in a prolonged guerilla war with LTTE, it will be present in Jaffna for many months. Army engineers are being brought here to restore electricity and water supplies and begin rebuilding the shattered town. An estimated 60,000 people have gathered at refugee camps, and they will have to be rehabilitated. At present there is no one even to police the town. Administration is the next step and moves are afoot in India on this aspect.

27.10.87

## Subcontracting Oppression

Ashok Mitra

October 31, 1987

*What is now happening in Sri Lanka is known in the language of commerce as subcontracting. The Sri Lanka president has subcontracted the job of restoring law and order in his country to our prime minister. The Indian fire-power, once it has succeeded in killing off a few thousand Tamil activists, would perhaps be able to enforce a kind of silence in the island. The discontent will smoulder inside though, and peace and amity will remain distant entities. Hatred toward Indians and the Indian regime will be the only common point binding the Sri Lanka Sinhalese and the Sri Lanka Tamils.*

### COMMENT

HYPOCRISY spilth over. Over the years, the good and honest government of India, with a little prodding from the chief minister of Tamil Nadu, had supplied the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam with all the arms and equipment they have felt the need for, including broadcasting and telecasting transmitters. A few months ago, when a Director-General of Police in Tamil Nadu had his wires crossed and seized some of these equipment, he was given quick marching orders, and Tamil Nadu's chief minister, no doubt with the support and consent of New Delhi, arranged for the post-haste return of the transmitters to LTTE personnel.

I loved her once, but that was in another country; besides, the wench is dead. No, the wench is not dead. The LTTE has outlived its utility, the government in New Delhi has cultivated other friends. It has signed an accord with the Sri Lanka president; that accord is *uber alles*. There is thus the feigning of shock and outrage at discovering transmission equipment with the LTTE cadres. This is known as percentage play in both cricket and tennis; you take your chance, people may not remember that, originally, it was you who had provided the transmitters to the boys now being shot down like dogs in the streets and camps of Jaffna and Trincomalee.

Authoritarianism slides into militarism, and none within the country is seemingly much concerned. The fact that our troops are in Sri Lanka and killing Tamil young men at the invitation of the established government in the island is neither here nor there. Since when have we adopted a foreign policy which asserts that, whenever an external power calls upon us, we will supply, *gratis*, our forces so that they might suppress insurgents bothering it? What is happening is known in the language of commerce as subcontracting. The Sri Lanka president has subcontracted the job of restoring law and order in his country to our prime minister. Our troops are carrying out the assignment. Perhaps no bill will be sent either. The Americans did this on a somewhat grander scale in Vietnam twenty-five years ago; they

had the alibi of being invited in by this president Diem or that general Thieu.

The Vietnam analogy is of course somewhat imprecise. The US troops did not mow down in that country anyone who was of American extraction. We have done better; we have taken on the task of exterminating persons of Tamil extraction. All in the line of duty; has not our prime minister signed an agreement with the Sri Lanka president? The terms of the agreement are sacrosanct; whoever stands in the way of the agreement being implemented will be liquidated without compunction. This is officially declared policy in New Delhi, much acclaimed by president Jayewardene. The opposition leaders, so vociferous over Bofors and corruption, have suddenly lost their voice; jingoism is a great leveller of party distinctions. Some amongst the opposition are cheering along our troops because they have suddenly discovered an international conspiracy within LTTE ranks. The American administration and the British establishment too are all for the Indian offensive; president Jayewardene, it is more or less on record, first had cleared it with Washington before inviting the Indians in. It is therefore a formidable joint front, made up of president Reagan, the Indian jingoists and, finally, the Indian ideologues. The agreement has to be saved. If that means obliterating the close-to-three-million Tamil citizens, ah, well, it cannot be helped. The Nazis had a term for such ventures: the final solution. Our jingoists and ideologues would like to call it by a different name: it is restoration of peace, and therefore very much a part of the movement to usher in peace for, and solidarity with, the working masses all over the world. The Americans too, after all, had intended to return Vietnam to tranquillity.

But at least the Americans had the foresight to tag it on to a grander cause: saving the world from communism. In our case, it is only our prime minister's credentials that are at stake. The Tamil boys have to die exclusively on that score. The agreement was not to the liking of the LTTE. There is general recognition that the Liberation Tigers command the loyalty of overwhelm-

ing sections of the Tamil community, otherwise neither country's government would have allowed them a majority of seats on the Interim Administrative Council proposed for the northern and eastern provinces. The majority of Sri Lanka Tamils, it obviously follows, are against the agreement. But so what, the Indian prime minister wanted to sign it, the Tamils do not matter. The principal leader of LTTE was flown to New Delhi and kept in semi-detention until he would agree, with reluctance, to announce to the world that while his heart was not in it and he would not sign the accord, he would not actively oppose it either. In the light of further developments, he and his people have now decided to oppose it. Such insubordination cannot be tolerated. They must be taught the lesson of their lives.

Is it impermissible for the LTTE to have a mind of its own, and not to sign on the dotted line notwithstanding the Indian prime minister and his retinue wanting it to? The devolution of powers and resources to the proposed Tamil-dominated province is left undefined in the agreement, but the government of India, about everybody knows, is trying to persuade the Sri Lanka authorities to accept the pattern of devolution settled for our own states in the Seventh Schedule of the constitution. Given the experience of the states here, it would be utterly suicidal for the Sri Lanka Tamils to accept the formula being offered to them. The Concurrent List in our constitution is a sham, for, in regard to each item covered by this List, the voice of the Union, the constitution says, must prevail. The State List too can be played around with impunity; a state government cannot enforce even a land reform legislation without the centre's concurrence, irrespective of the garrulity of the State List. If they fall for the trap of the Indian model, the Sri Lanka Tamils would be unable to run their broadcasting and television programmes. The reservations felt by the LTTE about what the Indian authorities would like to force down their throat are thus both understandable and justified.

Has New Delhi, besides, any *locus standi* to sign an agreement which concerns Sri Lanka's internal affairs? Our prime minister presumed to append his signature on behalf of the island's Tamil population. Because he and his mother had provided shelter and various kinds of other assistance to the insurgent Tamils, he regards it his prerogative to take decisions on their behalf and pin them down to these decisions. If they would not be pinned down, he would shoot them.

There is no provision in the United Nations Charter of Human Rights which allows him such a privilege. If the Tamils would not listen to him, he could have simply asked them to clear out of Indian soil and try to shape their destinies elsewhere. He could have considered the investment on the LTTE as a dead loss and left it there. He could have informed the Sri Lanka president

that, sorry, he was unable to make the Tamils see reason and observe the terms of the agreement, so he, president Jayewardene, was welcome to take whatever measures he chose to take. But, despite the opposition parties, with tails demurely between their legs, supporting him, our prime minister had no business to indulge in the exterminating operation he has at the moment embarked upon.

The rejoinder perhaps would be that, had our troops not gone in and quelled the Tamil insurgency—an insurgency which our government itself had initially fuelled in order to curry favour with Tamil Nadu's chief minister—the Sri Lanka president would have called US troops in, and we could then be indirectly held responsible for American intrusion in the region. Wishes however are not horses, not even president Jayewardene's horses. President Reagan and the Republican administration have for the present enough on their hands. Nicaragua and the Gulf are claiming their harassed, undivided attention. After Irancon, it would for some time be pretty impossible for the US government to engage itself militarily in any other part of the world without the explicit sanction of the Congress. With a presidential election coming up next year, Congressmen and Senators would have never agreed to be involved in such a dubious cause as Sri Lanka. The American administration had, after all, already done its arithmetic and had accordingly suggested to the Sri Lanka president that he better get his dirty work done by the Indians; New Delhi would have been kept fully informed of the advice tendered by the Americans.

Therefore our prime minister marched his troops—our troops—only to satisfy his ego. He and his advisers live by the day, and are incapable of seeing beyond their noses. By going into Sri Lanka, we may have made the island's president, who is ruling by emergency decrees, happy. But to the rest of the Sinhala population—and this would certainly include important functionaries of the government itself—our name is mud. It will now take decades before the Sri Lanka population would once more be prepared to consider us as anything but aggrandisers; no people like to be interfered with. The Sinhalese heap scorn on the accord and are outraged by the Indian presence. The Tamils dislike it with equal vehemence. The Indian fire-power, once it has succeeded in killing off a few thousand Tamil activists, would perhaps be able to enforce a kind of silence in the island. The discontent will smoulder inside though, and peace and amity will remain distant—indeed, very distant—entities. Hatred toward Indians and the Indian regime will be the only common point binding the Sri Lanka Sinhalese and the Sri Lanka Tamils.

By our adventure in Sri Lanka, we have handed over to the Pakistan authorities a bonus propaganda point: if India could do it in Sri Lanka, next time she would be tempted to do it in Bangladesh, or Bhutan, or

Nepal, or the Maldives. Some of these nations, much in the manner of Sri Lanka, will keep their fear and distrust of us within themselves and even accept our gifts. They will nonetheless continue to hate India with a cathartic glee, and wait for the first opportunity to do us in. Big brothers, more particularly big brothers who practise the dictum of heads-I-win-tails-you-lose, are not popular in any neighbourhood.

On the other hand, the people who should worry the most are the Chakmas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. They are being squeezed out, the Bangladeshis from the plains want to settle in their lands, they are fleeing in droves and seeking shelter in Tripura and some of the other states and union territories in the north-east. Occa-

sionally they have been receiving some bounties from the union government. But they should be watchful. One of these days, the Indian prime minister may feel like signing an accord on their behalf with the Bangladesh government. They might not like it, they would not be given a choice. And if they give vent to any funny intentions, maybe Indian troops would be invited into Bangladesh territory to take care of their intransigence. The glory of the *imperium* that is India would remain intact. The prime minister's more than loyal opposition would nod approving heads. They would oppose him, but only on issues which do not affect the nation's imperial interests. The Tamils and the Chakmas and suchlike are expendable, a great nation soon learns to rise beyond these petty concerns.



Caravan, Oct 87



## REPORT

**T**he Jaffna Hospital was occupied by the IPKF about 4 p.m. on Deepavali day, October 21, 1987. About 50 people died in the process and their bodies were burnt lay within the hospital premises. On October 23 about 81 bodies were burnt on the orders of Brigadier Brar of the IPKF, the whole operation being supervised by Captain Bist of Headquarters Fort Camp, Jaffna, with the assistance of Dr. Kanagarajah and Dr. Bansari, both of the IPKF. No inquests or postmortems were held before the bodies were disposed of.

The dead included 20 members of the hospital's Administrative and X-Ray Branches. Also killed that day were many patients warded in the hospital and their relatives who were visiting them at the time of the IPKF operation, totalling 30. Another 12 bodies in an advanced stage of decomposition were in the mortuary. None of the 12 could be identified.

All 20 of the hospital staff were identified by their colleagues. Of the other 30 only 11 were identified either by relatives or by the identity cards found on the bodies. Some of the dead were beyond identification as the bodies were badly mutilated from the shooting and shelling. Many of the unidentified were believed to have been patients, but positive identification was not possible as many BHTs (Bed Head Tickets) were missing in the chaos and confusion that accompanied the IPKF occupation of the hospital and by the shelling.

Many of the deaths of patients was due to lack of medical care. Several patients badly injured and bleeding profusely after the IPKF shelling of the hospital could not be taken up for immediate surgery as the Operating Theatre had also been damaged by shells. The power failure resulted in the death of 3 patients including an infant in the Intensive Care Unit who at the time was fitted with an electric sucker. The other two were on Ventilators at the time. The Blood Bank could not function after the power failure.

**The Jaffna General Hospital literally stinks.**

**'There is no water and no electricity.'**

**The mortuary is full of corpses.**

**Up to Friday, 75 people's (ages ranging from one year to 85) bodies were brought to hospital.**

**SR learns more bodies are yet to be brought to hospital.**

**The Nurses' Quarters was hit by shells. The nurses escaped death because they took refuge in the ground floor. They are understandable reluctant to work.**

**The Tellipalai Govt. Hospital has closed down.**

**A private hospital at Manipay - Green Memorial Hospital - has also been forced to close down**



# Massacre at the Hospital

We give below the names and designations of the hospital staff killed by the IPKF and where their bodies were found:

1. Dr. A. Sivapathasunderam, Consultant Paediatrician (in X-Ray Block); 2. Dr. M.K. Ganesaratnam, Registrar, Sugery (X-Ray Block); 3. Dr. Parimelalakar, MO, OPD (hospital entrance, facing Clock Tower Rd.); 4. Miss. Vadivel, Matron (AO's Office); 5. Mr. Kanapathy Krishnarajah, Overseer (X-Ray Block); 6. Mr. Kandian Selvarajah, Overseer (X-Ray Block); 7. Miss. Mankayatkary; 8. Paramanathan, Nursing Office (X-Ray Block); 9. Miss. Leelawathy, Nursing Office (X-Ray Block); 10. Mr. Vaitilingam Shanmugalingam, Ambulance Driver (Overseer's Office); 11. Mr. Ramalingam Suhumar, labourer (Overseer's Office); 12. Mr. Gopalapillai Uruthiren, labourer (Overseer's Office); 13. Mr. Sivaloganathan, labourer (Overseers' Office); 14. Mr. Ponnambalam Varatharajah, labour (Overseers' Office); 15. Mr. Kurusu John Peter, labourer (Overseers' Office); 16. Mr. Markandu, labourer (Overseers' Office); 17. Mr. Muthukumar Thuraiarah, labourer (Overseers' Office); 18. Mr. Kaniah Vetharanium (Wd. 12 corridor); 19. Mr. Rajaratnam Ratnarajah, labourer (Overseers' Office); 20. Mr. Pandian Sivarajah, labourer (Overseers' Office); 21. Mr. Sinnappu Joganathan, labourer (Overseers' Office).

We give below the names of patients, their relatives and civilians who took refuge in the hospital and who fell victim to the IPKF:

22. Mr. Sinnathamby Velupillai, civilian (X-Ray Block); 23. Mrs. Avudaimmah Soodamany, patient, Wd. 8B (X-Ray Block); 24. Mr. Seller Sivapatham, pt. Wd. 15 (X-Ray Block); 25. Mr. Sinnavai Sinnathurai, pt. Wd. 14 (X-Ray Block); 26. Mrs. Rajasri Thiagarajah, pt. Wd. 9B (X-Ray Block); 27. Mrs. Maheswari Rajadurai, civilian (X-Ray Block); 28. Mr. Mahendran Thuraiamy, civilian (X-Ray Block); 29. Mr. Periyanyagam, civilian (X-Ray Block); 30. Mr. Easwaran, civilian (X-Ray Block); 31. Ramiah, pt. Wd. 19 (Wd. 14); 32. Mr. Subramaniam, cook, HO quarters (Overseers' Office); 33. a young girl, pt. Wd. 8A (died in bed when shell hit ward); 34. elderly woman, pt. Wd. 8 (corridor by Overseers' Office); 35. elderly man, pt. Wd. 14 (in same ward); 36. elderly man with left eye patch, pt. Wd. 15 (X-Ray Block); 37. a teenage boy, civilian (X-Ray Block); 38. elderly man with grey hair, pt. Surgical Wd. (X-Ray Block); 39. man, middle-age, pt. Surgical Wd. (X-Ray Block); 40. elderly woman, pt. Surg. Wd. (X-Ray Block); 41. man, middle-age, pt. Surg. Wd. (X-Ray Block); 42. elderly woman, pt. Surg. Wd. (X-Ray Block); 43. elderly man, pt. Med. Wd. (in Wd. 14); 44. young man, pt. Med. Wd. (X-Ray Block); 45. middle-aged woman, pt. Med. Wd. (X-Ray Block); 46. middle-aged man, pt. Med. Wd. (X-Ray Block); 47. middle-aged woman, pt. Med. Wd. (X-Ray Block); 48. young girl, civilian (corridor by Overseers' Office); 49. middle-aged woman, civilian (near hospital entrance facing Clock Tower Rd.); 50. youngman, Wd. 5, Bed 1 (shell blast victim); 51. Mrs. Visuvalingam Yogammah, 50 yrs. Wd. 8B (shell blast); 52. Mr. Subramaniam Sunthareswaran, 22 yrs. Wd. 25 (shell blast); 53. Mr. S. Poobalasingham, Wd. 5. BHT 33397 (cause of death could not be ascertained); 54. middle-aged man, Wd. 5 (shell blast); 55. elderly man, Wd. 18 Bed 4 (shell blast); 56. Sathesekumar Ratnasingham, 10 yrs. Wd. 25 (shall blast); 57. Vijayakumar Ratnasingham, 14 yrs. Wd. 25 (shell blast); 58. Mr. Sinnathurai Vinathan, 30 yrs. Wd. 25 (shell blast); 59. Mr. Iyadurai, Wd. 6, diabetic ulcer, (died from lack of medical care); 60. Mr. Nadarajah Jeyaseelan, Wd. 25 (shell blast); 61. elderly man, Wd. 25 (casue of death could not be ascertained); 62. Miss. Nilaw, (died when Ventilator could not be operated after power failure); 63. Vinotha, 6 mths. (died when electric sucker stopped with power failure); 64. Jayaseelan, 18 yrs. (died when Ventilator could not be operated after power failure); 65. 4-day old baby (died from neonatal Jaundice); 66. young man, about 20 yrs. Wd. 25 (shell blast); 67. old man, 60 yrs. Wd. 25 (cause of death could not be ascertained).

A report containing all available details as given above was handed over to Dr. Natchinarkiniyan of the Jaffna General Hospital on November 7, 1987.

# Jaffna hospital has suffered little

NEWS

JAFFNA, Oct. 27.

The Jaffna Government and Teaching Hospital complex, with its red tiled Dutch pattern blocks, stands unscathed, with no visible signs of damage, as correspondents from international media were taken there by the Indian Peace-Keeping Force.

"We have nothing to hide and you see for yourself", the extent of "vicious lies that were bandied about" by the propaganda machinery of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam that the hospital had been shelled indiscriminately by the Indian troops and that many were killed, Brigadier Manjit Singh told the visiting presspersons.

Not only the hospital but its posh surroundings, with a cluster of good looking bungalows and rows of shops, are apparently untouched in the midst of the eerie silence of the forlorn town of 1.3 lakh people.

"The untampered shops and closed houses also give the lie to the allegations of looting and pillage", the Brigadier said.

"There are patients in the hospital. The IPKF doctors are looking after them despite severe constraints they face in attending to the injuries of our own men", he said.

The journalists were taken around a women's ward where most patients were lying with plastered limbs, suffered in shelling in different parts of the town and its vicinity.

Mrs. Vasantha, 40, with a big plaster from her shoulder to her left palm, said she suffered injuries when a school in which she had taken shelter was shelled a few days ago. She was not certain who fired them. But "we are being looked after in whatever way possible by the IPKF doctors here," she said. The presspersons, however, could not meet any doctor or nurse in the hospital.

The IPKF stood guard in battle readiness in several rooms.

The press party was taken in army trucks in the company of senior officers with jawans standing on the vehicles holding automatic weapons against sniper attacks by stray LTTE militants from behind the deserted residential buildings.

IPKF jawans in olive green uniforms and camouflaged helmets, were seen entrenched in the residential locality around the general hospital, their guns pointing to the assumed enemy. The railway station, near the hospital, is intact but apparently there are some black patches on the inside walls, possibly due to burning.

About 1,500 refugees, including women and children, huddle inside the big complex and the building of the "Our Lady of Refuge" Church, one of the many designated points in Jaffna town and its neighbourhood, where over four lakh people have taken shelter responding to the IPKF call.

The journalists freely talked to the hapless people. The refugees in the church reeled off stories, which no amount of euphemism, however, could hide.

There are problems of sanitation, food and other predicaments. Some complain of "ill-treatment of various sorts by the IPKF", but most of the refugees say the vast majority of the Indian officers and men "are extremely well behaved."

The refugees in the church were almost without food for two days, but the IPKF was giving them food now, said a man sitting with his wife in a corner of the sprawling hall of the church. He introduced himself as a Government employee, but preferred to remain anonymous.

"Canards spread": Regarding complaints against some IPKF men, some refugees said that militants in the garb of civilians were spreading these canards.

The "totalitarian influence" of the LTTE, which ruled by guns in the peninsula for over years, is so overwhelming among the population that they say whatever they are prompted to say. Otherwise, "bullets await them". They have not yet been able to overcome the LTTE spell. Once the IPKF settles down everything, and brings about the normality to some extent, these wild allegations would start withering away, according to a senior army officer.

Earlier, the media people were flown to Navatkuli from the IPKF headquarters in Palaly, a 15 minute hop by choppers and from there to Mandaitivu, connected with the Jaffna Fort by a causeway.

**Desolate land:** The whole chunk of the land from Palaly to Navatkuli and from there to Mandaitivu, and the Jaffna Fort and places around presented an awesome desolate look with no human being outside, barring the IPKF men in battle readiness. Only tents of the Indian soldiers pop up around Palaly and the Navatkuli sectors like mushrooms in shrubs and fields, as the curfew in the battle-scarred Jaffna and its neighbourhood continues for over 15 days now.

In Navatkuli, where the IPKF is now well entrenched with full control over residential areas in the town and rural surroundings, Brig. J. S. Dhilon told journalists that they took control of the area about five days ago after tough LTTE resistance.

They also heavily depended on explosives, land mines and booby traps. We have lost 17 of our men, apart from 93 wounded", Brig. Dhilon said.

An assorted pile of LTTE weapons, ranging from land and Claymore mines to mortar shells etc., were displayed at the IPKF camp at Navatkuli. Some of the landmines, an officer says, are as powerful as to blow up heavy tanks.

**Distant boom:** On the main water tank of the town, at a far distant place, a red flag was seen. When asked, Col. T.P.S. Brar of the IPKF said: Yes, it is the Tiger and we will bring it down." As Brig. Manjit Singh was saying that the guns of the militants had been silenced, a loud boom on the distant horizon greeted his observation amid laughter. The Brigadier said it was at a distance of three to four km in some pockets of resistance by the LTTE. They were being mopped up.

Asked about his assessment of the LTTE as a fighting force, Maj. Gen. A. S. Kalkat, Commander of the IPKF in the north, said it was similar to the other guerilla groups with no compunction in using women and children for their violent campaign.

A CRPF Jawan from Kerala said he had used 300 rounds during the military operations. "They were coming at us from all sides. We

had to shoot them or get killed."

A soldier from Uttar Pradesh said it took one or two days for the IPKF to get used to the tactics adopted by the LTTE. Initially, the LTTE had sent small children with explosives strapped to their bodies to the IPKF, he said. "When we gather around to comfort the child there is an explosion and the child as well as our men around are blown to pieces." — UNI - PTI

## LTTE's 'double-faced' strategy

NEW DELHI, Oct. 27.

An External Affairs spokesman said here today that the LTTE radio intercepts had indicated that the militants were discussing the possibilities of halting armed action but were simultaneously chalking out plans to re-group their forces. The spokesman did not give details.

The IPKF was continuing its operations to clear Jaffna of snipers and defusing mines and booby traps. Three huge caches of ammunition and explosives had been discovered by the IPKF in the last 24 hours, the spokesman said.

Apart from 125 kg of gunpowder, the LTTE dumps had pistols (2), Claymore mines (30), landmines (26), anti-personnel mines (266), hand grenades (828), rockets (76), detonators (2,380), small arms ammunition (one box) and assorted bombs (15).—Our Special Correspondent

A poster from Madras Medical students

**கொடுமைகொடுமை**  
**யாழ் மருத்துவமனையில்**  
**இந்திய அழிவுப் (கொடுமை)கூட்டு**  
**ஐந்து மருத்துவர்கள் மாணம்.**  
**ஒன்பது நபர்கள் கற்பழித்துக்கொடு**  
**உயிர்காக்கும் மருத்துவர்களின்**  
**உயிரைப் பறித்த இந்திய அரசே!**  
**கற்பழிப்பு முறைதானா?**  
**கண்ணியம் என்பது இதுதானா?**  
**சிங்களப் பாதையில் செல்வதற்கான**  
**இடவரன் வழியில் இந்திய அரசா?**  
**மருத்துவக்கல்வியாளர் மாணவர்கள்.**



# Indian troops finally take over in Jaffna

REPORT

27 October 1987

From Bruce Palling  
in Jaffna

INDIA HAS finally taken over the heart of Jaffna after the Tamil Tigers abruptly withdrew and disappeared into the heavily populated Jaffna peninsula. More than 100,000 refugees are in need of food and shelter until the Indian army completes the daunting task of defusing hundreds of mines and booby traps left behind in the deserted city.

Although senior Indian officers are putting a brave face on the Tigers' disappearance, it is a serious blow. The Indian peacekeeping force had set out to disarm or crush the separatists.

Correspondents were escorted by Indian troops through the shuttered city yesterday in an armed convoy. Despite the devastation around Jaffna fort, caused by four years of heavy exchanges of fire between the Sri Lankan army and the Tigers, the city appeared relatively unscathed by the latest fighting.

Houses we drove past were abandoned but intact, although some had their furniture strewn on the street where it was used for barricades and road blocks by the Tigers. Market stalls were locked, with little evidence of looting. Apart from Indian troops, the only signs of life were dogs foraging through piles of rubbish.

We could hear occasional machine gun bursts and heavy explosions coming from the north-eastern part of Jaffna. Indian officers said troops were meeting pockets of resistance as the army went about "sterilising the city sector by sector". Indian soldiers appeared to be in good spirits despite losing more than 160 dead and 600 injured. Tiger casualties are a matter of conjecture — the rebels say their dead number only 50; the Indians assert 500 have been killed.

The Indian army would not take correspondents to the biggest concentration of refugees in Jaffna at the Hindu Nallur Temple but instead escorted us to the Our Lady of Refuge Catholic Church. A shell had destroyed a large section of the roof above the altar. It was impossible to discover who had fired the round although many of the 1,200 civilians sheltering there blamed the Indian forces.

By chance, I met a retired schoolmaster who had shown me round Jaffna when I visited here two months ago. He was haggard and dressed in a borrowed shirt

and sarong. "The Indians said they didn't bomb — they bombed. They said they didn't shell — they shelled us day and night. If Rajiv really believes this didn't happen, then he is a damned fool," he said. "There is also a feeling that we have been let down by the Tigers after we had such a brief period of peace, but that doesn't mean we should have to suffer at the hands of the Indians."

On our journey out of Jaffna we persuaded the acting Indian commander, Major-General A.S. Kalkat to let us visit the hospital. The Tigers had accused the Indians of reducing it to rubble, killing 300 patients and wounding many more.

There was no sign of any damage to the walls or roof of the hospital, and the 20 patients we spoke to said they were being well treated by the Indian doctors who had arrived at the weekend. Many had lost limbs or were suffering from serious shrapnel wounds.

There is a general sense of betrayal felt by the Tamil population against India. "They [the Indian army] should have stayed away. Why should a big power come and treat us like the Sri Lankan army did?" asked a retired civil servant.





## LETTER

# PLAYING SUPERPOWER IN LANKA

SIR,—Much of what Sunanda K. Datta-Ray writes in "India's New Role in Lanka" (October 18-19) will be debated but I am particularly intrigued by the conclusion that "the entanglement in Jafna is the price of regional hegemony." But why should India seek to play the superpower or extend a sort of "Monroe doctrine" to Sri Lanka or anywhere else in South Asia? Is it because India is overwhelmingly bigger in size and population that it feels it has a sort of divine right to exercise a form of suzerainty over them? If so, India can hardly criticize the USA for seeking to bring its smaller southern and eastern neighbours under its umbrella.

Traditionally, India has never sought to impose its might on others. What then prompted the Government to embark on this unfortunate adventure which, as Mr Datta-Ray says, may lead to a Vietnam or a Cyprus situation or, I would add, to something similar to the Afghanistan scenario? The answer lies in the lust for personal power on the one hand, and the sense of political instability on the other that haunts and motivates our rulers.

The tragedy of Punjab with its not-so-famous accord, Assam's holocaust and the uneasy accord, the humiliating Mizoram accord and the so-called GNLF negotiations illustrate our rulers' need for personal image-building whenever they feel threatened politically. Because of the Fairfax and Bofors affairs political cosmetics are sought in the Sri Lanka adventure without any thought to the grave consequences that could follow, so that today we are accused of being directly responsible for the holocaust in Sri Lanka.

Rebutting the Sri Lankan Prime Minister's allegations at the U.N., India pleaded that its peace-keeping force went to Sri Lanka at Colombo's specific request. That may be so, but Moscow also claims that its troops have been fighting in Afghanistan for seven years at Kabul's request. Neither answers reveal the whole truth why India in Sri Lanka and the USSR in Afghanistan are militarily embroiled in the affairs of independent and sovereign States. The sooner both get out, the better for all.—Yours, etc.

P. L. PASRICHA,  
New Delhi, October 19.

On behalf of Tamils of Sri Lanka, I thank you for your 'Opinion - Refugees all' in the Sunday Times of October 25th. Mostly all Sri Lankan newspapers were anti Tamil and treated them as pariahs.

Accidentally I happened to read your papers of the 25th and was very happy to note that there is still some body to show sympathy and understanding to the Tamils. Articles like "Girl ate soap to keep alive" explaining the sufferings of the Tamils and their pathetic situation is never seen in other newspapers.

At the present juncture the Tamils need the sympathy and understanding from the Sri Lankan Govt, as well as from their Sinhala brothers. They should not be left to the mercies of the IPKF. It is true that at one stage the Tamils looked up to the IPKF as their saviours. But now the Tamils have come to realise that the Indians are ruthless and no matter whether they are from Tamil Nadu or not their loyalties are to India, to gain their own selfish interests.

It seems that the Sri Lankan Govt and most of our Sri Lankan brothers of Sinhala origin have forgotten that the Tamils are also Sri Lankans and are gleeful that the Tamils are being ruthlessly harassed by unwelcome foreign troops.

The Tamils salute you for boldly publishing on the front page of this paper, the article "Indian troops on the Rampage" which no other newspaper would have cared to publish as this pinpoints murder and arson on the part of the IPKF.

The letter to the editor "If Indians can why can't we" by Mr. K.M. Sunil of Rajagiriya is very appropriate with an addition, if the Tamils are treated in par with the Sinhalese, they would look up to Sri Lanka as their own.

Now is the chance to prove this. The international & local press and radio news are full of benefits that are given, to the Tamils 'with love from India'. Even the Indian Red Cross is in full swing.

But from Sri Lankans so far nothing but a stony silence, with appreciations and pats on the back for the IPKF for its misdeeds against a section of their own people. How about the Sri Lankan Govt, and the Sinhalese people filling in this void and sending food, fuel etc. along with love and affection to the Tamils and thus earn a lasting trust of the Tamils.

R.R. Balanthiran  
Puttalam

(Operation Pawan)

## CIVILIANS KILLED

### KOKUVIL

Padmavathy	Seenian Kumar
Sudarsan	Anulandarasu
Manobalasingam	Vipulanandarah
Kanapathy	Sellaiah Sellamma
Ratnam	Sellappa Vamadevan
Selvarasa	Sellappa Veerasingam
Arunachalam	Sellappa Rasamany
Subramaniam	Sellar Thiravium
Parameswary	Sellathurai Indirani
Gunaratnam	Velauthampillai
Letcvmupillai	S. Hudson
Ponnaiah	Sinnakutti Suppaiah
Rasiah	Sinnathurai
Navaneethkrishnan	Thiyagarajah
Subramaniam	Velupillai
Indiran	Rajaratnam
Balasubramaniam	Shanmugalingam
Sajoeviny	Pradeep
Suhindan	Siyamala
Kirubakaran	Vigitha
Rasiah Kengatharan	Kandeean
Rasiah Pathmarani	Selvanayagam
Patkunarajah	Ratnarajah
Arunathurai	Sellappapillai
Kanagaratnam	Pararajasingam
Nalaiya	Paikiyalatchumy
Leelavathy	Navaneethan
Saraswathy	Selvanatilli
Murugesu	Ponnamma
Thirunavaukkarasu	Paikyanathan
Sarveswararuby	Tharmalingam
Ganesaratnam	Suseela
Vanathan	Thiruketheeswaran
Thambiraj	Thamilini

# LTTE making last-ditch bid

## NEWS

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct. 27

Elements of the LTTE were reported to be making a last-ditch stand in the heavily built-up Kokkuvil area till this evening. Heavy mortar and small arms fire were reported from the area suspected to be the main headquarters of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) is now using tanks to provide cover to its personnel involved in the flushing-out operations. Unconfirmed reports say that some 12 IPKF personnel were missing in an action in the area. In the Jaffna University area, the IPKF recovered the haversacks and kitbags of the Sikh U jawans who were killed during the commando raid in the area on the night of October 11/12.

The latest casualty list of the IPKF has climbed to 193 killed, 621 wounded and 35 missing. The additional casualties are the result of seriously injured personnel dying in hospitals in Jaffna and India. The latest estimated LTTE casualties are 740 killed.

**Huge arms haul:** With the action in Jaffna winding down, the IPKF has begun search and cordon operations to disarm the militants, the original purpose for which it had to fight its way into Jaffna city. These operations are on in the Eastern and Northern Provinces and large quantities of arms and ammunition have been recovered. South of Urumpirai cross-roads, a large LTTE dump was discovered containing anti-tank mines, other anti-tank devices, explosives trigger devices, and AK-47 assault rifle ammunition.

## BATTLE FOR JAFFNA

A dump located near the Nallur Kandawamy Temple had Claymore mines, land mines, magazines, HE-36 hand grenades, 125 kg of gun powder and a large quantity of anti-personnel mines.

The IPKF is now restoring normality and providing relief to the Jaffna populace. There have been conferences and meeting between IPKF officials and local citizen committees in the Jaffna area. Yesterday 15 tonnes of food was provided overland to groups of refugees in the Nava-kuli area, Kopai North, Nallur temple and the Hindu College. Five tonnes of food packets were dropped in other areas. The loosening of the LTTE grip has enabled air drops from lower altitudes thus making them more efficacious. On October 25, a truck was blown up after it had delivered food to the refugees in the Nallur temple, killing one IPKF soldier and injuring three. There have been no reports of such mining since then.

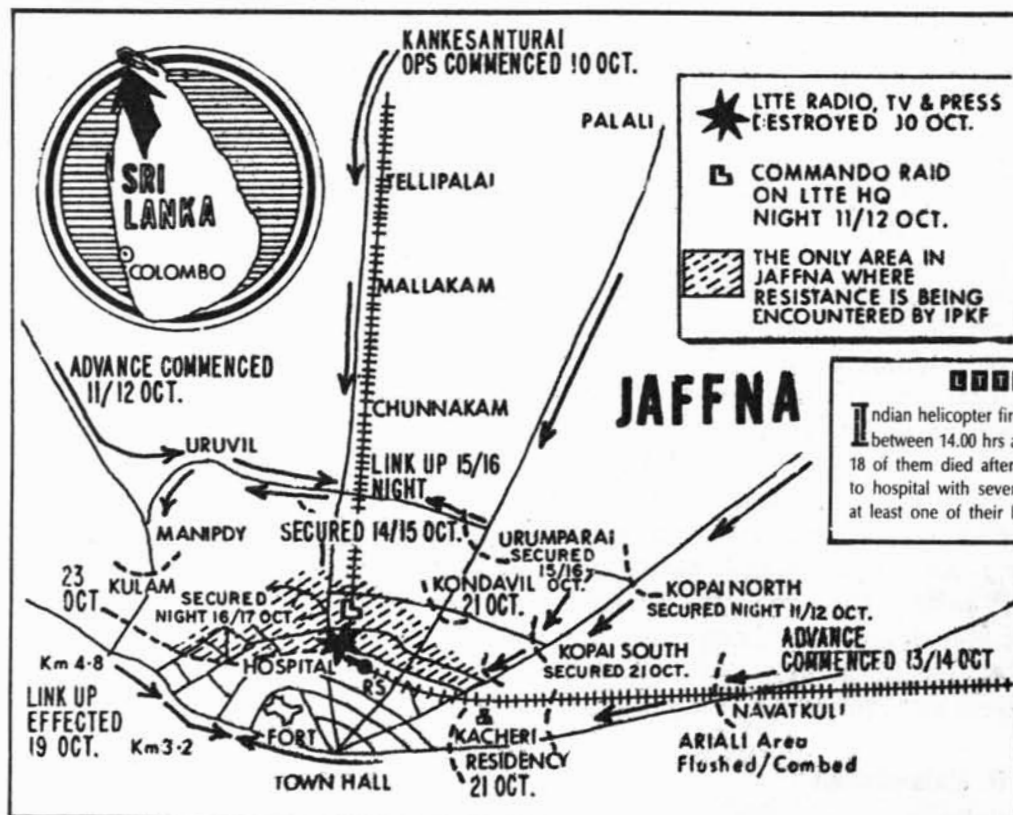
In the Jaffna sector, food and medical relief is now being supplied at all places where refugees have congregated. In the Jaffna Hospital, the Indian Red Cross provided pre-cooked food and medical supplies while all patients coming to the IPKF military camps are treated.

In the Eastern Province, a joint conference was held in the Trincomalee area in which the Tamil and Sinhala residents participated along with the Sri Lankan Government officials. According to reports, there was a general demand for IPKF protection. In the Trincomalee area,

miscreants were reported to have looted a post office at gunpoint and stolen Rs. 5,100 and a large quantity of stamps.

The IPKF is now concentrating on restoring the civic services in Jaffna city but given the reports, considerable time will be needed to make Jaffna safe for normal movement. Even now, small groups of LTTE cadres are very much around and are capable of launching attacks on isolated IPKF pickets. The freeing of Jaffna from the LTTE control does not by any definition imply the restoration of normality. What it means is that the IPKF holds the town militarily — it controls the nodal points, post office, bus stand, railway stations, important cross-roads, etc. The IPKF positions are dictated from the military point of view and there are many areas where the LTTE may be lurking in small groups. They may not be capable of offering any serious challenge to the IPKF military deployment, but they are still capable of striking suddenly at small patrols or pickets especially at night.

**Other major tasks:** The IPKF will also begin operations to keep the LTTE on the run through surprise raids on suspected hideouts in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. There is some pressure on the force to maintain roadblocks on the main highways from the rest of Sri Lanka to the Eastern Province to prevent any illegal infiltration of Sinhala migrants. This and the repatriation of refugees from India to their homes, covered by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, are other aspects of the complex situation.





# Indians secure an empty victory

Derek Brown in Jaffna reports that the Tamil Tigers may have lost the war but have won the battle for hearts and minds

**REPORT** THE BATTLE for Jaffna is all over, bar the shooting. Mortar and small arms fire sounded distantly but steadily yesterday from the ramparts of the town's old Dutch Fort. Three separate curtains of smoke hung over outlying districts.

Brigadier Manjit Singh told reporters during a lull that his men had secured all of Jaffna west of the railway, meaning all important parts of the town. "That is why you are hearing no firing," he said.

A couple of seconds later, an explosion shook the air, followed by a prolonged rattle of automatic fire. "That is probably our north-east column which has not yet linked up with our boys in the town," the brigadier said. "It is three or four kilometres away, not in my area."

Earlier, the new commander of Indian forces in north and east Sri Lanka, Major General Amarjit Singh Kalkat, had formally announced the fall of Jaffna. "There are certain pockets of resistance which will be mopped up," he said.

The general is right. The Indians have taken over the town, but it is an uneasy control, and an empty victory.

Most of the Tamil Tiger defenders, including nearly all the important leaders like the Supreme Commander Velupillai Prabhakaran have melted away.

They will almost certainly regroup the redoubtable Tiger forces in the jungles and towns of the north and east to continue the fight against the Indians on their own guerrilla terms.

Behind them, Jaffna is a broken and silent place of refugees clustered in churches and temples among empty roads. The area around the Fort bears all the signs of two savage campaigns, first by the Sri Lankan army and now by the Indians. It is the Tigers who seem to have won the battle for hearts and minds.

Only one young man inter-

viewed in an admittedly lightning tour of Jaffna Hospital and a nearby refugee camp was prepared to criticise the rebels. "They have missed the boat. They threw away the chance given to them by the Indian Government," he said. "We hate them."

All around him others were saying that though they wanted peace more than anything, the Tigers were "their" boys, and the Indians were the outsiders.

"Some of the soldiers are good to us," said one man in the appropriately named Our Lady of Refuge church. "The south Indians are good to us. They speak Tamil. But the north Indians are rough men."

The man was one of about 1,500 refugees packed into the Catholic church and adjoining school.

Last Thursday, he said, he had been ordered from his nearby house by Sikh soldiers, who were apparently clearing the area before an offensive. One of the soldiers struck him and when his daughter protested, she too was beaten.

Another old man told how his daughter had been killed, when she returned to the family home to fetch her jewellery.

The women's ward at Jaffna Hospital contained many casualties of war.

A middle-aged woman had half a leg missing — blown off by an Indian shell. A 14-year-old girl clutched a stomach wound.

A young woman with a blood-soaked plaster on her leg said she had been unconscious when Indian soldiers "liberated" the hospital last week. She was certain that the Tigers had not been in occupation at the time, as the Indians had claimed.

No civilian doctors or nurses were available for comment, but even a cursory inspection was enough to disprove Tiger claims of Indian atrocities like the 450 deaths in mass shelling and subsequent butchery.

The hospital bears hardly

# Jaffna calm, but Indians still face Tamil resistance

**REPORT** By David Wigg in Jaffna

THE INDIAN ARMY was in control of the centre of Jaffna yesterday, but was still having difficulty wiping out the last pockets of Tamil Tiger resistance.

After the battle, the town looks deceptively calm.

A splash of tropical green foliage broken by red roofs and white facades of the larger buildings, it sprawls beside a lagoon now empty of boats.

The streets just outside the old Jaffna Fort, which has served as a Portuguese, Dutch, British, Sri Lankan and now Indian stronghold, are deserted except for cows, crows, stray dogs — and an occasional Indian platoon.

The Post Office is a burnt-out shell, pocked by bullet holes. The Regal Cinema will be showing no Hindu musicals for some time. The hands on the clock tower point forever at 6:35. A corner statue of some now unknown worthy has had its face shot off.

There is the occasional dull thud of mortars and then louder blasts as Indian engineers detonate mines and booby-traps.

## Slipped away

The remaining resistance will be "mopped up", Maj-Gen AS Kalkat said, as areas are "sterilised sector by sector".

But Velupillai Prabhakaran, leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the man the Indians want desperately to capture, is not in the fighting area. He is probably in hiding, waiting to make his escape.

any sign of damage. It has a few broken windows and the odd bullet mark, but that is small beer in this area, at this time.

One senior Indian officer had a sardonic answer to the claims of atrocities. "It makes me so mad when I hear these things, that I want to shoot people," he said.

The Indians talk breezily of the Tigers who have slipped away as the next target of their

Other leaders may also have slipped away and the Tigers may regroup in outer areas.

In the general hospital, only one ward was open for journalists to see. Two rows of women lay with various wounds that could have come from either side in the combat. The face of one girl was burnt almost completely off. Another girl, about four, lay dying while her mother made a slight breeze with a white fan.

About 2,000 refugees were sheltering in and around the Roman Catholic church.

## Fear of troops

They had little food, they said, and they were afraid of the Indian troops who had ordered them there. One man had brought in his 99-year-old mother on his shoulders.

The owner of a guest house said the Indians were killing and looting. "We thought India was our homeland," another said despairingly.

"Many Tigers have mingled with the refugees", Maj-Gen Kalkat said when the complaints were put to him. "We shall identify them".

The people there had suffered half a decade of autocracy, he said: Now "we are bringing them their freedom".

OCTOBER 27

campaign to restore democracy and freedom to Tamil areas of Sri Lanka.

But the Tigers, with their leadership intact and a seemingly inexhaustible supply of explosives, have lost only prestige in Jaffna.

Major General Amarjit Singh Kalkat, who bears a name meaning ultimate victory in Punjabi, has captured a shadow.



R A P E D

End Date	Ugbo Previous history—Present symptoms—Diagnosis and Treatment	qndd Date	qndd Date
01.11.87	<p>This patient Give the H, raped - at 11.00AM.</p> <p>She is having two children</p> <p>L.M.P. 20.10.87 Lt + injury over the</p> <p>a) breast b) buttocks c) back</p> <p>USNANANE</p>		

## Charge denied

Our Madras Staff Reporter writes:  
Headquarters IPKF at Jaffna has strongly refuted the report in the section of the press that Indian Army men were raping Tamil women in Sri Lanka. It described the report as "slandorous, vicious and mischievous, designed to arouse the passions of the gullible."

"The Indian soldiers, whether he is a Maratha, Sikh, Gorkha, Tamilian or any other community, is a model of discipline and moral self-control", it added.

"The respect and reverence for women is a precious part of Indian culture and psyche; it is inconceivable that the Indian soldiers, who have always shown great respect towards all Sri Lankan Tamil men, women and children, can ever commit such a heinous crime."

It also appealed to "all sections of the public not to believe such slanderous disinformation being made by vested interests for their own selfish and political ends, and to wreck the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord."



End Date	qndd Date	qndd Date
P.C.	<p>Rukmany 35yr</p> <p>Married</p> <p>was assaulted by <del>Rape</del> &amp; Raped by IPKF. Soldiers</p> <p>against her will.</p> <p>of E.M. no abrasion / Laceration, or bite marks.</p> <p>as. - DR. NO (M) LMP: 11/10/87</p> <p>Rp - Clinically normal</p> <p>Inform Police</p> <p>MS - Flat abs</p>	

# Door still open, Rajiv tells LTTE

Express News Service

New Delhi, Oct. 27: Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on Tuesday reiterated that the door was "still open" to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to "accept to abide by the terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement and surrender arms".

Briefing members of the parliamentary consultative committee attached to the Ministry of External Affairs here, he said, "Any time they did so" they could "come back". But he regretted that they had not so far done so.

The Prime Minister further informed members that before the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement was signed, it had been discussed with "all the parties including LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran" and claimed that none of these had found any fault with the accord proposed at that time.

Mr. Gandhi expressed confidence that both the Governments would be able to implement the agreement despite delays. The LTTE, he charged, had not been honouring its commitments. The IPKF was only doing its job under the terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement, he added.

It would stay in Sri Lanka "as long as President J.R. Jayewardene wants it" members were told by the Prime Minister.

It was also India's aim to see that a "Just and fair dispensation" was given to the Sri Lankan Tamils within the framework of Sri Lanka's territorial integrity. The task now was to "re-build in Jaffna." He pointed out that many members of the IPKF had, sacrificed their lives to uphold the agreement.

The Prime Minister addressed the committee in the morning and later reviewed with senior officials of the External Affairs and Defence Ministries the latest situation in northern Jaffna.

The agreement was signed not only to resolve the ethnic problem but also to deal with important regional security matters.

Earlier, Mr. Natwar Singh,

Minister of State, said it was unfortunate that lives had been lost which was a matter of sorrow and anguish.

An official spokesman gave details of the three caches of ammunition seized by the IPKF in the past 24 hours. They contained over 300 mines besides boobytraps, detonators, explosives and other material. Among these were 266 anti-personnel mines, 30 Claymore mines, 26 landmines, 828 hand-grenades, 2,380 detonators and 125 kg of gunpowder.

**LTTE to buy time?:** Radio intercepts of the LTTE network, the spokesman claimed indicated that the Tigers were discussing among themselves the possibility of stopping armed action and regrouping their forces.

**Express News Service** reports from Madras: The Nallur Kandaswamy temple and its sprawling grounds have become the sanctuary for the remaining LTTE guerillas who have merged with an estimated 35,000 persons displaced during the fighting. The IPKF is encountering occasional gunfire which it cannot return.

Combining the temple area is proving difficult since guerillas are firing at jawans and relief workers distributing food, reliable sources who visited Jaffna on Tuesday said in Madras.

One JCO was shot on Tuesday while distributing food by LTTE men who merged with the crowds immediately thereafter. As the priority is to avoid civilian casualties, the IPKF is unable to fire back.

**Co-ordinating officer:** An External Affairs Ministry Spokesman said that a full-time Special Co-ordinating Officer from the IPKF, Brig R. A. S. Kahlon, would liaise with local officials on restoring normalcy in Jaffna town.

The Jaffna General Hospital is also fully functional under the supervision of Maj-Gen. Chahal, Director General of Medical Services, Southern Command.

## Rajiv briefed on IPKF moves

New Delhi, Oct. 27 (UNI): Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi reviewed on Tuesday the latest situation in Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka with senior officials of the Ministries of Defence and External Affairs.

Mr. Gandhi was apprised of the new tactical moves made by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) which gained effective control of the Tamil militant stronghold on Monday.

Mr. Gandhi is understood to have underlined the need for quicker disarming of the militants and restoration of complete normalcy.

Mr. Gandhi was given a detailed account of the explosion which ripped through the office of the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Kandy on Oct. 25.

Express News Service

**Colombo, Oct. 27:** Four Sri Lankan soldiers were killed in a landmine explosion between Tampalakamam and Monkey Bridge in the Trincomalee district around 8.30 a.m. on Tuesday.

The soldiers, two regulars and two volunteers, were in the course of 'normal duties' when the incident occurred.

## 7 LTTE men killed

**Colombo, Oct. 27 (PTI):** Seven Tamil terrorists were killed by Indian Peace Keeping Forces at Pooneryn in northern Killinochchi district, while they were fleeing Jaffna peninsula on Sunday last, the *Island* reported.

Quoting delayed reports from security sources, the newspaper said the terrorists were carrying a large amount of arms and ammunition.

The daily said that the military intelligence sources confirmed that hardcore LTTE terrorists were using Wannai area in the peninsula to slip to safety.



Daily Mail

# Peril on the streets where Tigers prowl

ONLY the stray dogs feel free to go about their normal lives in Jaffna.

Indian soldiers crouch on street corners, rain-washed white flags hang on sticks from garden hedges, makeshift guerilla barricades of desks and chairs stand like mocking sculptures of war.

Jaffna has fallen. That was the message delivered yesterday with the finality of an annual company report by a man who looks more like a company chairman than a soldier — Major General Amarjeet Singh Kalkat of the Indian army.

He was the man sent to ginger up the offensive against the Tamil Tigers the other day, and he seems to have done rather well rather quickly.

The town, which when I was there last week was still a-bustle with buses, bicycles, tradesmen and pedestrians ignoring the 24-hour curfew, is now in total suspension.

The streets are as empty as the temples are full. The houses are empty too, some of them whole estates of rubble blitzed in two weeks of battle.

The general claimed in fact, in his smooth boardroom manner, that Jaffna fell two days ago. I know what he meant. The Indian army has secured all the major buildings, none of which are open, such as the post office, the town hall — where guerilla leader Prabakaran shot dead the mayor in 1972 — the library, the temple, the Regal cinema, the hospital and the railway station.

But what was that red flag, looking suspiciously like the Tamil Tigers' flag, fluttering on the top of the distant town watch tower?

## Shelter

'That?' spluttered an attending brigadier. 'Just a flag. We must find time to fetch it down.' He

on street



Mailman GEOFFREY LEVY  
reports from Jaffna

REPORT

## Indians claim Jaffna is now 'sanitised' — but the reality is different

knew very well that lowering the flag would almost certainly cost lives.

The reality is that while major areas of Jaffna town have been 'sanitised' the general's word — all is far from secure over towards the huge Nallur Temple where 35,000 refugees still shelter, and in the crisscross of narrow streets and alleys which may well hold mines and booby traps — as well as Tigers.

The Indian soldiers look tired. It has been a tough campaign, not just physically but mentally. The strain of the unexpected detonations that have killed so many of their number shows in their faces. Snipers are a new problem.

But they are working on the electricity supply and for the moment some of the Indian regiments can rest.

Stories of atrocities by Indian troops continue to buzz among the refugees in the temples and hospitals.

The general denies them. 'I state categorically that no civilian has been shot deliberately by any member of the Indian peacekeeping force.'

Meanwhile, the whereabouts of the slippery killer Prabakaran are, as usual, unknown. The general suggested scornfully that he might

be 'at one of the ports 'to make a quick getaway.'

More likely, the 33-year-old Tiger leader is planning a war of attrition now that Jaffna has almost fallen, as he always knew it would.

He will get the support of the group of homeless fathers who gathered round me at the Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady of Refuge in the centre of the town. They refused my invitation to blame Tigers for putting them and their families in a place where five lavatories serve 2,500 people.

## Seized

'It is the Indians who have done this,' said one and the others swayed their heads in the Tamil way of saying yes. 'Our sons have been fighting them to make us free. Maybe we won't be free, but perhaps one day our sons will be.'

Major General Kalkat did not see it quite like that. 'Those people have been living under the totalitarianism of the Tigers,' he declared. 'We are here to satisfy fair elections. Once people feel that the peace-keeping force is here and will remain here to look after them, this "problem" will go away.'

It sounds as though the Indian army is going to be in Sri Lanka in general, and in Jaffna Town in particular, for a very long time.



**AFFIDAVIT**

**UDAYAKUMAR SIVAKUMARI (31), Madduvil South, Chavakachcheri.**

I am the wife of Arumugam Udayakumar (32) who died on 27.10.1987.

He was a Mason.

On 27.10.87 at about 9.00 a.m. my husband left home saying that he was going to Chavakachcheri regarding his work.

At about 5.00 p.m. I was informed that he was killed when the Chavakachcheri Market was attacked by helicopter gunship.

On hearing the news I went there and identified his body which was in almost burnt-out condition.

His body was burnt at Madduvil Cemetery.

I have three children.

After my husband's death we do not have any income.

உ. சிவசுந்தரி

**VATHSALA KANGARATNAM, (17), 23/5 Central East Road Gurunagar, Jaffna.**

The deceased Palaniyandi Kangaratnam, aged 34 years was my husband.

He was working as a labourer at the cement factory K.K.S.

Due to the military offensive in our area we took refuge at the St. Patrick's College Refugee Camp through fear.

On 27.10.87 at about 10.30 a.m. my husband left for Chavakachcheri market to buy provision.

As he did not return that evening I became highly worried about his safety.

On the third day I was informed that my husband was killed on 27.10.87 at Chavakachcheri when the market was shelled from the air.

I came to know that his body was buried at the Chavakachcheri burial grounds.

I am expecting a child.

I do not have any income after my husband's death.

I do not have anyone to help me.

V. KANGARATNAM

**VIJIANIRMALA RAVICHANDRAN (20) No. 10, 1st Cross Street, Vasanthapuram, Colombuthurai, Jaffna.**

The deceased Rajadurai Ravichandran, aged 23 years, was my husband.

He was employed as a Mason.

During the October 1987 violence we took refuge at St. Patrick's College.

On 27.10.87 at about 6.00 a.m. my husband left us saying that he is going to Thirunelvely to buy some vegetables.

He did not return that day.

We were highly worried about his non return.

On 30.10.87 I was informed by my brother-in-law that my husband was shot dead by the army at Thirunelvely.

I also came to know that my husband's body was cremated by the army itself.

After my young husband's tragic death I do not have any income or support.

ர. விஜயன்மலா ரவிசந்திரன்

**Miss YOGARANEE SUPPIAH (21) Meesalai South, Meesalai.**

I am daughter of Mrs. Ponnammah Suppiah who was killed in aerial shell-fire on 27.10.87.

My mother Mrs. Ponnammah was a vegetable vendor at the Chavakachcheri market.

On 27.10.87 my mother was engaged in her vocation at the Market square, Chavakachcheri when a helicopter gun-ship hovering over started firing artillery - shells directed in the market area.

My mother received a shrapnel-injury on her head and was killed on the spot, yet seated.

My brother proceeded to the market square to fetch my mother when the helicopter had flown away.

He found our mother dead with a head-injury in a sitting-position.

Her dead body was brought home at about 3.00 p.m. and was cremated at the Kotpuluva Crematorium at about 5.30 p.m. on 2.10.87.

My father Velupillai Suppiah was grief-stricken over the death of my mother and neglected his food and health. He died on 12.11.87 following my mother.

My father was a farmer who earned an average monthly income of Rs. 600/-

My mother Mrs. Ponnammah Suppiah earned an average monthly income of Rs 800/-.

Consequent to the deaths of my mother and father I, my brother and sister who were all dependent on our parents have been orphaned and are left with no financial support or assistance for our living and maintenance.

I was a student and had given up my studies as a sequel of my mother's demise to shoulder the family responsibilities.

My brother is yet studying a trade.

My sister is school-going reading in the GCE (O/L) class.

ய. யோகானே சப்பியா

**APPASI SELLATHURAI (86) Uppankalati Eveni, Punnalaikattuvan.**

The deceased Sellathurai Nadarajah, aged 53 years bachelor was my son.

He was a farmer.

On 28.10.87 at about 4 p.m. my son left home for bathing at a well about quarter mile away from our house as it was his usual practice to take bath there.

Later I was informed that my son was shot and killed by the army while he was on his way to the well.

His body bore many gunshot wounds.

It was my son who maintained and supported us.

My wife is bedridden due to old age.

அ. அப்பா சேலதூரை

**Miss NAGALINGAM THAVAMANY (24), Meesalai South, Meesalai.**

I am niece of Ponniah Karthigesu who was killed in shell blast.

On 28.10.87 Meesalai was subjected to shell attack.

At about 5.00 p.m. on the day (28.10.87) a shell fell on our house and exploded.

My late uncle Ponniah Karthigesu who was seated on the floor with folded arms in prayers in a room was struck by shrapnels severing both his

palms at the wrists and causing a severe chest injury. He died on the spot.

His dead body was cremated at the Vembirai Crematorium on 29.10.87 at 10.00 a.m.

My maternal uncle was unmarried and was 70 years of age.

He was looked after and maintained by my mother and after the demise of my mother the responsibilities rested with me.



NESATHURAI NAGESWARY (36), Nitsamam, Chankani East.

The deceased Nadarasa Nagarani, aged 56 years, a widow, was my elder sister.

On 28.10.87 due to the eruption of violence in our area we sought refuge at Vigneswary Vidyalayam Chankanaï.

My sister who initially refused to accompany us to the school changed her mind and followed us little later.

As she was approaching the school gates a shell fell and exploded near her.

When I rushed there she was already dead. After being struck by deadly shrapnels on her neck.

Few others were also killed in the incident.

Her body was cremated at Vilaveli cemetery on the same day.

The cause of death as specified in the declaration of death is fatal injury due to shell explosion.

My sister left her four children under my custody.

I find it extremely difficult to maintain my sister's orphaned children along with my own four children.

My husband is a labourer and his meagre income is not sufficient to support all of us

செ. ந. ச. க. ம. உ. ந.



PONNIAH PAKIYAM (51), Nitsamam Chankanaï East, Chankanaï.

The deceased person Sinnakutty Ponniah, aged 54 years was my husband. He was a casual labourer.

On 28.10.87 our area was subjected to intermittent shell attack.

At 9 p.m. I fled from my house along with my children.

When the shell fire ceased I returned and found my husband's lifeless body lying in the lane leading to our house.

His body bore shell blast wounds.

His body was cremated at Vilaveli cemetery



PONNIAH RASIAH (65)

Kalasalai Road, Thirunelvely, Jaffna.

I am married and have 9 children of whom 6 are married and live separately.

My son Rasiah Kengatharan aged 22 years was a dumb boy.

He was employed as a Cigar Roller.

On 28.10.87 area curfew was enforced in our area.

In the morning at about 7 a.m. while my children, grand-children and I were at home suddenly armed IPKF personnel about 15 in number appeared near the main gate and then entered our compound.

No sooner we saw the Indian army enter the compound, through fear we started running in all directions.

When my son R. Kengatharan was running behind me he was shot dead by IPKF personnel.

After the IPKF personnel left the area I removed the dead body of my son home at 10 a.m.

As there was panic and tense situation prevailed in the area I buried my son's dead body in our compound with the assistance of my relations.

The dead body of my son bore a severe injury on his chest.

My deceased son was the sole bread-winner and we were solely depending on his income.

When violence erupted in October 1987 my house too was damaged by the attacks and the loss sustained by me is Rs. 25,350/-.

செ. ந. ச. க. ம. உ. ந.



SATHIYASEELAN MAHESWARY (35), Myliddy Palaly South, Vasavilan.

The deceased person Nadarajah Sathiascelan, aged 35 years was my husband.

He was employed as a temporary watcher at the Village Council Myliddy.

On 28.10.1987 at about 6.00 a.m. my husband left for work.

At about 5.30 p.m. I was informed that my husband was shot and killed by the army at Vasavilan while he was on his way from his work place.

I went to the scene of incident and brought his body home.

His cremation took place on 29.10.87 at Poonayankadu cemetery.

I have five children.

We are undergoing untold hardships after my husband's demise.



SINNAN MUTHURAJAH (38), Kachai Road, Kodikamam.

The deceased Kanthan Ponnu, aged 68 years was my uncle being my father's brother.

On 28.10.87 at about 4.30 p.m. my uncle was on his way to the nearby shop.

At the time a helicopter was hovering overhead.

I heard a shell explosion after my uncle left our house.

Few minutes later I was informed that my uncle was killed when a shell fired from the helicopter exploded near him.

His body was cremated at Kachai cemetery on the same day.

His body bore a gaping wound on his chest.

My uncle was living with us for the last 10 years after his wife's death.

S. Muthurajah



SELLATHURAI SINNATHURAI (67), Pillayar Kovilady, Thavady, Kokuvil.

The deceased person Sinnathurai Indranee, aged 53 years was my wife.

On 29.10.87 our area was under intense shell attack and gun fire.

A shell fell within our house and exploded with great noise.

My wife fell ill due to shock caused by the shell explosions and gun-fire.

She died on the following day without recovering from her shock.

Her body was cremated at the Thavadi Cemetery on the same day itself.  
I have an unmarried daughter and son.

ச. சின்னம்மா

SINNATHAMBY RAJENDRAM (35), Rajah Mill Lane, Thavady, Kuvil.

The deceased person Sinnady Sinnathamby, aged 60 years was my father.  
He was a casual labourer.

He was living under my care and maintenance after my mother divorced him and re-married.

On 29.10.87 at about 11.30 a.m. some soldiers came to our house.

On seeing them we fled to the next compound for safety leaving my father who was cooking in the kitchen.

We heard a rattle of automatic gun-fire from the direction of our house.

After the army left we returned to our house and greeted with a gory scene.

My father was spread eagled on the floor just outside the kitchen entrance.  
Part of his head was blown off by the bullets fired by the soldiers.

We cremated his body in a nearby empty land on the same day itself as we could not go to the cemetery due to the tension prevailed during that period.

ச. ராஜேந்திரம்

VIERAMUTHU THANGAMANY, Kataveddi North, Karaveddi.

During the operation of the IPKF at Jaffna area it was firing and shell attack around the area.

My son Viyeramuthu Sivanantharajah, age 22 was a student in a private tutary at Jaffna.

During this army operation at Jaffna above said son Viyeramuthu Sivanantharajah was shot by the army at Pannai Road, and died at the spot on 29 October 1987.

This was informed to me by one of my relation at Jaffna and I went to Jaffna and took charge of the body of my son and made the cremation at Allankaddai Cemetery, Karaveddi North.

My husband is sick, and my above said son was the sole bread winner of the family of our daughters aged 28, 24, 20, 15 & sons in the age of 30, 25.

ச. வி. ராஜேந்திரம்

PONNIAH NAVARATNAM (60) of "Raja Bhavan", Station Road, Kuvil.

The deceased Kandiah Muthuthurahi aged 70 years a bachelor was my uncle being my mother's brother.

During the October 1987 military offensive we took refuge at the Kuvil Hindu College, refugee camp.

After the refugee camp was subjected to the military attack we fled from the college and went to Manthenai Murugan Temple leaving my uncle at the college.

On 30.10.87 I was informed by my neighbours that my uncle's body was found at our house at Kuvil.

When we went there we found only his burn out remains.

I came to know that his body was set on fire after being shot and killed by the army.

MRS. SELVAM SARASWATHY, Mavady, Karaveddy East, Karaveddi.

My son Selvam Selvaranjan was dead on 30.10.1987 at Karaveddy East by shell blast while he was at home.

His body was cremated at Veerakali cemetery.

ச. ம. ச. சுவாமி

SINNAPPU THARMALINGAM (70), 117/1 Sivan Kovil North Veethy, Jaffna.

The deceased person Sinnappu Nadarajah, aged 60 years a bachelor was my mother.

He was a farmer.

My late brother was living with my son. Chandramohan at his residence at Kallady.

On 30.10.87 I was informed by my son that my brother was shot and killed by the army near the Iyanarkovilady on 24.10.87.

I learned that he was shot when he went in search of my son who was away from his house for a long time.

I learned that his body was cremated at the roadside.

My late brother was living under the care and maintenance of my son Chandramohan until his death.

ச. ச. சுவாமி

SITTAMPALAM NALLIAH (58) No. 11, kachcheri East Lane, Chundickuly, Jaffna.

The deceased Rajathurai Punitharajan, aged 22 years was living under my guardianship from his childhood after his parents death.

During the October, November 1987 military offensive I was at Colombo.

On 30.10.87 I came to know that the deceased was shot and injured by the army at about 300 yards from our house on 24.10.87.

That after receiving first-aid from a doctor who resides nearby he was admitted at the Holy Cross Health Centre where he died at about 1.25 p.m. on the same day.

And that his body was cremated by our neighbours on 25.10.87.

The maternal grandfather of the deceased is alive to whom he used to send money for maintenance.

His grand father Suppar Murugesu aged 76 who is an invalid is both partially blind and deaf.

After his death his grandfather is deprived of his maintenance and support he received from his grand son.

ச. ச. சுவாமி



# Jaffna: after the battle

REPORT

28.10.87

(Operation Pawan)

## CIVILIANS KILLED

KOKUVIL	
Kanagamalar	S. Pushparanee
Kanahambikaamma	K. Sakthivel
Sivalingam	J. Simion
Thuraiyajah	S. Jacob
Veerasingam Thuraiyaja	KONDAVIL
Rajeswary	M. Sinnathamby
Kandiah	M. Kandiah
Visuvanathan	K. Sellathurai
Thangaiyah	S. Anulampalam
Sarvesvararuby	Sivasubramaniam
Veerakaththi	K. Sinnarasa
S. Kumarasamy	Sivapakaiam
M.K. Kandiah	R. Navaratnam
S. Nadarajah	S. Sivakumar
S. Appathurai	K. Nagarasa
S. Muthukumar	S. Anulampalam
N. Kathiravelu	R. Loganathan
P. Appukutti	K. Tharmalingam
S. Suppiah	A. Sinnathurai
K. Marimuthu	P. Sivapaikium
A. Gnanapiragasam	S. Sivarangam
K. Thanaledchumy	P. Sivapaikium
Ranjithkumar	S. Rajasingam
K. Nirmalarasa	S. Sivapiragasam
S. Mahalingam	S. Ruxal
N. Nadarasa	V. Malini
M. Sathianathan	R.S. Shivarani
T. Kirubakaramoorthy	V. Tharani
R. Kulasingam	T. Pavalarani
R. Ravindran	S. Ponnuthurai
P. Selvaratnam	P. Parameswary
S. Sellathurai	K. Annam
P. Perumal	N. Balasubramaniam
K. Visavalingam	B. Nageswari

By TAVLEEN SINGH  
Recently in Jaffna

SO Jaffna has fallen. After over 15 days of bitter fighting and heavy losses, the Indian Army claimed two days ago that they had finally wrested the entire city from the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam). But the war is far from over. In the words of Lt. General Depinder Singh, army commander in charge of the operations, "an estimated 1,200 LTTE guerrillas are believed to have escaped from the town once the fighting commenced and each one of them constitutes a lethal fighting force."

In Jaffna itself, the Indian army, or the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), to describe it in its Sri Lanka incarnation, has found little joy in their victory. To their lot has fallen the unenviable task of reconstructing a city from the debris and devastation of a ghost town which today looks as if nobody has lived in it for years. The task of reconstruction will be made even more difficult by the fact that the local population regards the Indian army with hostility and even hatred. Senior army officers, involved in the liberation of Jaffna, believe that this is mainly due to what is described as "very effective propaganda on the part of the LTTE."

In short, if the news from Jaffna was bad before the day trips for journalists had begun, it is worse now that we have been allowed to catch a glimpse of the battle-scarred city with its empty streets, abandoned homes and its eerie, unquiet silence.

**Battle for Jaffna:** The good news, however, is that we can at least now give you an authentic version of the battle for Jaffna without having to rely on censored snippets from the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). I was one of a party of journalists, including several foreign correspondents, who were taken to Jaffna on the day the IPKF was fighting to take control of the last two square kilometres of the city where the LTTE guerrillas were making a last-ditch stand.

We were taken from Palaly airport to Jaffna in Indian Air Force helicopters that had to fly at over 1,000 feet to avoid potshots from LTTE guerrillas who are now believed to be hiding out in the

peninsula's deceptively lovely, palm-fringed villages.

Our helicopters struggled against blinding rain and strong winds to land about half a kilometre away from Jaffna Fort, which was once the Sri Lanka security forces' only bastion in the city, and which has been the Indian army's operational headquarters since Oct. 9 when the battle for Jaffna began. From the battlements of the Fort we got our first glimpse of the city and with the sound of explosions (mines going off) in the background an officer who had been with the action throughout explained what happened. "That white building there is the library from which they were firing at us, and that over there is the stadium which was also one of their positions ...

On the first day (Oct 9) when we started patrolling, they (the LTTE) came in great strength and pushed us back into the Fort. We had to retreat till the brigade linked up with us and this gave them time to take up defensive positions and plant mines and booby traps all over the city."

**Mine network:** For those of us who have wondered why the Indian Army took so long to take Jaffna the answer could lie in the fact that till Oct 19 there was only one battalion (1,000 men) in Jaffna and they were virtually immobilised in the Fort while the LTTE proceeded to turn the city into a vast death trap of carefully-laid mines and booby traps. So extensive has been their network of explosives that the army admits that it will take them several weeks to make the city safe for its civilian population to return to their homes. All that has been cleared so far are a few roads.

We were taken down one of them, past the bombed-out telecommunications centre which had been blown to bits by the LTTE suicide squad in a truck filled with explosives, past the Regal Cinema which had been flattered in earlier aerial bombing by the Sri Lanka Air Force, and past a row of houses whose fronts had been shattered and whose gardens had been torn up in Jaffna's recent battle.

The road led to the hospital since the army was keen that we see that at least one of the city's vital facilities had been restored to

a semblance of normalcy. The hospital is one of a few buildings in Jaffna that have escaped unscathed in the city's many battles.

**Open hostility:** Escorted by a posse of army officers and officials from the MEA we were taken to what appeared to be the women's ward in the hospital and here, unexpectedly, we got our only taste of the intense hostility that local Tamils feel for their liberators.

An old woman from Urumparai told us in fluent English, "We are all victims of shelling by the Indian Army. My friend was killed when they fired at our houses from helicopters, and today we don't know if we have any houses left to go back to."

Within minutes, several other patients, including small children, gathered around to talk about how they also had been shelled by the Indian Army, and as television cameras whirled and flash-bulbs popped more and more stories came out and the gist of it all was that, in the opinion of the people, it was the LTTE who were heroes and the IPKF who were villains. An old man from Nallore, carrying his injured two-year-old grandson in his arms, said speaking directly to the army officers with us, "The Indian Army has killed my daughter, this child's mother. My name is Thil-lambanam, I am from Nallore."

Later, army officers admitted that there was no doubt the people's sympathies lay with Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran and his guerrillas and that in the early stages of the battle virtually 90 per cent of Jaffna's civilians had aided and abetted the LTTE.

So the IPKF, however noble their intentions and however gently they fought a very nasty battle, have emerged for the people of Jaffna as the inheritors of the mantle of Sri Lanka's hated security forces, and no amount of counter-propaganda is going to change that. In addition there is the terrifying prospect that our troops are going to have to stay on in Jaffna for a very long time. Since although Jaffna is ours, a large section of the LTTE fighting force is free to create havoc in their attempt to regain control of the northern province which they have run "as a state within a state" for several years now.

According to Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, the Indian Army could



Prabhakaran may have lost the battle for Jaffna but he will certainly end up winning the war while for us it is a no-win situation viewed from any direction.



The question that our rulers need to ask themselves is: do they really have the right to send our soldiers off to fight battles for them that they are not sure that they want to win?

be stuck in a "classic counter-insurgency situation" and it is anybody's guess how long Indian troops will have to stay in Sri Lanka.

Naturally, things will be slightly more difficult for the LTTE than they have been in the past since they will no longer be able to find shelter in the generous embrace of Madras. But a constant supply of arms has not so far been a problem. According to the army, at least one boatload of Chinese and Israeli arms was intercepted just before the battle for Jaffna began and it appeared to have come from Singapore.

**Confused policy:** All in all, things are just about as bad as they can be while our policy-makers continue to bungle along, changing direction when they wish to, and behaving exactly as if we did not really have a clear Sri Lanka policy at all.

Take for instance our attitude to Prabhakaran. Till a week ago the stated policy of the Indian Government was that they refused point blank to negotiate with him until he assured them of an unconditional surrender of arms. Now, suddenly we are informed that in fact if he comes up with a good enough proposal we are prepared to negotiate with him.

At a briefing by one of our friends from the MEA, at Palaly airport, we were told, "the LTTE leadership has been in touch with us and we have appealed to the LTTE cadres to participate in the normal democratic process." In answer to persistent questions he also admitted that the Indian Government had no objections to talking directly to Prabhakaran himself and that nobody was ruling out the possibility that the LTTE (if it agrees to make peace)

would be given the lion's (Tiger's) share of representation on the interim council that we hope eventually to set up to rule the northern province till elections are held.

If this happens then it goes without saying that Prabhakaran may have lost the battle for Jaffna but he will certainly end up winning the war while for us it is a no-win situation viewed from any direction.

Perhaps the saddest image that I have carried back with me from Jaffna is that of an Indian soldier in combat fatigues standing in the rain trying to keep alive a pyre in which the bodies of two of his comrades were being burned.

The question that our rulers need to ask themselves is: do they really have the right to send our soldiers off to fight battles for them that they are not sure that they want to win?



## CIVILIANS KILLED

(Operation Pawan)



K. Navaratnam 20.10.87



S. Pancharatnam 20.10.87



R. Prabhakar 20.10.87



Mrs. P. Pushpani 20.10.87



S. Rajeevan 20.10.87



Mrs. Ratna Leela 20.10.87



S. Ruby 20.10.87



K. Sinnathambi 20.10.87



Mrs. Sugirtham 20.10.87



N.M. Thambiah 20.10.87



Thangamuthu 20.10.87



Mrs. Thuniamma 20.10.87



V. Varadaraja 20.10.87



S. Kandasami 21.10.87



V. Lagubaran 21.10.87



V.S. Nataraja 21.10.87



Nolin 21.10.87



J. Movin 21.10.87

## EDITORIAL

OCTOBER 28, 1987

## TIME FOR DEPARTURE

DESPITE New Delhi's strenuous attempts to mislead domestic opinion through a campaign that is aimed at exaggerating its military success against the LTTE in Jaffna, it is now clear that the cost of Operation Pawan was unacceptably high both in terms of civilian and military casualties. The Indian army (it is no longer appropriate to describe it as a "peace-keeping force") was guilty of seriously underestimating the military might of the LTTE and its penchant for using civilians as hostages. But more important, the prolonged battle for Jaffna demonstrated quite clearly that the Indians were surprisingly lax in their implementation of that section of the accord dealing with the surrender of all weapons, though they seem to have had greater success in keeping the Sri Lankan forces confined to barracks. Moreover, neither Mr Rajiv Gandhi nor Mr M. G. Ramachandran can evade responsibility for the charge that their generous assistance to Mr Pirabhakaran's forces in effect led to the death of more than 150 Indian soldiers. The irony of New Delhi now projecting the Tigers as extremist fanatics whereas it had earlier condoned LTTE butchery of the Sinhalese and rival Tamil militants is only too apparent, and may be a fundamental reason why the recent military operation in Jaffna has not won it the gratitude of the Sinhalese.

Indeed, the bomb blast in the Deputy High Commissioner's office in Kandy underlines the enormous danger of Indian forces being caught in the crossfire between intransigent Tamils and bigoted Sinhalese. In short, India is now paying a very heavy price for its impetuous adventurism and its amazingly naive belief that the LTTE was carrying out a proxy war on its behalf. It may have been possible to overlook the unfortunate tragedy of Operation Pawan if it was evident that the Tigers had finally been tamed and that it was now possible to do business with a chastened and disarmed Mr Pirabhakaran. Unfortunately, the belligerent

statement by the LTTE's Jaffna commander, Mr Manendrarajan "Mahathiya", makes it clear that the Tigers will now switch their tactics from frontal confrontation to underground guerrilla warfare, a move which has ominous implications for an army operating on foreign soil without any worthwhile civilian assistance. It is not necessary to side with Mr Karunanidhi's opportunistic conversion to the LTTE cause to argue that India's own credibility in Sri Lanka will not be enhanced by getting bogged down in a dirty war against the Tigers.

On the contrary, if military casualties continue to rise at the present alarming rate, there is a distinct possibility that more and more Indians will begin to question the logic of sacrificing the lives of our jawans in a foreign adventure whose main purpose seems to be to shore up Mr Rajiv Gandhi's sagging domestic fortunes. Rather than risk the ignominy of enforced withdrawal—either on account of military failure or a domestic backlash—it may be more prudent for Mr J. N. Dixit to begin negotiations with President Jayewardene to initiate a phased withdrawal of troops. There seems little point in persisting with the myth that democratic governance in the form of regional councils can be established in the Tamil areas in the face of such violent opposition by an LTTE with a taste for fascist methods of control. Since very little of the original accord is still left for salvaging, India may yet regain some of its waning credibility by cutting its losses and leaving the incomplete task of preserving the unity of Sri Lanka to President Jayewardene's ingenuity. And, since New Delhi's main fear is that Colombo may be tempted to go in for unholy alliances of convenience with other foreign powers, President Jayewardene's offer to safeguard Indian interests in Trincomalee by means of a bilateral treaty may provide the useful starting point of a dignified departure.



BATTLE FOR JAFFNA



## Twenty civilians killed, many hurt; market gutted Indian copters bomb Lanka town

From Sumir Lal

Jaffna, Oct. 28: Indian helicopter gunships yesterday attacked the town of Chavakachheri, 24 km east of here, killing at least 20 civilians and injuring numerous others. The Indian peace-keeping force (IPKF) took control of the town later in the night.

Two helicopter gunships bombed the central market, bus stand and nearby houses in six sorties between noon and 5.30 pm, firing rocket mortars and spraying bullets from medium machineguns. This reporter counted 15 bodies in the market, seven of them charred beyond recognition, and five others in the local hospital soon after the second sortie. The number of casualties is likely to have increased after the subsequent raids.

Chavakachheri was one of the major strongholds of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which is on the run in the Jaffna peninsula. The helicopter gunships did not strike the house being used as operational headquarters of the LTTE, located some 200 carried out around noon, took the citizens by surprise. Many of them had crowded the busy marketplace, unmindful of the 24-hour curfew that has been imposed in the peninsula ever since the IPKF launched its offensive 18 days ago. The helicopters destroyed shops, fruit stalls, buses and lorries.

When this reporter reached the spot around 1.30 pm, a observers speculate that they could have been carried out to scare civilians into leaving the town to enable the IPKF to launch an uninhibited ground offensive against the Tigers. They feel the IPKF has decided to launch a full-fledged

offensive, sacrificing civilians in the process, in its final thrust against the LTTE.

The first sortie, which was metres from the market, but hit a petrol pump adjacent to it.

This is the first time that the IPKF has deliberately struck at civilian targets. Most civilians and Tigers so far had complained of indiscriminate shelling by Sri Lankan helicopters.

There has been no official admission of the raids but portion of the market was ablaze and stunned boys were recovering the grotesquely mutilated bodies of those killed on the spot. The local hospital was filled with injured persons, many of them still bleeding profusely. The hospital was hopelessly short of basic first-aid equipment.

Even as the citizens recovered from the first series of raids, the helicopters returned for another round of fire. This reporter was among those who had to rush to specially-constructed underground shelter—made during the Sri Lankan Air Force's offensive—for cover.

By evening, hundreds of people had begun fleeing the town and could be seen headed in the direction of Kachchai and Kodikamam to the south of the peninsula. Many of them were refugees who had earlier fled from Jaffna town. Local people claimed that a college being used as a refugee camp had also been hit.

The IPKF moved in after dark and captured the town from the LTTE which had so far been in complete control.



# IPKF resorts to strafing for the first time

NEW DELHI, Oct. 29.

For the first time, the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) has strafed two locations in Chavakacheri town, a LTTE stronghold east of Jaffna, which it later captured, according to an official report here today.

Some 27 bodies of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) militants were found in the area. Six IPKF jawans were killed and six were injured in the operation which had started on Tuesday and ended this morning.

Intelligence reports indicate that the LTTE is trying to regroup in areas of Mullaitivu, Batticaloa, Mannar and Trincomalee.

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said here today that after capturing the LTTE stronghold, two battalions of the Madras Regiment were asked to secure Chavakacheri.

He said the LTTE had directed heavy volume of fire from an old, isolated building in the town. It was also running a petrol pump in close proximity of the building from which it was directing fire.

Having confirmed through intelligence and reconnaissance reports that the LTTE was using the building as its headquarters, the IPKF decided to strafe these two isolated locations by helicopters, the spokesman added.

to the unrest in the south of the island following the July 29 Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

The English language daily *Island* in a front-page report, today quoted Mrs. Bandaranaike as saying that the Government, by questioning her, was "trying to make out that there was a conspiracy to overthrow it."

"By this they are hoping to appoint a Commission and deprive me of my civic rights again so that I cannot contest the next elections," she told the paper.

**40 LTTE men drowned:** Over 40 Tamil militants, belonging to the LTTE, were believed drowned when a boat in which they were travelling to Jaffna capsized off the eastern Batticaloa coast, published reports today quoted security sources as saying.

The reports said the boat, which capsized at mid-sea, was travelling at high speed because the militants on board feared being apprehended by a security unit vessel which was chasing them.

The reports also said that more boats carrying a large number of Tamil 'Tigers' had left Batticaloa for Jaffna. They had a large quantity of arms and ammunition with them, security sources said.

A strict surveillance was now being maintain-

## BATTLE FOR JAFFNA

ed of the Batticaloa coast, sources said.

The spokesman admitted that this was the first occasion when the IPKF had strafed any location in the Jaffna peninsula.

The IPKF has stepped up relief measures. Some 12 tonnes of food was distributed among the refugees during the last 24 hours. The IPKF doctors have treated over 250 civilians.

The IPKF is also been taking steps to restore electricity and provide civic services like water and sanitation in Jaffna.— PTI, UNI

## Five IPKF soldiers injured

PTI, UNI report from Colombo:

At least five Indian soldiers, including the commanding officer of the area, Col. Nanchappa, were seriously injured when two IPKF trucks hit a landmine in the eastern Batticaloa district last night.

The landmines exploded between the Akkaraipattu and Tirukkovil areas of the Batticaloa district, authoritative sources said here today.

Details of the incident are awaited.

Curfew was relaxed in Jaffna town for four hours from 8 a.m. today for the first time after the IPKF operations began some two weeks ago.

# We had to take more than normal care, says Gen. Kalkat

COLOMBO, Oct. 29.

The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) never underestimated the strength of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), but certainly underestimated the group's "inhumanity" which made it sacrifice its kith and kin to achieve its ends, Maj. Gen. A. S. Kalkat, Commander of the IPKF in Jaffna, said today.

Gen. Kalkat was here to brief the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. K. Natwar Singh, on the progress of the IPKF operations to disarm the militants. In an informal chat with newsmen, he said the LTTE had no moral, political and military justification for the "callous indifference they had shown to the plight of the people, whose cause they claimed to uphold."

When the bona fides of the group itself were in question, could anyone give credence to its propaganda about alleged IPKF atrocities against the civilians, he countered in reply to a question.

He said the IPKF had sacrificed many of its members in a foreign country to uphold certain principles and India's basic values of democracy and freedom, "for they are values worth paying for."

**Search operations under way:** Gen. Kalkat said the IPKF had to take more than the normal care because, in the anxiety to avoid civilian

casualties, it always had to take the first burst of fire from the militants who took cover behind the civilians. Not only bombs and explosives, but small arms had also been seized by the IPKF. However, a large number of the firearms were hidden in houses by the militants as they moved from house-to-house and sniped at the IPKF men. Search operations were now under way to ferret out these weapons.

Gen. Kalkat declined to go into how the IPKF proposed to take the Nallur Kandasamy Temple, where a large number of hardcore militants are reported to have taken cover among the thousands of refugees. He said the LTTE, which had desecrated all the temples around Nallur, hoped to make propaganda advantage by forcing the IPKF to storm the temple.

**No hurting of religious sentiments:** But, he pointed out, no one could dispute the fact that the Gurkha soldiers who were now ringing the temple were the most religious and would do nothing to hurt the religious sentiments of the people.

**IPKF advance:** An Indian High Commission spokesman said the IPKF column which had taken control of the Chavakacheri area, 16km east of Jaffna town on Tuesday night, had moved further east and linked up with a unit at Kodigamam. Seven militants were killed during the mopping up operation in Chavakacheri.

## LTTE CLAIMS

Hindu Ladies College, Jaffna comes under indiscriminate shelling for the second time. 3 children killed, 18 injured including 3 children who lost their legs.

Curfew relaxed between 08.00 hrs and 12.00 hrs after many days. But youth between the ages of 18 years and 30 years not allowed to go out of the refugee camps.



# India counts the cost of a futile Tiger hunt in Tamil country

REPORT

India is ankle-deep in the quicksands of Sri Lanka, with the prospect of slipping up to its knees and beyond. Bruce Palling reports on the hapless 'peacekeepers' of Jaffna.

"MAY I make it quite clear that we are not at war. We do not have a military objective. If that idea has filtered down to you, please remove it. We are involved in a political-military task."

This assertion by General A.S. Kalat, acting commander of India's troops in the Jaffna peninsula may be accurate in a legalistic sense but neither the Tamil Tigers, the Tamil civilian population, nor even the Indian troops themselves appear to believe it. No such speculation is possible from the estimated 1,000 people on all sides who have died in the past three weeks from the Indian action.

Earlier this week, General Depinder Singh, the Jaffna commander, admitted his troops were not fully prepared for the task of confronting the 2,000-strong Tamil Tiger force thought to be holed up in the densely populated peninsula. He admitted to correspondents that when the offensive began on 10 October, he had only one brigade at his disposal instead of the three he thought he required for the task.

Men and matériel were rushed from India at such a rate that civilian jets were commandeered while transport planes flew in heavy equipment. Accurate figures for Indian troops are hard to come by — the best estimates range from 16,000 to 25,000. Signs of haste are all too apparent at the Indian army's

temporary headquarters near what was the international airport. Two large satellite dishes have been erected on what was once the Sri Lankan army's basketball court and the football field now plays host to an Indian tank depot.

The general assessment is that the Indian forces are in a terrible mess. Officials will tell you confidently that they have achieved one of their prime objectives by default — namely, the disarming of the Tamil Tigers by virtue of capturing several of their biggest arms dumps. The Tigers, however, are past masters at smuggling arms from abroad. The belief that the only way out for the besieged Tigers was for them to drop their weapons and mingle with fleeing refugees has also proved naïve. As the occasional journalists' forays into rebel-held territory have shown, the town was never effectively sealed until after the Tigers had fled, taking their small arms.

The Indian hope is that the Tamil population will eventually blame the Tigers for causing the renewed chaos and violence, and that the Indians will defuse any temporary anger by assisting in the rehabilitation of the bruised peninsula. No one can confidently predict the success of this scenario but already the association in civilian minds of the Indians as protectors and saviours has been badly battered.

The Sri Lankan army is watching

smugly from the sidelines, happy to tell visiting correspondents that the Indians received their come-uppance for thinking that the Tigers would be a pushover. "The Indians had their heads held high when they arrived with their parade-ground drill and discipline. What they failed to realise is that this type of combat is fought on your belly, or at best, at ground level," a Sri Lankan officer said.

There are conflicting messages from Indian officials. On the one hand, the officers say they are prepared to countenance any casualty figures to crush or disarm the Tigers. Non-military sources, however, are discreetly dropping hints that should a settlement prove impossible, the Indians would be prepared to withdraw and walk away. It is difficult to believe, however, that such an option remains.

As a Sri Lankan officer said, it is not just Sri Lankans who are watching keenly the progress or otherwise of the Indian armed forces. It is also of great interest to Sikh militants in Punjab, Asamese separatists in the north-east of India and, most important, the Pakistan and Chinese armies deployed on India's other borders.

The Indians are rapidly losing freedom of movement and are increasingly at the mercy of the Tigers. It is the latter who can determine the pace of the action, not the Indian army — and the Tigers show no desire to surrender either their arms or their dream of Eelam, a separate Tamil state.

29 October 1987



R.K. Lakshman, The Times of India, 28.4.87



Now Rajiv's turn for political solution



# புலிகளின் தாகம் தமிழீழத் தாயகம்

READ  
PART 2  
PART 3

